

REPORT n°5

THE WORKS OF THE NATIONAL MEDIATION, CNOSC, FROM JULY 2010 TO APRIL 2011 FOR A CONSENSUAL AND LASTING EXIT WAY OUT OF THE CRISIS

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In Madagascar

SADC, African Union, United Nations, ICG

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The successive initiatives of the Civil Society Organizations (CSO) of Madagascar since February 2009 to build a Broad United Front in order to put pressure on political forces and have them conclude a political Agreement Consensual and Inclusive, has led to the official creation of the CNOSC (National Coordination of the Civil society Organizations) on the 23rd July 2009, with the signature of a FRAME AGREEMENT between the 3 major entities of The Civil Society, namely the ALLIANCE OF THE ORGANIZATIONS OF CIVIL SOCIETY (AOSC), the COALITION OF CIVIL SOCIETY ORGANIZATIONS (COSCO), and the KMF/CNOE (NATIONAL COMMITTEE FOR THE OBSERVATIONS OF THE ELECTIONS) after 2 months of negotiations.

As far as vision is concerned, the CNOSC pointed out the necessity of a Malagasy-malagasy solution in which a national mediation ensured by the civil society is requested, but which works together with international mediation. As for the objectives, it committed itself to facilitate the adoption by political forces of a LEGAL CONSENSUAL FRAMEWORK FOR THE MANAGEMENT OF THE TRANSITION, through an inclusive dialogue and to contribute to the Re-foundation of the Republic the implement process of which will be particularly marked by the organization and holding of free elections, transparent and credible at all levels.

Unanimously recognized by all living forces of the nation, especially by political forces, by the PHAT (President of High Authority of Transition), by the Army, by International Community and the president of International Mediation, HE the President J. CHISSANO, as a national mediator in the Malagasy-malagasy dialogue, the CNOSC has thus managed to resume the political dialogue which was in a standstill during several months of confrontation between the political forces.

Since its creation, the national mediation duties carried out relentlessly by CNOSC from July 2010 comprise 2 major phases.

The first phase, from July to September 2010 is mainly marked by the first POLITICAL DIALOGUE OF VONTOVORONA driven by CNOSC and supported by International Mediation (ICG – International Contact Group) with the presence of emissaries from President J. CHISSANO. The second phase, from October 2010 to May 2011 focuses on the preparations of the 2nd POLITICAL DIALOGUE with the project of collaboration with the FFKM (FEDERATION OF MADAGASCAR CHURCHES).

Among the key achievements of the first phase, it should be noted about the global process of resolving the crisis, that, if resuming the political dialogue by the CNOSC and the organization of the Dialogue of VONTOVORONA, are themselves key achievements, this meeting was also an “historical” meeting of all the Malagasy political forces since 50 years.

As for the Consensual Framework for the Management of the Transition, discussions on the structures of consensual transition have led to the adoption, without any objection or with objections of different institutions at executive, legislative, and judiciary plans, which were taken by the HAT (High Authority of Transition) in their current process of non inclusive implementation.

Despite these achievements, the CNOSC was obliged to suspend the mediation for political reasons in relation to the non-peaceful context, to inclusivity conditions not fulfilled due to the sporadic presence of the 3 mouvances, also to methodological reasons with the lack of a consensual approach and to financial reasons with a partial and limited support from International Community.

Since October 2010, the national mediation works entered into its second phase with launching the preparatory duties of the 2ND INCLUSIVE DIALOGUE of political forces, by implementing an ACTION PLAN based on the works carried out during the first phase, as well as on the analysis of the context which is very mobile and very evolutionary.

The preparations carried out by the CNOSC for the organization of this 2ND DIALOGUE take place in a national and international context, relatively new and complex.

As for national level, if the de facto authorities continue and accelerate their unilateral practice and approach, a phenomenon of structuration/creation and of splitting/breaking of political forces mainly due to the attraction of seats and profits characterized the political area.

At international level, for what concerns the search of inclusive, consensual and lasting solution, the new context is marked by the visibility more and more obvious of diverging points of view inside the International Community and also by the "roadmap" of Dr. SIMAO, the emissary of ICG in Madagascar which fueled these differences while at the same time speeding up the division of Malagasy political forces and putting the CNOSC aside of the mediation process. These diverging points of view caused by interests of economical, political or geo-strategic order which some countries try to protect or to promote in Madagascar, are obstacles almost impossible to overcome on the way of an inclusive and consensual solution to the crisis.

In this new context, the CNOSC, always requested by the living forces of the nation, and by most of the political forces to conduct the national mediation, is fully engaged in the preparation works of the 2nd political dialogue. It intensively carries on its project of collaboration with the FFKM (Federation of Malagasy Churches) and actively contributes to strengthen the mobilization and commitment state of the Civil Society, at local and national levels, which will hold General Assemblies in the 6 main cities of provinces. It keeps in a permanent way its relations with the political forces by means of meetings and consultations.

In the frame of these preparations, but also in view of the next Summit of the SADC on Malagasy crisis, the affirmation of the unavoidable role of national mediation in the global process of mediation, and ensured by the Civil Society through the CNOSC, is necessary so that the searching of the Malagasy-malagasy solution stated by all parts to the political crisis in Madagascar becomes effective and credible.

Most of the living forces and almost all the political forces lay their hope on this 2nd political dialogue on which the CNOSC has aligned its efforts since 4 months, because they consider that the Malagasy-malagasy solution is the only way leading to an consensual and lasting exit, complying with the interests of Malagasy people, and that the Civil Society represented by the CNOSC should ensure the national mediation during this 2nd dialogue with the support of the international mediation.

In the next steps of this process and especially in the realization of this 2nd dialogue, the international Community can play an extremely positive role which consists in:

- Helping the movement of Malagasy populations at the base, which are mostly gathered in the Civil Society organizations located in communes, districts and the 22 regions of Madagascar in their search of a specific solution matching the interests of Malagasy people
- Supporting the most sound forces of the nation and the most close to the populations, that is to say, the Civil Society directly in their actions but also by putting pressure adequately on the protagonists causing the crisis and erecting obstacles against all inclusive and consensual solution to the troubles
- Using its influence and prerogatives to force the de facto authorities to establish a peaceful socio-political frame including all the institutions necessary to guarantee the effective implementation of this social peace during the requested time.

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CHAPTER I

REMINDER ON THE CNOSC, PLACE AND ROLE OF NATIONAL MEDIATION

I. THE CNOSC

A. The birth of CNOSC

The CNOSC is officially born July 23, 2010 after 50 days of negotiations leading to the signing of a FRAMEWORK AGREEMENT between the *Alliance of Civil Society Organizations (OCSA)*, the *Coalition of Civil Society Organizations (COSC)* and *KMF / CNOE (National Committee for the Observation of Elections)*.

The CNOSC is characterized by the breadth and depth of its basement throughout the national territory through its member organizations, which are deeply implanted in almost all communes in Madagascar, in the districts and 22 regions and work there daily in the various sectors of development and the fight against poverty. Thus, the mass of its member organizations reaching about 4500 in number around the country and the common vision that unites them as to the role of civil society in finding an inclusive, consensual, peaceful and lasting solution to the crisis, to the benefit of the populations, build both the quality of its representativeness, the speed with which it has obtained the unanimous recognition of the vital forces of the nation to ensure the national mediation and the reputation it enjoys among people at local and national levels even now.

