

The idea of being able to entrust to Sudeten Germans alone the maintenance of order is practically impossible in consequence of obstacles put in the way of political organizations in the course of the last decade and particularly in recent times. As much in the interests of the tortured, because defenceless, population as well as with regard to the duties and prestige of the Reich, it is impossible for us to refrain from giving immediate protection to this territory.

Your Excellency assures me that it is now impossible for you to propose such a plan to your own Government. May I assure you for my part that it is impossible for me to justify any other attitude to the German people, since for England it is a question at the most of political imponderables, whereas for Germany it is a question of the primitive right of security of more than 3 million human beings and the national honour of a great people.

I fail to understand the observations of your Excellency that it would not be possible for the Czechoslovak Government to withdraw their forces so long as they were obliged to reckon with possible invasion, since precisely by means of this solution grounds for any forcible action are to be removed.

Moreover I cannot conceal from Your Excellency that the great mistrust with which I am inspired leads me to believe that the acceptance of the principle of transfer of Sudeten Germany to the Reich by the Czech Government is only given in hopes thereby to win time so as by one means or another to bring about a change in contradiction to this principle. For if the proposal that these territories are to belong to Germany is sincerely accepted there is no ground to postpone the practical resolution of this principle. My knowledge of Czech practice in such matters over a period of long years compels me to assume the insincerity of the Czech assurances so long as they are not implemented by practical proof. The German Reich is however determined by one means or another to terminate these attempts which have lasted for a decade to deny by dilatory methods the legal claim of the oppressed people.

Moreover the same attitude applies to other nationalities in this state. They also are victims of long oppression and violence. In their case also every assurance given hitherto has been broken. In their case also attempts have been made by dilatory dealings with their complaints or wishes to win time in order to be able to oppress them still more subsequently.

These nations also, if they are to achieve their rights, will sooner or later have no alternative but to secure them for themselves. In any event, Germany, if, as it now appears the case, should find it impossible to have potential rights of Germany in Czechoslovakia accepted by way of negotiations, is determined to exhaust the other possibilities which then alone remain open to her.