

not the conspirators who provoked Olympio's assassination, but Olympio himself, who "longed for undivided and uncontrolled power."<sup>370</sup> Around the same time, Scott Thompson was the first academic to suggest that Nkrumah-led Ghana was behind Olympio's assassination.<sup>371</sup> Another thesis is that of *Françafrique* put forward by François-Xavier Verschave, according to which the French commander of the Togolese gendarmerie, Georges Maîtrier, instigated the coup.<sup>372</sup> Tété-Adjalogo picked up on Verschave's thesis, arguing that Olympio's plans to take Togo out of the franc zone were practically the last straw that broke the (French) camel's back.<sup>373</sup> Discussing all these three theories, Skinner argues that none was more valid or accurate than the other, yet, the 'unideological military/security-forces-explanation,' was more convenient for political actors during the further development of events, and therefore prevailed.<sup>374</sup> The 1963 coup and Eyadema's seizure of power in 1967 set in motion a remarkable development, as Togo had only about 1.000 police officers and no military forces at the time of its independence,<sup>375</sup> but has risen to become "one of the most militarised countries in Africa."<sup>376</sup>

## 2.4 Situating the Research Agenda

The preceding review of the research literature demonstrates that the research drive originates primarily from the field of International Relations. It has been shown that since the emergence of the failed states debate, questions of state-building have been closely linked to an *evolving* understanding of security, while postcolonial and decolonial scholarship, which has been critical of this evolution and the emerging 'new interventionism,' formulated a desideratum of historical case studies. However, although the importance and implications of the historical perspective are often emphasised, only very few studies have been addressing the historicity of the state-building-security nexus.<sup>377</sup> The objective of this study is to fill this research gap by developing a research perspective that underpins the theories and assumptions of Critical Security Studies with a postcolonial perspective. While the importance of historicising and decolonising scholarly concepts is recently gaining traction within International Relations, especially in the literature on statebuilding and security studies, this research project originally started out with the aim to decolonise the concept of security. However, scholars such

<sup>370</sup> Mathurin C. Hougnikpo, "The Military and Democratization in Africa," *Journal of Political and Military Sociology* 28, no. 2 (2000): 219

<sup>371</sup> Willard Scott Thompson, *Ghana's Foreign Policy, 1957–1966: Diplomacy Ideology, and the New State*, Princeton Legacy Library (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1969), p. 313.

<sup>372</sup> Verschave, *La Françafrique*.

<sup>373</sup> Têtêvi Godwin Tété-Adjalogo, *Histoire du Togo: Le régime et l'assassinat de Sylvanus Olympio 1960–1963*, *Histoire du Togo* 3 (Paris: NM7 Editions, 2002), p. 111.

<sup>374</sup> Kate Skinner, "West Africa's First Coup," *African Studies Review* 63, no. 2 (2019), <https://doi.org/10.1017/asr.2019.39>.

<sup>375</sup> Hougnikpo, "The military and democratization in Africa," p. 219.

<sup>376</sup> Comi M. Toulabor, "Togo," in *Challenges of security sector governance in West Africa*, ed. Alan Bryden, Boubacar N'Diaye and Funmi Olonisakin (Wien, Zürich, Berlin, Münster: Lit, 2008), p. 304.

<sup>377</sup> Ketzmerick, *Staat, Sicherheit und Gewalt in Kamerun*.

as Fiona Adamson put an unignorable question mark behind this aim, concluding that meaningful decolonisation would mean transforming structures, rather than diversifying them.<sup>378</sup> Yet, the later seems to be the trend. Similarly, Christopher Murray criticizes that decolonial approaches, in their efforts to break away from Eurocentric universalisms, run into the problem of precisely reproducing the colonial binary of Western and non-Western worlds, rather than overcoming it.<sup>379</sup> Though still sympathetic to the decolonial programme, out of consideration of positionality, this present work abandoned the presumption to 'decolonise security.' As the next best thing, so to say, postcolonial critique to Critical Security Studies is used to show the potential of linking postcolonial theory and critical security research, thus tracing the changes, and contested nature of security from different positionnalities.

By incorporating a theory-driven framework into historical research, it is hoped to open new perspectives for research on international organisations. In doing so, it is assumed that studying the origins of the recent secessionist conflict surrounding "Western Togoland" requires a combination of constructivist understandings of security (Copenhagen School) as well as procedural security practices (Paris School), whereby postcolonial theories are considered as a bridge between the historical contextual factors of the decolonisation processes and the concepts of social science research.

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<sup>378</sup> Fiona B. Adamson, "Pushing the Boundaries: Can We 'Decolonize' Security Studies?" *Journal of Global Security Studies* 5, no. 1 (2020): 132, <https://doi.org/10.1093/jogss/ogz057>.

<sup>379</sup> Christopher Murray, "Imperial Dialectics and Epistemic Mapping: From Decolonisation to Anti-Eurocentric IR," *European Journal of International Relations* 26, no. 2 (2020), <https://doi.org/10.1177/1354066119873030>.