

Dokumentation

REINER POMMERIN

DIE MITGLIEDER DES PARLAMENTARISCHEN RATES

Porträtskizzen des britischen Verbindungsoffiziers
Chaput de Saintonge

Am 1. Juli 1948 überreichten die drei westlichen Militärgouverneure den Ministerpräsidenten der Westzonen das Dokument Nr. III der „Frankfurter Dokumente“ genannten Schriftstücke, in dem die Grundzüge des Besatzungsstatutes umrissen waren. Es hatte eine Beilage mit folgendem Text: „Beauftragte der Militärgouverneure werden bereit sein, die Ministerpräsidenten und die Verfassungsgebende Versammlung in allen Angelegenheiten, die diese vorzubringen wünschen, zu beraten und zu unterstützen.“¹ Diese Einsetzung von Verbindungsoffizieren, die den Kontakt zwischen den Ministerpräsidenten und dem Parlamentarischen Rat einerseits und den Militärgouverneuren andererseits aufrechterhalten sollten – wobei Beratung natürlich auch Beeinflussung im Sinne der Alliierten hieß –, ging auf Verabredungen zurück, die auf der Londoner Sechs-Mächte-Konferenz getroffen worden waren².

Hatten diese Verabredungen ursprünglich ein gemeinsames Auftreten der Verbindungsoffiziere als Gremium auf der Basis von Mehrheitsbeschlüssen vorgesehen, so gelang es der französischen Seite, dies zu ändern³. Auf einer Vorbesprechung⁴ vor

¹ Der Parlamentarische Rat 1948–1949. Akten und Protokolle, Bd. 1: Vorgeschichte. Bearbeitet von Johannes Volker Wagner, Boppard 1975, Dok. Nr. 5, S. 36.

² Vgl. dazu FRUS 1948, Bd. II, S. 1 ff. – Zum Grad der Beeinflussung vgl. Hans-Jürgen Grabbe, Die deutsch-alliierte Kontroverse um den Grundgesetzentwurf im Frühjahr 1949, in: Vierteljahrshefte für Zeitgeschichte 26 (1978), S. 393–418.

³ In einer amerikanischen Aufzeichnung zur Sitzung der entsprechenden Political Working Party vom 10. 6. 1948 in Berlin hieß es: „During the Working Party's discussions it developed that the French preferred not to have a committee representing the military governors established to carry out this liaison function, but preferred to maintain such liaison by means of individual representatives. General Clay however insisted that there should not only be a committee but that it should make its decisions by a majority vote. The British agreed with this position but French have reserved their attitude until it can be discussed by three military governors prior to meeting with Ministers-President.“ Murphy an Secretary of State, 10. 6. 1948, in: FRUS 1948, Bd. VI, S. 375 f.

⁴ In einer amerikanischen Aufzeichnung zu dieser Besprechung hieß es: „It was also agreed that the committee of government advisers to remain in liaison with the German Constituent Assembly will not constitute a formal committee but there will be separate representatives of the three military governors. In the event they do not succeed in coordinating their work and indulge in individual lobbying with the Germans, it was decided that in such case the military governors would intervene.“ Murphy an Secretary of State, S. 379.

Überreichung der „Frankfurter Dokumente“, am 30. Juni 1948, konnte General Koenig seine Kollegen Clay und Robertson davon überzeugen, daß es sinnvoller sei, die Verbindungsoffiziere dem Parlamentarischen Rat nicht als Gremium, sondern als Einzelrepräsentanten ihres Militärgouverneurs zu attachieren. Zweifellos hoffte Koenig, damit seinem Verbindungsoffizier bei der Beratung der Ratsmitglieder eine gewisse Unabhängigkeit zu sichern. Konnten die Berater nur als Gremium in Erscheinung treten, so war eine englisch-amerikanische Dominanz unvermeidlich. Im übrigen schienen die Gouverneure gewisse Eigenmächtigkeiten ihrer Verbindungsoffiziere nicht auszuschließen. Für den Fall, daß ihre Verbindungsoffiziere allzu großen persönlichen Einfluß auf die Mitglieder des Parlamentarischen Rates ausübten, behielten sie sich ausdrücklich die eigene Intervention vor.

Als nach längerem Hin und Her – nicht zuletzt aufgrund des Drängens der Verbindungsoffiziere – am 13. August die Entscheidung für Bonn als Tagungsort des Parlamentarischen Rates gefallen war⁵ (noch am 28. Juli hatte der britische Verbindungsoffizier in Frankfurt von der bevorstehenden Entscheidung für die Stadt Karlsruhe nach Berlin berichtet⁶), setzten die Militärgouverneure dort ihren Verbindungsstab ein. Der zuständige regionale Kommandeur in der britischen Besatzungszone, General Bishop, erhielt die Anweisung, für die Verbindungsoffiziere in Bonn eine Unterbringung bereitzustellen, die diesen die angemessene Bewirtung und Betreuung von Gästen, gemeint waren die Mitglieder des Parlamentarischen Rates, ermögliche⁷. Als britischer Verbindungsoffizier, so konnte Bishop dem Befehl entnehmen, war Chaput de Saintonge vorgesehen.

Rolland Alfred Aimé Chaput de Saintonge, 1912 in Montreal geboren, hatte nach dem Studium an der Syracuse University im Staat New York und der Promotion in Politischer Wissenschaft an der Universität Genf sowie kurzer Lehrtätigkeit an Colleges und Verwaltungstätigkeiten zwischen 1940 und 1946 in der britischen Armee gedient. Von 1946 bis 1948 leitete er im Central Office for Germany and Austria des Foreign Office die G 2-Abteilung. Als zu Beginn des Jahres 1948 das „diplomatische Element“ in der britischen Kontrollkommission in Deutschland durchgehend verstärkt wurde⁸, übernahm Chaput innerhalb der Political Division die Leitung des Governmental Structure Office, das sich mit der Ausgestaltung der westdeutschen

⁵ Zu dieser Frage legt der Verfasser demnächst eine Studie mit dem Titel „Von Berlin nach Bonn. Die Alliierten, die Deutschen und die Hauptstadtfrage nach 1945“ vor.

⁶ Francomb Frankfurt an Bercomb Berlin, Tel. No. FGCC 53 350, 28.7. 1948, in: FO 1030/88, p. 65 A, PRO London.

⁷ Im Schreiben des Political Adviser der Control Commission for Germany (British Element), C.E. (später Sir Christopher) Steel, an den Gouverneur des Landes Nordrhein-Westfalen, General Bishop, Tel. Nr. BGO 6186, 18.8. 1948, hieß es unter anderem: „In order to ensure that decisions are not taken which might under the London Letter of Guidance jeopardise the approval of the provisional constitution by Military Governors, it has been arranged for the three Liaison Officers to follow the proceedings of the Parliamentary Council. They will need accomodation of a kind to permit modest entertainment. I am sending Chaput de Saintonge, the British Liaison Officer, to visit you on August 20th with a view to these arrangements.“ Ebenda, p. 92 A.

⁸ Vgl. dazu Ulrich Reusch, Die Londoner Institutionen der britischen Deutschlandpolitik

Verfassung und dem Aufbau der künftigen Verwaltung befaßte. Seine Ernennung zum Verbindungsoffizier beim Parlamentarischen Rat war somit nicht überraschend. Nach der Beendigung dieser Tätigkeit im Sommer 1949 wurde Chaput Chef des German Information Department im Foreign Office und verblieb bis 1973 als Diplomat im Staatsdienst. Während seiner Zeit als Verbindungsoffizier in Bonn führte Chaput, wie seine Berichterstattung zeigt, viele Gespräche mit Mitgliedern des Parlamentarischen Rates, die Arbeit des Gremiums und dessen Mitglieder waren ihm wohlvertraut.

In den Parlamentarischen Rat, in dem neun Parteien vertreten waren, wählten die westdeutschen Landtage und Berlin 70 Vertreter, wobei die Länder (mit Ausnahme Hamburgs) auch Regierungsmitglieder als Abgeordnete entsandten⁹. Chaput porträtierte in seinem Bericht aber nur 61 Ratsmitglieder¹⁰, die fünf Abgeordneten der Stadt Berlin, Jakob Kaiser (CDU), Dr. Hans Reif (FDP) sowie Paul Loebe, Ernst Reuter, Otto Suhr (alle SPD) erwähnte er nicht. Das lag wohl nicht in erster Linie darin begründet, daß diese lediglich „als Gäste mit beratender Stimme“ fungierten¹¹, sondern resultierte wohl eher aus einer gewissen britischen „Verstimmung“. Der Ältestenrat der Stadtverwaltung Berlins hatte die genannten fünf Abgeordneten zunächst mit der Vertretung der Stadt Berlin auf der Eröffnungsfeier des Parlamentarischen Rates beauftragt. Die Wahl dieser Vertreter durch die Stadtverordnetenversammlung aber hatten kommunistische Demonstranten zweimal vereitelt, so daß die Wahl am 6. September nachgeholt werden mußte. In einer während der Konferenz in Niederwald am 31. August stattfindenden Besprechung einer Delegation der Ministerpräsidenten mit den alliierten Verbindungsoffizieren, an der auch Chaput teilnahm, äußerten diese die Auffassung, daß die Zeit „für eine offizielle Vertretung Berlins im Parlamentarischen Rat“¹² noch nicht reif sei. Es bestünden zwar keine Einwände gegen eine Teilnahme der Berliner als Beobachter und Gäste, an den De-

1943–1948. Eine behördengeschichtliche Untersuchung, in: Historisches Jahrbuch der Görres-Gesellschaft 100 (1980), S. 421.

⁹ Der Abgeordnete Fritz Löwenthal erklärte am 4. Mai 1949 seinen Austritt aus der SPD-Fraktion und wurde als parteiloses Mitglied im Parlamentarischen Rat geführt. Vgl. dazu Volker Otto, Das Staatsverhältnis des Parlamentarischen Rates. Ein Beitrag zur Entstehungsgeschichte des Grundgesetzes für die Bundesrepublik Deutschland. Düsseldorf 1971, S. 45 f. – Zu den christlichen Parteien und ihrer Arbeit vgl. Rainer Salzmänn (Bearb.), Die CDU/CSU im Parlamentarischen Rat. Sitzungsprotokolle der Unionsfraktion, Stuttgart 1981. – Speziell zu Adenauer vgl. Rudolf Morsey, Die Rolle Konrad Adenauers im Parlamentarischen Rat, in: Vierteljahrshefte für Zeitgeschichte 18 (1970), S. 62–94. – Vgl. auch Richard Ley, Organisation und Geschäftsordnung des Parlamentarischen Rates, in: Zeitschrift für Parlamentsfragen 6 (1975), S. 192–202, hier S. 193.

¹⁰ Allgemeine Angaben über die Mitglieder des Parlamentarischen Rates bei Richard Ley, Die Mitglieder des Parlamentarischen Rates. Ihre Wahl, Zugehörigkeit zu Parlamenten und Regierungen. Eine Bilanz nach 25 Jahren, in: Zeitschrift für Parlamentsfragen 4 (1973), S. 373–391, und Frank R. Pfetsch, Die Gründergeneration der Bundesrepublik. Sozialprofil und politische Orientierung, in: Politische Vierteljahresschrift 27 (1986), S. 237–251.

¹¹ Walter Strauß, Die Arbeit des Parlamentarischen Rates, in: Politisches Jahrbuch der CDU/CSU 1 (1950), S. 157–173, hier S. 160.

¹² Der Parlamentarische Rat, Dok.Nr. 25, S. 411.

batten sollten sie sich aber nicht beteiligen. Auf den Einwand von deutscher Seite hin, die Berliner könnten, falls sie nicht als Gleichberechtigte teilnehmen dürften, von ihrer Mitwirkung ganz absehen, bestanden die Verbindungsoffiziere nicht mehr auf deren Nichtbeteiligung. Statt dessen empfahlen sie, die Berliner sollten sich in den öffentlichen Verhandlungen politische Zurückhaltung auferlegen.

