

ATOP CANDIDATE LIST

July, 2022

Below is a list of agreements that are mentioned in at least one secondary source, but which we were unsuccessful at locating and thus cannot definitively dismiss as possible alliances. Please direct questions and comments (and agreements if you find them!) to Brett Ashley Leeds at leeds@rice.edu, or 713-348-3037.

Africa:

- 1.) UK-Kenya 1963: Kenya grants UK facilities (Calvocoressi p.484) (Naidu mentions March, 1964 defense treaty—p. 110) “Britain signed a secret military treaty with Kenya in 1963” (Ojo, Orwa, and Utete, 1985: 104). No mention in Keesings. No mention in UK treaty database.
- 2.) Britain-Kenya and Britain-Uganda pacts in March, 1964 (Naidu, 1974: 110) Ochieng (1989: 229) writes “After closing the British military base at Kahawa [Kenya] signed a military pact with Britain, the object of which was and still remains the guaranteeing of Kenya’s security from both internal and external threat.” No mention in Keesings. No mention in UK treaty database.
- 3.) Feb. 17, 1965, when The Gambia achieves independence, agreements are concluded with Senegal that “provided for cooperation between the two countries in foreign affairs, defence, and economic matters” (Rengger, 1995) 1967 Treaty of Association (also mentioned by Rengger) is not an alliance.
- 4.) Zaire, Burundi, Rwanda 8-30-66 COW 3553 Keesings report describes this as a “mutual security pact”. No info re: content. Rengger says reaffirmed June 12, 1974. “in August 1966, the Congo, Burundi, and Rwanda had signed Joint Agreements on Mutual Security, Trade and Cultural Affairs (the Kinshasa Agreements).” This could be just about dealing with dissidents.
- 5.) Ghana and Ivory coast sign a 5-year “Ghana-Ivory coast Friendship Treaty” May, 1970 (Aluko 1977, p.75) No mention in Keesings. Does not appear in Rengger.
- 6.) Ivory Coast and Senegal signed treaty of friendship 12/15/71, Keesings—no info on content.
- 7.) Chad and Nigeria signed a treaty of friendship, cooperation, and mutual assistance 12/11/72, Keesings—no content info
- 8.) Nigeria and Mali sign a treaty of friendship, cooperation, and mutual assistance 3/3/73, Keesings—no info on content.
- 9.) Senegal and Guinea-Bissau signed treaty of friendship 9/27/73, or a little later Keesings. Ratified 7/4/74 (Rengger).
- 10.) Liberia and Gambia 1974 Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation, revived 5/27/84, Keesings, LexNex No content info
- 11.) Guinea-Bissau and Rep. of Guinea signed treaty of cooperation and friendship 8/6/74, Keesings
- 12.) Equatorial Guinea and Central African Republic signed treaty of friendship and cooperation 1/24/75 Keesings gives some info on content, none of which is alliance, but not enough to be sure.
- 13.) Senegal and Central African Republic sign treaty of friendship 3/24/75, Keesings no LexNex—no info on content.
- 14.) Tanzania, Angola, Mozambique, Zambia 11-20-76 COW 3577 no LexNex, no Keesings—COW citation is 1981 Keesings 408, but I can’t find it. Rengger says this “provided for a joint defence strategy against an external attack on any one or several of these four states.” FLS grouping? Front Line States?
- 15.) Cameroon and Ivory Coast treaty of friendship signed at visit (2/24-3/4/78), Keesings not in LexNex
- 16.) Guinea, Ivory Coast, Senegal, Liberia, Gambia, and Togo sign treaty of nonaggression and mutual assistance at meeting in Monrovia March 17-18, 1978.
- 17.) Guinea-Ivory Coast Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation 4/14/78 Rengger