The constitution of the CNOSC was made possible by three factors specific and connected, namely:

- The involvement of some of the CSOs or their representatives in the work of **mediation-facilitation of political dialogue**, since the beginning of the crisis, especially in February 2009 at the Embassy of Senegal, in September-October 2009 upon the request of 4 mouvances after the failure of the Dialogue of Maputo 2.
- The efforts of CSOs from February 2009 to form a BROAD UNITED FRONT to put pressure on political forces to enter into a consensual and inclusive political agreement to resolve the crisis. Hence the constitution of the CCOC in March 2009, the ALLIANCE on the eve of Maputo in August 2009 ... which leads to **the formulation and launch of "THE CALL OF THE CIVIL SOCIETY FOR CRISIS CONSENSUS AND SUSTAINABLE EXIT WAY on 20 JUIN 2010 which has attracted the support of a multitude of civil society organizations in 22 regions of Madagascar and on the basis of which the ALLIANCE and the COALITION OF CSOs created following the speech of Mr. A RAJOELINA in May on the way out of crisis and the roadmap proposed by him at this time were able to engage in constructive dialogue**
- The encouragement of the International Community to the civil society, so that, through the CNOSC, it take things in hand by conducting the national mediation

B. The missions of the CNOSC

The CNOSC set up for itself two missions:

1. Conduct a national mediation in line with international mediation to have a **Legal Consensual Framework for the Management of the Transition** adopted by consensus through an inclusive dialogue involving representatives of all political forces in Madagascar, with a distribution key of seats in the transition institutions and a roadmap
2. Contribute to the **Republic Refoundation** the implementation process of which will be mainly marked by the *organization and holding of transparent and credible elections at all levels*, having fulfilled all the conditions for success and complying with the required international standards to avoid challenging the results and repeating the cyclical crises in Madagascar.

For the CNOSC, these two goals are intimately tied while having their respective specificities. Indeed, the Refoundation of the Republic depends in large part on the signing of political Agreements as outcome of the consensual and inclusive mediation. Without the consensual adoption of such agreements to ensure participation of all forces of the Nation in this refoundation, especially when preparing and adopting various key texts on economic, social, political subjects and when implementing the complex process of *national reconciliation* with many facets and dimensions, the refoundation cannot be performed in a fully participatory way

On the other hand, the duration of the transition and its mission are essentially determined by the preparations and the execution of the tasks required by the establishment of the new republic and the advancement of national reconciliation process.

Therefore, the CNOSC has relentlessly pursued its efforts to encourage all political forces to recognize the importance and implications of the principles of inclusiveness and of consensus for a lasting and in depth solution to the current crisis and to accept in this purpose to dialogue and negotiate to establish by mutual agreement the Legal Consensual Framework for the Management of the transition.

It is also in this view that it endlessly contributes to strengthen the unity and the mobilization of civil society components from whom CNOSC derives its legitimacy and strength.

It is also in this context that it decided, since its creation, to strengthen and expand its ties with the *Raiamandreny* (Elder persons) from different regions and development sectors and especially with the 4 Churches leaders gathered in the FFKM Federation whose actions and messages exert, despite all, and whatever the circumstances, inside or outside the churches, a great influence on the vast majority of the Malagasy population.

II. THE PLACE AND THE ROLE OF THE NATIONAL MEDIATION IN THE OVERALL MEDIATION MECHANISM

A. The meeting of the CNOSC with HE President CHISSANO J on Friday, July 29, 2010 at the Hotel Carlton

With HE President CHISSANO J, it has been defined on Friday, July 23, 2010 at the Carlton Hotel, that:

- mediation will be from now on jointly conducted by the international mediators of the International Contact Group in Madagascar under the chairmanship of HE President Joachim CHISSANO and the Malagasy Civil Society under the responsibility of CNOSC;
- international mediators will ensure the whole process linking Madagascar to the International Community (IC);
- CNOSC will handle the mediation at the national level. It committed itself to take account of both the achievements of previous negotiations and the evolution of realities on the field

President Joachim CHISSANO pointed out that the mediation conducted by CNOSC is possible only under the following conditions:

- taking into account on a full and complete way the interests of Malagasy people
- respecting the principle of consensus and inclusiveness,
- the need of the credibility, neutrality and impartiality of the CNOSC vis-à-vis all stakeholders and accredited diplomatic missions in Madagascar,
- acceptance by stakeholders of the mediation of CNOSC
- a clear definition of the role of international mediation. To the CNOSC President Joachim CHISSANO declared: "**You should use us in the best way.** "

He asked the CNOSC to specify the types of support it needs, in a subsequent meeting, which was done on Saturday, July 24 at the meeting of the CNOSC with the members of his delegation.

The CNOSC is committed to fulfill the points as raised and to clarify that the critical mass of its representativeness through the Civil Society Organizations in Madagascar it collects in its organizations throughout the country, gives it all the credibility to conduct the mediation.

Soon at the end of the first fortnight of August 2010, all these conditions have been met by CNOSC (see following paragraphs on unanimous Recognition of CNOSC by all stakeholders)

B. The malagasy -malagasy dialogue and the respective roles of the National Mediation (CNOSC) and international mediation in the overall mechanism of mediation in Madagascar from CNOSC point of view

THE 5 COMPONENTS OF THE MALAGASY-MALAGASY DIALOGUE:

Everyone agrees that solving the current crisis rests primarily on the Malagasy themselves but with the support from the International Community. As a matter of fact, this is a crisis concerning first of all the Malagasy Nation and the multiples causes of which, near and far, come mainly from the evolution of the nation history at its various stages, linked to political and socio-economical problems of the country since decades (poverty, governance mode, democracy, connections and links to the various metropolises cities abroad, etc.) and also to the previous internal conflicts not adequately resolved

Thus, when we talk of malagasy-malagasy dialogue, there are 5 points to consider:

a. A NATIONAL VISION OR OPTION : The first element is **the vision or the option** of Malagasy people to take in hands the destiny of the nation, to rely primarily on their own strength, on their capacity for creativity, solidarity and know-how, and putting at the forefront the protection and promotion of the high interests of the nation. This is the necessary and imperative responsibility of Malagasy people to resolve the crisis.

b. THE PROTAGONISTS: The second element relates to **the protagonists** of the crisis which are Malagasy political forces in conflict. Yet, for some people or politicians, the malagasy-malagasy dialogue means either the meeting of Malagasy political forces of **the same tendency**, this is what some elements of ESCOPOL stated at the time of its creation, and that no mediation is necessary to get Madagascar out of the crisis, or **the separate consultation of protagonists political forces without bringing the one in front of the others to dialogue in view of finding a CONSENSUAL AGREEMENT, which was the characteristics of Dr. SIMAO approach.**

c. NATIONAL INDEPENDENT MEDIATORS, IN THIS CASE THE CIVIL SOCIETY: The third element refers to the **mediators, indispensable to facilitate a real dialogue between political forces having diverging points of view.** It is clear that mediators cannot be representatives of political forces, but autonomous entities vis-à-vis the interests and aims of political forces, able to act in neutrality or impartiality.