England und Frankreich hatten wegen des Vier-Mächte-Status' von Berlin allgemein und insbesondere im Hinblick auf die Verhandlungen in Moskau, von denen sie eine Lösung der Berlin-Krise erhofften, die Teilnahme von Berliner Abgeordneten an den Sitzungen des Parlamentarischen Rates zunächst zu verhindern gesucht. Die Empfehlung der Verbindungsoffiziere folgte aber schließlich dem amerikanischen Vorschlag, den Vertretern der Stadt Berlin einen Beobachterstatus ohne Stimmrecht einzuräumen¹³. Ernst Reuter, der neben Paul Loebe an der Ministerpräsidenten-Konferenz teilnahm, kommentierte diese Entscheidung mit der Versicherung, die Berliner Abgeordneten würden sich bei ihren öffentlichen Auftritten eine gewisse Zurückhaltung angelegen sein lassen, es sei aber Sache des Parlamentarischen Rates, wie die Berliner Vertreter dort begrüßt würden¹⁴. Die Tatsache, daß Ministerpräsident Stock in seiner Rede zur Eröffnung des Parlamentarischen Rates die Berliner Vertreter in besonderer Weise begrüßte und der Parlamentarische Rat in seiner konstituierenden Sitzung am gleichen Tag beschloß, die Delegierten Berlins als Gäste mit beratender Stimme an den weiteren Sitzungen teilnehmen zu lassen¹⁵, führte britischerseits zu einer starken Verstimmung. In einer Sitzung nach der Eröffnung des Parlamentarischen Rates monierte Chaput – so eine Aufzeichnung des stellvertretenden Leiters des Büros der Ministerpräsidenten, Dr. Luitpold Werz – die demonstrative Begrüßung und die Einbeziehung der Berliner Vertreter; Großbritannien müsse sich erpreßt fühlen. Vor allem aber nehme dieses Vorgehen keinerlei Rücksicht auf die Bemühungen der Alliierten, die Lage in Berlin zu entspannen¹⁶. Diese „Verstimmung“ erklärt wohl das Fehlen der Berliner Vertreter in dem Bericht Chaputs über die Mitglieder des Parlamentarischen Rates.

Weshalb Chaput de Saintonge den Abgeordneten Rudolf Heiland, Bürgermeister von Marl und Mitglied der SPD-Landtagsfraktion in Nordrhein-Westfalen, nicht erwähnte, obgleich dieser dem Parlamentarischen Rat durchgehend angehörte, muß offen bleiben. Die Nichterwähnung der drei Abgeordneten Paul, Rönneburg und Walter mag ihren Grund in der Tatsache haben, daß diese dem Rat nur zeitweilig angehörten. Hugo Paul von der KPD Nordrhein-Westfalens war am 6. Oktober 1948 ausgeschieden und durch seinen Parteigenossen Heinz Renner ersetzt worden, für den am 17. Februar 1949 verstorbenen CDU-Abgeordneten Felix Walter aus Württemberg-Baden rückte dessen Parteifreund Adolf Kühn nach, und für den wegen Erkrankung ausfallenden Heinrich Rönneburg von der CDU Niedersachsen

¹³ Vgl. dazu FRUS 1948, Bd. II, S. 415 ff.

¹⁴ Der Parlamentarische Rat, Dok.Nr. 24, S. 404 f.

¹⁵ Ebenda, Dok.Nr. 26, S. 417.

¹⁶ Der Parlamentarische Rat 1948–1949. Akten und Protokolle, Bd. 3: Ausschluß für Zuständigkeitsabgrenzung. Bearbeitet von Wolfram Werner, Boppard 1986, S. 1.

zog am 24. Februar 1949 Dr. Werner Hofmeister in den Rat ein. Auch Hubert Hermanns von der CDU aus Rheinland-Pfalz fand keine Erwähnung, der am 5. Mai 1949 den bei einem schweren Autounfall verletzten Dr. Adolf Süsterhenn ersetzte. Gleiches gilt für Anton Hilbert von der CDU Baden (ab 7. März 1949 Nachfolger von Dr. Hermann Fecht), Erich Ollenhauer (ab 20. Mai 1949 Nachfolger von Dr. Otto-Heinrich Greves von der SPD Niedersachsen) und schließlich für Albert Roßhaupter, der am 14. Oktober 1948 für Josef Seifried von der bayerischen SPD nachgerückt war.

Chaput de Saintonge folgte bei seiner kurzen Charakterisierung der Mitglieder des Parlamentarischen Rates einem dreigliedrigen Schema. Nach einem kurzen Abriss des Lebenslaufes folgt die Beschreibung der Tätigkeit des Abgeordneten in den verschiedenen Gremien. Eine Bewertung der einzelnen Persönlichkeit durch Chaput de Saintonge rundet die Kurzporträts in der Regel ab. Gerade diese Bewertungen sind es, die es geraten erschienen ließen, dem Dokument nicht durch eine Übersetzung seinen sprachlichen Reiz zu nehmen¹⁷.

¹⁷ Das abgedruckte Dokument ist als Appendix C, Secret, angefügt dem Schreiben: British Liaison Staff Bonn to Political Adviser to the Military Governor Berlin POL/BLS/(T) 47/30, Confidential, 10. Mai 1949. Es findet sich in: FO 371/7660, C 3992, PRO London. Irrtümliche Angaben zur Person wurden stillschweigend korrigiert.

Dokument

BRIEF NOTES ON THE MEMBERS
OF THE PARLIAMENTARY COUNCIL

ADENAUER, Dr. Konrad, CDU North Rhine-Westphalia, born 1876 in Cologne

1. Having started his career as a barrister, he was, from 1917 to 1933 Oberbürgermeister of Cologne and from 1920 to 1933, President of the Prussian State Council. He was dismissed from office by the Nazis and twice imprisoned. Since 1945 he has devoted himself to the CDU, being Zonal Chairman in the British Zone and Fraktion leader in the North Rhine-Westphalian Landtag.

2. Adenauer was the principal figure of the Parliamentary Council, being President of the Council and Chairman of the Committee of Elders. He was, in addition, a member of the Main Committee but he rarely attended its meetings. He held himself aloof from the general negotiations in committee, devoting his energies to the longterm aspects of the Bonn Constitution in its significance for the future position of his Party in Germany and Germany's position in Europe. His greatest problem was the maintenance of the loose CDU/CSU coalition and in this, as in other matters, his great political experience and his diplomatic skill stood him in good stead. Despite his frequent absences from Bonn, and his olympian position, Adenauer nevertheless kept a grip on the work in the Council and whenever really fundamental problems arose his hand could be perceived directing his Fraktion. During the last months of negotiation he showed himself flexible and realistic, and emerged as one of the greatest figures of present day German politics.

3. Adenauer is a fluent and easy conversationalist even under the most difficult circumstances but dislikes large social gatherings. He is cold and distant. His own staff have remarked on his lack of warmth and geniality in his human contacts. His great ability leads him to underrate other men as inferior. One of the few men he respects is M. Schuman whom he has known for some years and with whom he is in constant touch. He has a profound distrust of British policy, and he is convinced that the present Labour Government favours his political opponents.

BAUER, Hannsbeinz, SPD Bavaria, born 1909 in Wunsiedel (Upper Franconia)

1. Studied law in Würzburg and Munich and after two and a half years banking experience obtained employment with a motor firm in 1936 as head of their Schweinfurt office. He served in the war from 1940, was taken prisoner by the Americans and released in 1946. In the period 1930 to 1933 he was a member of the SPD and active as a speaker for the last Reichstag elections. After release from P.W. camp, he rejoined the SPD and became a member of the SPD executive committee in Würzburg. He was a member of the Assembly for issuing the Bavarian Constitution (Verfassungsgebende Landesversammlung) and now belongs to the Bavarian Landtag.

2. Bauer was frequently present at meetings of the Competence Committee as a representative of full members (usually Menzel) who could not attend. There is no record of his ever having said anything.

BECKER, Dr. Max, LDP Hesse, born 1888 in Kassel

1. Studied in Grenoble, Berlin, Halle and Marburg and after preliminary legal practice in Kurhessen became a solicitor in 1913 and later a notary in Hersfeld. He was in World War I. Before this war he was a member of the Young Liberals' Union and from 1919 member of the German People's Party (DVP). He has been a member of the LDP Hesse since 1945. From 1919 to 1921 he was a member of the Kreistag in Hersfeld and from 1922 to 1933 a member of the communal Landtag Kurhessen and of the provincial Landtag of Hessen-Nassau. In 1945 he became a member of the Hersfeld Magistrat, in 1946 town councillor of Hersfeld and thereafter member of the Kreistag and the Hesse Landtag.

2. Becker was Chairman of the Electoral Law Committee, a member of the Constitutional Court and Administration of Justice Committee, and was often present at meetings of the Main Committee and Organisation Committee always taking a prominent part in deliberations. He fully realised the unenviable position of his party, playing as it did a decisive role in the taking of decisions, and always did his best to find for every question a compromise solution which would be acceptable to both the major parties, rather than arbitrarily to carry a motion in favour of one or the other. These earnest attempts at settling differences of opinion were rarely successful in his own committee and his exasperation at the stubbornness of his colleagues was at one time very apparent. In practice however he and his party tended to agree with the SPD. He was greatly respected for his ability and knowledge, especially of electoral questions, and the motion for the introduction of a presidential system on the American pattern of which he was co-proposer showed courage and originality, despite the adverse criticism the motion received in the Main Committee.

3. Becker is a very fluent and intelligent conversationalist and is in no way reticent on political questions. He talks at great length and with enthusiasm on his particular hobby – horses, but the information he gives is usually of value. Despite his occasional outbursts against the obstinacy of other parties, Becker possesses an unusually good sense of humour and has a pleasant personality.

BERGSTRAESSER, Prof. Dr. Ludwig, SPD Hesse, born 1883 in Altkirch (Upper Alsace)

1. After studying at Heidelberg, he became honorary lecturer at Greifswald in 1910 and in 1920 was summoned to the Research Section of the Reich Archives. He published several works of his own including „The History of the Political Party in Germany“, and was given the task of compiling a history of the Frankfurt Parliament. He was dismissed in 1933 on political grounds. Active politically since 1907, he joined the Democratic Party 1919, becoming, in 1924, Reichstag member for the Potsdam Division. When the Democratic Party changed into the State Party (Staatspartei), he joined the SPD. During the Nazi period he was active in the resistance. From 1946 until recently he was Regierungspräsident of Darmstadt. He is a member of the Hesse Landtag and was Chairman of the Committee which drafted the Land Constitution.

2. Bergstraesser was a member of the Basic Questions Committee and the Standing Orders Committee and on occasion took part in the Main Committee. In the Main Committee he had little to say except on cultural and educational questions, but his academic knowledge and long experience in the German civil service proved of considerable help in the drafting of the basic rights section of the Basic Law.

3. Bergstraesser gives the impression, perhaps intentionally, of being a typical universi-

ty professor, both in appearance and manner. He is quite willing to talk on most subjects except politics, although the conversation tends to develop into a lecture. He is invariably pleasant and sociable. His English and French are fluent.

BINDER, Dr. Paul, CDU South Wuerttemberg-Baden, born 1902 in Stuttgart

1. Studied law and national economy in Tübingen, Rostock and Dijon and had his first practical experience in his father's bank in Stuttgart. He served as supernumerary in several Berlin banks and later worked in the German „Bau und Boden“ Bank in the German „Revisions und Treuhand A. G.,“ Berlin. From 1937 he was deputy director of the Dresdener Bank in Berlin and from 1941 economic adviser on his own account. In October 1945 he became director of finances in the secretariat of Land South Wuerttemberg-Hohenzollern. He was dismissed from the post of Secretary of State by the French Occupation Authorities in 1947 and then took over the trusteeship of the Stuttgart branch of the Dresdener Bank.

2. Binder was a member of the Occupation Costs Sub-Committee of the Occupation Statute Committee and originally Chairman of the Finance Committee. He was regarded by his Fraktion as its particular expert on finance but he suffered from the disadvantages, firstly that he was, as far as the Parliamentary Council was concerned, the supporter of the lost cause of decentralised finance and, secondly, that he was confronted with Hoepker-Aschoff, a financial expert of vastly greater experience and influence. There is no doubt that, as one of the younger delegates, he stood out in a Fraktion which took little heed of young blood, but the trouble he created during the deliberations of the Seven-Man Committee through his finance proposals not being accepted resulted in his being replaced as Chairman of the Finance Committee in the later stages by Kaufmann (CDU) when decisions of a political rather than financial nature were required. He then ceased to participate in its deliberations.

