

security logics to light, which can be deciphered in exceptional cases with the Copenhagen approach on the one hand and in routine cases with the Paris approach on the other.

4.2.1 Archives Visited

The involvement of many international actors in Togoland's decolonisation process dispersed its main archival documentation across continents. Due to the geographical distribution of the relevant documents, the archives were selected based on preliminary work and directories of other researchers working on related topics, which helped to include archives that would otherwise have been overlooked.

Archival research was conducted between July 2018 and Mai 2019 in five main sites (New York, Aix-en-Provence, London, Lomé, and Accra) and several secondary sites. 16,361 document pages (including petitions, letters, telegrams, reports, minutes) were collected. Interviews during the archival visits complemented the document analysis to break down the coloniality of the archive with collaborative approaches.

New York

In New York, the holdings of the *United Nations Archives and Records Management Section* (UN ARMS) have provided insight into the workings of the Secretariat of the UN Trusteeship Department. Benefiting from the ever-increasing availability of digitised documents in recent years, such as the verbatim minutes of the Trusteeship Council meetings published in the UN's digital libraries, the countless and steadily digitised petitions from Togoland, stored offsite at Long Island, were similarly extensive.

Since, contrary to UN policy, Dag Hammarskjöld's papers were not transferred to the UN archives after his death in 1961, but were taken to his home country of Sweden, potentially important correspondence between the former UN Secretary-General and unification/independence leader and later President of Togo, Sylvanus Olympio, could not be viewed. However, records of Andrew Cordier, Hammarskjöld's assistant, could be consulted in the holdings of Colombia University, where Cordier later taught.

The holdings of the New York Public Library provide insight into how the reunification and independence movement cultivated support with non-state, international actors outside the UN, for example Roger Baldwin, director of the *International League for the Rights of Man* (ILRM).

The Ralph Bunche holdings in *Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture* (SCRBC) in Harlem, were of particular interest: Bunche was not only Director of the UN Trusteeship Department. As he focussed his PhD thesis on a comparative study of the French colony of Dahomey and the Mandate Territory of French Togoland, he acquired sufficient academic authority to partake in the UNCIO negotiations at San Francisco as member of the US delegation, leaving an influential mark on the working of the future Trusteeship System.

France

In France, the bulk of archival documents was collected in the *Archives Nationales d'Outre-Mer* (ANOM) in Aix-en-Provence. In addition to the holdings under the rubric "Affaires

politiques” the holdings on “Délégation du Cameroun et du Togo 1947–1959” (DPCT) should be highlighted: the 60 boxes, which largely cover the Togolese trusteeship territory, contain predominantly documents of the French administration of Cameroon and Togo between 1947 and 1959, compiled by the French administration or downstream by French archivists. This collection illustrates the exchange between the regional administration and the metropolis as well as the communication of individual services, such as the security service.

The *Archives Nationales de la France* (ANF) in Pierrefitte-sur-Seine, Paris, were a promising place to start research on intelligence and security services. Of note are especially the holdings of Jacques Foccart, known as the “Grey Eminence” and chief adviser to French presidents on African affairs as well as his subordinate, Claude Rostain, responsible for Togo. Yet, document-ordering-deadlines that needed to be met several weeks in advance and a several months-lasting security clearances to view these “highly sensitive” documents soon put a stop enterprise during the brief research trip.²⁸ In contrast to the British policy of archive opening, the French one is still very restrained.

The *Archives Diplomatique du Ministère des Affaires Étrangères* (MAE) in La Courneuve, Paris, were of particular interest as regards correspondence with the French UN delegation in New York, but also correspondence with other embassies in order to seek approval or rejection for resolutions to the French liking or dislike, respectively. Although the administration of Togoland was under the direct responsibility of the French Colonial Ministry, questions of the General Assembly and the Trusteeship Council as a UN body fell under the diplomatic purview of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. After Sylvanus Olympio's electoral success in 1958 (although Togo was still under trusteeship), the autonomy of the territory had progressed to the point where the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs, rather than the Overseas Ministry, took over Franco-Togolese relations. Most archival documents of the final but important transition phase from autonomy to independence can therefore be found in the diplomatic rather than colonial archives.

Much larger holdings, especially on confidential diplomatic correspondence with French embassies across West Africa, are stored in the *Archives Diplomatiques* in Nantes, especially regarding the weekly political and intelligence reports of the French Consul General in Accra, Charles Renner, who informed Metropolitan France about events concerning the Togolese unification movement on the British side of the Togoland border. However, due to extended renovations and construction work, the archive was closed during my research trip to France and subsequent trips were thwarted by the Corona pandemic – that is the misfortune of research projects planned far in advance.

Togo

The fragmentary holdings in the *Archives Nationales du Togo* (ANT) might disillusion researchers a little. The existing holdings on the French administration consist of a post-independence compilation of the leftover documentation of the individual *administrations de cercles*. Holdings from higher administrative levels are only scattered

28 See Jean-Pierre Bat, Olivier Forcade and Sylvain Mary, *Jacques Foccart: Archives ouvertes (1958–1974) la politique, l'Afrique et le monde*, Mondes contemporains (Paris: Presses de l'Université Paris-Sorbonne, 2017).

therewithin. It seems that unlike the British administration, the French administration was much more thorough in clearing incriminating records. Most of the documents, especially those concerning political or security affairs with the potential to compromise the French administration, went to metropolitan France, were burnt on-site, or destroyed by termites due to lack of protection. Finding aids, created in the mid-1980s and already quite worn out, were only sporadically updated by hand and have thus, over time, virtually become archive material themselves. To complete the inventory to some extent, there are also private family archives and oral sources, which are not easily accessible given the reluctance of some to open their archives to researchers on this or that subject.

