

No. 9

*Letter from the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom to the Chancellor
of the German Reich.*

September 26, 1938.

My dear REICHSKANZLER,—

In my capacity as intermediary I have transmitted to the Czechoslovak Government the memorandum which Your Excellency gave me on the occasion of our last conversation.

The Czechoslovak Government inform me that while they adhere to their acceptance of proposals for the transfer of Sudeten German areas on the lines discussed by my Government and the French Government, and explained by me to you on Thursday last, they regard as wholly unacceptable the proposals in your memorandum for immediate evacuation of the areas and their immediate occupation by German troops, these processes to take place before the terms of cession have been negotiated or even discussed.

Your Excellency will remember that in my letter to you of Friday last I said that an attempt to occupy forthwith by German troops areas which will become part of the Reich at once in principle, and shortly afterwards by formal delimitation, would be condemned as an unnecessary display of force, and that in my opinion if the German troops moved into the areas that you had proposed, I felt sure that the Czechoslovak Government would resist and that this would mean destruction of the basis upon which you and I a week ago agreed to work together, namely, an orderly settlement of this question rather than a settlement by the use of force. I referred also to the effect likely to be produced upon public opinion in my country, in France, and indeed, in the world generally.

The development of opinion since my return confirms the incompatibility in the views expressed to you in my letter and in our subsequent conversation.

In communicating with me about your proposals, the Government of Czechoslovakia pointed out that they go far beyond what was agreed to in the so-called Anglo-French plan. Czechoslovakia would be deprived of every safeguard for her national existence. She has to yield up large proportions of her carefully prepared defences and admit German armies deep into her country before it had been organized on the new basis or any preparations had been made for its defence. Her national and economic independence would automatically disappear with the acceptance of the German plan. The whole process of moving the population is to be reduced to a panic flight.

I learn that the German Ambassador in Paris has issued a communique which begins by stating that as a result of our conversations at Godesberg Your Excellency and I are in complete agreement as to