3. Binder is an energetic and conscientious worker with a sense of independence. He is one of the able young men of the CDU and may play a part later as a defender of South German interests.

BLOMEYER, Adolf, CDU North Rhine-Westphalia, born 1900 in Loebne

1. He is a farmer and an active agriculturalist in the Minden area. Before 1933 he was a member of the Deutsch-Nationale Partei and the Stahlhelm. From 1933 to 1945 he was a Sturmführer in a S.A. Reitersturm in Minden. He claims to have become involved in this because he was the owner of a small estate. He was also a paying member of the Nazi Flying Corps from 1935 to 1945 and belonged to one or two other important Nazi organisations. He is now Category V.

2. Blomeyer was a member of the Competence Committee and occasionally took the place of regular members of the Committee for the Constitutional Court and Administration of Justice in their absence. He was, however, merely a voting unit and is not recorded as having made any constructive contribution to the work at Bonn.

BRENTANO, Dr. Heinrich von, CDU South Wuerttemberg-Baden, born 1904 in Offenbach am Main

1. Studied law and, after preliminary legal practice in the judiciary and with the administration, became a solicitor in the Higher Land Court in Darmstadt. He was a member of the Hessian Landtag, the German National Assembly, the Reichstag and the Reichs-

rat and later Minister of the Interior and Justice in Hesse. In 1945 he took part in the foundation of the CDU in Hesse and was later a member of the Commission for Drafting a Constitution, the Land Advisory Committee, the Land Advisory Constitutional Assembly and of the Landtag in Hesse. He is at present a member of the CDU Executive Committee for Hesse, Chairman of the CDU Landtag Fraktion, Chairman of the Darmstadt Committee of the CDU, Chairman of the Constitutional Committee of the CDU and the Joint Working Committee of the CDU/CSU. He is a founder-member of the German Voters' Association and President of the Lawyers and Notaries Chamber in Darmstadt.

2. Despite his comparative youth, Brentano was until recently one of the more influential members of the CDU/CSU Fraktion. He was Deputy Chairman of the Main Committee and of the Occupation Statute Committee and occasionally took the place of a regular member of the Competence Committee. He was also on the first Editing Committee. He was the author of many written motions and his considerable experience was of great assistance in the drafting of articles and inter-fraktionale discussions. His party's trust in him is evidenced by the fact that he was a member of the Five-Man Committee and played a prominent part in all the negotiations which preceded the final compromise on the Basic Law. Although a faithful party man, his legal mind was always ready to see the point of view of a lawyer from another party and he was not infrequently in agreement with Zinn (SPD) on points of detail against the views of his own party. He later disagreed with the policy of his Fraktion and threatened to resign. With the ascendancy of the Lehr wing, his own influence decreased and he voted against the Basic Law in the second reading in the Plenary Session although he voted in favour of the final reading.

3. Brentano is somewhat aloof and independent in his manner. His conversation is serious and usually confined to political matters. He is a man of great integrity and the information he gives is always in good faith and usually reliable. He is thoroughly reliable and sincere and will no doubt emerge as a CDU Minister. He speaks French and some English.

BROCKMANN, Johannes, Zentrum North Rhine-Westphalia, born 1888 in Paderborn

1. Brockmann, who is by profession a schoolmaster, was a member of the Prussian Parliament from 1925 to 1933. He was also Vice-Chairman of the Catholic Teachers Union for Germany until 1933 and Buergermeister of Rinkerode from 1929 to 1933. He is Zonal Chairman of the Zentrum and leader of the Zentrum Fraktion in the Landtag of North Rhine-Westphalia.

2. Brockmann was a member of the Committee of Elders, the Main Committee and the Organisation Committee. The fact that he was the leader of a very small Fraktion resulted in little notice being taken of his views, which were for the most part similar to those of the SPD except on questions concerning religion and the status of small parties, on which themes he was a very impassioned speaker. Despite his lack of influence on the main issues, he was universally respected by his colleagues of all parties, who were always ready to give him a hearing. His manner, together with his somewhat high-pitched voice, gave an impression of nervousness which was belied by his selfpossession in the face of barracking. He was indeed one of the few members of the Main Committee who could not be shaken at any time by the interpolations of the KPD member. He voted against the Basic Law at the last reading.

3. Brockmann is rather quiet and reserved socially but has a distinct vein of humour. He is not addicted to political indiscretions. He has a great admiration for Carlo Schmid.

CHAPEAUROUGE, Dr. Paul de, CDU Hamburg, born 1876 in Hamburg

1. After studying law in Freiburg, Munich and Berlin, Chapeaurouge came to Hamburg in 1903 as an assessor. Two years later he settled down there as a notary. From 1925 to 1933 he was Police Senator but after 1936 returned to his profession as notary. From 1917 to 1933 he was simultaneously a member of the Buergerschaft and Chairman of the German People's Party (DVP). He is at present Chairman of the CDU Fraktion in the Hamburg Buergerschaft and a member of the executive of the Hamburg CDU.

2. Chapeaurouge was a member of the Standing Orders Committee, Occupation Statute Committee, combined Organisation and Administration of Justice Committee and subsequently of the separate Constitutional Court and Administration of Justice Committee. For the most part he followed his party line without much distinction, although his contributions to the drafting work of the Committees were usually of value. The only occasion on which he came into prominence was when he proposed that fifty seats in the future parliament should be reserved for refugees. On this he was defeated on the ground that it would be giving the refugee element, in effect, a double vote.

3. Chapeaurouge is a pleasant but loquacious old gentleman. He will talk on politics in general from the CDU standpoint but will rarely give specific information.

DEHLER, Dr. Thomas, FDP Bavaria, born 1897 in Lichtenfels (Upper Franconia)

1. Studied medicine and law and became a solicitor. During his student years, after World War I, he was active in the German Democratic Party, and during the Nazi period often experienced difficulties. He was finally arrested in 1938 and sent to the forced labour camp at Rositz in 1944, but after some time his friends were able to obtain his release because of ill-health. Following the capitulation, he set out to form a non-party anti-Fascist organisation „Democratic Block“ and, in Bavaria in 1946, founded the Free Democratic Party (FDP) of which he is Land Chairman. In the meantime he had been advocate-general in Bamberg and public prosecutor in the Court of Appeal. He resigned when Loritz became Minister-Extraordinary. In 1947 he became President of the Higher Land Court in Bamberg but in the same year refused the post of Minister of Justice because his party wished to remain in opposition to the CSU Government. In 1948 he was elected President of the Bavarian Constitutional Court but refused the post because it would have debarred him from political activity. He is a member of the Bavarian Landtag.

2. Dehler was a member of the Main Committee and the Organisation Committee. His name appeared on the majority of FDP motions and he was the legal expert behind most of them. His activities were, however, not confined solely to drafting. He had very strong and original ideas which were frequently quite opposed to those of the majority of the members of the Parliamentary Council. His main desire was to see the creation of a strong government and some of his proposals, in particular the suggestion that a presidential system on American lines be adopted, brought the accusation of undemocratic tendencies. He was a member of the Three-Man Editing Committee and took part in many inter-fraktionale negotiations. He was also a member of the Editing Committee which produced the final version of the Basic Law.

3. Dehler's character is not particularly sympathetic but it is admittedly strong. He has little interest in discussing politics with members of the Allies but if another German politician is present he will enter into an animated discussion and forget the presence of a third party. In this he is very similar to Zinn (SPD) of whom he is the intimate friend.

DIEDERICHS, Dr. Georg, SPD Lower Saxony, born 1900 in Northeim

1. From 1919 to 1924 studied pharmacy and later political economy, subsequently qualifying both as pharmacist and economist. He joined the SPD in 1930 and worked for the party until 1935, laterly illegally, until his arrest. After World War II he returned to Northeim from British captivity and was appointed Buergermeister there. He held this post until 1946 when he became Landrat in Kreis Northeim. He was a member of the nominated Lower Saxon Landtag and is now a member of the elected body and employed as Secretary of the SPD Fraktion.

2. Diederichs was the acknowledged SPD expert on electoral systems and was consequently Deputy Chairman of the Electoral Questions Committee. He was, in addition, a member of the Occupation Statute Committee. His was a complicated technical task and he carried it out with distinction. The electoral question was one of the most difficult confronting the Parliamentary Council and Diederichs played a prominent part in the negotiations which resulted in the final compromise. His manner of delivery was rather dry but very clear and his word carried great weight not only with his own party but also with many members of the other parties.

EBERHARD, Dr. Fritz, SPD Wuerttemberg-Baden, born 1896 in Dresden

1. Until 1933 he was successively a municipal employee, salesman, teacher and editor. From this date until 1937 he was engaged in illegal political and trade union activity in Germany and between then and 1945 was a free-lance journalist in England. On his return to Germany he was employed at Radio Stuttgart and from the end of 1946 was publisher of the „Stuttgarter Rundschau“. From the same date he has been a member of the Wuerttemberg-Baden Landtag and since 1947 Secretary of State in Wuerttemberg-Baden and head of the „Deutsches Büro für Friedensfragen“ in Stuttgart.

2. Eberhard was a member of the Occupation Statute Committee and, as reserve member, often present at meetings of the Main Committee and Basic Questions Committee. His contribution to the work of the Parliamentary Council was, however, small, as his chief interests lay outside.

3. In company with many members who had spent the war years in Allied countries, Eberhard was cautious in his approach to the Allies and could rarely be prevailed upon to speak on the work of the Parliamentary Council. He was always very pleasant in social gatherings but there was an air of restraint in his manner which could not be dispelled.

EHLERS, Adolf, SPD Bremen, born 1898 in Bremen

1. His original occupation was that of salesman. He took part in World War I and subsequently worked in a shipyard as welder. He has been active in the socialist movement since 1916. He is a shop steward, trade union functionary, editor and organisation secretary. In 1923 he was a member of the Bremen Buergerschaft and in the same year spent several months in military protective custody. From 1927 to 1929 he was a member of the central committee „Rote Hilfe“ in Germany. Between 1924 and 1929 he was twice excluded from the Communist Party on account of political differences. From 1930 to 1945 he was leader of the Socialist Workers' Party (SAP), North Western Region, which was declared illegal after 1933. Until the outbreak of war he was debarred from working in armament factories but during the war was employed as a metal worker and storeman at a shipyard in Bremen. He has been the member of the Bremen Senate in charge of welfare since 1945 and since 1948 has been in charge of internal administration and police. He has been a member of the SPD since 1946.

2. Ehlers was a member of the Competence Committee but his function was a rather restricted one. As the only member from Bremen, his specialised knowledge was used by the Fraktion in discussions on the question of confessional schools which was of particular interest to him. Otherwise, he had little to say in the Parliamentary Council.

3. He is pleasant and approachable and very ready to discuss political problems, particularly if he considers the Allied party to be left-wing in tendency. The information he imparts is usually of more value and is more detailed if any of his party friends are present.

FECHT, Dr. Hermann, CDU South Baden, born 1880 in Bretten (Black Forest)

1. Studied law in Heidelberg, Berlin and Strassbourg. From 1906 he was government assessor, judiciary, and ministerial secretary in the Baden Ministry of the Interior. In 1918 he was plenipotentiary of the Grand Duke of Baden at the Bundesrat in Berlin, and in 1919, Deputy Plenipotentiary of Baden with the Reichsrat. In 1927 he became Ministerialdirektor and in 1931 plenipotentiary of Baden in the Reichsrat and head of the Baden representatives to the Reich. He retired prematurely in 1933. From 1939 until the capitulation he was in the Ministries of Finance and Economics in Baden and from 1944 to 1945 honorary Director of Police in Baden-Baden. Since the beginning of 1948 he has been Minister of Justice in South Baden, town councillor of Baden-Baden and Kreisrat.

2. Fecht was a member of Organisation Committee and occasionally deputised for members of the Main Committee. He was a firm supporter of the federalist cause but was, however, rarely known to speak and took little part in proceedings.

