



**IN TRANSFORMATION
INITIATIVE**

Madagascar Case Study



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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

This case study gives an overview of the political crisis in Madagascar and the tumultuous peace and reconciliation process in the country. It details In Transformation Initiative's (ITI) engagement in Madagascar, particularly its support to the implementation of the Southern African Development Community (SADC) Roadmap and national reconciliation process. This process included improving relations between then President Hery Rajaonarimampianina and former presidents Marc Ravalomanana and Andry Rajoelina, as well as providing technical support on peace and reconciliation legislation. The lessons learnt will further strengthen the ITI model in peacebuilding and will be shared with the peacebuilding community to facilitate continuous reflection on the efficacy of various conflict management models, strategies and tools.

Madagascar was thrown into political crisis in 2009 by a coup d'état that saw then President Marc Ravalomanana replaced with Andry Rajoelina as head of state. The political crisis continued to deteriorate, resulting in a deep-rooted political impasse between the current and former presidents of the country. In the ensuing years, Madagascar has faced political instability with the terms of various reconciliation accords repeatedly violated. Power struggles have dominated the political landscape, interspersed with failed attempts to bring warring political leaders to the dialogue table. This stalemate seemed to have eased slightly when both Ravalomanana and Rajoelina declared, in December 2012 and January 2013 respectively, that they would not contest the May 2013 elections.¹ However, despite the democratic elections held in 2013, the political situation remained fragile.

Furthermore, the country's history of political instability has hampered any progress towards democratisation, with key democratic institutions unable to take root. Interventions by SADC, the African Union (AU) and the United Nations (UN) after 2009 called for dialogue between political stakeholders, but this has not happened. The 2018 crisis in the country – brought about by prohibitive electoral laws – seems to conform to the political script of instability characteristic of the country. Madagascar's poverty levels are reported to be among the highest in Africa, and it is imperative that the country be given concerted support to stabilise its politics.²

ITI's intervention in Madagascar was underpinned by the principles that supported South Africa's successful political transition. ITI became actively involved in Madagascar in November 2014 under the mandate of the South African government and with the support of former Ambassador to Madagascar Gert Grobler. ITI played a diplomatic role and also helped to facilitate dialogue, build capacity and provide technical support to the



Madagascar was thrown into political crisis in 2009 by a coup d'état

reconciliation commission. Based on the various activities implemented by ITI, the following lessons can be learnt.

- Peacebuilding interventions in countries with seemingly intractable conflicts like Madagascar require a long-term perspective with adaptive and innovative approaches to address systemic challenges.
- Access to high-level political leadership enables ITI to engage with strategic players who can make decisions in a conflict situation.
- ITI supports national reconciliation processes that follow an inclusive process with broad stakeholder participation. However, it can be challenging to motivate all role players to engage directly with one another. Therefore, it may be necessary in some instances to focus on engagements with willing participants, while working in a professional and transparent manner.
- Hosting civil society and religious leadership in South Africa to discuss the technical aspects, mechanisms and processes of South Africa's Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) broadens and informs stakeholders' own domestic processes.
- Helping leadership, special committees and civil society role players to refine their vision and objectives for a national reconciliation process can be done effectively by leveraging ITI's network of specialist consultants. Being able to bring in experts such as Advocate Howard Varney and Southern Africa expert Piers Pigou to assist on issues related to drafting legislation for reconciliation under the SADC roadmap had a significant impact on the overall success of the intervention.
- The political capital of individual ITI directors and associates is a critical factor in influencing how they are invited to support peace projects. It is primarily for this reason that ITI had a mandate from the South African government, a major player in SADC, to intervene in Madagascar.
- Sharing the South African experience through various strategies and activities continues to provide hope of peace for people in conflict areas.



Sharing
the South African
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of peace

INTRODUCTION

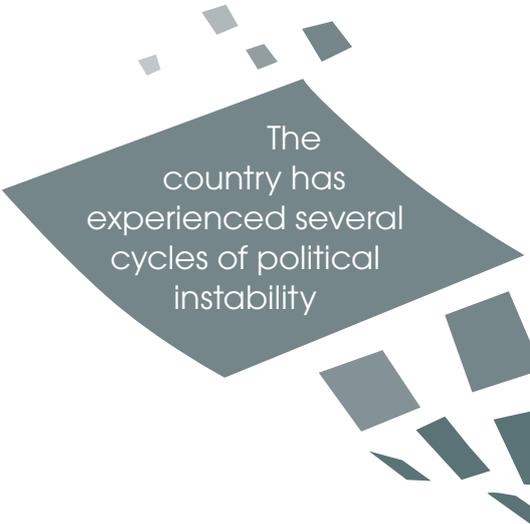
This case study forms part of a series of country case studies that capture lessons learnt from ITI's approach to and application of the South African transition model in various country initiatives. ITI's model of peacemaking initiatives is focused on sharing principles of the South African political transition. This gives countries the opportunity to learn from the South African experience, with the aim of supporting or strengthening their own efforts to establish peaceful political transitions or conflict settlements.

The background to this case study is based on ITI's project documentation, including research reports, annual grant reports and feedback summary reports on specific visits to Madagascar. Additionally, further details and first-hand accounts were given by ITI directors Roelf Meyer,³ Ivor Jenkin⁴ and Mohammed Bhabha,⁵ as well as former South African Ambassador to Madagascar Gert Grobler⁶ and renowned human rights lawyer Advocate Howard Varney.⁷ The case study information has been supplemented by news articles and research literature on Madagascar available in the public domain. This gives context to ITI's work in Madagascar at the time of the project, and provides more information on relevant political challenges and developments.

BACKGROUND TO POLITICAL CRISIS IN MADAGASCAR

Since independence from France in 1960, Madagascar has been plagued by political turmoil. Post-colonial conflicts have been triggered by ideological clashes, historical socio-economic exclusion and discrimination, and ethnic clashes, notably between the Merina and Côtier groups. Other instances of conflict have been sparked by protests demanding democracy or disputing electoral results, as seen in 1991 and 2002. Thousands of people have lost their lives during these violent episodes. Over time, these conflicts have divided the Malagasy people and fanned the flames of hostility and mistrust along ethnic lines.

More recently, the country has experienced several cycles of political instability, starting in 2009 and initiated by tensions between the country's then elected President Marc Ravalomanana⁸ and an opposition movement led by Andry Rajoelina, then the mayor of the capital city, Antananarivo. Mass protests in early 2009 and eventual military support for the ouster of President Ravalomanana culminated in his forced resignation from office.⁹ Rajoelina then seized power and, with other leaders, formed an interim self-declared transitional government, the High Transitional Authority (HAT). Ravalomanana fled the country and eventually settled in South Africa, living in exile. However, the former president's network of influence remained strong in Madagascar's political, economic and religious circles.¹⁰



The country has experienced several cycles of political instability

The unconstitutional change of government and resulting political impasse led to international condemnation. Several foreign governments implemented sanctions, which meant the suspension of aid, trade benefits and Madagascar's membership in multilateral bodies such as the AU and SADC. The political situation in the country also adversely affected economic growth and development efforts, while straining its relations with international donors.



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Mediation efforts were carried out by the SADC mediator – former Mozambican President Joaquim Chissano – and representatives of the AU and UN in mid-2009. Talks between Rajoelina, Ravalomanana and two former presidents, Albert Zafy¹² and Didier Ratsiraka,¹³ were held in Maputo, Mozambique.¹⁴ Following these discussions, a power-sharing agreement was signed on 9 August 2009. However, the agreement was soon abandoned by President Rajoelina when he appointed only members of his own political party to positions in the administration. Two additional rounds of talks were held in 2009, but participants were unable to agree on key terms. The joint mediation process by SADC, the AU and the UN continued into 2011.

This process saw a fourth agreement presented to the parties that came to be known as the SADC Roadmap, which was signed on 17 September 2011.¹⁵ The Roadmap was seen as a positive step in establishing political stability in Madagascar by outlining steps towards general elections. It created the Transitional Independent National Electoral Commission (CENI-T), appointed a prime minister and established several transitional institutions, including the Transitional Parliament, which consists of the National Assembly and the Senate.¹⁶

However, political instability in the country continued to worsen with a controversial political amnesty law implemented in 2012 that did not include Ravalomanana, creating an impasse in negotiations.¹⁷ The SADC mediation was also criticised for including past presidents who had been rejected by the Malagasy people. Furthermore, there were no consultations on the needs and aspirations of the Malagasy people in the mediation process.

This stalemate seemed to ease slightly when both Ravalomanana and Rajoelina declared, in December 2012 and January 2013 respectively, that they would not contest the May 2013 elections.¹⁸ These elections took place as envisaged in the SADC Roadmap. SADC observers and other members of the international community witnessed the process.

