

**“FOR TRAINING PURPOSES ONLY”: WEST GERMAN MILITARY AID  
TO NIGERIA AND TANZANIA, 1962-1968**

by  
**Erich Drollinger**

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**STATEMENT OF COMMITTEE APPROVAL**

**Dr. William Gray, Chair**

Department of History

**Dr. Kim Gallon**

Department of History

**Dr. Whitney Walton**

Department of History

**Approved by:**

Dr. David Atkinson

*Dedicated to Friends and Family for All of Their Support*

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## LIST OF ACRONYMS

AA- *Auswärtiges Amt* (West German Foreign Ministry)

ASP- Afro-Shirazi Party

BMF- *Bundesministerium der Finanzen* (West German Finance Ministry)

BVR- *Bundesverteidigungsrat* (West German Federal Defense Council)

BMVtdg- *Bundesministerium der Verteidigung* (West German Defense Ministry)

BMWi- *Bundesministerium der Wirtschaft* (West German Ministry for Economic Affairs)

Col- Colonel

GAFAG- German Air Force Advisory Group (in reference to Nigeria)

FRG- Federal Republic of Germany

GDR- German Democratic Republic

Lt Col- Lieutenant Colonel

TANU- Tanganyika African National Union

ZNP- Zanzibar Nationalist Party

ZPPP- Zanzibar and Pemba People's Party

## **ABSTRACT**

Amidst the confrontation between the East and the West Bloc during the Cold War, the decolonization of Africa created an entirely new ideological battlefield for these two sides to compete with one another for power and influence. The Federal Republic of Germany, having been allowed to rearm its military less than a decade prior, sought to gain influence in Nigeria and Tanzania by providing them with military aid. However, in both cases it failed to fulfill its promises of aid. Through the examination of these case studies, this study argues that the Federal Republic's ability to provide effective military aid to non-NATO countries was limited due to the combination of its cautious foreign policy and the dynamic political landscape of the countries to which it offered aid. Formerly classified government documents and newspaper articles constitute the majority of this study's source material. While current historiography focuses on the impact of the Cold War superpowers in regions outside of Europe, less attention has been given to the important roles that smaller powers such as the Federal Republic have played. By analyzing a smaller global player, the goal of this study is to complicate the notion of the Cold War being binary in nature. Furthermore, it aims to illustrate the political tightrope that the Federal Republic walked when conducting military aid which stemmed from the legacy of its violent past and its status as a divided nation.

## INTRODUCTION

The decolonization of Africa during the late 1950s and early 1960s created a widespread demand for establishing militaries. With underdeveloped armaments industries and little expertise in modern military know-how, many African countries turned to Europe for help. Despite having only reestablished its army in 1955, the Federal Republic of Germany (FRG) seemed to be a likely candidate for providing military aid to fledgling African countries. Many African countries were aware of German military technology and know-how due to “long-standing traditions of German military prowess” throughout its history.<sup>1</sup> Despite eventual defeat, World War II exemplified Germany’s advanced military equipment, tactics, and leadership. For example, Germany developed the world’s first jet engine aircraft known as the Messerschmitt Me 262. Even German armored vehicles and tanks such as the Tiger were advanced for their times. Blitzkrieg tactics were also revolutionary and helped Germany advance deep into its enemy’s territory. In addition to military prowess, Germany seemed appealing due to a lack of recent colonial engagement. After its 1918 defeat in World War I, Germany had to relinquish its colonies and it never officially attempted to reclaim them during World War II.<sup>2</sup> Consequently, many African nations looked to West Germany for military aid in the early 1960s.

However, the Federal Republic did not have the same militaristic mindset as previous German governments and was hesitant about having a military presence in foreign countries. After the end of World War II, the prospect of Germany ever possessing a dominant military in Europe again along with a robust armaments industry seemed frightening, if not unimaginable. The fresh stains from the Nazi past of systematically murdering millions of innocent people while attempting to conquer Europe and beyond would remain present not only in the minds of West German policy makers but also other countries. Many European countries, including those within NATO, expressed skepticism as the Federal Republic began to rearm in the 1950s. This

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<sup>1</sup> The idea of German military prowess being a pull factor for African nations wanting to establish military relations was expressed in Marco Wyss, “The Challenge of Western Neutralism during the Cold War: Britain and the Buildup of a Nigerian Air Force,” *Journal of Cold War Studies* 20, no. 2 (Spring 2018): 100. Furthermore, throughout the 1940s, names like Adolf, Hitler, Goebbels, and Bismarck were not as uncommon as one might have thought in a range of different African countries as demonstrated in, Michael Crowder, “Whose Dream Was It Anyway? Twenty-Five Years of African Independence,” *African Affairs* 86, no. 342 (January 1987): 20

<sup>2</sup> A broader discussion of German colonialism can be found in Sebastian Conrad, *German Colonialism: A Short History*, English ed (Cambridge ; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2012).



skepticism instilled in the West Germans a sense of cautiousness and self-restraint when conducting foreign affairs, especially those concerning the use of the military. Reflecting the manifestations of West Germany's cautious foreign policy were laws such as Article 26 of the Federal Republic's Basic Law and the *Kriegswaffenkontrollgesetz* (War Weapons Control Act) of 1961, which limited Germany's ability to sell arms. A self-restraining foreign policy was also crucial in reducing negative reactions from the West German public, which was already wary of West German rearmament, much less supplying arms to foreign countries. Any instance of the Federal Republic overextending the use of its military could have had negative consequences as the Federal Republic was an easy target for Soviet propaganda. For this reason, the Federal Republic typically engaged in multilateralism so as to achieve more support for its foreign policy. In addition, West Germany would have to tread carefully in Africa so as not to undercut the economic presence of former colonial powers such as Britain and France.

Even though the Federal Republic had significant reservations, West German officials maintained a great degree of interest in providing military aid to Africa. Surprisingly enough, the Federal Republic acted on its interests and had a military presence in multiple African countries such as: Egypt, Guinea, Madagascar, Nigeria, Somalia, Sudan, and Tanganyika, later known as Tanzania. As defined by Torben Güllstorff's dissertation from the Humboldt University in Berlin, military aid consisted of: 1) The supply of either military or commercial "equipment, weapons, ammunition, and vehicles" 2) The provision of infrastructure and training either in-country or in the Federal Republic or 3) "Direct participation of German troops in military and humanitarian operations."<sup>3</sup> Out of all the countries that the Federal Republic provided military aid, Nigeria and Tanganyika were two of the top recipients of West German air force and naval aid. However, West German military involvement in these two countries prove to be compelling case studies for demonstrating the policy tightrope that the Federal Republic walked while contributing military aid.

The first of these military relationships, Nigeria, started as a fortuitous happenstance but quickly turned into a highly calculated affair. After some initial hesitation on the part of some West German officials, the Federal Republic developed an extensive military aid packages for

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<sup>3</sup> For a comprehensive analysis of German activity in post-colonial Africa with a focus on economic and social implications, see Torben Güllstorff, "Trade follows Hallstein? Deutsche Aktivitäten im zentralafrikanischen Raum des Second Scramble." (Dissertation, Berlin, Humboldt-Universität, 2012), 254.

Nigeria in 1963. The Federal Republic's offer included an intensive training program of both Nigerian pilots and technicians, the construction of an air base, and the planned sale of dozens of aerial platforms to include modern fighter jets. With such a generous aid package, it was clear that the Federal Republic had high hopes for its budding relationship with Nigeria. Despite the promising outlook that the Federal Republic had for this military aid program, domestic politics in Nigeria hampered the project as two bloody coups ensued in 1966. These coups caused changes in leadership that negatively impacted West German military aid and sowed doubts into West German military advisors for continuing aid to Nigeria. The situation deteriorated further as the turbulent domestic politics in Nigeria devolved into the Nigerian Civil War in 1967, which was perceived as a genocide against one of one of Nigeria's many ethnic groups. This complicated the Federal Republic's position in Nigeria to the point where it eventually had to withdraw its presence and suspend arms sales.

Unlike the Nigerian case, the Federal Republic's military involvement in Tanganyika progressed at a slower rate initially. The main concern with Tanganyika was an increasing fear that it was at risk of East Bloc subversion due to the growing communist presence just off of Tanganyika's coast on the island nation of Zanzibar. For this reason, the Federal Republic offered a modest training program for a coastal patrol force along with two patrol boats. However, budgetary concerns from other African military aid projects prevented the Federal Republic from offering more at the time. The Federal Republic began to deepen its military presence in Tanganyika after the 1964 Zanzibar Revolution. Perceived initially as a communist revolution by the West, the Zanzibar Revolution increased fears that Tanganyika could fall to communist subversion. It would not be long after the Zanzibar Revolution that the Federal Republic expanded its military aid to include the creation of a Tanganyikan army air arm outfitted with heavy transport aircraft. Yet, during the same time, Tanganyika and Zanzibar united into one nation called Tanzania. As the two former nations negotiated the political ties that Tanzania would have with East Bloc countries, the Federal Republic tried to be understanding and patient. However, its patience ran out in early 1965 and it abruptly cut off all military aid to Tanzania. This drastic reduction in aid significantly hurt relations with Tanzania. Although the Federal Republic recovered some trust by providing small-scale military aid projects, Tanzania eventually turned towards China.

Three crucial questions drive this study. Firstly, how did both the Federal Republic's reservations stemming from its laws and brutal past shape and complicate the prospect of providing military aid to certain fledgling African states? Understanding this will provide insight into how the Federal Republic was able to justify this type of aid to non-NATO countries. Next, how were both West German military aid programs able to cope with and evolve within the dynamic political landscapes of each country? Knowing how the Federal Republic responded to the political challenges faced by Nigeria and Tanganyika reveal the limitations of West German military aid. Lastly, what impact did West German military aid have with regard to the Cold War in post-colonial Africa? Revealing the impact that a non-superpower country made could help provide a more nuanced view of these histories. In answering these questions, this study will comprise three chapters, one on the general politics behind military aid and other two on West German military involvement in Nigeria and Tanganyika respectively. The timeline of each case study will be from 1962 to 1968 as these limits correspond with the first instances of political discussions concerning military aid for each country to the removal of the last West German technicians as well. By creating two distinct case studies, this will help the reader extract broader understandings through comparison and contrast. The combination of the Federal Republic's cautious foreign policy and the worsening internal political landscapes of Nigeria and Tanzania resulted in the Federal Republic's failure to bring both African militaries to the level upon which each country had previously agreed, thus revealing the limitations of the Federal Republic's ability to provide effective military aid to non-NATO countries.

The main strains of historiography that this project seeks to be in conversation with are works concerning the Cold War and the decolonization of Africa. A sizeable portion of Cold War historiography traces the contours of the ideological competition between the two main superpowers: the United States and the Soviet Union.<sup>4</sup> Consequently, there is a large focus on the leaders, policies, and confrontations between these two countries that tends to center mainly on the European continent. However, Odd Arne Westad's pioneering work helped expand the scope of research on the Cold War by asserting that the Cold War was cold in Europe but hot in the

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<sup>4</sup> Melvyn P Leffler and Odd Arne Westad, *The Cambridge History of the Cold War* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012). This three volume edited collection is by far the most comprehensive account of the Cold War to date with a wide range of topics from some of the most prominent authors in the field.

periphery.<sup>5</sup> This meant that Cold War alliances on the European continent were relatively fixed and would remain so for the duration of the conflict. On the contrary, the periphery, meaning the countries in South America, Africa, the Middle East, and Asia, did not have as concrete of alliances as in Europe. Therefore, the periphery was of utmost importance to the Cold War because it represented the most dynamic ideological battlefield for the Soviet Union and United States to face off with one another. This project seeks to add to this growing twenty-first century shift in Cold War historiography towards stressing the importance of the periphery, also sometimes referenced as the Global South or Third World. However, it will do so by highlighting the impacts of a smaller global actor, the Federal Republic of Germany.

Decolonization was the vehicle through which the African continent began to heat up in terms of the Cold War as dozens of countries began to gain independence in the late 1950s and early 1960s. There seems to be a consensus in the literature that African decolonization, specifically referring to French and British colonies, was part of a longer process of France and Britain reshaping their rule into a “development-orientated colonialism,” which over time led to former colonies gaining independence.<sup>6</sup> Frederick Cooper adds to this by asserting that historians typically view political decolonization, i.e. gaining independence, in two ways: one as a relatively peaceful social mobilization by western-educated African elites and the other as violent phenomenon enacted by revolutionaries.<sup>7</sup> The former view is more applicable to this project as the majority of former British colonies gained independence in a peaceful manner such as Nigeria and Tanganyika. Furthermore, the leaders of these two countries also match the description as being western-educated African elites.

Political decolonization did not stop Britain and France’s development-orientated mindset; in fact, other European countries along with China began to offer former African

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<sup>5</sup> This work is valuable in that it places the ideological competition between the United States and the Soviet Union into a broader timeline extending beyond the Cold War and it takes on a global scope of the Cold War. Odd Arne Westad, *The Global Cold War: Third World Interventions and the Making of Our Times*, 1st pbk. ed (Cambridge ; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007).

<sup>6</sup> This edited collection focuses on the causes of decolonization by concentrating on social and institutional change. Frederick Cooper’s chapter focuses specifically on the African continent. Els Bogaerts et al., eds., *Beyond Empire and Nation: The Decolonization of African and Asian Societies, 1930s-1960s*, Verhandelingen van Het Koninklijk Instituut Voor Taal-, Land- En Volkenkunde, v. 244 (Leiden: KITLV Press, 2012), 42.

<sup>7</sup> Frederick Cooper, *Decolonization and African Society: The Labor Question in French and British Africa*, African Studies Series 89 (Cambridge, [England] ; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 6. The second view of decolonization being a violent phenomenon is attributed to Frantz Fanon and can be found in, Frantz Fanon and Richard Philcox, *The Wretched of the Earth* (New York: Grove Press, 2004).

colonies significant aid packages. In his book *Arms for Africa*, Bruce Arlington argues that military aid was the most “viable and available foreign-policy option” for countries to gain influence over African politics since having a well-trained military was a key factor in state building, especially in a time when these newly decolonized nations were not completely stable.<sup>8</sup> For this reason, a case study of West German military aid to Nigeria and Tanzania would demonstrate how the Federal Republic was able to gain political clout in these countries. Another import takeaway from Arlington’s work is his characterization of Western military aid being only for those who could pay or provide some other reciprocated benefit.<sup>9</sup> The Nigerian and Tanzania cases represent both sides of this characterization as Nigeria had the financial resources while Tanzania was at risk of recognizing the German Democratic Republic. The latter reason was significant because of the West German foreign policy known as the Hallstein Doctrine. Two notable historians who analyze how the Hallstein Doctrine shaped the Federal Republic’s interactions throughout the periphery are Werner Kilian and William Gray.<sup>10</sup> The Hallstein Doctrine was the Federal Republic’s attempt to quarantine East German influence by threatening to end relations with any country that recognized the German Democratic Republic. In doing so, the ultimate goal was German reunification. Overall this doctrine had significant impacts on a global scale because a sovereign nation could only maintain diplomatic ties with one Germany.<sup>11</sup> Consequently, works regarding the Hallstein Doctrine serve as a significant foundation for discussing the political motivations behind the Federal Republic’s decision to supply military aid to non-NATO countries, especially in the Tanzania case.

West German military aid to non-NATO countries is important because of the Federal Republic’s problematic history. Helga Haftendorn asserts that the “catastrophic legacy of the Nazi past” had negative effects on the Federal Republic’s ability to conduct foreign policy,

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<sup>8</sup> This work provides an overview of West and East Bloc military aid to Africa. Bruce E. Arlinghaus, ed., *Arms for Africa: Military Assistance and Foreign Policy in the Developing World* (Lexington, Mass: Lexington Books, 1983), xiii.

<sup>9</sup> Arlinghaus, *Arms for Africa*, 124.

<sup>10</sup> The pieces in which they do so are: Werner Kilian, *Die Hallstein-Doktrin: Der Diplomatische Krieg Zwischen Der BRD Und Der DDR 1955-1973: Aus Den Akten Der Beiden Deutschen Aussenministerien*, Zeitgeschichtliche Forschungen, Bd. 7 (Berlin: Duncker & Humblot, 2001). And William Glenn Gray, *Germany’s Cold War: The Global Campaign to Isolate East Germany, 1949 - 1969*, The New Cold War History (Chapel Hill: Univ. of North Carolina Press, 2003).

<sup>11</sup> The Soviet Union was an exception due to its unique status as a former occupying power.

causing it to develop a “habit of self-restraint.”<sup>12</sup> Additionally, Wolfram Hanrieder argues that other European powers along with the United States were concerned about West German behavior in foreign countries and expected it to behave morally and sensibly.<sup>13</sup> My study aims to demonstrate the political tightrope that West German policymakers faced when dealing with external military affairs due to the heightened sensitivities from the Nazi past, especially in a case like Nigeria, where it appeared that the Federal Republic was providing military aid to a country conducting a genocide on one of its ethnic groups. Despite these reservations, the Federal Republic was still able to supply military aid, even if its projects did not fully come to fruition.

This study seeks to track the Federal Republic’s military presence in Nigeria and Tanganyika through the lens of West German foreign policy. Consequently, it draws on material from both the German Foreign Ministry and German Federal Military Archives. Although many scholars have employed documents from the German Foreign Ministerial Archives to craft works concerning West German military aid, there are few works that make use of the German Federal Military Archives. In addition to employing this relatively unused primary source material, using the German Federal Military Archives helps provide more ground-level information about the inner workings of West German military aid. In contrast, the Political Archives of the Foreign Office will complement this by providing more policy-level information. Specific holdings from the Political Archives of the Foreign Office that prove essential for this research are “Bestand 57” (B 57) and B 130. The material employed from B 57, specifically *Referat IIIA4*, represent the unclassified files from the desk that managed West German military aid. Files drawn from B 130 represent the same topic but differ in that they were formerly classified. Thanks to Germany’s thirty-year declassification rule and the Foreign Ministry’s dedicated efforts in declassifying a large sum of volumes, these files have become available to researchers in recent years.<sup>14</sup> Other important holdings include B 1, which constitutes the Foreign Minister’s desk, along with B 34, which represents general country files. BW 1 and BL 1, equating to the

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<sup>12</sup> Helga Haftendorn, *Coming of Age: German Foreign Policy since 1945* (Lanham, Md: Rowman & Littlefield, 2006), 4.

<sup>13</sup> For discussion of American, European, and Soviet concerns of the reemergence of German militarism see, Wolfram F. Hanrieder, *Germany, America, Europe: Forty Years of German Foreign Policy* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale Univ. Press, 1989), 84.

<sup>14</sup> More information on declassification in the German Foreign Ministerial Archives can be found in, William Glenn Gray, “Declassified Breakthroughs in Germany: A Highly Organized Data Dump Is Underway,” *Passport: The Society for Historians of American Foreign Relations Review* 47, no. 3 (January 2017): 52–55.

Bundeswehr (the name for the German military) staff files and Luftwaffe (the name for the German Air Force) staff files respectively, from the German Federal Military Archives are also key holdings. In summation, records from the West German Foreign Ministry (AA), Defense Ministry (BMVtdg), Bundeswehr, Luftwaffe, along with the West German embassies in Lagos, Dar es Salaam, and London comprise the bulk of evidence for this project. There are some files from the Ministry for Economic Affairs (BMWf) interspersed throughout the aforementioned ministries' records as well. The coordination between these institutions is what brought West German military aid programs to life. Through all of these documents, one can also glean certain aspects of Nigerian and Tanganyikan foreign policy but not a comprehensive analysis due the lack of access to archival material from these specific countries. However, there are some instances in which this study makes use of Nigerian and Tanganyikan newspaper articles obtained from the Mitchell Media Center at Northwestern University along with documents from one of these countries' foreign ministries or embassies in the Federal Republic that can be found in the German Archives listed above. In spite of this, secondary source material will primarily help to fill the gaps of Nigerian and Tanganyikan foreign policy when needed. Overall, addressing this material allows for a more nuanced reading of the breakthroughs and problems faced by West German military aid programs in the 1960s.

