HEALTH, EDUCATION, LABOR AND PENSIONS COMMITTEE

Bernard Sanders, Ranking Member Minority Staff Report October 6, 2025

The Big Tech Oligarchs' War Against Workers: AI and Automation Could Destroy Nearly 100 Million U.S Jobs in a Decade

I. Executive Summary

Since 1973, there has been an explosion in technology and a massive increase in worker productivity. But the resulting economic gains have gone almost exclusively to those at the top. While productivity has risen by 150% and corporate profits have increased more than 370%, real wages have gone down for the average American worker by nearly \$30 a week.¹

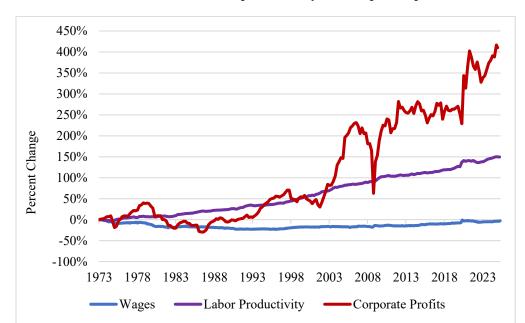


Figure 1: Workers have not benefited even as productivity and corporate profits have increased.²

Now, artificial intelligence and automation stand to transform the relationship between workers and employers. Artificial intelligence (AI) refers to computer systems that perform complex tasks normally requiring human reasoning, decision-making, and creativity. For example, ChatGPT by OpenAI describes itself as an "AI model that generates human-like text by predicting the most likely next words based on patterns it learned from a vast amount of written data." Automation refers to technology that can perform repetitive or mechanical tasks, like robots in factories. AI and automation can work together. Self-driving cars and trucks rely on AI to make decisions and automation to physically carry them out.

¹ U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics. Average Weekly Earnings of Production and Nonsupervisory Employees, Total Private; Nonfarm Business Sector: Labor Productivity (Output per Hour) for All Workers; Corporate Profits After Tax (without IVA and CCAdj). Retrieved from FRED, Federal Reserve Bank of St. Louis (2025). https://fred.stlouisfed.org/

² Id.

Some of the very wealthiest people in the world, including Elon Musk, Larry Ellison, Mark Zuckerberg and Jeff Bezos, are now investing hundreds of billions of dollars into these revolutionary technologies. And corporations are wielding their power to turn AI and automation into a new kind of workforce: "artificial labor." This is happening at an unprecedented speed. The agricultural revolution unfolded over thousands of years. The industrial revolution took more than a century. Artificial labor could reshape the economy in less than a decade.

Senator Bernie Sanders, Ranking Member of the Senate Health, Education, Labor and Pensions Committee (HELP Committee), directed his staff to examine how artificial labor could impact workers and their livelihoods.

HELP Minority Staff reviewed economic data, investor transcripts, corporate financial filings—and asked ChatGPT about job displacement. Specifically, HELP Minority Staff asked ChatGPT to analyze job descriptions catalogued by the federal government for the entire U.S. economy and predict tasks that could be performed by AI and automation. According to the ChatGPT-based model, artificial intelligence and automation could replace nearly 100 million jobs over the next ten years, including 89% of fast food and counter workers, 64% of accountants and 47% of truck drivers.

In May, Dario Amodei, the CEO of the main competitor to OpenAI's ChatGPT, Anthropic, warned that AI could lead to the loss of half of all entry-level white-collar jobs, spiking unemployment to 10 to 20% in one to five years.³ In 2023, McKinsey estimated that AI technologies had "the potential to automate work activities that absorb 60 to 70% of employees' time today." Last year, Elon Musk said that, as a result of AI and robotics, "probably none of us will have a job... If you want a job that's kind of like a hobby you can do a job. But otherwise, AI and robotics will provide any goods and services you want."

The reality is no one knows exactly what will happen. There is tremendous uncertainty about the real capabilities of AI and automation, their effects on the rest of the economy, and how governments and markets will respond. While this basic analysis reflects all the inherent limitations of ChatGPT, it represents one potential future in which corporations decide to aggressively push forward with artificial labor.

Table 1: ChatGPT's prediction of the 20 occupations with the largest job losses, based on tasks performed, ranked by the total number of jobs replaced by artificial labor over 10 years.

Job Description	Number of Jobs Replaced	% of Jobs Replaced
Fast Food and Counter Workers	3,310,372	89%
Customer Service Representatives	2,462,167	83%
Laborers and Freight, Stock, and Material Movers, Hand	2,441,400	81%
Retail Salespersons	2,372,957	62%

³ VandeHei, Jim and Allen, Mike. "Behind the Curtain: A white-collar bloodbath". Axios (2025). https://www.axios.com/2025/05/28/ai-jobs-white-collar-unemployment-anthropic

⁴ Chui, Michael et al. "The economic potential of generative AI: The next productivity frontier." *McKinsey* (2023). https://www.mckinsey.com/capabilities/mckinsey-digital/our-insights/the-economic-potential-of-generative-ai-the-next-productivity-frontier

Stockers and Order Fillers	2,170,227	76%
Cashiers	1,975,457	59%
Office Clerks, General	1,736,306	66%
General and Operations Managers	1,721,971	47%
Secretaries and Administrative Assistants, Except Legal, Medical, and Executive	1,580,658	80%
Home Health Aides	1,574,601	40%
Janitors and Cleaners, Except Maids and Housekeeping Cleaners	1,473,697	61%
Registered Nurses	1,309,563	40%
Bookkeeping, Accounting, and Auditing Clerks	1,257,995	76%
Waiters and Waitresses	1,208,682	53%
Heavy and Tractor-Trailer Truck Drivers	1,031,940	47%
Accountants and Auditors	992,214	64%
Personal Care Aides	973,098	25%
Team Assemblers	924,408	61%
Software Developers	920,265	54%
Teaching Assistants, Preschool, Elementary, Middle, and Secondary School, Except Special Education	896,576	65%

Artificial labor could not only put millions of people out of work from their existing job. It could also replace new jobs that could have been created. A factory worker who loses their job cannot be told to learn to code if artificial labor also takes the coding job. At the very least, artificial labor could bring rapid and destabilizing job displacement. Taken to its extreme, artificial labor could be used to create even more forms of artificial labor. Software engineers used to train their replacements. Now, they are creating their replacements—who in turn could create their own replacements.⁵

Additional Key Findings Include:

- Corporations are ready to use artificial labor to take advantage of workers. Some corporations are already beginning to replace workers.
 - o **Amazon**, which made \$59.2 billion in profits last year, has laid off 27,000 people since 2022 while telling its staff "We expect that [generative artificial intelligence and agents] will reduce our total corporate workforce as we get efficiency gains from using AI extensively across the company." Its former Web Services CEO made \$34.3 million last year.

⁵ Job Description. "Software Engineer, Product". *Mechanize, Inc.* (2025). https://jobs.ashbyhq.com/mechanize/4e401df6-49cc-4db3-a840-0ee2f68c019b/application

⁶ McCadden, Ali. "Corporate layoffs have ramped up in recent weeks. Here are the companies making cuts." *CNBC* (2025). https://www.cnbc.com/2025/06/05/corporate-layoffs-companies-making-job-cuts.html;" Message from CEO Andy Jassy: Some thoughts on Generative AI" (2025). https://www.aboutamazon.com/news/company-news/amazon-ceo-andy-jassy-on-generative-ai

⁷ Amazon.com, Inc. (2025). Schedule 14A Proxy Statement. Retrieved from SEC EDGAR. https://www.sec.gov/ix?doc=/Archives/edgar/data/0001018724/000110465925033442/tm252295-1_def14a.htm#tSCT

- o **Walmart**, which made \$19.4 billion in profits in 2024, has cut 70,000 jobs over the past five years while increasing revenues by \$150 billion. Its CEO made \$27 million last year.
- O **UnitedHealth Group**, which made \$15.2 billion in profits last year, has offered buyouts to reduce its workforce by at least 30,000 as it brags to investors that it expects "AI will direct over half of our calls" in 2025. 10 Its CEO made \$26.3 million last year. 11
- o **JPMorganChase**, which made \$58.5 billion in profits last year, says it expects to cut 10% of operations staff in coming years, while noting in financial filings that AI-related displacement could require the company to "manage impacts on morale and retention." Its CEO made \$37.7 million last year. ¹³
- o According to a World Economic Forum survey, 40% of corporations plan to downsize their workforce due to AI.¹⁴

• AI companies acknowledge their goal is to make it easier to pay workers less.

- o **Salesforce**, a technology services firm for businesses, says it is "pioneering a new kind of workforce" with the "first digital labor" platform and that its agents can "lower costs."¹⁵
- o **Mechanize**, a startup aiming to create artificial labor, notes on its website that "the market potential here is absurdly large" and points to the total income earned by workers. ¹⁶
- o **Artisan**, another AI company, is advertising its services to get companies to "stop hiring humans." ¹⁷
- o Self-driving truck companies are especially clear. **Kodiak** says it aims to "address challenges with driver recruitment" including "high labor costs." **Gatik** says its

https://www.hartfordbusiness.com/article/reports-unitedhealthcare-offering-buyouts-with-goal-to-cut-30k-jobs

https://www.sec.gov/ix?doc=/Archives/edgar/data/0000019617/000001961725000270/jpm-20241231.htm

Meyer, Gregory. "Walmart is supercharging revenue — but with fewer workers." Financial Times (2025). https://www.ft.com/content/5be70b28-018d-42d7-af8d-ea5a4bed4d44; Walmart, Inc. (2025) Form 10-K. Retrieved from SEC EDGAR. https://www.sec.gov/ix?doc=/Archives/edgar/data/0000104169/000010416925000021/wmt-20250131.htm

⁹ Walmart, Inc. (2025) Schedule 14A Proxy Statement. Retrieved from SEC EDGAR.

https://www.sec.gov/ix?doc=/Archives/edgar/data/0000104169/000010416925000055/wmt-20250424.htm

¹⁰ Witty, Andrew. Transcript: UnitedHealth Q1 2025 Earnings Call. Retrieved from *Investing.com* (2025).

https://www.investing.com/news/transcripts/earnings-call-transcript-unitedhealth-q1-2025-misses-eps-forecast-stock-drops-93CH-3991159; Kreckevsky, David. "Reports: UnitedHealthcare offering buyouts with goal to cut 30K+ jobs". *Hartford Business* (2025).