The outcome of the 2013 presidential elections saw Hery Rajaonarimampianina,¹⁹ supported by Rajoelina, win the election with 54% of the vote. He was sworn in on 25 January 2014. According to SADC,

(i)n pursuit of sustainable political and security stability in the Republic of Madagascar, Article 20 of the SADC Roadmap on Madagascar provides for the unconditional return of political exiles, including Marc Ravalomanana, the application of Amnesty Law and national reconciliation.²⁰

Although President Rajaonarimampianina's appointment seemed to signal an end to the political crisis, his term faced several issues. In addition to violating the SADC Roadmap by detaining Ravalomanana on his return to Madagascar, President Rajaonarimampianina faced a parliamentary impeachment vote in May 2015 for alleged repeated violations of the constitution. The vote to impeach was overturned by Madagascar's High Constitutional Court in June 2015.²¹ Consequently, President Rajaonarimampianina faced a lack of political support in Parliament and his ability to govern was severely limited.²²

The long history of political instability and conflict in Madagascar has resulted in deep fissures in Malagasy society, chequered by ethnic hostility and perceptions of social exclusion, inequality and elusive democracy. In order to restore political stability in the country it is necessary to reconcile the Malagasy people, especially the Merina and Côtiers, who have been at the centre of politically induced conflict. At the national level, it is necessary to reconcile political parties according to democratic principles. It was in this context that President Rajaonarimampianina, with a legal mandate, asked for South Africa's assistance, which led to ITI's becoming involved in the process of national reconciliation

ITI INVOLVEMENT IN MADAGASCAR

When ITI becomes involved in any country initiative, this is generally at the invitation of stakeholders in the specific country context or of a third party



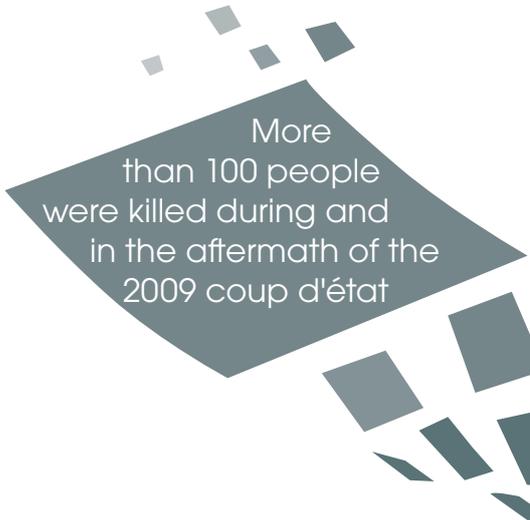
already involved in the country initiative, or under the mandate of the South African government. The decision to engage in any country is based on ITI's assessment of the context and the feasibility of its involvement providing meaningful support to stakeholders that may result in positive change.²³ The availability of adequate resources is also an important factor determining ITI's level and terms of involvement.

ITI's active involvement in Madagascar began in November 2014 and continued until the end of 2018. Initially, Ambassador Grobler acted as the main intermediary between President Rajaonarimampianina and ITI. At the request of President Rajaonarimampianina, South African President Jacob Zuma authorised Ambassador Grobler to spearhead South Africa's intervention in Madagascar. He in turn contacted ITI for assistance. This started a process that involved multiple ITI visits to the country, as well as reciprocal engagement in South Africa.²⁴ The main objective of ITI's involvement in Madagascar was to assist the Malagasy stakeholders in formulating and establishing a National Reconciliation Plan for Madagascar – one of the critical outstanding issues of the SADC Roadmap. This process was seen as crucial to future political stability, nation building, peace and economic growth in Madagascar.

According to ITI director Roelf Meyer, the broader objective of the engagement was to 'keep the reconciliation process alive – not an easy task with five living former presidents around, each with their own active constituency!'²⁵ Tensions between the former presidents emanated from long-running political differences and allegations of sidelining and sabotaging.

For example, Ravalomanana's government was accused of sabotaging Rajoelina by delaying the pay-out of funds for municipal infrastructure projects when Rajoelina was mayor of Antananarivo. Ravalomanana also shut down a television station owned by Rajoelina, allegedly for hosting former president Ratsiraka. There had also been a drawn-out conflict between Ratsiraka and Ravalomanana before the latter became president. These political conflicts, in turn, created ethnic divisions, particularly between the Merina and Côtiers.

ITI sought to support President Rajaonarimampianina by facilitating a number of dialogues, as well as launching technical and capacity-building assistance initiatives in both Madagascar and South Africa. Moreover, ITI's involvement in Madagascar included technical assistance on transitional justice processes such as reparation and truth-telling, as well as legislative advice on the drafting of an Act that supported the Council of Malagasy Fampihavanana, also known as the Madagascar Reconciliation Commission (MRC).²⁶ More than 100 people were killed during and in the aftermath of the 2009 coup d'état, while thousands have died in political clashes since Madagascar's independence. The loss of lives and continued instability have perpetuated a sense of division and hostility among the Malagasy, hence the need for the MRC.



More than 100 people were killed during and in the aftermath of the 2009 coup d'état

Assistance in this regard was supported by ITI's involving South African experts Advocate Howard Varney and Piers Pigou,²⁷ who provided in-depth advice and technical assistance to the MRC throughout the project.

ITI also engaged with members of the SADC Organ Troika,²⁸ comprising presidents Jakaya Kikwete of Tanzania, Hifikepunye Pohamba of Namibia and Jacob Zuma of South Africa, as well as with both South African ambassadors to Madagascar, namely Gert Grobler and his successor Maud Vuyelwa Dlomo.²⁹

In addition, the team made numerous visits to Madagascar to engage with Rajaonarimampianina, Ratsiraka, Zafy and Rajoelina. ITI also met with Ravalomanana in both South Africa and Madagascar, following his return to the country in October 2014.

The advisory services and support offered to stakeholders in Madagascar were well received and welcomed overall. However, the project still faced some challenges³⁰ over the period that ITI was involved. These included the fragile and unstable political situation, with tensions threatening to intensify at several points in the project, such as:

- Ravalomanana's unexpected return to Madagascar in October 2014;
- the lack of progress regarding reconciliation among political stakeholders;
- two impeachment attempts against Rajaonarimampianina; and,
- the introduction of prohibitive electoral laws in 2018 effectively barring Rajoelina and Ravalomanana from contesting the November 2018 elections, resulting in public protests.

Furthermore, implementation and acceptance of the SADC Roadmap was a challenge. This can be attributed to the fact that some Malagasy political leaders saw the involvement of SADC and the AU as unnecessary foreign interference. In this regard, ITI's emphasis on the principle of domestic ownership of the country's political process was well received, and contributed to the level of cooperation it received from various stakeholders in the country.

By assessing ITI's activities and interventions in Madagascar, several lessons can be drawn from its model and approach to peacebuilding.



Some Malagasy political leaders saw the involvement as unnecessary foreign interference

LESSONS LEARNT

ITI's approach to peacebuilding and working in countries undergoing conflict or political transition is based on the principles of inclusivity, trust and ownership.³¹ The importance of these principles was one of the major lessons emanating from the South African experience, and they formed a vital part of ITI's work in Madagascar. Although Madagascar's context and its history of political instability offered some challenges to the project, sharing the principles of the South African process remained valuable in supporting the process of attaining political stability and reconciliation in the country.

BUILDING TRUST

In Madagascar, distrust between key political stakeholders and their supporters has contributed significantly to the persisting periods of political instability and conflict. This mistrust emanates from political differences, intolerance for opposition and allegations of corruption and poor leadership. ITI recognises the vital role that building adequate trust between stakeholders plays in promoting any type of peace or reconciliation process. In its approach to the Madagascar case, ITI applied a principal belief of the organisation, namely that dialogue is the necessary vehicle through which stakeholders in a peace process are able to engage with one another to build trust and promote reconciliation.³²

Throughout the project period the ITI team focused on continuous one-on-one engagements between various key role players and listening to all stakeholders with whom it could engage, regardless of their position.³³ This ensured a free flow of ideas and opened channels of communication between role players, specifically the three presidents (Rajaonarimampianina, Ravalomanana and Rajoelina). It also kept ITI informed of developments. Supporting meetings between the three presidents not only overcame deep-rooted mistrust between the political actors but also aimed to achieve political will for and commitment to participating in and implementing the SADC Roadmap, with a specific focus on establishing a national reconciliation process.

With the support of Ambassador Grobler, ITI was able to provide comprehensive advisory support to President Rajaonarimampianina. Various bilateral meetings were held with the presidency for the duration of the project, where the team offered expert advice and guidance on the political transition in the country.