## **THE POLITICS BEHIND THE AID: AN OVERVIEW**

Within a matter of eight years, the Federal Republic went from having no armed forces to sending troops and weapons to a range of African nations. How did this happen so quickly? In order to understand how and why West Germany aided in building up the Tanganyikan and Nigerian militaries, one must first have background knowledge on the laws and political institutions that governed these affairs along with the first cases of military aid to non-NATO countries. Questions that will help clarify these concepts are: Which institutions from this system were the key players in conducting West German military aid policy and how did they interact with one another? What differences of opinions existed and how did they drive the early years of military aid programs? Lastly, what did the first military aid agreements look like? In order to answer these questions, this chapter will be split into four sections. The first section aims to provide a brief overview of the West German political system in order to familiarize the reader with it. Next, the second section goes on to describe three crucial pieces of legislation for understanding West German military aid policy: Basic Law, the Foreign Trade and Payments Act, and the War Weapons Control Act. Additionally, it discusses the role of the West German parliament, called the Bundestag. The third section highlights three institutions that were instrumental in shaping military aid policy: the West German Foreign Ministry (AA), Defense Ministry (BMVtdg), and the Federal Defense Council (BVR). Discussion of their roles and characterizations is important in explaining how this type of aid came to fruition. The last section ends with the differing political motives behind providing military aid along with a summary of the first cases of this type of aid to non-NATO countries. Overall, the complexity of the Federal Republic's system of conducting military aid made it difficult to follow a coherent policy line during the early 1960s, thus leading to the signing of large-scale agreements lacking the precision expected of such a country like West Germany.

### **The Federal Republic's Political System**

As can be gleaned from its name, the Federal Republic of Germany was and still is a federal parliamentary republic. This democratic system has a bicameral legislative branch in which one of the houses, called the Bundestag, consists of politicians directly elected by the



German population. The other house, called the Bundesrat, comprises members appointed by the state legislatures. Like the House of Representatives and the Senate in the United States, the Bundestag and Bundesrat also work together to create and pass laws. Furthermore, they are charged with appointing members of the many courts within the Federal Republic. Before its unification in 1990, Germany was a divided nation comprising the Federal Republic of Germany and the German Democratic Republic. This division stemmed from the conclusion of World War II and the politics conducted by the following occupying powers that remained in Germany after the war: the United States, France, Britain, and the Soviet Union.

Unlike in the United States, the executive branch in Federal Republic is split between the President and the Chancellor. Neither figure is directly elected from the German population. Instead, the President is elected during a federal convention which is composed of members from the Bundestag and state legislatures. On the other hand, the Bundestag is the sole body responsible for electing the Chancellor by a simple majority, who then receives a formal appointment by the President. In order to receive a majority in the Bundestag, a coalition between political parties is typically necessary. This has been the case for every Federal Republic government since 1961.<sup>15</sup> Due to the setup of the German political system, the Chancellor ends up having a stronger role than the President because the Chancellor serves as the head of government while the President serves as the head of state. The role of the President can be characterized as being more ceremonial as he or she is tasked with duties such as “[representing] Germany in international affairs, concluding treaties with other countries and receiving the credentials of foreign ambassadors and envoys.”<sup>16</sup> Contrarily, the Chancellor has more of a hand in directing the affairs of the Bundestag as he or she is typically the coalition’s leader. Falling within the executive branch are the ministries which include but are not limited to the Defense, Economic, Finance, and Foreign Ministries. The Chancellor maintains “considerable influence” in appointing ministers to the Federal Cabinet and can dismiss them as well.<sup>17</sup> Yet in the early 1960s, ministers, once elected, enjoyed a wide-degree of purview as long

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<sup>15</sup> An examination of the Federal Republic’s foreign policy can be found in Wolf-Dieter Eberwein and Karl Kaiser, eds., *Germany’s New Foreign Policy: Decision-Making in an Interdependent World*, New Perspectives in German Studies (Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire ; New York: Palgrave, 2001), 197.

<sup>16</sup> For more information on the intricacies of the differing bodies of government and their roles within the German political system, see Mark Kesselman, ed., *European Politics in Transition*, 6th ed (Boston, MA: Houghton Mifflin Co, 2008), 212.

<sup>17</sup> Kesselman, *European Politics in Transition* 213.

as they acted in accordance with the general guidelines of the Chancellor.<sup>18</sup> Like any government, there are checks and balances between the differing bodies but overall, the Federal Republic's system is set up in a way which supports the Chancellor's preeminence over German politics.

### **The Legislative Dimension**

When conducting foreign military aid, the Federal Republic had to adhere in large part to three main laws: Basic Law, the Foreign Trade and Payments Act, and the War Weapons Control Act. The broader purpose of this legislation was for the Federal Republic to repudiate any possible attempt in stoking foreign wars. Established in May of 1949, Basic Law served as the Federal Republic's founding constitution. Two articles from Basic Law dictated the export of weapons: Article 73 and Article 26. Article 73 was more broad in that it assured that the Federal Republic had the sole power over "the free movement of goods, and the exchange of goods and payments with foreign countries."<sup>19</sup> Next, Article 26 states that

- (1) Acts tending to and undertaken with intent to disturb the peaceful relations between nations, especially to prepare for a war of aggression, shall be unconstitutional. They shall be criminalized.
- (2) Weapons designed for warfare may be manufactured, transported or marketed only with the permission of the Federal Government. Details shall be regulated by a federal law.<sup>20</sup>

These two articles guaranteed the legal export of weapons under the limitations of the West German government and also called for a federal law to outline regulation details. The two laws that met this call were the Foreign Trade and Payments Act along with the War Weapons Control Act, both ratified on 1 September 1961. This bears the questions, why did it take the Federal Republic over a decade to pass such laws? Noting the many criticisms in the Bundestag over the long timeline in creating such laws, Bundestag member Rolf Dahlgrün shed insight into this matter by stating that this criticism was unjustified since the occupied powers' laws made it unnecessary for the Bundestag to draft similar legislation.<sup>21</sup> Furthermore, he continued by explaining how the Bundestag began working through this issue shortly after the occupation of

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<sup>18</sup> Wilhelm Hennis, "Wie Kann der Bundeskanzler Regieren?," *Die Zeit*, October 23, 1964, 43/2964 edition, 3.

<sup>19</sup> Quoted from section 1, subsection 5 of Article 73 in "Grundgesetz Für Die Bundesrepublik Deutschland." Deutscher Bundestag, May 8, 1949.

<sup>20</sup> Quoted from Article 26 of the "Grundgesetz Für Die Bundesrepublik Deutschland."

<sup>21</sup> Deutsche Bundestag. 3. Wahlperiode. 144 Sitzung. 22 February 1961. Pg. 8161 Section C.

West Germany ended in May 1955. Like Article 73, the Foreign Trade and Payments Acts was broader in that it listed different categories of goods that the Federal Republic placed restrictions on, one of which was weapons.<sup>22</sup> However, the Foreign Trade and Payments Act deferred multiple times to the more detailed War Weapons Control Act. This act included specific weapon types, the proper channels for exporting them, and punishments for failing to do so.<sup>23</sup> In addition to satisfying section two of Article 26, the purpose of this law was to stifle the illegal arms trade and to afford the Federal Republic with increased control and surveillance over arms exports.<sup>24</sup> The War Weapons Control Act would serve as the guiding document for regulating West German military aid abroad.

Although generally remaining out of the picture, the Bundestag still maintained a role when it came to foreign military aid policy. It is important to note that the Bundestag had the power of the purse and was responsible for the Federal Republic's military aid budget. During the early 1960s the Bundestag, as a whole, generally had little knowledge on how exactly the money was spent due to the high levels of discretion in which the BVR shrouded it.<sup>25</sup> However, there was a small sub-committee consisting of two members from each political party that was secretly briefed on each military aid project.<sup>26</sup> Secrecy over the individual military aid projects would not last forever as West German media outlets began to report about them. By the second half of the 1960s, the Bundestag would assume a more critical stance against military aid and try to gain more oversight powers over it with parliamentarians even advocating for none to go to non-NATO countries.<sup>27</sup> These actions paralleled the timeframe in which the West German public exhibited growing sensitivities towards preserving human rights at home and abroad. Exporting weapons and training non-NATO militaries were not exactly the West German public's idea of accomplishing this.

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<sup>22</sup> See section 5 of the "Außenwirtschaftsgesetz." Bundesamt für Justiz, April 28, 1961.

<sup>23</sup> Reference "Gesetz Über Die Kontrolle von Kriegswaffen." Bundesamt für Justiz, April 20, 1961.

<sup>24</sup> Deutsche Bundestag. 3. Wahlperiode. 144 Sitzung. 22 February 1961. Pg. 8161 Section C.

<sup>25</sup> Eberwein and Kaiser, *Germany's New Foreign Policy*, 109. According to the memorandum from Department of State Deputy Undersecretary Jeffrey C. Kitchen to Ambassador Thompson titled *Federal Republic of Germany: Military Assistance of the Disposal of Excess Military Equipment*, 23 April 1965, in: NARA, Records Group (RG) 59, Subject Numeric File (SNF) 64-66, Box 1633 (Def 19 Ger-W), the specifics of West German military aid was hidden in the Federal Republic's budget. Professor William Glenn Gray kindly provided source material from NARA to aid this study.

<sup>26</sup> Helga Haftendorn, *Militärhilfe und Rüstungsexporte der BRD* (Düsseldorf: Bertelsmann Univ.-Verl, 1971), 63.

<sup>27</sup> Haftendorn, *Militärhilfe*, 67.

## The Executive Dimension

With its purpose dedicated to foreign relations, the West German Foreign Ministry (AA), for obvious reasons, was an important player in shaping West Germany's military aid policy to Africa. Although there were no definitive stipulations in West German law regulating exactly how its foreign policy was to be conducted, it would have been highly difficult to conduct foreign affairs without the assistance of the AA.<sup>28</sup> The reason for this was that the AA, in theory, had to be consulted and consent before the Federal Republic could receive any officials from foreign governments and conduct negotiations with foreign governments or businesses. Additionally, the AA had the right to "insist on participating in any such negotiations."<sup>29</sup> This meant that foreign relations were not off-limits to other ministries, governmental bodies, or even civilian firms. Instead, one can think of the AA as a quasi-manager of West German foreign affairs that ensured the actions of those affiliating with foreign countries or businesses fell in line with West Germany's overall foreign policy goals.

However, one should not infer that this meant that the AA only managed other ministries' foreign affairs. On the contrary, it also had pursuits of its own and in the 1960s these were carried out by the seven different departments that made up the AA. All departments fell under the purview of Foreign Minister Dr. Gerhard Schröder and his two state secretaries, Dr. Karl Carstens and Dr. Rolf Lahr. The departments were further divided into sub-departments and then desks, with each level led by an official of different rank corresponding to their position in this hierarchy.<sup>30</sup> The desks that primarily dealt with military aid to African countries were I B 3 titled "Africa South of the Sahara" along with III A 4 titled "International Economic Issues of Defense, Transport, Post, Telecommunications, and Tourism."<sup>31</sup> Additionally, these desks corresponded heavily with the West German embassies located in the respective African country to which the Federal Republic was providing military aid. In-country diplomats held significant influence over military aid policy because of their personal relationships, whether good or bad, with

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<sup>28</sup> Eberwein and Kaiser, *Germany's New Foreign Policy*, 19.

<sup>29</sup> Eberwein and Kaiser, *Germany's New Foreign Policy*, 27.

<sup>30</sup> See the organizational chart at the back of Rainer Blasius, *Akten Zur Auswärtigen Politik Der Bundesrepublik Deutschland 1963*, vol. III, III vols. (München: Oldenbourg Verlag, 1994). Note that Dr. Gerhard Schröder was the Foreign Minister from 1961 to 1966 and was later replaced by Willy Brandt, who served until 1969.

<sup>31</sup> Note that the system of numbering these desks changed in 1963 and this study uses the newer version. Furthermore, the first number or letter of each desk corresponds to the department in which it is located. Department I dealt with political affairs while department III dealt with trade and development policy as referred to in the organizational chart in Blasius.

foreign government officials. Because there was no singular entity within the AA solely responsible for military aid, disagreements could arise from time to time depending on the competing concerns and desires that had to be hashed out from as low as the desk level all the way to the Foreign Minister. Consequently, establishing a coherent and standardized military aid policy within the AA alone was no simple task because of the large amount of coordination required to do so.

As with the AA, there could be no foreign military aid policy without the military aspect. For this reason, the Defense Ministry (BMVtdg) played a crucial role. During peacetime, the BMVtdg had the sole jurisdiction over the Bundeswehr and not even the Chancellor could circumvent the Defense Minister in giving orders to it.<sup>32</sup> Therefore, in order to provide any foreign country with military equipment and Bundeswehr training on it, one had to consult with the BMVtdg first. Furthermore, the Defense Minister was the one charged with running the military aid budget until 1966. Similar to the AA, the BMVtdg also comprised a range of departments, sub-departments, and desks. Out of these entities, the W I sub-department called “Defense Economic Planning,” led by General Herbert Becker, played a prominent role in formulating military aid policy because of Becker’s maverick reputation for seeking out customers of West German military equipment, oftentimes without consulting the AA.<sup>33</sup> In cases when the BMVtdg consulted with the AA, it tended to seek out prior support from the United States before doing so.<sup>34</sup> However, in order to create a military aid package, Becker had to coordinate with the departments of the respective branches of the Bundeswehr in which he was trying to obtain equipment or training personnel as his sub-department was primarily in charge of military disposal and procurement. If need be, the W I sub-department would also work with civilian firms such as the aircraft manufacturing company Dornier Flugzeugwerke or shipbuilding company Bayerische Schiffbaugesellschaft to procure equipment and or training personnel for a military aid package.

Providing oversight to the AA and BMVtdg was a small committee within the Federal Chancellery called the Federal Defense Council (BVR), which is now called the Federal Security Council. The BVR was a select group composed of eight members: the Chancellor, the

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<sup>32</sup> Eberwein and Kaiser, *Germany’s New Foreign Policy*, 29.

<sup>33</sup> Haftendorn, *Militärhilfe und Rüstungsexporte der BRD*, 63.

<sup>34</sup> Refer to the memorandum *Federal Republic of Germany: Military Assistance of the Disposal of Excess Military Equipment*, 23 April 1965, in: NARA, RG 59, SNF 64-66, Box 1633 (Def 19 Ger-W).

Chancellor's Chief of Staff, the Foreign Minister, Defense Minister, Minister of the Interior, Justice Minister, Economic Minister, and Finance Minister.<sup>35</sup> However, the BVR could invite other figures to sit in on their talks for advisory purposes due to their expertise such as other ministers, state secretaries, or even the Inspector of the Bundeswehr.<sup>36</sup> Tasks for the BVR were broad in nature as it was responsible for all matters of West Germany's external and internal security at the national level. It is difficult to understate the importance of the BVR as it had the power to make final decisions for the government in any area of security that came under its purview as long as it did not contradict West German law.<sup>37</sup> Therefore, it should come as no surprise that foreign military aid was a main focus for the BVR. Any request for exporting weapons or training foreign militaries would require BVR deliberation and approval before coming into effect.

Besides the three main executive actors in shaping West German foreign military aid policy, one should not discount the minor roles played by the Economic (BMWi) and Finance (BMF) Ministries. In regard to foreign interests, the BMWi's goals were to promote West German exports and make the Federal Republic an appealing partner or location for conducting business while the BMF's main focus was the proper allocation of funds. Sometimes the interests of these two ministries could clash with one another especially in cases that involved export credits.<sup>38</sup> With export credits, it is important to note the different types of military aid in that on the one hand, there could be the combination of equipment and training aid, meaning the free supply of material such as guns, weapons, or planes along with military know-how to foreign personnel. On the other hand, there could be the combination of equipment sales and training aid. The only difference was that in this case, the foreign countries would be buying the military equipment. In regard to export credits, this only refers to equipment sales as in many cases the Federal Republic had to help finance these materials from the outset in order to aid recipient countries in being able to afford them with the expectation that they would pay the Federal Republic back a later time. Understandably, most recently decolonized African countries were not as high up on the creditworthiness ladder as other countries like Britain or France. As a

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<sup>35</sup> Hennis, "Wie Kann der Bundeskanzler Regieren?," 7.

<sup>36</sup> Note that the Inspector of the Bundeswehr is the highest ranking general in the Bundeswehr. Hennis, "Wie Kann der Bundeskanzler Regieren?," 7.

<sup>37</sup> Eberwein and Kaiser, *Germany's New Foreign Policy*, 105.

<sup>38</sup> Eberwein and Kaiser, *Germany's New Foreign Policy*, 47.

result, in spite of any appeal that exporting military equipment to African countries might have had on the BMWi among other ministries, the BMF might have been more vocal in criticizing said sales because of the possibility of these countries defaulting on export credits. Not paying back these credits would have been a detriment to the military aid budget and resulted in the “German taxpayer [footing] the bill.”<sup>39</sup> This highlights the tensions inherent between the BMF and the BMWi although they did not have too much of an overall impact on military aid policy.

### Origins of Military Aid

As characterized by Helga Haftendorn, military aid in the first half of the 1960s amounted to a large number of bodies with “diverging interests” regulated by “inadequate parliamentary control” in which decision-making occurred at the medium levels of responsibility.<sup>40</sup> So what were these main driving interests behind West German military aid? For the BMVtdg, NATO burden sharing and offset costs seemed to be key factors. From conclusion of World War II up to but not including the rearmament of Germany in 1955, the United States and Britain spent enormous amounts of money to ensure the security of West Germany. During this time, *Westbindung* occurred, meaning that the Federal Republic slowly became integrated with these western allies through a series of contracts and alliances with them. One of the most noteworthy alliances the Federal Republic entered into with the West was with NATO in 1955 because this meant that the Federal Republic could finally rearm. However, with greater responsibilities came greater costs. The United States and Britain became outspoken in their calls for the Federal Republic to contribute more money for its own security and the security of NATO, otherwise known as burden sharing. Due to the lack of a West German arms industry because of the restrictions from the occupying powers, one of the ways the Federal Republic contributed to burden sharing was by purchasing and importing military equipment from the United States and Britain.<sup>41</sup> The United States and Britain considered these purchases as an offset for the cost of the security they provided West Germany. Offset negotiations between

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<sup>39</sup> Eberwein and Kaiser, *Germany's New Foreign Policy*, 47.

<sup>40</sup> Haftendorn, *Militärhilfe und Rüstungsexporte der BRD*, 62.

<sup>41</sup> For an informative piece on the connection between West German monetary and security policies during the Cold War and how this related to its foreign policy with the United States and Britain, refer to Hubert Zimmermann, *Money and Security: Troops, Monetary Policy and West Germany's Relations with the United States and Britain, 1950-1971*, Publications of the German Historical Institute (Washington, D.C. : Cambridge: German Historical Institute ; Cambridge University Press, 2002), 57.

these two countries and the Federal Republic persisted well into the early 1960s, with the BMVtdg responsible for conducting these talks and dealing with the constant nagging to purchase more American and British military equipment.<sup>42</sup> Around the same time period, the West German Defense Minister Franz Josef Strauss wanted to upgrade the West German arsenal but the Bundeswehr had a superfluous amount of equipment.<sup>43</sup> With offset constantly on the BMVtdg's mind, any outlet in which it could rid itself of superfluous military equipment would be beneficial in making room for new equipment while also potentially earning some revenue on the side. Coincidentally, when widespread African decolonization began to occur in the late 1950s and early 1960s, the BMVtdg, more specifically the sub-department under the leadership of General Becker, opportunistically viewed these new countries as viable markets for West German military equipment. In turn, this made going through the BMVtdg to obtain military aid oftentimes appear as the easier route as opposed to the AA due to its mindset and desire to rid itself of equipment.

In juxtaposition to the BMVtdg, the driving factor behind military aid for the AA seemed to be the Hallstein Doctrine. As previously mentioned, one could not discount military aid as a powerful tool in influencing another country's politics, especially in Africa. With the advent of widespread African decolonization in the early 1960s, the AA was concerned with the possibility that the GDR could gain a political foothold in these newly decolonized states. Therefore, providing military aid could help preserve the Hallstein Doctrine by serving as a *quid pro quo* that would deter another country away from the East Germans and deny their influence. However, this was a fine line because the AA, specifically the IB3 desk, was particularly sensitive to West Germany's image abroad due to the German past and the moral implications behind providing military aid. One false step and West Germany could have easily become the target of Eastern propaganda depicting it as a warmonger and exporter of death. Other concerns from the IIIA4 desk included fears of how providing this type of aid could impede the peaceful development of these newly-formed African countries by stoking arms races. For these reasons, the AA tended to err more on the side of caution when it came to military aid to non-NATO

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<sup>42</sup> Zimmermann, *Money and Security*, 130.

<sup>43</sup> William Glenn Gray, "Waffen aus Deutschland? Bundestag, Rüstungshilfe und Waffenexport 1961 bis 1975," *Vierteljahrshefte für Zeitgeschichte* 64, no. 2 (April 15, 2016): 330.



countries especially in “so-called areas of tensions.”<sup>44</sup> Consequently, going through the AA for military aid could sometimes be a longer process than through the BMVtdg because of these factors.

