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:


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.


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 Keesing 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


17.) Guinea-Ivory Coast Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation 4/14/78 Rengger

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.


23.) December 5, 1980—Tanzania and Zimbabwe sign friendship and cooperation agreement—LexNex—no mention in Keesings, but listed in Rengger.


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.


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 discussion 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.

3.) 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.


6.) 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.

7.) Libya and Niger “concluded a defense treaty 3/71“, Keesings—no further info.

8.) 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).

9.) Cameroon and Libya sign treaty of friendship and cooperation 10/29/75, Keesings—no info on terms.


11.) Libya and Togo signed “Treaty of Mutual Defense and Assistance” 1/5/76, Keesings reports that no details about provisions or duration were released.

12.) Egypt and Chad signed treaty of friendship 2/22/78, Keesings not in LexNex—no info on content.

13.) DPR Yemen and North Korea sign Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation October 11, 1984—Keesings—no info on terms, but mentions political cooperation.

14) 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:**


3.) Tajikistan and Afghanistan, Treaty of Friendship, signed on or about 30 August 1993. LexNex.


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.


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.


