Taking the Profit Out of War

By BERNARD M. BARUCH

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[The Pebruary issue of the Atlantic for 1925 corried a poper by Mr. Bisley Buddleston dealing with the general subject of "taking the profit out of war," which Mr. Huddleston called "An American Plan for Peace." The first-quoted phrase was put into the language by the War Industries Board toward the close of the World War through its efforts to eliminate all war profits. Mr. Huddleston's article came to the attention of Mr. Bernard M. Baruch, chair man of the War Industries Board and administrator, of the non-profit plan, and (as he writes us), since it seemed to indicate a growing interest in the idea, induced him to invoke practical means to bring about a full comprehension of taking the profit out of war in the various great countries of the world. To this end he responded to a suggestion of Mr. Owen D. Young, of the Page School of International Relations at Johns Hopkins University, that he establish a course of lectures there to expound the War Industries Board plan in detail. Later he will proceed to make similar arrangements at leading universities in Great Britain, France, Germany, Italy, and Japan. Agreeing with Mr. Baruch that the subject calls for public knowledge and discussion, it was natural for the Atlantic to turn to him for the following paper.—Tund EDITORS OF THE ATLANTIC MONTHLY.]

War was once described as Fras sta's most profitable indistry.

It needs only a scant examination of history to learn that other countries were open to the same indictment. The methods of the Robber Barons did not pass with the end of feudalism. Annexation by conquest did not cease. But when America entered the World War President Wilson fathered a doctrine that shall always govern me that never a foot of territory would be added to our boundaries by

So, as America has taken the lead toward making impossible national profit through war, it too may be America's privilege to point the way toward making impossible individual profit through war. To take the profit sout of war is to take a long step to ward creating an economic detestation of war. The experience of the United States in the World War affords a basis for the belief that the fact, it is more than a hellef it is a certainty, although not widely known.

The world is such a busy place, and the radius of human activity has been so greatly enlarged because of modern inventions, that it is not strange that there are but few people who are conversant with what was quietly but fectively taking place in this country in the mobilization and use of its material resources in the World War -a process that would have eventually eliminated all improper profits.

Strength is given to the public adeacy of industrial mobileation made by both President Harding and President Coolidge Mr. Coolidge as recently as last October in his Omahi the fact that the plan they advocated as a part of the regular national war ice had once been set up and sofully operated under the War

Preceding the President's recent clear exposition of this subject, some degree of public interest had been engendered by an exchange of letters between Owen D. Young (of Dawes plan Same), in behalf of the Walter Hines Page School of International Relations ns. and the writer: The corre-pudence resulted in the establish-int of lectures at the Page School theme. Previously the Atlantic Month-by printed an article by Sialey Huddle-ston, who pointed out that Europe saw great strides toward peace in the American idea of "taking the profit out of war" in a systematic way. His Danie reference was to the plan of the War Industries Board, The resources of a country might

be referred to as the five M's: (1) man power; (2) money; (3) main tenance or food: (4) material re sources (including raw materials manufacturing facilities, transports tion, fuel and power); and (5) morale. The intelligence with which the first four are directed and co-ordinated as whole will determine the fifth, the

In the war emergency it early be came evident to those who were mobilizing the resources that there was a just sentiment among the peo ple against profiteering. Profiteering might be willful and profit making might be involuntary; but, whatever its form, there was a just determinamecessary to fix prices where the sup

was limited.

Wherever the government created a shortage by its demands, prices were fixed, not only for the Army, Navy and the Allies, but for the civilian popula-tion as well. And in addition to price fixing on war essentials (such as steel, wool, copper, and so forth), the balance, after the war program had been filled, was rationed or distributed as cording to the priority needs of the various civilian demands. In other words, where the price of the product of an industry was fixed that industry had to deliver the part which the governmenf-did not need to the civilian population, not in the way the industry chose, but as the government di

It must be remembered that when the war came there was no adequate preparation. Indeed, it is doubted by best authorities whether any of positive form of preparation then known would have been of much avail in view of the widespread at ledge of the various instrument

rials, transportation, housing, and so Sorth. On top of that there prevailed the demands of the Shipping Board, with the slogan that ships would win the war, and of the Food Administration, with the slogan that food would win the war. Further, there was the Railroad Administration with its need for material and labor, and finally there was the feverish quest for labor and supplies on the part of the munition makers all competing for labor, money, materials, transportation, fuel, power, and each insisting on the greater importance of its activity. All this while the labor supply was beinglessened by the flow of men into the

While an endeavor was being made to bring order out of chaos, the great undertaking had to go on, Men, ships, munitions, food, material, had to be provided. Old organizations, bureaus and traditions had to be met and changed, but not destroyed until the new was set up.' The wonder of it all is, not that there were so many mistakes, but that so snuch was accomplished.

