

Ghanaian-Togolese Note Exchanges before President Olympio's Death. - Rejection of Ghanaian Charges.

Following the earlier tension between the two countries resulting from Ghanaian allegations of Togolese support for plots by Ghanaian refugees in Togo against the Ghana Government [see 18654 A ; 17357 B], and Togolese allegations of Ghanaian complicity in the previous attempts on President Olympio's life [see 18605 A], the Government of Ghana had made fresh charges of Togolese support for alleged terrorism by Ghanaian refugees only a short while before President Olympio's overthrow and death.

In a Note of Dec. 7, 1962, the Ghanaian Government accused the Togolese Government of having given asylum to those responsible for the most recent assassination attempts against President Nkrumah [see 18989 A], and requested Togo to "repatriate" the refugees allegedly concerned.

The Togolese Government, in reply (Dec. 19), observed that the Ghanaian Note gave no details in support of this accusation, and stressed that Ghanaian exiles were allowed to remain in Togo only on condition that they took no part in political activities.

On Dec. 23, however, the Ghanaian Government announced that another plot to assassinate President Nkrumah had been discovered allegedly organized by one George Davies, who possessed a Togolese passport and (it was alleged) had also been responsible for the attack on Dr. Nkrumah in August 1962. Ghana also asserted that there was clear evidence of a "subversive organization" among Ghanaian refugees in Togo, and that the Togolese chief of police had personally arranged the smuggling into Ghana of anti-Government pamphlets written by Mr. Gbedemah, the former Ghanaian Finance Minister.

In a further Note to Togo (Jan. 6, 1963) the Ghana Government stated that it had discovered a plot to murder Dr. Nkrumah in January 1962 under the leadership of a former clerk in the Ghana National Assembly, Mr. J. E. Y. Bosumpem, who had since fled to Togo. The Ghanaian Government demanded his extradition, as well as that of several other exiles—notably the United Party leaders Dr. K. A. Busia and Mr. Kwow Richardson—whom it accused of complicity in the August 1962 bomb attack, and also formally requested the expulsion from Togo of Mr. Gbedemah. The Note added that unless the Togolese Government took "immediate steps" to rectify the existing situation, Ghana would "have no alternative but to institute such measures as may be found necessary for the security of the State." At the same time the Ghanaian Government intensified restrictions on travel across the Ghana-Togo border, which had already been virtually closed to vehicular traffic for the past year.

African Reactions to President Olympio's Assassination. - Guinean Proposal for International Investigation. - Nigeria convenes Conference of Inter-African and Malagasy Organization.

The murder of President Olympio was strongly condemned by the Governments of virtually all other African States and precautionary measures were taken by Togo's nearest neighbours, Dahomey and Ghana.

Dahomey. The Government of Dahomey sent a delegation to Accra on Jan. 13, headed by the Foreign Minister (Dr. Emile Zinsou), to urge Dr. Nkrumah not to intervene in the Togolese crisis; sent another mission to Lomé headed by its Economics Minister (M. Paul Darboux), who played a mediatory role in the discussions leading to the formation of the Grunitzky Government; and ordered troop reinforcements to the Togolese border, which remained closed until mid-January. The Dahomey Government announced on Jan. 14 that the Ghanaian Government had given an assurance that it would not attempt to interfere in Togolese affairs, President Maga giving a similar public undertaking on Dahomey's behalf. On Jan. 22 Dahomey announced *de facto* recognition of M. Grunitzky's Government.

Ghana. The Ghanaian Government—which was at first widely suspected of involvement in the coup in view of its dispute with President Olympio's regime [see above]—had also sent troops to its frontier with Togo on Jan. 13, enforcing a complete ban on movement across the border. As stated above, Dr. Nkrumah subsequently gave an assurance of non-intervention and, in response to M. Grunitzky's request, the Ghana Government announced on Jan. 21 that it had agreed to grant recognition to the new Togolese regime. The border with Togo was reopened to pedestrian traffic on the same day and to all traffic on Feb. 1.

Guinea. President Sekou Touré announced three days' national mourning for M. Olympio; called upon all African Governments to decide on a joint policy towards the crisis; and—in messages to other African countries and to the U.N. Secretary-General, U Thant—proposed the holding of an international investigation into the circumstances of President Olympio's death. This proposal was immediately supported by President Tubman of Liberia and by Sir Milton Margai, Prime Minister of Sierra Leone. U Thant, however, informed President Touré that he had neither the necessary authority nor the means to undertake such an inquiry.

