2.3.2 Security

Although most of the contributions on Togoland discussed so far deal with the repression and resistance against the colonial state, they only analyse the colonial security apparatus and its legacies to a limited extent. The decolonisation of British and French Togoland represents a special case of decolonisation since their path to statehood and independence was subject to international supervision. The significance of security for decolonisation contexts and postcolonial statebuilding processes has hardly been studied in a historical perspective. Only recently, Marco Wyss contributed to the importance of security for decolonisation contexts, by analysing the discrepancy between Britain and France's post-colonial security roles in Nigeria and Côte d'Ivoire. [346] Wyss argues that while France remains a major neo-colonial actor in Africa, Britain purportedly 'decolonised' its foreign policy vis-à-vis its previous colonies for the most part. Contrary to what CSS or scholars of postcolonial theory might expect from the title, Wyss' work is unfortunately not theory-driven but provides a purely historiographical appraisal of African post-independence security relations with the metropolis. Nonetheless, by bringing the role of two African leaders in shaping the security relationships in the Cold War era into the limelight, he highlights the African agency in the within the emergent global security architecture.

As for German Togoland, Trotha and Morlang provide ethnographic historical studies of the colonial law enforcement forces,[347] whilst Sebald and Habermas focus mainly on the resistance of African actors.[348] After the partition of German Togoland, British Togoland was administered from the Gold Coast. Therefore, the literature on colonial policing in British Togoland tends to focus on the Gold Coast rather than British Togoland separately.

British Togoland

It was not until the late 1980s and early 1990s that several works by British authors critically examined the origins of colonial policing on the Gold Coast.[349] Deflem takes a mostly comparative look at colonial policing in relations to the general characteristics of British colonialism.[350] Baynham analyses the security forces in the period of the transfer of sovereignty and refers to the colonial continuities after Ghana's independence (including British Togoland), pointing to the vital role of security forces in identity and nation-building, for example, by performing the state through marches at independence celebrations. He argues that the departure of the British officers, forced Nkrumah to adopt the British format of control by organizationally neutralizing threats within the

346 Marco Wyss, *Postcolonial security: Britain, France, and West Africa's Cold War*, First edition (Oxford, New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2021).

347 Trotha, *Koloniale Herrschaft*; Thomas Morlang, *Askari und Fitafita: "Farbige" Söldner in den deutschen Kolonien* (Berlin: Ch. Links, 2008).

348 Habermas, *Skandal in Togo*; Sebald, *Die deutsche Kolonie Togo 1884 – 1914*.

349 Joël Glasman, *Les corps habillés au Togo: Genèse coloniale des métiers de police* (Paris: Karthala, 2015), p. 30.

350 Mathieu Deflem, "Law Enforcement in British Colonial Africa," *Police Studies* 17, no. 1 (1994)

security forces.[351] Similarly, Brogden argued that British police work in particular and colonial policework in general perhaps was pre-eminently missionary work to legitimize foreign rule.[352] Killingray, on the other hand, argues that ex-service men, in fact, had little to no economic or political influence on the nationalist mobilisation of the Gold Coast.[353] Richard Rathbone argued that there was nothing natural about the fact that the British administration kept a tight grip on the Gold Coast security sector until the last moment.[354]

However, in the absence of archival material, little has been published on the Gold Coast security and intelligence apparatus since the 1980s. This changed after the British government lifted its embargo on colonial security papers in 2011 and the publication of Calder Walton's *Empire of Secrets*.[355] Chase Arnold's analysis of the early post-war activities of the Special Branch builds on Walton's work.[356] Walton and Arnold provide a detailed look at the workings of the MI5 in the Gold Coast and highlight the differences of opinion between London, the governor, and the intelligence officers. Yet, unfortunately, both focus on the spying on the likes of Kwame Nkrumah – a pattern that historians are still too infatuated with the great figures of history, while little attention is given on the day-by-day spying on grass-roots activists.