At the time we entered the wat prices were at their peak, and tending higher because of the war's insatiable demands. The problem was not alone to secure the materials and labor and to stop the confusion; but to do it in such a way that the morale of the people would be maintained. The prices of some things, like steel and copper, were fixed far below prevailing rates, and the wages of labor in those industries were standardized. The more highly organised an industry, easier it was to arrange. Order did not commence to appear until the Army funneled its needs through one y as last October in his Omaha man sitting with a section of the War h to the American Legion—by Industries Board and until the Navy, Shipping Board, Allies and Ratiroad Administration did likewise. Each de-partment nationed its requirements through a central authorisative body. This was called the War Industries Board, controlling and directing all materials and co-ordinating through its chairman the whole system of goveramental and civilian supply and demand. It was created by executive order in March of the year 1918.

Briefly, this board endeavored to mobilise the industries of America so that the fighting forces of the Allied and associated nations could draw from the United States—the last recthe things needed for the winning of the war at the time, the things were needed and with the least dislocation of industry and the least disturbance of the civilian population.

The War Industries Board was or ganised like any other enpervisory committee, with a chairman, vice chairman, members in charge of vaordinate workers. It surveyed and sought to arrange the whole industrial war field under this plenary powers conferred by the President and the Congress. How well it did this is a story for others to tell. What it did is the basis of the plan I am here

prices and to distribute materials, and indeed to stabilise the wages of inbor in those industries in which prices were fixed. The labor situation, however, became increasingly difficult, particularly when General Crewder found it necessary to withdraw men for the proposed campaign of 1919 after 4,000,000 soldiers had already been taken.

teering of labor. It is an unjust accu-nation... It is only fair to say that this condition was primarily brought about through the inexperience of the organization within our, own governme departments and by the furious bidding of munitions makers and ship builders for services. That situation, together with the increased prices of the things that letter had to buy with the results of its work, made it inevitable that labor must get higher

So it became evident that the price faing program had to go even further, and the War Industries Board, when the Assauline came, was proceeding with a campaign to fix the prices of all the basic things that labor had to buy. Some had previously been fixed. I speak of labor in a much esional men-were less able to m offunction than labor in the na

D. ring the final phase of the World War no man or corporation or institu-tion could raise money without the approval of the Capital Issues Committee of the Treasury Department, which committee in turn would not permit the borrowing of money unless the War Industries Board approved the use to which it was to be put. Thus the City of New York was not permit ted to spend \$8,000,000 for the build ing of schools. The City of Philadelphia was prevented from making improvements that in peace time would I have been necessary, but in war time were not. Various states, counties and cities, and a vast number of private concerns, were denied the we of money and materials for purposes not necessary for the winning of the to adjust its wants to the whole great undertaking

There have been a great many bills stroduced into Congress on the subject of industrial mobilisation, some sponsored by great organizations like the American Legion, and others by newspapers and publicists. But it is surprising how little knowledge there was on the part of those who drew up the bills of the practicability and feasibility of so mobilizing our resources that it would be impossible to make as much profit in war as in time of peace. Take into consideration the fact that the following things were being done in 1918:-