¹¹ UnitedHealth Group. (2025). Schedule 14A Proxy Statement. Retrieved from SEC EDGAR.

https://www.sec.gov/ix?doc=/Archives/edgar/data/0000731766/000110465925036829/tm252303-2_def14a.htm

¹² Lake, Marianne. JPMorgan Chase 2025 Investor Day Transcript. JPMorgan Chase. (2025).

https://www.jpmorganchase.com/content/dam/jpmc/jpmorgan-chase-and-co/investor-relations/documents/events/2025/jpmc-2025-investor-day/full-transcript.pdf; Nishant, Niket and Saini, Manya. "JPMorgan Chase begins planned layoffs for 2025, source says". *Reuters* (2025). https://www.reuters.com/business/finance/jpmorgan-chase-begins-layoffs-with-more-planned-barrons-reports-2025-02-12/; JPMorgan Chase & Co. (2024). Form 10-K. Retrieved from SEC EDGAR.

¹³ JPMorgan Chase & Co. (2024). Schedule 14A Proxy Statement. Retrieved from SEC EDGAR.

https://www.sec.gov/ix?doc = /Archives/edgar/data/0000019617/000001961725000321/jpm-20250405.htm

¹⁴ "Future of Jobs Report". *World Economic Forum* (2025). https://www.weforum.org/publications/the-future-of-jobs-report-2025/digest/ ¹⁵ "FY25 Annual Report: Leading the AI Agent Revolution." *Salesforce* (2025).

https://s205.q4cdn.com/626266368/files/doc_financials/2025/ar/Salesforce-FY25-Annual-Report.pdf

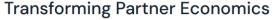
¹⁶ Barnett, Matthew et al. "Mechanize, Inc." Mechanize Inc. (2025). https://www.mechanize.work/

¹⁷ Carmichael-Jack, Jaspar. "The Story Behind the 'Stop Hiring Humans' Billboards in San Francisco." *Artisan AI Inc* (2024). https://www.artisan.co/blog/stop-hiring-humans

^{18 &}quot;Kodiak: June 4, 2025" Kodiak (2025). https://kodiak.cdn.prismic.io/kodiak/aEDkNbh8WN-LVoFn_KodiakCompanyPresentation-June2025.pdf

transportation model "lowers transportation costs." **Aurora** says it can "reduce customers' driver costs by ~24-40%" while noting driverless trucking means "no workers compensation" and "no ongoing driver training." ²⁰

Figures 2 and 3: Self-driving truck company Kodiak notes "the problem" of an "increase in driver wages since 2014" while Aurora lists "no workers compensation" and "no ongoing driver training" as advantages.²¹



We believe Kodiak's autonomous solution can provide meaningful total cost of ownership benefits to end customers.

The Problem



Limited Driver Hours per day 11-hour behind the wheel maximum⁽¹⁾





Rising Driver Costs

~68% increase in driver wages since $2014^{(2)}$ (37% greater than inflation)⁽³⁾



Under DaaS pricing, Aurora customers have an opportunity to achieve lower costs, with a more predictable and stable supply, versus today's alternatives

In comparison to today's driver costs plus reducing other indirect costs, we believe we have an opportunity to reduce customers' driver costs by ~25-40%

In addition to driver costs (\$1.00¹), there are potential indirect cost reduction opportunities (est. \$0.15):

- No driver sourcing or turnover costs
- No workers compensation
- No ongoing driver training
- Reduced driver management and driver services overhead
- In the midst of this uncertainty, the Trump administration is making things worse.
 - o Trump is empowering AI executives to shape the future of AI and trying to stop states from regulating AI. While Trump's AI Czar who has deep ties to the AI industry has said that "robots are coming," Trump's AI Action Plan calls for cutting AI-related federal funding for states that try to protect workers and families over the profits of Big Tech through "burdensome" AI regulations.
 - o Trump is creating a dangerous precedent for workers to be fired arbitrarily and sending a signal to Wall Street that this is acceptable. Trump fired tens of thousands of federal workers across at least 30 agencies and ended collective

¹⁹"Deliver with us" *Gatik* (2025). https://gatik.ai/deliver-with-us/

²⁰ Aurora: Investor Presentation." Aurora (2025).

 $https://ir.aurora.tech/\ assets/\ 026cf76b684dd09add3ac5649f913549/aurora/db/937/9974/pdf/Investor+Presentation+-+July+2025.pdf$

^{21 &}quot;Kodiak: June 4, 2025" Kodiak (2025). https://kodiak.cdn.prismic.io/kodiak/aEDkNbh8WN-LVoFn_KodiakCompanyPresentation-June2025.pdf;

Aurora: Investor Presentation." Aurora (2025).

- bargaining rights for one million federal workers.²² Amidst these mass firings, the Office of Management and Budget (OMB) is "Accelerating Federal Use of AI through Innovation, Governance, and Public Trust."²³
- Trump is gutting federal labor protections. Within his first week back in office, Trump illegally fired National Labor Relations Board (NLRB) member Gwynne Wilcox, neutering the NLRB, allowing union-busting corporations to exploit their workers with impunity. On the same day, he fired NLRB General Counsel Jennifer Abruzzo, who worked to ensure broken labor laws supported workers and unions.²⁴

• We must ensure that workers benefit from AI and automation, not just billionaires. This includes through:

- o Moving to a 32-Hour Workweek with No Loss in Pay. Today, American workers are over 400% more productive than they were in the 1940s. Yet, millions of Americans are working longer hours for lower wages than they were decades ago. A 32-hour workweek with no loss in pay would reduce the stress level in our country and allow Americans to enjoy a better quality of life.
- o **Sharing Corporate Profits with Workers.** Large corporations should be required to distribute at least 20% of their stock to workers. This would allow workers to directly benefit from the economic gains from AI and automation.
- o **Democratizing Corporate Boards.** Workers must be allowed to directly elect at least 45% of the board of directors at large corporations similar to what happens in Germany. Workers need a seat at the table to determine how AI is used in their companies.
- o **Expanding Employee Ownership.** One of the most direct ways to ensure workers benefit from the AI revolution is to expand employee ownership in America. One way to do that is through the establishment of a U.S Employee Ownership Bank to provide more than \$10 billion in low-cost loans, loan guarantees, and financial assistance to workers who want to purchase their own businesses through the establishment of Employee Stock Ownership Plans (ESOPs) or Eligible Worker-Owned Cooperatives.
- o **Enacting a Robot Tax.** Instead of providing hundreds of billions of dollars in additional tax breaks to expand automation—as the Trump's One Big Beautiful Bill Act does—we should instead enact a robot tax on large corporations and use the revenue to benefit workers harmed by AI.
- o **More than Doubling Union Membership.** The middle class will not grow unless we make it easier for workers to exercise their constitutional right to form a union, sign a first contract and end illegal union busting. We need to more than double union membership, pass the Protecting the Right to Organize (PRO) Act and make

²² Witte, Brian. "Veterans fired from federal jobs say they feel betrayed, including some who voted for Trump." *The Associated Press* (2025). https://apnews.com/article/trump-federal-workers-veterans-fired-1032360fdc6b2fb33d88edaf8f54d5ca; Choi, Annette et al. "Tracking Trump's overhaul of the federal workforce". *CNN* (2025). https://www.cnn.com/politics/tracking-federal-workforce-firings-dg/index.html
²³ Vought, Russell. "Memorandum for the Heads of Executive Departments and Agencies" *Office of Management and Budget* (2025).

²³ Vought, Russell. "Memorandum for the Heads of Executive Departments and Agencies" *Office of Management and Budget* (2025). https://www.whitehouse.gov/wp-content/uploads/2025/02/M-25-21-Accelerating-Federal-Use-of-AI-through-Innovation-Governance-and-Public-Trust.pdf

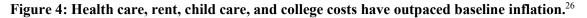
²⁴ Kaye, Daniel and Davis O'Brien, Rebecca. "Trump Firings at Labor Board Paralyze the Agency." *New York Times* (2025). https://www.nytimes.com/2025/01/28/us/politics/trump-nlrb-jennifer-abruzzo.html

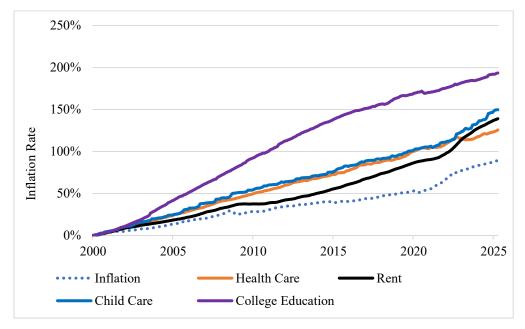
- sure that when a majority of workers in a bargaining unit sign valid authorization cards to join a union, they will have a union.
- o **Guaranteeing Paid Family and Medical Leave**. We must join every major country on earth and guarantee paid family and medical leave and paid sick days to workers. Parents should be able to spend the first few months after delivery with their newborn child. Family members should be able to care for a loved-one who is sick without having to worry about missing a paycheck. At a minimum, every worker in America must be guaranteed at least 12 weeks of paid family and medical leave and at least 7 paid sick days a year.
- o **Bringing Back Defined Benefit Pensions.** In America today, nearly half of older workers have no retirement savings and no idea how they will ever be able to retire with any shred of dignity or respect. That could only be made worse by artificial labor. In order to address this crisis, we must bring back defined benefit pension plans that guarantee income in retirement. Workers should enjoy the same type of pension plan Members of Congress have guaranteeing a monthly income in retirement.
- o **Banning Stock Buybacks.** Stock buybacks provide absolutely no benefit to the job-creating productive economy. Their only purpose is to make wealthy stockholders and corporate executives even richer, while denying the revenue needed to increase the wages and benefits of workers. Buybacks are nothing more than stock manipulation and they should be treated as such just like they were before 1982.