Among the more recent works, Paliwal illustrates that entangled histories not only took place between the metropolis and the colony, but also in South-South relations, for example between India and post-independence Ghana.[357] It was Indian security agents who helped Nkrumah develop Ghana's security and intelligence apparatus, which was used to persecute his political opponents such as the members of the oppositional Togoland Congress. Paliwal argues that it was Nkrumah's authoritarianism, which politicised Ghana's security establishment, thereby forestalling democratic progress.[358] Patrick Obuobi, evaluates Ghana's oversight regime over its intelligence services as lacking – a circumstance, which, among other things, he attributes to Ghana's pyramidal organisational principles, stemming from its colonial period and which have hardly been reformed ever since.[359]

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351 Simon Baynham, "Quis Custodiet Ipsos Custodes?," *The Journal of Modern African Studies* 23, no. 1 (1985), available from https://www.jstor.org/stable/160465.

352 Mike Brogden, "The Emergence of the Police," *British Journal of Criminology* 27, no. 1 (1987): 9

353 David Killingray, "Soldiers, Ex-Servicemen, and Politics in the Gold Coast, 1939–50," *The Journal of Modern African Studies* 21, no. 3 (1983); David Killingray, "Guarding the Extending Frontier," in *Policing the empire: Government, authority and control, 1830–1940*, ed. David Anderson and David Killingray, Studies in imperialism (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1991)

354 Richard Rathbone, "Police Intelligence in Ghana in the Late 1940s and 1950s," *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History* 21, no. 3 (1993), https://doi.org/10.1080/03086539308582909.

355 Calder Walton, *Empire of Secrets: British Intelligence, the Cold War, and the Twilight of Empire* (New York: ABRAMS Books, 2014).

356 Chase Arnold, ""The Cat's Paw of Dictatorship": Police Intelligence and Self-Rule in the Gold Coast, 1948–1952," *The Journal of the Middle East and Africa* 11, no. 2 (2020), https://doi.org/10.1080/21520844.2020.1756604.

357 Avinash Paliwal, "Colonial Sinews of Postcolonial Espionage," *The International History Review*, 2021, https://doi.org/10.1080/07075332.2021.1888768.

358 Paliwal, "Ghana's national security ministry ignites old fears after fracas over photos."

359 Obuobi, "Evaluating Ghana's Intelligence Oversight Regime"

In broader terms, Georgina Sinclair argues that the emergence of the London Metropolitan Police in 1829, often referred to as the world's first "modern" police force, was inextricably linked to the production of knowledge and practices of managing (in)security, political order, "native subjects" and "dangerous classes" in the British colonies. Throughout the 20th century, this "cross-fertilisation" between colonial and native policing practices and knowledge informed British policing.[360]

French Togoland

Among the earliest mentions on security in French Togoland is Quincy Wright's study of the Mandates System, who evaluates the provision of security as one of the primary achievements by the Mandates System, opening with the presumptuous notion that "From the native point of view, security means the continuation of traditional customs, and these are frequently opposed to economic and political development."[361] Thus, as the colonial *Zeitgeist* demanded at the time, Quincy advocates that the mandatory powers had to strive for the eradication of the native's notion of security. Wright praises the economic efficiency maintained by the mandated powers:

> "The existence of general security is hardly susceptible of statistical measurement, but the Mandates Commission's policy [of] elimination of conscription except for police purposes, would seem to promote it. In the latter respect a marked contrast seems to exist between the French mandated territories and the French colonies of West Africa. The cost of the local militia in Togoland and Cameroons is much less than was the military cost under German rule, and even less than the British military expenses in Tanganyika."[362]

Regarding recent research, Blanchard offers a general overview of colonial policing across the French colonial empire.[363] Similar to Woodman and Sinclair, Martin Thomas holds that French colonial policing emerged as "an interactive process between the empire and mainland France," a process in and through which ideas of urban planning, as well as practices of legal and social control, permanently travelled back and forth between colony and metropole, thereby converting French colonies into "laboratories for organized violence, where new forms of suppression, punishment, and political control were practiced and refined."[364] Thomas traces the anti-colonial resistance and its repression by police forces primarily back to the order of the economic exploitation system of colonial rule. The economic situation after World War I, with its new forms

360 Georgina Sinclair and Chris A. Williams, "'Home and Away'," *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History* 35, no. 2 (2007), https://doi.org/10.1080/03086530701337567.