FINCK, Dr. Albert, CDU Rhineland-Palatinate, born 1895 in Herxheim (near Landau)

1. Studied philology and prior to 1933 was chief editor of the „Neue Pfälzische Landeszeitung“, the organ of the Centre Party. He was taken into protective custody in 1933. He taught at the Gymnasium in Speyer and is now teaching in Neustadt an der Haardt. He is one of the most prominent members of the CDU in the Pfalz.

2. Finck was a member of the Organisation Committee and was occasionally present at meetings of the Main Committee. Although a fluent and witty public speaker he took little part in deliberations, though a number of written motions bore his name. For the most part he contented himself with voting loyally for his Party.

3. Though an animated and willing conversationalist, his political conversation is usually on conventional lines and confined to matters of general interest. He is not a fruitful source of information.

GAYK, Andreas, SPD Schleswig-Holstein, born 1893 in Kiel

1. Joined the socialist movement very early and is active chiefly in its youth organisations. He worked as a journalist until 1933 and was editor of the „Schleswig-Holstein Volkszeitung“. After 1933 he was arrested on warrant as an enemy of the state but subsequently published until 1934 a magazine, „Blick in die Zeit“ in Berlin. He was later obliged to go into hiding. After 1945 he was nominated Buergermeister and in 1946 elected Oberbuergermeister of Kiel. He is head of the SPD Fraktion in the Schleswig-Holstein Landtag.

2. Gayk was a reserve member of the Main Committee and the Committee for the Constitutional Court and Administration of Justice. He was, however, rarely called upon to take part in proceedings. He is remembered chiefly for his interruptions in plenary session.

GREVE, Dr. Otto Heinrich, SPD Lower Saxony, born 1908 in Rostock

1. Studied law and political science in Munich, Heidelberg, Paris, Nancy and Rostock and after passing first and second examinations was temporarily employed in the Ministry of Justice, Schwerin, and then in the public prosecutor's department in Rostock. He was dismissed in 1933 because of political unreliability and was refused permission to practise. He was subsequently syndic and sales director in industry until 1945 and after the capitulation became Landrat in Greiz. Since 1946 he has been a solicitor in Hannover. His political life started in 1924 with the Democratic Youth League (DJV) and he was in the Reichsbanner and later in the Democratic Students' League and German Democratic Party. In 1945 he was a founder member of the FDP and a member of its zonal executive but on 1st May 1948 joined the SPD. He has been a member of the first elected Landtag of Lower Saxony since 1947.

2. As a member of the Finance Committee and the Main Committee Greve followed his own line which, although invariably a socialist one, was not always in agreement with his party's, and he voted on occasions against SPD colleagues. His impatient outbursts at various CDU/CSU points of view and his very audible interpolations had often to be checked by Schmid (SPD), the Chairman of the Main Committee, when they threatened to affect inter-party relations adversely at particularly delicate junctures.

3. Greve's excitable temperament sometimes leads him into making incautious remarks which seem to display contempt for parties other than his own. Such party arrogance is however understandable in one who has recently joined the SPD. His jovial manner, too, does much to lessen the sting and in consequence he may be relied on to take part in social functions involving several political parties without causing embarrassment. He is more than willing to talk on political subjects, expressing his views loudly and forcibly. His command of English is good.

HEILE, Wilhelm, DP Lower Saxony, born 1881 in Diepholz (near Hannover)

1. First went to sea as assistant marine-engineer and was then in publishing business in Danzig and editor of the „National Zeitung“ in Berlin. After returning from World War I he worked with Naumann for the latter's „Mittel Europa“, and as representative of the German Democratic Party Fraktion was a member of the Weimar National Assembly.

After 1933 he was repeatedly arrested. In 1945 he became Landrat of Kreis Hoya and in 1946 deputy Minister President of the Hannover Government. He was founder member of the FDP and for some time its President. He is now a member of the German Party Fraktion in the Lower-Saxon Landtag.

2. Heile was considered by his colleagues as an ineffectual curiosity as far as the Parliamentary Council was concerned. He admitted himself that, although a member of the DP, he was a complete individualist and recognised no party. He took part in practically no debates or committees and was indeed mistrusted by his colleague Seebohm. He could however, always be relied upon to vote with the extreme federalists.

3. Heile's is an unpleasant personality. His entry into the DP followed a concerted effort by leading members of the FDP to remove him from their party. He has recently been stripped of his self-assumed title of „Professor“ in a slander action. His conversation is usually egocentric or, if political extremely federalistic. His idea of a solution for Germany is for all Laender to join a European Union separately as individual and independent states.

HEUSS, Prof. Dr. Theodor, LDP Wuerttemberg-Baden, born 1884 in Brackenheim

1. Studied political economy and the history of art, graduating in Munich in 1905. From 1905 to 1912 he was editor of Neumann's „Hilfe in Berlin“ and from 1912 to 1918 editor of the „Neckar Zeitung“ in Heilbronn. He was active in the direktion of the German „Werkbund“ in 1918 and from 1920 to 1923 lectured in the Hochschule fuer Politik in Berlin. From 1924 to 1928 and from 1930 to 1933 he represented the German Democratic Party (DDP) in the Reichstag. In 1945 he became licensee of the „Rhein-Neckar Zeitung“ in Heidelberg and from September 1945 to December 1946 was Minister of Culture in Wuerttemberg-Baden. Since 1946 he has been a member of the Wuerttemberg-Baden Landtag and since 1947 Chairman of the German Democratic Party (DDP). He was appointed professor at the Technische Hochschule in Stuttgart in 1948 and has published a number of works on politics, literature and art.

2. Heuss, leader of the FDP Fraktion in the Parliamentary Council represented his party on the Committee of Elders, the Main Committee and the Basic Questions Committee. In the technical committee stage of the Basic Law, he was always ready with constructive suggestions regarding wording and form, showing an ability to envisage and avoid likely future pitfalls. In the Main Committee however, and in Plenary Session, he had a tendency to make long speeches which were always delivered with a studied grace. These gave an initial impression of being intended to clarify the vagueness of the issues but they tended after a time to become boring, thus defeating their own object. Despite his theatrical style, however, Heuss usually followed the sound FDP line of finding a compromise and, even in his longer perorations, there could be found a large element of sound common sense.

He often made reference to the Allies but, his thrusts, unlike those of the communists, were delivered in as charming and polite a manner that they could never give offence.

3. Heuss suffered from the usual professorial failing of being unable to distinguish between a conversation and a lecture. His language however at social gatherings is as well chosen as in his speeches. He prefers to talk politics on a general and philosophical basis rather than relating it in detail to the work of the Parliamentary Council and has been known in the presence of members of other parties to steer them skilfully away from their subject when they showed signs of being political indiscreet. On this account he tends to diminish the political usefulness of such occasions.

HOCH, Dr. Fritz, SPD Hesse, born 1896 in Zürich

1. Took part in World War I and then studied law in Marburg, Würzburg and Frankfurt am Main. He qualified in 1921 and took the examination as government assessor in 1923 in Berlin, subsequently working in the office of the Landrat in Dortmund and later with the government in Liegnitz. In 1926 he became Regierungsrat in the Prussian Ministry of the Interior and in 1929 Oberregierungsrat. From 1932 he was with the government in Kassel. During the Nazi period, his superiors repeatedly saved him from the concentration camp. In 1945 he became Regierungspräsident and later Oberpräsident of the Province of Kurhessen, in 1946 member of the Commission for drafting the Hessian Constitution and in 1948 member of the Hessian Cabinet's Commission for administration reform. He has been a member of the SPD since 1919.

2. Hoch was a member of the Competence Committee where he played a fairly prominent part, acting on occasions as rapporteur of the SPD. He was also reserve member of the Organisation and Electoral Questions Committees, sometimes acting on behalf of

absent members. He had little to say in the Main Committee at which he occasionally appeared.

HÖPKER-ASCHOFF, Dr. Hermann, FDP North Rhine-Westphalia, born 1883 in Herford

1. Höpker-Aschoff studied law in Jena, Munich and Bonn. In 1921 he became counsel of the Higher Court (Oberlandesgerichtsrat) in Hamm and 1922 a member of the Prussian Landtag, representing the German Democratic Party (DDP). He refused the post of Prussian Ministerpraesident in 1925 but accepted that of Finance Minister. He was a member of the Reichsbanner and claims to have supported Hindenburg in the 1932 elections. He was dismissed by the Nazis in 1933 and lived in retirement until called up in 1939 and employed in the Main Trustee Office in the East, dealing with Polish assets. On account of this, Military Government refused to sanction his appointment in 1946 as Land Finance Minister and finance member of the ZAC. He was never a member of the NSDAP.

2. Höpker-Aschoff represented the FDP on the Finance Committee and spoke on numerous occasions in the Main Committee, although he was not a member. In his acknowledged capacity as a finance expert he occupied a position of unique influence in the Parliamentary Council as a whole; indeed on finance questions he became, as time went on, as much the spokesman of the Council as of his own party. The drafting of the greater part of the original Articles on finance may be attributed to him. He was a great protagonist of centralism in finance matters and any concessions he made to federalistic tendencies were always made under protest. He expounded his theories with a firmness and aloofness which emphasised his great confidence in the rectitude of his beliefs.

3. Although of an agreeable disposition, Höpker-Aschoff is not a fluent conversationalist except, naturally, on finance, being usually quiet and reserved in company.

KATZ, Dr. Rudolf, SPD Schleswig-Holstein, born 1895 in Falkenburg (Pommern)

1. Studied law and political science and, after participating in World War I, completed his studies at Kiel in 1920, later becoming Referendar there. From 1923 to 1924 he was Syndic in Luebeck and later solicitor and notary in Hamburg-Altona. In 1929 he was SPD delegate, chief of the SPD in the town council Fraktion and a member of the Schleswig-Holstein Städtetag. On account of his Jewish origin he left Germany for Nanking at the beginning of the Nazi period where he became League of Nations Adviser in Municipal Affairs to the Chinese Government and a member of the Chinese National Economic Council. In 1935 he went to the United States, where he became a scientific assistant at Columbia University and in 1938 editor of the „Neue Volkszeitung“ in New York. He was also a member of the directing staff of the „New Leader“ and secretary of the German Labour Delegation, an affiliated body of the A. F. L. He became an American citizen in 1941 and returned to Germany with Bürgermeister Brauer in the summer of 1946 as a delegate of the A. F. L. In December 1947 he became a member of the Schleswig-Holstein Landtag and was appointed Minister of Justice, thus regaining automatically his German nationality.

2. Katz was deputy Chairman of the Organisation Committee and was frequently present in the Main Committee. He brought his influence to bear in many debates. He was universally respected for his ability to sum up a situation in a clear-cut, if somewhat abrupt, manner. Although he followed the party line for the most part he gave the im-

pression of having a broader outlook than many of his party colleagues, undoubtedly as a result of his wide experience abroad. He always deplored the continued evasion of contentious points, advocating a clear defining of the issues rather than vague discussion of ideas.

3. Although a good English speaker, Katz has not been a great source of information. His natural dignity and reserve are perhaps accentuated by his wish to avoid any accusation, which might result from his recent re-acquisition of German nationality, of running with the hare and hunting with the hounds. During the short time since he regained German nationality, Katz has undoubtedly made his mark and is one of the more promising members of the SPD.

KAUFMANN, Theophil, CDU Wuerttemberg-Baden, born 1888 in Frankfurt am Main

1. Studied theology, philosophy and history in Tübingen, New York and Göttingen. He was head of the Clerical Workers' Union in North Germany and chief editor of „Der Handelsstand“. After dismissal, for political reasons, from his post as political and social adviser to the Hamburg radio in 1933, he lived retired at Ettlingen in Baden until 1945 when he founded the CDU there. Since the end of 1946 he has been Chairman of the Wuerttemberg-Baden Gemeindetag, member of the administrative court in Karlsruhe, member of the CDU Land Committee of North Baden and a member of the Economic Council.

2. Kaufmann was a member of the Standing Orders Committee and the Main Committee. Though not entering frequently into debate he showed himself, on the few occasions on which he spoke, a firm supporter of Länder interests without being as dogmatic as his colleagues from Bavaria. He was also a member of the five-man interfraktionale committee which effected the working compromise between the views of the major parties for the Basic Law, and was prominent in the negotiations between the Allies and the seven-man committee. In one plenary session he was Fraktion spokesman for the majority electoral system in the debate on the electoral law.

