Country/entity	Senegal Casamance
Region	Africa (excl MENA)
Agreement name	General Peace Agreement Between the Government of the Republic of Senegal and Le Mouvement des Forces Démocratiques de la Casamance (MFDC) (Ziguinchor Agreement)
Date	30 Dec 2004
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 Democratises 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 hierarchal 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	Framework/substantive - partial
Conflict nature	Government/territory
Peace process	Casamance process
Parties	For the MFDC: Abbot Augustin Diamacoune SENGHOR For the Republic of Senegal: Master Ousmane NGOM, Minister of Interior Department Initialed by the President of the Republic Mr. S.E Master Abdoulaye Wade

Third parties	-
Description	This short framework agreement between the Government of Senegal and the MFDC covers a range of issues including DDR for MFDC combatants, and the depollution, demining and reconstruction of Casamance.

Agreement document	SE_041230_ZiguinchorAgreement_tr.pdf (opens in new tab) | Download PDF

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	Groups→Refugees/displaced persons→Rhetorical Page 2, Article 4: REVIVAL OF ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL ACTIVITIES, 2: The State commits to take all permissible measures to facilitate the return of the refugees and displaced persons to their homes and to provide the support necessary to their social reinsertion.
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	Page 1, Article 2: GUARANTEE AND CONSOLIDATION OF THE AGREEMENT, 1: In order to monitor the peace process and to peacefully resolve the potential disputes which may occur, a Peace Agreement Supervisory Council (C.S.A.P.) composed of representatives of the State, MFDC, civil society and any other relevant organisation, shall be created. Only the interpretation of the provisions of the Peace agreement and the additional protocols, other than penal offences and litigations which are patently civil, fall within the competence of the Council. It will seize the initiative itself in order to prevent difficulties and can, in this manner, be called upon by any person or structure involved in the peace process and the reconstruction of Casamance. Page 2, Article 4: REVIVAL OF ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL ACTIVITIES, 1: The State urges the ANRAC to mobilize NGOs and Specialist companies in depollution, in partnership with the Army and the MFDC ex-combatants, to begin without delay the humanitarian demining of Casamance in order to facilitate the resumption of the economic activities.
Traditional/ religious leaders	Page 2, Article 3: REINTEGRATION OF WAR VETERANS, 3: The Parties engage the Community of Casamance Leaders, the Casamance customary and religious notabilities, to foster a culture of forgiveness and reconciliation allowing the return and the reintegration of the MFDC ex-combatants in their villages of origin.
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	Page 1, First Article: PURPOSE OF THE PRESENT AGREEMENT, 1: The law of amnesty having already come into effect, the State commits to ensure, in Casamance like everywhere else throughout the land, general safety and freedom of movement of people and goods, and to guarantee, in compliance with the Constitution, the exercise of fundamental freedoms, in particular those of thought and expression in order to promote political dialogue in the natural region of Casamance.
Bill of rights/similar	No specific mention.
Treaty incorporation	No specific mention.
Civil and political rights	Human rights and equality→Civil and political rights→Thought, opinion, conscience and religion Page 1, First Article: PURPOSE OF THE PRESENT AGREEMENT, 1: The law of amnesty having already come into effect, the State commits to ensure, in Casamance like everywhere else throughout the land, general safety and freedom of movement of people and goods, and to guarantee, in compliance with the Constitution, the exercise of fundamental freedoms, in particular those of thought and expression in order to promote political dialogue in the natural region of Casamance.
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	Page 1, First Article: PURPOSE OF THE PRESENT AGREEMENT, 1: The law of amnesty having already come into effect, the State commits to ensure, in Casamance like everywhere else throughout the land, general safety and freedom of movement of people and goods, and to guarantee, in compliance with the Constitution, the exercise of fundamental freedoms, in particular those of thought and expression in order to promote political dialogue in the natural region of Casamance.
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	Socio-economic reconstruction→Development or socio-economic reconstruction→Socio-economic development Page 1, Preamble:...Convinced of the need to establish a climate of trust between the head representatives and determined move forward after two decades of mistrust; Reaffirming the pertinence of the frustrations felt by a section of the population of Casamance, and also the need for corrective action through the implementation of a development programme specific to this natural region; Page 2, Article 3: REINTEGRATION OF WAR VETERANS, 2: The Parties accept the principle of organizing, with the assistance of ANRAC, the necessary training to help the MFDC ex-combatants who wish to be financed for income-generation projects, in the sectors which interest them. Page 2, Article 4: REVIVAL OF ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL ACTIVITIES, 1: The State urges the ANRAC to mobilize NGOs and Specialist companies in depollution, in partnership with the Army and the MFDC ex-combatants, to begin without delay the humanitarian demining of Casamance in order to facilitate the resumption of the economic activities. Page 2, Article 4: REVIVAL OF ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL ACTIVITIES, 3: The State commits to ensure the reconstruction of Casamance as envisaged in the Agreement Protocol on the technical aspects of the peace process.
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	Page 2, Article 2: GUARANTEE AND CONSOLIDATION OF THE AGREEMENT, 4: The Parties will provide ANRAC with any information which is likely to facilitate the region's depollution programme. Within this framework, the general modes of participation of each of the Parties in this specific section of the reconstruction appear in the Protocol agreement on the technical aspects of the peace process. Page 2, Article 4: REVIVAL OF ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL ACTIVITIES, 1: The State urges the ANRAC to mobilize NGOs and Specialist companies in depollution, in partnership with the Army and the MFDC ex-combatants, to begin without delay the humanitarian demining of Casamance in order to facilitate the resumption of the economic activities.
Water or riparian rights or access	No specific mention.