361 Quincy Wright, *Mandates under the League of Nations* (Chicago, Ill.: University of Chicago Press, 1930), p. 563.

362 Wright, *Mandates under the League of Nations*, pp. 563–64.

363 Emmanuel Blanchard, "French Colonial Police," in *Encyclopedia of Criminology and Criminal Justice*, ed. Gerben Bruinsma and David Weisburd (New York, NY: Springer, 2014)

364 Martin Thomas, ed., *The French Colonial Mind: Mental Maps of Empire and Colonial Encounters*, 2 vols., France Overseas: Studies in Empire and Decolonization Series 1 (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2011), pp. xxii–xxiii.

of wage labour and additional taxation, led to spontaneous protests and strikes. Since the respective colonial police forces were understaffed and viewed with constant suspicion by the authorities due to their mostly multi-ethnic composition, this resulted in police reforms that led to a more paramilitary- and intelligence-driven orientation of the police forces, whose main task was to secure production processes and containing demonstrations.[365]

Other works challenge the supposedly stable colonial dichotomies between the exploiting coloniser and the exploited colonised, white and black, collaborators and resisters. Focus is put on the hitherto under-researched "rule of the intermediary,"[366] that is, African employees of the colonial period such as traditional chiefs, interpreters, postal workers, but also police forces. One such study is Joël Glasman's work on the genesis of the police profession in French-mandated Togoland, which is a socio- and microhistory of law enforcement agents' daily practices within the context of the colonial state. According to Glasman, the creation of the *Service de Police et de Sûreté* was a response to the 1933 tax revolt in Lomé and initiated a process of bureaucratization of police services that shifted the focus of police work from the military camp to the police station. Not the military presence in the streets, but the growing importance of paper, such as verbatim records or informant reports, highlighted a new form of "remote control."[367] The physical and brutal punishments of the early days of colonization were replaced by more diffuse administrative controls – not meaning that these "softer means" of bureaucratization immediately meant a pacification, which side-lined the repressive practices of criminal prosecution. The new law enforcement practices, both in their relations with the population and internally, demonstrated that "It was no longer just a question of being seen, but, more and more, of seeing."[368] Although the core period of his investigation falls in the period of the Mandates System, Glassman also provides some important statistics on the size and spending on security forces in French Togoland during the trusteeship period up until the assassination of Sylvanus Olympio in 1963. Although the trusteeship period indicates that security was a core policy of French colonial administration as spending on the police forces was increased more than tenfold and staffing virtually doubled, the French administration remained a minimal state.

France, as Togo's previous protecting power, has come under criticism for bearing partial responsibility in the assassination of President Sylvanus Olympio in 1963 by Togolese veterans who had fought for France in Algeria and Indochina. Though not endorsing the assassination, Robert Cornevin and to some extent even the Olympio-friendly journalist Russel Warren Howe, effectively exonerated the ex-combatants at the time by showing comprehension of the ex-combatants' motifs.[369] For Cornevin, it was

365 Martin Thomas, *Violence and colonial order: Police, workers and protest in the European colonial empires, 1918–1940*, 1st ed., Critical perspectives on empire (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), p. 300.

366 Schlichte, *Der Staat in der Weltgesellschaft*, p. 292; For Ewe and Togoland nationalism, see also Lawrance, Osborn and Roberts, *Intermediaries, interpreters, and clerks*.

367 Glasman, *Les corps habillés au Togo*, p. 217.

368 Glasman, *Les corps habillés au Togo*, p. 224.

369 Robert Cornevin, "Les Militaires Au Dahomey Et Au Togo," *Revue française d'études politiques africaines*, 1968; Russell Warren Howe, "Togo: Four Years of Military Rule," *Africa Report* 12, no. 5 (1967)