

brutal it can only be described during recent weeks and days as madness. The victims of this madness are innumerable Germans. In a few weeks the number of refugees who have been driven out has risen to over one hundred and twenty thousand. This situation as stated above is unbearable and will now be terminated by me.

Your Excellency assures me now that the principle of transfer of Sudeten territory to the Reich has in principle, already been accepted. I regret to have to reply to Your Excellency as regards this point that theoretical recognition of principles has also been formally granted to us Germans. In the year 1918 the Armistice was concluded on the basis of the 14 points of President Wilson, which in principle were recognized by all. They were, however, in practice broken in the most shameful way. What interests me, Your Excellency, is not recognition of the principle that this territory is to go to Germany, but solely the realization of this principle and the realization which puts an end in the shortest time to the sufferings of unhappy victims of Czechoslovakian tyranny and at the same time corresponds to the dignity of a great Power. I can only emphasize to Your Excellency that these Sudeten Germans are not going back to German Reich in virtue of the gracious or benevolent sympathy of other nations, but on the grounds of their own will based on the right of self determination of the nation, and of the irrevocable decision of the German Reich to give effect to this will. It is however for a nation an unworthy demand to have such a recognition made dependent on conditions which are not provided for in treaties nor are practical in view of the shortness of time. I have with the best intentions and in order to give to the Czech nation no justifiable cause for complaint, proposed—in the event of a peaceful solution—as the future frontier, that nationality frontier which I am convinced represents a fair adjustment between the two racial groups, taking also into account the continued existence of large language islands.

I am ready to allow plebiscites to be taken in the whole territory which will enable subsequent corrections to be made in order—so far as it is possible—to meet the real will of the people concerned. I have undertaken to accept these corrections in advance. I have moreover declared myself ready to allow this plebiscite to take place under the control either of an International Commission or of a mixed German-Czech Commission, simultaneously, with readjustment during the days of the plebiscite, to the withdrawal of our troops from the most disputed frontier areas, subject to the condition that the Czechs do the same. I am, however, not prepared to allow a territory which must be considered as belonging to Germany on the ground of the will of the people, and of the recognition granted even by the Czechs, to be left without the protection of the Reich. There is here no international power or agreement which would have the right to take precedence over German right.