

Country/entity	Comoros Anjouan
Region	Africa (excl MENA)
Agreement name	General Agreement on National Reconciliation (Fomboni Agreement)
Date	17 Feb 2001
Agreement status	Multiparty signed/agreed
Interim arrangement	Yes
Agreement/conflict level	Intrastate/intrastate conflict

Anjouan Crisis (1997 - 2008)

The two islands of Anjouan and Mohéli seceded from the Comoros in 1997, with Anjouan unilaterally declaring independence. In the aftermath of this declaration, political infighting emerged and several coup attempts in Anjouan took place. In 2001, a junta led by Mohamed Bacar was able to consolidate power and he began negotiations with the Comoros. These negotiations resulted in the establishment of a renewed Union of the Comoros with a peace agreement constitution. After the end of his formal term, Bacar launched another coup against his successor, declaring independence again in July 2007. In February 2008, the Comoros army, supported by France and members of the African Union, invaded the island and forced Bacar to leave and the declaration of independence to be withdrawn.

Close

Anjouan Crisis (1997 - 2008)

Stage	Framework/substantive - partial
Conflict nature	Government/territory
Peace process	Comoros-Anjouan islands peace process
Parties	For the Comorian Parties: Mohamed Fazul, Lt. Col. Said Abied, Abbas Djoussouf, Ali Toihiri, Saidali Bacar, Issamidine Adaine, Col. Azali Assouman For the international community: The organisation of African Unity (Francisco J.C. Madeira), The International Organisation of la Francophonie (Andre Salifou).

Third parties Signature:
For the international community: The organisation of African Unity (Francisco J.C. Madeira), The International Organisation of la Francophonie (Andre Salifou).

Organisation of the African Unity supported by the International Organisation of la Francophonie and the European Union and in the presence of the League of the Arab States and the United Nations,

Description Agreement sets up a new Comorian Ensemble and a power-sharing mechanism between the Ensemble and the islands, which will be granted the freedom to manage their own affairs. The constitution outlines which responsibilities will be divided between the Ensemble and the Islands. The agreement goes on to outline the Tripartite committee which is responsible for defining the tasks of the new Ensemble as well as an independent National Electoral Committee.

Agreement document [KM_010217_General Agreement on National Reconciliation \(Fomboni Agreement\).pdf \(opens in new tab\) | Download PDF](#)

Groups

Children/youth Groups→Children/youth→Substantive
Page 3, ii) FUNCTIONS AND ASSIGNMENTS
9, The Committee should:
... ii) initiate a sub-committee in charge of the collection of arms and of the reintegration of young people;

Disabled persons No specific mention.

Elderly/age No specific mention.

Migrant workers No specific mention.

**Racial/ethnic/
national group** No specific mention.

Religious groups Groups→Religious groups→Substantive
Page 3, 4. WE AGREE that the Constitution will determine the fields of competence of the Ensemble and of the Islands. However, the prerogatives relating to the sovereignty of the State (religion, nationality, currency, foreign relations and exterior defence) and the national symbols (the flag, the national anthem, the national emblems) are within the competence exclusively of the New Comorian Ensemble.

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) Page 1, 2. WE APPROVE, by this present General Agreement, the organisation of a New Comorian Ensemble, sole subject of international right, founded on the respect of national unity and the intangibility of the frontiers of the Comoros such as they are internationally acknowledged, in accordance with the resolution CM/Res.419 (XXV) concerning the admission of the Comoros to the Organisation of African Unity 18 July, 1975, and the resolution 3385 (XXX) of 12 November, 1975, concerning its admission to the United Nations.

State configuration [Summary] Agreement specifies on two occasions the importance of sharing power between the Ensemble and the Islands.

Self determination No specific mention.

Referendum Page 4, I. INSTRUMENTS:
 A. TRIPARTITE COMMITTEE FOR THE NATIONAL RECONCILIATION AND THE DEFINITION OF THE NEW COMORIAN ENSEMBLE
 ...
 11. This Committee is responsible for the undertaking of the following actions:
 ...
 iii) organising, conducting and supervising the constitutional referendum and all the other elections;
 ...
 B. NATIONAL ELECTORAL INDEPENDENT COMMITTEE OF APPROVAL
 II. TRANSITIONS AND TIME-TABLE
 ...
 ...
 ii) On the level of the Islands
 17. The period of transition will respect the following time-table:
 June, 2001 at the latest: Constitutional Referendum

Page 5, III. GUARANTEES:
 18. Within seven (7) days after the proclamation of the results of the constitutional referendum the Head of State will form the transitional Government of national unity mentioned in clause 15 above.