Even before this new war on workers, working people were struggling to get by. Over the past 25 years, the cost of health care, rent, child care and college education grew faster than baseline inflation by 41%, 55%, 69% and 115%, respectively.²⁵ Artificial labor could only deepen this crisis.

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²⁵ U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics. Consumer Price Index for All Urban Consumers: Medical Care in U.S. City Average.; Consumer Price Index for All Urban Consumers: Rent of Primary Residence in U.S. City Average; Consumer Price Index for All Urban Consumers: Day care and preschool in U.S. city average; Consumer Price Index for All Urban Consumers: All Items in U.S. City Average; Retrieved from FRED, Federal Reserve Bank of St. Louis (2025). https://fred.stlouisfed.org/





But there is nothing inevitable about the impact of technology on our society. The impact of AI and automation on workers will be determined by a set of choices. Right now, those choices are largely being made by corporate executives focused on short-term profits in boardrooms across Wall Street and Silicon Valley. The Trump administration is poised to only entrench the power of these executives. That must end. Congress and the American people must stand up and fight back to make sure workers benefit from AI and automation.

²⁶ Id., Perry, Mark. "Chart of the Day... or Century?". AEI (2019). https://www.aei.org/carpe-diem/chart-of-the-day-or-century/

II. The War on Workers

Since 1973, there has been an explosion in technology and a massive increase in worker productivity. But the resulting economic gains have gone almost exclusively to those at the top. While productivity has risen by 150% and corporate profits have increased more than 370%, real wages have gone down for the average American worker by nearly \$30 a week.²⁷

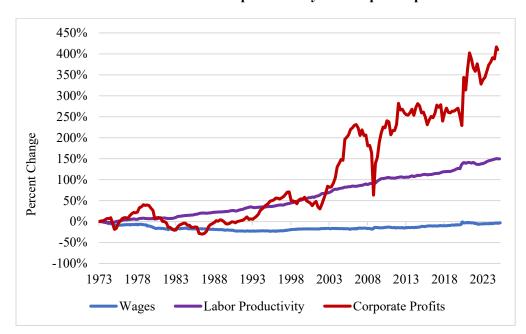


Figure 5: Workers have not benefited even as productivity and corporate profits have increased.²⁸

Since 2020, CEOs on average have made more than 330 times the amount of income that their average worker makes, compared to just about 50 to 1 in the 1980s and 27 to 1 in the 1970s.²⁹ Last year, nearly one in four workers in the U.S. made less than \$17 per hour, which is not a living wage in any state in America.³⁰ The value of the current federal minimum wage – \$7.25 per hour – is the lowest it has been since 1956 and has declined by more than 32% since it was last increased in 2009.³¹

These differences in income conceal even more significant disparities in wealth. According to a report from the RAND Corporation, over the past 50 years, \$79 trillion in wealth has been redistributed from the bottom 90% to the top 1%.³²

²⁷ U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics. Average Weekly Earnings of Production and Nonsupervisory Employees, Total Private; Nonfarm Business Sector: Labor Productivity (Output per Hour) for All Workers; Corporate Profits After Tax (without IVA and CCAdj). Retrieved from FRED, Federal Reserve Bank of St. Louis (2025). https://fred.stlouisfed.org/
²⁸ Id.

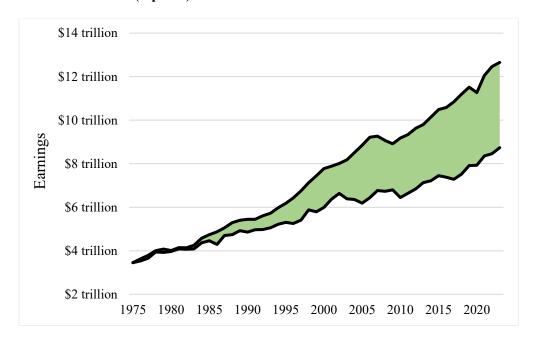
²⁹ Bivens, Josh et al. " CEO pay increased in 2024 and is now 281 times that of the typical worker". *Economic Policy Institute* (2025). https://www.epi.org/blog/ceo-pay-increased-in-2024-and-is-now-281-times-that-of-the-typical-worker-new-epi-landing-page-has-all-the-details/ ³⁰ Henderson, Kaitlyn. "The Crisis of Low Wages, 2024". *Oxfam* (2024).

 $https://oxfamilibrary.openrepository.com/bitstream/handle/10546/621608/rr-2024-crisis-of-low-wages-090724-en.pdf; Family Budget Calculator. \\ \textit{Economic Policy Institute (2025)}. https://www.epi.org/resources/budget/$

³¹ HELP Minority Staff calculation.

³² Price, Carter. "Measuring the Income Gap from 1975 to 2023". *The RAND Corporation* (2025). https://www.rand.org/pubs/working_papers/WRA516-2.html

Figure 6: The \$79 trillion gap (represented by green shaded area) between what the bottom 90% of Americans actually earned (bottom line) versus what they would have earned if income distribution had remained at 1975 levels (top line).³³



As a result, the top 1% owns more wealth than the bottom 93%.³⁴ For example, the richest man in America, Elon Musk, has more than \$400 billion in wealth—more than the bottom 52% of American society.³⁵ The second richest man in the world, Larry Ellison, has a reported wealth of \$342 billion, which shockingly increased as much as \$100 billion in a single day after his company Oracle announced a major contract with OpenAI.³⁶ The 8 richest Americans together have more than \$2 trillion in wealth, more than the bottom 59% of Americans combined. Each of these billionaires are heads or major shareholders in the tech companies that are at the center of the AI and automation boom, including xAI, Oracle, Facebook, Amazon, Google, Microsoft, and Nvidia.³⁷

One of the key factors accounting for rising economic inequality is the war on unions. Since its peak in 1945 of more than 34% of American workers being union members, the unionization rate has fallen to just 9% in 2024.³⁸ Trade union membership is at its lowest level since 1909.

³³ Id

³⁴ Total Real Wealth. Retrieved from *Realtime Inequality* (2025). https://realtimeinequality.org/

³⁵ Real Time Net Worth, Elon Musk. Retrieved from *Forbes* (2025). https://www.forbes.com/profile/elon-musk/?list=rtb/; Total Real Wealth. Retrieved from *Realtime Inequality* (2025). https://realtimeinequality.org/

³⁶ Melin, Anders. "Ellison Tops Musk as World's Richest Man After \$101 Billion Gain." *Bloomberg* (September 9, 2025). https://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2025-09-10/oracle-co-founder-larry-ellison-closes-in-on-elon-musk-as-world-s-richest-man ³⁷ Real Time Net Worth, Retrieved from *Forbes* (2025) on 9/29/2025. https://www.forbes.com/real-time-billionaires/#62834c763d78

³⁸ Romero, Paul and Whittaker, Julie. "A Brief Examination of Union Membership Data". *Congressional Research Service* (2023). https://crs.gov/Reports/R47596



Figure 7: The unionization rate has decreased by over 73% from 1945 to 2024.³⁹

Another factor in the decline of worker power and wages has been automation. Researchers at MIT and Boston University found that as much as "50% and 70% of changes in the U.S. wage structure over the last four decades are accounted for by relative wage declines of worker groups specialized in routine tasks in industries experiencing rapid automation." In addition, the same researchers found that, although in the past jobs lost due to automation led to the creation of new jobs, this trend reversed from 1987 to 2016 when the impact of labor-displacing automation outstripped new job creation. A new technological age stands to deepen this war against workers and increase economic inequality.

III. The Rise of Artificial Labor

What could AI and automation mean for workers?

In May, Dario Amodei, CEO of Anthropic, one of the most important AI firms in the world, predicted that "AI could wipe out half of all entry-level white-collar jobs—and spike unemployment to 10-20% in the next one to five years." In June, the CEO of Ford, Jim Farley, echoed this warning and predicted that AI could eliminate "literally half of all white-collar jobs in the U.S." within the next decade.

³⁹ *Id*.

⁴⁰ Acemoglu, Daron and Restrepo, Pascual. "Tasks, Automation, and the Rise in U.S. Wage Inequality." (2022). https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/full/10.3982/ECTA19815

⁴¹ Dizikes, Peter. "Study finds stronger links between automation and inequality." MIT News (2020). https://news.mit.edu/2020/study-inks-automation-inequality-0506

⁴² VandeHei, Jim and Allen, Mike. "Behind the Curtain: A white-collar bloodbath". *Axios* (2025). https://www.axios.com/2025/05/28/ai-jobs-white-collar-unemployment-anthropic

Last year, Elon Musk said that, as a result of AI and robotics, "probably none of us will have a job... If you want a job that's kind of like a hobby you can do a job. But otherwise, AI and robotics will provide any goods and services you want." Bill Gates predicted that humans "won't be needed for most things" such as manufacturing products, delivering packages, or growing our food over the next decade due to AI.

The United Nations predicted that up to one third of jobs in advanced countries would be at risk of automation and said that AI is "fast becoming the defining technology of our time." In 2024, OpenAI researchers found that 46% of jobs could have more than half of their tasks impacted by future developments of large-language models like ChatGPT.⁴⁴

Meanwhile, McKinsey estimated that AI technologies had "the potential to automate work activities that absorb 60 to 70% of employees' time today," and Goldman Sachs predicted that AI could lead to the worldwide loss of "300 million full-time jobs to automation." 45

What does ChatGPT Predict?

