

PENROSE FORCES RELYING ON DELAY TO WIN FOR CHIEF

Bets Being Offered in Washington He Will Not Be Next Head of Finance Committee.

TWO VOTES CAN UPSET PLAN

If Progressive Republicans De-throne Old Guard in Senate House Still Left to Deal With.

Washington, Nov. 30. — (WASHINGTON BUREAU OF THE JOURNAL.)—Bets are being offered that Boies Penrose will not be the next chairman of the finance committee in the senate, with the power to boss the making of revenue and tariff bills under Republican control. The contest is becoming interesting.

Armistice conditions at present prevail. Chairman Will H. Hays of the Republican national committee, otherwise known as "Harmonizer Hays," has been trying to patch up a peace. His visit to Washington has so far produced no certain result, but he is still at work on the job of finding a way out.

Two Votes Could Decide
As the situation stands today, if the question had to be decided at once, Penrose would find it exceedingly difficult to win. Threats are made by certain progressive Republicans that they will go "the limit" to accomplish the defeat of Penrose. He must be kept off the finance chairmanship, they say, because the Republican party can look to defeat in 1920 if it puts the Penrose label on a revenue bill.

The most outspoken senators in the revolt against Penrose are Borah, Kenyon and Norris. It may be taken for granted that the Pollette, also, will join the other irreconcilables against Penrose, although just now his help is not being invited, and he is not being quoted.

Even two resolute progressives can, in all probability, defeat the Penrose ambition, because a change of one vote in the next senate will produce a tie, and it is unlikely that any Democrat will seek the distinction of helping Penrose.

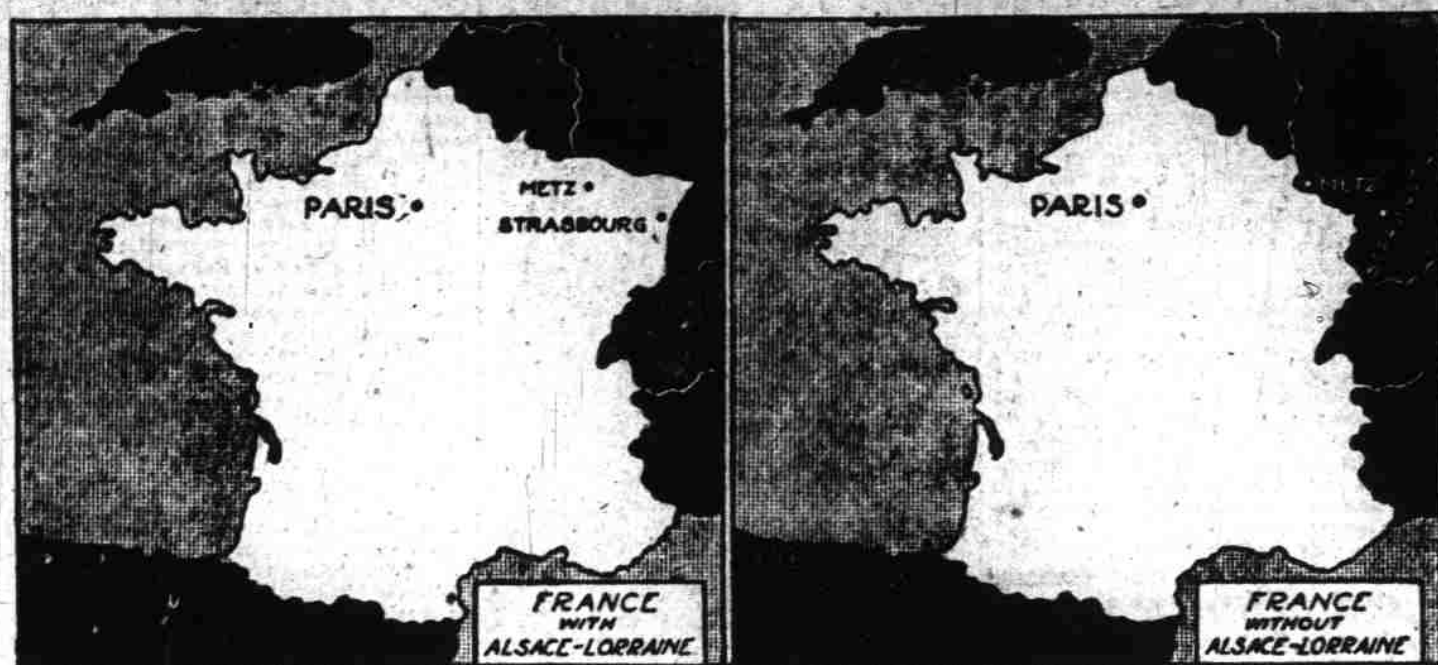
Penrose Relies on Delay
The Penrose forces rely upon delay, the efforts of the harmonizers and the power of the caucus to win the wreath for their chief. Delay may bring new forces and issues into operation, so that in March it may be possible to magnify regularity and minimize Penroseism. The harmonizers will be busy from all angles telling how important it is to present a united front. The caucus will be invoked as the holy method of choosing by good old majority vote.