Security sector

Security Guarantees	No specific mention.
Ceasefire	Security sector→Ceasefire→Ceasefire provision Page 1, First Article: PURPOSE OF THE PRESENT AGREEMENT, 2: The MFDC solemnly decide to definitively renounce armed conflict and the use of violence in conducting the political struggle which they believe they should guide. Page 2, Article 2: GUARANTEE AND CONSOLIDATION OF THE AGREEMENT, 2: The Parties commit to establish a monitoring group comprised of Government representatives, soldiers, MFDC ex-combatants and representatives of the political wing of the MFDC. The group will be responsible for implementing the demobilization process for the military wing of the MFDC and the storage of their weapons under control of the ICRC, the RADDHO and the AJAC.
Police	No specific mention.

Armed forces	No specific mention.
DDR	Security sector→DDR→DDR programmes Page 2, Article 2: GUARANTEE AND CONSOLIDATION OF THE AGREEMENT, 2: The Parties commit to establish a monitoring group comprised of Government representatives, soldiers, MFDC ex-combatants and representatives of the political wing of the MFDC. The group will be responsible for implementing the demobilization process for the military wing of the MFDC and the storage of their weapons under control of the ICRC, the RADDHO and the AJAC. Page 2, Article 3: REINTEGRATION OF WAR VETERANS, 1: The State of Senegal accepts, exceptionally, to integrate the MFDC ex-combatants into the paramilitary bodies, in accordance with the principle of voluntary service and the conditions in force. Page 2, Article 3: REINTEGRATION OF WAR VETERANS, 2: The Parties accept the principle of organizing, with the assistance of ANRAC, the necessary training to help the MFDC ex-combatants who wish to be financed for income-generation projects, in the sectors which interest them. Page 2, Article 3: REINTEGRATION OF WAR VETERANS, 3: The Parties engage the Community of Casamance Leaders, the Casamance customary and religious notabilities, to foster a culture of forgiveness and reconciliation allowing the return and the reintegration of the MFDC ex-combatants in their villages of origin.
Intelligence services	No specific mention.

Parastatal/rebel and opposition group forces	Page 1, First Article: PURPOSE OF THE PRESENT AGREEMENT, 2: The MFDC solemnly decide to definitively renounce armed conflict and the use of violence in conducting the political struggle which they believe they should guide. Page 2, Article 2: GUARANTEE AND CONSOLIDATION OF THE AGREEMENT, 2: The Parties commit to establish a monitoring group comprised of Government representatives, soldiers, MFDC ex-combatants and representatives of the political wing of the MFDC. The group will be responsible for implementing the demobilization process for the military wing of the MFDC and the storage of their weapons under control of the ICRC, the RADDHO and the AJAC. Page 2, Article 2: GUARANTEE AND CONSOLIDATION OF THE AGREEMENT, 3: The MFDC commits to confine, disarm and demobilize its military component according to the procedures defined by the National agency for the Revival of Economic and social activities in Casamance (ANRAC). Page 2, Article 2: GUARANTEE AND CONSOLIDATION OF THE AGREEMENT, 5: The Parties commit to immediately appoint delegates to the Conciliation committee which is tasked with starting direct negotiations without delay. The MFDC may be assisted by any relevant person whom they consider to be useful and necessary. Page 2, Article 3: REINTEGRATION OF WAR VETERANS, 1: The State of Senegal accepts, exceptionally, to integrate the MFDC ex-combatants into the paramilitary bodies, in accordance with the principle of voluntary service and the conditions in force. Page 2, Article 3: REINTEGRATION OF WAR VETERANS, 2: The Parties accept the principle of organizing, with the assistance of ANRAC, the necessary training to help the MFDC ex-combatants who wish to be financed for income-generation projects, in the sectors which interest them. Page 2, Article 3: REINTEGRATION OF WAR VETERANS, 3: The Parties engage the Community of Casamance Leaders, the Casamance customary and religious notabilities, to foster a culture of forgiveness and reconciliation allowing the return and the reintegration of the MFDC ex-combatants in their villages of origin.
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	Transitional justice→Amnesty/pardon→Amnesty/pardon proper Page 1, First Article: PURPOSE OF THE PRESENT AGREEMENT, 1: The law of amnesty having already come into effect, the State commits to ensure, in Casamance like everywhere else throughout the land, general safety and freedom of movement of people and goods, and to guarantee, in compliance with the Constitution, the exercise of fundamental freedoms, in particular those of thought and expression in order to promote political dialogue in the natural region of Casamance.
Courts	No specific mention.
Mechanism	No specific mention.
Prisoner release	No specific mention.
Vetting	No specific mention.
Victims	No specific mention.
Missing persons	No specific mention.
Reparations	No specific mention.
Reconciliation	Page 2, Article 3: REINTEGRATION OF WAR VETERANS, 3: The Parties engage the Community of Casamance Leaders, the Casamance customary and religious notabilities, to foster a culture of forgiveness and reconciliation allowing the return and the reintegration of the MFDC ex-combatants in their villages of origin.

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	Page 1, Article 2: GUARANTEE AND CONSOLIDATION OF THE AGREEMENT, 1: In order to monitor the peace process and to peacefully resolve the potential disputes which may occur, a Peace Agreement Supervisory Council (C.S.A.P.) composed of representatives of the State, MFDC, civil society and any other relevant organisation, shall be created. Only the interpretation of the provisions of the Peace agreement and the additional protocols, other than penal offences and litigations which are patently civil, fall within the competence of the Council. It will seize the initiative itself in order to prevent difficulties and can, in this manner, be called upon by any person or structure involved in the peace process and the reconstruction of Casamance.