Before the Nigerian and Tanzanian cases, the Federal Republic’s first attempts at providing military aid in the early 1960s consisted in large part of lofty promises that did not fall under the same standard of oversight as the aid packages in the latter half of the 1960s. Sudan was the first non-NATO country with which the Federal Republic signed a formal military aid agreement in 1961 that was worth 120 million DM.<sup>45</sup> The purpose of this agreement was primarily to assist the Sudan border police force but included a wide assortment of aid from procuring armored cars to constructing a munitions factory to training pilots.<sup>46</sup> In 1962, the trend of costly agreements continued with 18 million DM dedicated to aiding the Somali police force, 47 million DM to training and properly equipping the Guinean equivalent of the Army of Engineers, only 6 million DM to training the Madagascar coastal patrol force, and an estimated 240-340 million DM of military equipment such as tanks and planes for Israel that was highly classified.<sup>47</sup> Although these agreements were planned for timeframes lasting several years, they still constituted sizeable sums of money especially in comparison to the agreements signed with non-NATO countries in the latter half of the 1960s. It would not be until the uncovering of the secret agreement with Israel in 1965 that the Federal Republic would begin to review and rein in its military aid policy to non-NATO countries.

In short, no one West German ministry had the sole power over military aid and its early years could be seen as a convoluted process due to the lack of clear rules and the large number of players. In an ideal world, a recipient country would first reach out to either the AA or BMVtdg with a request for military aid. Whichever ministry received the request would subsequently correspond with the other to formulate an agreement that ensured all aspects met the standards of West German law. Then, all that remained was BVR approval before either the BMVtdg or AA

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<sup>44</sup> This position was asserted in Refer to the memorandum *Federal Republic of Germany: Military Assistance of the Disposal of Excess Military Equipment*, 23 April 1965, in: NARA, RG 59, SNF 64-66, Box 1633 (Def 19 Ger-W). Areas of tension constituted locations in which the existing tensions could devolve into political crises and or armed conflict.

<sup>45</sup> See Table A.1 Comparison of Planned vs. Actual Expenditures of West German Military Aid located in the Appendix. Although there were exceptions, the value of the agreements signed with African countries during the first years of the Federal Republic providing military aid tended to be much higher than the those signed in the latter half of the 1960s. DM stands for Deutsche Mark which was the Federal Republic’s currency at the time.

<sup>46</sup> Haftendorn, *Militärhilfe und Rüstungsexporte der BRD*, 114.

<sup>47</sup> For more information on the aid to Israel, see Haftendorn, *Militärhilfe*, 27.

could present the agreement to the recipient country. Yet, this was not the case as the coordination between all of these working parts did not run smoothly. Due to the differing circumstances surrounding each case of military aid, there were many differences of opinion and debates on what it should look like. Adding to the complexity of this was the fact that not only were these debates internal within the Federal Republic's government and sometimes even within the ministries themselves, but also external between West Germany and the recipient countries. The result of all of this discourse was only to sign an agreement, which was just the beginning. The dynamic nature of each unfolding case would present the Federal Republic with further challenges that would test its ability to provide effective military aid to non-NATO countries.

## **WEST GERMANY TAKES FLIGHT: THE LUFTWAFFE IN NIGERIA, 1962-1968**

As the second largest military aid agreement signed between the Federal Republic and an African country, the Nigerian case study is a difficult one to ignore. The West German vision for this agreement was great, consisting of large-scale plans to develop a modern Nigerian Air Force equipped with fighter jets. On top of this, Nigeria was one of the few African countries that could finance, at least in part, the importation of West German military equipment. Yet, reality would dictate otherwise and the ambitious plan for the Nigerian Air Force would never fully come to fruition. Overall, Nigeria was not the most stable country after its independence from Britain in 1960. Due to internal ethnic tensions, Nigeria experienced two coups in 1966 and a bloody civil war in 1967.<sup>48</sup> This complicated the Federal Republic's position in Nigeria to the point where it eventually had to withdraw its presence and suspend arms sales. Because of the dynamics encountered in this case, it effectively highlights the foreign policy tightrope that the Federal Republic had to walk while helping to establish the Nigerian Air Force

Questions crucial to this case study are: how did the Federal Republic and Nigeria come to an agreement with each other on establishing a Nigerian Air Force? Did the Federal Republic uphold this agreement or did the agreement evolve due to changing circumstances in Nigeria? Lastly, how did the developing internal crises in Nigeria such as the two coups and the outbreak of the Nigerian Civil War affect the Federal Republic's position in Nigeria? The first section examines how the relationship between the Federal Republic and Nigeria formed. It then proceeds to illuminate the differing expectations between the two countries and how they compromised. The second section focuses on the implementation of the agreement and tweaks that were made. After this, the third section explores how rising internal violence within Nigeria and the outbreak of war degraded the Federal Republic's relationship with Nigeria to the point where it removed its military. While the Federal Republic had reservations about engaging with Nigeria from the beginning of this relationship, it could not have a military presence in a country at war.

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<sup>48</sup> For more information on Nigerian instability see Stephen Wright, *Nigeria: Struggle for Stability and Status*, Nations of the Modern World (Boulder, Colo: Westview Press, 1998).

## Reconciling Desires

Before examining West Germany's presence in Nigeria, one must understand the legacy that British colonialism had on the internal landscape of Nigeria. Like many colonies, Nigeria was an artificial creation in that it comprised a diverse range of ethnic groups that did not necessarily get along with each other.<sup>49</sup> Britain ruled Nigeria with a federalist system by dividing it into regions based on the three largest ethnic groups.<sup>50</sup> These regions included the North dominated by the most populous ethnic group known as the Muslim Hausa-Fulanis, the Southwest dominated by the Yorubas, and the Southeast dominated by the Christian Igbos. This federalist system hardened ethnic tensions and resulted in the failure of creating a nationalist Nigerian identity. Consequently, many Nigerians were more attached to their ethnic group than to Nigerian unity. Not all ethnic groups were equal socio-economically. As described by Eghosa Osaghae, the Southern Yorubas and Igbos had a clear socio-economic advantage over the Northern Hausa-Fulanis due to education, industry, and access to natural resources.<sup>51</sup> Due to their perceived subordinate status, the Hausa-Fulanis feared that the South would dominate Nigerian politics after independence. To ease these fears, Britain helped a moderate Hausa-Fulani named Abubakar Tafawa Balewa become the first prime minister of Nigeria.

After gaining independence, Nigeria began to distance itself from Britain. Under Nigerian Prime Minister Balewa's "cast iron control of foreign affairs," Nigeria shifted to a policy of nonalignment.<sup>52</sup> In theory, nonalignment meant that Nigeria was not committed to either the West or East bloc, but instead it would be willing to conduct foreign affairs equally with either side. With roots extending back to the African-Asian Bandung Conference of 1955, this policy position was fairly common among recently decolonized African nations and served the purpose of reducing the potential violence resulting from entangling oneself within Cold War

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<sup>49</sup> Wright, *Nigeria*, 24.

<sup>50</sup> For more information on Nigerian development under British rule reference Tom G. Forrest, *Politics and Economic Development in Nigeria*, Updated ed, African Modernization and Development Series (Boulder, Co.: Westview Press, 1995), 39.

<sup>51</sup> For a detailed account of the ethnic tensions in Nigeria refer to Eghosa E. Osaghae, *Crippled Giant: Nigeria since Independence* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1998), 9. For information on how the United States exploited Nigerian ethnic tensions reference Kairn Klieman, "U.S. Oil Companies, the Nigerian Civil War, and the Origins of Opacity in the Nigerian Oil Industry," *Journal of American History* 99, no. 1 (June 2012): 156.

<sup>52</sup> For a better characterization of Prime Minister Balewa reference: Oye Ogunbadejo, "Nigeria's Foreign Policy under Military Rule 1966-79," *International Journal* 35, no. 4 (October 1980): 749.

alliances.<sup>53</sup> Furthermore, it was also instrumental for fledgling African states to distance themselves from their former colonial predecessors.<sup>54</sup> In reality, nonalignment in Nigeria was a façade to please the population as Balewa was clearly pro-West and open about his bias against the Soviets.<sup>55</sup> Like many other former colonial powers, Britain felt a “natural responsibility” to continue supporting Nigeria’s growth after Nigerian independence, specifically in helping it establish an Air Force.<sup>56</sup> These sentiments were justified as the two countries shared an Anglo-Nigerian Defense Pact and Britain had already helped to establish the Nigerian army and navy. This, coupled with the fact that the Soviet Union began to help Nigeria’s neighbor, Ghana, create an Air Force, caused Nigeria to consider Britain’s offer of establishing a Nigerian Air Force.<sup>57</sup> However, Nigeria remained noncommittal as student and action groups began to call for Balewa to live up to his policy of nonalignment. These groups began a series of protests against the Anglo-Nigerian Defense Pact due to fears that Nigerian security was becoming too dependent on British military aid. Eventually, Balewa gave into these protests and abrogated the Defense Pact in January of 1962.<sup>58</sup> Thus, in order to create a Nigerian Air Force and not cause public outrage, Balewa was left with no other option but to look to countries besides Britain in fulfilling this request. Although Nigeria’s foreign policy of nonalignment resulted in the rejection of Britain’s offer to build a Nigerian Air Force, it created an opportunity for other Western European countries like the Federal Republic of Germany.

Nigeria tested the waters with the Federal Republic by first offering to buy West German arms. The first record of Nigeria reaching out to the Federal Republic took place in October 1961, when the Nigerian Defense Ministry wrote to the West German arms firm Rheinmetall.<sup>59</sup>

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<sup>53</sup> The Bandung Conference was the first large-scale conference consisting solely of African and Asian delegations. More information on the Cold War in the Third World can be found in Michael Latham's chapter titled *The Cold War in the Third World, 1963-1975* located in the second volume of, Leffler and Westad, *The Cambridge History of the Cold War*, 258.

<sup>54</sup> Arlinghaus, *Arms for Africa*, 122.

<sup>55</sup> Other sources referencing Balewa’s foreign policy include: Oye Ogunbadejo, “Nigeria and the Great Powers: The Impact of the Civil War on Nigerian Foreign Relations,” *African Affairs* 75, no. 298 (January 1976): 14–32. 749. and Oye Ogunbadejo, “Nigeria-Soviet Relation, 1960-87,” *African Affairs* 87, no. 346 (January 1988): 84.

<sup>56</sup> Ideas concerning how former colonial powers interacted with their former colonies can be found in: Bassey Eyo Ate, “The Presence of France in West-Central Africa as a Fundamental Problem to Nigeria,” *Millennium* 12, no. 2 (1983): 113.

<sup>57</sup> Wyss, “The Challenge of Western Neutralism during the Cold War: Britain and the Buildup of a Nigerian Air Force,” 109.

<sup>58</sup> Wright, *Nigeria*, 145.

<sup>59</sup> Wyss, “The Challenge of Western Neutralism during the Cold War: Britain and the Buildup of a Nigerian Air Force,” 121.

Although it took a couple months, an official in the BMVtdg noticed Nigeria's request for arms and began to take a great interest in processing this request.<sup>60</sup> It should come as no surprise that this official was the notorious head of the W I sub-department in the BMVtdg, Brigadier General Herbert Becker, who had a reputation of being carefree when it came to West German agreements on arms exports.<sup>61</sup> Over the course of the next seven months, General Becker helped to facilitate informal talks with Nigeria, which was expressing more interest in West German arms. In late September of 1962, the BMVtdg agreed to start official relations with Nigeria by helping to supply military equipment.<sup>62</sup> After this, General Becker worked swiftly. By November 1962 Becker had already coordinated a contract to sell 420 MG-42 machine guns with over two millions rounds of ammunition to Nigeria along with permitting the construction of a small arms factory in Lagos, Nigeria by the West German arms firm Fritz Werner.<sup>63</sup> Becker's determined attitude and ability to work through West German law were crucial factors in facilitating the creation of this contract. In Nigeria's eyes, Becker's efficiency made it seem as though working with the Federal Republic would be easy as he was very receptive to Nigeria's request. Apparently, this contract seemingly pleased Nigeria enough to where it wanted to push forward in its relations with the Federal Republic.

After having seen Becker's enthusiastic and effective response to its initial request for arms, Nigeria decided to further its relations with West Germany by asking it to help establish a Nigerian Air Force. On its wish list, the Nigerian Defense Minister Alhaji Muhammadu Ribadu requested a "fighter, reconnaissance, and transport capable" Air Force, in-country training of both pilots and maintainers, and the construction of a command staff for organizational purposes.<sup>64</sup> Although the construction of an Air Force from scratch would prove to be a massive undertaking, the West German Defense Ministry instructed the West German Embassy in Lagos to notify Nigerian Defense Minister Ribadu in late December of 1962 that the Federal Republic

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<sup>60</sup> Personal Letter from Dr. Ulrich Sahm to Ambassador of the West Germany Embassy in Lagos Harold Graf, 14 Feb. 1962, in: Politisches Archiv des Auswärtiges Amt (PA AA), Bestand (B) 130, Band (Bd) 5058A.

<sup>61</sup> A more complete characterization of General Becker and West German arms exports can be found in: Gray, "Waffen aus Deutschland? Bundestag, Rüstungshilfe und Waffenexport 1961 bis 1975."

<sup>62</sup> Record from the BMVtdg on 27 Sep. 1962, in: PA AA, B 130, Bd 5058A.

<sup>63</sup> Becker sent confirmation of this agreement to the West German Foreign Ministry on 17 Nov. 1962, in: PA AA, B 130, Bd 5058A.

<sup>64</sup> Message from Nigerian Defense Minister Alhaji Muhammadu Ribadu to the West German Embassy in Lagos on 7 Dec. 1962, in: PA AA, B 130, Bd 5058A.

was ready to support this endeavor.<sup>65</sup> Although this was not a contractually binding statement, it brought the Federal Republic one step closer to creating an agreement with Nigeria.

Nigeria seemed to be a desirable country with which to provide military equipment aid as it had a strong enough economy to finance a large portion of it. Not only was Nigeria the most populous African country, but it also had the second largest economy in sub-Saharan Africa, mainly due to its large oil reserves.<sup>66</sup> Aircraft were not cheap, especially fighter jets, so it was important for the Federal Republic that Nigeria would not become a financial burden if it decided on helping establish a Nigerian Air Force. Knowing these concerns, General Becker used Nigeria's strong economy as a selling point to the AA by arguing that Nigeria was in a position to self-finance a modest Air Force. Furthermore, he assured the AA that West German expenditures would be limited only to providing Nigeria with "technical advice, free administrative help in [equipment] procurement, and free [pilot and maintenance] training."<sup>67</sup> These expenditures represented the deal that Nigeria would receive for purchasing West German aircraft. In General Becker's mind, this was a happy medium for the Federal Republic and Nigeria as neither side had to completely pay for the construction of a Nigerian Air Force.

Upon closer analysis, the BMVtdg's pledge to aid Nigeria in the construction of a Nigerian Air Force seemed hasty. Despite not yet having a written agreement, this decision evoked an almost immediate and noticeable sense of worry within the AA. One day after the West German Embassy in Lagos notified Nigeria of West German support, the AA wrote the BMVtdg that constructing a Nigerian Air Force would "disrupt the peaceful development of the entire African region."<sup>68</sup> The idea was that supplying Nigeria with a sophisticated Air Force would trigger an arms race within Africa and could result in conflict between fledgling African countries. Furthermore, the AA expressed worry about how West German allies would react, especially Britain. The AA officials who were informed of the proposition to construct the Nigerian Air Force decided to shroud it in a high degree of secrecy since they were under the

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<sup>65</sup> Telegram to the Germany Embassy in Lagos to notify Nigeria of the Federal Republic's decision on 28 Dec. 1962, in: PA AA, B 130, Bd 5058A.

<sup>66</sup> For more information about Nigeria's economic relations with foreign countries see John J Stremlau, *The International Politics of the Nigerian Civil War, 1967-1970* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton Univ. Press, 2015), 6. and Kairn Klieman, "U.S. Oil Companies, the Nigerian Civil War, and the Origins of Opacity in the Nigerian Oil Industry,"

<sup>67</sup> Letter from General Becker to the AA on 20 Dec 1962, in: PA AA, B 130, Bd 5058A.

<sup>68</sup> Message from the AA to the BMVtdg on 29 Dec. 1962, in: PA AA, B 130, Bd 5058A.

impression that no one trusted the Federal Republic to equip African countries militarily.<sup>69</sup> At the same time, the longer that the Federal Republic waited to inform Britain, the more it looked like West Germany was going behind Britain's back to push it out of the Nigerian arms market. Lastly, the AA was worried about the "propaganda fire" that the Soviet Union would light in evoking images of a "militaristic Germany" referring to the Nazi past.<sup>70</sup> Soviet propaganda could not only damage the Federal Republic's reputation but also reflect poorly on its Western allies in NATO. Despite these fears, the Federal Republic pushed forward in its engagement with Nigeria as General Becker's determination prevailed over the AA's worries. However, these reservations would come to shape the Federal Republic's interaction with Nigeria, sometimes to a fault.

Highlighting the difficulties encountered in negotiations between the Federal Republic and Nigeria was the visit of the Secretary of the Nigerian Defense Ministry Alhaji Sule Kolo to the Federal Republic in March 1963. The majority of the difficulties arose from Kolo's unrealistic timetable and lack of knowledge concerning how the Federal Republic's government functioned. Early on, Nigeria made it very clear that if the Federal Republic was unable to come to a "speedy" agreement on constructing a Nigerian Air Force, then Nigeria would have to look to other partners to complete this request.<sup>71</sup> It was clear that Nigeria wanted an Air Force as soon as possible. From Kolo's perspective, this request seemed reasonable due to the efficiency in which General Becker made the first arms contract. However, due to comparatively more pushback from the AA on constructing the Nigerian Air Force, the process went more slowly. Consequently, when Kolo arrived in Germany in March 1963, he became extremely disappointed at what he perceived to be West Germany's lack of progress. Kolo was under the impression that the purpose of his visit was to work out the finer details of this agreement. However, not only did the Federal Republic not have a draft agreement, but it did not even have cabinet approval to approve such an agreement yet.<sup>72</sup> Understandably, Kolo was annoyed because this news cast doubt on the Federal Republic's readiness to meet Nigeria's request. Kolo believed that the Federal Republic was distancing itself from the assurances it gave in late December of 1962.<sup>73</sup> It was clear that Kolo did not understand the hoops that Becker had to jump through to formulate

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<sup>69</sup> Message from the AA to the BMVtdg on 29 Dec. 1962, in: PA AA, B 130, Bd 5058A

<sup>70</sup> Indications of West German fears of Soviet propaganda can be found in Dr. Böker's letter on 18 Mar. 1963, in: PA AA, B 130, Bd 5058A and a record on 26 Mar. 1963, in: PA AA, B 130, Bd 5058A

<sup>71</sup> Telegram from the West German Embassy in Lagos 18 Feb. 1963, in: PA AA, B 130, Bd 5058A

<sup>72</sup> Note on Dr. Böker's meeting with Secretary Kolo on 14 Mar. 1963, in: PA AA, B 130, Bd 5058A

<sup>73</sup> Note on Dr. Böker's meeting with Secretary Kolo on 15 Mar. 1963, in: PA AA, B 130, Bd 5058A



such an agreement. General Becker was not the sole approval authority but had to work with the AA before an agreement could be drafted. Further worsening the situation was the Federal Republic's unwillingness to publicize West German support for Nigeria, for which Kolo repeatedly asked.<sup>74</sup> Kolo most likely wanted to publicize this relationship as a recruitment tactic to increase the number of prospective Nigerian airmen. These meetings demonstrated how Nigerian expectations differed from the realities of what the Federal Republic could do. Nigeria expected this agreement to be swift like the previous one in November 1962, but West Germany was more cautious as establishing a Nigerian Air Force was a much more sizeable endeavor than shipping a few hundred machine guns. In addition, these meetings revealed the impact of the Federal Republic's cautious foreign policy on its relationship with Nigeria. By shrouding its relationship with Nigeria in secrecy and taking longer to formulate an agreement, the Federal Republic seemed to have inadvertently created an impediment to furthering its relationship with Nigeria. Despite leaving West Germany with no concrete improvements to bring back to Nigeria, Kolo's visit can be considered a partial success because he gained a deeper sense of how the Federal Republic operated and the reality of what it could provide for Nigeria.

Shortly after Kolo's visit, the AA decided to inform Britain of the Federal Republic's involvement in Nigeria. Through gritted teeth, Britain responded that it was thankful for the consultation and had no objections to West German aid in Nigeria.<sup>75</sup> However, Britain was noticeably angered that it lost out on the deal to construct the Nigerian Air Force. As Marco Wyss describes it, "the West German-Nigerian air force assistance agreement was a serious setback for the British, who had hoped to use military assistance as a means to secure their strategic interests in Nigeria."<sup>76</sup> The only consolation for Britain was that Nigeria had not turned to the Soviets for military aid. All in all, Britain had no choice but to respect Nigeria's decision and be content that the Federal Republic was willing to consult with it. With a grumbling but not disapproving Britain on its side, this was one less reservation that the Federal Republic had to worry about.