- 18.) Guinea-Senegal Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation 4/14/78 Rengger LexNex says May 6, 1978.
- 19.) Guinea-Benin Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation 5/27/78 LexNex says similar to agmts with Senegal and Ivory Coast.
- 20.) Angola and Zambia 5-10-79 COW 3587 Unclear if this is written based on LexNex or Keesings. If written it will qualify as an alliance. According to Rengger: October 17, 1978 framework agreements on cooperation were signed—undertook to respect principles of nonaggression. Not clear May 1979 agmt is written. Rejected unless we find a written agreement.
- 21.) Guinea-Bissau and Guinea 1-25-80 COW 3594 LexNex article describes three of the documents signed as “a treaty of friendship and cooperation, a non-aggression treaty, a mutual defense treaty” but there is no information regarding terms. Not mentioned in Keesings or Rengger or Facts on File. COW citation is the LexNex article. No indication that these even came into effect—soon change of gov’t and continued border conflict. Not enough info to code.
- 22.) Mozambique and Zimbabwe in October 1980 (Issue of Africa Report from January-February 1981--“security pact aimed at cooperation in battling anti-government dissidents.” LexNex and Keesings—about preventing guerrilla activities.
- 23.) December 5, 1980—Tanzania and Zimbabwe sign friendship and cooperation agreement—LexNex—no mention in Keesings, but listed in Rengger.
- 24.) Ethiopia and Djibouti signed Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation 3/21/81, Wubneh and Abate (1988: 169) call it a “ten year treaty of friendship and cooperation.” LexNex—no info on terms other than 10 year term. Mention, but no info on terms in Keesings either.
- 25.) Guinea-Bissau and Mali sign Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation 11/3/83. LexNex. Not enough info re content to determine whether this is an alliance. Also listed in Keesings with no info re content.
- 26.) Angola and Zaire sign accord on defense and security 2/9/85. Probably just about controlling dissident activity.
- 27.) Guinea-Bissau and Gabon sign treaty of friendship and cooperation Feb. 23, 1985. Keesings, LexNex. No indication of military provisions, but not enough info to tell for sure.
- 28.) Mozambique and Zimbabwe “Agreement on Military Cooperation” signed by defense ministers 9 June 1988 according to Zimbabwe Treaty List 1996 published by Zimbabwe Judicial College. Zimbabwe had 10,000 troops in Mozambique cooperating with the Mozambique gov’t against rebels. This agreement dealt with their cooperation—unclear if content has alliance promises. Attempted to e-mail Zimbabwe foreign ministry on May 7, 2018 with no response.
- 29.) Gambia and Senegal signed Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation 1/8/91 Keesings, LexNex. LexNex article mentions cooperation in defense and security, but no real info on terms. Emailed Gambian embassy in Washington on 2/10/04, but message was undeliverable.
- 30.) Libya-Chad Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation 6/4/94—mentioned in LexNex and Keesings
- 31.) “Central African states adopted a pact of non-aggression at the end of the fifth meeting of the UN Consultative Committee on Security in Central Africa held in Yaounde (Cameroon). The pact, adopted on 9 September 1994, was arrived at after five days of meeting and discussions between military experts and ministers of Cameroon, Central African Republic, Congo, Equatorial Guinea, Gabon, and Sao Tome et Principe.” ECCAS website. LexNex reports pact signed. Emailed ECCAS 2/10/04, but message was undeliverable. We have different dates (by years) and conflicting reports about this.

Middle East:

- 1.) Lebanon-Syria Defense Pact 1/13/56. Langer (1972: 1282) writes “Following an Israeli attack (Dec. 11) on Syrian positions along the Sea of Galilee, Lebanon and Syria signed a defense pact, providing for joint retaliation if either were attacked by Israel.” Based on other sources, appears not to have come into effect—delays in final signatures.

- 2.) Egypt (UAR) and Iraq “joint presidential council” “aimed at coordinating Egyptian and Iraqi policies in all spheres” formed in May 1964 and ended in July 1968 with Iraq coup. Was this a written agreement? Keesings. Barnett (1998) cites FBIS October 19, 1964, B1-2 from Cairo Domestic Service 10/16/64—“Text of UAR-Iraq Presidential Council Decisions” – this is no indication of alliance.
- 3.) Algeria and Niger agreement for cooperation and friendship on 6/3/64 (Carter 1996, p.225) No mention in Keesings.
- 4.) Tripartite Agreement (Tripoli charter) of December 28, 1969 between Libya, Egypt and Sudan. Includes agreement to coordinate military strategies (Deeb p.59/60) but then Egypt, on French pressure, tries to make Tripoli charter mainly an economic agreement. Keesings says charter had “aim of promoting joint cooperation in foreign affairs, defense, and economic affairs.” On November 4-8, 1970 Tripoli charter member states meet and issue a communiqué announcing the formation of a unified security council. (Deeb p.71 and Keesings) (We have rejected the Nov. 8 agmt). November 27, 1970 Syria joined (Deeb p.72 and Keesings) On April 14, 1971 Sudan left the Tripoli Charter (Deeb p.72). April 17, 1971 Libya, UAR and Syria announce decision to create “Federation of Arab Republics”, which came officially into existence 1/1/72—Keesings. Mentioned in Deeb and discussed in El Saadany (1994: 65-79). El Saadany says pact was signed and approved and that there was a military pact (p. 66). Yet there is not enough info for us to code anything.
- 5.) Libya and Niger “concluded a defense treaty 3/71”, Keesings—no further info.
- 6.) In December 1972 Libya and Chad sign treaty of friendship (Deeb p.83) No mention in Keesings. Chad-Libya Agreement on Friendship and Cooperation—“Chad would receive economic assistance and Libya would reduce its support for FROLINAT. [Chad] would terminate relations with Israel” (Burr and Collins, 1999: 93).
- 7.) Cameroon and Libya sign treaty of friendship and cooperation 10/29/75, Keesings—no info on terms.
- 8.) Jordan and Syria communiqué 8/22/75 creating Supreme Command Council to coordinate foreign policy and adopt joint positions on “issues of war and peace”. Jordanian-Syrian alliance between 1975-1977 (Brown 2001, p.139), unity talks (Brown 2001 p.145)
- 9.) Libya and Togo signed “Treaty of Mutual Defense and Assistance” 1/5/76, Keesings reports that no details about provisions or duration were released.
- 10.) Egypt and Chad signed treaty of friendship 2/22/78, Keesings not in LexNex—no info on content.
- 11.) DPR Yemen and North Korea sign Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation October 11, 1984—Keesings—no info on terms but mentions political cooperation.
- 12.) Iran – Syria Mutual Defense Pact signed 2/05. LexNex sources indicate that Iran agrees to supply weapons to Syria, and that the agreement is referred to as a mutual defense pact, but there is not enough information to determine what, if any, specific obligations exist.