ITI also consulted with a broad range of relevant officials and stakeholders by hosting multiple meetings in Madagascar and hosting delegations in South Africa. Over the project period, the ITI team met with members of the diplomatic corps and civil society organisations. These included the Council of Christian Churches in Madagascar (FFKM), which was conducting a reconciliation process of its own at the time. ITI engaged with these role



Supporting meetings between the three presidents overcame deep-rooted mistrust

players to better understand their approach to the process and to solidify its transparency and neutrality as a facilitator. This level of honesty is a hallmark of ITI's approach and enables the team to work with stakeholders on all sides of a conflict.

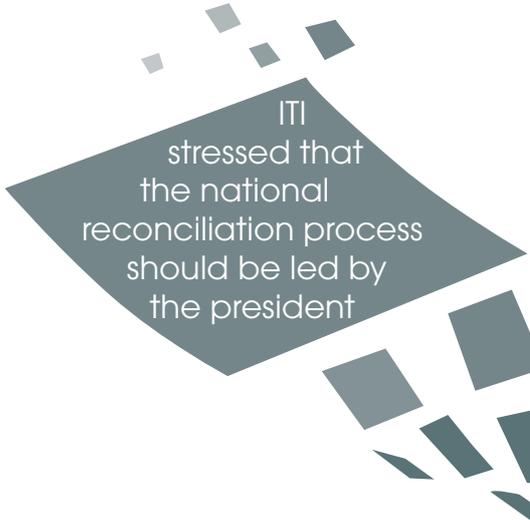
Throughout the ITI team emphasized that it was not there to prescribe but simply to give advice based on South Africa's own experience and lessons learnt. It consistently stressed that the national reconciliation process should be inclusive and led by the president, using the example of Nelson Mandela in South Africa, and urged all the stakeholders to work with and support the president in his national reconciliation strategy.³⁴

Through its advisory and non-interference approach, ITI was able to attain a high level of trust and acceptance among various role players.³⁵ This can be attributed to a number of factors, including the political capital of the ITI directorate through individuals such as Roelf Meyer and Ebrahim Ebrahim,³⁶ as well as respect for the South African TRC process which, despite its apparent intractability, reached a peaceful solution developed and owned by the South African people. In this way ITI created awareness of the principles of the South African TRC process, such as forgiveness, human dignity, equality, rule of law, freedom of speech, freedom of expression, etc. According to Ambassador Grobler, 'people seemed to appreciate that and almost saw this a new beginning for the process in Madagascar'.³⁷

ENSURING INCLUSION

In the Madagascar project, ITI continually stressed the need for an inclusive reconciliation process. To this end, numerous efforts were made to meet with four of the former presidents, encouraging them to participate in the country's reconciliation efforts and support the implementation of the SADC Roadmap.³⁸ These consultative engagements formed part of ITI's focus to support the building of national unity and develop an action plan for the country that would include economic and development goals. Additionally, given Madagascar's political history and pattern of unconstitutional changes of power, ITI also sought to encourage the former presidents to support then President Rajaonarimampianina in the implementation of the SADC Roadmap.³⁹ According to ITI director Roelf Meyer, it was necessary to appeal to key political stakeholders for calm and not to fall back on the pattern of coups and abrupt political transitions that contributed to the unstable political and economic environment in Madagascar.

Throughout the project the ITI assisted and supported President Rajaonarimampianina and his newly elected government in terms of reconciliation and peacebuilding in the country, through a series of technical and capacity assistance projects.⁴⁰ The team had access to and a trusted relationship with the president, which was supported by the close relationship Ambassador Grobler had built with him. ITI's advisory support, based on its experience in the South African TRC process, helped to guide the president



ITI stressed that the national reconciliation process should be led by the president

in the implantation of the SADC Roadmap. The trusted relationship between ITI and President Rajaonarimampianina also made it possible for the team to encourage him to work towards restoring relations between himself, Ravalomanana and Rajoelina.

Moreover, Ambassador Grobler noted that ITI make a decisive impact through its engagements with President Rajaonarimampianina in which it conveyed important elements that had made South Africa's transition sustainable, such as transparency, inclusivity, deliberate trust building, credibility of dialogue and transitional justice processes.⁴¹ The president embraced these insights to such an extent that he would later advocate for their application in Madagascar's reconciliation process. According to Ambassador Grobler, this contributed to the president's decision to reinvent the largely discredited MRC.

The ITI team implemented and emphasized the principle of inclusivity throughout the project by engaging with other relevant stakeholders, including civic institutions such as the Youth Leadership Training Program of Madagascar (YLTP) and the FFKM church grouping. ITI met with the FFKM church grouping a number of times before the Presidential 1+4 Summit on 28 April to 2 May 2015, as part of the next phase of the national reconciliation process. The team advised the FFKM grouping on broadening participation and consultation in the conference from national and regional levels, emphasizing the importance of an inclusive gathering to ensure receptiveness to and ownership of the summit outcomes.⁴² However, the summit did see some fragmentation and issues regarding consultation and inclusivity. At the end of the conference, the FFKM presented for adoption a document with action points without having consulted relevant stakeholders such as the Senate and National Assembly. Furthermore, the action points were presented to stakeholders as instructions rather than suggestions for consideration. This move went against the principle of consultation.

While ITI always made an effort to promote inclusivity, the implementation of the principle remained the responsibility of the stakeholders themselves. The advice offered by ITI to key political stakeholders – to speak to all parties, including opposing parties, and to consult with a wide range of role players in the country context – enabled it to obtain in-depth information on the needs and circumstances of these stakeholders. As a result, ITI could provide informed and practical advice to those involved in the peace process to ensure that reconciliation efforts focused on addressing pressing issues, while also creating channels of communication to keep the reconciliation process alive.

PROMOTING OWNERSHIP

ITI's focus on promoting local ownership of the solution ensures the buy-in of local stakeholders, which can contribute greatly to the successful implementation and longevity of a peaceful solution to a conflict, as



was the case in the South African transition. As previously mentioned, the implementation of the SADC Roadmap to peace, as well as the intimate involvement of foreign bodies like SADC and the AU, was greeted with opposition and suspicion by some Malagasy stakeholders. According to the SADC Roadmap, Rajoelina and Ravalomanana could not stand in the presidential and parliamentary elections, as it was feared that their protracted rivalry would mar the elections with violence. To circumvent this restriction the two fielded proxy candidates. It was also claimed that local consultations were not comprehensive and did not include some of the major political players, especially Zafy and Ratsiraka.

This affected overall acceptance of the roadmap in Madagascar.

Therefore, the ITI team ensured that, from the outset, its approach was modelled after that followed in South Africa, which was country-owned and country-led. As Ambassador Grobler remarked, 'ITI made it clear they were not there to interfere or intervene on behalf of the Malagasy leadership, but they were simply there to provide advice based on the South African reconciliation experience and process.'⁴³

With this in mind, the ITI team presented some of the lessons learnt from South Africa's political power transition, providing the Malagasy government and other stakeholders with documentation on the South African process. This included information on the National Peace Accord (NPA),⁴⁴ the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (CODESA)⁴⁵ and the TRC⁴⁶ processes. In order to address fears that there was too much international interference in the reconciliation process in Madagascar, ITI conducted thorough and transparent consultative and trust-building meetings with key political leaders.

Moreover, ITI's method of approaching stakeholders and its character assured participants that the purpose of its intervention was to provide advice based on the lived experience in South Africa's transition process without forcing the government or any other authorities to implement measures or principles. Additionally, ITI demonstrated its willingness to meet and consult with parties on their request, without interfering in established programmes or processes (e.g. the FFKM church grouping's 1+4 Summit Project) other than providing insights from South Africa's own TRC processes, for exposure and learning purposes.⁴⁷

ACCESSING THE POLITICAL ELITE AND ENGAGING WITH STAKEHOLDERS

ITI acknowledges the importance of engaging with those figures who are most likely to effect change, or promote/stall a negotiation or transition process. Therefore, ITI maximises its impact in each engagement by leveraging its networks and directly engaging with political elites and senior leaders in the peace process, as far as possible. Moreover, ITI's ability to persuade political elites to consider options and implement principles that can positively change



ITI provided the Malagasy government with documentation on the South African process

the trajectory of the process is invaluable, and can prove effective when trust is given to ITI as a facilitator and advisory partner.⁴⁸

This enables ITI to engage in a politically sensitive and tense context such as Madagascar – in an adaptable manner when necessary. The level and ease of access given to the ITI team in Madagascar can also be attributed to the political capital of its directors, and to international respect for the South African transition experience and process.

Moreover, ITI's access to key political stakeholders was supported by the diplomatic network in the country, regional bodies such as SADC and the AU, and the mandate given to ITI by the South African government.

ITI director Ivor Jenkins noted that the Madagascar case study showcased the impact that well-established cooperation with regional missions and political links in a specific country context can have on a project.⁴⁹ He added that this demonstrated that ITI's credibility as a trusted facilitator was dependent not only on its own organisational history but also on South Africa's political mapping.