3. Kaufmann is a fluent conversationalist, though he is inclined to talk more on local Land subjects rather than West German problems. He has a good knowledge of English but prefers to speak in his native language. His benign and dignified appearance, partly attributable to his luxuriant beard, gives one a false impression of his age. His voice is, in contrast, strong and youthful.

KLEINDINST, Dr. Joseph Ferdinand, CSU Bavaria, born 1881 in Mering (near Augsburg)

1. Studied law and political science and took the Bavarian State examination. In 1913 he became a member of the Augsburg Town Council, later adopting municipal service as his profession. He has published a series of leaflets and books on administration policy and ranks as an expert on constitutional and administrative questions. He joined the Swabian Government in 1946 and has been a member of the CSU since its foundation.

2. Kleindinst was a member of the Competence Committee and was frequently present at meetings of the Main Committee. In public meetings he was rather insignificant but his long experience was of great help to his party in the drafting of motions; his name appeared on a great number. He was, however, a firm supporter of the ultra-federalistic policy of CSU and voted accordingly. He therefore followed the CSU in voting against the Basic Law.

3. His conversation is interesting and displays a clear, if biased political viewpoint. He does not, however, stand out in larger gatherings.

KROLL, Dr. Gerhard, CSU Bavaria, born 1910 in Breslau

1. Studied law, political economy, philosophy and religion in Vienna and Berlin. After a few months with Siemens and Halske, he became honorary lecturer on political science at the womens' school of the Inner Mission (a Protestant charitable organization). He was unemployed for political reasons during the Nazi period until finally obtaining a position as statistician at the testing station of the textile industry. In 1945 he founded the Bamberg Branch of the CSU and became in 1946 Landrat in Staffelstein (Upper Franconia). He is a member of the Bavarian Landtag.

2. Kroll was a reserve member of the Finance Committee and a member of the Occupation Statute Committee and Electoral Questions Committee. It was at meetings of the last named committee, however, that he was most prominent. He was the acknowledged and ardent protagonist of the majority election system, fighting for the most part a lone battle against the majority of the other delegates. His expositions of the theme were so lengthy and intolerant that Laforet (CSU), the most renowned maker of long speeches, left the meeting on one occasion remarking: „I will return to business when, that fellow has had his say“. Kroll's attitude was too uncompromising for him to have much influence on his colleagues. He followed his party in voting against the Basic Law.

3. Kroll is a fanatic whose chief topic of conversation is the simple majority electoral system. He also has a great admiration however, for other British institutions and was continually in search of information and printed matter concerning British methods. Although his English is not fluent, he has on one occasion had sufficient courage to speak in Hyde Park.

KUHN, Karl, SPD Rhineland-Palatinate, born 1898 in Bad Kreuznach

1. Educated in a training college for elementary school-teachers and studied sociology at Cologne University.

He was dismissed from State service after 1933 and imprisoned in Siegburg. After his release in 1938 he worked as a clerk in a wholesale business. In 1945 he took over the town food office in Bad Kreuznach and from 1947 has been a member of the Landtag in Rhineland-Palatinate, a member of the Advisory Assembly and town councillor. He has been a member of the SPD since 1922.

2. Kuhn was a member of the Organisation Committee and appeared occasionally as reserve member at meetings of the Competence and Occupation Statute Committees. He was not, however, one of the more prominent members of the SPD.

3. His character was not particularly pleasant and he had a tendency to pass on to the Allies, scandal concerning the opposing parties in a way which strongly suggested an attempt to curry favour.

LAFORET, Prof. Dr. Wilhelm, CSU Bavaria, born 1888 in Edenkoben (Pfalz)

1. Studied in Munich and Berlin and after serving in World War I was director of a district court in Ochsenfurt until 1922. From this time until 1927 he was Oberregierungsrat and Ministerialrat in the Bavarian Ministry of the Interior, later becoming Professor of Constitutional and Administrative Law at Würzburg University where he produced many papers on these subjects. In 1945 he was a member of the committee for drafting a constitution for Württemberg-Baden and from 1946 has been a member of the Bavarian Landtag. He belonged to the Bavarian People's Party from its foundation until 1933 and from then until 1945 experienced considerable hostility from the Nazis. He has been a member of the CSU since 1945.

2. Laforet was the acknowledged spokesman of the extreme Federalists. He considered any question first in its relation to the rights of the individual Laender, by which term he only really understood „Land Bavaria“. This led him into frequent and lengthy expositions of minor points which did little to further the cause he represented. This was apparent both in the Competence Committee and Main Committee of which he was a member. It was noticeable that he had eventually to be restrained by his own party.

3. The lack of a sense of proportion shown by Laforet and his inability to agree to any sort of compromise prevented him having any great influence in committee but members of other parties respected him personally not only for his scholastic standing but because, out of committee, he was a different personality. He has been known to apologise after a meeting for taking up his colleagues' time, remarking „nine-tenths of what I say I believe and the other tenth I am ordered to say“.

LEHR, Dr. Robert, CDU North Rhine-Westphalia, born 1883 in Celle

1. Studied law in several German universities finally graduating in Heidelberg and in 1912 became court assessor in Kassel. From 1924 until 1933 was Oberbürgermeister of Düsseldorf until dismissal and a brief spell of imprisonment under the Nazis after which he was active in the resistance until 1945. He then took over general administration in the North Rhine provincial government becoming Oberpräsident and later President of the nominated Landtag in North Rhine-Westphalia. He played an active part in the formation of the CDU and, as an influential evangelical member belonged to the central committee. He was also deputy Chairman of ZAC and is considered an expert in administrative and constitutional fields.

2. In Bonn, Lehr was Chairman of the Committee for the Organisation of the Federation and a member of the Main Committee. On the latter, in view of the continued absence of Drs. Adenauer and Pfeiffer, he acted as Fraktion leader. In both committees Lehr used his not inconsiderable influence to reconcile the views of CSU and SPD/FDP elements and, since the moderate nature of his views on all disputed issues was as unchallenged as his loyalty to his party once a decision had been taken, even though it might have been contrary to his own views, he played a most useful role. His necessarily close connections with heavy industry led to a rejection of the South German conceptions of federalism as unsuited to a modern state just as his temperament led him to favour the Senate principle for the Upper House. On the other hand his deep religious convictions and opposition to SPD social policy placed him firmly in the right-wing group of the CDU. During the discussions of the final compromise he took a leading part and became leader of the CDU part of the Fraktion.

3. Despite a forbidding appearance, Lehr is readily approachable and possesses a sense of humour which permits him to joke at alleged British suspicions of his reactionary views.

LENSING, Lambert, CDU North Rhine-Westphalia, born 1889 in Dortmund

1. Son of the well-known Zentrum politician and publisher Lambert Lensing. He was Stadtrat (Zentrum) until 1933 in Dortmund, and from 1928 to 1945 edited „Tremonia“, a Catholic newspaper in Arnsberg. He was banned from journalism and publishing by Military Government in 1945 as a result of the pro-Nazi tone of his newspaper during the Nazi period. He is now Category V. He was co-founder of the CDU in Westphalia and is deputy Chairman of the CDU for Westphalia, a member of the personnel committee of the CDU. He was a member of Zonal Advisory Council.

2. Lensing was a member of the Finance Committee and reserve member of the Basic Questions Committee. He was not a prominent member of the Parliamentary Council.

Since the establishment of the CDU he has tended increasingly to withdraw from active Party life while placing his wide administrative, constitutional and industrial knowledge at the disposal of the party as and when it may be needed. Little interested in day-to-day party politics, Lehr is interested in building a political structure which will preserve those German national and social characteristics incorporated in the civic and industrial traditions of Western Germany.

LÖWENTHAL, Dr. Fritz, SPD North Rhine-Westphalia, born 1888 in München

1. He is a solicitor and before 1933 was Communist representative in the Reichstag and head of the legal section of the Communist party. He emigrated to Moscow in 1933, returning in 1945 to the Russian Zone of Germany, where he worked for the Central Administration of Justice. He fled to the West in 1947 and joined the SPD.

2. Löwenthal was a member of the Constitutional Court Committee and was present on frequent occasions at meetings of the Main Committee. His unfortunate political history, however, so warped his outlook that he was of very little use to the SPD as a speaker. He usually entered into debates solely for the purpose of indulging in embittered exchanges with the communist members of the Parliamentary Council. His experiences made him impatient of party discipline and, as a result of an article he wrote on this subject, he was latterly excluded from the SPD Fraktion and became the only independent member of the Council.

3. Löwenthal has a colourless personality and it is practically impossible to engage him in conversation. He has undoubted ability in his own field but is completely unresponsive on political subjects and will only discuss his experiences with the Russians and the various things he has written on this theme. He strikes an unfortunate note in most social gatherings and is usually ignored by his SPD colleagues.

MAIER, Friedrich, SPD South-Baden, born 1894 in Karlsruhe

1. He attended training college and was an elementary school master in Mannheim and Gegenbach, becoming in 1945 senior master and in 1947 headmaster. He was later political referent in the South-Baden Ministry of the Interior and Ministerialrat and head of the department for reconstruction. He became a member of the SAJ in 1920, has been a member and functionary of the SPD in Mannheim, Kreis youth leader of the Workers' Gymnastic and Sports League for Baden, Palatinate, and Saar, and contributor to the Mannheim „Volksstimme“. After the capitulation he became Chairman of the Gegenbach branch of the SPD and member of the Gemeinde Council, Kreis Council Offenburg, the Land Advisory Assembly and the Constitutional Committee.

He has been leader of the SPD Fraktion in the South-Baden Landtag since 1947 and the second Chairman of the SPD in Bezirk Baden since August of that year.

2. Maier was a member of the Main Committee and the Committee of Elders and was also frequently present at meetings of the Electoral Questions Committee in his capacity as reserve member. He did not take part to any great extent in the debates of the Parliamentary council but on the few occasions when he did speak showed a good if somewhat biased grasp of the situation. His political activity was more in evidence outside the public debates of Parliamentary Council, and his influence behind the scenes was considerable.

3. It is apparent that Maier is in touch with reliable confidential sources of information on many topics and his patently pro-British attitude makes him a most useful acquaintance. He is always most willing to discuss political questions with, and impart information to, anyone on the British side especially if he feels that they have left-wing tendencies. He has a certain lack of humour which is, however, offset by his frankness and generosity. He is very friendly and approachable and useful as a go-between.

MANGOLDT, Prof. Dr. Hermann von, CDU Schleswig-Holstein, born 1895 in Aachen

1. Mangoldt took part in World War I and subsequently studied constructional engineering and jurisprudence in Danzig and law in Königsberg, where he sat the state examination in 1933. He was outside tutor in Königsberg until 1936, when he went to Tübingen. He experienced difficulties through not joining the NSDAP but was finally made Professor-in-Ordinary. He was called up into the navy in 1943 but was discharged in 1944 on health grounds, becoming attached to Kiel University as a lecturer in the Institute of World Economy. He was confirmed a dean of his faculty by Military Government in 1945, subsequently becoming Rektor of Kiel University in 1947; he is now Prorektor. He was a member of the first two nominated and the first elected Landtag of Schleswig-Holstein and was Minister of the Interior from April to October 1946. He is Referent of the CDU Fraktion in the Landtag Committee for Internal Affairs and the Food, Educational and Constitutional Committees.

2. Mangoldt was Chairman of the Basic Questions Committee, a deputy member of the Constitutional Court Committee and a member of the Main Committee. With his legal knowledge he was invaluable as the Chairman of the first of these, especially in drafting matters, and was commendably impartial in his handling of contentious points. In the Main Committee he was the originator of many proposed amendments, many of which were accepted by both sides. He was not however the entirely disinterested lawyer in all cases and many of his alleged „editing changes“ were clever attempts to twist meanings, to the evident annoyance of the SPD. He appears to have been used by his own Fraktion as legal adviser and had a hand in most of their proposals. His delivery in committee was not very distinct but he maintained a steady flow of language and was never ruffled by interruptions. He later replaced von Brentano in the final drafting committee when the latter's attitude prevented his co-operating.

3. In private conversation, Mangoldt is inclined to be either pedantic or reminiscent, talking at great length either on legal points or on his experiences in the German navy. As a source of detailed political information he is of little use.