To understand how artificial labor could impact workers and their livelihoods, HELP Minority Staff asked ChatGPT about job displacement. Specifically, HELP Minority Staff asked ChatGPT to analyze job descriptions catalogued by the federal government for the entire U.S. economy and predict tasks that could be performed by AI and automation.

We used the Occupational Information Network's (O*NET's) list of occupations (n=867).⁴⁶ Detailed tasks were available for 774 occupations (n=15,638), categorized by core tasks (n=11,905) and supplemental tasks (n=3,733).⁴⁷ Building on previous research, we asked OpenAI's GPT-4.1 model to rate each task based on whether the task could not be automated, could be automated with a human-in-the-loop, could be partially automated, or could be fully automated by AI technology in the next 10 years, including by large language models, neural networks, machine learning algorithms, automated machines, and combinations thereof.⁴⁸

Weighing core tasks twice as high as supplemental tasks, we aggregated the data from the tasklevel to the occupation-level, resulting in an automation score for each occupation. After converting this score to a percentage of employees displaced in a given occupation, we multiplied the percentage by the total number of employees in 2023 in that occupation, as provided by the Bureau of Labor Statistics (matched from O*NET to BLS data using the SOC Code). This yielded the total number of jobs lost in each occupation, which we then summed over occupations to get the cumulative predicted job loss figure.

⁴³ "AI market projected to hit \$4.8 trillion by 2033, emerging as dominant frontier technology." UNCTAD (2025). https://unctad.org/news/aimarket-projected-hit-48-trillion-2033-emerging-dominant-frontier-technology

⁴⁴ Eloundou, Tyna et al. "GPTs are GPTs: Labor market impact potential of LLMs." Science 348: no. 6702 (2024). https://www.science.org/doi/10.1126/science.adj0998

⁴⁵ Chui, Michael et al. "The economic potential of generative AI: The next productivity frontier." McKinsey (2023). https://www.mckinsey.com/capabilities/mckinsey-digital/our-insights/the-economic-potential-of-generative-ai-the-next-productivity-frontier; "Generative AI could raise global GDP by 7%". Goldman Sachs (2023). https://www.goldmansachs.com/insights/articles/generative-ai-couldraise-global-gdp-by-7-percent

⁴⁶ The Occupational Information Network (O*NET) is developed under the sponsorship of the U.S. Department of Labor/Employment and Training Administration (USDOL/ETA) through a grant to the North Carolina Department of Commerce.

⁴⁷ Some military and creative sector jobs were excluded.

⁴⁸ Eloundou, Tyna et al. "GPTs are GPTs: Labor market impact potential of LLMs." Science 348: no. 6702 (2024). https://www.science.org/doi/10.1126/science.adj0998

Results

According to the ChatGPT-based model, AI and automation could replace nearly 100 million jobs—97 million—over the next ten years, including 89% of fast food and counter workers, 64% of accountants and 47% of truck drivers.

Table 2: ChatGPT's prediction of the 20 occupations with the largest job losses, based on tasks

performed, ranked by the total number of jobs replaced by artificial labor over 10 years

Job Description	Number of Jobs Replaced	% of Jobs Replaced
Fast Food and Counter Workers	3,310,372	89%
Customer Service Representatives	2,462,167	83%
Laborers and Freight, Stock, and Material Movers, Hand	2,441,400	81%
Retail Salespersons	2,372,957	62%
Stockers and Order Fillers	2,170,227	76%
Cashiers	1,975,457	59%
Office Clerks, General	1,736,306	66%
General and Operations Managers	1,721,971	47%
Secretaries and Administrative Assistants, Except Legal, Medical, and Executive	1,580,658	80%
Home Health Aides	1,574,601	40%
Janitors and Cleaners, Except Maids and Housekeeping Cleaners	1,473,697	61%
Registered Nurses	1,309,563	40%
Bookkeeping, Accounting, and Auditing Clerks	1,257,995	76%
Waiters and Waitresses	1,208,682	53%
Heavy and Tractor-Trailer Truck Drivers	1,031,940	47%
Accountants and Auditors	992,214	64%
Personal Care Aides	973,098	25%
Team Assemblers	924,408	61%
Software Developers	920,265	54%
Teaching Assistants, Preschool, Elementary, Middle and Secondary School, Except Special Education	896,576	65%

The reality is no one knows exactly what will happen. There is tremendous uncertainty about the real capabilities of AI and automation, their effects on the rest of the economy, and how governments and markets will respond. While this basic analysis reflects all the inherent limitations of ChatGPT, it represents one potential future in which corporations decide to aggressively push forward with artificial labor. Some corporations are already beginning to replace workers.

How Corporations are Turning to Artificial Labor

Investment in AI and automation is booming. The United Nations estimates that the global AI market will grow from \$189 billion in 2023 to \$4.8 trillion by 2033—a 25-fold increase.⁴⁹

⁴⁹ "AI market projected to hit \$4.8 trillion by 2033, emerging as dominant frontier technology." *UNCTAD* (2025). https://unctad.org/news/ai-market-projected-hit-48-trillion-2033-emerging-dominant-frontier-technology

According to a World Economic Forum survey, 40% of corporations plan to downsize their workforce due to AI.⁵⁰ Corporations are also lavishing outrageous pay packages to promote artificial labor. Elon Musk could become the world's first trillionaire if he succeeds in promoting the commercial use of one million AI powered robots and one million robotaxis developed by Tesla.⁵¹

To understand the growing reliance on artificial labor, HELP Minority Staff reviewed investor transcripts, corporate financial filings, presentations and other records from major corporations that are aggressively investing in and implementing AI, comparing findings to recent layoffs, profits and executive compensation.

Table 3: Corporations are increasingly using artificial labor, while laying off workers and giving

executives huge compensation packages.

Company	Adoption of Artificial Labor	Layoffs	2024 Profit	2024 Highest
Company	Adoption of Artificial Labor	Layons	2024 1 10111	0
				Executive Pay
Amazon ⁵²	"As we roll out more Generative AI and agents,	27,000	\$59.2	\$34.3 million
	it should change the way our work is done. We	employees	billion	
	will need fewer people doing some of the jobs	since 2022		
	that are being done today, and more people			
	doing other types of jobs. It's hard to know			
	exactly where this nets out over time, but in the			
	next few years, we expect that this will reduce			
	our total corporate workforce as we get			
	efficiency gains from using AI extensively across			
	the company."			
JP Morgan	"The operations team is at the tip of the spear on	1,000	\$58.5	\$37.7 million
Chase ⁵³	using and leveraging new AI tools and	planned in	billion	
	capabilities. And based upon what we know	February		
	today, we expect headcount will trend down by	2025		
	about 10% over the next five years or so, even			
	as the business grows by another more than			
	25%. So total productivity of above 40%."			
Meta ⁵⁴	"Our business continues to perform very well,	21,000 since	\$62.4	\$27.2 million
	which enables us to invest heavily in our AI	2022 and	billion	

⁵⁰ "Future of Jobs Report". *World Economic Forum* (2025). https://www.weforum.org/publications/the-future-of-jobs-report-2025/digest/ ⁵¹ Kolodny, Lora. "Tesla's nearly \$1 trillion new pay plan for Musk would expand his voting power." *CNBC* (2025). https://www.cnbc.com/2025/09/05/tesla-musk-pay.html

JPMorgan Chase & Co. (2024). Schedule 14A Proxy Statement. Retrieved from SEC EDGAR.

⁵² Jassy, Andy. Message from CEO Andy Jassy: Some thoughts on Generative AI (2025). https://www.aboutamazon.com/news/company-news/amazon-ceo-andy-jassy-on-generative-ai; McCadden, Ali. "Corporate layoffs have ramped up in recent weeks. Here are the companies making cuts." *CNBC* (2025). https://www.cnbc.com/2025/06/05/corporate-layoffs-companies-making-job-cuts.html; Amazon.com, Inc. (2025). Form 10-K. Retrieved from SEC EDGAR. https://www.sec.gov/ix?doc=/Archives/edgar/data/0001018724/000101872425000004/amzn-20241231.htm; Amazon.com, Inc. (2025). Schedule 14A Proxy Statement. Retrieved from SEC EDGAR.

https://www.sec.gov/ix?doc=/Archives/edgar/data/0001018724/000110465925033442/tm252295-1_def14a.htm#tSCT

⁵³ Lake, Marianne. JPMorgan Chase 2025 Investor Day Transcript. *JPMorgan Chase*. (2025).

https://www.jpmorganchase.com/content/dam/jpmc/jpmorgan-chase-and-co/investor-relations/documents/events/2025/jpmc-2025-investor-day/full-transcript.pdf; Nishant, Niket and Saini, Manya. "JPMorgan Chase begins planned layoffs for 2025, source says". *Reuters* (2025). https://www.reuters.com/business/finance/jpmorgan-chase-begins-layoffs-with-more-planned-barrons-reports-2025-02-12/; JPMorgan Chase & Co. (2024). Form 10-K. Retrieved from SEC EDGAR.

https://www.sec.gov/ix?doc=/Archives/edgar/data/0000019617/000001961725000270/jpm-20241231.htm

https://www.sec.gov/ix?doc = /Archives/edgar/data/0000019617/000001961725000321/jpm-20250405.htm