Despite the setback of Kolo's visit, the Federal Republic was eventually able to come to an agreement with Nigeria in helping construct an Air Force. In the meantime, Becker sent in a

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<sup>74</sup> Reference both notes on Dr. Böker's meeting with Secretary Kolo on 14 Mar. 1963, in: PA AA, B 130, Bd 5058A and 15 Mar. 1963, in: PA AA, B 130, Bd 5058A

<sup>75</sup> Record from the British Ambassador Sir Frank Roberts on 20 Mar. 1963, in: PA AA, B 130, Bd 5058A

<sup>76</sup> Wyss, "The Challenge of Western Neutralism," 127.

draft agreement to the AA that included a list of planes and timeline of training. After the AA approved the draft, Becker set out for Nigeria to negotiate the draft agreement. Due to some Nigerian modifications, the signing of the agreement was delayed since the AA had to check over the wording. The AA reminded Becker to wait until he received direct approval before signing the agreement.<sup>77</sup> As the Nigerians became more impatient, Becker went ahead and signed the agreement as it stood on 19 April 1963 in spite of the AA not making a final decision on the wording of the agreement. The AA was furious and stated that “this [was] a very incorrect behavior, since governmental agreements can only be concluded by the [AA] or with its consent, which did not exist.”<sup>78</sup> Additionally, the AA chastised the BMVtdg for Becker’s “disloyal behavior” and called for closer coordination between the two ministries.<sup>79</sup> However, the Federal Republic was now committed to establishing the Nigerian Air Force.

The first agreement between Nigeria and the Federal Republic served as good compromise between the two nations. As stated in the agreement, the Federal Republic would provide a German Air Force Advisory Group (GAFAG) to train a total of 650 Nigerian ground personnel and around 200 pilots over a four year period.<sup>80</sup> This was well over the 350 ground personnel and 80 pilots that Nigeria originally requested.<sup>81</sup> However, there were some tradeoffs. The Federal Republic only agreed to supply fighter jets and transport aircraft despite Nigeria’s request for reconnaissance capabilities as well. Furthermore, the Federal Republic would not establish a fully-functioning fighter and transport squadron until 1967. By delaying the delivery of these types of aircraft, it lessened the possibility of West Germany being accused of having too militaristic of a presence in Nigeria. Initially training Nigerians pilots on the single engine propeller-driven aircraft Do 27 looked significantly less harmful than training Nigerians on the jet-powered F-86 Sabre 6. Despite this, the Federal Republic’s willingness to meet Nigeria’s demand for fighter jets was surprising given that they represented the peak of military aviation at that time. Also, the agreement made it explicitly clear that the GAFAG would only serve a training purpose and would not engage in any military or civilian conflict. This helped assuage some West German reservations about its military presence in Africa and stay in accordance with

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<sup>77</sup> Telegram to the Embassy in Lagos on 16 Apr. 1963, in: PA AA, B 130, Bd 5058A

<sup>78</sup> Letter from the AA to General Becker on 6 May. 1963, in: PA AA, B 130, Bd 5058A

<sup>79</sup> Letter from the AA to the BMVtdg on 17 May. 1963, in: PA AA, B 130, Bd 5058A

<sup>80</sup> Administrative Agreement between Nigeria and the Federal Republic on 19 April 1963, in PA AA, B 130, Bd 5058A

<sup>81</sup> Telegram to AA from the West German Embassy in Lagos on 31 Jan 1963, in in PA AA, B 130, Bd 5058A

its laws. Overall, the agreement settled on Nigeria buying 78 planes from the Federal Republic. These sales equated to millions of DMs, thus helping the West German economy. In addition, this was a great opportunity for the Federal Republic to get rid of used planes such as the F-86 Sabre 6 so that it could replace them with upgraded and modern planes such as the F-104 Starfighter.<sup>82</sup> The first team of the GAFAG left for Nigeria in June 1963.

### **Realization of the Agreement**

The introduction of the GAFAG into Nigeria was met with some hesitation from the West German public. On 5 June 1963, the AA held a press conference about West Germany's agreement with Nigeria. This press conference revealed that the Federal Republic had been secretly conducting a range of military aid agreements without consulting NATO and that "agreements concluded on [BMVtdg], not governmental, level," referencing General Becker's signature on the agreement before receiving AA approval on the wording.<sup>83</sup> Representatives from the West German newspaper *Die Welt* and the *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* at the press conference criticized their government for "mil aid procedures not for [the] program per se."<sup>84</sup> In short, the lack of government transparency upset them more than the knowledge that a West German advisory group would help build the Nigerian Air Force. The West German magazine *Der Spiegel* also commented about the secrecy of the agreement and that the officials running the press conference were visibly annoyed "that the Bonn journalists had even dared to touch the taboo on military aid."<sup>85</sup> Other smaller newspapers such as the *Neue Rhein Zeitung* were more concerned about the agreement itself, calling it an "inflammable experiment" which was "ammunition for communist propaganda."<sup>86</sup> These comments captured the West German public's worries and displeasure towards military involvement in Nigeria.

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<sup>82</sup> For more information about the modernization of the German Air Force, see James Corum, "Starting From Scratch: Establishing the Bundesluftwaffe as a Modern Air Force, 1955-1960," *Air Power History* 50, no. 2 (Summer 2003): 28.

<sup>83</sup> Letter from the American Embassy in Bonn to the Secretary of State on 6 Jun 1963, confidential, in: NARA, RG 59, SNF 63, Box 3769 (DEF 19-3).

<sup>84</sup> Report on the press conference from the American Embassy in Bonn to the Secretary of State on 8 Jun 1963, confidential, in: NARA, RG 59, SNF 63, Box 3769 (DEF 19-3).

<sup>85</sup> "Feldgrau Im Busch," *Der Spiegel*, June 12, 1963, 24/1963 edition.

<sup>86</sup> This *Neue Rhein Zeitung* article was translated by the Nigerian Daily Express Newspaper in an article titled Air Force aid to Nigeria flayed on 8 Jun 1963, in PA AA, B 130, Bd 5058A

Not only were some in the West German public dissatisfied, but some in the Nigerian public were troubled by the presence of German Air Force personnel as well. In an article titled “White Elephant”, an anonymous Nigerian commented on the exorbitant costs of establishing a modern Air Force which could be used for other means such as education. Furthermore, he expressed worry at West Germany’s “bad reputation for militarism” and how this agreement was “the first step in involvement in the Cold War.”<sup>87</sup> Although both countries’ publics expressed discontent at the presence of the GAFAG in Nigeria, the Federal Republic and Nigeria pushed forward with the development of the Nigerian Air Force.

Initial training of the Nigerian Air Force experienced some delays due to the lack of Nigerians having gone through basic training and the lack of maintenance personnel in Nigeria. After the first contingent of the GAFAG officers inspected the infrastructure in Nigeria and set up the Nigerian Air Force staff, training was supposed to commence. It was during this time that the GAFAG realized no one had checked whether the future Nigerian airmen had undergone basic training and there was no clarification in the agreement regarding which country was to provide this training. Begrudgingly, the GAFAG assumed this role and started basic training for the first 120 Nigerians in October 1963.<sup>88</sup> This delayed the GAFAG by three months and forced it to have to dedicate more of its already limited number of personnel to basic training instead of other areas. As a result, the GAFAG recommended that the Federal Republic send a survey group of military experts in-country to ascertain all requirements that a potential recipient-country needed before signing an agreement.<sup>89</sup> In spite of the delays, the first wave of Nigerian pilots arrived in Germany on 4 January 1964.<sup>90</sup> However, in Nigeria, the GAFAG was still waiting on the shipment of the single-trainer aircraft, known as the Do 27. During this waiting time, the GAFAG realized that there was an insufficient number of maintenance personnel to maintain the aircraft and train Nigerian maintainers. After notification of the lack of personnel, the BMVtdg negotiated with the Nigerian Ministry of Defense to create the second supplementary agreement, which called for the employment of 41 civilian maintenance

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<sup>87</sup> Written in the front page article “White Elephant,” *West African Pilot*, 10 June, 1963, found in the Mitchell Media Center (MMC), *West African Pilot* Film Roll JAN-JUN 1963.

<sup>88</sup> Situation Report on “German Aid in the Construction of the Nigerian Air Force” found in, Bundesarchiv Abteilung Militärarchiv (BAM), BL 1 (meaning records of the Air Force Staff), Bd 1292.

<sup>89</sup> Situation Report on “German Aid in the Construction of the Nigerian Air Force” found in, BAM, BL 1, Bd 1292.

<sup>90</sup> BMVtdg report to the AA on 20 Jan 1964, in PA AA, B 130, Bd 5072A

personnel from the West German airplane firm Dornier to meet the GAFAG's needs in Nigeria.<sup>91</sup> In this supplementary agreement, the BMVtdg made it explicitly clear that the Dornier employees could only be used for training purposes and that they were solely under the command of the GAFAG. This section of the supplementary agreement mirrored the cautions that the Federal Republic expressed in the original agreement by wanting neither the GAFAG nor West German civilians to engage in foreign military or civilian conflicts. Despite these clear statements, Nigeria pushed the boundaries of this aspect of the agreement.

In late November 1964, Nigeria tried to use the GAFAG to subdue a violent internal conflict. The Nigerian Ministry of Defense ordered the commander of the GAFAG, Lieutenant Colonel Gerhard Kahtz, to airlift soldiers of the Nigerian Army to an area of insurgency within Nigeria. After rejecting this order on the basis that it would violate West German law and the agreement between the Federal Republic and Nigeria, Lt Col Kahtz experienced extreme pushback directly from the Nigerian Defense Minister Ribadu.<sup>92</sup> It was surprising that Defense Minister Ribadu would try to force Lt Col Kahtz to go against West German law. If Lt Col Kahtz had complied with this order, it could have spelled the end of the Federal Republic's engagement with Nigeria because of the subsequent media outrage that would have ensued in West Germany. For this reason, the BMVtdg wrote Ribadu a scathing letter to review his actions and not "bring the German advisory personnel's status [down] to that of mercenaries."<sup>93</sup> By ordering the airlift of Nigerian troops, Ribadu damaged some of the Federal Republic's trust.

In spite of this incident, the Federal Republic did not remain upset for long and continued training. A few weeks after the incident, Secretary Kolo met with the BMVtdg to discuss the future of the GAFAG. In this meeting, he called for a change to the basic agreement due to Nigerian budget restraints.<sup>94</sup> This resulted in the creation of the third supplementary agreement, which outlined a plan for the sale of twelve fewer planes.<sup>95</sup> Further developments in Nigeria included the naming of Colonel Wolfgang Thimmig as the new commander of the GAFAG and

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<sup>91</sup> The first supplementary agreement was made on 13 May 1963 but was insignificant as it dealt with information such as vacation days, sick days, and what uniforms would be worn in Nigeria. The second supplementary agreement was signed on 17 October 1964, in PA AA, B 130, Bd 5116A

<sup>92</sup> Telegram from Lt Col Kahtz on 23 November 1964, in PA AA, B 130, Bd 5072A

<sup>93</sup> BMVtdg letter to the Nigerian Defense Minister on 3 December 1964, in PA AA, B 130, Bd 5072A

<sup>94</sup> Conversation between Kolo and the BMVtdg on 8 December 1964, in PA AA, B 130, Bd 5072A

<sup>95</sup> Third supplementary agreement on 22 February 1965, in PA AA, B 130, Bd 5116A

head of the Nigerian Air Force.<sup>96</sup> This was a significant event as a West German was now the commanding officer of a foreign Air Force. However, this position did not contradict his role as a German officer as long he did not employ the Nigerian Air Force in situations other than training. Overall, 1965 was a good year for training as everything ran smoothly. The inspector of the West German Air Force General Panitzki was particularly proud of the Nigerian pilots' ability to progress through the aircraft training. Demonstrating the mastery of the Do 27 trainer was a formation flight for Panitzki on 12 Jan 1966.<sup>97</sup> For the past year, the GAFAG's work had paid off and it looked like Nigeria was on track towards establishing an effective Air Force composed of competent pilots. However, the momentum and optimism experienced in 1965 would not last.

### **Inner-Nigerian Conflict and the Eventual Departure of the Federal Republic**

The GAFAG began to question its position in Nigeria in early 1966 due to rising violence throughout the country. On 15 January 1966, a group of Nigerian officers conducted a coup which resulted in the assassination of Nigerian Prime Minister Balewa, who was later replaced by an Igbo named General Ironsi. Within Nigeria, this coup sparked growing ethnic tension as the northern Hausa-Fulanis perceived it as an attempt to establish Igbo dominance in Nigeria.<sup>98</sup> For the Federal Republic, the loss of such a strong advocate of West German equipment aid was also a great misfortune. Amidst the confusion of the coup, a second lieutenant at the GAFAG training base in Kaduna convinced cadets and enlisted personnel to take up arms against senior Nigerian officers. During this small uprising, these Nigerian Air Force members threatened German Air Force personnel and the West German Consul in Kaduna at gun point if they tried to intervene.<sup>99</sup> In addition, Nigerian soldiers essentially placed other members of the GAFAG under house arrest by showing up to West German homes with weapons, some of which were pistols stolen from the West Germans. Not only was this action threatening to members of the GAFAG, but it also endangered their family members who were with them in Kaduna. These Nigerian

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<sup>96</sup> Memorandum from the conversation with the Nigerian Defense Minister on 30 September 1965, in PA AA, B 57, Bd 559

<sup>97</sup> Report of General Inspector of the West German Air Force's trip to Nigeria on 12 January 1966 in PA AA, B 57, Bd 559

<sup>98</sup> Wright, *Nigeria*, 73.

<sup>99</sup> Situation report on Kaduna on 21 Jan 1966, in PA AA, B 57, Bd 559

rebels were not afraid to use force as they shot a Nigerian major.<sup>100</sup> After three days, this provocative revolt ended, and the Commander of the GAFAG Colonel Thimmig was enraged. Consequently, he immediately requested a meeting with the BMVtdg to discuss the future of the GAFAG in Nigeria.<sup>101</sup> This uprising dealt a massive blow to the Air Force training program in Nigeria. It was as though Colonel Thimmig lost all faith in Nigeria's ability to continue this program due to the lack of respect and discipline exhibited by the Nigerian rebels. How could Nigerians expect West Germans to begin the planned construction of the transport and fighter squadrons in 1966 after such threatening behavior? The future of the GAFAG in Nigeria looked bleak at best after this uprising.

Worsening the potential continuation of West German assistance in constructing the Nigerian Air Force was the appointment of Lieutenant Colonel Kurubo as the new commander of the Nigerian Air Force shortly after the coup. Kurubo and Thimmig did not get along. When conducting discussions with each other on the future of West German military aid, Kurubo was extremely disrespectful and would neither greet Thimmig nor shake his hand.<sup>102</sup> In addition, Kurubo committed a number of provocative actions that upset the GAFAG. He promoted the second lieutenant who started the uprising at Kaduna to first lieutenant instead of punishing him. Under Kurubo's leadership, the Nigerians Air Force personnel began to ignore German directives and even take away German service vehicles so that they could not travel as freely as they used to.<sup>103</sup> It was as though Kurubo was purposefully aggravating the West German advisors in Nigeria. His behavior and leadership further upset Colonel Thimmig, who advocated for an end to West German aid in Nigeria. However, Colonel Thimmig did not have the final say on the matter.

The AA and BMVtdg eventually decided to continue military aid for Nigeria after a brief suspension of the GAFAG. After hearing out Thimmig's experiences and complaints, the BMVtdg decided to send the GAFAG on vacation so that the Federal Republic could examine the question of future military aid.<sup>104</sup> Upon further examination, it appeared that many other

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<sup>100</sup> Situation Report on Kaduna on 21 Jan 1966, in PA AA, B 57, Bd 559

<sup>101</sup> Reference the telegram on 21 Jan 1966, in PA AA, B 57, Bd 559

<sup>102</sup> Reference GAFAG Report to the West German Ambassador in Lagos for the list of provocative Nigerian actions since the coup, specifically those committed by Lieutenant Colonel Kurubo on 2 Feb 1966, in PA AA, B 57, Bd 559

<sup>103</sup> Record of the conversation between West German Ambassador Gnodtke and Secretary of the Military Governor Wey on 9 February 1966, in PA AA, B 57, Bd 559

<sup>104</sup> Report on continuing relations in Nigeria on 10 Feb 1966, in PA AA, B 57, Bd 559

Nigerian leaders still valued West German military aid. General Ironsi was receptive to West German concerns and his secretary Wey made it very clear that Nigeria placed great importance on the military aid that the Federal Republic provided.<sup>105</sup> The sentiments of Nigerian leaders did not align with Kurubo's actions. West German leaders were supportive as well. For example, the West German Minister of Defense Kai-Uwe von Hassel stated that he did not even consider recalling the GAFAG back to West Germany.<sup>106</sup> It seemed surprising that the Federal Republic would want to continue involvement in Nigeria after an event that placed the lives of German soldiers and their families at risk. However, the BMVtdg and AA believed that remaining in Nigeria during such a chaotic change of government would increase the Federal Republic's reputation there and potentially would have a stabilizing effect on the governmental transition.<sup>107</sup>

Despite wide advocacy for continuing relations with Nigeria, the situation continued to deteriorate. The disorganization of the Nigerian government gave Lieutenant Colonel Kurubo the freedom to negotiate the future of West German military aid in Nigeria. After the coup, inner-Nigerian tension grew as the Northern parts of Nigeria became outraged at the rise of the General Ironsi due his Igbo ethnicity. Ironsi had to shift a lot of his attention to the problems in the North because they threatened his position as military governor. West German analysis of Ironsi's regime was less than favorable as well, as analysts portrayed Ironsi's government as uneducated, with a lack of qualified personnel to handle growing internal tensions.<sup>108</sup> These assessments also demonstrated that the new Nigerian Minister of Defense Daggesh had little control over Kurubo's actions. Consequently, any new agreements concerning the continuation of military aid would essentially go through Kurubo.

Exemplifying Kurubo's influence over the future of West German military aid in Nigeria were the discussions on renewing the second supplementary agreement for extension of Dornier's maintenance services for the Nigerian Air Force. The importance of the second supplementary agreement was that without Dornier's services, neither the GAFAG nor the Nigerian Air Force would be able to conduct training or operations as there were not enough trained Nigerian maintenance personnel to take care of the current aircraft. Thus, losing Dornier

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<sup>105</sup> Meeting between West German Ambassador Dr. Gnodtke and Secretary Wey on 10 Feb 1966, in PA AA, B 57, Bd 559

<sup>106</sup> Record of Conversation with the German Defense Minister on 11 Feb 1966, in PA AA, B 57, Bd 559

<sup>107</sup> Report on continuing relations in Nigeria on 10 Feb 1966, in PA AA, B 57, Bd 559

<sup>108</sup> German Embassy in Lagos assessment of Nigeria on 27 May 1966, in PA AA, B 57, Bd 559



would negate any continuation of building up the Nigerian Air Force. The end of this supplementary agreement would represent a large financial loss for Dornier and the BMVtdg, which still planned on selling expensive transport and fighter aircraft to the Nigerian Air Force as predetermined in the first agreement. Despite this, Kurubo showed little initiative in extending the supplementary agreement, whose deadline was approaching quickly. Not wanting to lose out on millions of DMs, the West Germans held meetings with Kurubo to find some sort of compromise for extending the supplementary agreement. During one of these meetings, Kurubo expressed hesitancy in extending it since the Nigerian Air Force was not in the financial position to continue purchasing West German military equipment due to lack of funds.<sup>109</sup> To be able to finance Dornier, Kurubo suggested in the same meeting that he could reduce the presence of the GAFAG, scrap the fighter jet program, and cancel the remaining purchases of the transport planes. Furthermore, he wanted a direct contract between Nigeria and Dornier. This became the working plan and the Federal Republic acted accordingly. However, before a contract could be signed, the second Nigerian coup broke out, toppling the Ironsi regime.