Following Ghana's recognition of the new regime in Togo, President Touré protested to President Nkrumah that the Ghanaian decision, coming "before the opening of an inquiry into the events of Jan. 13, and before an assurance that those guilty [of M. Olympio's death] will be punished, risks serving as a new springboard for subversive activities in Africa." The Guinean

Government also subsequently requested the Ambassador in Lomé for consultations arising from the Senegalese recognition of Grunitzky [see below].

Nigerian Federation. Mr. Jaja Wachuku, the Federal Foreign Minister, announced on Jan. 21 that his Government had called a conference of the Inter-African and Malagasy Organization to meet in Lagos on Jan. 24 for discussion of the Togo situation. He declared that Nigeria would regard any recognition of the Togolese regime as "an unfriendly act."

Mr. Wachuku asserted that the coup in Togo was not a revolution but a "cold-blooded murder engineered, organized, directed and financed by somebody," with the "sole motive" of "the destruction of an individual." Nigeria's interests were "vitaly affected" by what happened in Togo, since "for the purposes of securing our frontier is the Togo-Ghana frontier." Mr. Wachuku added that Nigeria would "not tolerate" the existence of a "dictatorship in Togo."

Senegal. The Senegalese Government announced *de facto* recognition of the new Togolese regime on Jan. 22.

Decisions of Inter-African and Malagasy Organization on Togolese Situation.

The Council of Ministers of the Inter-African and Malagasy Organization—of which Togo had become a member, being one of the signatories of the Charter [see 19232 A]—met in Lagos on Jan. 24-26. While strongly condemning the murder of President Olympio, it decided *inter alia* to send an inquiry commission to Togo but left the question of recognition of the new regime to the discretion of member-countries.

The conference was attended by Ministers from 16 of the member-countries, viz. Cameroon, Congo (ex-Belgian), Central African Republic, Ethiopia, Gabon, Ivory Coast, Dahomey, Liberia, Mauritania, Madagascar, Niger, Nigeria, Senegal, Sierra Leone, and the Voltaic Republic. Mr. Wachuku was unanimously elected chairman.

Two rival delegations, each claiming to represent Togo, were present at the start of the meeting; one was led by Dr. Valentin Vovor, Health Minister in M. Grunitzky's Government, and the other by M. Théophile Mally, who was Minister of the Interior in President Olympio's Cabinet and had escaped from Lomé after the coup of Jan. 13. It was officially stated at the end of the conference that the meeting had "listened to statements by both delegations" but that neither of them had been "permitted to participate in the deliberations of the Council as none of them was considered qualified to do so under the provisions of the [Organization's] Charter. . . ."

In his opening address Mr. Wachuku outlined the points which would come up for consideration, including President Touré's proposal for an international inquiry [although Guinea is not a member of the Organization], and the Organization's attitude to "the presence of Ghanaian troops known to be massed along the Togo-Ghana border—an act which can be regarded as a threat to the independence and territorial integrity of Togo, considering recent exchanges of Note between the two Governments."

The principal points of the five resolutions approved by the conference on Jan. 26 were as follows:

(1) The Council (i) "condemns and deplors" M. Olympio's murder, and "unreservedly condemns political assassination as a means of overthrowing a Government . . . or . . . of settling political conflicts"; (ii) requested the provisional Togolese Government to (a) "re-establish without delay the rule of law, a Constitution, and electoral laws in co-operation with the representatives of all the active forces in the country"; (b) "liberate without delay the political prisoners, notably the Ministers of the [Olympio] Government"; and (c) "organize as rapidly as possible free and democratic general elections which would permit the election of a National Assembly and Executive, thus enabling the Togo Republic to participate in the Assembly of Heads of State and Government [due to be held] in Addis Ababa in May 1963"; (iii) proposed to the provisional Togolese Government the sending of "a mission, the members of which would be chosen from the neighbouring member-States Dahomey, Ivory Coast, Upper Volta, Niger, and Nigeria, to help throw light on the circumstances which surrounded the murder of President Olympio and on any external influences which might have incited such a crime, and to assist as necessary in re-establishing democratic institutions"; and (iv) recommended to the provisional Government that "in accordance with Togolese law those responsible for the crime should be prosecuted."