⁵⁴Zuckerber, Mark. Meta Platforms, Inc. (META) Second Quarter 2025 Results Conference Call. (2025)

https://s21.q4cdn.com/399680738/files/doc_financials/2025/q2/META-Q2-2025-Earnings-Call-Transcript.pdf; White, William. "Meta Platforms Layoffs 2023: What to Know as Facebook Preps More Job Cuts". *InvestorPlace* (2023). https://investorplace.com/2023/02/meta-platforms-layoffs-2023-what-to-know-as-facebook-preps-more-job-cuts/; Gary, Jesse. "Meta slashes 3,600 jobs worldwide, including in the Bay Area". *Fox*

	efforts. Over the last few months we have	3,600		
	begun to see glimpses of our AI systems	planned for		
	improving themselves. The improvement is	2025		
	slow for now, but undeniable. Developing			
	superintelligence which we define as AI that			
	surpasses human intelligence in every way			
	we think is now in sight."			
Microsoft ⁵⁵	"We are investing in artificial intelligence	10,000 in	\$101.8	\$79.1 million ⁵⁷
	("AI") across the entire company and infusing	2023, and	billion ⁵⁶	
	generative AI capabilities into our consumer and	more than		
	commercial offerings."	15,000 in		
		2025 (about		
		7% of their		
		total		
		workforce)		
United Parcel	"By leveraging our technology and increasing	20,000	\$5.8 billion	\$24.1 million
Service ⁵⁸	automation, we processed and delivered the	workers		
	same amount of volume in the fourth quarter as	planned for		
	last year, but we did it with three million fewer	2025		
	hours, while delivering excellent service."			
UnitedHealth	"We expect AI will direct over half of our calls	Offering	\$15.2	\$26.3 million
Group ⁵⁹	to the best resource during 2025."	buyouts to	billion	
_	_	reduce		
		workforce		
		by at least		
		30,000		

KTVU (2025). https://www.ktvu.com/news/meta-laying-off-thousands-workers-report-business-insider. Meta Platforms, Inc. (2024). Form 10-K. Retrieved from SEC EDGAR. https://www.sec.gov/ix?doc=/Archives/edgar/data/0001326801/000132680125000017/meta-20241231.htm. Meta Platforms, Inc. (2025). Schedule 14A Proxy Statement. Retrieved from SEC EDGAR.

https://www.sec.gov/ix?doc=/Archives/edgar/data/0001326801/000132680125000040/meta-20250417.htm

Microsoft Corporation. (2025). Form 10-K. Retrieved from SEC EDGAR.

https://www.sec.gov/ix?doc = /Archives/edgar/data/0000789019/000095017025100235/msft-20250630.htm

Soni, Aditya. "Microsoft to lay off around 3% of workforce in organization-wide cuts". Reuters (2025). https://www.reuters.com/business/world-at-work/microsoft-lay-off-3-workforce-cnbc-reports-2025-05-13/

Microsoft Corporation. (2024). 2023 Schedule 14A Proxy Statement. Retrieved from SEC EDGAR.

https://www.sec.gov/ix?doc=/Archives/edgar/data/0000789019/000119312524242883/d858775ddef14a.htm

20250317.htm#ief62a822f6df40aeb51f22ea562b2365 100

https://www.hartfordbusiness.com/article/reports-unitedhealthcare-offering-buyouts-with-goal-to-cut-30k-jobs; UnitedHealth Group. (2025). Form 10-K. Retrieved from SEC EDGAR. https://www.sec.gov/ix?doc=/Archives/edgar/data/0000731766/000073176625000063/unh-

Form 10-K. Retrieved from SEC EDGAR. https://www.sec.gov/ix/aoc=/Archives/edga//data/0000/51/

20241231.htm; UnitedHealth Group. (2025). Schedule 14A Proxy Statement. Retrieved from SEC EDGAR.

https://www.sec.gov/ix?doc=/Archives/edgar/data/0000731766/000110465925036829/tm252303-2 def14a.htm

⁵⁵ Hood, Amy. Microsoft FY25 Third Quarter Earnings Conference Call. *Microsoft* (2025). https://www.microsoft.com/en-us/investor/events/fy-2025/earnings-fy-2025-q3

⁵⁶ From June 2024 to June 2025

⁵⁷ For 2023, not 2024

⁵⁸ Dykes, Brian. United Parcel Service (UPS) Q4 2024 Earnings Call Transcript. (2025). Retrieved from: https://www.fool.com/earnings/call-transcripts/2025/01/30/united-parcel-service-ups-q4-2024-earnings-call-tr/; Banker, Steve. "UPS to Lay Off 20,000 Workers". *Forbes* (2025). https://www.forbes.com/sites/stevebanker/2025/04/30/ups-to-lay-off-20000-workers/; United Parcel Service, Inc. (2024). Form 10-K. Retrieved from SEC EDGAR. https://www.sec.gov/ix?doc=/Archives/edgar/data/0001090727/000109072725000019/ups-20241231.htm; United Parcel Service, Inc. (2025). Schedule 14A Proxy Statement. Retrieved from SEC EDGAR.

⁵⁹ Witty, Andrew. Transcript: UnitedHealth Q1 2025 Earnings Call. Retrieved from *Investing.com* (2025).

https://www.investing.com/news/transcripts/earnings-call-transcript-unitedhealth-q1-2025-misses-eps-forecast-stock-drops-93CH-3991159; Kreckevsky, David. "Reports: UnitedHealthcare offering buyouts with goal to cut 30K+ jobs". *Hartford Business* (2025).

Walmart ⁶⁰	"Global e-commerce losses continued to narrow	70,000 jobs	\$19.4	\$27.4 million ⁶¹
	in Q3, most notably in Walmart U.S. [] There	cut in the	billion	
	are a few key factors driving this improvement,	last five		
	delivery densification, increased penetration of	years		
	paid expedited delivery orders, and the			
	automation of our supply chain. [] we continue			
	to make progress in the automation of our			
	supply chain as now more than 50% of our			
	fulfillment center volume is automated, which			
	is twice as much at this point last year. This has			
	the obvious benefit of lowering the per unit cost			
	of delivery."			
	"It's now close that AI is soing to change			
	"It's very clear that AI is going to change			
	literally every jobMaybe there's a job in the			
	world that AI won't change, but I haven't			
	thought of it."			

AI companies acknowledge their goal is to make it easier to pay workers less.

- Salesforce, a technology services firm for businesses, says it is "pioneering a new kind of workforce" with the "first digital labor" platform and that its agents can "lower costs." 62
- **Mechanize**, a startup aiming to create artificial labor, notes on its website that "the market potential here is absurdly large" and points to the total income earned by workers. ⁶³
- Artisan, another AI company, is advertising its services to get companies to "stop hiring humans." 64
- Self-driving truck companies are especially clear. **Kodiak** says it aims to "address challenges with driver recruitment" including "high labor costs." Gatik says its transportation model "lowers transportation costs." Aurora similarly says it can "reduce customers' driver costs by ~24-40%" while noting driverless trucking means "no workers compensation" and "no ongoing driver training."

62 "FY25 Annual Report: Leading the AI Agent Revolution." Salesforce (2025).

https://www.artisan.co/blog/stop-hiring-humans

Nassauer, Sarah and Cutter, Chip. "Walmart CEO Issues Wake-Up Call: 'AI Is Going to Change Literally Every Job" (2025). https://www.wsj.com/tech/ai/walmart-ceo-doug-mcmillon-ai-job-losses-dbaca3aa?gaa_at=eafs&gaa_n=ASWzDAg-NTuxsicAq_Ok5tZsRfxJapTTpUKD4cx-

 $bshGPEYVIMh44XpOhAXF\&gaa_ts=68da9f71\&gaa_sig=prm1AWhv6qMcOhxGY9xNkoZgZih7RaR2LHN377rTf8_ENT11F_HOIwlyAWneJucl_BwCmoR8fQ8puc7U6zzPg\%3D\%3D; Walmart, Inc. (2025) Form 10-K. Retrieved from SEC EDGAR.$

https://www.sec.gov/ix?doc=/Archives/edgar/data/0000104169/000010416925000021/wmt-20250131.htm; Walmart, Inc. (2025) Schedule 14A Proxy Statement. Retrieved from SEC EDGAR. https://www.sec.gov/ix?=doc=/Archives/edgar/data/0000104169/000010416925000055/wmt-20250424.htm; Meyer, Gregory. "Walmart is supercharging revenue — but with fewer workers." *Financial Times* (2025).

https://www.ft.com/content/5be70b28-018d-42d7-af8d-ea5a4bed4d44

⁶¹ Fiscal Year 2025

 $https://s205.q4cdn.com/626266368/files/doc_financials/2025/ar/Salesforce-FY25-Annual-Report.pdf$

 ⁶³ Barnett, Matthew et al. "Mechanize, Inc." Mechanize Inc. (2025). https://www.mechanize.work/
 ⁶⁴ Carmichael-Jack, Jaspar. "The Story Behind the 'Stop Hiring Humans' Billboards in San Francisco." Artisan AI Inc (2024).

^{65 &}quot;Kodiak: June 4, 2025" Kodiak (2025). https://kodiak.cdn.prismic.io/kodiak/aEDkNbh8WN-LVoFn_KodiakCompanyPresentation-June2025.pdf

^{66 &}quot;Deliver with us" Gatik (2025). https://gatik.ai/deliver-with-us/

⁶⁷ Aurora: Investor Presentation." Aurora (2025).

 $https://ir.aurora.tech/\ assets/\ 026cf76b684dd09add3ac5649f913549/aurora/db/937/9974/pdf/Investor+Presentation+-+July+2025.pdf$

Figures 8 and 9: Self-driving truck company Kodiak notes "the problem" of an "increase in driver wages since 2014" while Aurora lists "no workers compensation" and "no ongoing driver training" as advantages.⁶⁸



We believe Kodiak's autonomous solution can provide meaningful total cost of ownership benefits to end customers.

The Problem



Limited Driver Hours per day 11-hour behind the wheel maximum⁽¹⁾





Rising Driver Costs

~68% increase in driver wages since 2014⁽²⁾ (37% greater than inflation)⁽³⁾



Under DaaS pricing, Aurora customers have an opportunity to achieve lower costs, with a more predictable and stable supply, versus today's alternatives

In comparison to today's driver costs plus reducing other indirect costs, we believe we have an opportunity to reduce customers' driver costs by ~25-40%

In addition to driver costs (\$1.00¹), there are potential indirect cost reduction opportunities (est. \$0.15):

- No driver sourcing or turnover costs
- No workers compensation
- No ongoing driver training
- Reduced driver management and driver services overhead

IV. In the midst of this uncertainty, the Trump administration is making things worse.

Trump has hired AI executives to shape the future of AI.