Because of the specificity of civil society, which is to be close to people, many of whom congregate in its organizations, the problems and aspirations of whom it knows, the civil society is the natural mediator of conflicts between political forces. So, after months of crisis, it is the Malagasy Civil society, through the CNOSC, which, as unanimously agreed by the entities of political society, economic society and civil society, received the mission of ensuring the crisis mediation at the national level in relation to international mediation.

The malagasy-malagasy dialogue of the crisis therefore involve necessarily independent and impartial national mediators such as the representatives of Malagasy Civil Society.

d. THE CLOSE COLLABORATION BETWEEN NATIONAL MEDIATION AND INTERNATIONAL MEDIATION: The fourth element is the collaboration of the National Mediation with international mediation, namely that of the CNOSC team and that of HE President CHISSANO J. This collaboration is essential for various fundamental reasons including solidarity between peoples and countries around the globe, links and rules that govern countries such as Madagascar, members of various international, regional and sub-regional organizations including the United Nations, the African Union, SADC, COMESA, the IOF (International Organization of Francophony), IOC (Indian Ocean Commission) .., its relations and bilateral partnerships with a large number of countries.

In the precise case of the crisis in Madagascar, if the common distribution of the duties to be performed respectively by the national mediators and the international mediators ha been clarified as far as the principles are concerned, either it has not been clearly understood by all the parts and diversely interpreted, or, it was clearly understood by all, but not applied in practice for reasons of diverging interests. In all cases, since October 2010, Dr. SIMAO and his team have gone their way alone in

taking actions parallel to those of the National Mediation without prior agreement on the Coordination on the actions. Partnership, at the genuine meaning of the word, between national mediation and international mediation represented by the emissaries of President CHISSANO did not exist.

e. HOLDING AROUND A NEGOCIATION TABLE, AN INCLUSIVE POLITICAL DIALOGUE BETWEEN THE POLITICAL FORCES TO REACH AN CONSENSUAL AGREEMENT ON THE SHARED MANAGEMENT OF THE TRANSITION, LED BY THE NATIONAL MEDIATION UNDER THE AEGIS AND WITH THE SUPPORT OF THE INTERNATIONAL MEDIATION:

Holding political dialogues between the political forces (around a negotiation table) is the last element. It should be briefly noted that since the organization by CNOSC of the INCLUSIVE POLITICAL DIALOGUE IN VONTOVORONA in August 2010, which will soon be followed by a second DIALOGUE, according to the PLAN OF ACTION, no political dialogue has brought together political forces, contrarily to what is sometimes reported. Dr. SIMAO satisfied himself by “**separately consulting**” the various movements and political parties to convince them to accept and initial the “roadmap”.

It should also be noted that if the support of the International Community to the nation of Madagascar for an inclusive, consensual and sustainable exit from the crisis is capital, in peacetime as in times of crisis, international mediation may involve some risks from the point of view of neutrality and impartiality vis-à-vis the protagonists facing forces. In other words, it is possible that because of the interests of some countries within the International Community, who have interests to protect or promote in Madagascar in economic, geo-strategic or political areas, the positioning of one or the other about the solution proposed to solve the crisis in Madagascar may be moving.

CHAPTER II

THE 2 STEPS OF WORK OF THE MALAGASY-MALAGASY MEDIATION -July 2010 to April 2011

Since its creation, the work of the CNOSC comprises 2 major steps:

- august 2010-september 2010 marked by the political dialogue of VONTOVORONA: **main role played by CNOSC**, supportive role by International Mediation (ICG)
- November 2010-March 2011: preparations for the second phase of the National Mediation and preparations for the 2nd Round Table of political actors with the collaboration of the FFKM (Federation of Churches in Madagascar)

SECTION 1: THE 1ST PHASE: AUGUST October 2010: THE STAGES REACHED AND THE MAIN ACHIEVEMENTS AT THE POLITICAL DIALOGUE OF VONTOVORONA

I. THE ACTIONS LINES OF THE CNOSC DURING THE 1ST PHASE

The main lines of CNOSC interventions CNOSC in this matter were:

- Information and mobilization of all living forces of the Nation on the existence and objectives of the CNOSC and the crucial role played by mediation Malagasy-malagasy in the system of global mediation for moving out of the crisis in Madagascar, working together with international mediation led by President CHISSANO J, the necessity to hold an inclusive political dialogue in order to establish a consensual legal basement for managing the necessary transition to the international recognition and the preparatory process of setting up the foundations of the new republic
- The Consultation of all political forces on the Malagasy need to hold a political dialogue in order to obtain a consensual framework for managing the transition
- The Consultation of the components of civil society, trade unions and the private sector, the novelty of the device of mediation with the role assumed by the Malagasy civil society through the CNOSC as national ombudsman
- Frequent meetings to exchange information with representatives of the International Community and the ICG in Madagascar on the progress of the CNOSC work
- Meeting with the President of the HAT, with the chain of command of the armed forces and security
- **The Organization of the first political dialogue between representatives of major Malagasy political groups from 25 to 27 August 2010 at VONTOVORONA (Antananarivo) after several months of confrontation**

II. KEY ACHIEVEMENTS

A. Unanimous recognition of the CNOSC as national mediator by

- the International Community residing in Madagascar
- all concerned parties and political mouvances
- the president of the HAT A RAJOELINA
- the CHAIN OF COMMAND OF ARMED FORCES AT THE HIGHEST LEVEL, their insistence to emphasize their NEUTRALITY and their role as executing force after the implementation of the LEGAL CONSENSUAL FRAMEWORK OF THE TRANSITION
- the "RAY AMAN-DRENY MIJORO" (THE STANDING ELDER PARENTS) to lead the mediation process and national re-foundation of the Republic with the finalization of a partnership agreement between the 2 entities
- endorsement by the various components of civil society of the process led by CNOSC and their active participation to multifaceted activities and interventions required by the re-foundation of the Republic

B. The holding of the Roundtable of VONTOVORONA from 25 to 27 August 2010

1. THE CONTEXT

Based on these achievements, the particular context of the first session of the Political Dialogue held in VONTOVORONA of 25 to 27 August 2010 is characterized by four specific elements intimately united, namely:

- New hope raised by the existence and the process of CNOSC among the active forces of the Nation
- The almost unanimous recognition of the CNOSC by all players, whether formal or effective simply to conduct the national mediation process and re-foundation of the Republic
- The rapidly changing of political sphere largely driven by the formation of the BROAD UNITED FRONT of civil society embodied by the CNOSC, which led to a **restructuration and reorganization of political space**, and **high pressure exerted by political forces on CNOSC** to quickly gather them around a table so that they set up a POLITICAL CONSENSUAL AGREEMENT (or LEGAL CONSENSUAL FRAMEWORK OF THE TRANSITION), guaranteeing a gradual return to normalization of Madagascar relations with the International Community.
- The mobilization of the various components of civil society and communities at national and local levels, their endorsement of the CNOSC approach and their commitment to actively participate in multifaceted interventions required by the mediation and the re-foundation of the Republic