Page 6, V. FOLLOW-UP MECHANISM
 27. ... In this respect, the representatives of the international community could make all suggestions, particularly for the Constitution to be submitted to a referendum within the given time limits.

State symbols Page 3, 4. WE AGREE that the Constitution will determine the fields of competence of the Ensemble and of the Islands. However, the prerogatives relating to the sovereignty of the State (religion, nationality, currency, foreign relations and exterior defence) and the national symbols (the flag, the national anthem, the national emblems) are within the competence exclusively of the New Comorian Ensemble.

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)

Governance→Political institutions (new or reformed)→General references
Page 1, I. ... ii) Determined to start the urgent work of construction a New Comorian Ensemble responding adequately to the necessity of a sharing of powers by the Ensemble and the Islands, in order to let them concretise their legitimate aspirations and to administer and freely manage their own affairs and to enhance in that way their social and economic development;

Page 3, 4. WE AGREE that the Constitution will determine the fields of competence of the Ensemble and of the Islands. ...

Governance→Political institutions (new or reformed)→Temporary new institutions
Page 3, 5. WE THEREFORE DECIDE about the instruments, the time-table and the guarantees below:

I. INSTRUMENTS

A. TRIPARTITE COMMITTEE FOR THE NATIONAL RECONCILIATION AND THE DEFINITION OF THE NEW COMORIAN ENSEMBLE

6. The Committee is the principal body representing the Government, the Authority of Anjouan, the Political Forces and the Civil Society of the Islands.

7. It constitutes the appropriate Forum for a broad consensual debate aiming at arriving at a durable solution of the current crisis and at providing national reconciliation. It is also in charge of the drawing up of the project of the Fundamental Law. It is autonomous.

Page 4, B. NATIONAL ELECTORAL INDEPENDENT COMMITTEE OF APPROVAL

II. TRANSITIONS AND TIME-TABLE

13. The transitional Institutions are as follows:

i) On a National Level

14. The Head of State in office will assume the functions of President during the period of transition.

15. After adoption of the Constitution in accordance with the time-table established in clause 17 below, the government will be dissolved and replaced by a Transitional Government of national unity composed on a basis of equality, the practical forms of which will be defined by the Following-Up Committee. The Transitional Government of National Unity will be responsible for the initiation of the new institutions, among other things. Anjouan will join this Government according to forms which will be established subsequently.

Page 4, B. NATIONAL ELECTORAL INDEPENDENT COMMITTEE OF APPROVAL

II. TRANSITIONS AND TIME-TABLE

13. The transitional Institutions are as follows:

... ii) On the level of the Islands

16. The structures in force on the Islands will constitute to exercise their functions until the new structures have been initiated.

Page 4, B. NATIONAL ELECTORAL INDEPENDENT COMMITTEE OF APPROVAL

II. TRANSITIONS AND TIME-TABLE

... iii) Time-table

17 The period of transition will respect the following time-table:

... 31 December, 2001: Initiation of the new institutions.

Page 5, III. GUARANTEES

18. Within seven (7) days after the proclamation of the results of the constitutional referendum the Head of State will form the transitional Government of national unity mentioned in clause 15 above.

Elections

Page 4, B. NATIONAL ELECTORAL INDEPENDENT COMMITTEE OF APPROVAL
... 11. This Committee is responsible for the undertaking of the following actions:
i) revising the electoral code;
ii) sensitizing the voters and prepare electoral lists and cards;
iii) organising, conducting and supervising the constitutional referendum and all the other elections;
iv) approving and publishing the electoral results;

Page 5, III. GUARANTEES

... 19. The Head of State and the members of the transitional Government of National Unity as well as the president of the Committees and Sub-Committees envisaged by this Agreement who will not have handed in their resigned within the limit of (7) days after the adoption of the Constitution will not be eligible at the subsequent elections. The Head of State in office must pronounce himself before the forming of the Transitional Government of National Unity.