(2) Member-States were recommended to give "emergency financial and other material assistance . . . to the widow and dependent children of the late President . . . until such time as the [Togo] Government . . . assumes its lawful responsibility in this regard."

(3) The Council recommended the provisional Togolese Government "to respect the right of political asylum accorded to refugees under international law and conventions." [In this connexion it was reported on Jan. 28 that the Togolese Government had decided to repatriate all Ghanaian refugees remaining in Togo (a number having already fled to Nigeria and other countries),

despite an earlier statement by M. Grunitzky that the refugees could remain in Togo so long as they refrained from political activities.]

(4) In view of "the dangers of internal subversion and external aggression which threaten the territorial integrity and national independence of member-States," the Council decided "to undertake the study of the question of mutual defence and security between the member-States to implement . . . the [Organization's] Charter." It requested the Liberian, Nigerian, and Voltaic Governments "to prepare a draft treaty for submission to the Council . . . at its meeting in Addis Ababa in May 1963."

(5) The Council further recommended the forthcoming meeting of Heads of State and Government in Addis Ababa "to agree that where there is sufficient evidence that internal subversion has been engineered by another State, diplomatic relations with that State should be severed by all members of the Inter-African and Malagasy Organization."

After a preparatory meeting of the inquiry commission in Cotonou (Dahomey) on Feb. 1, three members of the commission—Dr. Zinsou (chairman), Mr. Matthew Mbu (Nigerian Minister of State for the Navy), and M. Maiga Mamadou (Niger Minister of Education)—arrived in Lomé on Feb. 2. Although they had preliminary talks with M. Grunitzky, they returned to their respective countries without making further progress; it was reported from Lagos on Feb. 5 that the Togolese military leaders had refused any co-operation in the inquiry.

Reactions in Non-African Countries.

The French Cabinet discussed the Togolese situation on Jan. 16 on the basis of a report by M. Habib-Deloncle, Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs. It was stated after the meeting that the Minister had stressed that France had been in no way implicated in the coup and that she "deplored recourse to violence and the assassination of President Olympio." At the same time, however, France considered that the rapid formation of a Togolese "government of union" would be the best guarantee against disorder or any threat to Togolese independence. In the latter connexion M. Habib-Deloncle had "recalled that the co-operation agreements between France and Togo are still in force, and that under their terms France undertakes to guarantee Togo's integrity."

The British Foreign Office stated on Jan. 13 that the U.K. Government had learned of President Olympio's death "with deep dismay," and that "by this crime Africa has lost one of her most energetic leaders, who was singularly well equipped to help to bridge the gap between the English- and French-speaking countries of West Africa."

President Kennedy expressed on Jan. 13 his "deep regret" at the assassination of President Olympio, adding that it was "a severe blow against the progress of governmental stability in Africa."

The Lebanese Government announced recognition of M. Grunitzky's regime on Feb. 15, Lebanon thereby becoming the fourth country to do so after Ghana, Senegal, and Dahomey. (*Le Monde*, Paris - *Times* - *Daily Telegraph* - *Guardian* - Nigerian Federal Ministry of Information, Lagos) (**Prev. rep. Togo 19040 C; 18605 A; Inter-African and Malagasy Organization, 19232 A; Ghanaian-Togolese Relations, 18654 A; 18605 A.**)

A. TANGANYIKA. — Steps towards One-Party State. - Deportation of Trade Union Leaders. - Legislation against Strikes and Lock-outs.

Measures towards the establishment of a one-party system in Tanganyika were announced by President Nyerere on Jan. 14 at the annual conference of the Tanganyika African National Union (TANU), of which he is president. After stating that TANU's national executive had adopted a resolution calling for statutory recognition of a one-party system, and that delegates would be asked to endorse this step, Dr. Nyerere announced that a special committee would be set up to re-examine the Constitution and advise on the amendments necessary to put the proposed changes into effect.

President Nyerere said that Tanganyika had inherited the system of representative democracy, and thereby the electoral processes designed for a multi-party system. The electorate, however, had made it clear that their support for TANU was so overwhelming as virtually to rule out any possibility of an inter-party contest. As the effect of retaining the rules and disciplines of a multi-party system had been that official TANU candidates were almost invariably returned unopposed, it was intended to revise the electoral procedure so as to make it possible for more than one candidate to contest an election—not on an inter-party basis, but on an individual basis.