In order to preserve this dynamic of common adherence to the process initiated by the CNOSC, which actually reflects the trust and credibility granted to it and the hope placed in it, and in order to avoid weakening the pressing and declared willingness of the political groups to dialogue, the CNOSC decided to organize three days of dialogue, although all the conditions for success were not met, especially on technical and methodological aspects (cf. Letter to HE President CHISSANO dated August 23, 2010)

2. THE KEY ACHIEVEMENTS IN THE PROCESS OF GLOBAL DIALOGUE

- The revival by the National Mediation Team (CNOSC) of the political dialogue that was stationary for several months of confrontation between participants
- The **direct** involvement of civil society in Madagascar, through the CNOSC in the conduct of the mediation process and rebuilding of the Republic
- The "historic" meeting of all political forces in Madagascar, after decades (50 years), under the leadership of the CNOSC
- The establishment of the National Independent Group for Mediation GNIM responsible for conducting the mediation
- The establishment and respective operations of the Veterans Committee responsible for GNIM supporting, the team of legal experts and the technical and logistical support unit
- The support of international mediation under the leadership of HE President CHISSANO with the presence of his emissaries Dr Leonardo SIMAO and M. Nuno. supported by the Ambassadors of South Africa and Mauritius

- The support of the International Community at the political level (see Supporting Press Release, massive presence at the Opening Ceremony), technical, logistical and financial

However, the tense political situation required a peaceful environment respectful of freedom of expression and stopping all provocations on both sides to avoid violent actions of marginal extremists, which may trigger very serious events. If the promises in this direction have been given to the CNOSC who spoke with representatives of the authorities, the promises were not kept.

3. ABOUT THE CONSENSUAL LEGAL FRAMEWORK OF THE TRANSITION TO BE SET UP

- Achieving a consensus on a comparative use of the AGREEMENTS OF MAPUTO / ADDIS ABABA and POLITICAL AGREEMENT OF IVATO as a basis for discussion
- The discussion on the structures of consensual transition
- The adoption of most of the consensual transition Institutions namely at the executive, legislative and judicial levels: Presidency of the Transition Government of National Unity, the Supreme Council of the Transition (CST), Transition Congress (CT), INEC, HCC, CES ..

Despite these achievements, the CNOSC was forced to suspend mediation for political reasons (non-peaceful context, the terms of inclusiveness not met by the sporadic presence of the 3 mouvances), methodological reasons (no consensual approach) and technico-financial (partial support from the International Community)

In summary, it is the different institutions adopted without any objections or with some objections during VONTOVORONA meeting which are carried on by the Authorities of the HAT in their current non-inclusive process of setting up.

SECTION 2: THE PREPARATION OF THE 2ND PHASE OF THE NATIONAL MEDIATION WITH THE COLLABORATION WITH THE FFKM (FEDERATION OF CHURCHES OF MADAGASCAR): November 2010 - April 2011

I. THE FAST EVOLUTION OF NATIONAL CONTEXT AND THE ARRANGEMENT OF VARIOUS FACING ACTORS FORCES

A. The authorities of the HAT: The continuation and acceleration of unilateral process

Since VONTOVORONA meeting, the major times of this process and the anchor points of its unilateral nature can be perceived through the *National Conference of October 13 to 18, 2010, the referendum, the INEC, the electoral lists, the access to media, the non-inclusive implementation of the "transition" institutions, the current distribution of seats and the composition of the new government*

In sum, contrary to what was suggested and promised, neither the results of the National Conference, nor the official victory of YES to Constitutional referendum on 17 November 2010, nor the announcement of the birth of the 4th Republic, nor the recent establishment of "structures of transition" and the new government have solved anything about the crisis.

B. The political arena: the phenomenon of structure / creation and splitting / erosion within the political forces

The CNOSC, who maintained permanent contacts with all political forces in traditional or new, large or small, made the three following observations:

- If, before VONTOVORONA, a process of gathering and restructuring characterized the space of political forces, the implementation by the HAT of the institutions of the "transition" has led to a process of division, splitting, erosion of political parties, largely due to the struggles for the distribution of seats in CT (Transition congress) CST (High Council of Transition), the Prime Minister post, etc.. The most instructive example is that of ESCOPOL created in August 2009 and which split into 4 with the wing of Mrs. Sarah Georget together with the 2 Alain, the wing of Ms. Elia / Benjamin, the wing of Cyril / Paul Mpody, the wing or Berthnès or EXOPOL
- If before VONTOVORONA, it is the 3 mouvances that have experienced the phenomenon of dissidence of their members, **since the Referendum**, it is the new political rallies such as the ESCOPOL which are the biggest victims of the phenomenon of division, splitting and breaking
- The birth of "new parties" continues at a steady pace while we are also witnessing during April 2011 the emergence of a new group known as "platforms", the latest 2 created are: IRIP (Platform for Stability and International Recognition) and NAD (New Democratic Alliance)

C. The population's state of mind and expectations

On one hand, with the accelerated and widespread impoverishment of the mass of the population, shown in particular by increasing social precariousness, unemployment, underemployment and insecurity in both urban and rural areas, due to the current deadlock situation, the vast majority of the population living in extreme poverty aspires to a quick resolution of the crisis that could allow recovery of economic growth and employment, return to peace and security, while at the same time fearing the uncertainty of the future

On the other hand, people want a lasting solution to the current political crisis so that never again, changes in politics will come through unconstitutional ways but through democratic acts, credible elections in compliance with the Constitution and the institutions of the Republic, so that Madagascar moves out of its situation of poor country, in contrast to the richness of its potential and can take the way of a sustainable development to ensure the future for the coming generations

Moreover, submerged by the catastrophic effects of the crisis which hits them as the first and the main victims, aware of the selfishness of the leaders and most of the "politicians" looking only for their own interests and using the crisis to get maximum political and financial benefits, people show no interest towards public affairs.

D. Civil society: the state of mobilization and commitment of its components at national and regional levels (trade unions, socio-professional organizations, artists, youth movements) in their support for the malagasy-malagasy mediation, Phase 2 and the refoundation of the republic

If the CNOSC team remains in constant contact with officials of the OCSA (Alliance) and the COSC (Coalition), meetings with the various components of civil society were organized by the CNOSC in Antananarivo and some regions during the last 3 months of the year 2010 and in January and February 2011 to inform them first on the results of political dialogue of VONTOVORONA and on the problems encountered, then the political context and the prospects for the malagasy-malagasy mediation.