General Crowder, who was in charge

of the draft, had asked the chairman of the War Industries Board where he could obtain additional men for the Army in France with the least possible dislocation of the war making. industrial civilian machinery, and we were in the process of replacing malé labor with women. By a system of priorities the Board was allocating to our own Army and Navy, to the Allies the rulings of the War Industries volved in labor and buildings that had then these prices. Brake into effect an order that no building war. The Draft Board would have be-involving \$2,500 or more could be un- fore it the rulings of the priority comdertaken without the approval of the mittee, together with the estimated War Industries Board: No steel, no needs of every business and profescement, no material of any kind could sion in its relationship to the conduct be used for any purpose whatsoever of the war, and men would be select-unless the War Industries Board per ed accordingly. The Draft Board mitted it. No steel company could could more intelligently decide, with sell over five tons of steel unless approved by the Director of Steel. The many of the problems with which it would be faced. There would be no of money for any industrial or financial operation unless it was approved by the War Industries Share. The President issued an order that no commandeering should be done by the Army, Navy, Shipping Board by the Administration without the approval of the chairman of the War Industries Based. Every raw material industry, and indeed practically every industry. and indeed practically every industry in the country, was organized through done during the war. Under the syspointment of committees, and some appointment of committees, and some of these judestries would do any business except under the rulings promuting ated by the Board. Standardisation in every industry was rapidly proceeding. These rulings were made known indeavoring to arrange it no that the fighting forces were to receive those things which they needed and no more, so that whatever was not asrequired at the front was left to civilian purposes. Industries were would be curtailed, but never destroyed; skeleonized, but never hilled. Indeed, the

in the future has the authority to fix ority committee, to what department prices and distribution of materials supplies should go. and labor, rent, and the use of man power, transportation, fuel and all the things necessary for the conduct of vented, even in anticipation of war. There are many who claim that war caused primarily by the desire of profit. I am not one of those. But if there is anything in this contention this plan will remove the possibility of anybody urging war as a means of making profit, the fact that profits would be less in war than in peace, and wealth and resources would be directed by the government, might have some active deterring influence on men of great resources, Instead of being passive, they might become ac-

tive advocates of peace.
There are many people who are, for various reasons, afraid to discuss the subject during peace time and prefer to wait for war. There are also some great manufacturers who oppose any such plan because they were seriously interfered with during the war time, indeed, it has been the experience of ome of those responsible for the industrial mobilization in the World War to remain the objects of venmous attack begun during the time that the necessities of the nation made It imperative to control activities and profits. Some critics were prominent manufacturers, who said: "Tell us that the government wants and we will fill the orders, but don't interfere with the sale of the part of our product that the government from not want to use." That was unthistuble.

O e a them provided that manufacturers, jobbers and retailers of shoes could make and sell shoes only of a specified quality at a fixed price, effective July, 1919. No one who did not have a card of the War Industries Board in his window could sell shoes and only the standardized shoes could be sold. No jobber or manufacturer would sell shoes to anybody who did not have this card. The shoes were to be stamped Class A, B or C and had to be of the quality prescribed and sold at the price fixed. The country, was so organized in every district that there could be immediately reported to Washington the name of any shoe retailer who did not carry out the regulations of the War Industries Board as to price and quality. Through rewar. Each part of the community had strictions on his labor, money, raw materials and transportation no manufacturer would have been permitted to sell to any dealer violating the regulations. The Armistice stopped the execution of this plan.

Another plan of this nature: The manufacturers of men's and women's caring apparel had in 1918 been called to Washington, together with the retailers of various goods, and notified that regulations would have to be made in regard to retail prices and standardization of clothing.

The rulings by the board were made known through the issuance of official bulletins at fregular intervals and were widely distributed by the press, which co-operated in this most necessary work with a whole-hearted purpose that gave to the orders of the War Industries Board the instant and broad circulation they required.

Mr. Hoover already was, doing much to perfect his control of food products and prices. There was also talk of fixing rents, and in some cities this was done.

if we were to start, in the event of another war, at the place where we and to the essential war industries the were industrially when the World War things they required. It was making ended, the President, acting through priority rulings as to transportation, an agency similar to the War Indusand they were being followed out by tries Board, would have the right to the Railroad Administrator. The Fuel flx prices of all things as of a date Administrator distributed fuel only on previous to the declaration of war when there was a fair peace time rela-Board. The Board was engaged in tionship among the various activities disentangling and removing the many of the nation. It would be filegal to conflicts and competitive efforts in buy, sell, serve or rent at any other previously occurred because of lack of applied to every agency of inflation any co-ordinating agency. It was allo before the hurtful process started. An eating power and making regulations intelligent control of the flow of men. for the hitching up of scattered units money and materials would be imof power. It was changing munitions posed, instead of having the blind panorders from congested to less congest. ic heretofore ensuing on the first apd districts. It had actually carried pearance of the frantic demands of

> any necessary adjustments, as was ined that during the war prices rere too high had this ready recourse