The second Nigerian coup in July 1966 left the Nigerian Air Force training program in shambles. On top of the already reduced presence of GAFAG personnel and the cancellation of the fighter jet program, the coup resulted in the flight of a large contingent of Igbo Nigerian maintenance personnel.<sup>110</sup> The Igbo desertion was due to fears of persecution since the Muslim Hausa-Fulanis in the North had successfully assassinated General Ironsi. Igbo fear of persecution would continue to be a reoccurring theme as anti-Igbo pogroms broke out in the North, resulting in thousands of deaths and a growing number of Igbo refugees traveling to East Nigeria.<sup>111</sup> However, the newly appointed Nigerian Prime Minister Lieutenant Colonel Yakubu Gowon was against this and sought a peaceful end to the violence. Gowon also demonstrated a desire to maintain relations with the Federal Republic and create a contract directly with Dornier, but he was under the same financial strains as Kurubo, if not worse. Seeing his struggles, the Federal Republic worked out a deal to help finance 50 percent of the contract until 30 November 1966.<sup>112</sup> After further review and Nigeria's promise to completely assume the Dornier contract after the start of its next fiscal year, the Federal Republic extended its 50 percent contribution to the

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<sup>109</sup> Conversation between Colonel Hahn and Kurubo on 18 May 1966, in PA AA, B 57, Bd 559

<sup>110</sup> Telegram from the West German Embassy in Lagos on 13 August 1966, in in PA AA, B 57, Bd 559

<sup>111</sup> Stremlau, *The International Politics of the Nigerian Civil War*, 38.

<sup>112</sup> Letter from the BMVtdg to the AA on 16 August 1966, in PA AA, B 57, Bd 559

Dornier contract until 31 March 1967.<sup>113</sup> This contract was important not only because it ensured continued maintenance of Nigerian aircraft, but also because it distinguished Dornier from West German military aid. After March 1967, relations between the Nigerian Air Force and Dornier were considered as a contract between an African government and a West German civilian firm rather than the West German government. Although one may consider the contract with Dornier as a sign of the Federal Republic's willingness to continue supporting Nigeria, doubts about the Federal Republic's military presence in Nigeria began to arise among West German officials.

The Federal Republic began to demonstrate doubts about maintaining a cadre of Air Force personnel in Nigeria due to rising levels of violence and increasing inner-Nigerian tensions. Bundestag scrutiny of military aid had been on the rise since before the second coup. In some instances, there were calls for slashing the military aid budget entirely to requiring "Bundestag approval for any aid and sales outside the NATO area."<sup>114</sup> West Germany was becoming attuned to the anti-Igbo pogroms in the North and not everyone within the Federal Republic's government liked Gowon's actions. In particular, the West German Ambassador in Lagos accused Gowon of minimizing the deaths of 30,000 Igbos and flight of 1.8 million refugees after he traveled to East Nigeria.<sup>115</sup> For the Federal Republic to have a military presence in a country letting so many of its citizens be slaughtered seemed to be a tough position to defend. Members of the BMVtdg also expressed worry about how the worsening Nigerian situation would reflect on them. In a report in April of 1967, the BMVtdg revealed its fear that West German public outrage was inevitable if the political landscape in Nigeria continued to degrade at the same rate.<sup>116</sup> It was clear that if the West German public found out about the true extent of Nigerian violence, there would be public backlash against the government due the presence of West German troops in Nigeria. Other comments included a sense of relief that domestic developments in Nigeria caused a reduction of German obligations so that the Federal Republic did not have to deliver transport and fighter aircraft to Nigeria.<sup>117</sup> These sentiments

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<sup>113</sup> Letter from the Nigerian Ministry of Defense to the West German Embassy in Lagos on 2 December 1966 in PA AA, B 57, Bd 560

<sup>114</sup> The call for slashing the military aid budget entirely was by the Bundestag Budget Committee and the SPD was the main party calling for Bundestag approval of military aid sales. This information was noted in an airgram from the American Embassy in Bonn to the Department of State on 9 May, 1966 in: NARA, RG 59, SNF 64-66, Box 1633 (Def 19 Ger-W).

<sup>115</sup> Ambassador Gnodtke's report of his visit to East Nigeria on 20 February 1967, in PA AA, B 57, Bd 560

<sup>116</sup> BMVtdg report on 13 April 1967, in PA AA, B 57, Bd 560

<sup>117</sup> Travel Report on Nigeria on 12 May 1967, in PA AA, B 57, Bd 560

demonstrated that many officials were happy that the German Air Force was not able to fulfill the terms of the original agreement between Nigeria and the Federal Republic. On the whole, it was more favorable to the Federal Republic's public image that it only provided Nigeria with single-engine propeller-driven aircraft rather than the promised advanced military aircraft. Furthermore, the Federal Republic made it explicitly clear that any relations after the termination date of the first agreement on 31 December 1967 would be only commercial in nature.<sup>118</sup> This statement was reflective of the Federal Republic's cautious foreign policy. It was a clear signal that the Federal Republic did not want a military presence in a country riddled with brutal interethnic violence like Nigeria. Furthermore, it would be an indirect means of informing Nigeria not to request further military support from the Federal Republic if the violence were to continue. Unfortunately, violence continued to increase in Nigeria resulting in the outbreak of the Nigerian Civil War.

The Federal Republic's swift response to the Nigerian Civil War by denying military aid to Nigeria was in accordance with its cautious foreign policy. The Nigerian Civil War began on 6 July 1967 as a result of the secession of East Nigeria, which became known as Biafra. Within two days of the first hostilities taking place between Nigerian and Biafran troops, the entire GAFAG had already returned to the Federal Republic.<sup>119</sup> Such a quick response suggests that this was a premeditated action on behalf of the Federal Republic. Almost immediately removing military personnel demonstrated how the Federal Republic did not want to be seen as involved in foreign wars. This was also in alignment with Article 26 of the Federal Republic's Basic Law which forbade involvement in foreign conflicts. Another speedy action was the BMWi and AA's immediate suspension of their approval for military exports to Nigeria.<sup>120</sup> In suspending their approval, these two ministries kept the Federal Republic in accordance with the War Weapons Control Act since it could no longer export materials of war to Nigeria. Furthermore, the Federal Republic ensured that Dornier would not be used for military purposes. When Gowon requested Dornier maintainers to arm aircraft with bombs, the Federal Republic refused.<sup>121</sup> Overall, the Federal Republic acted effectively in immediately cutting off military ties with Nigeria. Within two months of the outbreak of the Nigerian Civil War, the Federal Republic had aligned with the

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<sup>118</sup> Travel Report on Nigeria on 12 May 1967, in PA AA, B 57, Bd 560

<sup>119</sup> Report confirming GAFAG's departure on 8 July 1967, in PA AA, B 57, Bd 560

<sup>120</sup> Telegram to NATO on 27 July 1967, in PA AA, B 130, Bd 8348A

<sup>121</sup> Telegram from the West German Embassy in Lagos on 25 August 1967, in PA AA, B 130, Bd 8348A

United States and Canada's policy of nonintervention.<sup>122</sup> However, the continued presence of Dornier would raise eyebrows within the West German government.

Although Dornier remained in Nigeria after the outbreak of the Nigerian Civil War, its presence was justified and did not negate the Federal Republic's policy of non-intervention. Initially, it seemed questionable that West Germans could provide maintenance to aircraft in the Nigerian Air Force. West German members of parliament shared these same thoughts and began to question Dornier's presence. During a session of the Federal Republic's Bundestag, a social democratic member named Dr. Günther Müller questioned whether the presence of maintenance personnel in an area of tension was damaging to the overall shape of German-African relations.<sup>123</sup> Just a few days later, the AA responded to this inquiry by stating that a German company carrying out a contract with a legal foreign country did not threaten relations with Africa.<sup>124</sup> Since Dornier was a civilian entity only in charge of providing maintenance to single-engine trainer aircraft, that were not engaged in warfighting, the Federal Republic had no qualms towards Dornier's continued service in Nigeria. Furthermore, these single-engine trainer aircraft became increasingly obsolete as the Nigerians turned to the Soviets for fighter jets.<sup>125</sup> Eventually, the Nigerians ended their contract with Dornier in order to assume maintenance personnel that could manage these new technologically advanced planes and aid in the war effort. Consequently, the Dornier team left Nigeria on 24 July 1968.<sup>126</sup> Thus, Dornier's departure marked the end of West Germany's attempt to construct a Nigerian Air Force.

## Conclusion

Inner-Nigerian conflict and cautious West German foreign policy resulted in the failure to establish a Nigerian Air Force on the terms on which both countries agreed. From the very beginning of the talks between the two countries, the AA demonstrated a wide array of reservations against pursuing this relationship from the troubled Nazi past to not wanting to spark an arms race throughout the African continent. However, General Becker's determined

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<sup>122</sup> Situation report on Nigerian weapon exports on 4 September 1967 in PA AA, B 130, Bd 5116A

<sup>123</sup> Notes from a "question hour" during a session of the West German Bundestag on 10 November 1967, in PA AA, B 57, Bd 733

<sup>124</sup> Letter to Dr. Günther Müller on 15 November 1967, in PA AA, B 57, Bd 733

<sup>125</sup> Ogunbadejo, "Nigeria and the Great Powers: The Impact of the Civil War on Nigerian Foreign Relations," 24.

<sup>126</sup> Telegram from the West German Embassy in Lagos to the AA on 24 July 1968 in PA AA, B 130, Bd 8758A

attitude towards tapping into a large African economy combined with Nigeria's immediate desire for an Air Force won out in spite of the AA's concerns, thus leading to the buildup of the Nigerian Air Force. Although Nigeria's original timeline for creating its Air Force seemed unrealistic at first, looking back at the compromise between the Federal Republic and Nigeria also appeared ambitious from the start. From a purely numerical standpoint, the Federal Republic agreed to sell 78 planes and train over 800 personnel over a three year period. However, training delays and the increasing levels of violence within Nigeria slowly degraded the West German Air Force's ability to attain this goal. Although the GAFAG stuck with Nigeria through two coups, it immediately departed Nigeria at the first hint of war, thus nullifying the original agreement with Nigeria almost six months early. Therein lies the cognitive dissonance at the heart of the Federal Republic's policy on military aid. On the one hand, it was willing to supply weapons of war and destruction. Yet, on the other hand, it wanted nothing to do with a country that engaged in warfare and it legally could not be involved due its Basic Law. Although one could argue that military equipment and weapons serve other purposes that are nonviolent in nature, such as projecting defense or legitimacy, it would have been naïve for the Federal Republic to think that a country would never have employed the military equipment that it was provided in a violent manner. Therefore, the Federal Republic could only supply military aid as long as a country was at peace. This represents a significant limitation to providing effective military aid as supplying equipment in times of war is just as important as doing so in times of peace, if not more.

Despite the departure of the GAFAG being in accordance with West German Basic Law, it was unfortunate that the Federal Republic removed the GAFAG during a time of need for Nigeria. The Nigerian Civil War was by no means a small matter, as the Organization of African Unity viewed Biafra's secession as a direct threat to African independence.<sup>127</sup> If Biafra emerged as victorious, then this could have unleashed a wave of secessionist movements across Africa. Nevertheless, by the time the GAFAG left Nigeria it had only managed to deliver about a third of the promised aircraft, none of which were fighter jets. In addition, the Federal Republic failed in training the promised number of both pilots and maintenance personnel. In some regards this was beneficial as many pilots and maintainers fled Nigeria to join the Biafrans due to their Igbo ethnicity. After the GAFAG's departure the only West Germans who remained at the base in

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<sup>127</sup> Stremlau, *The International Politics of the Nigerian Civil War, 1967-1970*, 100.

Kaduna was the thirty-two-person strong Dornier maintenance team. Shortly after the outbreak of the Nigerian Civil War, Biafran forces bombed the Kaduna airstrip, killing one of the Dornier maintainers and injuring two more.<sup>128</sup> As a result of this incident, Dornier attempted to recall its personnel but sixteen maintainers volunteered to stay, nevertheless leaving the Dornier maintenance team as a skeleton of what it used to be. These remaining sixteen maintainers left Nigeria in the summer of 1968. Ultimately, the Nigerian Air Force looked nothing like the one imagined in the original agreement.

Any tactical impact that the Nigerian Air Force had on the Nigerian Civil War could not be attributed to West German aid. At the start of the war, the Nigerian Air Force could be considered impotent at best as it possessed no bombers or fighter jets.<sup>129</sup> In order to have any significant impact on the war effort, the Nigerians needed these types of aircraft. However, with West Germany among many other West Bloc countries unwilling to meet this request, the Nigerians turned to the East Bloc. The Soviet Union met this request with delight and delivered its first installment of MiG fighters, Ilyushin bombers, and Czech jet trainers in August 1967.<sup>130</sup> Once these aircraft arrived, the propeller-driven German aircraft became obsolete. Therefore, any bombing conducted by the Nigerian Air Force against Biafra was almost assuredly conducted with Soviet airframes. This played into the Federal Republic's favor as West German public denunciation of the war increased significantly.

In spite of Biafran propaganda efforts and increasing West German public support for the secession of Biafra, the Federal Republic carried out its policy of nonintervention fastidiously. Biafran leader General Ojukwu used the mass starvation in Biafra as a propaganda ploy to accuse Nigeria of genocide. In particular, West Germany was extremely receptive to and vocal about countries experiencing genocide because of its Nazi past. These propaganda pieces caused waves of West German churches, activists, and media outlets to heavily criticize the Nigerian government, in many cases comparing it to Auschwitz.<sup>131</sup> As a result, the Federal Republic became the second largest contributor of humanitarian relief aid to Biafra during the Nigerian Civil War, behind only the United States.<sup>132</sup> Additionally, activists put pressure on the Federal

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<sup>128</sup> Memorandum from an AA Cabinet Session on 28 August 1967, in PA AA, B 1, Bd 367.

<sup>129</sup> Stremlau, *The International Politics of the Nigerian Civil War, 1967-1970*, 73.

<sup>130</sup> Ogunbadejo, "Nigeria-Soviet Relation, 1960-87," 24.

<sup>131</sup> Hannig, "Mitleid Mit Biafranen in Westdeutschland. Eine Historisierung von Empathie," 71.

<sup>132</sup> Hannig, "Mitleid Mit Biafranen in Westdeutschland. Eine Historisierung von Empathie," 66.

Republic to support the Biafran secession. In some cases, activists called for the direct use of “German tanks, planes, and armed forces to open up relief corridors into Biafra.”<sup>133</sup> However, West German Foreign Minister Willy Brandt refused to budge on the Federal Republic’s policy of non-intervention. One can only imagine the public criticism Brandt would have faced if the GAFAG was still in Nigeria. Even though the Federal Republic recalled the GAFAG from Nigeria, Brandt’s unwavering stance on non-intervention signaled the Federal Republic’s support for the Nigerian central government in spite of West German public sentiments. Ultimately, the recalling of the GAFAG did not negate the Federal Republic’s advocacy for Nigerian unity.

It remains unclear how Nigeria viewed the departure of the GAFAG as the Nigerian archives have yet to be explored. More research is needed in this arena to trace the history of West German military aid from the Nigerian perspective. In doing so, one could gain more insight into why the Nigerians behaved the way they did and better understand how they felt about the GAFAG’s work. This research would be crucial to understanding the true intentions and sentiments of Nigerian officials, especially during brief periods of tension with the Federal Republic. It would be interesting to see how the Nigerians rated West German military aid and if they ever questioned or resented the Federal Republic’s decision to pull out of Nigeria altogether. Overall, the Nigerian Air Force program exemplified the constraints that the Federal Republic faced when exporting military aid to a non-NATO country.

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<sup>133</sup> Stremlau, *The International Politics of the Nigerian Civil War, 1967-1970*, 295.

## **ABANDONED SHIP: WEST GERMAN MILITARY AID IN TANZANIA, 1962-1968**

German interest in the region known as Tanzania in modern times was not necessarily something new. Extending to before the Berlin Conference of 1884-1885 in which European powers set the guidelines for the “international code of conduct for future territorial expansion” in Africa, there was a historical precedent of German, imperial German under Bismarck to be specific, interest in this region.<sup>134</sup> However, the driving factors behind the Federal Republic’s interest in Tanganyika during the 1960s looked very different from those of its imperial predecessor. At the core of this was the Hallstein Doctrine, which called for the denial of East German influence that was creeping into Africa through this region. One of the ways the Federal Republic tried to combat this was through military aid by helping Tanganyika construct a coastal police force and army air arm. In the eyes of the Federal Republic, Tanganyika faced the threat of growing communist subversion, especially after a bloody revolution on its island neighbor Zanzibar. However, the Federal Republic would only tolerate a communist presence for so long. As East German influence began to spread to the mainland during the unification of Tanganyika and Zanzibar into Tanzania, this caused a chain of events that would leave the military aid program in shambles. Out of all of the African countries that the Federal Republic provided military aid, the West German attempts to establish a Tanganyikan army air arm along with a coastal police force highlight the foreign policy tightrope that the Federal Republic walked when dealing with the Hallstein Doctrine in Africa. Furthermore, this case is significant because it reveals how a smaller Cold War actor, namely West Germany, despite its complicated past and stringent laws, could make an impact through the use of employing military aid.

Questions crucial to this chapter are: how did the Federal Republic and Tanganyika come to an agreement with each other on establishing a coastal police force and army air arm? How did Tanganyika’s interactions with communist powers, especially with the German Democratic Republic, strain the implementation of this agreement? Lastly, was the Federal Republic’s military aid program to Tanzania ever able to recover and if not, why? The first section examines

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<sup>134</sup> An in depth conversation about the Berlin Conference and the Scramble for Africa among European powers can be found in Stig Förster et al., eds., *Bismarck, Europe, and Africa: The Berlin Africa Conference 1884-1885 and the Onset of Partition* (Oxford ; New York: Oxford University Press, 1988), viii.



how the relationship between the Federal Republic and Tanganyika formed. It then proceeds to illuminate the differing expectations between the two countries and how they reconciled them. The second section focuses on the period from the January of 1964 Zanzibar Revolution up to the Federal Republic's falling-out with Tanzania in mid-February of 1965. This period was important because of heightened tensions due to the communist presence causing the Federal Republic to deepen its military aid in an attempt to sway Tanzanian politics. Finally, the third section explores the sharp recall of military aid and remnants of this program until its eventual end in 1968. Although the Federal Republic had high hopes for Tanzania, its 1965 falling-out rendered its military aid program unrecoverable.

### **Forging a Relationship**

Before one examines the Federal Republic's military aid program, one must first understand the legacy that colonialism had on Tanganyika and its island neighbor Zanzibar. Previously, Tanganyika had been a German colony named German East Africa. The Germans began to colonize its coastline in the early 1880s, gaining full political control in 1888 after forcing the Sultan of Zanzibar, who had control over this region, to lease out the land for fifty years.<sup>135</sup> Two years later, Germany signed the Heligoland-Zanzibar treaty with Britain. In acquiring the strategic island of Heligoland, located in the North Sea, Germany conceded that Zanzibar would become a British protectorate, thus cementing an almost three decade-long separation between Zanzibar and the German East African mainland.<sup>136</sup> Shortly thereafter, Britain established its protectorate in Zanzibar under the rule of an Arab sultan. This meant that Britain dictated Zanzibar's foreign affairs while the Sultan controlled domestic affairs. Furthermore, the British perceived Zanzibar as more of an Arab enclave than an African colony because of this setup.<sup>137</sup> The British would later come to replace Germany in German East Africa following the end of World War I in 1918 and renamed the colony Tanganyika. Despite Germany's relatively short tenure in German East Africa, it still left scars. One of the most notable events of German colonial rule there was the 1905-1908 Maji-Maji War, in which

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<sup>135</sup> For a general history of Tanzania from precolonial times to the modern day, see Rodger Yeager, *Tanzania: An African Experiment*, Nations of Contemporary Africa (Westview Press, 1982), 9.

<sup>136</sup> James Stuart Olson and Robert Shadle, eds., *Historical Dictionary of European Imperialism* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1991), 279.

<sup>137</sup> Yeager, *Tanzania: An African Experiment*, 12.

German expansion inland sparked widespread tribal resistance. All in all, the harsh German response to any form of resistance combined with the ensuing famine killed over 300,000 people.<sup>138</sup> This type of German brutality was not a singular happenstance but occurred elsewhere such as in German South West Africa (modern-day Namibia) during the 1904-1908 Herero Wars in which General Lothar von Trotha conducted a genocide against the ethnic Herero people living there.<sup>139</sup> These wars demonstrated that Germany was not entirely devoid of colonial atrocities.

British rule was not favorable either but enabled the conditions for the decolonization of Tanganyika. On the whole, one could characterize the decolonization of British colonies as a generally peacefully endeavor, especially in comparison to violent changes of power such as in Algeria.<sup>140</sup> As outlined by a 1948 British policy, Britain's goal was "to guide Colonial territories to responsible self-governance within the Commonwealth."<sup>141</sup> As with many other colonies following the end of World War II, Britain attempted to reduce its burdens in Tanganyika by switching towards a development-orientated colonialism and slowly easing its political grasp over Tanganyikan politics. Once this grasp began to diminish, this enabled Tanganyikans to mobilize political parties. Out of the political parties that formed, the Tanganyika African National Union (TANU) gained the most clout with its anti-colonialist stance and democratic values under the leadership of a young Julius Nyerere. TANU amassed such widespread support that it was able to negotiate independence from Britain on 9 December 1961 with Nyerere becoming the newly elected prime minister.<sup>142</sup>

On the contrary, Zanzibar did not have the same fortune as Tanganyika regarding a relatively quick independence. As Britain's political grasp on Zanzibar diminished, politics on Zanzibar became increasingly divided due to the Arab Sultanate, which had a long history of subjugating African Zanzibaris. Out of this political tension three political parties emerged: The

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<sup>138</sup> Conrad, *German Colonialism*, 51.