Thus, immediately after VONTOVORONA, before and after the holding of the National Conference organized unilaterally by the HAT with the collaboration of "RAY AMANDRENY MIJORO" and of the Association Finoana created for the needs of the case, then, following the Referendum, the COSC and OCSA performed a work of analysis and explanation towards public opinion and inquiries towards the de facto authorities. As examples, the following may be mentioned briefly:

- The press release of the COSC in October 2010 on the National Conference and on the DINIKA SANTATRA meetings, the special issue on the referendum in November 2010, Articles of inquiry and analysis in the major newspapers such as EXPRESS, MIDI, TARATRA, AO RAHA on the Referendum, on the conditions for success of a genuine government of national unity and the transitional institutions, (CT, CST), on the INEC, in February 2011 ...
- The Report of the KMF / CNOE on the referendum in November 2010
- The press release on the Referendum by OCSA on November 23, 2011
- The National Meeting of the 22 regional platforms and 11 national thematic platforms of PFNOSCM (National Platform of Civil Society Organizations of Madagascar) member of OCSA, mainly focused on the crisis and on the forms of support to be provided to and malagasy-malagasy solution and to CNOSC followed by a press release and a press conference

In short, at present, the Civil Society organizations are increasingly mobilized and more committed than before VONTOVORONA, to push forward and support CNOSC in its actions lines on the second phase of the national mediation and on the refoundation of the Republic with the process of reconciliation.

II. THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY AND THE VISIBILITY OF DIVERGING POINTS OF VIEW INSIDE IT:

- To the CNOSC, four new elements characterize since late December the space of commitment of the International Community and of the ICG (International Contact Group) in the search for inclusive and consensual solution to the crisis in Madagascar, and its collaboration with the National Mediation, namely :

- Unquestionable respect by the SADC leaders of the basic principles of consensus and inclusiveness in the search for an equitable, sustainable and realistic solution to the crisis in Madagascar (see the latest release from March 2011)
- Emergence and dominance of a deviationist line against these principled positions of the SADC, set forth and acted by Dr. J SIMAO envoy of President CHISSANO, who instead of gathering the views of different political actors and bringing them together around a table, divides them more and more, and at the same time digging a trench deeper and deeper, among the members of the International Community and within the Malagasy nation
- The apparition more and more visible, even to the less informed, of differences of position within the International Community in general (France, European Union, USA, Indian Ocean commission, ...) and even within SADC as the recent recognition by the Mauritian Government of the de facto power in Madagascar, etc. "fueled" by the roadmap of Dr. SIMAO, shown as the ultimate solution to the crisis in Madagascar.
- An artificially maintained fuzziness during the last 4 months around the meaning of what the malagasy-malagasy dialogue is, and the respective roles of national mediation and international mediation, while until recently, it was considered as a common vision and a common point of view between the International Community / International Contact Group (see various releases of SADC, AU, etc.) and the CNOSC on the imperative need of a durable and in depth solution to the crisis in Madagascar, requiring a full and entire responsibility taking by Malagasy (Malagasy-malagasy dialogue) with the presence and the effective and respective collaboration of National Mediation provided by the Malagasy Civil Society through CNOSC and International Mediation. **This fuzz is closely tied to the line followed by Dr. SIMAO whose Roadmap totally wiped the CNOSC out of the mediation space.**

III. ACTIONS UNDERTAKEN BY THE CNOSC FOR THE PREPARATION OF THE 2ND PHASE OF NATIONAL MEDIATION WITH THE ORGANIZATION OF THE SECOND ROUND TABLE OF POLITICAL FORCES: November 2010-April 2011:

Following VONTOVORONA, after assessing its output, especially during a 3-days workshop held at the hotel PALISSANDRE with technical and financial support of the Friedrich Ebert Foundation and after releasing VONTOVORONA REPORT to the president CHISSANO, President of International Mediation, to the International Community in Madagascar, to the heads of Mouvances in Madagascar and abroad, the CNOSC set up at the end of October 2010 an **ACTION PLAN** which has been immediately implemented

By applying this action plan, all actions taken by the CNOSC since end of October are based on four strategic pillars, namely:

- collaboration between FFKM and CNOSC in Malagasy-malagasy solution, national mediation and in the re-foundation of the Republic
- continuing the collaboration of CNOSC with traditional authorities

- mobilizing and strengthening civil society participation
- awareness of and advocacy near political forces on the need for A SECOND MALAGASY-MALAGASY INCLUSIVE ROUND TABLE to reach a political consensual agreement for shared management of the exercise of power during the transition.
- clarification between CNOSC and the envoys of His Excellency President CHISSANO on the respective roles of national mediation and international mediation and the forms of support from the International Community to the National Mediation

A. The project of collaboration with the FFKM (FEDERATION OF MADAGASCAR CHURCHES)

In Madagascar, since the accession of Christianity in 19th century and that of colonization, we can say, to simplify, that 3 influences of very different forms and impacts act on the populations at the base : the influence of institutional power whatever its form (king central authority, colonization, republic), the one of religious congregations, especially Christian, the one of traditional authorities.

Taking full account of this complex but undeniable reality, in the framework of national mediation, national reconciliation and refunding of the republic, in order to find an inclusive, consensual and lasting solution, complying with the interests of the entire nation, the CNOSC endeavors, since its creation in July 2010, to gradually materialize its collaboration with the different religious, the Elders from different sectors and provinces, and the traditional power of the AMPANJAKA and the TANGALAMENA (the heirs of king's power, the caretakers of traditional spiritual values...)

Because of the close links between the history of the Malagasy people and Christian Churches in Madagascar since the 19th century, and of messages of justice, peace, unity and independence it carries along by its birth and existence, the FFKM becomes, until the coup d'état of 17 March 2009, the **undeniable moral and unavoidable Authority** for everything concerning the major issues and milestones in the life of the nation. Its influence is great with people, its voice carries far and its word calls, even if it has lost some of its notoriety at the beginning of this crisis. In short, the FFKM is a force to be reckoned with in all circumstances, especially in a crisis like this.

That is why, since August 2009, and especially during the last two months of 2010 and first quarter of 2011, the CNOSC intensified contacts and advocacy with the four Church leaders gathered in the FFKM to convince them to participate in national mediation, national reconciliation and in rebuilding the republic

Several steps were taken the output of which means from the FFKM a vision or a position with four elements in front of the current crisis, namely:

- the recent willingness of the FFKM, under pressure from internal trends within it, and **under that of the CNOSC**, to fulfill once again one of its responsibilities which is to monitor and jointly review national affairs that it was obliged to leave aside since March 17, 2009 because of internal contradictions within it

- unambiguous affirmation of the need to bring a lasting and in depth solution to the current crisis and **especially to the multifaceted crisis of Malagasy society**, which requires the full implementation of the principles of **inclusiveness, consensus and nonviolence**
- The importance of malagasy-malagasy dialogue in search of such a solution and at the same time working with International Mediation
- The pillars of the vision and orientation of the FFKM about the lasting resolution of the crisis in Madagascar are **the recognition of their faults by each of the actors, the need of forgiveness, dialogue and reconciliation among all**. These are messages and acts highly Christian conform to the words of the Gospel. NATIONAL SEMINAR OF FFKM LEADER STAFF during 3 days of 20-21-22 January 2011 and THE SOLEMN OECUMENIC CULT of Sunday, January 23 are in fact the official starting point of all FFKM actions to transmit these strong messages throughout the country, to all "the people of God " and in particular to the various political forces

These messages show that its commitment to the fundamental question of the PRINCIPLES is full because the call for total forgiveness, dialogue, reconciliation covers both the mediation and the rebuilding of the Republic

But what is still a problem is its ability to work together secured by overtaking its internal contradictions. And what also remains to be defined is the place it wants to occupy in the whole process and which matches its evangelical mission and specificity, which implies setting up together of a larger arrangement where every entity (FFKM, CNOSC, Traditional Authorities-FKR...) finds its place and fulfill his duty in compliance with its vocation and in harmony with the others in the framework of the triptych Malagasy-Malagasy Dialogue / National Reconciliation / National Mediation.