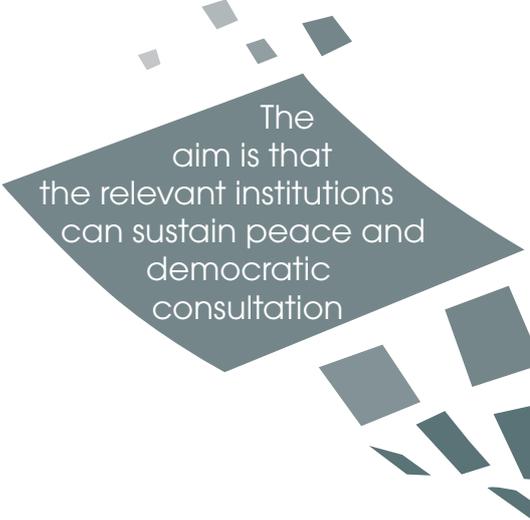
Although ITI's approach is always mindful of how peace and negotiation processes impact the people they are meant to benefit, its focus in the Madagascar initiative was specifically aimed at facilitating dialogue between political leaders. As the initiative progressed, the ITI team increasingly fulfilled a diplomatic role between the key political role players, almost serving as interlocutors towards achieving some form of reconciliation and communication between the parties.

OFFERING TECHNICAL AND CAPACITY-BUILDING SUPPORT

ITI's approach in offering technical and capacity-building support is grounded in its belief that peacebuilding and democracy consolidation processes can best be implemented when secured around democratic and peacebuilding institutions.⁵⁰ These institutions must be well framed, functional and able to deliver on their mandate. Moreover, based on ITI's experience in the South African peace process, the institutionalisation of democratic institutions, as well as peace and democratic culture in a country, is best developed when these institutions are supported to function according to their intended design.

Ultimately, the aim is that the relevant institutions can sustain peace and democratic consultation, thus going beyond individual personalities or influencers. In an effort to provide effective technical and capacity-building support, ITI works to understand the specific areas of development where stakeholders require assistance. Thereafter it identifies the gaps that need to be filled and, if necessary, exposes the stakeholders to specific institutional models and expert consultants.

In the case of Madagascar, ITI provided technical assistance in shaping the country's reconciliation legislation according to international justice



The aim is that the relevant institutions can sustain peace and democratic consultation

standards and best practise, including that of South Africa. As a result of its network of experts and consultants, ITI was able to invite Advocate Howard Varney and Piers Pigou to help the Madagascar Expert Committee⁵¹ draft legislation on restorative justice aimed at addressing endemic inequality, as well as various reforms in the run-up to the 2018 national elections.⁵² This advisory project would also pave the way for revamping and reconstituting the MRC, an institution provided for in the SADC Roadmap. However, the mandate and legislative capacity of the MRC had not yet been fully addressed at the start of the project period.⁵³

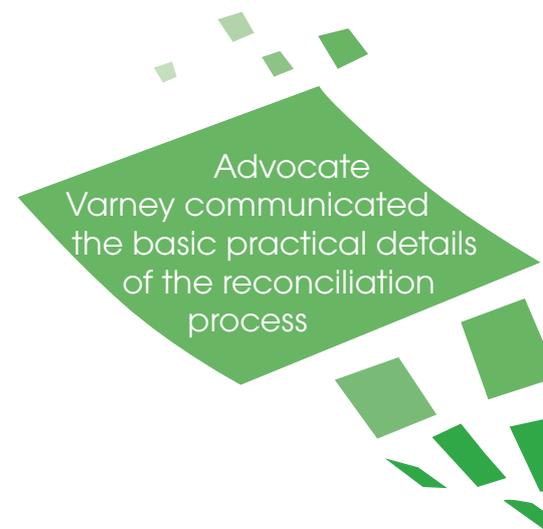
Additionally, in April 2017 President Rajaonarimampianina asked ITI and Advocate Varney to help compile two legal studies. The first requested a legal opinion on the status of former president Ravalomanana and his right to contest the national elections scheduled for November 2018, and the second raised queries regarding Ravalomanana's 'term limitations'.⁵⁴

The impact of the ITI team and expert consultants' assistance in this regard is evident from the number of suggestions that were adopted by the president and the Madagascar Expert Committee during the project period. These included re-inventing the existing dialogue framework; implementing mechanisms to re-constitute the MRC; and adopting the new legislation (Act No. 2016-037) in December 2016, providing for the implementation of the new MRC and its processes.⁵⁵ Additionally, ITI tried to broaden the MRC and Experts Council's understanding of a TRC process, which in the case of Madagascar would equate reconciliation with restitution, reparation and retribution.⁵⁶ Moreover, Advocate Varney communicated the basic practical details of the reconciliation process, focusing on the process legislation and procedure.

ITI and its expert consultants thus were able to provide in-depth technical and capacity support through legislative advice and process formation that shaped national reconciliation legislation in Madagascar, while also supporting the credibility of the MRC. However, the functioning and implementation of institutions such as the MRC and their mandated processes require the necessary political will to achieve the intended outcomes.

HOSTING DELEGATIONS IN SOUTH AFRICA

A principal organisational objective of ITI is to provide opportunities for groups and individuals from conflict areas to visit South Africa and engage with South African role players directly involved in the country's peace and transformation processes.⁵⁷ Hosting topical dialogues and workshops in South Africa provides an opportunity to learn and share strategies and lessons learnt from the South African experience, while exposing the broader audience to the South African model. Specific elements of the transition process are emphasized by the ITI team and consultants depending on the country's context, as well as the composition of the delegation itself.



Therefore, the purpose of a group's visit to South Africa is often determined through numerous scoping visits and consultations with the proposed delegates, prior to their visit. Additionally, the hosting of delegations in South Africa helps to build trust among the stakeholders themselves, as well as the facilitators. This is one of the key features of the ITI approach.

The delegation's visit to South Africa essentially allows interaction with and exposure to key players in the South African transitional process. The secondary objective is responding to specific needs or questions that might emerge from their process, e.g., on the TRC, security sector reform, constitutional negotiations, amnesty law, the CODESA structures and the NPA.⁵⁸

During the Madagascar intervention, two delegations visited South Africa. From 23–30 November 2014, the YLTP made a study trip to Cape Town under the auspices of the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung (FES). The objective of the visit was to gain understanding of the South African TRC experience, the national reconciliation process and its impacts.

The lessons learnt from this study trip would inform recommendations to all major stakeholders in the national reconciliation process in Madagascar, and influence the process.⁵⁹ A summary report compiled after the YLTP study trip indicates that the following key points regarding national reconciliation were made:⁶⁰

- A vision for national reconciliation must be identified and institutionalised.
- The process of reconciliation in South Africa was divided into different sectors at community, regional and national levels.
- The humility to acknowledge one's own faults and ask for forgiveness is an important element of the reconciliation process.
- The model and strength of Mandela and the application of the values of tolerance, forgiveness, peace, non-violence, equity and justice can serve as exemplars for a national reconciliation process in Madagascar.
- In the case of Madagascar, national reconciliation will have to be conducted differently. However, in order to be effective and legitimate, the process must be inclusive, structured and in no way exclusive of the former presidents and their political parties.
- Although the former presidents are the main stakeholders in the Malagasy conflict, the process of national reconciliation must include representatives of the court, media, political opposition parties, civil society and representatives of the Malagasy people.
- Importantly, the values and purpose of national reconciliation in Madagascar must be defined and must break with bad practices of the past, such as prosecuting and banishing former presidents and their supporters while claiming to be defending the rule of law, justice and peace.



The humility to acknowledge one's own faults and ask for forgiveness is an important element

- National reconciliation in Madagascar must be a collective national goal, cooperatively undertaken by all stakeholders in the country.

The second visit to South Africa was made by members of the Madagascar Experts Committee, from 31 August to 3 September 2015. The delegation, composed of Lalfine Papisy, Imbiki Anaclet and Rasolo André, were invited to South Africa by ITI with the aim of gaining understanding from South Africa's reconciliation process and experience. Advocate Varney also engaged with the delegation on the legal aspects of the TRC process in South Africa, while providing technical advice on their own reconciliation initiatives in terms of the basic legal framework for reconciliation, amnesty, compensation and nation building.⁶¹ ITI, with the support of Advocate Varney, helped the Expert Committee to draft new legislation for the MRC based on the South African TRC model and experience. The visit to South Africa was followed by several exchanges between the ITI team and the Expert Committee, with Advocate Varney continuing to assist the committee in drafting peace and reconciliation legislation.