Soviet Successor States:

- 1.) Kyrgyzstan and Poland, Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation, signed 5 July 1993. LexNex. On Polish website without link to treaty. Faxed Kyrgyz Embassy in Washington 5/6/04. Faxed Kyrgyz MFA 6/22/04. Searched online in both Krgyz and Polish Languages for this treaty but could not find it (Jahan Masjidi 2/10/22)
- 2.) Tajikistan and Afghanistan, Treaty of Friendship, signed on or about 30 August 1993. LexNex. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Tajikistan recognizes the presence of this treaty as per Ministry of Foreign Affairs website.
- 3.) Turkmenistan and Azerbaijan, Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation, signed 18 March 1996. LexNex. Faxed Turkmen Embassy in Washington 5/5/04. Faxed Azerbaijan MFA 6/16/04. The treaty was ratified by Azerbaijan as per Ministry of Foreign Affairs website.

Other:

- 1.) March 4, 1948, Argentina and Chile agree on the joint defense of their rights in the Antarctic and the Falkland Islands against British claims. (Langer p. 1252) No information.
- 2.) July 27, 1953: sixteen nations that fought under the UN in Korea signed a declaration made public on August 7 promising to resume fighting in the event of any new aggression there (Langer p.1349). COULD BE 1954—ROK (1996) discusses the SIXTEEN NATIONS DECLARATION ON KOREA that sounds similar—summer 1954. No information.
- 3.) 13 January 1962: Beijing signs a treaty of mutual help with Albania. Cited in: Held, Joseph (ed.). 1992. *The Columbia History of Eastern Europe in the Twentieth Century*. New York: Columbia University Press, (p. xxxviii) No mention in Keesings. According to Bartke (1992), just scientific and technical cooperation. No qualifying agreement in Chinese treaty database.
- 4.) China and Pakistan have bilateral treaty of mutual assistance, probably early 1970's, maybe late 1960's (Naidu, 1974:12, 32) No mention in Keesings. No other mentions of this-- regard as suspicious. Nothing mentioned in Bartke (1992).
- 5.) Cuba and Vietnam sign Friendship and Cooperation Treaty 10/19/82, LexNex, Keesings says 1983, but that is probably a mistake. No information on treaty content. Vietnamese National Congress confirms that treaty was ratified on 10/19/82. 12/5/83 Vietnam and Cuba sign Military Cooperation treaty. Current reports from Vietnam on the overview of Vietnam-Cuba relations seem to indicate that the treaty is no longer in effect.
- 6.) Vietnam and Laos sign Friendship Treaty on 7/18/77. The treaty itself does not qualify, but the subsequent defense protocol signed a few months later may make this qualify, but we do not have text as of 7/2021. Similarly, a Mutual Defense Agreement was signed 9/22/77 which likely qualifies as it was signed 2 days before Vietnam – Cambodia War. The agreement does not appear to still be in effect, and there is not enough secondary information to determine an end date for the agreement.
- 7.) Laos and Mongolia sign Treaty of Friendship 3 March 1994. LexNex. Faxed Lao Embassy in Washington 5/5/04. Emailed Mongolian Embassy in Washington 5/7/05.
- 8.) Portugal and Bulgaria, Declaration of Friendship and Cooperation, 20 July 1995. LexNex. Faxed Bulgarian Embassy in Washington 5/5/04. Faxed Portuguese MFA 5/5/04. Emailed Bulgarian MFA 5/17/04. Portuguese MFA says not published yet—refers me to www.gddc.pt, but not yet listed. Valentin couldn't find. This is probably not a treaty.
- 9.) Bulgaria and Hungary, Declaration of Friendship and Cooperation, signed on or about 13 October 2003. LexNex. Email to Hungary 4/22/04 Asked Viktor to check 5/4/04. Faxed Bulgarian Embassy in Washington 5/5/04. Emailed Bulgarian MFA 5/17/04. Valentin could not find and Viktor could not find. Either too new, or not a treaty.