another war.

If, in addition to this, the Presi-

another war.

If, in addition to this, the President in the future has the authority to fix prices and distribution of materials and labor, rent, and the use of man power, transportation, tuel and all the things necessary for the conduct of the war, any vise in prices will be prevented, even in anticipation of war There are many who claim that war is 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 profits. Even if there are no men who desire 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 active advocates of peace.

There are many people who are,

cuss 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 some of those responsible for the indus-trial mobilization in the World War

manufacturers "Tell us what the government wants and we will fill the orders, but don't interfere with the sale of the part of our product that the gov-ernment does not want to use." That was unthinkable. President Wilson decreed that fair prices for

the government were fair prices

that the vast majority of American manufacturers rose to the situation in such a splendid way as to bring the following commendation from Woodrow Wilson: "They turned aside from every private interest."

can be no great undertaking with out a strong moving cause.
peace time the moving cause
personal initiative and payment

the foremost advocate of price fix-ing and distribution, and it had great power in this field, but when

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-profit-

eering basis.

The application of this plan, be

for civilians. I must say, however

Taking the Profit

Out of War

By BERNARD M. BARUCH Reprinted from The Atlantic Monthly.

ments of destruction which were being devised and which it became necessary to combat.

Our own Army had several di-

the slogan that food would win the

each insisting on the greater impor-tance of its activity. All this while the labor supply was being lessened by the flow of men into the Army. While an endeavor was being made to bring order out of chaos,

the great undertaking had to go on.

At the time we entered the war prices were at their peak, and tend-ing higher because of the war's in-

was not alone to secure the ma-terials 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 cop-per, were fixed far below prevailing.

per, were fixed far below prevailing rates, and the wages of labor in those industries were standardized The more highly organized an in-dustry, the easier it was to arrange. Order did not commence to appear until the Army funneled its needs

through one man sitting with a section of the War Industries Board and until the Navy, Shipping Board, Allies and Railroad Admin-

istrations did likewise. Each de-partment satisfied its requirements through a central authoritative body. This was called the War

body. This was called the War industries Board, controlling and directing all materials and co-

ordinating through its chairman the whole system of governmental and civilian supply and demand. It was created by executive order in March of the year 1918. Briefly, this board endeavored to mobilize the industries of America so that the fighting forces of the

so that the fighting forces of the Allied and associated nations could

II The War Industries Board was

organized like any other super-visory committee, with a chairman visory committee, with a chairman, vice chairman, members in charge of various activities, bureau chiefs and subordinate workers. It sur-veyed and sought to arrange the

accomplished.



A Few of the Many Facts

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instead of melting it.
SECOND—With their ONE-PIECE PORCELAIN

SECOND—With their ONE-PIECE PORCELAIN LINING, having rounded corners and brought.clear out to the edge of the door frames, and every inside part instantly removable. THE LEONARD IS AS EASY TO CLEAN AS A NEW CHINA DISH.

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Martha Norelius, 17-year-old aquatie wonder and holder of several world's

Scap Drill.

The kindergarten teacher asked one to her young pupils what the eyes were for, and was promptly answered.

"To see with." Another was asked what the nose was for, and the answer was correctly given. Then she asked the little daughter of Mr. and Mrs. Paul Watts, "What are your ears for?" The child replied, "To keep clean." She got a 100 mark.

The largest nevel in the world is

cussed is practical. In fact, it is more than a belief—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 The largest nevel in the world is now which was commenced in Japan in 1852 and the publication of tis not strange that there are but which was not finished until 1913, few people who are conversant. The novel comprises 106 volumes, with what was quietly but effected the control of the contr

with what was quietly but effec-tively 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 advocacy of industrial mobilization made by both President Harding and President Coolidge—Mr. Coolidge as recently as last October in his Omaha speech to the American Legion-by the fact that the plan they advocated as a part of the regular national war agencies had once been set up and successfully operated under the War Industries

War was once described as Prussia's most profitable industry.