<sup>139</sup> Referred to as vindictive campaigns against Herero resistance to German colonial rule, the Herero Wars resulted in an estimated death toll of 65,000 Hereros as discussed in the chapter on the German South West Africa in, Mark Levene and Penny Roberts, eds., *The Massacre in History*, War and Genocide, v. 1 (New York: Berghahn Books, 1999), 210.

<sup>140</sup> Cooper, *Decolonization and African Society*, 6.

<sup>141</sup> This policy can be found in, John D. Hargreaves, *Decolonization in Africa*, 2nd ed, Postwar World (London ; New York: Longman, 1996), 127. Hargreaves' work follows the trend of identifying decolonization as social mobilization by West-educated African elites but adds to the historiography by also considering cases in which decolonization could be seen as a peaceful transfer of power.

<sup>142</sup> Yeager, *Tanzania: An African Experiment*, 21.

Afro-Shirazi Party (ASP), which was against the sultanate, along with the Zanzibar Nationalist Party (ZNP) and Zanzibar and Pemba People's Party (ZPPP), a coalition that was sympathetic to the sultanate. Political infighting plagued Zanzibari politics, sometimes even turning violent such as a 1961 riot resulting in the death of 68 Arabs after the ZNP-ZPPP gained a three-seat majority.<sup>143</sup> The tumultuous political landscape of Zanzibar delayed its independence and British colonial rule persisted.

After independence, Tanganyika sought to decrease its reliance on Britain by shifting towards a policy of nonalignment. Nonalignment meant that Tanganyika would be committed to neither the West nor East Bloc, but instead it would be willing to conduct foreign affairs equally with either side. However, executing nonalignment proved more difficult than imagined by Prime Minister Nyerere, especially in the military realm. In spite of granting Tanganyikan independence, Britain still had an influential role over the Tanganyikan army, known as the Tanganyikan Rifles. It was a sore subject for many Tanganyikan soldiers that a British officer led the Tanganyikan Rifles and that a majority of its officers were British.<sup>144</sup> Although seemingly eager to do so, the Tanganyikan Rifles could not immediately distance themselves from Britain. This would have resulted in a dysfunctional military missing almost all of its officer corps along with a loss of a supply chain for equipment and weapons in a time when Tanganyika was not yet completely stable. With few financial resources to offer, Tanganyika would have to turn to other donors of military aid in order to reduce its reliance on British security.

In a rather forthright manner, Tanganyika reached out to the Federal Republic for military aid. Noted in a memorandum dated 8 November 1962, an unnamed Tanganyikan official approached the West German ambassador in Tanganyika's capital city of Dar es Salaam, Herbert Schroeder, with an urgent request. In this request, the Tanganyikan official asked for the Federal Republic's help in "supporting the defense against eastern (communist) infiltration attempts on the coast" by supplying two coastal patrol boats and training the necessary personnel to operate them, all on the Federal Republic's dime.<sup>145</sup> Although this request was rather brash, the AA took it earnestly as it was not uncommon for communist countries to target recently decolonized

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<sup>143</sup> Yeager, *Tanzania*, 23.

<sup>144</sup> Background on the Tanganyikan Rifles can be found in, Christopher MacRae and Tony Laurence, "The 1964 Tanganyika Rifles Mutiny and the British Armed Intervention That Ended It," *The RUSI Journal* 152, no. 2 (May 2, 2007): 96.

<sup>145</sup> Memorandum for Tanganyikan Military Aid, 8 November 1962, in: PA AA, B 130, Bd 5058A.

African states as potential avenues for gaining influence. In addition, it was not a completely unfounded request as just off the coast of Tanganyika on the island of Zanzibar, multiple communist countries, including the GDR, had reached out to Zanzibari politicians.<sup>146</sup> However, as the AA took its time in considering this proposition to factor in the costs of providing such aid, Tanganyikan impatience grew. This impatience became apparent when the new Tanganyikan Prime Minister, Rashidi Kawawa, personally approached Ambassador Schroeder almost three weeks after the first request, asking for four patrol boats, a few light transport aircraft, and training for all of these components.<sup>147</sup> AA Sub-department III A 3 Director Keller noted the possibility of the Federal Republic complying with this updated request but underscored how other the cost of other West German military aid projects in Africa might have interfered in doing so.<sup>148</sup> In the end, Keller deferred this matter to the West German Defense Ministry (BMVtdg). Although constituting less than one month, these first interactions came to characterize the first year of the Federal Republic's relationship with Tanganyika. There seemed to be a disconnect in that Tanganyika unabashedly continued to ask for increasingly more military aid while expecting a rapid response from the Federal Republic. Although the Federal Republic wanted to help, the cost of meeting every Tanganyikan desire outweighed the potential threat of communist infiltration from not doing so.

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<sup>146</sup> The GDR hosted a Zanzibari delegation in 1962 which included political figures such as ASP leader Abdulla Hanga. Additionally, the Chinese had made contact with ZNP Secretary Abdul Rahman Mohamed and his associate Ali Sultan Issa as early as 1961. This, along with more information on the multiple layers of Cold War conflicts that played out on Zanzibar and Tanganyika can be found in, Ethan Sanders, "A Small Stage for Global Conflicts: Decolonization, the Cold War, and Revolution in Zanzibar," *Canadian Journal of History* 52, no. 3 (2017): 493. Sander's piece is particularly noteworthy because he recognizes that the Cold War conflict in Tanganyika and Zanzibar was not solely between the East and West Bloc, but that there was inter-Bloc rivalry as well such as the rift between the Soviets and Chinese, formerly known as the Sino-Soviet split. For a more detailed account of the political falling-out between the Soviets and the Chinese, see Sergey Radchenko's chapter titled *The Sino-Soviet Split* in the second volume of Melvyn P Leffler and Odd Arne Westad, *The Cambridge History of the Cold War* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 349. In spite of sparse archival reference regarding West German policy makers' opinions on the Sino-Soviet split in Tanganyika and Zanzibar, this was an advantage to the FRG as China represented another competitor that the GDR, which was aligned with the Soviet Union, had to face. Although the prospect of Chinese relations prevailing over that of the Federal Republic would not be ideal due to China's status as a communist power, it would not be the worst case scenario as this would ultimately align with the Hallstein Doctrine's main goal, denying East German influence.

<sup>147</sup> Note that Prime Minister Nyerere stepped down from his office a few weeks after independence and was replaced by Kawawa. The request for increased aid can be found in Ambassador Schroeder's telegram to the AA on, 27 November 1962, in: PA AA, B 130, Bd 5058A.

<sup>148</sup> Telegram from AA Ministerial Director Keller to Ambassador Schroeder concerning Tanganyika's request for West German military aid on 1 December 1962, in: PA AA, B 130, Bd 5058A. It should be noted that this was during the same timeframe that the AA and BMVtdg were heavily invested in putting together a generous military aid package for establishing the Nigerian Air Force as explained in the previous chapter.

Initially the Federal Republic focused on supporting the creation of a Tanganyikan coastal police force. When the AA deferred to the BMVtdg for considering Tanganyikan military aid, Brigadier General Herbert Becker, the same General Becker who played a leading role in formulating a military aid agreement with Nigeria, began to review the case. Not only would General Becker find Tanganyika intriguing, but it is also worthy to note that the acting West German Defense Minister Kai-Uwe von Hassel would have taken a keen interest in this matter since he was born in German East Africa. General Becker, with his maverick reputation when it came to West German agreements on arm exports, decided that he did not want to leave Tanganyika empty-handed. After brief deliberation, General Becker gave the green light for Prime Minister Kawawa to be notified on the one year anniversary of Tanganyika's independence that the BMVtdg was willing to finance the construction of two 50 ton coastal patrol boats equipped with 40 mm cannons for free.<sup>149</sup> This was no small donation as each coastal patrol boat would cost the Federal Republic an estimated eight million DM but it seemed to be a happy medium for pleasing both sides.<sup>150</sup> On the one hand, this was a breakthrough for Prime Minister Kawawa as the first concrete promise of West German military aid. On the other hand, the Federal Republic was able to demonstrate its support for the Tanganyikan government, thereby reducing the risk of Tanganyika turning to East Bloc countries for aid. Additionally, this proposition enabled the Federal Republic to put Tanganyika's request for an army air arm on the backburner, thus not affecting other African military aid projects. However, the Federal Republic made sure to place its offer of two coastal patrol boats under secrecy to give them time to correspond with Britain.<sup>151</sup> Not properly informing the British could have made it seem like the Federal Republic was going behind their backs and undermining their already established military presence in Tanganyika.

The excitement among Tanganyikan officials over the promised coastal patrol boats soon began to fade, reaching a low point shortly after Tanganyikan Minister of the Interior Job Lusinde visited West Germany in July 1963 to sign an official agreement concerning the boats

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<sup>149</sup> Recorded in a telegram from AA Ministerial Director Keller to Ambassador Schroeder on, 6 December 1962, in: PA AA, B 130, Bd 5058A. Note that building these ships would require a significant amount of time.

<sup>150</sup> The cost estimates for the coastal patrol boats can be found in a memorandum from AA Ministerial Director Keller in, November 1962, in: PA AA, B 130, Bd 5058A.

<sup>151</sup> Confirmation of Tanganyika's understanding to keep this project highly confidential can be found in Ambassador Schroeder's letter to the AA on, 14 December 1962, in: PA AA, B 130, Bd 5058A.

and training of personnel.<sup>152</sup> To put this in perspective, it took seven months for the BMVtdg to schedule the meeting with Minister Lusinde even after the West German embassy in Dar es Salaam had prodded the BMVtdg to accelerate its pace multiple times.<sup>153</sup> Although the process of securing two large ships was understandably time-consuming, the BMVtdg appeared to be dragging its feet in regard to signing an administrative agreement with Tanganyika. Justifiably, Tanganyika was not the only country to which the Federal Republic was providing military aid and the Federal Republic still had to consult with Britain. Yet, these factors do not seem to fully explain the BMVtdg's dilatory behavior. One could argue that Tanganyika's rather persistent approach of constantly asking for more military aid played into the BMVtdg's delay. Over the course of the seven months leading up to the agreement, Tanganyikan Defense and Foreign Minister Oscar Kambona requested the Federal Republic to help triple the size of the Tanganyikan Rifles, create an army training center, establish an army air arm with heavy transport aircraft, and provide more boats.<sup>154</sup> As a country with few financial resources itself, Tanganyika made a tall order that was seemingly indifferent to the Federal Republic's financial constraints. Furthermore, both Defense Minister Kambona and now Vice President Kawawa openly displayed their disappointment to Ambassador Schroeder that two coastal patrol boats were not enough.<sup>155</sup> Arguably, these two individuals were justified in that one could consider two ships covering hundreds of miles of coastline as inadequate; yet, the manner in which they went about expressing these sentiments could be considered as borderline ungrateful from the perspective of the BMVtdg. Tensions reached a high point during Minister Lusinde's trip to the Federal Republic when he threatened to turn to other countries for military aid after learning that the promised coastal patrol boats would not be delivered until 1965.<sup>156</sup> By this point, it was crystal clear that the Federal Republic's and Tanganyika's expectations of one another were not

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<sup>152</sup> In a telegram to the AA, Ambassador Schroeder indicated that Prime Minister Kawawa seemed "very pleased" upon receiving the news that the Federal Republic was willing to finance the construction of two coastal patrol boats for Tanganyika as recorded in, 14 December 1962, in: PA AA, B 130, Bd 5058A.

<sup>153</sup> See Ambassador Schroeder's telegrams on, 2 May, 15 May, 24 May, and 14 June 1963, in: PA AA, B 130, Bd 5058A.

<sup>154</sup> Ambassador Schroeder noted these requests in his telegrams on 22 March and 3 April 1963, in: PA AA, B 130, Bd 5058A.

<sup>155</sup> Note that Tanganyika terminated the position of prime minister and instead added a president and vice president on 9 December 1962. Complaints of Minister Kambona and Vice President Kawawa are documented in Ambassador Schroeder's telegrams on 26 March, and 2 April, in: PA AA, B 130, Bd 5058A.

<sup>156</sup> AA memorandum on Minister Lusinde's visit to the Federal Republic written on 29 July 1963, in: PA AA, B 130, Bd 5058A.

aligned. Yet, Minister Lusinde signed the agreement, securing the promise of two ships and the training of the future coastal police force in the Federal Republic foreseen to take place in early 1964.

Consultation with Britain on the Federal Republic's planned interaction with Tanganyika resulted in similar difficulties. While discussing the current communist threat in Tanganyika and the Tanganyikan desire to rid itself of the "British tradition," Ambassador Schroeder mentioned that "there presumably should be no objections from the British side once they confront the reality that their dominance over the local military cannot be sustained in the long run."<sup>157</sup> In this regard, the Federal Republic assumed that the British would be content as long as some West Bloc ally was taking an active role in deterring the spread of communism into Tanganyika. Similarly to West German consultation with the British on the Luftwaffe's presence in Nigeria, the British responded through gritted teeth that they respected and welcomed the presence of West German military aid in Tanganyika but would deliver a "final position" on the matter at a later date.<sup>158</sup> However, weeks later the West German Embassy in London reported that Britain had "substantial reservations" due to Tanganyika's coordination of defense plans with Uganda and Kenya, which called for joint use each other's militaries in times of need, along with the possibility that Tanganyika might host military advisors from East Bloc countries.<sup>159</sup> As mentioned by AA State Secretary Dr. Rolf Lahr, these vague concerns "did not seem entirely convincing."<sup>160</sup> First, the potential misuse of a Tanganyikan coastal police force by Kenya and a landlocked Uganda seemed highly unlikely. Next, the proposition of Tanganyika potentially hosting military advisors from the East Bloc as being a deterrent for West German military aid seemed unfounded. Contrary to this stance, a lack of West German military aid would mostly likely have had a negative effect, causing Tanganyika to seek out more aid from East Bloc countries. Overall, Britain's views would not dissuade the Federal Republic from engaging with Tanganyika.

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<sup>157</sup> Author translation of Ambassador Schroeder's telegram to the AA on 3 April 1963, in: PA AA, B 130, Bd 5058A.

<sup>158</sup> General Secretary of the Foreign Relations Institute Franz Thierfelder wrote this in a telegram to the AA on 8 May 1963, in: PA AA, B 130, Bd 5058A.

<sup>159</sup> West German Ambassador to London Hasso von Etdorf wrote this to the AA on 27 May 1963, in: PA AA, B 130, Bd 5058A.

<sup>160</sup> Reported in an AA meeting on 28 May, 1963, in: PA AA, B 130, Bd 5058A.

The AA and Ambassador Schroeder sought to mend Tanganyikan disappointment by deepening West German military aid contributions. Minister Lusinde's threats of turning to other countries seemed to frighten the AA, especially as rumors of a Soviet trade mission being established in Dar es Salaam began to circulate. As a result, the AA requested the BMVtdg to expedite the delivery of the boats so that the "gift would not lose its meaning."<sup>161</sup> In addition, Ambassador Schroeder rehashed the prospect of supplying Tanganyika with an army air arm after noticing a military aid project in Somalia fell through, thus releasing extra funds that could be used for Tanganyika.<sup>162</sup> These attempts to reconcile the Federal Republic's relationship with Tanganyika through increased military aid demonstrated the importance that AA officials placed on deterring the growing communist threat. However, this threat had not fully materialized, thus causing the BMVtdg to remain hesitant towards investing so much money in Tanganyika.

### **Deepening Military Aid**

The Zanzibar Revolution gave the BMVtdg the necessary incentive to increase West German military aid to Tanganyika. After a rigged election in July 1963, the Arab-sympathetic ZNP-ZPPP became the majority coalition in the Zanzibari government due to its intensive gerrymandering efforts and was able to negotiate independence on 10 December 1963.<sup>163</sup> As Britain began to remove its military presence on the island, radicals from the African-nationalist ASP, still bitter from losing the July election, lashed out on 12 January 1964, thus sparking the Zanzibar Revolution. Outfitted in Cuban military clothing, ASP revolutionaries toppled the government, killing thousands of Arabs and leading many West Bloc countries to believe this was a communist takeover.<sup>164</sup> It did not help that two of Zanzibar's new three top political leaders, Vice President Abdallah Kassim Hanga and Foreign Minister Abdul Rahman Mohamed (nicknamed Babu) had extensive communist ties. Shortly after the Zanzibar Revolution, waves of East Bloc countries began to recognize the new Zanzibari government, including the GDR.

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<sup>161</sup> The three main reasons listed for an accelerated delivery listed on the memorandum were: 1) The gift would lose its meaning 2) There was talk of the establishment of a Soviet trade mission in Dar es Salaam and 3) If West Germany did not deliver the boats, then an East Bloc country most likely would. 29 July 1963, in: PA AA, B 130, Bd 5058A.

<sup>162</sup> Ambassador Schroeder wrote this in a telegram to the AA on 29 November 1963, in: PA AA, B 130, Bd 5058A.

<sup>163</sup> Yeager, *Tanzania: An African Experiment*, 23.

<sup>164</sup> Like Cuba in Latin America, the West perceived the instability in Zanzibar as a threat that the East would exploit to gain influence and use to launch propaganda operations into the mainland. Ian Speller, "An African Cuba? Britain and the Zanzibar Revolution, 1964," *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History* 35, no. 2 (June 1, 2007): 287.



Because of this among other factors, West Bloc countries hesitated in recognizing the newly formed government and therefore contributed to Zanzibar deepening ties with communist countries. Zanzibar President Abeid Karume even went as far as to extend diplomatic recognition to the GDR on 26 January 1964, making Zanzibar the second African nation to ever do so.<sup>165</sup> Zanzibar would later allow the GDR to establish an embassy. Initially, the Federal Republic was unaware of this and informally agreed to recognize Zanzibar on 12 February 1964 only to backtrack on this decision less than a week later after figuring out Zanzibar's true intentions with the GDR.<sup>166</sup> However, the timing of this final decision proved awkward as within days the United States and Britain granted Zanzibar recognition as the Federal Republic was issuing its non-recognition statement.<sup>167</sup> Zanzibari recognition of the GDR proved alarming for the Federal Republic because this constituted a breach in the Hallstein Doctrine. Furthermore, the prospect of the GDR using Zanzibar as a staging ground into Tanganyika could have completely upheaved the Federal Republic's relations there. However, due to the Federal Republic's relatively strong relationship with Tanganyika compared to other West Bloc countries such as the United States or Britain, it was in a position to prevent the spread of communist subversion to the mainland. The primary mechanism in doing so would be to increase its military aid so as to maintain a degree of influence over Tanganyikan politics.

After the Zanzibar Revolution, the Federal Republic worked quickly. Initially, the AA had 3 principal concerns. The first concern was whether the Zanzibar Revolution and short-lived Tanganyikan Rifle's mutiny occurring mere days later made Tanganyika an "area of tension." Secondly were worries over what the British would think of the FRG developing a Tanganyikan army air arm. Thirdly was the concern that Portugal would object to the Federal Republic's

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<sup>165</sup> There is a debate within the historiography whether Zanzibari leaders knew of the implications of recognizing the GDR due to the Hallstein Doctrine. Earlier pieces and archival material suggest that Karume was ignorant of the German divide, see Heinz Schnepfen, "Eine Insel Und Zwei Deutsche Staaten: Sansibar Und Die Hallstein-Doktrin 1964-1966," *Zeitschrift für das vereinigte Deutschland* 32, no. 3 (June 1999) 412. However, recent historiography has suggested otherwise as Zanzibar Vice President Hanga made a trip to the GDR in 1962. Therefore, it would be suspect for Zanzibar President Karume to be completely unaware of inter-German politics, see Sanders, "A Small Stage for Global Conflicts: Decolonization, the Cold War, and Revolution in Zanzibar," 493. Guinea was the first African country to extend diplomatic resolution to the GDR in March 1960 but later withdrew it due to its brief falling-out with the Federal Republic. Gray, *Germany's Cold War*, 110.

<sup>166</sup> This incident was the result of the Schoeller Report, written by junior Legation Counselor Schoeller, who had received guarantees from President Karume on 7 February 1964 that Zanzibar would not conduct diplomatic and consular relations with the GDR as detailed in, Gray, *Germany's Cold War*, 156.