Majority vote of the Republicans of the senate means a majority for the old guard. There is a chance, however, that if a secret vote could be had in caucus, Penrose would not be chosen. Some of those who sympathize with him and want him to be chairman of the finance committee.

If Penrose finally learns that the progressive band cannot be beaten into line he may efface himself by "declining" to accept the honor and make a strategic retreat by announcing his willingness to accept something less conspicuous, such as the chairmanship of the naval affairs committee.

He is the ranking member of that

FRANCE WITH AND WITHOUT "LOST PROVINCES"



committee, as well as on finance, and locally it would be an aid, since it would place him in position to look after the League Island navy yard, near Philadelphia. This, however, would not be pleasing news for Poindexter, who is understood to cherish an ambition to head the committee on naval affairs, having recently improved his "claims" by his repeated attacks on the Wilson administration.

It is conceded that many things may happen between now and March to change the situation. It is not certain, either, that the senate will meet in March, for the new congress will not convene until December, 1919, unless called sooner by the president. It is generally assumed that there will be an extra session, and that it will not be long delayed.

Old Guard Has Grip on House
It seems unlikely, however, that anything will change the opposition to Penrose among the Republican progressives, who appreciate the damage which may be done to the party by making him the host of the senate. One of the schemes discussed, which deserves watching, is that Penrose be given something less prominent in the organization, and the regular organization otherwise be preserved. This idea of camouflaging the standpat elephant has considerable backing.

On the house side there are few signs of the revolt which is found at the other end of the Capitol. This condition exists in spite of the fact that a standpat dynasty even more reactionary than the Penrose aggregation is threatened under the leadership of "Jim" Mann as speaker and "Joe" Fordney as chairman of the ways and means committee in the house. This committee corresponds to the finance committee in the senate. Fordney is as much of a reactionary as Penrose. He is not so well informed and more declamatory. Penrose is more frank and capable. If the progressive Republicans beat Penrose and let Fordney take the chairmanship of ways and means they will have only half a victory.

PROBLEMS LOOM BEFORE CONGRESS AT VERSAILLES

(Continued From Page One)

In the pathway of those who are to meet at Versailles. Nor is it less clear that, even though Germany presently achieve national political reintegration, such reintegration as permits her to send representatives to Versailles able and authorized to speak for the people and a nation least capable of observing the decisions accepted by its representatives, there is bound to be a

very considerable loss of time. So far from a prompt settlement and a speedy signing of a treaty of peace, the best hope must be that, after serious delays, but without temporary adjournment until a new German revolution has passed, Germany will be able to send delegates having the same potentialities as those of Britain, France or the United States.

A Second Obstacle
So much for the first obstacle. But there is a second only less imposing. At Versailles two things are to be sought and they are by no means easy to harmonize. We, the conquerors of Germany, are going to impose upon Germany the sentence of the civilized world. We are going to make her pay for her crimes in two ways. We are going to deprive her of certain provinces inhabited by people who are German, not by their own wish, but by the decision of the sword in the past. We are going to free the Danes, the Poles and the inhabitants of Alsace-Lorraine. In addition, we are going to compel Germany to pay anywhere from \$10,000,000,000 to \$20,000,000,000 as reparation for war injuries done in defiance of the accepted rules of war.

This is one number on the program. But in addition, we, with the Germans, are to frame a new international system, a league of nations which is to regulate all international relations in the future, serve as a superstate, with police power and with many other powers over the whole body of nations, such as have heretofore been exercised only by the central government within separate states. And unless Germany is a willing and sincere partner in this enterprise the league of nations will be a failure, for its success must rest upon its universality. With Germany out, it is no more than a perpetuation of the existing alliance against Germany. Moreover, Germany may easily, if the reds gain control, join hands with the Russian reds, and then we shall have the old situation of rival alliances once more.