It needs only a scant examination

tries were open to the same indict

ment. The methods of the Robber Barons did not pass with the end of feudalism. Annexation by con-quest did not cease. But when America entered the World War President Wilson fathered a doc-tring that the shall always govern.

trine that shall always govern us-

that never a foot of territory would be added to our boundaries by

may be America's privilege to point

the way toward making impossible individual profit through war. To individual profit through war. To take the profit out of war is to take a long step toward creating an economic detestation of war. The experience of the United States in the World War affords a basis for

the belief that the plan herein dis

Preceding the President's recent clear exposition of this subject, some degree of public interest had some degree or public interest had been engendered by an exchange of letters between Owen D. Young (of Dawes plan fame), in behalf of the Walter Hines Page School of International Relations, and the writer. The correspondence resulting in the gatchile hungary of lectures. ed in the establishment of lectures at the Page School (of Johns Hop at the Page School (of Johns Hop-kins University) on this theme. Previously the Atlantic Monthly printed an article by Sisley Hud-dleston, 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 basic refersystematic way. His basic 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 of food; (4) material retenance of food; (4) material re-sources (including raw materials, manufacturing facilities, transpor-tation, fuel and power); and (5) morale. The intelligence with which the first four are directed and co-ordinated as a whole will determine the fifth, the morale of

In the war emergency it, early became evident to those who were charged with the responsibility of mobilizing the resources that there people against profiteering Profiteering might be willful and profit which will be involuntary; but, whatever its form, there was a just determination it should cease. So it became necessary to fix prices where the supply was limited.

where the supply 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 population 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 according 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 government did not need to the civilian population, not in the way the industry chose, but in the way the industry chose, but the government directed.

It must be remembered that when the war came there was no adequate preparation. Indeed, it is

builders for services. That situs stitution, contrary to the spirit of tion, together with the increased our social and political institutions.

[The February issue of the Atlantic for 1925 carried a paper by Mr. Sisley Huddleston 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 of 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, chairman 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. Oven 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. Biruch that the subject calls for public knowledge and discussion, it was natural for the Atlantic to turn to him for the following paper.—The Editors of The Atlantic to turn to him for the following paper.—The Editors of the Markey Monthlet.] 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 win-dow could sell shoes, and only the standardized shoes could be sold. 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 seemal supervising agency. This 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 restrictions on his labor, money, raw materials and transportation no manufacturer would have been permitted to sell to any dealer violating the regulations. The Armistics stopped the execution of this plan.

Another plan of this nature: The manufacturers of men's and wo doubted by the best authorities whether any effective form of preparation than known would have been of much avail in view of the widespread and engulfing results of the war and the lack of knowledge of the various instru-Our own Army had several divisions competing one with another for materials, transportation, housing, and so forth. 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 Rail-road Administration with its need for material and labor, and finally there was the feverish quest for labor and supplies on the part of the munitions makers—all compet-ing for labor, money, materials, transportation, fuel, power, and Another plan of this nature: The nanufacturers of men's and women's wearing apparel had in 1918 called to Washington, together with the retailers of various goods, and notified that regulations would have to be made in regard o retail prices and standardization of clothing.

The rulings by the board were made known through the issuance of official bulletins at irregular in-tervals and were widely distributed by the press, which co-operated in 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 much was
accomplished.

or another war, at the place where we were industrially when the lower industrially when the World War ended, the President, acting through an agency similar to the War Industries Board, would have the right to fix prices of all things as of a date previous to the declaration of war when there was a fair peace time relationship among the various activities of the nation. It would be illegal to buy, sell, serve or rent at any other than these prices. Brakes would be applied to every agency of infiation before the hurtful process started. An intelligent control of the flow of men, money and materials would be imposed, instead of having the blind panic heretofore ensuing on the first appearance of the frantic demands of war. The Draft Board would have before it the rulings of the priority committee, together with the estimated needs of every business and profession in its relationship to the conduct of the war, and men would be selected accordingly. The Draft Board could more intelligently decide, with the advice of the priority committee, many of the problems with which it would be faced. There would be no sending of men to the trenches who were needed for expert industrial war work and then bringing them back again. Businesses not necessary to the

