ATOP CANDIDATE LIST
July, 2004

Below is a list of agreements that are mentioned in at least one secondary source, but which we were unsuccessful at locating and thus can not 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.

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.

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.

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.) Tunisia-France Treaty March 20, 1956:, CALVOCORESSI, p.592. The treaty grants Tunisia independence, and Calvocoressi says it includes basing rights for France. Langer (1972: 1292) references "Protocol on Tunisian Independence".

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.

4.) Algeria and Niger agreement for cooperation and friendship on 6/3/64 (Carter 1996, p.225) No mention in Keesings.

5.) Gambia and Israel treaty of friendship from October 1966 (Issue of Africa Report December 1966) No mention in Keesings. Check Africa Report—issue not in library. Ratified by Gambia 4/1/67 (Africa Report 6/67)

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.

10.) 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)

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.

Soviet Successor States:

1. India and Ukraine, Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation, signed 27 March 1992. LexNex. Faxed Indian Embassy in Washington 5/5/04. Faxed Ukrainian Mission to UN 6/17/04. Faxed India MFA 7/25/04. Emailed Ukraine Embassy to US 7/27/04.

2. Ukraine and Estonia, Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation, signed 26 May 1992. LexNex. Emailed Ukrainian Mission to UN 5/6/04. Faxed Ukrainian Mission to UN 6/17/04. Emailed Ukraine Embassy to US 7/27/04

3. Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan, Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation, and Mutual Assistance, signed 24 June 1992. LexNex. Keesing's. Faxed Kazakh Embassy in Washington 5/14/04. Faxed Kazakh MFA 6/22/04. Faxed Uzbek MFA 6/22/04.

4. Ukraine and Uzbekistan, Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation, signed 25 August 1992. LexNex. Emailed Ukrainian Mission to UN 5/6/04. Faxed Ukrainian Mission to UN 6/17/04. Faxed Uzbek MFA 6/22/04. Emailed Ukraine Embassy to US 7/27/04

5. Uzbekistan and Kyrgyzstan Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation, and Mutual Assistance around 9/29/92 Keesings LexNex—report of mutual defense provision. Appears to be an alliance. Faxed Kyrgyz Embassy in Washington 5/6/04. Faxed Uzbek MFA 6/22/04. Faxed Kyrgyz MFA 6/22/04.

6. Mongolia and Ukraine, Treaty on Friendly Relations and Cooperation, signed 5 November 1992. LexNex. Emailed Ukrainian Mission to UN 5/6/04. Emailed Mongolian Embassy in Washington 5/7/05. Faxed Ukrainian Mission to UN 6/17/04. Emailed Ukraine Embassy to US 7/27/04

7. Ukraine and Azerbaijan, Treaty of Friendship signed on or about 10 December 1992. LexNex. Emailed Ukrainian Mission to UN 5/6/04. Faxed Azerbaijan MFA 6/16/04. Faxed Ukrainian Mission to UN 6/17/04. Emailed Ukraine Embassy to US 7/27/04

8. Tajikistan and Kazakhstan, Treaty of Friendship, signed 13 January 1993. LexNex. Faxed Kazakh Embassy in Washington 5/14/04. Faxed Kazakh MFA 6/22/04.

9. Georgia and Ukraine sign Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation, and Mutual Assistance 4/13/93 Keesings LexNex Not enough info re content to judge. Emailed Ukrainian Mission to UN 5/6/04. Faxed Georgian UN Mission 5/7/04. Faxed Ukrainian Mission to UN 6/17/04. Emailed Ukraine Embassy to US 7/27/04

10. Armenia and Georgia sign treaty of friendship 5/19/1993. Russia and Eurasia documents annual 1999 vol 2. extended 11-20-98 by the Tbilisi Declaration, and again 9-29-99 (which we have). Mentioned in LexNex and Keesings. Armenian Embassy Official tells me this treaty was superceded by the 2001 agreement. Emailed Armenian Embassy in Washington 5/7/04. Faxed Georgian UN Mission 5/7/04. Emailed Armenian MFA (referred by embassy) 5/12/04.

11. Turkmenistan and Kazakhstan, Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation, signed 19 May 1993. LexNex. Faxed Turkmen Embassy in Washington 5/5/04. Faxed Kazakh Embassy in Washington 5/14/04. Faxed Kazakh MFA 6/22/04.

12. 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.

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

14. Kazakhstan and Mongolia, Treaty of Friendly Relations and Cooperation, signed 22 October 1993. LexNex. Emailed Mongolian Embassy in Washington 5/7/05. Faxed Kazakh Embassy in Washington 5/14/04. Faxed Kazakh MFA 6/22/04.

15. Lithuania and Kazakhstan, Treaty of Mutual Understanding and Cooperation, signed on or about 7 November 1993. LexNex. Emailed Lithuanian Embassy in Washington 5/4/04. Faxed Kazakh Embassy in Washington 5/14/04. Faxed Kazakh MFA 6/22/04.