ITI's interventions during the delegation visits to South Africa succeeded in sharing the first-hand experiences of the South African TRC, while illustrating lessons from South Africa through interactions with South African role players in the country's reconciliation and transition. These learning experiences are a unique aspect of ITI as an organisation and its approach to peacebuilding, which cannot easily be matched or replaced by textbooks, models, theories or hearsay.⁶²

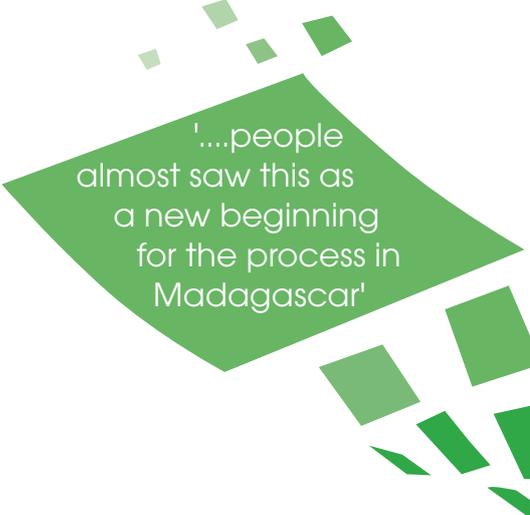


Advocate Varney also engaged with the delegation on the legal aspects of the TRC process

MOMENTS OF TRANSFORMATION

By sharing the South African experience, ITI has observed that stakeholders tend to remark on significant moments that altered their perspective of the conflict or the way they were handling the situation. The recollection and documenting of these moments show the transformative impact ITI's approach to peacebuilding and conflict resolution can have in a specific context. In the case of Madagascar, an interview⁶³ with Ambassador Grobler provided some insight into ITI's process and its ability to affect positive change among stakeholders.

The sharing of the South African experience with regard to the TRC process had a significant impact on the key stakeholders in the Madagascar conflict. The emphasis on the principles of the TRC process, such as forgiveness, human dignity, equality, rule of law, freedom of speech and freedom of expression, was key in shifting perceptions. According to Ambassador Grobler, 'people seemed to appreciate that and almost saw this as a new beginning for the process in Madagascar'.⁶⁴ This enabled them to view subsequent events in a more positive light and created room for tolerance to opposition, political differences and ethnicity. However, the full manifestation of this transformation is yet to be seen.



'...people almost saw this as a new beginning for the process in Madagascar'

LIMITATIONS

ITI's projects in various conflict and transitional countries intend to inspire hope among stakeholders, based on the fact that South Africa's seemingly intractable conflict situation did eventually result in a peaceful political transition. However, it should be noted that each country's context dictates the extent to which successful and sustainable solutions can be achieved.

The Madagascar case study shows how key issues, such as persistent political tension affecting reconciliation efforts between the major political stakeholders, coupled with the fluid nature of the political landscape in the country and its relations with regional institutions, can create an intractable political crisis.

In particular, SADC's interventions were not well received by the Malagasy. As stated earlier, the first three rounds of talks included past presidents that the Malagasy people had removed from office either through the ballot or through protests. In addition, there was no consultation with the greater population to address their aspirations and needs. Thus, SADC was viewed as an obstacle to the national reconciliation process in Madagascar. The fourth round of consultations, which resulted in the SADC Roadmap, was criticised for excluding the two main actors in the country's political landscape.

In managing various risks and limitations when operating in countries experiencing active conflict, ITI adopts a flexible approach towards the realisation of project goals.⁶⁵ ITI also reaches out to other strategic networks, including high-level in-country or external networks, regarding the necessary monitoring to help it decide whether to continue with activities in a country, or to delay, suspend or change its approach.

Various limitations and challenges affected the progress of the Madagascar initiative.

The FFKM national reconciliation summit had mixed outcomes and was not well received by all political stakeholders in the country, which could be considered to have had an adverse effect on the reception of the national reconciliation process goals and implementation points, as set out by the FFKM initiative. As a result, the overall reconciliation process suffered some setbacks, with former presidents Zafy, Rajoelina and Ravalomanana reserving their full commitment to and participation in the process.⁶⁶

Furthermore, the 2018 change in political leadership to current President Andry Rajoelina⁶⁷ also resulted in the national reconciliation process losing traction, as Rajoelina's agenda for Madagascar is aimed at stimulating economic development. Overall, Madagascar has faded from the AU's agenda, partly owing to Rajoelina's shift in focus from SADC and the AU back to France, a country with which Rajoelina seemingly has close ties.⁶⁸

Additionally, Rajoelina's relationship with SADC deteriorated when the newly elected president snubbed the two-day SADC solidarity summit on Western



When operating in countries experiencing active conflict, ITI adopts a flexible approach

Sahara in favour of attending the rival Moroccan conference.⁶⁹ The move drew criticism from SADC members.⁷⁰

These factors minimised the space for South Africa and ITI to play an active role in Madagascar, despite its continued interest in promoting reconciliation, political stability and development in the country. Moreover, when Ambassador Grobler was replaced in 2016 ITI's ease of access to political stakeholders was affected, as the close relationship between Ambassador Grobler and high-level political leaders could not be matched.⁷¹

Madagascar continues in its attempt at national reconciliation; a process that requires political will to be effectively implemented and build a sustainable and peaceful political environment in the country.⁷² Additionally, following the change in head of state after the 2018 elections, another important challenge for the country is to guarantee continuity in political and economic governance.⁷³



When
Ambassador
Grobler was replaced in
2016 ITI's ease of access
to political stakeholders
was affected

CONCLUSION

The Madagascar initiative provides many points of reflection. ITI's role in this project was focused on promoting reconciliation among the main political role players, including present and former presidents, and supporting the implementation of the SADC Roadmap, specifically focusing on national reconciliation. The emphasis on building trust and repairing relations between the former presidents and offering extensive advisory services to then President Rajaonarimampianina enabled the stakeholders to make some shifts in their approach to the reconciliation process by focusing on a collective agenda for Madagascar. ITI also promoted the revitalisation of the MRC structure and offered technical and capacity-building services to various stakeholders regarding reconciliation legislation for Madagascar.

Promoting an inclusive reconciliation process ensured that Malagasy stakeholders from different spheres of the political discourse engaged with one another. Moreover, the principles of ownership of the process and developing local solutions were effectively transferred through ITI's approach of engaging with the political elite, civil society and religious organisations. Throughout the initiative ITI was able to leverage admiration for South Africa's own TRC and political transformation process while maintaining its neutrality.

Furthermore, ITI successfully hosted several dialogue engagements in South Africa and Madagascar. This not only demonstrates its ability to access high-level leadership and inspire trust as a facilitator but also showcases the strategic ways in which ITI employs the political capital and experience of its directors. Lastly, the success and impact of ITI's approach was demonstrated by the expert technical advice and assistance provided in reshaping the legislative basis for national reconciliation.⁷⁴ Moreover, ITI's contribution in supporting national reconciliation in Madagascar can be seen through outcomes such as the revitalisation of the MRC and the adoption of new peace and reconciliation legislation by Parliament. However, sufficient political will and momentum to execute the aforementioned mechanisms and legislation have been, unfortunately, lacking.⁷⁵



Sufficient political will to execute mechanisms and legislation have been lacking

2014

CONTEXT AT THE TIME

20-22 NOVEMBER

Antananarivo, Madagascar

PURPOSE OF TRIP

The ITI team, comprising Roelf Meyer, Ivor Jenkins and Ebrahim Ebrahim, conducts several meetings with key stakeholders in Madagascar towards supporting national reconciliation and addressing the outstanding issues of the SADC Roadmap.

Meetings held with President Hery Rajaonarimampianina; the family of exiled former president Marc Ravalomanana and his South African lawyer Brian Currin; MANAR opposition party of former president Andrey Rajoelina; the MRC; FFKM church grouping; former presidents Ratsiraka and Zafy; eight members of the diplomatic corps.

23-30 NOVEMBER

Cape Town, Pretoria and Johannesburg, South Africa

PURPOSE OF TRIP

Under the auspices of the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung (FES), the 2014 class of the Youth Leadership Training Program of Madagascar (YLTP) undertakes a study trip to South Africa to gain understanding of the South African TRC experience.

The lessons learnt from this study trip will serve to inform and contribute to the successful implementation of the national reconciliation process in Madagascar.