Allied and associated nations could araw from the United States—the last reservoir of men, materials and money—the 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 viction resultation.

builders for services. That situation, contrary to the apirit of tion, together with the increased our social and political institutions, prices of the things that labor had to buy with the results of its work, and impossible in practice. Taking the price in the price in the price fixing program had to go even turther, and the War Industries Board, when the Armistice came, burden, and the War Industries 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 structive concomitants of modern of labor in a much broader sense than manual labor, for the unorganized so-called "white collar" part of our community—clerks, teachers, government employees, created a hope among those of professional men—were less able socialistic tendencies, and a fear to meet the situation than before a socialistic tendencies, and a fear to meet the situation than labor among those who like me heliave

part of our community—clerks, wealth," used by so many, has teachers, government employees, created a hope among those of profeesional men—were less able socialistic tendencies, and a fear to meet the situation than labor in the narrower sense. For the in our system based upon personal protection and relief of such installed that protection and relief of such in the state of money, without payment, for the use of State. Neither the hope nor mendation herein contained or by 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 sency. A man should no more be gency. A man should no more be permitted to use his money as he wishes than he should be permitted

sary, but in war time were not Various states, counties and cities and a vast number of private concerns, were denied the use of money and materials for purposes not necessary for the winning of the war. Each part of the com-munity had to adjust its wants to the whole great undertaking.

made known through the issuance of official bulletins at irregular 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 the 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 were industrially when the World War ended, the President, acting through an agency similar to the Way Industries Board world. aside from every private interest of their own and devoted the whole of their train 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 toilsome labors day after day, month after month, have made them fit mates and comrades to the men in the trenches and on the seas."

There are many men who are afraid that the adoption of this plan by Congress would give an impetus to socialism or communism or sovietism or whatever they III

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

There would be no sending of men terred units as f power. It was consensed the trenches who were needed for expert industrial war work and then bringing them back again Businesses not necessary to the winning of the war would be curtailed. The Draft Board would have that information before it.

The prices of all things being stell, no cement, no material of fixed, the prices of all things being stell, no cement, no material of fixed, the prices of all things being stell, no cement, no material of fixed, the prices were made public and adjusted every three months, so that any consumer or producer had his day in court when he considered prices unfair. Those who complained that during the war prices were too high had this load of the War Industries the War Industries for any purpose whatsoever unless the War Industries of the money for any industrial or five purpose whatsoever the plan would have to bear its share of the burden in the prices were made public and adjusted every three months, so that any consumer or producer had his day in court when he considered the plan there are prices were until the nation a coherent unit in time of war, would impress union every class in society a sense of its own responsibility in such evert. If it were known that this understand that in case of war it would make any necessary adjust and the purpose whatsoever unless the War Industries Board. No of steel unless the War Industries to make any industrial or fixed, the prices of the burden without the approval of its own responsibility in such evert. If it were known that this understand that in case of war it would have to bear its share of the burden would have to make according to the war industrial or fixed the prices and the prices of the war. Industries Board. No of its own responsibility on evert. If it were known that this understand that in case of war it would neverthen the prices of the war industrial or fixed the

ered prices unfair. Those who complained that during the war prices were too high had this ready recourse to hand.

In the meantime all the industries of the country would have been mobilized by the formation of committees representative of each industry, as was done in the World War. Over them would be placed a government director or commodity chief. The various government departments would appoint committees representing their requirements, so that on one committee the resources of the nation would be represented and on the other the demands of the government. The government director would stand between to decide, in conjunction with the priority committee, to what department supplies should go.

Money would be controlled and directed like any other resources. That is not synonymous with "conscription of wealth," as it is sometimes regarded. The latter is a theoretical project, prohibited by our Constitution of the project, prohibited by our Constitution in the contracted like any other resource allows the project, prohibited by our Constitution of the contract of the

"Why, they've made a mess of my-sewing-room," explained his wife. "Needles, reels of cotton, scissors— everything has been hidden away in the most unexpected places. It's exasperating."



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