MAYR, Dr. Karl Sigmund, CSU Bavaria, born 1906 in Nürnberg

1. Studied commercial and social science in Nürnberg and later political science at Tübingen. He qualified as a political economist in 1929 and from 1932 was a chartered accountant and economic trustee in Nürnberg. After participating in World War II he entered politics. He was elected to the Bavarian Land Assembly for issuing a Constitution and was simultaneously Chairman of the CSU Bezirk, Central Franconia. He is a member of the CSU Land Directorate.

2. Mayr was a member of the Basic Questions and Finance Committees and a reserve member of the Electoral Questions Committee. In company with many of the younger members of the Council, however, he did not come to any great prominence. He was one of the two CSU Members who voted in favour of the Basic Law.

MENZEL, Dr. Walter, SPD North Rhine-Westphalia, born 1901 in Berlin

1. Studied jurisprudence, political science and economy in Berlin and Freiburg, passing his Referendar examination in Breslau in 1925. After his assessors examination (1927) in the Prussian Ministry of Justice he became government assessor at the Police Presidium in Essen and in 1931 Finanzrat in the Prussian Finance Ministry. Until 1933 he was Landrat in Weilburg an der Lahn and in 1934 settled in Berlin as a lawyer. In 1945 he was an adviser to OMGUS and subsequently General-Referent for the Interior in the Westphalian Provincial Administration. He is on the Zonal Vorstand of the SPD and since 1946 has been Minister of the Interior in North Rhine-Westphalia. He is the son-in-law of Karl Severing.

2. Menzel, after Carlo Schmid the most influential member of the SPD Fraktion of the Parliamentary Council, was a member of the Main Committee, Finance and Electoral Law Committees, though he rarely appeared at the meetings of the last named committee. As one of the most ardent centralists in a centralist party, he headed the opposition to the federalistic policy of the CDU/CSU in finance questions and his arguments had the weight of his past experience in finance administration behind them.

Unlike Höpker-Aschoff (FDP), however, he was, as well as being a typical German civil servant, an experienced politician who could see complications other than those of a purely technical financial nature. Menzel did not speak as frequently in the Main Committee as some other members but when ever he had something to say it was usually concise, objective and to the point. He was, however, particularly voluble on his two hobby-horses, police and the status of civil servants. He was of especial value to his Fraktion in inter-party negotiations outside committee and negotiations with the Allies where his skill in formulating acceptable texts and working out compromise solutions was very much in evidence. He acted throughout as the Chief contact between Schumacher and the Bonn Fraktion.

3. Menzel, on first acquaintance, gives the impression of being shy and reserved but he soon dispels this idea by the humour and fluency of his conversation. His views are very firm and he is pleased to discuss the political questions of the moment from his point of view. His outlook is, however, by no means restricted to these subjects and he is deeply interested in developments outside Germany, particularly in England. His admiration for many of the institutions and usages of Britain is patent, but he clearly cannot envisage the possibility of their adaptation to Germany. Though reluctant to make use of it, he has a fair knowledge of the English language especially the official vocabulary.

MÜCKE, Dr. Willibald, SPD Bavaria, born 1904 in Buchenlöh (Upper Silesia)

1. Studied jurisprudence at Greifswald and settled in Breslau as a lawyer in 1933. He worked in a legal capacity with the directing staff of an industrial combine until he was called up. In 1945 he fled to Bavaria where he opened a legal practice in Munich in 1946. He has been a member of the SPD since 1945 and is in the SPD Refugees Committee for the Land, the Refugees Council of the Party Directorate, SPD Directorate of Land Bavaria and Chairman of the Bavarian Main Committee for Refugees.

2. Mücke was a member of the Organisation Committee and occasionally took the place of regular members on the Constitutional Court, Occupation Statute and Basic Questions Committees. As the chief representative of the interests of the refugees, however, he usually only entered debates when questions affecting this issue were raised. On such occasions, however, he spoke with conviction and vigour.

3. Mücke is always anxious to speak with Allied representatives but the sole topic of conversation is, naturally, the refugee question. Being one himself and, furthermore, in a Land the inherent conservatism of which works to the disadvantage of „foreign elements“, he feels very strongly on the subject.

NADIG, Friederike, SPD North Rhine-Westphalia, born 1897 in Herford

1. A nurse by profession. She has been a member of the SPD since 1916. In 1929 she was a member of the Westphalian Provincial Council. She is now a welfare officer, a member of the Landtag, Zonal Advisory Council and the SPD Refugees Committee.

2. Frau Nadig was a member of the Basic Questions Committee and a reserve member of the Competence Committee. The only occasions on which she spoke were when questions concerning the rights of parents and children arose. She had a clear and concise manner in committee and gave an impression of confidence.

3. Her political views in private conversation are conventionally SPD and usually related to matters which concern German women. In company with most of the other women delegates she rarely accepted Allied social invitations.

PFEIFFER, Dr. Anton, CSU Bavaria, born 1888 in Rheinzabern (Pfalz)

1. Studied modern languages, history, political science and economics in Munich and was Secretary General of the Bavarian People's Party from 1918 to 1933. He was subsequently party representative in the Landtag until 1933. He was founder and publisher of „Politische Zeitfragen“ and author of many political papers. In 1926 he founded the Amerikanische Institut in Munich. During the Nazi period he spent several weeks in detention and frequently suffered disciplinary transfer. From 1945 he acted as Staatsrat in, and later as chief of, the Bavarian Staatskanzlei.

2. Pfeiffer, as Head of the CDU/CSU Fraktion of the Parliamentary Council was, after Adenauer, the leading personality of the CDU/CSU at Bonn. He was a member of the Committee of Elders, the Main Committee and the Basic Questions Committee. His influence was perhaps not as great as that of the SPD Fraktion leader, Schmid, because, in the first place, he was partially obscured by the shadow of Adenauer and, secondly, because he was a member of the CSU. Considering the Party to which he belonged however, Pfeiffer was very moderate in his views and made genuine attempts to reach a compromise on contentious points. He voted against the Basic Law purely because of party discipline as he had privately expressed himself in favour of it.

3. Pfeiffer is a polished and diplomatic conversationalist with an excellent knowledge of English and French. He is always prepared to discuss the political situation in detail without reticence and can be relied upon to give accurate factual information, though, naturally, his political appreciation is biased.

REIMANN, Max, KPD North Rhine-Westphalia, born 1898 in Elbing (East Prussia)

1. After leaving school, Reimann was a miner in the Ruhr. He joined the KPD in 1919 and by 1933 had become a Bezirk Leader of the RGO (Revolutionary Trade Union Organisation). Prior to 1933, he was KPD Secretary in Bezirk Essen. During the Nazi period he was active in the resistance movement. He fled to Czechoslovakia in 1939 but was captured on his way to England and interned at Sachsenhausen, where he remained until the end of the war. He has been Chairman of the KPD in the British Zone and in the three Western Zones since 1946. He was a member of the Zonal Advisory Council. Reimann played a leading part in the formation of the KPD-SED joint organisation.

2. Reimann was theoretically a member of the Committee of Elders, Main Committee and Electoral Questions Committee and reserve member of the Occupation Statute and Standing Orders Committees but his appearances at the Parliamentary Council were infrequent. The fact that he was released from prison for the sole purpose of continuing his work in the Council did not induce him to increase the number of his visits. He usually appeared when matters of definite public interest were under consideration in order to deliver declarations and put forward motions on the usual party line. His speeches were well delivered and forceful but found not the slightest sympathy. Needless to say when his attempts to sabotage the Basic Law had failed, he voted against it.

3. Reimann is not happy in a mixed crowd. He remains the ghost at the feast and rather enjoys it. Alone with plenty of coffee, however, he has been known to unbend.

RUNGE, Hermann, SPD North Rhine-Westphalia, born 1902 in Conradsthal (Silesia)

1. Runge is a locksmith by trade. In 1931 he became secretary of the SPD in Kreis Moers and he was a member of the SPD Fraktion in the Moers Town Council until 1933. In 1935 he was arrested and sentenced to nine years' imprisonment. In 1945 he took over the transport organisation in Kreis Moers and participated in refounding the SPD, becoming the leader in the Kreis. He is now a member of the executive committee of the SPD in Bezirk Lower Rhine and a member of the Landtag of North Rhine-Westphalia.

2. Runge was a member of the Organisation Committee and reserve member of the Basic Questions Committee. His contribution, apart from his vote, was small.

SCHÄFER, Dr. Hermann, FDP Lower Saxony, born 1892 in Remscheid

1. Schäfer studied economics, political science and newspaper production. After World War I and a period of French captivity, he became manager, editor and managing director of „The Union of Higher Black Coated Employees“. In 1935 he was employed by the Hanseatic Assurance Company, of which he became chief in 1946. From 1941 to 1944 Schäfer was compulsorily employed on the Four-Year Plan. Prior to 1914 he was a member of the Young Liberals Union and after 1920 a member of the German Democratic Party (DDP), which later became the „Staatspartei“. From 1925 to 1932 he was on the Reich Committee of these parties. For a time he was a member of the Rhine Province Landtag and a town councillor in Cologne. He has published several papers on economic and political questions. He was a member of the Reichsbanner, the Reichsbund and the Austrian-German Peoples League but was politically inactive during the Nazi period. Since 1946 he has been deputy Chairman of the Hamburg FDP and became Zonal deputy Chairman in 1947. He was a member of the Zonal Advisory Council. Schäfer was a co-founder of the Liberal International in Oxford. Since 1946 he has been Chairman of the Central Committee of the German Blackcoated Workers' Health Insurance Company and of the German Workers Insurance Company.

2. Apart from being Second Vice-President of the Parliamentary Council, Schäfer came little into prominence. He was a member of the Standing Orders Committee and Occupation Statute Committee, neither of which held many sessions, and signed his name to a number of motions but in the main he left the deliberations to his party colleagues.

3. Schäfer has a pleasant speaking voice which he can use to good effect and his conversation is usually useful from a political point of view. Socially, however, his contact with the Allied representatives was slight.

SCHLÖR, Dr. Kaspar Gottfried, CSU Bavaria, born 1888 in Dettelbach (Lower-Franconia)

1. Schlör studied law and economics in Munich and Würzburg. He served in World War I. From 1920 to 1929 he was an official in the Reich Ministry of Finance and also an Oberregierungsrat. He was at that time a member of the Centre Party (1926–1933). From 1929 he was employed in Berlin as a solicitor, an economic adviser and a tax adviser. In 1946 he returned to government service in Bavaria in the finance office in Amberg. After 1945 he joined the CDU in Berlin and later the CSU in Bavaria.

2. Schlör was a member of the Finance Committee but took little part in its debates. When he spoke his opinions were firmly federalistic and he voted solidly with the CSU, except for the final vote on the Basic Law when he abandoned them and joined the majority.

SCHMID, Prof. Dr. Carlo, SPD South Wuerttemberg-Hohenzollern, born 1896 in Perpignan

1. After studying law in Munich and Tübingen, he became a lecturer in the latter university in 1928 and subsequently Professor of International Law. He took both state examinations in law. In 1945 he was nominated President of the State Secretariat of South Wuerttemberg-Hohenzollern. In 1946 he became Professor of Public Law in Tübingen and in the same year he has been Chairman of the SPD. 1948 he became deputy State President. As Staatsrat he took part in the cabinet sittings of Wuerttemberg-Baden, the constitution of which he evolved. He has published many technical and aesthetic works and has the reputation of being an outstanding authority on international law.

2. As head of the SPD Fraktion and Chairman of the Main Committee, Schmid was one of the most important members of the Parliamentary Council. He was, in addition, Chairman of the Occupation Statute Committee and a member of the Committee of Elders and Basic Questions Committee. His great academic ability and legal training were invaluable in the technical work on the Basic Law and his word carried great weight with members of all parties. In his handling of the Main Committee meetings he showed great tact in the many difficult and complicated situations which arose and his moderate approach to political problems was appreciated by opposing Fraktionen. It was largely owing to his influence that the uncompromising attitude of the Hannover executive committee of the SPD was sufficiently modified by the Fraktion at Bonn to avert the crisis after Christmas 1948 and bring about the original CDU/SPD/FDP compromise. Schmid's temperament is his greatest weakness and he has a tendency to make rash statements when ruffled. This caused himself and his party some embarrassment when such statements were made to the press.