- Following the December 2013 elections in the country, a new government under President Rajaonarimampianina comes into power in January 2014. It is expected that political stability will improve under Rajaonarimampianina and the democratically elected government, although the risks remain significant, with fears that supporters of Ravalomanana may withdraw their backing of the new president.
- Overall political stability and security in the country remains extremely fragile with some flare-ups in political demonstrations and tensions among political opposition parties continuing throughout 2013 and 2014.
- Throughout this period the new government and president face difficulties in restoring effective governance and economic development. Rajaonarimampianina also struggles to obtain the full support of Parliament, which affects his ability to effectively govern and implement the SADC Roadmap towards development and national reconciliation.
- Political tension in the country increases following the unexpected return of Ravalomanana on 12 October 2014. He has been in exile in South Africa since the unconstitutional change of government in 2009. Ravalomanana is arrested upon his return to the country and placed under house arrest.
- Following visits by SADC in November 2014 and the previous visits of ITI to Madagascar, the national reconciliation process gains considerable momentum in the sense that Rajaonarimampianina meets with Ravalomanana on 15 December and with Rajoelina on 17 December 2014.
- However, relationships between the political stakeholders remain fragile, adversely affecting progress towards national reconciliation and political stability in the country.
- From 2013 the Council of Christian Churches in Madagascar (FFKM) embarks on a process of

PROJECT TIMELINE

2014

11-13 DECEMBER

Antananarivo, Madagascar

PURPOSE OF TRIP

ITI delegation comprising Ivor Jenkins, Roelf Meyer and Mohammed Bhabha meets President Rajaonarimampianina. The objective of the meeting is to assist with and facilitate the proposed bilateral meetings with former presidents Ravalomanana and Rajoelina.

CONTEXT AT THE TIME

national reconciliation. The FFKM engages with all key political leaders and representatives of civil society to conduct national dialogue discussions in 22 regions in the country; arranges discussions between the current and former heads of state in the context of the national reconciliation process; and holds a national conference on the process of reconciliation and implementing proposals to improve the political, economic and social stability of the country.

2015

9-11 FEBRUARY

Antananarivo, Madagascar

PURPOSE OF TRIP

The ITI team, consisting of Roelf Meyer, Ivor Jenkins and Mohammed Bhabha, visits Madagascar upon the request of President Rajaonarimampianina. The aim of the particular visit is advising on the next phase of the national reconciliation process, which will focus on taking forward the decisions by the series of Presidential 1+4 Summits held jointly with the FFKM church grouping, i.e., deepening and widening participation in the process on national and regional levels, culminating in a National Convention on Peace and Reconciliation.

CONTEXT AT THE TIME

- A constructive bilateral meeting takes place between President Jacob Zuma and President Rajaonarimampianina during the AU summit in Addis Ababa on 31 January 2015. This contributes to a positive trend of engagement between South Africa and Madagascar.
- The period sees growing socio-political tensions. The FFKM national reconciliation process is underway, despite being marred by confusion and uncertainty as regional conferences are carried out by the organisation. The overall reconciliation process suffers setbacks with Zafy, Rajoelina and Ravalomanana withdrawing from the process as some of their conditions are not met.⁷⁶
- Despite this, the National Reconciliation Conference takes place on 28 April to 2 May 2015 in Antananarivo, as organised by the FFKM and government. The five-day national talks culminate in the adoption of a number of decisions drawn from the February–March 2015 regional consultations and meetings between the president and the four former heads of state. These decisions include: modifying all republic institutions except the Presidency of the Republic, amending the constitution, and establishing seven new national bodies by 2017. Participants also recommend the establishment

2015

26-28 APRIL

Antananarivo, Madagascar

PURPOSE OF TRIP

An ITI delegation consisting of Roelf Meyer, Mohammed Bhabha, Ebrahim Ebrahim and Advocate Howard Varney visits Madagascar on the request of the president to advise on the next phase of the national reconciliation process, in particular the proposed National Conference on Reconciliation, organised by the government and the FFKM.

Advocate Howard Varney is brought in by ITI to assist the Madagascar Reconciliation Commission (MRC) with the legal framework of the compensation process, creation of the National Solidarity Fund etc., as provided for in the SADC Roadmap.

31 AUGUST TO 3 SEPTEMBER

Pretoria, South Africa

PURPOSE OF TRIP

At the invitation of ITI, members of the Malagasy Experts Council, composed of Lalfine Papisy, Imbiki Anacllet and Rasolo André, visit South Africa to gain understanding of South Africa's reconciliation process and experience.

Advocate Howard Varney engages with the delegation on the legal aspects of the TRC process in South Africa, while providing technical advice on their own reconciliation initiatives in terms of the basic legal framework for reconciliation, amnesty, compensation and nation building.

CONTEXT AT THE TIME

of a committee in charge of monitoring the implementation of the decisions, as well as a steering committee tasked with considering setting up the seven new national bodies.

- The opportunity, management and methodology of the national talks trigger a number of criticisms within the national opinion. FFKM leaders are criticised for violating the Constitution by usurping the prerogatives of the Council of National Reconciliation. After the national talks, uncertainties, controversies and criticisms regarding the significance, relevance, constitutionality, legality, prospects and effectiveness of the outcomes are observed. Some civil society organisations believe that the church-sponsored national conference was 'unconstitutional and illegal'.⁷⁷
- Former president Marc Ravalomanana's sentence of house arrest and lifelong hard labour for abuse of power is lifted in May 2015. He is released from house arrest.
- In May 2015 President Rajaonarimampianina faces possible impeachment as the Madagascar Parliament votes on a motion to remove him due to alleged repeated violations of the constitution. However, the Madagascar Constitutional Court dismisses the attempted impeachment in June 2015. The president continues to face fierce opposition from both political opposition and within Parliament, further threatening to destabilise the political situation in the country.
- Continued political instability has an adverse effect on efforts to revitalise the economy and promote foreign direct investment.
- Long-delayed municipal elections are held on 31 July 2015, but the period leading up to the elections sees continuous uncertainties, and stakeholders' reluctance over the national dialogue contributes to instability.
- Senatorial elections are held in December 2015. Though the electoral process is considered free and fair, some opposition parties make

PROJECT TIMELINE

2015

SEPTEMBER

Antananarivo, Madagascar

PURPOSE OF TRIP

Members of ITI, including Roelf Meyer and Ebrahim Ebrahim, visit Madagascar and meet with the president, members of the newly appointed Malagasy Experts Council, the UNDP and other political formations.

Progress on the national reconciliation process is monitored and advice given on urgent steps to be taken to push forward the messages of reconciliation by all parties. A commitment is made and an indication given that efforts will be made by all to do so.

A commitment is made that ITI will continue to assist on a technical level with the writing of legislation for the newly formed Madagascar Reconciliation Commission (MRC).

19-23 OCTOBER

Antsirabe, Madagascar

PURPOSE OF TRIP

The ITI team, comprising Advocate Howard Varney and Piers Pigou, meets with Ambassador Grobler on 19 October 2015. The purpose of the team’s visit to Madagascar is to meet the Malagasy Experts Committee of 11 persons, established in August 2015 to develop new legislation to replace the current MRC, whose mandate expires in March 2016.

The team engages in a three-day workshop with the Experts Committee to provide technical and legal support in the drafting of the process of establishing a new MRC.

CONTEXT AT THE TIME

accusations of fraud and challenge the results. Ultimately, the High Constitutional Court upholds the election results in early 2016. The local and senatorial elections do signal some return to democratic government, following the 2009 unconstitutional change of government.

- Although some progress is made towards a national reconciliation process in the first half of 2015, there is little headway in bringing the main political stakeholders together for further meaningful dialogue in the interest of reconciliation.

2016

JANUARY - JULY

South Africa

PURPOSE OF TRIP

Several discussions between ITI and the new South African ambassador to Madagascar, Maud Dlomo, take place regarding future cooperation and assistance ITI would like to provide during the process of transition in the country.

Similar discussions are held with the Office of the President on numerous occasions, on request of the president.

Assistance regarding the halted national reconciliation process is requested from ITI.

Three scheduled visits to Madagascar are cancelled in the second half of 2016 due to presidential schedule clashes.

CONTEXT AT THE TIME

- South Africa's Ambassador to Madagascar, Gert Grobler ends his term in Madagascar in January 2016. Ambassador Maud Dlomo is appointed as the incoming ambassador to Madagascar shortly after.
- In April 2016 President Rajaonarimampianina appoints the third prime minister in three years, contributing to an unstable political and governing environment. Opposition parties continue to call for the president's resignation and there are rumours of an alleged coup attempt in May 2016, leading to the arrest of a sitting senator.
- Overall, popular discontent increases in 2016 amid stagnant economic growth and an unstable political system. There are demonstrations over the implementation of a new Communications Code that has several provisions that might be used to restrict freedom of the media.
- In December 2016 Parliament adopts the new law (Act No. 2016-037) providing for the implementation of the Council of the Madagascar Reconciliation Council. ITI, through the support of legal experts, supported the drafting of the aforementioned law.

2017

APRIL

Madagascar

PURPOSE OF TRIP

Members of the ITI team, including legal experts, visit the country in April 2017. The team meets with

President Rajaonarimampianina, during which the president asks ITI to assist in a specific manner with regard to the relationship between two of the previous presidents and himself.