David Sacks is a long-time tech executive who is serving as the first "White House A.I. and Crypto Czar." According to his limited ethics waiver determination, Sacks served as "the Chief Operation officer of PayPal, the founder of billion-dollar enterprise social networking platform Yammer and co-founder and general partner of a venture capital fund, Craft Ventures, that specializes in investing in emerging software businesses." Sacks has considerable ties to Silicon Valley's most prominent figures, including Peter Thiel and Elon Musk. In May, Sacks said "The

Aurora: Investor Presentation." Aurora (2025).

https://www.washingtonpost.com/technology/2025/04/13/david-sacks-ai-crypto-trump/

To Warrington, David. "Memorandum for David O. Sacks, Special Advisor for A.I. and Crypto." *The White House* (2025).

https://www.whitehouse.gov/wp-content/uploads/2025/03/Memo-David-Sacks-3.5.2025-1.pdf

⁷¹ Baron, Ethan. "How Musk, Thiel and Sacks took Silicon Valley to the White House". *The Seattle Times* (2025). https://www.seattletimes.com/business/how-musk-thiel-and-sacks-took-silicon-valley-to-the-white-house/

⁶⁸ "Kodiak: June 4, 2025" *Kodiak* (2025). https://kodiak.cdn.prismic.io/kodiak/aEDkNbh8WN-LVoFn_KodiakCompanyPresentation-June2025.pdf;

robots are coming. I promise you, the robots are coming." He continued, "A humanoid robot, in theory, will be able to do anything that a human can physically do."⁷²

Sacks is not the only former executive heading up the Trump Administration's work. Michael Kratsios, Director of the Office of Science & Technology, previously worked for multi-billion dollar AI development firm Scale AI from 2021-2024 as its managing director and head of strategy. Like Sacks, Kratsios has extensive ties to Peter Thiel and Elon Musk, having served as Thiel's deputy and as a DOGE recruiter for Musk.

In addition, the former Vice President of AI products at Salesforce, Stephen Ehikian, served as the acting head of the General Services Administration (GSA)—the federal agency responsible for centralized procurement for the entire federal government—as the agency created a government chatbot, and entered into a new government-wide contract with Salesforce.⁷⁵ Not surprisingly, Trump's decision to empower AI executives to lead AI policy has resulted in actions favorable to the industry.⁷⁶

Since taking office, Trump has pushed an aggressive deregulatory agenda and entered into lucrative deals with AI companies.

In his first week, Trump rescinded the Executive Order on "Safe, Secure, and Trustworthy Development and Use of Artificial Intelligence" and replaced it with his own AI Executive Order that centered "the strength of our free markets."

In July, Trump put out an AI Action Plan that called for removing "red tape" and "onerous regulation." Specifically, the Action Plan called for cutting AI-related federal funding for states that try to protect workers and families over the profits of Big Tech through "burdensome" AI regulations. This is just the latest attempt by the Trump administration to enact a federal ban on state and local laws and regulations that seek to regulate AI in any capacity. Earlier this year, a bipartisan coalition of more than 260 state legislators from all 50 states joined together to express strong opposition to overriding state and local AI regulations, noting:

Yasacks, David. "Consumer confidence is hitting new highs, White House A.I. 'czar' David Sacks says". Fox News (2025). https://www.foxnews.com/video/6373546511112

⁷³ Chatterjee, Mohar. "Trump Names Kratsios, Parker to Tech Roles". *Politico* (2025). https://www.politico.com/news/2024/12/22/trump-names-kratsios-parker-to-tech-roles-00195859; Alder, Madison. "Senate confirms Michael Kratsios to lead White House science, technology office". *FedScoop* (2025). https://fedscoop.com/senate-confirms-michael-kratsios-white-house-ostp-director/

⁷⁴ Gairola, Ananya. "Who is Peter Thiel's Protégé, Michael Kratsios, Now Leading Trump's AI Strategy Amid Rising Tech Tensions with China". *Benzinga* (2025). https://www.benzinga.com/media/25/04/44579268/who-is-peter-thiels-protege-michael-kratsios-now-leading-trumps-ai-strategy-amid-rising-tech-tensions-with-china and https://techcrunch.com/2025/05/20/the-people-in-elon-musk-doge-universe/

⁷⁵ Feiner, Laura. "The Trump Administration Appears to be Planning its Own Chatbot". *The Verge* (2025).

https://www.theverge.com/news/684579/ai-api-trump-administration-doge-gsa; "Stephen Ehikian appointed Acting Administrator and Deputy Administrator of the General Services Administration". U.S. General Services Administration (2025). https://www.gsa.gov/about-us/newsroom/news-releases/stephen-ehikian-appointed-acting-administrator-and-deputy-administrator-of-gsa-01222025

[&]quot;GSA launches early stage AI tool for internal use, seeks staff feedback". U.S. General Services Administration (2025).

https://www.gsa.gov/about-us/newsroom/news-releases/gsa-launches-early-stage-ai-tool-for-internal-use-seeks-staff-feedback-03202025; Vigliarolo, Brandon. "Trump administration's whole-government AI plans leaked on GitHub". *The Register* (2025).

https://www.theregister.com/2025/06/10/trump_admin_leak_government_ai_plans/; "GSA, Salesforce Collaboration Cuts Costs for Government, Slack to Provide Real-Time, AI-Powered Efficiency". U.S. General Services Administration (2025). https://www.gsa.gov/about-us/newsroom/news-releases/gsa-salesforce-reach-agreement-to-cut-costs-for-government-05192025

⁷⁷ EO 14148. Initial Recissions of Harmful Executive Orders and Actions. *The White House* (2025). https://www.whitehouse.gov/presidential-actions/2025/01/initial-rescissions-of-harmful-executive-orders-and-actions/

⁷⁸ EO 14178. Removing Barriers to American Leadership in Artificial Intelligence. *The White House* (2025). https://www.whitehouse.gov/presidential-actions/2025/01/removing-barriers-to-american-leadership-in-artificial-intelligence/

Over the past several years, states across the country have enacted AI-related laws increasing consumer transparency, setting rules for the government acquisition of new technology, protecting patients in our healthcare system, and defending artists and creators. State legislators have done thoughtful work to protect constituents against some of the most obvious and egregious harms of AI that the public is facing in real time. A federal moratorium on AI policy threatens to wipe out these laws and a range of legislation, impacting more than just AI development and leaving constituents across the country vulnerable to harm.⁷⁹

In July, the U.S. Senate resoundingly rejected one attempt to incorporate this type of federal ban on state and local AI regulations into Trump's One Big Beautiful Bill Act (OBBBA) by a 99-1 margin. Nonetheless, OBBBA included a provision to increase subsidies that *encourage* automation by expanding certain "expensing" tax breaks by \$360 billion over the next 10 years. 81

The Trump administration has already partnered with Google, OpenAI, and Anthropic to set the table for a large-scale replacement of federal workers with AI. In July, the Defense Department entered into \$200 million contracts with leading AI firms "to develop agentic AI workflows across a variety of mission areas." Most recently, the Trump administration partnered with xAI, owned by Elon Musk, to integrate the AI chatbot "Grok" into the federal government. This is the same chatbot that earlier this year referred to itself as "MechaHitler" and will now be entrusted with sensitive government data. 44

Trump's federal worker firings create a dangerous precedent.

Since taking office, Trump has fired tens of thousands of federal workers—including thousands of veterans, who make up 30% of the federal workforce—across at least 30 agencies and ended collective bargaining rights for one million federal workers.⁸⁵

During unelected billionaire Elon Musk's tenure, the Department of Government Efficiency (DOGE) indiscriminately fired tens of thousands of federal workers. In doing so, the DOGE team reportedly used AI to surveil conversations for disloyalty to Trump and to arbitrarily generate lists of who gets to stay and who must be fired with the ultimate intention of replacing many of these

⁷⁹ Guffey, Brandon et al. State Policymaker Coalition Letter to Oppose AI Preemption. *Americans for Responsible Innovation* (2025). https://ari.us/wp-content/uploads/2025/06/State-Policymaker-Coalition-Letter-Oppose-AI-Preemption-6-3-25.pdf

⁸⁰ U.S. Senate Committee on Commerce, Science, & Transportation. "Senate Strikes AI Moratorium from Budget Reconciliation Bill in Overwhelming 99-1 Vote." *Press Release* (2025). https://www.commerce.senate.gov/2025/7/senate-strikes-ai-moratorium-from-budget-reconciliation-bill-in-overwhelming-99-1-vote/8415a728-fd1d-4269-98ac-101d1d0c71e0

⁸¹ "Estimated Revenue Effects Relative To The Present Law Baseline Of The Tax Provisions In "Title VII – Finance" Of The Substitute Legislation As Passed By The Senate To Provide For Reconciliation Of The Fiscal Year 2025 Budget on July 01, 2025." *Joint Committee on Taxation, United States Congress* (2025). https://www.jct.gov/publications/2025/jcx-35-25/

⁸² Chief Digital and Artificial Intelligence Office. "CDAO Announces Partnerships with Frontier AI Companies to Address National Security Mission Areas" Award Announcement (2025). https://www.ai.mil/latest/news-press/pr-view/article/4242822/cdao-announces-partnerships-with-frontier-ai-companies-to-address-national-secu/; Id.