3. Schmid's French background has not only given him a bilingual knowledge of the language but also a gallic charm which stands him in good stead in company. He has however a certain pomposity which makes him vulnerable to flattery and on occasions he can be somewhat indiscreet. He is rarely averse to discussing frankly current political problems. He also speaks Italian fluently and understands English.

SCHÖNFELDER, Adolph, SPD Hamburg, born 1875 in Hamburg

1. Educated in an elementary school and apprenticed to a carpenter, he followed this trade until 1905. He then became trade union secretary and Chairman of the Central Union of German Carpenters. He served in World War I and has been active for more

than fifty years in the Workers Movement. In 1919 he was a member of the Buergerschaft, 1925 elected to the Senate, and Chief of Police until 1933 when he was arrested on a charge, subsequently dropped, of high treason. From 1945–1946 he was second Buergermeister of Hamburg. He was a member of the nominated and President of the elected Buergerschaft.

2. Schönfelder is not one of the more brilliant members of the SPD but enjoys a unique position in his party owing to his long devotion to the Workers Movement, and it was on this basis that he was elected first Vice-President of the Parliamentary Council and deputy-President of the Aeltestenrat. He was also a member of the Main Committee, the Standing Orders Committee and was frequently present at the Competence Committee. He proved himself a rather unsatisfactory President of Plenary Session on the frequent occasions when he deputised for Adenauer, and had comparatively little to say in committee but he occasionally pleaded the special cause of Hamburg and came to the fore with the question of confessional schools. His long experience in politics however gave him a great advantage over the less hardened campaigners and he had a great faculty for assuming an air of stupidity when it suited his purposes.

3. He has a very jovial and paternal manner which becomes progressively accentuated in social gatherings. He has however on no occasion been known to indulge in political indiscretion and is practically useless as a source of information. It is practically impossible to force him to commit himself if he does not want to.

SCHRAGE, Josef, CDU North Rhine-Westphalia, born 1881 in Olpe

1. After World War I, Schrage became secretary of the Christian Metal Workers' Union in Siegerland and in Olpe. He was a Centre Party member of the Provincial Landtag until 1933 and was dismissed from his post as Director of the Labour Office in the same year. In 1945 he became Buergermeister of Olpe, Chairman of the Olpe CDU and a member of North Rhine-Westphalia Landtag.

2. Despite the fact that he was a member of the Basic Questions Committee and Electoral Questions Committee and, in addition, reserve member for the Main, Organisation and Occupation Statute Committees, Schrage said next to nothing, contenting himself with voting on the party line.

SCHRÖTER, Carl, CDU Schleswig-Holstein, born 1887 in Neustadt

1. Schröter studied at Kiel and Halle Universities. While a student, he lost the sight of his right eye as the result of a duelling accident and was therefore exempted from military service in World War I. He became a schoolmaster and after the war travelled throughout Europe. He was DVP Reichstag member for Schleswig-Holstein from 1924 to 1928 and during this time he visited England. He was at that time a protégé of Stresemann. In 1928 he gave up his political activities with the DVP, having been appointed Studienrat at Kiel Gymnasium and the German Naval School, a post which he held until 1933, when he was removed from the University by the Nazis on a Gestapo charge of having spread a rumour of a U-boat sinking. In 1945 he was a co-founder of the Democratic Union in Schleswig-Holstein and in 1946 led the group into the CDU. He is a member of the CDU Committee for the British Zone and, as Chairman of the CDU group in the Schleswig-Holstein Landtag, is leader of the Opposition.

2. Schröter was a member of the Electoral Questions Committee and reserve member of the Competence and Organisation Committees. His chief contribution to the work of

the Parliamentary Council was, however, on electoral questions. He was used by his Fraktion as rapporteur on this subject in the Main Committee. His delivery was somewhat abrupt and cutting and tended to arouse a certain amount of resentment from the opposing parties.

3. Schröter speaks freely to persons he knows and can be a useful source of information.

SCHWALBER, Dr. Josef, CSU Bavaria, born 1902 in Fürstfeldbruck

1. After studying law and political science in Munich he took the Bavarian State examination for the higher judiciary and administrative service in 1928. From 1929 to 1943 he practised as a lawyer in Dachau, of which town he was elected Buergermeister in 1946. He belonged to the Bavarian People's Party from 1929 until his arrest in 1933, and from this date was politically inactive until 1945 when he played a leading role in the formation of the CSU in Bavaria. He is now a member of the Bavarian Landtag and Secretary of State in the Ministry of the Interior.

2. Schwalber was a deputy member of a number of committees but was a full member of only one, namely, the Organisation Committee. He also spoke in Plenary Session. His career in the Parliamentary Council was not particularly brilliant and all that can be said of him is that he is a typical right-wing Bavarian, supporting his Land's cause with the same enthusiasm as his other CSU colleagues. His attitude to the various problems was as uncompromisingly federalistic as that of his senior colleague, Laforet. The thought of compromise never once entered his head. For this reason he, rather than Pfeiffer, read out the CSU declaration indicating that the majority of the party would vote against the Basic Law.

3. Schwalber is an intelligent but not original conversationalist, and a difficult guest on social occasions since the presence of members from other parties, or even the CDU, causes him to fall silent. When alone or in the company of other Bavarians he talks fluently, but naturally in a biased way, on political subjects and his conversation is at all times characterised by the natural charm and politeness of Southern Germany.

SEEBOHM, Dr. Hans Christoph, DP Lower Saxony, born 1903 in Emmanuelstegen

1. Studied in Freiburg and Munich and in the technical high schools of Munich and Berlin and qualified as a mines assessor. From 1931 to 1933 he was in the Prussian Ministry of Commerce and from then until 1938 deputy director of the Öhringen Mining Company, subsequently holding leading positions in various mining companies. In 1945 he joined the Lower Saxon Party (later the German Party – DP) in which he is a member of the Directorium and deputy Chairman. He is president of the Brunswick Chamber of Commerce. He was elected to the Lower Saxon Landtag in 1947 and in the same year became Minister of Labour, Reconstruction and Health.

2. In the Finance Committee and Main Committee (of which he was a member in addition to being a member of the Aeltestenrat) Seeböhm took every opportunity of advancing the interests of the Laender and the churches, with the result that in the majority of questions he voted as a CDU man. This was especially evident in his support of the extreme federalist wing of the CDU/CSU on finance administration and also in the case of the motion designed to codify the relations between church and state (to the advantage of the former) and to preserve the Reichskonkordat. It was the unsatisfactory solution to these questions which led him to vote against the Basic Law.

3. In view of his family connections with the Rowntree family it is not surprising that Seebohm attempts to model his conduct on his conception of „the English gentleman“. His undoubted sense of humour and tolerant approach to all questions (except those affecting the church and Laender), however, appear to be perfectly natural. His good social presence coupled with his knowledge of the English language make him an asset to Anglo-German social gatherings.

SEIBOLD, Dr. Kaspar, CSU Bavaria, born 1914 in Lenggries

1. Seibold was the son of a farmer. He studied at agricultural high schools in Munich and Weihenstephan. He took part in World War II. After 1945 he became a politico-social referendar of the Farmers Union and Bavarian representative for food, agriculture and forestry in the Stuttgart Laenderrat. He was at the same time secretary to Reichminister a.D. Dr. Dietrich. He represents the Bavarian Ministry for Food, Agriculture and Forestry in the Bi-Zonal Economic Council. Seibold is very much interested in the „Junge Union“, the youth organisation of the CSU.

2. Seibold was a member of the Standing Orders Committee and reserve member of the Organisation, Competence, Basic Questions and Occupation Statute Committees. He did nothing more than record his vote which finally was against the Basic Law.

SEIFRIED, Josef, SPD Bavaria, born 1892 in Munich

1. After an intermediate school education, Seifried worked until 1919 in all branches of the newspaper industry in Berlin and Munich. Since 1908 he has been a prominent member of the Free Trade Union of Blackcoated Workers, of which he became leader in 1919. Until 1933 he was an SPD member of the Bavarian Landtag. During the Nazi period he was persecuted and arrested. After 1945 Seifried became a member of Munich town council and Minister of the Interior in the first Bavarian Cabinet. He held the same position in the Ehard Cabinet until the SPD withdrew from the government coalition in 1947. He is still a member of the Bavarian Landtag.

2. Seifried was a member of the Committee of Elders and reserve member of the Finance, Organisation and Electoral Questions Committees. His contribution to debate was insignificant.

SELBERT, Dr. Elisabeth, SPD Lower Saxony, born 1896 in Kassel

1. After studying commerce in a higher commercial school, Frau Dr. Selbert studied law in Marburg and Göttingen and took the assessors' examination in 1934. Since then she has practised law in Kassel. She has been a member of the SPD since 1918 and stood as a candidate for the Reichstag. After 1945 Frau Dr. Selbert resumed political work and was elected to the Land and Zonal Executives of the SPD. She is a member of the Kassel Town Council and, as an SPD representative in the Landtag, was a member of the committee for issuing the Hessen constitution.

2. Because of her legal training and experience she was made a member of the Committee for the Constitutional Court and Administration of Justice. She did not, however, enter frequently into debate.

Her principal contribution to the work of the Council was in the Basic Questions Committee and, as reserve member, in the Main Committee where she delivered impassioned speeches on the rights of women and cultural questions. She is a highly intelligent person and it is unfortunate that her manner of address is poor.

STOCK, Jean, SPD Bavaria, born 1893 in Gelnhausen (Hessen-Nassau)

1. He is self-taught in economics and politics. After taking his apprentice- and master-printers' examination he joined the Printers' Union (Free Trades Unions) and the SPD in 1911. He took part in World War I and subsequently became Secretary of the Free Trades Unions. In 1919 he was town councillor in Aschaffenburg, a member of the Bavarian Landtag and manager of the Aschaffenburg SPD newspapers until 1933 when he founded his own printing establishment. After 1933 he was arrested on numerous occasions and finally in 1943 his business was closed, and in 1944 he was imprisoned in Dachau. After his release in 1945 he became Oberbürgermeister and Landrat of Aschaffenburg and later Regierungspräsident of Lower Franconia. He has been Chairman of the SPD Fraktion in the Bavarian Landtag since 1946.

2. Stock was a member of the Main Committee, Electoral Questions Committee, and Finance Committee but showed little originality in debate. He is an old and faithful supporter of the SPD cause and could be relied upon always to vote with his Fraktion. It was evident, however, especially in the debates of the Main Committee that he was looked upon more as a voting unit than as someone from whom motions were required, and Schmid (SPD), the Chairman took no pains to disguise his impatience on the few occasions when Stock insisted upon speaking. His faithfulness to the party line can partly be accounted for by the fact that he comes from Bavaria where the SPD are forced to maintain a rigid discipline in order to exist at all in such a right-wing area. He is hardly of the same calibre as others of his colleagues in the Parliamentary Council.

3. His pleasant homely personality and his kindheartedness make him a pleasing social companion and prevent any embarrassing exchanges in company involving other parties. His political horizon however is so restricted that he is normally an unreliable source of information.

STRAUSS, Dr. Walter, CDU Hesse, born 1900 in Berlin

1. Strauss studied history, economics and jurisprudence in Freiburg, Heidelberg, Munich and Berlin and in 1923 passed the referendar's examination. From 1927 to 1928 he was a judge in Berlin and subsequently a referendar in the Reich Ministry of Economics. He was compulsorily retired in 1935. He then held an economic advisory post until 1943 and then worked in a factory until 1945.

Since the Occupation he has managed hospitals and has been Secretary of State in Hesse and a member of the Directorate of the Länderrat. In 1947 he became deputy director of the Bizonal Economic Administration and 1948 chief of the Legal Section. Strauss became a member of the Berlin CDU on its inception and is now a member of the Hesse CDU, although he was not politically active before 1933. He is the author of many economic works.

2. As deputy Chairman of the Competence Committee and Constitutional Court and Administration of Justice Committee, Strauss played a leading part in the detailed work of the Basic Law. In company with the other lawyers of the Council, he was always prepared to agree with legal members of opposing fraktionen on points of detail but in general policy he was firmly CDU. Many of the written motions presented to the Main Committee (of which he was reserve member) by his Fraktion were drafted with his assistance and he took a prominent part in debate. He was also a member of the Occupation Statute Committee. Strauss' rather autocratic manner was often resented by other members of the Parliamentary Council, especially by the KPD with whom he clashed

frequently. The dislike was mutual. On one occasion, after a session of the Main Committee, he and Reimann almost came to blows in the corridor outside.