CONTEXT AT THE TIME

- The SADC Roadmap is not yet implemented fully, which could hold serious implications for stability in the country.
- The framework for talks between the president and the two key opposition ex-presidents is established. However, not until a final deal has been concluded between them all, will there be a credible peace. ITI has been called on by the president to urgently assist in these talks. The process to find a solution between the three leaders in conflict is underway and all three agree that a compromise must be found before the 2018 national election.

PROJECT TIMELINE

2017

**18-20 MAY
Madagascar**

PURPOSE OF TRIP

ITI and Advocate Howard Varney continue to consult with President Rajaonarimampianina, assisting him by providing a legal opinion on the status of Ravalomanana and his right to contest in the presidential elections in 2018.

**25-26 JULY
Madagascar**

PURPOSE OF TRIP

On 25 July, ITI visits Madagascar and starts a discussion with Rajaonarimampianina and Ravalomanana regarding possible reconciliation dialogues that ITI could facilitate between the two parties. Both agree to this.

ITI continues to assist Rajaonarimampianina in his request to compile a second study, raising further queries regarding the 'term limitation' of Ravalomanana. This study is conducted and presented to the president during the next visit to Madagascar in August 2017.

**21-23 AUGUST
Madagascar**

PURPOSE OF TRIP

The ITI team travels to Madagascar to facilitate a meeting between Rajaonarimampianina and Ravalomanana. However, shortly before the planned discussion, relations between the two politicians sour following demands, accusations and counter-accusations.

Both parties refuse to meet with one another during the scheduled engagement and the meeting does not take place.

CONTEXT AT THE TIME

- Some political events during 2017 contribute to discontent from the public and create uncertainty surrounding the political stability of the current government. In August 2017 Rajaonarimampianina reshuffles the cabinet for the fourth time. In September 2017 Rajaonarimampianina expresses support for several amendments to the constitution. Civil society activists criticise his remarks, suggesting he seeks a lengthy amendment process and public referendum that will in effect delay the 2018 presidential election.
- During 2017, Rajaonarimampianina also requests ITI's assistance to meet with Zuma in his capacity as SADC chairperson. This meeting is confirmed, but at the last minute Zuma withdraws, postponing the meeting to late October 2017. It is unclear if the meeting between the two presidents takes place.
- The UN requests ITI's opinion on the political situation in Madagascar. ITI suggests the UN sends a senior envoy to Madagascar. A visit by UN Special Envoy Hailli Menkerios takes place in early October 2017.

PROJECT TIMELINE

2018

Additional direct interventions with Madagascar do not take place during 2018. However, through intermediaries some advisory support is offered to Rajaonarimampianina on an unofficial basis.

CONTEXT AT THE TIME

- Political tensions in the country increase with several civil society protests, demonstrations and political clashes between various political party supporters and security forces taking place in the presidential election year. The political violence inflames political disputes and has a further destabilising effect on the country.
- **April 2018:** Protests against new electoral laws take place between 21 and 28 April 2018. Demonstrators in Antananarivo clash with security forces. The protests are in response to new legal statutes implemented by Rajaonarimampianina that effectively stop Ravalomanana from taking part in the elections scheduled for the end of 2018. Rajaonarimampianina's administration is also accused of corruption and mismanagement. Opposition activists call for the president's resignation. Ravalomanana and Rajoelina team up to oppose the electoral laws.
- **May 2018:** The political crisis deepens with tensions escalating as the initial protests against electoral laws escalate. Opposition supporters and political activists call on the constitutional court to intervene with regard to new legislation, while also calling for the president to resign. The opposition submits an impeachment request to the High Constitutional Court (HCC). In response, Rajaonarimampianina claims that the demonstrations are part of a coup attempt.
- **June 2018:** A ruling by the HCC orders Rajaonarimampianina to form a new government of national unity with a 'consensus prime minister' in order to avert a full-blown political crisis ahead of the November elections.
- **September 2018:** The president resigns from his office on 7 September in order to take place in the November 2018 elections (as per Madagascar's constitution).
- **November 2018:** First round of elections takes place on 7 November 2018. Tensions during the elections remain high as some observers fear that a close result may result in the losing candidate contesting the outcome of the elections.
- **December 2018:** Ravalomanana and Rajoelina face each other in the run-off elections on 19 December 2018. Rajoelina wins 55% of the vote, according to official results. In January 2019 thousands of Ravalomanana's supporters protest the outcome of the elections, resulting in clashes between police and demonstrators. The HCC reviews a petition filed by Ravalomanana, challenging Rajoelina's victory. Ultimately the HCC finds the outcome of the elections to be valid. President Rajoelina is sworn in on 18 January 2019.

ENDNOTES

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- 3 Roelf Meyer, ITI director, former chief negotiator for the National Party (NP) during CODESA negotiations and consultant on international peace processes and negotiations, interviewed on 26 October 2020. <https://www.intransformation.org.za/directors/>
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- 5 Mohammed Bhabha, ITI director, member of the ANC negotiating team at CODESA, former MP and consultant in transitional and constitutional support projects internationally, interviewed on 24 October 2020. <https://www.intransformation.org.za/directors/>
- 6 Ambassador Gert Grobler, South Africa's ambassador to Madagascar from 2013–2016, assisting Madagascar to restore constitutional normalcy, interviewed on 27 October 2020. <https://mg.linkedin.com/in/gert-grobler-22b2a019>
- 7 Advocate Howard Varney, worked with the South African Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) as a consultant, currently a senior program adviser with ICTJ with areas of expertise in truth-seeking, national prosecutions, institutional reform, reparations, and public interest litigation, interviewed on 26 October 2020. <https://www.ictj.org/about/howard-varney>
- 8 Marc Ravalomanana was declared president by an April 2002 High Constitutional Court ruling following a disputed presidential election in 2001.
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- 10 Connolly, L. (2013). *The troubled road to peace: Reflections on the complexities of resolving the political impasse in Madagascar*. Policy and Practice Brief for Accord. <https://www.accord.org.za/publication/troubled-road-peace/>
- 11 Members of the Council for Fampihavanana Malagasy (CFM) meet with ITI directors and former SA Ambassador to Madagascar on a learning visit to South Africa.
- 12 Albert Zafy served as president from 1993–1996 after winning the 1993 run-off elections, defeating Didier Ratsiraka. He was impeached in 1996 and defeated by Ratsiraka in the 1996 presidential election. <https://uca.edu/politicalscience/dadm-project/sub-saharan-africa-region/malagasy-republicmadagascar-1960-present/>
- 13 Didier Ratsiraka served as president from 1975–1993 and again from 1997–2002. Ratsiraka was made president of the Supreme Revolutionary Council by the military leadership in June 1975. In 1993 he was defeated by Albert Zafy in the run-off presidential elections but made a comeback in 1996 and won the presidential election that year. Ratsiraka's popularity dwindled again in 2001 and in a contested election in December 2001, Marc Ravalomanana declared himself president and was sworn in by February 2002. See University of Central Arkansas (n.d.). *Malagasy/Republic (1960–present)*. <https://uca.edu/politicalscience/dadm-project/sub-saharan-africa-region/malagasy-republicmadagascar-1960-present/>
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- 19 Hery Rajaonarimampianina served as a finance minister under President Rajoelina. University of Central Arkansas (n.d.). *Malagasy/Republic (1960–present)*. <https://uca.edu/politicalscience/dadm-project/sub-saharan-africa-region/malagasy-republicmadagascar-1960-present/>
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- 23 In Transformation Initiative (2019, January 31). *Integrated Governance Policy. Version 1.4*. http://www.intransformation.org.za/wp-content/themes/intransformationinitiative/docs/integrated_governance_policy_1.4.pdf
- 24 Du Toit, F. (2016). *Support and advice for transitional and peacebuilding processes in Africa and the globe*. In Transformation Initiative. GRANT RAF14/0038: Final Review October 2016.
- 25 Interview with Roelf Meyer recorded in *ibid*.
- 26 The MRC is a public entity specially created, as provided for in Article 168 of the Constitution of the Fourth Republic, to take charge of the conduct of the process of national reconciliation in Madagascar. The MRC received assistance from ITI through Howard Varney in drafting legislation that would create a reconciliation and peace structure for the country.

