

Country/entity	Senegal Casamance
Region	Africa (excl MENA)
Agreement name	Toubacouta Communique
Date	29 Mar 1991
Agreement status	Multiparty signed/agreed
Interim arrangement	Yes

Agreement/conflict level Intrastate/intrastate conflict

Senegal-Casamance Conflict (1982 -)

Since 1982, the separatist movement known as the Movement des Forces Democratiques de la Casamance (MFDC) has fought the Senegalese Government for independence. Despite a great level of ethnic diversity, 60 per cent of Casamance's population belong to the Diola and the conflict is often labelled the Affaire Diola by the Senegalese state. Cultural differences include higher proportion of Animist practices, particularly around the regional capital of Ziguinchor, and an egalitarian socio-economic approach. Attempts by the Senegalese government at state-building, first favoured the French and then Wolof languages to the detriment to other national languages - policies that were rejected by the residents of Casamance. Attempts at co-opting regional elites also occurred at the expense of the Diola, due to the lack of hierarchical practices in local culture.

Land grievances emerged following the nationalisation of communally-owned land in 1964. Moreover, a lack of investment, led to problems in the local labour market, particularly following an influx of northerners in to the southern region. In the early 1980s tensions peaked following student and football protests, leading to a large protest on December 26, 1982, and hundreds of arrests. When sentencing commenced the following December, violence increased. Mediation attempts saw the signing of a ceasefire between the MFDC's military-wing, Atika, which split into two factions, Front Nord and Front Sud.

The first ceasefire was signed in 1991 with little participation from the broader MFDC and violence erupted again in 1992. A second ceasefire was signed in July 1993 by a more representative group from the MFDC, however, the situation escalated once more four months later following the release of the Chary report, by the French historian Jacques Chary, which dispelled the significance of Casamance's independent historical governance. Fighting and human rights abuses increased between 1995-1998 until another peace process began in 1999. However, the conflict remains unsolved and has internationalized to Gineau-Bissau and Gambia.

Close
Senegal-Casamance Conflict (1982 -)

Stage Pre-negotiation/process

Conflict nature Government/territory

Peace process Casamance process

Parties -

Third parties -

Description A short agreement in which the parties agree to open formal negotiations to end the conflict. Issues covered include prisoner release and the cessation of hostilities.

Agreement document [SE_910329_ToubacoutaCommunique_EN.pdf \(opens in new tab\)](#) | [Download PDF](#)

Agreement document (original language) [SE_910329_ToubacoutaCommunique_FR.pdf \(opens in new tab\)](#)

Groups

Children/youth No specific mention.

Disabled persons No specific mention.

Elderly/age No specific mention.

Migrant workers No specific mention.

Racial/ethnic/national group No specific mention.

Religious groups No specific mention.

Indigenous people No specific mention.

Other groups No specific mention.

Refugees/displaced persons No specific mention.

Social class No specific mention.

Gender

Women, girls and gender No specific mention.

Men and boys No specific mention.

LGBTI No specific mention.

Family No specific mention.

State definition

Nature of state (general) No specific mention.

State configuration No specific mention.

Self determination No specific mention.

Referendum No specific mention.

State symbols No specific mention.

Independence/ secession No specific mention.

Accession/ unification No specific mention.

Border delimitation No specific mention.

Cross-border provision No specific mention.



Governance

Political institutions (new or reformed) No specific mention.

Elections No specific mention.

Electoral commission No specific mention.

Political parties reform No specific mention.

Civil society No specific mention.

Traditional/religious leaders No specific mention.

Public administration No specific mention.

Constitution No specific mention.

Power sharing

Political power sharing No specific mention.

Territorial power sharing No specific mention.

Economic power sharing No specific mention.

Military power sharing No specific mention.

Human rights and equality

Human rights/RoL general No specific mention.

Bill of rights/similar No specific mention.

Treaty incorporation No specific mention.

Civil and political rights No specific mention.

Socio-economic rights No specific mention.

Rights related issues

Citizenship No specific mention.

Democracy No specific mention.

Detention procedures No specific mention.

Media and communication No specific mention.

Mobility/access No specific mention.

Protection measures No specific mention.

Other No specific mention.

Rights institutions

NHRI No specific mention.

Regional or international human rights institutions No specific mention.

Justice sector reform

Criminal justice and emergency law No specific mention.

State of emergency provisions No specific mention.

Judiciary and courts No specific mention.

Prisons and detention No specific mention.

Traditional Laws No specific mention.

Socio-economic reconstruction

Development or socio-economic reconstruction No specific mention.

National economic plan No specific mention.

Natural resources No specific mention.

International funds No specific mention.

Business No specific mention.

Taxation No specific mention.

Banks No specific mention.

Land, property and environment

Land reform/rights No specific mention.

Pastoralist/nomadism rights No specific mention.

Cultural heritage No specific mention.

Environment No specific mention.

Water or riparian rights or access No specific mention.

Security sector

Security Guarantees No specific mention.

Ceasefire Security sector→Ceasefire→Ceasefire provision
Page 1...The two delegations have reached the following conclusions:
1. The immediate cessation of all MFDC military activities
2. The return to their bases of the armed forces and the security forces
3. The release of all prisoners
4. The opening of negotiations between representatives of the President of the Republic and representatives of the MFDC
5. The MFDC delegation commit to suspend all reprisal measures against traitors, while also demanding an immediate stop to arrests (of their members)

Police No specific mention.

Armed forces Page 1, 2: The return to their bases of the armed forces and the security forces

DDR No specific mention.

Intelligence services No specific mention.

Parastatal/rebel and opposition group forces Page 1, 1: The immediate cessation of all MFDC military activities
Page 1, 5: The MFDC delegation commit to suspend all reprisal measures against traitors, while also demanding an immediate stop to arrests (of their members)

Withdrawal of foreign forces No specific mention.

Corruption No specific mention.

Crime/organised crime No specific mention.

Drugs No specific mention.

Terrorism No specific mention.

Transitional justice

Transitional justice general No specific mention.

Amnesty/pardon No specific mention.

Courts	No specific mention.
Mechanism	No specific mention.
Prisoner release	Page 1...The two delegations have reached the following conclusions: ... 3. The release of all prisoners
Vetting	No specific mention.
Victims	No specific mention.
Missing persons	No specific mention.
Reparations	No specific mention.
Reconciliation	No specific mention.
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Implementation	
UN signatory	No specific mention.
Other international signatory	No specific mention.
Referendum for agreement	No specific mention.
International mission/force/similar	No specific mention.
Enforcement mechanism	No specific mention.
Related cases	No specific mention.
Source	Jean Claude Marut (2010) Le Conflit de Casamance: ce que disent les armes, Paris: Editions Karthala
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