Page 5, III. GUARANTEES

... 21. The Comorian parties, signatories of this General Agreement engage to work together in order to create, on the Islands, a climate of trust and a context which is peaceful and favourable to free establishment, to free circulation of persons and goods, to feed and fair elections.

**Electoral
commission**

Page 4, B. NATIONAL ELECTORAL INDEPENDENT COMMITTEE OF APPROVAL
... 11. This Committee is responsible for the undertaking of the following actions:
i) revising the electoral code;
ii) sensitizing the voters and prepare electoral lists and cards;
iii) organising, conducting and supervising the constitutional referendum and all the other elections;
iv) approving and publishing the electoral results;

Page 4, B. NATIONAL ELECTORAL INDEPENDENT COMMITTEE OF APPROVAL

II. TRANSITIONS AND TIME-TABLE

13. The transitional Institutions are as follows:

... ii) On the level of the Islands

16. The structures in force on the Islands will constitute to exercise their functions until the new structures have been initiated.

Page 4, B. NATIONAL ELECTORAL INDEPENDENT COMMITTEE OF APPROVAL

II. TRANSITIONS AND TIME-TABLE

... iii) Time-table

17 The period of transition will respect the following time-table:

... 31 December, 2001: Initiation of the new institutions.

**Political parties
reform**

No specific mention.

Civil society

Page 1, I. WE, COMORIAN PARTIES, representing the Comorian Government and the Political forces supporting it in Mohéli and in the Grande Comore, the Anjouan Authority, the Opposition and the Civil Society of the Islands under the auspices of the Organisation of the African Unity supported by the International Organisation of la Francophonie and the European Union and in the presence of the League of the Arab States and the United Nations,

Page 3, 5. WE THEREFORE DECIDE about the instruments, the time-table and the guarantees below:

I. INSTRUMENTS

A. TRIPARTITE COMMITTEE FOR THE NATIONAL RECONCILIATION AND THE DEFINITION OF THE NEW COMORIAN ENSEMBLE

6. The Committee is the principal body representing the Government, the Authority of Anjouan, the Political Forces and the Civil Society of the Islands.

Page 3, i) COMPOSITION

8. The Committee is composed in the following way:

i) for each island, the Committee is composed of a delegation containing the same number of delegates which will represent, on an equal basis, the Government, the Authority of Anjouan and the Political Forces supporting them, the Political Forces of the Opposition and the Civil Society:

**Traditional/
religious leaders**

No specific mention.

**Public
administration**

No specific mention.

Constitution

Governance→Constitution→Constitutional reform/making

Page 3, 4. WE AGREE that the Constitution will determine the fields of competence of the Ensemble and of the Islands. However, the prerogatives relating to the sovereignty of the State (religion, nationality, currency, foreign relations and exterior defence) and the national symbols (the flag, the national anthem, the national emblems) are within the competence exclusively of the New Comorian Ensemble.

Page 3, 5. WE THEREFORE DECIDE about the instruments, the time-table and the guarantees below:

I. INSTRUMENTS

A. TRIPARTITE COMMITTEE FOR THE NATIONAL RECONCILIATION AND THE DEFINITION OF THE NEW COMORIAN ENSEMBLE

... 7. It constitutes the appropriate Forum for a broad consensual debate aiming at arriving at a durable solution of the current crisis and at providing national reconciliation. It is also in charge of the drawing up of the project of the Fundamental Law. It is autonomous.

Page 3, ii) FUNCTIONS AND ASSIGNMENTS

9, The Committee should:

i) initiate a technical sub-committee responsible for the drawing up of the Constitution of the New Comorian Ensemble and for the determining of the forms of its popularisation and its approval by way of referendum;

Page 4, I. INSTRUMENTS:

A. TRIPARTITE COMMITTEE FOR THE NATIONAL RECONCILIATION AND THE DEFINITION OF THE NEW COMORIAN ENSEMBLE

...

11. This Committee is responsible for the undertaking of the following actions:

... iii) organising, conducting and supervising the constitutional referendum and all the other elections;

...

II. TRANSITIONS AND TIME-TABLE

...

i) On a National level

...