During the last 3 months until now, the meetings of the members of the CNOSC with Church leaders are continuing. The current restructuring of the FFKM and finalization of the re-creation of the entity responsible of decisions on national affairs in it, with which the CNOSC will directly deal, reflects the progress of the process.

B. Strengthening the collaboration with traditional authorities

1. The ELDER COUNCIL OR FILANKEVITRY NY RAY AMANDRENY (FKR)

It is necessary to briefly recall that the identity and cultural values system on Malagasy grant an essential place and a major role to the Elder Persons or (Raiamandreny (Father and mother: literal translation), in the structure and function of the society at all levels and in all areas. Considered as the keepers of the ancestors wisdom and of the fundamental values which must rule the Malagasy society, such as the respect of life and human dignity, the sense of dialogue, of solidarity and unity (FIHAVANANA), the sense of integrity and justice (FAHAMARINANA), the sense of loyalty to someone else, and the protection of the poor people and the most humble, they are also recognized as the holders of a great human experience acquired all along a rich and perfect life.

In sum, these are recognized and immediately respected as **“models” for everyone in the social sphere where they move for their integrity, their wisdom, their sense and experience for managing conflicts.**

In a first step, CNOSC has therefore set up the Veterans council or FILANKEVITRY NY RAIAMANDRENY (FK) which has closely collaborated with them in the first phase of national mediation works from July to October 2010, especially during the POLITICAL DIALOGUE OF VONTOVORONA;

3 components build the frame of the FKR, namely:

- 1) 4 representatives of the different Christian congregations (catholic, FJKM (protestant), Anglican, Lutheran) and the Muslim one
- 2) 15 personalities recognized as RAIAMANDRENY on national level and/or local, representing different regions, institutions, areas, related to development, governance, culture, gender;
- 3) 2 representatives of the “Ray Amandreny Mijoro”, the creation and choose of whom were done by the PHAT

Until the present time, collaboration between CNOSC and FKR is continuing and will increase during the next 2 months (May and June), but will also take into account the direct collaboration which is foreseen with the FFKM.

2. THE TRADITIONAL AUTHORITY OF THE AMPANJAKA (Kings) and the TANGALAMENA (the dynastic heirs and the guardians of traditional values)

Without entering into the details, it should be noted that during the 19th century, after the unification of the kingdoms in Madagascar, then during the 20th century, during the colonization period and the successive republics, traditional power, hold by the “AMPANJAKA” (Kings) and the TANGALAMENA (Priests), was always present, but at various rates according to the place, the time and the specific realities of the tribes, ethnic groups and localities. It was more or less utilized by the successive institutional authorities, with more or less success, to better anchor their grip into the population at the base, because the traditional power is also a moral and cultural authority for everything in connection with the values and the traditional organization of the people at the base.

Several associations of traditional power of the AMPANJAKA and the TANGALAMENA exist and have submitted points of view and proposals about the solutions to the current political crisis. Some of them came to meet the CNOSC **on their request**, and namely the most recently: the ORIMABATO, which trust on the CONSENSUS, the MUTUAL FORGIVENESS, the FIHAVANANA and the GREAT ALLIANCE of all in the “interest of Malagasy people” to resolve the crisis in the shortest term.

For the CNOSC, all the living forces of the Nation, whoever they are, who wish to base their action on UNITY and SOLIDARITY of Malagasy people at community, local or national levels, and trust on an inclusive dialogue of all concerned forces, for a consensual, peaceful and lasting solution to the crisis, contribute to facilitate the mediation work, national reconciliation and refounding the Republic.

- **C. Political forces: the twin objectives of CNOSC, the realized activities and the ongoing actions**

1. THE TWIN OBJECTIVES OF THE CNOSC

- • Resume the direct Dialogue with the President of HAT, broken at the refusal by CNOSC to organize an unilateral and badly prepared National Conference

technically and organizationally, to convince him to engage in the unavoidable path of dialogue and mediation

- Lead the various political forces to engage in a second inclusive Dialogue during the phase 2 of the national mediation to reach a **CONSENSUAL LEGAL FRAMEWORK FOR TRANSITION (Political Agreement)**, guaranteeing a lasting solution to the crisis and a International Recognition

2. ACTIVITIES AS CARRIED OUT

THE MEETINGS AFTER VONTOVORONA IN OCTOBER-NOVEMBER AND DECEMBER;

Meetings on request by political forces:

- with MONIMA (October)
- with VONJY AINA (October)
- with the ex-members of Parliament of Jacques SYLLA trend (November)
- with ESCOPOL (November)
- with mouvance of M. RAVALOMANANA (November)
- with the TIM (December)
- with the representatives of Associations of Mayors of Madagascar (December)
- with ESCOPOL (December)

• CONSULTATIONS IN JANUARY 2011 OF POLITICAL FORCES ABOUT THE SITUATION OF MEDIATION AND OF POLITICAL DIALOGUE

On Friday, January 21 and Tuesday, January 25, 2011, the CNOSC conducted a series of consultations of various concerned political forces to assess their **willingness to organize an inclusive political dialogue for the adoption of a consensual agreement on the management of the transition and their commitment in the draft resolution of the crisis proposed by Dr SIMAO, at the same time**

During the three days of consultations organized by the CNOSC during which, most were present *, namely,

- The 3 political mouvances Albert Zafy, Didier Ratsiraka, Marc Ravalomanana
- The Group of the Espace de Concertation des Parties Politiques (ESCOPOL) led by Mrs. Sarah, Alain ANDRIAMISEZA and Alain TIANDRAZANARIVELO, the group led by Benjamin RAMANANTSOA having apologized
- MONIMA, the party of former Prime Minister MONJA Roindefo,
- the MDM of Mr Pierrot RAJAONARIVELO
- The VONJY AINA,
- AREMA Collegial Management, pro-RAJAONARIVELO Pierrot, the Party IRAY, and also other parties having already visited CNOSC before these 3 days,

In sum, it is the political forces close to RAJOELINA who did not come, namely the UDR, TGV and part of ESCOPOL

All these political forces agreed on:

- **The need for a lasting and in depth solution to the crisis, thus adhering to the principles of inclusiveness and of consensus. They are therefore prepared to proceed with an inclusive political dialogue leading to a**

consensual legal framework for managing the transition with a seats distribution key in the institutions of the transition and a roadmap. But some slight differences appear between their positions. Thus, ESCOPOL Sarah Georget wing focuses on the preparatory process of elections and the importance of restructuring the INEC. All stressed their commitment to the national mediation by CNOSC

On the National mediation undertaken by the CNOSC, all reaffirmed their adhesion to a malagasy-malagasy process and the need for national mediation working in line with international mediation.