In the meantime all the industrice of the country would have been mobilized by the formation of committees represontative of each industry as was done in the World War. Over them would be placed a government direcgovernment departments would anrepidly being brought into exactly requirements, so that on one committant condition which I have previously ten the resources of the nation would stated to be necessary in case of an arrespondent to be necessary in case of an arrespondent and on the other the stated to be necessary in case of anir, in addition to this, the President to decide, in conjunction with the pri-

Money would be controlled and directed like any other resource. "Taking the profit out of war" is not
synonymous with "conscription of
wealth," as it is sometimes regarded. The latter is a theoretical project prohibited by our Constitution, contrary to the spirit of our social and political institutions, and impossible in practice; Taking the profit out of war is an orderly and scientific development making profits. Even if there are no of the economics and conduct of modern war, necessary to the effective indispensable to equalizing the burdens of war among the armed and rience and proved by practice, it removes some of the most destructive concemitants of modern war—the con-turion and waste incident to war time

used by so many, has created a hope Paint Co, a corp.; and Cotton States among those of socialistic tendencies. TAKE NOTICE. and a fear among those who, like me, in this action and the summons, of ing of money without payment, for duly filed in the the use of State. Neither the hope Court for Horry mor the fear is justified by the recommendation herein contained or by our experience in the war. The use of money should be controlled and displayed the money should be controlled and displayed. man should no more be permitted to conway, S. C. use his money as he wishes than he should be permitted to mee the preduction of his mine, mill or festery Only he who

prices for the government were fair prices for civilians. I must say, how-ever, that the vast majority of American manufacturers rose to the situa-tion to such a splendid way as to bring the following commendation from Woodrow Wilson: "They turned aside from every private inte their own and devoted the whole of their trained capacity to the tasks that supplied the sinews of the whole great undertaking. The patriotism, the unselfishness, the thorough going devotion and distinguished capacity that marked their tellsome labors day after day, month after month, have made them fit mates and comrades to the men in the trenches and on the

There are many men who are afraid that the adoption of this plan by Congress would give an impetus to socialwhatever they may call it, because. they say, "If you show it can be done in war time there will be a demand that it be done in peace time." It cannot be done in peace time. There can be no great undertaking without a strong moving cause. In peace time the moving cause is personal initiative. and payment for services performed. The substitute for that in war time is the common danger.

The War Industries Board was the foremost advocate of price fixing and distribution, and it had great power in this field, but when the Armintice came it recognized that peace conditions were being restored, and it was the first to change the war time order of things and to leave to the people themselves the readjustment of their affairs. I am satisfied that it is impossible for the government to do in peace time what I am advocating, although it becomes absolutely necessary in order to conduct a modern war successfully and to conduct it on a non-profiteering basis.

The application of this plan, besides making the nation a coherent unit in time of war, would impress upon every class in society a sense of its own responsibility in such event. If it were known that this universal responsibility would be enforced, no class social, financial or industrialcould fall to understand that in case of war it would have to bear its share of the burdens involved and would ve to make secrifices of profit son venience and personal liberty correlatively with those made by the soldiers in the field. To this extent the plan would act as a positive deterrent to any hasty recourse to force in an international controversy.

One thing that has definitely come from the war is the necessity of arranging affairs so that a portion of the population shall not be sent to the front to bear all the physical hardships and their consequences while others are left behind to profit by their absonce. If applied at the out-break, the War Industries Board (as it was functioning at the close of the World War) would prevent this and lessen, it not remove, the social and economic evils that come as the after-

Habitual Constitution Cured in 14 to 21 Days LAX-FOR WITH PEPSIN is a speci propared Syrup Totic-Laxative for Itah repared Syrup Touic-Laxative for Habitu onstipation. It relieves promptly as bould be taken regularly for 14 to 21 day ahen regularly for 14 to 21 of gular setion. It Stimulates Very Pleasant to Take.

SUMMONS FOR RELIEF

State of South Carolina, County of

Horry, Court of Common Pleas. Burroughs & Collins Co., a corporation, Plaintiff vs. H. C. Hardee, Blanche Hardee, A. T. Vanderbilt and C. G. Wilson, as receivers for Virginia-Carolina Chemical Go., a corp.; Ino. A. Tyler, Nonie Reaves Todd, Lucy Harrelson Todd, Enterprise Gro. Co., a corp.; J. D. Singletary & Co., a corp.; Sallie Martin, W. M. Martin, Bertha Martin, Caldona Cartrette and Dora Stevens, J. B. Colt Co., a corp.; and Cotton States Paint Co., a corp.; Defendants.