15. After adoption of the Constitution in accordance with the time-table established in clause 17 below, the Government will be dissolved and replaced by a Transitional Government of

national unity composed on a basis of equality, the practical forms of which will be defined by the Follow-Up Committee. The Transitional Government of National Unity will be

responsible for the initiation of the new institutions, among other things. Anjouan will join this Government according to forms which will be established subsequently.

...

ii) On the level of the Islands

17. The period of transition will respect the following time-table: June, 2001 at the latest: Constitutional Referendum

Page 5, III. GUARANTEES:

18. Within seven (7) days after the proclamation of the results of the constitutional referendum the Head of State will form the transitional Government of national unity mentioned in clause 15 above.

19. The Head of State and the members of the transitional Government of National Unity as well as the presidents of the Committees and Sub-Committees envisaged by this



Power sharing

Political power sharing

Power sharing→Political power sharing→Executive coalition
State level

Pages

I. INSTRUMENTS

A. TRIPARTITE COMMITTEE FOR THE NATIONAL RECONCILIATION AND THE DEFINITION OF THE NEW COMORIAN ENSEMBLE

6. The Committee is the principal body representing the Government, the Authority of Anjouan, the Political Forces and the Civil Society of the Islands.

7. It constitutes the appropriate Forum for a broad consensual debate aiming at arriving at a durable solution of the current crisis and at providing national reconciliation. It is also in charge of the drawing up of the project of the Fundamental Law. It is autonomous.

i) COMPOSITION

8. The Committee is composed in the following way:

for each Island, the Committee is composed of a delegation containing the same number of delegates which will represent, on an equal basis, the Government, the Authority of Anjouan and the Political Forces supporting them, the Political Forces of the Opposition and the Civil Society;

ii) it draws up, adopts and initiates its own regulations;

ii) FUNCTIONS AND ASSIGNMENTS

9. The Committee should:

i) initiate a technical sub-committee responsible for the drawing up of the Constitution of the New Comorian Ensemble and for the determining of the forms of its popularisation and its approval by way of referendum;

ii) initiate a sub-committee in charge of the collection of arms and of the reintegration of young people;

iii) initiate all other working groups and/or Sub-Committees judged necessary for the effective accomplishment, within the given time, of the specific tasks assigned to them;

iv) within the framework of its assignments, its decisions are taken by consensus and become binding for all the institutions of the country.

Page 4, B. NATIONAL ELECTORAL INDEPENDENT COMMITTEE OF APPROVAL

10. A National Electoral Independent Committee of Approval will be initiated. Its members will be appointed by the Tripartite Committee for the national reconciliation and the definition of the New Comorian Ensemble.

11. This Committee is responsible for the undertaking of the following actions:

i) revising the electoral code;

ii) sensitizing the voters and prepare electoral lists and cards;

Territorial power sharing Power sharing→Territorial power sharing→Federal or similar sub-divided government
Page 1, I. ... ii) Determined to start the urgent work of construction a New Comorian Ensemble responding adequately to the necessity of a sharing of powers by the Ensemble and the Islands, in order to let them concretise their legitimate aspirations and to administer and freely manage their own affairs and to enhance in that way their social and economic development;

Page 1-2, 3. WE ENGAGE to undertake the urgent work of its construction and to respond adequately to the necessity of a sharing of the power between the Ensemble and the Islands in order to let those entities concretise their legitimate aspirations to administer and freely manage their own affairs.

Economic power sharing No specific mention.

Military power sharing No specific mention.

Human rights and equality

Human rights/RoL general Page 1, I. ... iv) Conscious also of the absolute necessity of introducing justice, equality, democracy, good governance, respect of human rights and public liberties and to engage all Comorians in this process;

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 Page 1, I. ... iv) Conscious also of the absolute necessity of introducing justice, equality, democracy, good governance, respect of human rights and public liberties and to engage all Comorians in this process;

Detention procedures No specific mention.

Media and communication No specific mention.

Mobility/access	Page 5, III. GUARANTEES ... 21. The Comorian parties, signatories of this General Agreement engage to work together in order to create, on the Islands, a climate of trust and a context which is peaceful and favourable to free establishment, to free circulation of persons and goods, to feed and fair elections.
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→Infrastructure and reconstruction
Page 1, I. ... ii) Determined to start the urgent work of construction a New Comorian Ensemble responding adequately to the necessity of a sharing of powers by the Ensemble and the Islands, in order to let them concretise their legitimate aspirations and to administer and freely manage their own affairs and to enhance in that way their social and economic development;

National economic plan No specific mention.