⁸³ Conger, Kate. "Elon Musk's Chatbot Goes to Washington." New York Times (2025). https://www.nytimes.com/2025/09/25/technology/grok-xai-government-elon-musk.html

⁸⁴ Chief Digital and Artificial Intelligence Office. "CDAO Announces Partnerships with Frontier AI Companies to Address National Security Mission Areas" *Award Announcement* (2025). https://www.ai.mil/latest/news-press/pr-view/article/4242822/cdao-announces-partnerships-with-frontier-ai-companies-to-address-national-secu/; *Id.*

⁸⁵ Witte, Brian. "Veterans fired from federal jobs say they feel betrayed, including some who voted for Trump." *The Associated Press* (2025). https://apnews.com/article/trump-federal-workers-veterans-fired-1032360fdc6b2fb33d88edaf8f54d5ca; Choi, Annette et al. "Tracking Trump's overhaul of the federal workforce". *CNN* (2025). https://www.cnn.com/politics/tracking-federal-workforce-firings-dg/index.html

workers with artificial labor.⁸⁶ In fact, in early May at the Milken Institute Global Conference, Musk asserted some federal workers should be replaced by AI.⁸⁷ Other leaders in the Trump Administration share those sentiments:

- Treasury Secretary Scott Bessent said better IT and AI will allow the IRS to continue operations without disruption after slashing their workforce by 11% when testifying before the House Appropriations Committee.⁸⁸
- Social Security Administration Commissioner Frank Bisignano has similarly said the agency is deploying AI and modernizing technology to maintain operations as it grapples with its lowest staffing level in 50 years.⁸⁹
- On April 3, Office of Management and Budget Director Russell Vought issued a government-wide memorandum "Accelerating Federal Use of AI through Innovation, Governance, and Public Trust." 90

The federal worker precedent poses new threats to workers everywhere. Corporate CEOs are beginning to take a page out of Trump's book, slashing benefits for their workers and demanding workers take on more responsibility and work longer hours, all under the guise of a mantra that says "everybody's replaceable." ⁹¹

Trump is gutting federal labor protections.

Workers need stronger federal labor protections more than ever. Yet within his first week back in office, Trump illegally fired National Labor Relations Board (NLRB) member Gwynne Wilcox, neutering the NLRB, allowing union-busting corporations to exploit their workers with impunity. On the same day, he fired NLRB General Counsel Jennifer Abruzzo, who worked to ensure broken labor laws supported workers and unions.⁹²

V. Making AI and Automation Work for Workers

Worker power is the only way to ensure AI and automation is used to benefit workers. Workers and their unions across the world are using their collective power to fight back and secure protections from total replacement by AI and automation.

⁸⁶ Berg, Matt and Gedeon, Joseph. "Federal workers fear Musk's 'efficiency' agency is using AI to spy on them: 'They are omnipresent'". *The Guardian* (2025). https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/ng-interactive/2025/apr/10/elon-musk-doge-spying; Ulmer, Alexandra et al. "Exclusive: Musk's DOGE using AI to snoop on U.S. federal workers, sources say". *Reuters* (2025). https://www.reuters.com/technology/artificial-intelligence/musks-doge-using-ai-snoop-us-federal-workers-sources-say-2025-04-08/; Bracken, Matt. "'AI boom' will make up for IRS workforce cuts, Treasury secretary says". *FedScoop* (2025). https://fedscoop.com/irs-cuts-ai-tech-treasury-secretary-scott-bessent/; Alper, Alexandra. "Exclusive: DOGE-led software revamp to speed US job cuts even as Musk steps back". *Reuters* (2025). https://www.reuters.com/business/world-at-work/doge-led-software-revamp-speed-us-job-cuts-even-musk-steps-back-2025-05-08/

⁸⁷ Gittelsohn, John. "Musk at Milken Says AI Can Offset Losing Some Government Workers." *Bloomberg* (2025).

https://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2025-05-05/musk-at-milken-says-ai-can-offset-losing-some-government-workers

Bracken, Matt. "AI boom' will make up for IRS workforce cuts, Treasury secretary says." Fedscoop (2025). https://fedscoop.com/irs-cuts-ai-tech-treasury-secretary-scott-bessent/

⁸⁹ Heckman, Jory. "SSA chief expects no mass layoffs to get to 'right level of staffing,' calls on DOGE to drive 'digital-first' agency." *Federal News Network* (2025). https://federalnewsnetwork.com/workforce/2025/05/social-security-commissioner-has-no-intent-to-rif-people-looks-to-ai-to-speed-up-work/

⁹⁰ Vought, Russell. "Memorandum for the Heads of Executive Departments and Agencies" Office of Management and Budget (2025). https://www.whitehouse.gov/wp-content/uploads/2025/02/M-25-21-Accelerating-Federal-Use-of-AI-through-Innovation-Governance-and-Public-Trust.pdf

⁹¹ Cutter, Chip. "Everybody's Replaceable': The New Ways Bosses Talk About Workers." *Wall Street Journal* (2025). https://www.wsj.com/lifestyle/workplace/corporate-bosses-workers-culture-changing-cbd19c2c

⁹² Kaye, Daniel and Davis O'Brien, Rebecca. "Trump Firings at Labor Board Paralyze the Agency." *New York Times* (2025). https://www.nytimes.com/2025/01/28/us/politics/trump-nlrb-jennifer-abruzzo.html

Some examples in the United States include:

- Port workers—represented by the International Longshoreman's Association (ILA) at East and Gulf Coast Ports⁹³ and the International Longshore and Warehouse Union (ILWU) at West Coast Ports—negotiated contracts that include protections against job replacement from automation.⁹⁴
- Actors represented by SAG-AFTRA secured a contract for commercials that includes protections against having their work used to train generative AI. SAG-AFTRA video game performers secured a tentative agreement with "necessary AI guardrails that defend performers' livelihoods in the AI age." 95
- Video game quality assurance workers represented by the Communications Workers of America (CWA) at ZeniMax, a Microsoft subsidiary, secured a first-of-its kind agreement to govern the use of AI in the workplace. The agreement "commits ZeniMax to uses of AI that augment human ingenuity and capacities, to ensure that these tools enhance worker productivity, growth, and satisfaction without causing workers harm." 96

However, due to extremely broken and antiquated labor laws, workers and unions have been declining in membership and influence over the past several decades. Moreover, President Trump's decision to effectively close the NLRB has meant that workers have no way to enforce their rights to organize and collectively bargain over the introduction and use of artificial labor in the workplace. This necessitates bold, yet commonsense reforms to fully harness the collective power of the working class, set minimum workplace standards that ensure productivity gains from AI benefit workers, and set other guardrails and incentives around the deployment of AI.

Policies to Empower the Working Class:

- Card check union elections: In addition to passing the PRO Act, Congress must think creatively to empower workers against unprecedented concentrations of wealth. Many workers are not able to exercise their right to form and join unions as a result of broken and antiquated federal labor laws, which allow unscrupulous employers to fight union drives by delaying elections and union-busting to persuade workers against unionizing. Instituting card check union elections would simplify this process by allowing workers to unionize after showing a majority support for the union in their workplace through signed authorization cards.
- Mandatory union neutrality and real penalties for union-busting: Too often, corporations successfully intimidate their workers into avoiding unionizing or pursuing collective action by unfairly threatening retaliation or spreading misinformation.

https://www.pbs.org/newshour/economy/longshoremen-reach-tentative-deal-with-ports-and-shippers-averting-potential-strike

^{93 &}quot;Rank-and-File Members of International Longshoremen's Association at Atlantic and Gulf Coast Ports Overwhelmingly Ratify Provisions of New Six-Yeare Master Contract." *International Longshoremen's Association* (2025). https://ilaunion.org/rank-and-file-members-of-international-longshoremens-association-at-atlantic-and-gulf-coast-ports-overwhelmingly-ratify-provisions-of-new-six-year-master-contract/

⁹⁴ Wiseman, Paul. "Longshoremen reach tentative deal with ports and shippers, averting potential strike". PBS (2025).

⁹⁵ SAG-AFTRA. "SAG-AFTRA and Video Game Employers Reach Tentative Agreement on Interactive Media Contract; National Board to Review." *SAG-AFTRA* (2025). https://www.sagaftra.org/sag-aftra-and-video-game-employers-reach-tentative-agreement-interactive-media-contract-national

⁹⁶ Communications Workers of America (2023). "ZeniMax Workers United-CWA Collective Bargaining Yields First-of-Its-Kind Tentative Agreement with Microsoft Over Use of AI in the Workplace." December 11, 2023. https://cwa-union.org/news/releases/zenimax-workers-united-cwa-collective-bargaining-yields-first-its-kind-tentative

- Employers should be required to stay neutral during union campaigns and face penalties—including criminal charges in egregious cases—for violating the law.
- Repeal Taft-Hartley: The last major labor law reform—the Taft-Hartley Act—was enacted in 1947, overriding President Truman's veto, and tipping the scales firmly in favor of corporations and employers by restricting union and worker power. Repealing Taft-Hartley would allow workers to use their collective power to strike—including federal workers—and express their First Amendment rights and end disastrous so-called "right-to-work" policies.
- Repeal the Railway Labor Act: Under the Railway Labor Act, pilots, flight attendants, rail workers, and others in the transportation industry are not legally permitted to go on strike without first exhausting a lengthy negotiation and mediation process, severely restricting their collective power. Under the Railway Labor Act, Congress can even intervene to impose an agreement on workers against their will. Repealing the Railway Labor Act would restore worker power and the ability to strike for these workers.
- Modernize, expand, and improve Unemployment Insurance compensation: Our broken unemployment insurance system was exposed when tens of millions of Americans lost their job during the economic crisis caused by the COVID-19 pandemic. AI is rapidly changing our economy, with the potential for many more jobs lost. We must expand, modernize, and streamline our unemployment system to ensure we do not have millions of Americans living in economic desperation if they lose their job to automation.
- Modernize the Worker Adjustment and Retraining Notification (WARN) Act: The WARN Act is completely outdated and not up to the challenges posed by the modern economy. Modernizing the WARN Act to apply to smaller layoffs and requiring that companies report when layoffs are due to automation would bring this important stopgap to the 21st century and provide much-needed transparency.
- Banning Stock Buybacks. Stock buybacks provide absolutely no benefit to the jobcreating productive economy. Their only purpose is to make wealthy stockholders and corporate executives even richer, while denying the revenue needed to increase the wages and benefits of workers. Buybacks are nothing more than stock manipulation and they should be treated as such just like they were before 1982.

