

<b>Country/entity</b>	Senegal Casamance
<b>Region</b>	Africa (excl MENA)
<b>Agreement name</b>	General Peace Agreement Between the Government of the Republic of Senegal and Le Mouvement des Forces Démocratiques de la Casamance (MFDC) (Ziguinchor Agreement)
<b>Date</b>	30 Dec 2004
<b>Agreement status</b>	Multiparty signed/agreed
<b>Interim arrangement</b>	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** 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  
Initiated 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.

---