Dr. Nyerere went on to make the following points: (1) TANU, as the national movement, would be identified with the people as a whole, membership being open to every citizen and the formation of "factional" parties ruled out; (2) the former artificial distinction between "politicians" and "civil servants" would be dispensed with; (3) with the removal of the rules of discipline designed to ensure back-bench support for party leaders in the face of attack by an organized Opposition, members of Parliament would be at liberty to support or criticize the Government's policies according to their own consciences as individuals—and not, as required by the two-party system, according to the instructions of a party Whip.

A week earlier, on Jan. 7, President Nyerere had ordered the deportation of Mr. Victor Mkello, president of the Tanganyika Federation of Labour, and another union leader to a restricted area on the Northern Rhodesian border, following widespread unofficial strikes in sisal plantations affecting nearly 75 per cent of the industry. This was the first major clash between the Government and the unions since the passage of legislation in the summer of 1962 which virtually outlawed strikes and lock-outs unless the dispute had been taken through a lengthy series of arbitration proceedings.

The legislation in question—the Trade Disputes (Settlement) Bill—had been passed by the National Assembly on July 1 and contained the following main provisions: (1) strikes or lock-outs were made illegal except where the Minister of Labour decided not to refer the dispute to a tribunal for an award (the maximum penalty for infringements was £100 fine and three months' gaol; for inciting an illegal strike or lock-out the maximum penalty was £100 fine or 12 months' gaol); (2) compulsory procedure for the settlement of strikes would include the appointment of a conciliator; (3) where the conciliator was unable to effect a settlement, the Minister could refer the dispute to a tribunal or (if an essential service was not involved) appoint a board of inquiry into the causes of the dispute; (4) if an essential service was involved, the Minister could refer it to a tribunal even though both parties to the dispute opposed it; if the award was not to his liking, the Minister could appoint a new tribunal; (5) once the procedure laid down for settlement of disputes had been followed and the Minister had approved the award, no application by employers or employees to vary it could be made within 12 months.

The only critic of the Bill in the National Assembly was Mr. Mkello, who, however, voted for the legislation. In addition to being president of the Federation of Labour, he is general secretary of the Tanganyika Plantation Workers' Union—the union involved in the sisal industry strikes.—(*Times* - *Guardian*) (**Prev. rep. Tanganyika, 19132 D; 19018 A.**)

B. CANADA. — New President of National Research Council. - Death of Dr. Steacie.

The Canadian Prime Minister, Mr. Diefenbaker, announced on Feb. 4 that Dr. Bristow Guy Ballard (60), vice-president of the National Research Council since 1954, had been appointed president in succession to the late Dr. E. W. R. Steacie (61), who had died on Aug. 28, 1962.

Dr. Edgar William Richard Steacie (61) had been lecturer in chemistry, and subsequently assistant professor and associate professor at McGill University, between 1926 and 1939. Before becoming president of the National Research Council in 1952 he was director of its chemistry division and, since 1950, vice-president of the Council. A Fellow of the Royal Society and president of the International Union of Scientific Societies, he took a prominent part in the development of the National Research Council's work and in Canadian scientific and technical research in general.

Dr. Leo Nairon, director of the Council's chemistry division, succeeded Dr. Ballard as vice-president of the National Research Council.—(*Montreal Star* - *Toronto Globe and Mail*)

C. UNITED KINGDOM. — Trade Unions. - Merger of Boilermakers' Society and Shipwrights' Association ratified by Membership.

The general secretary of the United Society of Boilermakers, Blacksmiths, Shipbuilders, and Structural Workers, Mr. E. J. Hill, announced on Jan. 31 that the ballot for the merger of the Society and of the Ship Contractors' and Shipwrights' Association—the two largest unions in the shipbuilding industry—had shown a majority of nearly five to one in favour, two-thirds of the total membership of the unions having voted. The new combined union—to be called the Amalgamated Society of Boilermakers, Shipwrights, Blacksmiths, and Structural Workers—would have a membership of nearly 130,000 and have its headquarters in Newcastle at the present headquarters of the Boilermakers' Society. Mr. Hill added that the decision of the members would be implemented immediately and that it was hoped that the formation of the new combined union would mean the elimination of demarcation disputes.—(*Times* - *Daily Herald*) (**Prev. rep. 18643 A.**)