- 27 Piers Pigou is Crisis Group's Senior Consultant for Southern Africa. He previously served as Programme Manager at the Foundation for Human Rights, Senior Associate for Southern Africa at the International Center for Transitional Justice, Director of the South African History Archive and Research and Advocacy Coordinator at the Institute for Democratic Alternatives in South Africa/Center for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation. Pigou also worked for the truth commissions in both South Africa and East Timor. <https://www.crisisgroup.org/who-we-are/people/piers-pigou>
- 28 The SADC Organ on Politics, Defence and Security Cooperation is the body whose overall objective is to promote peace and security in the region, in line with Article 2 of the SADC Protocol on Politics, Defence and Security Cooperation. It is headed by a rotating Troika of heads of state.
- 29 Maud Vuyelwa Dlomo was appointed as South Africa's ambassador to Madagascar in 2016 and served until 2019. Sisa Ngombane was appointed as ambassador to Madagascar in March 2020. <https://www.diplomacy.edu/people/vuyelwa-dlomo#:~:text=Ambassador%20of%20South%20Africa%20to,ambassador%20to%20Madagascar%20in%202016>
- 30 Additional information on the country situation at various points of the project can be found in the project timeline section of the report.
- 31 Marais, N. & Davies, J. (2014). *Deconstructing the conditions that enabled South Africa's transition to power-sharing*. White Paper prepared for the Norwegian Peacebuilding Resource Centre, The Carter Center and Swiss Peace for a seminar on the "The Syria Transition Options Project of The Carter Center".
- 32 In Transformation Initiative (2019, January 31). *Integrated Governance Policy. Version 1.4*. http://www.intransformation.org.za/wp-content/themes/intransformationinitiative/docs/integrated_governance_policy_1.4.pdf
- 33 Internal report on the Transformation Initiative (ITI) delegation, comprising Ivor Jenkins and former ministers Roelf Meyer and E Ebrahim, visit to Antananarivo, 20–22 November 2014.
- 34 Ibid.
- 35 Information obtained through interviews with Roelf Meyer (26 October 2020) and Ambassador Gert Grobler (27 October 2020).
- 36 Ebrahim Ebrahim was a member of the African National Congress (ANC) National Executive Committee (NEC); participated in the Congress of the People Campaign, which adopted the Freedom Charter in 1955; former member of Umkhonto we Sizwe; served as Head of International Affairs at the ANC Head Office (2006); Deputy Minister of International Relations and Cooperation (2009) and continues to be an active consultant in conflict resolution and peace processes. <https://www.sahistory.org.za/people/ebrahim-ismail-ebrahim>
- 37 Interview with Ambassador Gert Grobler on 27 October 2020.
- 38 In Transformation Initiative (2015). *A dialogue project for South Africa and other conflicts on the globe*. GRANT: SAF-2872/RSA-13/0011. October 2013 to September 2015.
- 39 Interview with Roelf Meyer on 26 October 2020.
- 40 Du Toit, F. (2016). *Support and advice for transitional and peacebuilding processes in Africa and the globe*. In Transformation Initiative. GRANT RAF14/0038. Final Review October 2016.
- 41 Ibid.
- 42 In Transformation Initiative (2015). *A dialogue project for South Africa and other conflicts on the globe*. GRANT: SAF-2872/RSA-13/0011. October 2013 to September 2015.
- 43 Interview with Ambassador Gert Grobler on 27 October 2020.
- 44 The NPA aimed to bring about an end to violence in South Africa and to establish a multi-party democracy. It also aimed to bring about peaceful power-sharing and to assist in social and economic reconstruction. It was premised on fundamental democratic principles of good governance, mutual responsibility and accountability. It provided for all signatories to monitor each other's compliance with codes of conduct, particularly political organisations, security forces and the police. See O'Malley (n.d.). *The National Peace Accord and its structures*. <https://omalley.nelsonmandela.org/omalley/index.php/site/q/03lv02424/04lv03275/05lv03294/06lv03321.htm>
- 45 COSESA was set up in 1991 after the signing of the NPA by the government and 18 other political organisations. CODESA I and CODESA II refer to the two successive all-party conventions held between 1991 and 1993 to determine guidelines for a new constitution and a democratic franchise for a multi-party government of transition. See South African History Online (n.d.). *Convention for a Democratic South Africa (CODESA)*. <https://www.sahistory.org.za/article/convention-democratic-south-africa-codesa>
- 46 The Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) was established in 1995 under the ANC government's Promotion of National Unity and Reconciliation Act. Its first aim was to investigate the gross violations of human rights that had taken place in the period 1960–1994. A separate committee decided on reparations payable to victims, with a government fund of R3 billion set aside for this purpose. A third committee heard over 7 000 testimonies from former agents of the state who wished to seek amnesty for crimes committed in the service of the government. See O'Malley (n.d.). *Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC)*. <https://omalley.nelsonmandela.org/omalley/index.php/site/q/03lv03445/04lv03446/05lv03512.htm>
- 47 In Transformation Initiative (2014). *Keep on talking: A dialogue project for South Africans and other conflict areas across the globe*. Project proposal drafted by ITI.
- 48 In Transformation Initiative (2019, January 31). *Integrated Governance Policy. Version 1.4*. http://www.intransformation.org.za/wp-content/themes/intransformationinitiative/docs/integrated_governance_policy_1.4.pdf
- 49 Interview with Ivor Jenkins on 23 October 2020.
- 50 In Transformation Initiative (2019, January 31). *Integrated Governance Policy. Version 1.4*. http://www.intransformation.org.za/wp-content/themes/intransformationinitiative/docs/integrated_governance_policy_1.4.pdf
- 51 The Madagascar Expert Committee was appointed by the president in August 2015 to develop new legislation to replace the former MRC established in 2012. The committee, comprising 11

ENDNOTES

- representatives from various organisations (including the FFKM and then MRC), also sought technical assistance from ITI on the drafting of legislation for reconciliation, amnesty, compensation and nation building.
- 52 Du Toit, F. (2016). *Support and advice for transitional and peacebuilding processes in Africa and the globe*. In Transformation Initiative GRANT RAF14/0038. Final Review October 2016.
- 53 Interview with Advocate Howard Varney on 26 October 2020.
- 54 In Transformation Initiative (2017). *In Transitional Initiative Supporting Peace Processes Phase II*. GRANT RAF15/0076. 1 July 2016 to 30 June 2017.
- 55 Du Toit, F. (2016). *Support and advice for transitional and peacebuilding processes in Africa and the globe*. In Transformation Initiative GRANT RAF14/0038. Final Review October 2016; Interview with Ivor Jenkins on 23 October 2020.
- 56 Interview with Mohammed Bhabha on 24 October 2020.
- 57 In Transformation Initiative (2019, January 31). *Integrated Governance Policy. Version 1.4*. http://www.intransformation.org.za/wp-content/themes/intransformationinitiative/docs/integrated_governance_policy_1.4.pdf
- 58 In Transformation Initiative (2018). *Providing support and advice to peacebuilding efforts during transitional processes in the Sub-Saharan African region*. Proposal submitted in April 2018.
- 59 In Transformation Initiative (2014). *Summary of the Youth Leadership Training Programme (YLTP) on the visit to South Africa in November 2014*.
- 60 Ibid.
- 61 In Transformation Initiative (2015). *A dialogue project for South Africa and other conflicts on the globe*. GRANT: SAF-2872/RSA-13/0011. October 2013 to September 2015.
- 62 In Transformation Initiative (2018). *Providing support and advice to peace-building efforts during transitional processes in the Sub-Saharan African region*. Proposal submitted by ITI in April 2018.
- 63 Interview with Gert Grobler on 27 October 2020.
- 64 Ibid.
- 65 In Transformation Initiative (2018). *Final report for grants from the Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MFA)*.
- 66 Interview with Gert Grobler on 27 October 2020.
- 67 Andry Rajoelina was sworn in as president of Madagascar on 19 January 2019 following his victory in the November 2018 national and presidential elections.
- 68 Carver, E. (2019, January 18). *Madagascar's next president to take offices, bears suspect eco record*. Mongabay. <https://news.mongabay.com/2019/01/madagascars-next-president-to-take-office-bears-suspect-eco-record/>
- 69 Du Plessis, C. (2019, March 27). *SA mulls withholding aid from 'rogue' African leaders for lack of support*. News24. <https://www.news24.com/news24/southafrica/news/sa-mulls-withholding-aid-from-rogue-african-leaders-for-lack-of-support-20190327>
- 70 Du Plessis, C. (2019, March 25). *Mantashe slams Morocco over parallel Western Sahara conference*. News24. <https://www.news24.com/news24/SouthAfrica/News/mantashe-slams-morocco-over-parallel-western-sahara-conference-20190325>
- 71 Interview with Ivor Jenkins on 23 October 2020.
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- 73 Bertelsmann Stiftung (2020). *BTI 2020 Country Report: Madagascar*. <https://bti-project.org/en/reports/country-report-MDG-2020.html>
- 74 Du Toit, F. (2016). *Support and advice for transitional and peacebuilding processes in Africa and the globe*. In Transformation Initiative GRANT RAF14/0038. Final Review October 2016.
- 75 Interview with Ivor Jenkins on 23 October 2020.
- 76 In Transformation Initiative (April 2015). *Monthly country report*.
- 77 Ibid.