16. Ukraine and Kazakhstan, Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation, signed on or about 20 January 1994. LexNex. Emailed Ukrainian Mission to UN 5/6/04. Faxed Kazakh Embassy in Washington 5/14/04. Faxed Ukrainian Mission to UN 6/17/04. Faxed Kazakh MFA 6/22/04. Emailed Ukraine Embassy to US 7/27/04

17. Georgia and Ukraine, Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation, signed 9 Janurary 1995. LexNex. Emailed Ukrainian Mission to UN 5/6/04. Faxed Georgian UN Mission 5/7/04. Faxed Ukrainian Mission to UN 6/17/04. Emailed Ukraine Embassy to US 7/27/04

18. Brazil and Ukraine, Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation, signed on or about 26 October 1995. LexNex. Emailed Ukrainian Mission to UN 5/6/04. Faxed Ukrainian Mission to UN 6/17/04. Emailed Ukraine Embassy to US 7/27/04

19. India and Armenia, Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation, signed 14 December 1995. LexNex. Faxed Indian Embassy in Washington 5/5/04. Emailed Armenian MFA (referred by embassy) 5/12/04. Faxed India MFA 7/25/04.

20. Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan, Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation, and Mutual Assistance, signed 16 January 1996. LexNex. Faxed Turkmen Embassy in Washington 5/5/04. Faxed Uzbek MFA 6/22/04.

21. Azerbaijan and Georgia, Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation, and Mutual Security, signed 8 March 1996. Faxed Georgian UN Mission 5/7/04. Faxed Azerbaijan MFA 6/16/04.

22. Azerbaijan and Georgia, Declaration of Peace, Stability, and Cooperation in the Caucasus, signed 8 March 1996. Faxed Georgian UN Mission 5/7/04. Faxed Azerbaijan MFA 6/16/04.

23. 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.

24. Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, and Uzbekistan, Permanent Friendship Treaty, signed 10 January 1997. LexNex. Faxed Kyrgyz Embassy in Washington 5/6/04. Faxed Kazakh Embassy in Washington 5/14/04. Faxed Kazakh MFA 6/22/04. Faxed Kyrgyz MFA 6/22/04. Faxed Uzbek MFA 6/22/04.

25. Azerbaijan and Kyrgyzstan, Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation, signed on or about 23 April 1997. LexNex. Faxed Kyrgyz Embassy in Washington 5/6/04. Faxed Azerbaijan MFA 6/16/04. Faxed Kyrgyz MFA 6/22/04.

26. Uzbekistan and Ukraine, Treaty of Friendship, signed on or about 19 February 1998. LexNex. Emailed Ukrainian Mission to UN 5/6/04. Faxed Ukrainian Mission to UN 6/17/04. Faxed Uzbek MFA 6/22/04. Emailed Ukraine Embassy to US 7/27/04

27. Ukraine and Macedonia, Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation, signed on or about 16 December 1998. LexNex. Emailed Ukrainian Mission to UN 5/6/04. Faxed and Emailed Macedonian MFA 6/17/04. Faxed Ukrainian Mission to UN 6/17/04. Emailed Ukraine Embassy to US 7/27/04

28. Kyrgyzstan and Italy, Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation, signed on or about 6 March 1999. LexNex. Fax to Italy 4/26/04 Faxed Kyrgyz Embassy in Washington 5/6/04. Italian MFA will send when they get it. Faxed Kyrgyz MFA 6/22/04.

29. Azerbaijan and Ukraine, Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation, and Partnership, signed 16 March 2000. Emailed Ukrainian Mission to UN 5/6/04. Faxed Azerbaijan MFA 6/16/04. Faxed Ukrainian Mission to UN 6/17/04. Emailed Ukraine Embassy to US 7/27/04

30. Tajikistan and Uzbekistan, Treaty of Eternal Friendship, signed 15 June 2000. LexNex. Faxed Uzbek MFA 6/22/04.

31. Tajikistan and Ukraine, Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation, signed on or about 6 July 2001. LexNex. Emailed Ukrainian Mission to UN 5/6/04. Faxed Ukrainian Mission to UN 6/17/04. Emailed Ukraine Embassy to US 7/27/04

32. Armenia and Georgia, Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation, and Bilateral Security, signed 23 October 2001. Emailed Armenian Embassy in Washington 5/7/04. Faxed Georgian UN Mission 5/7/04. Emailed Armenian MFA (referred by embassy) 5/12/04.

33. Kyrgyzstan and Armenia, Treaty of Friendship, Peace, and Cooperation, signed on or about 4 April 2002. LexNex. Faxed Kyrgyz Embassy in Washington 5/6/04. Emailed Armenian Embassy in Washington 5/7/04. Emailed Armenian MFA (referred by embassy) 5/12/04. Faxed Kyrgyz MFA 6/22/04.

34. Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan, Treaty on Allied Relations, signed on or about 26 December 2003. LexNex. Faxed Kyrgyz Embassy in Washington 5/6/04. Faxed Kazakh Embassy in Washington 5/14/04. Faxed Kazakh MFA 6/22/04. Faxed Kyrgyz MFA 6/22/04.

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.

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.

6.) 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.

7.) 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.

8.) India and Mongolia, defense cooperation treaty, signed on or about 3 January 2001 by heads of government. Faxed Indian Embassy in Washington 5/5/04. Emailed Mongolian Embassy in Washington 5/7/05. Faxed India MFA 7/25/04.

9.) North Korea and Mongolia, Treaty of Friendship, signed on or about 8 August 2002. LexNex. Emailed Mongolian Embassy in Washington 5/7/05.

10.) Algeria and Italy, Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation, and Good Neighborliness, signed 27 January 2003. LexNex. Fax to Italy 4/26/04. Italian MFA will send when they get it.

11.) Portugal and Tunisia, Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation, signed 17 June 2003. LexNex. Faxed Portuguese MFA 5/5/04. Portuguese MFA says not yet published—refers me to www.gddc.pt, but not yet listed. Mailed letter to Tunisian Embassy in Washington 6/17/04.

12.) 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.