A Century Ago
Now, much of this is familiar ground. There is nothing new about the league of nations, and after a long and exhausting general war men have before sought some insurance through international combination. Thus when Napoleon was defeated the sovereigns of Europe combined in a holy alliance. They united against what they conceived to be the peril to peace of their time, namely, republican ideas. They included France in the alliance because they were able to place one of themselves, a duly authenticated king, upon the French throne.

But in facing the same difficulty that

must now be faced again the conquerors of Napoleon were far more logical than the victors of the present hour. They desired to prevent a new outbreak like the French revolution with its twenty-odd years of conquest wars. But they realized that this would be impossible if they undertook to write a treaty which imposed upon France any such burdens as would awaken permanent resentment in the minds of the French people. Therefore they sacrificed their claims against France in the main, giving the French people almost complete immunity from punishment as a bribe to win them to the new order.

Actually, the situation was this: For more than 20 years French armies had overrun Europe, making war in foreign countries, enlisting the subjects, requisitioning the funds. The Revolution and Napoleon after it, had made war at the expense of the enemy, and France was free from debt at the hour when the emperor abdicated. Here was a clear warrant for indemnities, a clear chance for retributive justice, but the conquerors deliberately put it aside. They deprived France of her conquests, they restricted her practically to the limits of 1789, but there they left it, and the additional burdens placed upon the nation after Napoleon had returned and regained power, only to fall at Waterloo, were, in fact, insignificant.

Holy Alliance Falls
The result was that France for the moment accepted Louis XVIII and the Bourbons. No permanent resentment was engendered against the conquerors of Napoleon as a result of the treaty of peace. In due course of time France upset the Bourbons, then the Orleansists, returned to the Bonapartes, and then exiled Napoleon III, but the only modifications of the territorial arrangements of the Napoleonic settlement, so far as France was concerned, were the acquisition of Savoy and Nice by vote of the inhabitants, and the loss of Alsace-Lorraine by conquest. The holy alliance was a failure, because it was an effort to turn back the tide of human progress, but the treaty its founders framed with France stood the test of time.

Now, it would be conceivable that should the victors of the present war follow the example of those of a century before, remit to Germany their just claims for indemnities, content themselves with taking for France Alsace-Lorraine and distributing German colonies as they chose, they might successfully establish some orderly regime in Germany, and, in negotiating with it, formulate a constitution of a league of nations. Remember, I am not for a single moment suggesting this as a right, just or proper course. On the contrary, it would, in my judgment, be singularly inequitable and intolerable. But if the league of nations is the chief concern of the peace congress, this would offer a way, and I think the only conceivable way, of bringing Germany into it.

Difficulties Loom
If, by contrast, we proceed to frame our demands and impose them upon Germany, Alsace-Lorraine, Schleswig, Prussian Poland, with Danzig, the German colonies and an indemnity of ten to twenty billions, in what spirit will the German people be with respect to a league of nations, organized by their enemies, who have just imposed upon them this terrific sentence? And granting that Germany succeeds in establishing some sort of government which sends duly authorized delegates to Versailles, will that government be able to obtain ratification of its treaty from the German people, or will it and the treaty both be repudiated?

Would Separate Functions
The solution of this tangle, it seems to me, must be sought in the separation of the two functions of the Versailles congress. If the first business be the settlement with Germany, the settlement which alone can free the French and Belgians from the intolerable burden placed upon them by German deeds of destruction, then we shall achieve peace. We shall close the war as it should be closed, and the way will be clear to the creation of a league of nations. But if the terms of peace are left to be the trading ground for German adhesion to a league of nations, we shall get nowhere and Germany may be able to escape from the costs of her crimes, while the French and Belgian populations, left without compensation for their miseries, will be hurried along the road which leads to Bolshevism.

To impose peace terms upon Germany is a simple business; for the things which the allies mean to do are all clearly established and are indisputable. The only single point which can be debated is that of the size of the money payment to be demanded of Germany, and that can be agreed upon promptly. When the congress assembles at Versailles the allied terms can be ready, they can be presented to Germany, and German acceptance can be made the condition upon which the next problem will be faced, the problem of the organization of the league of nations.

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