The collection of the *Bibliothèque Nationale du Togo* next door is also meagre, but there is early secondary literature on the history of Togo by some French and Togolese authors, which was difficult to find even in France.

Britain

Regarding archival research on security matters, *The National Archive* (TNA) turned out to be a goldmine. Fortunately, in 2011, the British government lifted an embargo on colonial security papers. This was the result of a lawsuit filed by a group of Kenyans who accused British officials of deliberately removing records documenting extreme abuses and crimes committed by the colonial state during the Mau-Mau crisis in the 1950s. The ensuing investigation led the Foreign Office to acknowledge the existence of such records and to begin a lengthy process of reviewing and releasing them to the public holdings of the TNA. Known as the “Hanslope Disclosure”, this release includes some 8,800 files from the late colonial period.²⁹ Although some of these papers are still withheld or censored for reasons of state security, they provide a previously inconceivable overview of security and intelligence work throughout the British Empire, including everything from intelligence summaries produced by local Special Branch officers to debates these reports sparked among local police and city officials.

Due to a lucky coincidence, some of the reports of the Gold Coast’s *Local Intelligence Committee* (LIC) survived, though in an incomplete form. These reports were supposed to be burnt by the local Special Branch officer in the first week of each quarter while a return slip had to be returned to the *Central Security Committee* (CenSeC). Yet some of the return slips still bore their copies. The CenSeC produced its own material: the Political Intelligence Summaries. These were also marked “secret” and supposed to disappear. However, some, but by no means all, of their contents can be seen in the CO 537 series, where the edited versions are variously referred to as *Political Intelligence Summaries, Reports or Notes*. While the CO 537 series mainly comprises the “products” of the security services, the FCO 141 series brings to light how the British administration organised the security services. The series contains interesting material on Anglo-French cooperation in security and intelligence matters, how the Special Branch should operate in the future and how African staff should be involved.

29 Anthony Carry, “Carry report on release of the colonial administration files” (Foreign & Commonwealth Office, 2011), available from <https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/carry-report-on-release-of-the-colonial-administration-files>.

Ghana

The Ghanaian National Archives, called *Public Records and Archives Administration Department* (PRAAD), has a head office in Accra and a branch archive in Ho, capital of the former Trusteeship Territory of Togoland under British administration. While in Accra some documents of general nature were of interest for this study, the Branch Office in Ho was of acute importance. The holdings in Ho include some documents on the security architecture shortly after Ghana's independence and show how the transition was supposed to happen in relation to security services.

As Kate Skinner noted already in 2010,³⁰ the Ho archive is still awaiting improvements in storage and cataloguing. Moreover, it can be assumed that a not so insignificant part of the archive was deliberately destroyed after the 1966 coup that overthrew Nkrumah. In addition, an accident shortly before my arrival made research difficult. A large part of the holdings is stored in cellars, and shortly before my arrival, a particularly strong storm caused the storeroom to be flooded and many files and folders to be affected. Once again, I would like to thank the archivist, Augustine Julius Gede, who made documents available to me that have not yet been catalogued in the directory.

4.2.2 Challenge of Access & Supplementary Sources

Archives in France are slow to open due to French archival law, as files are still subject to a special clearance and security review procedure due to the 60-year retention period for documents concerning the private lives of individuals or the security of the state and national defence. For example, it was not possible to gain full access to Jacques Foccart's documents, which could have provided essential information on the strategic bearings of French colonial or post-colonial foreign policy. The staff member of the French National Archive, who had the appropriate security clearance, described Jacques Foccart's collections as "very sensitive" holdings. Thus, an exemption for consultation had to be applied for at the French Ministry of Culture, which they granted to me only partially after a 10-month waiting period. For historians of security, such procedures have a foreboding aftertaste. Only recently, the descendants of Sylvanus Olympio renewed their efforts to gain access to the French archives dealing with the assassination of Sylvanus Olympio on 13 January 1963.³¹ In 2021, the Togolese bi-weekly newspaper *L'Alternative* ran the headline that France had sent French archival documents on the assassination to the family's lawyers.³²

Another challenge was the selection of the documents, as the *Archive Nationale d'Outre Mer* (ANOM) has restrictive security regulations: Only 6 boxes may be ordered per day, regardless of the number or content of the documents they contain. Moreover, the explanation that, for security reasons, there is no Wi-Fi in the reading room, of all places, is perplexing in these times of advancing digitisation. Direct transfer of the collected docu-

30 Skinner, "Local Historians and Strangers with Big Eyes," p. 141.

31 Fanny Pigeaud, "La Famille Du Président Du Togo Tué En 1963 Réclame L'accès Aux Archives Françaises," *Mediapart*, 21 June 2021

32 *L'Alternative*, "La France Transmet Des Archives Aux Avocats De La Famille," 15 October 2021.