

Copy

ABX/ARM.

Ref. Charter.

21st September, 5.

Mr. Z. K. Matthews,
Fort Hare, C.P.

Dear Mr. Matthews,

I thank you for your letter of the 14th instant enclosing your circular letter on the Transfer of the Protectorates to the Union and the statement on "The Transfer of the Protectorates to the Union."

The statement as it stands lacks the background. It appears as a sudden awakening from a long slumber. Firstly - It does not give the full credit that their leaders in South Africa have been thinking and planning systematically and consistently during the war with due regard to the solution of post-war problems. The lack of background is the failure to refer and to quote the declaration of the Committee of Africans on the study and interpretation of the Atlantic Charter and the statesmanlike declaration on the Protectorates found on the last paragraph of page 3 and the first paragraph of page 4 of the "Africans' Claims" in the Union of South Africa.

With this quotation in the preamble, the supplementary statement as drafted becomes a natural development with consideration of the United Nations San Francisco Charter.

Secondly: Your broadcasting of the document with your circular letter to various persons is likely to cause a premature leakage of the intentions to the embarrassment of all concerned.

I say this advisedly because I have studied the question and discussed it with all the people concerned as to the strategy, the method of presentation and the strict et/iquette to be observed in the matter.

One of the dangers of circularising many people at too early a stage is for the idea to get into the hands of any ambitious press reporter, African or otherwise, or to the Native Affairs Department informers and the game would be up.

2. Thirdly:

Thirdly: You want the document signed and returned to you. What will you do with it then and in what capacity?

I am asking this question because I have been studying the matter closely since Council or Champion received the telegram. As soon as he received it he telephoned me from Pretoria and came down to Johannesburg and spent the evening with me discussing the approach to the situation as President-General of the African National Congress, and thought that since the matter was international the African National Congress must take the lead and make the arrangement for a deputation, if it needs be.

He then left the telegram with me and it has been with me since.

Realising the importance and delicateness of the matter with its international bearing, I advised against a deputation or passing resolutions but decided :-

- (a) To communicate the contents of the telegram to the Protectorates in person, hence, I telephoned Swaziland and left with the telegram in my possession and discussed the matter later with Chief Tshekedi Khama.
- (b) To get the reaction of the Protectorates to the situation that had arisen through the telegram and get their advice on any points such as procedure, and decided on definite points.
- (c) To get the source of the suggestion contained in the Telegram.

This procedure of caution and secrecy is most appreciated and recommended by both Mongwato and Nkonyama.

I have in my possession detailed and valuable information about all these matters which must not be broadcast. Consequently the document must be redrafted, quoting the declaration made in Africans' Claims on the transfer of the Protectorate as a preamble and must not be broadcast.

We should then arrange to have it signed by M.R.C's, the Committee on the Atlantic Charter and certain prominent personages; Professor Jabavu; President General, African National Congress; President, African Teachers' Federation; President, African Trade Unions; President of African Ministers Association; Moderator, Bantu Presbyterian Church; Principals of African Secondary Schools, etc. Daughters of Africa; National Council of African Women.

I have every reason and all facts to believe that the people we propose to present the petition through would be embarrassed by the deputation which might call for the knowledge and permission of our Government to the arrangement. Besides the petition must be marked "CONFIDENTIAL" at this stage without preventing us communicating, with the means at our disposal, to certain people who will spread our views in the right quarters.

There must be no delay but let us hasten cautiously and prudently.

Yours sincerely,

(590) A B XUMA.
PRESIDENT-GENERAL.

Collection Number: A922

Allison Wessels George CHAMPION Papers, 1925-1959

PUBLISHER:

Publisher:- Historical Papers Research Archive

Location:- Johannesburg

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