It must be said that at each consultation, the meaning or significance of the "malagasy-malagasy mediation" was long discussed by each political force with CNOSC

• **THE MEETINGS OF THE CNOSC WITH OTHER POLITICAL FORCES AND OTHER ENTITIES UPON THEIR REQUEST:**

During the months of February and March 2011, the CNOSC held several meetings with various entities, political or other, particularly interested "positively" or "negatively" by the "roadmap" of Dr. SIMAO, and when this last was about to have his roadmap initialed. In this precise context, CNOSC held, on the request of each of these forces, several meetings, among which:

- 3 meetings with the 3 mouvances including one at the request of President Albert ZAFY himself and held at the Villa Elizabeth.
- 2 meetings with the Unions of State Great Bodies (Judiciaries, Civil administrators, Teachers, etc...)
- Meetings with:
 - 2 Associations of traditional Power
 - Representatives of one wing of the ESCOPOL
 - The National Association of the Mayors of Madagascar
- **THE PREPARATION OF A NEW SERIES OF CONSULTATIONS SCHEDULED IN THE SECOND FORTNIGHT OF MAY 2010**
- Pre contacts are already made, namely with
 - MONIMA, of the ex-Prime Minister MONJA Roindefo
 - PSRI (Platform for Stability and International Recognition) whose founders are members or previous members of the government and the current "CT and CST"
 - A part of ESCOPOL
 - The 3 Mouvances and the 2 leaders abroad

D. Civil society: strengthening the mobilization / structuration, the activities undertaken and in progress

The two strategic axes of work towards Civil Society are strengthening its engagement and improving its structure for greater and more effective involvement

as a binding force to facilitate the inclusive, consensual and sustainable solution to the crisis.

1. STRENGTHENING THE INFORMATION AND AWARENESS OF CIVIL SOCIETY ORGANIZATIONS AT LOCAL, NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL LEVELS

• IN THE MONTH OF SEPTEMBER 2010: THE HOLDING OF A GENERAL ASSEMBLY MEETING OF INFORMATION

This General Assembly held in Antananarivo dealt both on the Political Dialogue of VONTOVORONA and on the National Conference organized by the Raiamandreny Mijoro and the Association Finoana.

Representatives of organizations from various districts of Madagascar attended the General Assembly

• IN THE MONTH OF DECEMBER 2010:

- National meeting in Antananarivo gathering 22 regional platforms and 11 thematic platforms of the National PFNOSCM (National Platform of Civil Society Organizations of Madagascar), main component of the CNOSC as a member of OCSA. The main purpose of the meeting was to debate on the crisis and the forms of support to provide to the malagasy-malagasy mediation and to the CNOSC followed by a release and a press conference

- holding by CNOSC of information and mobilization meetings in some regions, particularly in MAHAJANGA (West) and TOLIARY (South) on the history and mission of the CNOSC and civil society, on Political Dialogue of VONTOVORONA, the positions of CNOSC about the National Conference, the Referendum, the Elections, the establishment of "CT and CST", the prospects for mediation and the imperative need of a more obvious and effective commitment of civil society in resolving the crisis and rebuilding the Republic.

• IN JANUARY AND FEBRUARY 2011: THE CONSULTATIONS

During two days, from Monday 24 to Tuesday, January 25, 2011, and also in February at the request of some civil society organizations, the CNOSC organized a series of consultation meetings with the components of civil society, media and the private sector to review the current national mediation process in view of a inclusive and consensual exit from crisis. These include leaders of different unions gathered in the CTM (Confederation of Workers of MADAGASCAR), the various unions of the Great Body of the State (judiciary, civil administrators, doctors, veterinarians, Prison Administration, university, etc.), the major platforms of civil society, Alliance (OCSA), Coalition (COSC), National Federation of Scouting, etc.

All the components of Civil Society remain committed to the principles of inclusiveness and of consensus for a lasting and in depth solution to the crisis. In this sense, they requested the continuation of the National Malagasy – Malagasy Mediation -Phase 2, together with International Mediation. The press conference and releases of the CTM on Wednesday, January 26 as well as the last meeting of the Great Body of the State the same day were very explicit in this regard.

- IN THE MONTHS OF March-April 2011: PREPARATION AND CONDUCT OF A GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF MADAGASCAR CIVIL SOCIETY ORGANIZATIONS SCHEDULED FOR 4th WEEK OF MAY AND OF 5 GENERAL ASSEMBLIES AT THE HEAD CITIES OF THE PROVINCES (Fianarantsoa, Toliara, Antsiranana, Toamasina, Mahajanga)

The subject will be the positioning of the Civil Society in front of the crisis, the mediation, the elections.

The preparations are fairly well engaged with:

-information and mobilization of the Civil Society Organizations at the levels of districts, regions, and at national level

-running preparatory structures among which the Organization Committee, the Executive Operation Secretary, the various Commissions

-last preparatory details of a National Preliminary Meeting To the General Assemblies, scheduled on the 21st of may at which local responsible will participate

2. IMPROVEMENT OF THE COMMUNICATION AREA WITH THE CIVIL SOCIETY OF MADAGASCAR AND INTERNATIONAL CIVIL SOCIETY

In Madagascar

- Creating a website CNOSC
- Improving information flow between CNOSC and local CSOs (municipalities, districts, regions ...)
- Strengthening the partnership between CNOSC and the national bloggers
- Strengthening partnership with MASS MEDIA workers

In Direction of African and world wide Civil Society

- Presentation of the situation of the crisis in Madagascar and the work of mediation played by civil society through the CNOSC at several sub-regional, regional and global meetings: National Council of NGOs in the SADC (CNGO), Peace and Security Program of COMESA, Seminar of SADC mediators, FIP (INTERNATIONAL FORUM OF NATIONAL NGOs PLATFORMS) and civil societies of the 5 Continents, WSF (World Social Forum) ...

3 -THE ESTABLISHMENT OF TECHNICAL AND ORGANIZATIONAL SUPPORTING STRUCTURES TO THE ACTIVITIES OF THE CNOSC: UNDERWAY

- **Creation of the National Commission to Support the CNOSC-(CAN)**the main mission of which relates to the refoundation of the Republic, which implies creating different commissions in relation to the topics needed by the Refoundation of the Republic (election laws, laws on political parties, laws on communication, the INEC...) and also in relation to the process engaged by the HAT and the consultations and meetings already carried out.
- Creation of the Technical Secretariat for Coordination of CNOSC activities

- The creation of the Organizing Committee of the General Assemblies of Madagascar CSO in Antananarivo and in the five main cities of previous provinces (Fianarantsoa, Toliary, Antsiranana, Toamasina, Mahajanga)
- Strengthening the coordination of the activities of the 2 major alliances of CSO, the OCSA and the COSC as well as their member organizations throughout the mediation process and rebuilding of the republic in connection with the mediation mission of CNOSC

E. The International Community: the continuation of contacts and prospects of collaboration

1. PERMANENT CONTACTS OF THE CNOSC WITH THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY

- Contacts and meetings between the CNOSC and the International Community in Madagascar, or outside (representatives of international Agencies or Bilateral Countries during their missions) continue at a steady pace since September 2010 at the request of one or the other party, including:
 - **In October 2010**, with the whole International Community in Madagascar
 - to inform them, upon their request, on the ins and outs of DINIKA SANTATRA and the National Conference
 - to present the CNOSC REPORT ON THE POLITICAL DIALOGUE of VONTOVORONA
 - **in December 2010** with
 - Mr Peter METCALF, representing the Department of Political Affairs of United Nations in Madagascar
 - HE Ambassador of France and his team
 - **in February 2011** with representatives of the SADC team in Madagascar, including HE Ambassador of Mauritius
 - **in April 2011:**
 - with IOC (INDIAN OCEAN COMMISSION) representatives headed by HE Minister of Foreign Affairs of Mauritius
 - with representatives of OIF (FRANCOPHONY INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION) led by M. Hugo SADA

F. A word on the ARMY AND Security forces : the main instrument of non resolution of the crisis

The loss of the neutrality of the Army during this crisis constitutes, in some extension the stumbling block preventing the adoption by all political forces of a consensual and lasting solution to the crisis, and the establishment of a peaceful socio-political climate favorable to dialogue.