<sup>167</sup> The Americans were also unaware of Zanzibar's relations with the GDR. For mentions on the awkward timing of recognizing Zanzibar, refer to the telegram from the American Embassy in Bonn to the Department of State on 20 February, 1964 in: NARA, RG 59, SNF 64-66, Box 1633 (Def 19 Ger-W).

military involvement in Tanganyika due to fears that this could threaten its colonial presence in Mozambique.<sup>168</sup> If classified as an area of tension, then Tanganyika could receive no West German armaments due to the Federal Republic's stringent regulations. As the AA worked through these concerns, the BMVtdg, having learned from the GAFAG's experiences with the initially unforeseen circumstance of having to provide basic training for all Nigerian airmen, put together a team of experts headed by Lieutenant Colonel Lege to send to Tanganyika to formulate a plan for the new army air arm. This team was necessary to ensure that the Luftwaffe knew exactly what costs to expect and training it had to provide before the Federal Republic signed an agreement with Tanganyika. In the after-action report following the expert team's visit from 10-21 March 1964, the Luftwaffe recommended that the Federal Republic would need to finance a 40.4 million DM military aid package that included the delivery of 32 aircraft by 1967, training for 38 pilots and 150 mechanics starting on 1 August 1964, and the creation of a school house for training in Dar es Salaam.<sup>169</sup> Twelve of the 32 planes would be the heavy Noratlas transport aircraft. These airframes were crucial for ensuring that Tanganyika could rapidly deploy its army around the country and secure its borders. In addition to formulating a plan for the army air arm, Lt Col Lege met with Minister Lusinde and verbally agreed to start the training 36 Tanganyikan sailors for the coastal police force in June 1964.<sup>170</sup> Although a formal agreement was not signed, this less-than two week trip by BMVtdg experts had more of an impact in solidifying West German military aid for Tanganyika than the past year of talks.

However, an unexpected bid to unify Tanganyika and Zanzibar began to complicate the Federal Republic's relations with Tanganyika. Maintaining this union as a secret from all non-African partners, President Nyerere and President Karume had negotiated the unification of their two countries into the United Republic of Tanganyika and Zanzibar, which occurred on 26 April

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<sup>168</sup> The mutiny was a response against poor wages and a slow transition away from British dependence. More information on this mutiny and how the British intervened at the request of President Nyerere to restore order on 25 January 1964 can be found in Speller, "An African Cuba? Britain and the Zanzibar Revolution, 1964," 289. Additionally, due to Tanganyikan President Nyerere's pro-stance on African nationalism and active support of the Mozambican nationalist movement known as FRELIMO, the FRG thought that the Portuguese would be worried that the future Tanganyikan Army Air Arm could be used against them to lessen their colonial grip over Mozambique. All of this was discussed in a memorandum written by the head of the military assistance section (Referat IIIA4) Mr. von Stechow on 23 January, 1964 in: BAM, BW 1 (meaning records of the Defense Ministry-Head, Central Staff, and Civilian Departments), Bd 452348.

<sup>169</sup> The after-action report was written on 8 April, 1964 in: BAM, BL 1, Bd 2110.

<sup>170</sup> Minutes of the meeting between Lt Col Lege and Minister Lusinde concerning the training of the Tanganyikan Coastal Police Force on 16 March, 1964 in: PA AA, B 57, Bd 58.

1964. For Nyerere, Pan-Africanism was the driving factor behind the union while also playing a role in Karume's decision in addition to securing his power on Zanzibar.<sup>171</sup> Unification had significant implications for the Federal Republic's continued relations with Tanganyika. Because of the union, it created a country in which both German states held diplomatic recognition, a scenario which could have invoked the Hallstein Doctrine and the severing of relations by the Federal Republic. A major task facing the new republic would be for Nyerere and Karume to negotiate the German-question. However, this would prove difficult because although the post-unification arrangement called for Tanganyika to assume control of all foreign affairs for the newly unified republic and Zanzibar to only have control of its domestic affairs, reality dictated otherwise.<sup>172</sup> Zanzibar was still in charge of its foreign policy and heavily engaging in relations with communist countries to include the GDR. The GDR was glad to reciprocate and significantly increased its aid after the April unification. Knowing the stakes of the Hallstein Doctrine, the GDR ordered its ambassador to Zanzibar Günther Fritsch "to do everything possible to keep the GDR's position in Zanzibar at the level of diplomatic relations."<sup>173</sup> To incentivize Karume to maintain relations, the GDR offered Zanzibar \$14 million in health and education aid along with the construction of housing project that would create homes for 40,000 Zanzibaris.<sup>174</sup> Although Nyerere had affirmed that he sided with the Federal Republic, these offers complicated his attempts to downgrade the GDR's presence in Zanzibar.

Despite the GDR's increased activity on Zanzibar, the Federal Republic maintained a calm political demeanor by pushing forward with military aid. Finally, on 28 July 1964, the Federal Republic signed an administrative agreement with Tanganyika regarding the construction of the army air arm with little changes to the plan developed by the BMVtdg expert group.<sup>175</sup> The Federal Republic could have easily invoked the Hallstein Doctrine after the GDR's

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<sup>171</sup> Pan-Africanism was an ideology that called for the political unification of all native Africans. More info on this ideology can be found in, Hargreaves, *Decolonization in Africa*, 194. Although some authors have speculated that Cold War pressures influenced the decision to unite, Sanders downplays these speculations by asserting that local and regional factors were the sole influencers of the decision to unite. Nyerere was a well-known Pan-Africanist and Babu's growing sway with the Chinese frightened Karume as he wanted to maintain his position on Zanzibar. Sanders, "A Small Stage for Global Conflicts: Decolonization, the Cold War, and Revolution in Zanzibar," 504

<sup>172</sup> The assumption that Tanganyika had full control of foreign affairs after the unification is asserted in, Hargreaves, *Decolonization in Africa*, 188.

<sup>173</sup> Schneppen, "Eine Insel Und Zwei Deutsche Staaten: Sansibar Und Die Hallstein-Doktrin 1964-1966," 412.

<sup>174</sup> Sanders, "A Small Stage for Global Conflicts: Decolonization, the Cold War, and Revolution in Zanzibar," 493. Note that in addition to military aid, the FRG provided the Tanganyikan mainland with significant amounts of capital and technical aid as referenced in Table A.2 in the Appendix.

<sup>175</sup> For a copy of this administrative agreement see, 28 July, 1964 in: PA AA, B 130, Bd 5117a.

increased activity on Zanzibar. However, by signing this agreement, it signaled that the Federal Republic would be patient in supporting Nyerere as he continued negotiating the German-question with Zanzibar. A contributing factor to West German patience could have been the continual prodding from the United States urging the Federal Republic to “maintain maximum flexibility... in order [to] facilitate Nyerere’s position.”<sup>176</sup> Furthermore, during the signing, the Federal Republic promised to loan four ships by December for the coastal police force which already began training on 22 June 1964. These ships would enable in-country training while Tanganyika waited for the delivery of the two ships promised in 1962. Overall, the Federal Republic seemed confident that by providing military aid, the Republic of Tanganyika and Zanzibar would eventually cut relations with the GDR.

Hopes plateaued as the Federal Republic carried out its military aid program amidst other communist countries providing military aid to Zanzibar and even Tanganyika. The first wave of Luftwaffe personnel led by Colonel Hebert Treppe arrived in Tanganyika on 28 Aug 1964 and within a matter of days already selected and sent the first twelve Tanganyikan pilot trainees to the Federal Republic for training.<sup>177</sup> This quick turnaround was necessary to make up for the delays in starting the training. By 6 September 1964, the Tanganyikan pilot trainees already had had their first flights and were estimated to be finished with training on the Noratlas transport plane within a year.<sup>178</sup> Around the same time, Ambassador Schroeder became aware of Soviet and GDR military advisors stationed on Zanzibar along with a Chinese plan to send military advisors to both Zanzibar and Tanganyika. During an interview with a London journalist about East Bloc aid, Nyerere claimed Tanganyikan neutrality on the matter by stating “we’re trying not to be tied [to one country].”<sup>179</sup> Nyerere’s position of nonalignment seemed legitimate as he also began talks with Canada regarding military aid for the army.<sup>180</sup> Although one could suspect Zanzibar to have East Bloc military advisors due to its extensive relations with the communists, it was surprising that Nyerere would accept Chinese military aid on the mainland. Nevertheless,

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<sup>176</sup> See the telegram from the Department of State to the American Embassy in Bonn on 30 April 1964, in: NARA, RG 59, SNF 64-66, Box 2227 (POL Ger W – Tanzan).

<sup>177</sup> Documented in the newspaper article “Pilots off to Train” *Tanganyika Standard*, 1 September, 1964, found in the MMC, *Tanganyika Standard* Film Roll JUL 1-NOV 24 1964.

<sup>178</sup> Newspaper clipping from the Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung on 6 September, 1964 in: PA AA, B 57, Bd 58.

<sup>179</sup> Telegram from secretary Etzdorf in the West German Embassy in Dar es Salaam on 1 September, 1964 in: PA AA, B 57, Bd 58.

<sup>180</sup> For more information on the Canadian military aid Nyerere received, see Andrew Godefroy, “The Canadian Armed Forces Advisory and Training Team Tanzania 1965-1970,” *Canadian Military History* 11, no. 3 (July 2002): 31–47.

as long as the GDR's presence remained quarantined on Zanzibar and Nyerere was continuing to negotiate for the United Republic of Tanganyika and Zanzibar to not recognize the GDR, then the Federal Republic would remain committed to supplying military aid.

Symbolizing the Federal Republic's continued promise of military aid was the arrival of the four loaned ships in December 1964. Having arrived in late November, the nine-man West German Advisory Group for the coastal police force worked diligently to secure a smooth delivery of these ships. After days of the technically demanding process of unloading them from a freighter using a ship-based crane system, their work paid off as Tanzania officially received them in a formal ceremony in time for the third year anniversary of its independence.<sup>181</sup> The delivery of these 27 ton ships was a monumental achievement for West German military aid. Tanzania now had the proper means for the in-country training of its coastal police force. The atmosphere during the ceremony was jubilant and all Tanzanian newspapers reported the event in a positive light; even the anti-west "The Nationalist" wrote an article titled, "Kawawa is grateful to W. Germany."<sup>182</sup> With an increase in West German Air Force advisors and the first delivery of aircraft foreseen for January 1965, it seemed that the West German military aid program was on the upswing in Tanzania.

### **Collapse of Military Aid**

Despite increased West German military aid, this did not lead to as much influence over Tanzanian politics as the Federal Republic had hoped. On 17 January 1965, a group of forty West German Air Force Advisors and civilian technicians from the firm Dornier arrived in Tanzania to set up the army air arm school house and prepare for the first shipment of aircraft to start in-country pilot training.<sup>183</sup> Yet in a little over a month, the Federal Republic ordered this entire group along with the West German advisors for the coastal police force to depart Tanzania immediately, thus leaving only the four loaned ships and eight unbuilt single-engine trainer aircraft. How did this drastic reduction in military aid occur? There could only be one culprit: the

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<sup>181</sup> Note that on 30 October 1964 the United Republic of Tanganyika and Zanzibar officially changed its name for the last time to Tanzania. For more information about the unloading process and ceremony, see Ambassador Schroeder's telegram on, 8 December, 1964 in: PA AA, B 57, Bd 58.

<sup>182</sup> "Kawawa is Grateful to Germany" *The Nationalist*, 9 December, 1964, found in the MMC, *The Nationalist* Film Roll APR 17 1964-FEB 15 1965.

<sup>183</sup> This information was forwarded to the BMVtdg by the Tanzanian Embassy in the Federal Republic on 18 January, 1965 in: BAM, BW 1, Bd 2030.

Hallstein Doctrine. As Tanzania persisted in tackling the question of future East German representation, negotiations with both the GDR and Federal Republic from January through February of 1965 put it in a bind. On the one hand, the GDR would not accept reducing its status below that of a diplomatic mission in Dar es Salaam. On the other hand, the Federal Republic would permit nothing more than a trade mission.<sup>184</sup> Despite prior AA warnings to not do so, Nyerere thought the best compromise would be to create a GDR consulate general in Dar es Salaam without providing diplomatic recognition and he announced the finalization of this decision on 19 February 1965.<sup>185</sup> The Federal Republic wasted no time in recalling its military advisors and civilian technicians stationed in Tanzania with its preemptively planned “evacuation” aircraft arriving on the same day as Nyerere’s decision.<sup>186</sup> Subsequently thereafter, the Federal Republic began to hint at pulling its other aid programs if Nyerere did not fix the situation. By not fully enacting the Hallstein Doctrine and instead leaving other aid programs untouched, one could interpret this as a last-ditch attempt by the Federal Republic to use its aid programs as a lever in swaying Tanzanian politics.

The Federal Republic’s tactic backfired as Nyerere decided to halt not only West German military aid, but also all West German development aid programs in Tanzania. Two days after the Federal Republic recalled its military advisors, Nyerere made this fateful decision, claiming that “our country’s decisions are not for sale.”<sup>187</sup> Whether one interprets West Germany’s decision as justified due to the Hallstein Doctrine or brash in its indifference to the political gridlock that the German-question caused in Tanzanian unity, it clearly had a devastating impact on the relations between the two countries. After months of hammering out the German-question

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<sup>184</sup> As documented in a 14 January 1965 memorandum written by Minister Dirigent Böker found in, Mechthild Lindemann and Ilse Pautsch, *Akten Zur Auswärtigen Politik Der Bundesrepublik Deutschland 1965*, vol. II (München: Oldenbourg Verlag, 1996), 73.

<sup>185</sup> This arrangement had previously worked when the GDR established a consulate general in Cairo, Egypt in 1959, but since then, the Federal Republic had adopted a stricter interpretation of the Hallstein Doctrine, thus making an East German consulate general in Dar es Salaam unacceptable from the West German standpoint, see Gray, *Germany’s Cold War*, 99. Nyerere’s decision and its aftermath can be referenced in the memorandum titled “Current State of Affairs of Military Aid in Tanzania” on 22 February, 1965 in: BAM, BW 1, Bd 2030.

<sup>186</sup> On 16 February 1965, merely three days before Nyerere made his decision official, AA Ministerial Director Dr. Sachs held a meeting with the BMVtdg’s AL W desk indicating the “possible termination” of military aid and the “fundamental consequences” of doing so. In response, the BMVtdg’s W I 3 desk made preparations for the removal of military personnel stationed in Tanzania. All of this was stated in the BMVtdg memorandum titled “Current State of Affairs of Military Aid in Tanzania” on 22 February, 1965 in: BAM, BW 1, Bd 2030.

<sup>187</sup> British Prime Minister Harold Wilson gave West German Chancellor Ludwig Erhard Julius Nyerere’s paper titled “Background Paper on the East/West German Problem in Tanzania” written on 19 March, 1965 in: PA AA, B 1, Bd 367.

to the point where “Tanzania could not have done more without jeopardizing its own Union,” Nyerere had exhausted countless possibilities to accommodate the Federal Republic’s desire.<sup>188</sup> Therefore, from Nyerere’s perspective, his response to the Federal Republic’s quid pro quo was the only way to save face while preserving political unity with Zanzibar. However, this decision came at the great cost of losing an estimated thirty percent of all aid that Tanzania received from foreign countries at the time, aid that it desperately needed.<sup>189</sup> But did Nyerere sever all aid? While requesting the return of all Tanzanian military trainees from the Federal Republic, the Tanzanian Embassy issued an addendum later that day specifying for only the army air arm trainees to be sent back to Tanzania.<sup>190</sup> This action enabled the 29 remaining Tanzanian coastal police force trainees to continue their training in the Federal Republic until the course completion date in June 1965. Furthermore, it is worthwhile to note that Nyerere sent a personal letter to the fellow Tanzanian-born West German Defense Minister Kai-Uwe von Hassel, telling his side of the story and reaffirming that his “quarrel [was] not with the German technicians and experts who [had] been working here; nor [was] it personal at all.”<sup>191</sup> Overall, military relations between the Federal Republic and Tanzania were damaged but did not end entirely on a bitter note.

Although the Federal Republic remained disappointed by the construction of a GDR consulate general, it realized that withholding aid would only decrease its influence. For this reason, the Federal Republic reinstated some of its other aid programs that it had previously provided Tanzania.<sup>192</sup> The military aid program was not one of these. Yet, as Tanzania turned to other countries for help with its army air arm and coastal police force, the Federal Republic maintained a close eye on these programs and helped out when it could. By late April 1965, Canada began to conduct negotiations with Tanzania to take over the Federal Republic’s place of training Tanzania’s army air arm. When the Federal Republic found out about this, it gave

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<sup>188</sup> This language was written in letter by Renate Pratt, the daughter of a prominent West German doctor in Tanzania who had close ties to President Julius Nyerere on 1 March, 1965 in: PA AA, B 1, Bd 367.

<sup>189</sup> This figure was estimated in an article titled “The Two-German Issue as Seen in Bonn” *The Standard*, 23 February, 1965 found in the MMC *The Standard* Film Reel January 1 1965- June 30 1965.

<sup>190</sup> See the letters from Tanzanian Chargé d'affaires J.M. Yinza and addendum by Tanzanian Second Secretary D.N.M. Mloka on 15 March, 1965 in: BAM, BW 1, Bd 374242.

<sup>191</sup> This letter can be found on 20 March, 1965 in: BAM, BW 1, Bd 2030.

<sup>192</sup> For more information on the decision to bring back some development aid programs, refer to 16 April, 1965 in: BAM, BW 1, Bd 2030

Canada permission to use the eight single-engine aircraft left in Tanzania to continue training.<sup>193</sup> Most likely pleased about Tanzania turning to a West Bloc country, the Federal Republic's offer would be beneficial in providing continuity as the Canadians assumed their new training role. In addition, the Dutch agreed to take over the training of the Tanzanian coastal police force. Similarly, the Federal Republic allowed the Dutch military advisors to use the four loaned boats currently in Tanzania<sup>194</sup> Ambassador Schroeder even broached the idea of finally providing the two free ships that the Federal Republic promised back in 1962, and the BMVtdg replied by stating that it could deliver the boats by August 1966.<sup>195</sup> Consequently, the Federal Republic's generosity helped the Dutch in that they would not need to provide any of their own ships to train the Tanzanians. However, by the time the Dutch signed an agreement with Tanzania and arrived in-country, the four loaned West German ships were in a dilapidated state. The Tanzanians had apparently abandoned two of the ships at a shipyard in Mombasa, Kenya, where "valuable material" had been stolen from them.<sup>196</sup> The remaining two ships in Dar es Salaam fared no better as one was half-sunken while the other was heavily-rusted and working at only 60% of its power capacity.<sup>197</sup> It was clear that the Dutch would have to spend more time restoring the ships than they would training the Tanzanians. In spite of a state secretary in the AA named Dr. Rolf Lahr securing 100,000 DM to help repair these ships, Tanzania decided to suspend the Dutch training program until the two promised West German ships arrived, thus causing the early departure of the Dutch military advisors in late December 1965.<sup>198</sup> Although the Dutch advisory group's tenure was short, the constant efforts by the Federal Republic in attempting to assist them revealed the Federal Republic's desire to ensure the continuation of West Bloc military aid to Tanzania.

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<sup>193</sup> See the memorandum titled "Continuation of the Project of Technical Aid" on 26 April, 1965 in: BAM, BW 1, Bd 2030.

<sup>194</sup> "Continuation of the Project of Technical Aid" on 26 April, 1965 in: BAM, BW 1, Bd 2030.

<sup>195</sup> Refer to Schroeder's telegram to the AA on 2 September, 1965 in: PA AA, B 57, Bd 98. And also see Colonel Hahn of the BMVtdg's affirmative response to the AA on 23 September, 1965 in: PA AA, B 57, Bd 98.

<sup>196</sup> See Schroeder's telegram to the AA concerning his conversation with the leader of the Dutch Military Advisory Group Lieutenant H.C. van der Meyden on 21 October, 1965, in: PA AA, B 57, Bd 98.

<sup>197</sup> Schroeder's telegram to the AA detailed the extent of the damage to these ships due to the lack of proper maintenance on 25 September, 1965 in: PA AA, B 57, Bd 98.

<sup>198</sup> Dr. Lahr affirmed the 100,000 DM for ship repairs on 3 December, 1965 in: PA AA, B 57, Bd 98. Having replaced Ambassador Schroeder in November 1965, Ambassador Gottfried Pagenstert informed the AA of Tanzania's decision to cancel Dutch aid on 18 December, 1965 in: PA AA, B 57, Bd 98.