Minimum Workplace Standards to Ensure Workers Benefit from AI:

• Standardize the 32-hour workweek: The world has undergone enormous changes since the 40-hour workweek was set by the Fair Labor Standards Act in 1940. American workers are now over 400% more productive than they were back then and continued technological advances are likely to increase the gap between worker productivity and worker gains. It's time that working families—not just CEOs and wealthy shareholders—are able to benefit from increased productivity so that they can enjoy more leisure time, family time, education and cultural opportunities, and less stress.

⁹⁷ U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics. Nonfarm Business Sector: Labor Productivity (Output per Hour) for All Workers. Retrieved from FRED, Federal Reserve Bank of St. Louis (2025). https://fred.stlouisfed.org/series/OPHNFB

- Extend overtime and break time protections to every worker: All workers should be paid fairly for their time on the job. Eliminating all overtime exclusions, including those on teachers, truckers, and salaried employees, would ensure that all workers are paid fairly for their time. This also includes ensuring workers receive proper break time to reduce overwork and strain.
- Close corporate loopholes that allow employers to evade labor laws: Corporations are increasingly replacing their workforce with so-called "gig" or "independent workers" to avoid providing basic workplace rights and benefits to their workers—all while controlling every aspect of their work. Our antiquated labor and employment laws have enabled this form of modern exploitation, and the introduction of AI and new technologies will only further accelerate this trend.
- Raise the federal minimum wage to a living wage: Last year, nearly one in four workers in the U.S.—more than 39 million people—made less than \$17 per hour. 98 Meanwhile, the federal minimum wage has been stuck at \$7.25 an hour since July 2009. It is long past time to raise the federal minimum wage to a living wage—at least \$17 an hour. This also means immediately eliminating the subminimum wages for tipped workers, workers with disabilities, and young workers.
- Guarantee paid family and medical leave, paid time off, and paid sick days for all workers: The United States is one of the only major countries on Earth to not guarantee workers paid family and medical leave, paid sick leave, or paid vacation. 99 It is time for the United States to guarantee that all workers can afford to take time to care for themselves or their loved ones and access work-life balance through paid vacation.
- **Guarantee Pensions for All.** Fifty years ago, nearly 50% of American workers had a pension. Today, less than 10% do, and nearly half of older workers have no retirement savings at all. ¹⁰⁰ In order to address the existing retirement crisis that could grow worse with the rise of artificial labor, we should require that all workers receive the same robust pension that Members of Congress are provided. ¹⁰¹

Expanding Worker Ownership

• Give Workers a Stake: All large businesses should be required to give workers a substantial stake in the businesses they work for, which in the age of AI will

⁹⁸ Henderson, Kaitlyn. "The Crisis of Low Wages: Who earns less than \$17 an hour in the U.S. in 2024?". Oxfam America (2024). https://www.oxfamamerica.org/explore/research-publications/lowwagereport2024/

⁹⁹ PF2.2: Use of childbirth-related leave benefits." *OECD Family Database* (n.d.). https://www.oecd.org/els/family/database.htm; "PF2.3: Additional leave entitlements for working parents." *OECD Family Database* (n.d.). https://www.oecd.org/els/family/database.htm; "Are workers entitled to paid sick leave from the first day of illness?" *UCLA World Policy Center* (n.d.). https://www.worldpolicycenter.org/policies/are-workers-entitled-to-paid-sick-leave-from-the-first-day-of-illness

¹⁰⁰ Senate Committee on Health, Education, Labor & Pensions. "NEWS: Ahead of Hearing, Chairman Sanders Releases Report Exposing Depth of Retirement Crisis Facing Working Class Americans." *Press Release* (2024). https://www.help.senate.gov/dem/newsroom/press/news-ahead-of-hearing-chairman-sanders-releases-report-exposing-depth-of-retirement-crisis-facing-working-class-americans

of-hearing-chairman-sanders-releases-report-exposing-depth-of-retirement-crisis-facing-working-class-americans

101 Senate Committee on Health, Education, Labor & Pensions." NEWS: Sanders Introduces Pensions for All Act to Guarantee Retirement

Security for Every American." Press Release (2025). https://www.help.senate.gov/dem/newsroom/press/news-sanders-introduces-pensions-for-all-act-to-guarantee-retirement-security-for-every-american

allow workers to benefit from rising productivity and profits. This should take the form of requiring large businesses over a period of ten years to distribute at least 20% of their stock to workers through the establishment of Democratic Employee Ownership Funds. In addition, any workers laid off at firms due to the implementation of AI should be paid a substantial severance in the form of equity.

- **Give Workers a Voice on the Board:** All large businesses should be required to have at least 45% of their board of directors be represented by workers. Worker representation on corporate boards will not only boost morale, productivity, and reduce absenteeism, but it will also give workers a front seat to make important decisions on the implementation of AI in the workplace such that it benefits both workers and the business.
- Expand Totally Worker-Owned Businesses: While giving workers more voice and equity in their businesses is an enormous step, the creation of more totally worker owned businesses is even better. To promote worker ownership, Congress should fully fund the Employee Ownership Initiative at the Department of Labor, which would help build out employee ownership centers across each state. These centers help workers and business owners convert their businesses into fully worker owned enterprises. To help finance such conversions, Congress should create a loan program at the Department of Labor with at least \$10 billion in start up capital and dedicate it solely to subsidizing these business conversions.

Eliminate the Tax Incentive Favoring Automation Over Workers

- End Tax Breaks for AI and Automation: According to a study from Brookings Institution, the tax code structurally favors investments in AI and automation over labor. 102 About half of the difference is driven by tax breaks that allow companies to write off the cost of investments immediately or a lot faster than their actual costs. 103 Eliminating this tax break would increase jobs by evening the playing field between investments in workers and AI, while at the same time raising around \$1.5 trillion over ten years, which could be reinvested in programs to support displaced workers. 104 Unfortunately, the One Big Beautiful Bill Act only makes this problem worse by expanding these tax breaks by more than \$360 billion over the next 10 years. 105
- Enact a Robot Tax: As AI and automation start producing incredible wealth for their owners and put many workers out of their jobs, we should enact a direct excise tax on these technologies to protect workers and ensure that the wealth created by these technologies are redistributed back to the workers impacted.

¹⁰² Acemoglu, Daron et al. "Does the US Tax Code Favor Automation?" *Brookings Papers on Economic Activity* (2020). https://www.brookings.edu/wp-content/uploads/2020/12/Acemoglu-FINAL-WEB.pdf

¹⁰³ Wamhoff, Steve and Phillips, Richard. "The Failure of Expensing and Other Depreciation Tax Breaks". *Institute on Taxation and Economic Policy* (2018). https://itep.org/the-failure-of-expensing-and-other-depreciation-tax-breaks/

 ¹⁰⁴ Tax Policy Center Staff. "An Analysis of Senator Sanders's Tax Proposals". Urban Institute & Brookings Institution (2020).
 https://taxpolicycenter.org/sites/default/files/publication/158763/An_Analysis_of_Senator_Bernie_Sanders_Tax_Proposals_4.pdf
 105 "Estimated Revenue Effects Relative To The Present Law Baseline Of The Tax Provisions In "Title VII – Finance" Of The Substitute
 Legislation As Passed By The Senate To Provide For Reconciliation Of The Fiscal Year 2025 Budget on July 01, 2025." Joint Committee on Taxation, United States Congress (2025). https://www.jct.gov/publications/2025/jcx-35-25/

VI. Conclusion

Even before this new war on workers, working people were struggling to get by. Over the past 25 years, the cost of health care, rent, child care, and college education grew faster than baseline inflation by 41%, 55%, 69% and 115%, respectively. 106 Artificial labor could only also deepen this crisis.

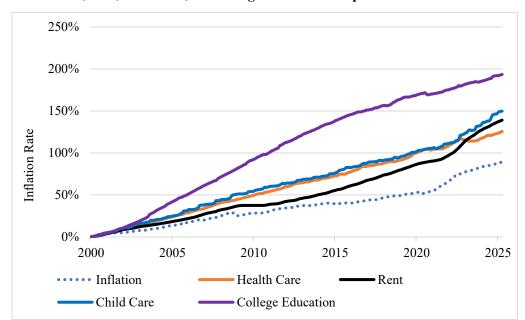


Figure 10: Health care, rent, child care, and college costs have outpaced baseline inflation.¹⁰⁷

But there is nothing inevitable about the impact of technology on our society. The impact of AI and automation on workers will be determined by a set of choices. Right now, those choices are largely being made by corporate executives focused on short-term profits in boardrooms across Wall Street and Silicon Valley. The Trump administration is poised to only entrench the power of these executives. That must end. Congress and the American people must stand up and fight back to make sure workers benefit from AI and automation.

¹⁰⁶ U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics. Consumer Price Index for All Urban Consumers: Medical Care in U.S. City Average.; Consumer Price Index for All Urban Consumers: Rent of Primary Residence in U.S. City Average; Consumer Price Index for All Urban Consumers: Day care and preschool in U.S. city average; Consumer Price Index for All Urban Consumers: All Items in U.S. City Average; Retrieved from FRED, Federal Reserve Bank of St. Louis (2025). https://fred.stlouisfed.org/

107 Id., Perry, Mark. "Chart of the Day... or Century?". AEI (2019). https://www.aei.org/carpe-diem/chart-of-the-day-or-century/