YOU ARE HEREBY SUMMONED and required to answer the complaint in this action, of which a copy is herewith served upon you, and to serve a copy of your answer to the said complaint on the subscriber at his office at Conway, S. C., within twenty days after the service hereof; exclusive of the day of such service; and if you fail to answer the complaint within the time aforesaid, the plaintiff in this action will apply to the Court for the relief demanded in the complaint.

M. A. WRIGHT Attorney for Plaintiff. March 26th, 1926:

To A. T. Vanderbilt, et al, receivers, Donie Reaves Todd, Lucy Harrelson Todd, Enterprise Gro. Co., a corp.;

which the foregoing is a copy, we're duly filed in the office of Clerk of Court for Horry County on 26th day

M. A. WRIGHT. Attorney for Plaintifff. March, 26th, 1926.

BAPTISTS READY; GREAT ADVANCE

Ingathering For Co-operative Program is Feature of Forward Move.

PLAN FOR BIG CONVENTION

Special Emphasis is Laid On Spiritual Preparation for Gathering of Forces at Houston May 12-16

Conditions favor a distinct advance on the part of Southern Baptists in 1926 along many lines, according to information received by the head quarters of the Co-operative Program Commission of Southern Baptists.

This body, charged by the Southern Baptist Convention and various state conventions with providing adequate support for foreign missions, home missions, ministerial relief and Baptist schools, hospitals and orphanages, is seeking to so increase and stabilize the income of the de-



PREACHING CONVENTION SERMON

nomination as to provide adequately for all these enterprises through a regular budget. In this connection the Commission is seeking to enlist as nearly as possible every member of every church in making regular weekly and monthly offerings to this general budget which is distributed among these seven causes on per centages proportionate to their various needs.

Approximately \$9,200,000 fur thees objects was received during 1925, it is announced, but imagmuch as only distributable funds some of the ob eash. Under the leadership of the Commission a definite effort is being made to secure as much or more money as was contributed in 1925, but in underignated amounts so that each cause will get its proportionate

Receipts By States The receipts for 1925 through the various state offices were as follows: Alabama, \$352.308.67; Arkansos, \$239,338.66; District of Columbia, 848,000; Florida, \$223,665.88; Georgia \$480.868.54; Illinois, \$81,051.17; Ker tucky, \$514,300.01; Louislans, \$312,-499.70; Maryland, \$91,200.00; Mississippi, .9680,736.76; Missouri, \$230,-844.13; New Mexico, \$38,981.64; North Carolina, \$691,713.44; Oklahoma, \$137.369.01; South Carolina, \$434,-584.70; Pennessas, \$390,387.44; Texas, 2873,407.96, and Virginia, \$946.066.05. The remainder of the 29,200,000 received in 1925 consisted largely of special gifts to foreign missions and the building fund of the Southern Baptist Theological Seminary.

An outstanding feature of this of fort of the Commission is a special cash ingathering for the month of April, when every one of the nearly 4.000.000 white Baptists of the South will be asked to make as generous an offering as possible to the whole Co-operative Program, this money to he distributed proportionately among the seven general causes embraced therein.

Convention Prospects Good in the event this April ingath ing attains the goal set for it, it will make it possible for the various Southwide Baptist enterprises to report great relief in their financial situation to the Southern Baptist Convention at its session in Houston Texas, May 12-16.

The committee on program for this year's convention, in the hope of giving that session the largest pos spiritual emphasis, has arranged for a special season of prayer and worship in the Convention auditorium at Houston for Tuesday evening, May 11th, preceding the opening of the Convention on Wednesday morning. At this preliminary service J. Fred Scholfield of Birmingham, Ala., will lead the song service; Dr. W. A McComb of Gulfport, Miss. will lead the prayer meeting and Dr. H. R. Holcomb of Massefield, La., will presch a brief sermon. Another in-novation in this year's Convention-program calls for the closing of each morning and evening sension with brief sermon by a represent paster, Dr. Fred F. Brown,