Whereas the decisions and the recommendations of the ARMY GENERAL ASSEMBLY organized in 2009 are in favor of the unity, and of the neutrality of the army and the coming back to fundamental values and rules, it is still subject to deep internal divisions, used as instrument by some forces, partially changed into arena of violent confrontations, but also in tools of non respect of human rights and

democratic freedoms. Therefore, it cannot any more play any fundamental role as “last fencing wall of the republic”.

However, during the preparation works for the 1st POLITICAL DIALOGUE OF VONTOVORONA, the CNOSC could have positive contacts with the commanding chain of the army and of Security forces. The preparations of the 2nd dialogue request a larger persuasion work and led by different forces working together with the CNOSC to be able to establish a peaceful climate and frame which allows the dialogue to be held.

IV.CONCLUSIONS : THE CURRENT OBJECTIVES OF THE CNOSC AND ITS IMMEDIATE PROSPECTS:

HOLDING A SECOND INCLUSIVE DIALOGUE OF POLITICAL FORCES

It is clear that all the interventions of the CNOSC since October 2010 strive to holding a second POLITICAL DIALOGUE of the different forces involved at an inclusive Round Table. Scheduled as soon as possible in the coming months according to CNOSC agenda, driven by NATIONAL MEDIATION and supported by International Mediation, this 2nd dialogue must lead to the implementation of a LEGAL CONSENSUAL FRAMEWORK for the management of the Transition together with a Roadmap and clarifying the necessary conditions and the actions to be undertaken for the national reconciliation and holding Free Elections, transparent and credible.

WAYS AND MEANS TO DO IT IN THE NEXT 2 MONTHS

The ways and means through which the CNOSC plans to reach this objective, in a way which is at the same time creative, realistic and professional, despite the complexity of the situation comprise:

1° In Madagascar

- Make operational, in the shortest time, the new mechanism of collaboration and partnership between the FFKM (moral authority), the CNOSC (National Mediation) and the traditional authorities FKR and others, with the support of International mediation, so that the malagasy-malagasy dialogue resumes, the notoriety and persuasion power of these three entities being strong enough as well as their relations to almost the entirety of the populations at the base and at all levels, to have their common voice heard and followed by all political forces and their leaders, namely by the PHAT and by the ARMY whose internal splitting and its deviation from the neutrality position which he should keep have become one of the major obstacles to the resolution of the current political crisis and one of the reasons to the prolongation of socio-economical life deterioration in the country

- Hold GENERAL ASSEMBLIES OF MADAGASCAR CIVIL SOCIETY ORGANISATIONS in the last week of May in the 6 main cities of the previous provinces, so that Civil society impose itself, even more than in the past, as a force of advocacy, pressure, interpellation to political forces in Madagascar but also to the International community, and also as executor force for the decisions to be taken in a consensual way for a solution which is at the same time fast but lasting to the crisis, complying with the interests of the populations of the 22 regions and in line with the sustainable human development of Madagascar.
- Intensify the preparatory works of the CSO Commissions about the fundamental texts necessary to the citizen education in view of holding FREE ELECTIONS, TRANSPARENT, FAIR AND CREDIBLE, the first outputs of which should be discussed during the above-mentioned General Assemblies of CSO. It concerns namely:
 - The Electoral Code
 - Law on the Independent National Commission for Election (INEC)
 - Laws on the political parties (including the status of the opponents and the parties financings)
 - Code of Communication

2) About the SADC, AFRICAN UNION, United Nations, ICG (International Contact Group)

- Strengthen direct contact of the CNOSC with their Excellencies senior SADC Officials to better inform them about the arrangement of political forces in Madagascar in view of the progress of the mediation phase 2 process; The issuance of the 2 reports n°4 and n°5 and their dispatch (without intermediaries) towards high responsible of SADC, AU, Madagascar ICG and to all International Community (but also to all living forces of Nation and Civil society in Madagascar) form the first step of this new approach. A meeting or meetings between their Excellencies and National Mediation (CNOSC) should also be considered aside or during the SADC summit on Malagasy crisis.
- Clarify together and set on new fair and realistic basis the realization of the need of national mediation in the Malagasy-malagasy dialogue by an effective and consistent support of SADC and ICG to national Mediation in this frame. Meetings with representatives of ICG in Madagascar and of International Community should be quickly scheduled in this way.
- Discuss together about the holding of elections because the point of view of the International community should be common and clear, without any discordance or ambiguity. In the same vein, the works of the CSO on the fundamental texts should be supported because they are fully part of the citizen education, necessary for an electoral process democratic, fair and credible and thereby for a real political stability.

In summary, the Malagasy Civil Society, to whom the charge of ensuring the national mediation through the CNOSC has been devoted, is fully aware of its responsibility for the adoption of a consensual and lasting solution to the crisis, on which the future and the development of the country depend, in a political and socio-economical context in complete decaying, which bears at the same time the “seeds of a more dreadful and chaotic crisis” and some forecasting signs of using extremist ways and

acts, advocating violent and destroyer clashes. The Roadmap of Dr. SIMAO contributed to this situation by propagating the doubt and confusion, by shuffling cards as if no other alternate solution exists for a real exit out of the crisis, except accept or refuse this roadmap.

The 2nd dialogue prepared by CNOSC constitutes, in this context a “window of opportunity ideal and real” for a significant progress in the solution of Malagasy political crisis. Thus, it calls on the High Responsible of SADC, African Union, ICG, of International Community and on all the good wills so that the works which were carried out and the initiatives taken in this sense by national mediation are supported in a consistent way. The decisions that the SADC are going to take at the next SUMMIT on the Malagasy crisis, on the Malagasy-malagasy solution and the mediation, will have great consequences on the future of the 20 millions of Malagasy and orientate to some extent, the way of the history of Malagasy people. In the same way as for the Malagasy Civil Society and for the CNOSC, the responsibility, the honor and the credibility of International Community are there engaged.

Antananarivo May 13th 2011

**THE CNOSC
COORDINATION NATIONALE DES
ORGANISATIONS DE LA SOCIETE CIVILE
MADAGASCAR**