At one point, it seemed that the Federal Republic itself would resume the training of the Tanzanian Coastal Police Force. After attending the departure of Lufthansa's inaugural flight to East Africa, Dr. Rolf Lahr invited the Tanzanian Ministers Job Lusinde and Idris Abdul Wakil to the AA, where they had a constructive discussion on the state of affairs between the two countries. By the end of this discussion, both sides agreed to attempt "to understand each other like [they] did before the crisis" (referring to the events in February 1965).<sup>199</sup> Within a few weeks, Tanzania reached out to the Federal Republic with a request to provide a refresher training course for the 36 coastal police in preparation for the arrival of the two promised ships along with a request to buy two additional coastal patrol boats.<sup>200</sup> Dr. Lahr's conversation must have carried significant weight as it single-handedly breathed life back into the Federal Republic's stagnant military aid program to Tanzania. It seemed that Tanzania was ready to trust the Federal Republic with providing military aid again. Noting this aid as a "relatively low cost" with great political worth, the AA announced its decision to comply with Tanzania's request and set a training start date for January 1967.<sup>201</sup> After over a year of not providing military aid, it seemed that this new project could help mend the wounds that the Federal Republic had caused.

Despite the progress sparked by Dr. Lahr, the advent of quality Chinese military aid juxtaposed against poor West German military aid riddled by delays slowly pushed the Federal Republic out of the picture. Worried about GDR propaganda, the Federal Republic sent three civilian technicians to maintain the eight single-engine aircraft it had permitted the Canadians to use for training the Tanzanian Army Air Arm.<sup>202</sup> However, within a few months, one of these aircraft crashed, causing the Canadians to deem them untrustworthy for flight.<sup>203</sup> This crash reflected poorly on the Federal Republic as the GDR could easily have turned it into a propaganda piece purporting the poor quality of West German military aid. Meanwhile the Chinese had offered four free coastal patrol boats to the Tanzanians and had already begun

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<sup>199</sup> Author translation of Dr. Lahr's quote to which Minister Lusinde "vividly" agreed in the memorandum regarding the discussion between these individuals on 6 April, 1966 in: PA AA, B 57, Bd 98.

<sup>200</sup> This request was noted in a letter from the Tanzanian Embassy in the Federal Republic addressed to the AA and BMVtdg on 26 April, 1965 in: PA AA, B 57, Bd 98.

<sup>201</sup> The AA announced this decision after securing the West German Finance Ministry's approval. See State Secretary Middelmann's letter to Ambassador Pagenstert on 26 May, 1966 in: PA AA, B 57, Bd 98.

<sup>202</sup> State Secretary Middelmann of the AA noted Oberst Hahn's intention to send these technicians on 8 September 1966 in: PA AA, B 57, Bd 98.

<sup>203</sup> This crash was documented in a telegram sent to the AA on 13 December, 1966 in: PA AA, B 57, Bd 98.

training 30 Tanzanian coastal police officers in China.<sup>204</sup> Noting that the two promised West German vessels had experienced delays pushing their delivery date back until 1967, the Chinese were clearly trying to outdo the Federal Republic. At last, the two promised West German ships along with two civilian technicians arrived in Tanzania in March 1967. The arrival of the Chinese coastal patrol boats followed shortly thereafter. Although describing the Chinese ships as “of good quality,” Ambassador Pagenstert noted how the West German vessels had defects as the cooling system was not able to handle the tropical environment found in Tanzania.<sup>205</sup> Adding the icing to the cake, the Federal Republic also forgot to deliver these ships with ammunition, thus increasing Tanzania’s disappointment.<sup>206</sup> Besides the fact that they took almost four and a half years to deliver, it was astounding that these vessels were not able to function properly. Whether or not the Federal Republic had accounted for tropicalizing the ships, Tanzania was justifiably disappointed. As the two West German technicians sought to fix these boats, funds ran out causing their eventual withdrawal back to the Federal Republic in 1968. As a result, this gave China maneuvering room to fill this vacuum. China would go on to become the largest supplier of aid to Tanzania.<sup>207</sup>

## Conclusion

The Federal Republic’s partial employment of the Hallstein Doctrine in response to the opening of a GDR consulate general in Dar es Salaam resulted in the disintegration of West German military aid to Tanzania. From the beginning of talks between the two countries, the Federal Republic recognized the communist threat that Tanganyika and Zanzibar faced but failed to act swiftly. A large contributing factor for doing so was the BMVtdg’s worry of spreading its African aid programs too thin financially. However, smaller contributing factors included worry over how both the British and Portuguese would react to West German military aid as the British

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<sup>204</sup> Refer to the telegram documenting increased Chinese aid programs to Tanzania on 29 November, 1966 in PA AA, B 57, Bd 98.

<sup>205</sup> Noted in Ambassador Pagenstert’s telegram to the AA on 10 May, 1967 in: PA AA, B 57, Bd 98.

<sup>206</sup> Due to the multiple delays in delivering these ships, it seems more likely that the failure to provide ammunition was due to a lack of oversight from feeling rushed rather than a spitefully preplanned action. Either way, the Tanzanian Embassy in the Federal Republic expressed its disappointment to the AA in a letter on 7 August, 1967 in: PA AA, B 57, Bd 98.

<sup>207</sup> China also replaced the Canadian Air Force Advisory Group in 1969. For an account on the aid China provided Tanzania and its intentions in doing so, refer to Martin Bailey, “Tanzania and China,” *African Affairs* 74, no. 294 (January 1, 1975): 39–50.

still played an important role in Tanganyika's military and the Tanganyikan leadership actively supported Mozambican freedom fighters (FRELIMO) who sought to gain independence from Portugal.<sup>208</sup> These West German concerns and corresponding lack of military presence benefitted East Bloc countries in Zanzibar especially, as they were able to deepen political ties. Thus, by the time that the Zanzibar Revolution occurred, further West German caution in not recognizing the new government contributed towards Zanzibar's decision to side almost exclusively with the East Bloc. Granted, the Federal Republic was one among many West Bloc countries who hesitated in bestowing immediate recognition to Zanzibar and therefore cannot be fully responsible for Zanzibar's choice of allies. Yet, this decision proved fateful as the GDR was able to gain political recognition from a country outside of the East Bloc. Not without coincidence, the BMVtdg sped up in creating an administrative agreement with Tanzania to build up its army air arm. The current communist threat to Tanganyika now warranted the cost of Tanganyika's prior pleas for West German military aid.

The domestic political landscape would only deteriorate further as complicated relations stemming from the surprised union between Tanganyika and Zanzibar tested West German patience. Although notable for not immediately invoking the Hallstein Doctrine in spite of the technical recognition of both Germanies in this newly unified state, the Federal Republic's patience would only last so long. A crucial factor in initially refraining from the Hallstein Doctrine was the Federal Republic's ability to employ military aid as a lever in an attempt to sway the politics of the union. When this tactic failed due to the establishment of an East German consulate general on the mainland, the Federal Republic did not have much power except to threaten its other aid programs. Although it was unlikely that the Federal Republic would have fully invoked the Hallstein Doctrine since the establishment of the East German consulate general did not imply Tanzanian recognition of the GDR, it remains unclear how much of its Tanzanian aid programs it would have revoked.<sup>209</sup> Any attempt to make inferences about that decision would be speculative in nature since President Nyerere was the one that severed West German aid. However, it is important to note that during this affair the Federal Republic

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<sup>208</sup> For a better characterization of Julius Nyerere's and Tanganyika's support of the Pan-African Freedom Movement, see Hargreaves, *Decolonization in Africa*, 194.

<sup>209</sup> The assertion that the Federal Republic would not break off diplomatic ties with Tanzania following the establishment of a GDR consulate general can be found in the telegram on 12 February 1965 in NARA, RG 59, SNF 64-66, Box 2227 (POL Ger W – Tanzan).

maintained its embassy in Dar es Salaam, continued to train Tanzanian coastal police officers in West Germany, and reinstated some of its already-promised aid projects within a couple months after the incident. What remains clear is that the Federal Republic had little chance of fulfilling its modest military aid program to Tanzania as the time between the signing of the administrative agreements and Nyerere's decision to cut off West German aid was too short. Furthermore, the wounds from this falling-out proved too deep for the Federal Republic to overcome. Ultimately, the Federal Republic's interactions with Tanzania exemplified the constraints West German military aid to non-NATO countries faced due to the double-edged sword of the Hallstein Doctrine. On the one hand, the Hallstein Doctrine called for an increased West German presence to block the spread of communism. Yet on the other hand, it also could lead to an abrupt West German withdrawal and breaking of diplomatic relations. The clash between capitalist and communist politics in Tanzania was merely one episode in the broader history of the global Cold War.

## CONCLUSION

The Nigerian and Tanzanian case studies reveal that the Federal Republic was not fully prepared for the challenges it faced when contributing military aid to non-NATO countries in the 1960s. Initially, it had to navigate through its own convoluted political and legal system along with its not-yet standardized process of providing this type of aid. In doing so, internal differences of opinion arose frequently, especially between the AA and the BMVtdg due to the different driving factors behind military aid such as NATO burden sharing and the Hallstein Doctrine. On the one hand, the BMVtdg, more specifically General Becker, advocated heavily for providing aid and selling excess military equipment to Nigeria while the AA was worried that the Federal Republic would incite an arms race in Africa and thus become a target of Soviet propaganda. On the other hand, the AA called for a strong military aid presence in Tanganyika to combat the spreading communist influences from Zanzibar while the BMVtdg remained generally hesitant of contributing too much aid to Tanganyika so as not to spread itself too thin financially in Africa. After resolving internal debates, the Federal Republic then had to come to an agreement with each country which posed additional challenges as expectations did not always align. However, signing these agreements only marked the beginning of the problems the Federal Republic was to encounter.

In both cases, the Federal Republic experienced delays, modifications of the agreements, and unforeseen political events that would leave both programs in shambles. Despite a delayed start due to the miscommunication of which country was to conduct basic training in Nigeria, it seemed the Federal Republic could fulfill its agreement. Yet, two bloody coups in 1966 and the outbreak of the Nigerian Civil War in July of 1967 rendered this endeavor unfeasible as a country like the Federal Republic, with the legacy of its Nazi past, could not be seen supporting a country perceived to be enacting a genocide against its populace. The West German military aid program in Tanganyika fared no better as the BMVtdg dragged its feet in providing aid while communist forces such as the Soviet Union, GDR, and China established a foothold on Tanganyika's island neighbor Zanzibar. Once Tanganyika and Zanzibar unified unexpectedly in April of 1964, the Federal Republic attempted to increase and leverage its military aid presence to prevent this newly unified state from permitting communist powers, namely the GDR, to establish diplomatic missions on the mainland. However, these attempts failed and Tanzanian

President Julius Nyerere, faced with the ultimatum caused by the Hallstein Doctrine of either preserving relations with the Federal Republic or the unity of his country, chose the latter, thus resulting in the withdrawal of West German military aid and subsequent souring of relations. It seemed as though the Federal Republic's cautious foreign policy was not flexible enough to handle the challenges resulting from its large-scale military aid programs to non-NATO countries. From 1965 onward, the process for conducting military aid became more standardized and stringent due to the uncovering of the secret aid package to Israel along with growing unrest among members of the Bundestag and the West German public. In spite of this, the Federal Republic continued to provide military aid to a range of African countries throughout the second half of the 1960s into the 1970s, although the majority of these programs were smaller in scale compared to the agreements signed in the first half of the 1960s.<sup>210</sup> Instead, the Federal Republic shifted to contributing a higher percentage of military aid to NATO countries as this option would not cause as much political backlash.<sup>211</sup> Amidst all of this, the West German armaments industry continued to grow.

Examining the origins of West German military aid gives insight into Germany's present-day arms industry and policy. Although Germany has consistently ranked within the top five arms exporters in the world over the past few years, this does not mean that its modern arms exports are immune to its cautious foreign policy and the legacy of its violent history.<sup>212</sup> Admittedly, a large portion of these military equipment sales continues to go to NATO allies and other partner countries like Australia and South Korea. This mirrors the shift that occurred in the second half of the 1960s, when Germany began to provide more military aid to its NATO allies. Yet, Germany has nevertheless sold military equipment to more controversial countries such as Egypt, the United Arab Emirates, and Saudi Arabia, all of which have played a role in the Yemen conflict.<sup>213</sup> Recently, Germany has extended its weapons ban against Saudi Arabia as a response against the brutal assassination of Saudi journalist Jamal Khashoggi which took place in the Saudi consulate located in Turkey in October of 2018.<sup>214</sup> Like in Nigeria and Tanzania,

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<sup>210</sup> See Table A.1 in the appendix to compare the size of these military aid programs. The only notable African outlier for the second half of the 1960s was Ethiopia, which had a military aid package valued at 46 million DM.

<sup>211</sup> See Figure A.1 in the appendix.

<sup>212</sup> For more information on German arm exports in current times, reference Jefferson Chase, "German Arms Exports - What You Need to Know," *Deutsche Welle*, October 29, 2017.

<sup>213</sup> "Germany's Arms Export Approvals Headed for Record High," *Deutsche Welle*, October 7, 2019,

<sup>214</sup> A detailed discussion of the six-month extension beginning in September of 2019 can be found in "German Arms Export Freeze on Saudi Arabia Extended," *Deutsche Welle*, September 18, 2019.

once the political landscape of a country receiving German military equipment becomes more turbulent, Germany's ability to export arms or provide military aid is not able to cope as well as other countries due to the combination of its rigid foreign policy and sense of moral duty against human rights violations. This is in contrast to countries like the United States, the United Kingdom, and France, all of which have continued selling military equipment to Saudi Arabia. Despite Germany's large government oversight over arms exports and military aid, there is an inherent tension within conducting this type of activity that is firmly grounded in German history and unlikely to change for the foreseeable future.

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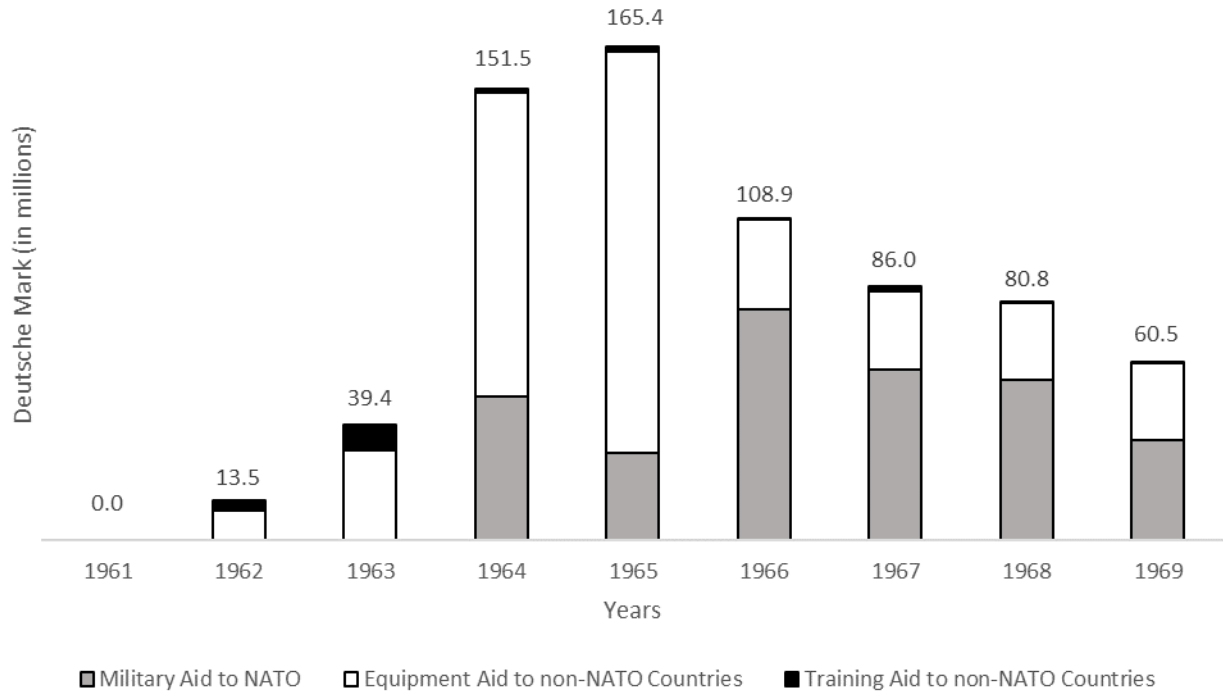
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## APPENDIX



**Figure A.1 Types and Scope of West German Military Aid<sup>215</sup>**

<sup>215</sup> Figure borrowed from Haftendorn, *Militärhilfe und Rüstungsexporte der BRD*, 48.

**Table A.1 Comparison of Planned vs. Actual Expenditures of West German Military Aid<sup>216</sup>**

|    | Recipient  | Period  | Planned Expenditures (in Millions of DM) | Actual Expenditures (in Millions of DM) |
|----|------------|---------|--|---|
| 1  | Greece     | 1964-68 | 101                                      | 101                                     |
| 2  | India      | 1964-70 | 3.5                                      | 3.5                                     |
| 3  | Iran       | 1966-72 | 40                                       | 40                                      |
| 4  | Israel     | 1962-65 | 240-340                                  | 289                                     |
| 5  | Jordan     | 1964-65 | 1.7                                      | 1.7                                     |
| 6  | Turkey     | 1964-70 | 300                                      | 300                                     |
| 7  | Chad       | 1969-71 | 6  | 6                                       |
| 8  | Ethiopia   | 1965-71 | 46                                       | 46                                      |
| 9  | Ghana      | 1969-71 | 6  | 6                                       |
| 10 | Guinea     | 1962-71 | 47                                       | 47                                      |
| 11 | Kenya      | 1966-70 | 16                                       | 16                                      |
| 12 | Madagascar | 1962-64 | 6  | 6                                       |
| 13 | Mali       | 1969-70 | 2  | 2                                       |
| 14 | Morocco    | 1968-72 | 16                                       | 16                                      |
| 15 | Niger      | 1966-71 | 8  | 8                                       |
| 16 | Nigeria    | 1963-67 | 100                                      | 15                                      |
| 17 | Somalia    | 1962-71 | 18                                       | 18                                      |
| 18 | Sudan      | 1961-65 | 120                                      | 106                                     |
| 19 | Tanzania   | 1963-65 | 42                                       | 6.2                                     |
| 20 | Togo       | 1969-71 | 4  | 4                                       |
| 21 | Tunisia    | 1968-72 | 8  | 8                                       |

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<sup>216</sup> Table borrowed from Haftendorn, *Militärhilfe*, 130.

**Table A.2 Comparison of West German Military Aid to Overall West German Aid<sup>217</sup>**

|    | Recipient  | Period  | Mil. Aid (in Millions of DM) | All Aid (in Millions of DM) | Mil Aid Ratio (%) |
|----|------------|---------|------------------------------|-----------------------------|-------------------|
| 1  | Greece     | 1964-68 | 101                          | 3792                        | 2.7               |
| 2  | India      | 1964-70 | 3.5                          | -                           | -                 |
| 3  | Iran       | 1966-72 | 40                           | 13168                       | 0.3               |
| 4  | Israel     | 1962-65 | 289                          | 5940                        | 4.9               |
| 5  | Jordan     | 1964-65 | 1.7                          | 392                         | 0.4               |
| 6  | Turkey     | 1964-70 | 300                          | 11200                       | 2.7               |
| 7  | Chad       | 1969-71 | 6                            | 82.8                        | 7.2               |
| 8  | Ethiopia   | 1965-71 | 46                           | 1000                        | 4.6               |
| 9  | Ghana      | 1969-71 | 6                            | 576                         | 1.0               |
| 10 | Guinea     | 1962-71 | 47                           | 404                         | 11.6              |
| 11 | Kenya      | 1966-70 | 16                           | 122                         | 13.1              |
| 12 | Madagascar | 1962-64 | 6                            | 100                         | 6.0               |
| 13 | Mali       | 1969-70 | 2                            | 60                          | 3.3               |
| 14 | Morocco    | 1968-72 | 16                           | 1296                        | 1.2               |
| 15 | Niger      | 1966-71 | 8                            | 804                         | 1.0               |
| 16 | Nigeria    | 1963-67 | 15                           | 1068                        | 1.4               |
| 17 | Somalia    | 1962-71 | 18                           | 320                         | 5.6               |
| 18 | Sudan      | 1961-65 | 106                          | 468                         | 22.6              |
| 19 | Tanzania   | 1963-65 | 6.2                          | 72                          | 8.6               |
| 20 | Togo       | 1969-71 | 4                            | 16.2                        | 24.7              |
| 21 | Tunisia    | 1968-72 | 8                            | 2004                        | 0.4               |

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<sup>217</sup> Table borrowed from Haftendorn, *Militärhilfe*, 133.