Natural resources No specific mention.

International funds Page 5, IV. SUPPLEMENTARY MEASURES
23. The signatory parties ask the international community to vouch for the engagements taken within the framework of this agreement and to provide the Comoros with technical, logistic and financial aid allowing it to making sure a peaceful transition, to guarantee the good realisation of the electoral process and to help with the establishment of the New Comorian Ensemble.

Page 5, IV. SUPPLEMENTARY MEASURES
... 24. They also ask the international community to consider the fact that the Comoros now enter into a stage allowing the progressive section of the development work. Moreover they appeal to the international community to organize, in collaboration with the transitional government of national unity, a Donors' conference.

Page 5, IV. SUPPLEMENTARY MEASURES
... 25. With regard taken to the specificity of the Anjouan situation, the signatory parties expressly ask the international community to grant this entity the indispensable human, financial and material resources for the carrying out of the stipulations of this present General Agreement.

Business Page 5, IV. SUPPLEMENTARY MEASURES
... 26. They also ask the Organization of African Unity to lift the embargo concerning Anjouan from the signing of this present General Agreement.

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** Page 5, III. GUARANTEES
... 20. Through their neutrality they guarantee security, peace and equality during the transition.

Ceasefire No specific mention.

Police No specific mention.

Armed forces No specific mention.

DDR Security sector→DDR→Demilitarisation provisions
Page 3, ii) FUNCTIONS AND ASSIGNMENTS
9, The Committee should:
... ii) initiate a sub-committee in charge of the collection of arms and of the reintegration of young people;

**Intelligence
services** No specific mention.

**Parastatal/rebel
and opposition
group forces** No specific mention.

**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 No specific mention.

Vetting No specific mention.

Victims No specific mention.

Missing persons No specific mention.

Reparations No specific mention.

Reconciliation Page 1, I. ... iii) Conscious of the necessity to create conditions favourable of the reinforcement of the national cohesion, through dialogue and consultation, in order to promote the factors uniting us and to work together in order to concretise the superior interests of our populations;

Page 3, 5. WE THEREFORE DECIDE about the instruments, the time-table and the guarantees below:

I. INSTRUMENTS

A. TRIPARTITE COMMITTEE FOR THE NATIONAL RECONCILIATION AND THE DEFINITION OF THE NEW COMORIAN ENSEMBLE

6. The Committee is the principal body representing the Government, the Authority of Anjouan, the Political Forces and the Civil Society of the Islands.

7. It constitutes the appropriate Forum for a broad consensual debate aiming at arriving at a durable solution of the current crisis and at providing national reconciliation. It is also in charge of the drawing up of the project of the Fundamental Law. It is autonomous.

Page 4, B. NATIONAL ELECTORAL INDEPENDENT COMMITTEE OF APPROVAL

10. A National Electoral Independent Committee of Approval will be initiated. Its members will be appointed by the Tripartite Committee for the national reconciliation an the definition of the New Comorian Ensemble.

Implementation

UN signatory No specific mention.

Other international signatory For the international community: The organisation of African Unity (Francisco J.C. Madeira), The International Organisation of la Francophonie (Andre Salifou).

Referendum for agreement No specific mention.

International mission/force/similar No specific mention.

Enforcement mechanism Page 6, V. FOLLOW-UP MECHANISM
27. A Follow-up committee, composed of the signatory parties and of representatives of the international community, coordinated by the latter, will be initiated in order to control, supervise, coordinate and take all measures considered necessary in order to guarantee the effective realization of all the stipulations of this present General Agreement and a strict following of the time-table.
In this respect, the representatives of the international community could make all suggestions, particularly for the Constitution to be submitted to a referendum within the given time limits.
The Follow-up Committee establishes and adopts its regulations.
This Committee will also be responsible for the arbitrating of all differences of opinion related to the carrying out of this present General Agreement.

Related cases No specific mention.

Source Uppsala Conflict Data Project, <http://ucdp.uu.se/downloads/fullpeace/com20010217.pdf>
