

assassination. The Nigerian Foreign Minister, Jaja Wachuku, hinted at such things immediately after the coup and made it clear that Nigeria would intervene if Ghanaian troops invaded Togo during the state crisis. Other accounts conflated the distinct versions of the coup. For example, the fugitive Minister of Interior, Théophile Mally, claimed in a letter to Secretary General U Thant that the French ambassador, Henri Mazoyer, and the French Commander of the Gendarmerie, Georges Maïtrier, had been accomplices in the coup, which was primarily organised by Ghana. Mally pleaded for a United Nations fact-finding mission and United Nations peacekeepers to maintain order.<sup>901</sup> Yet, despite the many assurances previously given to Olympio, this did not come to pass while the version of the coup by non-political veterans had gained the widest acceptance. Olympio's mistake was to put too much faith in his defence agreements and incur the wrath of the military.

### 6.9.3 Aftermath: Rise & Demise of The Togoland Liberation Movement

The assassination of Sylvanus Olympio, Togo's first president and former supporter of Ewe and Togoland reunification, in 1963, and the subsequent coup by Ghanaian security forces against Nkrumah, Ghana's first President, in 1966, were the first military coups in the newly independent states of the former French and British territories of West Africa. Both coups led to a period of instability in the region: After Olympio's assassination, the successor government under Nicholas Grunitzky was marked by instability, prompting another coup in 1967, which brought Gnassingbé Eyadéma to power. When two years later, in 1969, the National Liberation Council brought Kofi Busia to power in Ghana, he appointed none other than Senyo G. Antor, the former mouthpiece of the Togoland unification movement, as Ghana's ambassador to Togo from April 1970 to January 1972. When once again the Busia government was overthrown in 1972, Antor, together with Alex Odame and Kofi Dumoga, found themselves in exile in Togo.

Thus, it was no coincidence that in the same year, Togoland and Ewe nationalism revived as activists of the *Togoland Liberation Movement* (TOLIMO) attracted much attention. Since the unification movement had been refining its strategies of influencing international opinion for decades by now, in 1972, TOLIMO petitioned the Organisation for African Union for support in reversing the 1956 plebiscite that accorded British Togoland to Ghana, citing the fact that in Ghana the Ewe were among the poorer classes in the country, while in Togo they were the leaders in economic life.<sup>902</sup> Also, in 1976, TOLIMO sent a delegation to the United Nations General Assembly to inform international opinion on the latest developments regarding Togoland unification.<sup>903</sup> The Eyadéma-regime supported TOLIMO, on the one hand, to prevent political unrest among the Ewe population and, on the other hand, because reunification would have promoted

901 UN ARMS (New York), S-0884-0021-11-00001, *Togo*, Cablegram ACR6/CT1460, Mally to Secretary-General, 31 January 1963.

902 Brown, "Borderline Politics in Ghana"

903 National Liberation Movement of Western Togoland, "Movement of Western Togoland (NLMWT)," *New York Times*, 15 October 1976

economic growth, especially by incorporating the Volta River electricity project.<sup>904</sup> In turn, Ghana, then under military rule, cracked down on TOLIMO, banning it in 1976 through the passing of the *Prohibited Organisations Act*, while the decreasing support by the Eyadéma-regime resulted in the movement entering a phase of lethargy. The most prominent figurehead of Togoland unification, Senyo G. Antor, died in exile, Lomé, in 1986 at the age of 80.

A series of scholars, such as Brown,<sup>905</sup> Nugent,<sup>906</sup> or Asamoah,<sup>907</sup> considered that the unravelling of TOLIMO in the late 1970's, "Western Togoland nationalism seemingly quietly folded, once again, into the pages of the history books."<sup>908</sup> Yet, Togoland nationalism experienced a comeback with the appearance of the Homeland Study Group Foundation in 1994.

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904 Brown, "Borderline Politics in Ghana," pp. 586–89.

905 Brown, "Borderline Politics in Ghana"

906 Nugent, *Smugglers, secessionists & loyal citizens on the Ghana-Togo frontier*.

907 Asamoah, *The political history of Ghana (1950–2013)*.

908 Bulgarelli, "Togoland's lingering legacy," p. 225.