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HAS AMERICA NO ANSWER FOR GERMANY?

While men talk about disarmament and fill the newspaper columns with learned discussions as to the wisdom of curtailing our naval program by international agreement, hour by hour the day of our real disarmament approaches, and approaches so stealthily that the great public is in entire ignorance of the fact.

In the next war leaders will laugh at battleships and artillery when they launch their assaults by poison gas and invisible destruction. The machinery of warfare has passed into the hands of chemists, and the soothsayers, in predicting results, will look not to stars or entrails, but into the test tubes of the laboratory.

An inkling of the truth may be obtained from a cable dispatch, written by Wythe Williams, which appeared in the Washington Herald of January 10. We quote from it:

"There is evidence in Paris, where a large force of dye experts are now gathered to help the reparations commission, that the German dye attack is to be centered most vigorously upon the United States market. France has a tariff law that enables her to build up her dye industry unmolested. England has a new law, operative January 15, that excludes dyes such as she produces and admits those she does not produce, but which her consumers need. Japan is taking steps to protect her chemical industry. The United States is the only important nation actually at the mercy of German chemists. For the moment America is protected by the War Trade board, but this barrier will fall when she ends the technical state of war with Germany.

"German dye manufacturers, realizing this, are causing the reparations commission much trouble by refusing to produce, except under pressure, the dyes most needed in the United States. They are willing to offer large quantities of dyes in competition with the output of the new American dye industry, but still are making excuses for failure to produce non-competitive dyes. Thus they hope to encourage consumers to demand an open market. Also, in this manner, with the experience of her 50 years' world monopoly of dye manufacture against five years of American experience, Germany hopes to throttle the American industry and leave America helpless in this respect should there be another war.

"German production of dyes is so closely allied with her production of munitions that a separation is impossible. Destruction of one would mean the destruction of both. Students of the German proposals now in Paris consider that America is the last hope the German manufacturers have, and they will not give up as long as America does not protect its dye industry by a law similar to that of Great Britain. They see, further, that real chemical disarmament can be accomplished only by breaking Germany's monopoly of the dye industry and encouraging the building up of a similar industry in all the countries of the entente, and especially in the United States."

It is the absolute truth that the United States is the only important nation actually at the mercy of the German chemists.

The War Trade board, which now protects the American dye industry, will go out of existence March 4 unless funds to finance its activities are provided, and it will go out of existence anyhow as soon as peace is concluded. The dye industry, therefore, is nearing hour by hour the day when it will be at the mercy of the Germans. That will not be long. Private industry does not possess the power of taxation and cannot long stand up under heavy financial losses. If there is not inhibitory legislation, enough dyes can be dumped on our shores within a few months to swamp the market.

It is difficult to speak with moderation of those Senators who have resorted to the filibuster and every other technical device of legislators to delay and prevent the enactment of the dye bill. Be their motives what they may, their course is exactly the course that is most acceptable to the Germans. There is no one thing Berlin more desires than the failure of the Longworth bill. Men who shape their course in Congress so as to support a policy obviously beneficial to our enemies and destructive to the United States necessarily are objects of suspicion. Men are judged not by their motives, but by the things they do, and when the things they do are fatal to the future well-being of their country, they must expect criticism. This is more than ever true when they obstruct the majority and employ their technical power of delay to prevent an enactment favored not only by the House of Representatives and recommended by the President, but also favored by a large majority in the Senate itself.

There is history back of this entire situation. The statesmen who went to Paris to write the Peace treaty were well aware that a mere physical dis-



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armament of Germany would be a grotesque provision against the later attack by that nation. They favored not merely the destruction of the German navy and the disbandment of the German army, but they also expected to compel the Germans to disclose their chemical secrets, vital in warfare, and the dismantlement of huge chemical works contemplated. This essential and wise course was advanced by President Wilson, who advised the idea that the Allies and the United States could adequately protect themselves by building up their own chemical industries, shutting out the German product. He favored compelling the Germans to disclose their chemical secrets, which they have not done, but he wanted each individual nation to protect itself.

That is what all of the chief Allies and neutral nations have done — all except the United States. Over in England the Government listened to all the arguments against protection of the British dye industry and then promptly enacted last month, the most drastic sort of legislation to assure absolutely that the German chemical industry could not ruin Great Britain. She carried out the understanding that had been reached in Paris. It is more than passing strange, however, that every effort to carry out the same understanding in the United States has been prevented by filibusters in the Senate. It is amazing but it is true.

It is a fact that the Germans have not yet yielded up their war methods of extracting nitrogen from the air. The methods we have are obsolete, and we know it. But the final Haber process we have not got. It will be got, in one way or another, but it has not yet been got.

If gentlemen wish to continue the argument on the dye bill, let them do so, but not with the gates open. The barriers must at least be kept up until a definite decision has been reached. This can be done by the passage of a joint resolution extending the authority of the War Trade board and providing funds wherewith to support it. The Longworth bill itself ought to be passed. It is the sensible and proper course. But, failing that, the next best course is emergency protection of the chemical industry pending a final

decision by the next Congress on a definite national policy.

The absolutely essential character of the dye industry in relation to national defense is not a question of conjecture or of theory. It has been demonstrated with mathematical accuracy, and it can be so demonstrated at any time, before any committee or any jury. Indeed, it is admitted even by the opponents of the Longworth bill. They claim, however, that the industry can be protected adequately by tariffs. The facts are all against them. Tariffs are for honest men, in pure commerce. Control of the American dye market by the Germans is not inherently a commercial undertaking at all. Germany can afford to give away dyes in America if by so doing, she can destroy the American dye industry. Dyes, with her, is preparedness for war. Dyes, with us, can be nothing else.

We would be safer without a gun factory in the nation, a powder plant or a warship than without a chemical industry and a chemical personnel equal to any others on earth.—Manufacturers' Record.

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