3. Strauss has an excellent knowledge of English and is a polished conversationalist. His exposes of political problems are sound and logical but he tends to go deeply into the finer legal points. A certain intolerance and acerbity in his manner discourages light conversation but at social gatherings he will talk at length with members of his own profession.

SÜSTERHENN, Dr. Adolf, CDU Rhineland-Palatinate, born 1905 in Cologne

1. After studying jurisprudence in Freiburg and Cologne he practised from 1932 as a lawyer in Cologne and was Centre Party representative on the town council. From 1933 to 1944 he was defending counsel in many legal cases and in 1945 became Chairman of the Commission for the Preparation of a Constitution for Rhineland-Palatinate and was a member of the Land Assembly for issuing the constitution. Since 1946 he is Minister of Justice and Culture of Rhineland-Palatinate.

2. Süsterhenn was a member of the Committee of Elders and of the Main Committee and a deputy member of the Organisation and Basic Questions Committees. As well as being an ardent defender of federalism on authentic CDU lines he was the acknowledged spokesman for Roman Catholic interests. This was especially evident in debates on confessional schools, the rights of parents and the status of the churches. Despite SPD threats to bring economic matters into the basic rights section should the CDU/CSU insist on the inclusion of cultural questions. Süsterhenn stubbornly persisted in his attempts and showed no spirit of compromise whatsoever. Indeed, when defeated in the third reading in the Main Committee, he declared that he and his supporters would continue the fight if necessary within the framework of the future Government.

As a result of his championship of the Church cause, Süsterhenn became *mal vu* by Adenauer and lost the position he had achieved in the CDU Fraktion. He had a serious motor car accident the day after he agreed a compromise on the question of religious education. Many Catholics claimed that this was an act of God to punish him for his abandoning the Church position. He had to resign from the Parliamentary Council a week before the final vote on the Basic Law.

3. Süsterhenn is one of the most pleasant personalities in the CDU/CSU Fraktion of the Parliamentary Council. He is an asset at social gatherings involving members of other parties and can be relied upon to create a congenial atmosphere. He will talk reasonably on all subjects, including political ones, with members of the Allies and of other German parties providing he can be kept from subjects with a religious significance on which his ideas are somewhat fanatical. He has been a fair source of information. He has some knowledge of English and French.

WAGNER, Friedrich-Wilhelm, SPD Rhineland-Palatinate, born 1894 in Ludwigshafen

1. Wagner studied jurisprudence, political science and philosophy in Tübingen, Munich, Heidelberg, Berlin and Würzburg. He has been a lawyer in Ludwigshafen since 1922 and, prior to 1933, defended many court cases. In 1930 he became a member of the Reichstag and Chairman of the Reichsbanner for Palatinate, Saar and Nahe. In 1933 he was arrested but escaped via Switzerland to France, where he lived until 1941. He then went to the United States and returned to Germany in 1947. Wagner is now a member of the Rhineland-Palatinate Landtag and Chairman of its legal and main committees.

2. Wagner, while not being one of the major personalities of his Fraktion was nevertheless a strong character with a mind of his own. In addition to being Chairman of the

Competence Committee, he was a member of the Occupation Statute Committee and reserve member of the Organisation and Occupation Statute Committees. His views were very strongly centralist and he frequently had sharp clashes with members of the opposing parties. He was one of the principal advocates of the abolition of the death sentence.

3. As a result of his sojourn abroad, Wagner's English is fluent and his outlook broader than that of many of his colleagues. He is an animated and forceful conversationalist and is quite willing to impart political information and express his views.

WEBER, Dr. Helene, CDU North Rhine-Westphalia, born 1881 in Elberfeld

1. Frau Dr. Weber passed the intermediate teachers' examination in 1900 and, after studying in Bonn and Grenoble, passed the higher teachers' examination in 1909.

Until 1916 she taught in Bochum and Cologne and in 1917 became director of the Social School of the Catholic German Women's League in Cologne. In 1918 she became Chairman of the League of Catholic German Social Welfare Officers. Frau Weber was elected to the Weimar National Assembly and in the same year became a referendar. In 1920 she was appointed Ministerialrätin in the Prussian Ministry of Welfare. Until 1933 she was a member of the Reichstag and for some time also a member of the Prussian Landtag. She was Chairman of the Reich Women's Advisory Council and deputy Chairman of the Catholic German Women's League. In 1933 she was dismissed from public office and obliged to retire. After being a member of the North Rhine nominated Landtag for a short time in 1945, she was appointed to the Zonal Advisory Council and was Chairman of its committee for culture.

2. As reserve member of the Electoral Questions Committee, Frau Weber occasionally took the place of full member but rarely had anything to say. Her chief interest in, and main contribution to, the work of the Parliamentary Council lay in the problems connected with the rights of women and the churches. She talked at length on these subjects both in the Basic Questions Committee, of which she was a member, and at meetings of the Main Committee when the relevant articles were under discussion. On the rights of women she spoke well, though in the opinion of the other women members, not sufficiently seriously, but when, towards the close of the work of the Main Committee, she had to take over from Suesterhenn (who was injured in a car accident) the task of ensuring the inclusion in the Basic Law of the cultural provisions desired by the Church, she was practically ignored by the male members of the Council.

WESSEL, Helene, Zentrum North Rhine-Westphalia, born 1898 in Dortmund

1. Frau Wessel attended a commercial school and later a welfare school and passed the state examination in youth welfare. She holds a diploma as welfare officer from the German Academy for Social Work in Berlin. In 1915 she became secretary of the German Centre Party in Dortmund-Hörde and in 1928 was elected to the Prussian Landtag. Since 1939 she has been chief welfare officer in the central office of the Catholic Welfare Union. In 1945 she became deputy Chairman of the German Centre Party and she represents that party in the North Rhine-Westphalia Landtag.

2. Frau Wessel was theoretically a member of the Competence and Standing Orders Committees but owing to the fact that the Zentrum Fraktion consisted only of herself and Brockmann, she was frequently at meetings of the other committees. As was the case with the other women members, she concerned herself largely with cultural questions.

3. In social gatherings she is a pleasant and unaffected conversationalist and showed interest in a variety of subjects. She rarely discusses political matters.

WIRMER, Ernst, CDU Lower Saxony, born 1910 in Warburg

1. Wirmer studied jurisprudence in Berlin, passing the first examination in 1932 and the second in 1936. Because of his „political unreliability“ he was refused the right to practise. He was called up at the outbreak of war. Wirmer was arrested in 1944 because of his brother's activities in the resistance movement. On his release from military detention camp in April 1945, he took up employment in the Staatsministerium in Oldenburg. He is still employed in the Oldenburg administration, in the office for refugees.

2. Although a member of the Constitutional Court and Administration of Justice Committee and reserve member for the Basic Questions, Organisation and Main Committees Wirmer, apart from voting firmly for the CDU cause, made little contribution to the work of the Council.

WOLFF, Dr. Friedrich, SPD North Rhine-Westphalia, born 1912 in Essen

1. After studying economics and social science in Cologne, Bonn and Munich, he became, in 1936, economic editor to the „Frankfurter Zeitung“ and retained this post until called to the Army in 1943. Released from French captivity in early 1946 he became, at the suggestion of his party, Stadtdirektor of Essen, a post he is filling with considerable distinction. Wolff, in spite of his youth was already a member of the SPD before 1933, having graduated through the SAJ (Socialist Workers Youth) and SPD Students League.

2. Wolff was a member of the Committee of Elders, the Main Committee and the Finance Committee. On the last named he was present as the SPD expert on finance and, though naturally somewhat overshadowed by Höpker-Aschoff (FDP), played an active and constructive part in the work of the Committee; he advocated, naturally, a strong finance administration. A second question of great interest to Wolff was the position of the public servant in politics and he was convinced that public servants should have not merely the right but the duty to be politically active. In the Committee of Elders Wolff was one of the most active supporters of the project to hold a plenary session of the Parliamentary Council in Berlin.

3. Wolff has always had an ambition to make a career of politics and has regarded his other occupations as means to this end. His professional qualifications, as demonstrated by his appointment to the „Frankfurter Zeitung“, are excellent and this coupled with strong views and great energy tend to make him rather intolerant of opposition, which he regards as causing unnecessary delay. Although a voluble talker who enjoys informal discussion, compromise seems unknown to him. He has hinted at close connections with the Hannover Committee of his party and may probably with justice be regarded as a most ardent supporter of the most centralist-minded wing and the particular form of nationalist feeling characteristic of the present SPD.

WUNDERLICH, Hans, SPD Lower Saxony, born 1899 in Munich

1. Wunderlich has been a journalist since the age of 20 and has been politically active in the SPD since the age of 21. He gave up these activities in 1933 but returned to his old profession in 1946 and in a short time became co-founder and licensee of „Nordwestdeutsche Rundschau“.

2. Wunderlich entered to a certain extent into the debates of the Basic Questions Committee, of which he was a member, but for the most part his role in the Council was a minor one.

ZIMMERMANN, Gustav, SPD Wuerttemberg-Baden, born 1888 in Liedolsheim

1. Zimmermann has been a mechanic, a sailor, a technical assistant and a commercial assistant and at the age of 20 was already active in journalism. He was badly wounded in World War I. After the war he became an editor and later a publishing director, which post he held until 1933. For the whole of this period he was SPD Fraktion leader in the Mannheim town council, and a functionary of the German Co-operative Wholesale Societies. He was at the same time deputy Chairman of the SPD in Baden and subsequently of Wuerttemberg-Baden. Zimmermann was arrested in 1933 and taken into protective custody. He later spent three months in prison for publishing a banned newspaper but was acquitted in appeal proceedings. He was unable to obtain employment until 1936, when he became an executive in a paper goods factory. From 1937 to 1945 he represented a German and foreign export firm. In 1945 he became adviser for reconstruction and deputy Oberbürgermeister of Mannheim and Minister of the Interior of Land Baden. He was a member of the assembly for issuing a constitution for Wuerttemberg-Baden and, since November 1946, has been first Vice-President of the Landtag.

2. Zimmermann was a member of the Main Committee and the Standing Orders Committee and reserve member of the Finance, Occupation Statute and Electoral Questions Committees. His contribution to the work at Bonn was small.

ZINN, Georg-August, SPD Hesse, born 1901 in Frankfurt am Main

1. After completing his legal studies in Berlin, Zinn practised as a lawyer in Kassel from 1931 until called up in 1941. He was active in the resistance movement and experienced political persecution and protective custody.

In 1945 he was nominated Minister of Justice in the first Hessian Cabinet, a position he still holds, and played an important role in the drafting of a constitution for Hesse. His SPD connections go back to 1920; in 1924–26 he was Chairman of the Social Democratic Students League in Berlin and from 1928 a member of the SPD Gauleitung Kassel.

2. In Bonn he played a very active part, first as a member of the Basic Problems Committee and then as Chairman of the Committee for the Constitutional Court and Administration of Justice. The quality of his work in these capacities received recognition when he was appointed SPD representative on the important 3-man Editing Committee which, on the first reading, was permitted to make material alterations. Zinn was characterised by his rapid grasp of a situation or proposition, a genuine desire to seek an agreed solution and the force and clarity with which he expounded his views. His conceptions were by no means narrowly Marxist but reflected the centralist and rather nationalist spirit of Hannover, as for instance in the Berlin question. On subjects on which he felt strongly he was not afraid to oppose the official party line; an example being his outspoken support for the FDP proposal of a strong President with a constitutional position similar to that of the American President. He later led the groups which opposed further concession on the Basic Law. In the final negotiations he took a leading part and was the main support of the drafting committee which produced the final text of the Basic Law.

3. Socially, Zinn is convivial and a voluble talker but tends to confine his conversation to experiences in the Army and adventures during the Nazi period, unless another German politician is present, on which occasion he is quite content to talk „shop“ to his colleagues in Allied hearing. He is clear headed and very able and should prove one of the leaders of the SPD in the Federal Government.