



**PRESIDENCY FOR THE REFOUNDATION OF THE REPUBLIC OF MADAGASCAR**

**PROGRAM FOR THE REFOUNDATION  
OF THE REPUBLIC OF MADAGASCAR**

**February 2026**



# **PROGRAM FOR THE REFOUNDATION OF THE REPUBLIC OF MADAGASCAR**



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# PREAMBLE



The Malagasy Government,

Reaffirming the inalienable right of the Malagasy People to self-determination, to freely choose their political system, to elect their representatives through universal suffrage, and to participate actively in decisions involving the future of the Nation;

Considering the imperious necessity to provide Madagascar with a new Constitution, based on a new institutional reorganization, the principle of the separation of powers, the independence of the judiciary, political pluralism, respect for the fundamental rights and freedoms of citizens, and the principle of the Rule of Law;

Convinced that the lasting legitimacy of the Institutions of the 5<sup>th</sup> Republic can only stem from democratic elections resulting from a sovereign, inclusive, and transparent consultation, anchored in citizen participation at all levels of national life. The process of National Refoundation is governed by the following mandatory principles:

- ▶ The principle of the primacy of national sovereignty;
- ▶ The principle of the effectiveness of the Rule of Law;
- ▶ The principle of institutional neutrality;
- ▶ The principle of transparency in the management of public affairs and that of accountability.

These principles constitute the intangible normative foundation of future Institutions and drive the implementation of the refoundation process.



# EXPLANATORY MEMORANDUM



This Program is intended to be a document describing the main stages and activities leading to the achievement of the objective of the « Refoundation of the Malagasy Republic ». As such, this Program serves as a roadmap to visualize the path to be followed, to evaluate and forecast the necessary resources, and the milestones for the refoundation of the Republic that will lead to the establishment of the foundations of the 5<sup>th</sup> Republic.



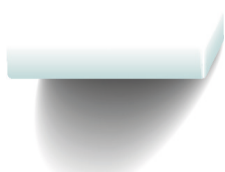
The national uprising of September 25, 2025, sparked by youth from all social strata, can be summarized as a combination of shocks or chain reactions triggered to denounce the continuous and aggravated decline in the population's standard of living due to the mismanagement of public affairs and the phenomenon of endemic corruption and thus, the failure of the State.



The Malagasy popular revolt was rooted in a break from a past characterized by the capture of State affairs by a minority. This movement of rupture, which subsequently became national, resulted in a power vacancy in the office of the President of the Republic, as noted by the High Constitutional Court in its decision No. 10-HCC/D3 of October 14, 2025, inviting the military authority embodied by Colonel RANDRIANIRINA Michael to exercise the functions of Head of State. The same decision provides that existing constitutional institutions and bodies continue to exercise their usual powers. The new power thus established has set the « Refoundation of the Republic » as its primary objective.



Furthermore, this Program is designed to give all Malagasy people the occasion and opportunity to take part inclusively in achieving this main goal. The concept of « inclusivity » mentioned in this document refers to the collective participation of all citizens at all levels of territorial organization on one hand, in the execution of activities programmed in an action plan, and on the other, in the review of results.



This Program will transform into a « Teny ifampierana » (or a form of Dina) following the resolutions of the National Consultation. It derives its legal force from the consent of citizens to participate in the consultation process regarding:

- ▶ **the refoundation of electoral governance and other themes related to institutional and systemic overhaul;**
- ▶ **the drafting of the Constitution of the 5<sup>th</sup> Republic;**
- ▶ **the organization of elections** (constitutional, presidential, and territorial).

All of this is established within a clear action plan.

This Program is a « Citizen Program for the Refoundation of the Republic » As such, it is binding upon everyone and not exclusively upon political entities. Its strength and legal value are thus « erga omnes ».

The Malagasy population, party to the national consultation for the implementation of the Refoundation process of the Republic, is sovereign in its decision. Through this movement of citizen participation in the refoundation, the population acquires the status of a public legal entity. This status gives it the capacity to have all resolutions it passes for this purpose recognized as legally valid acts. This approach, synonymous with the exercise of direct democracy, results in the laying of the foundation and the corpus of institutional governance notably electoral governance and in doing so, becomes the guarantor of electoral justice.

The recognition of legal personality thus granted to citizens in this first phase of activities of the present Program leads to the recognition of the legal value of other subsequent activities listed therein, namely: the writing of a new Electoral Code, the overhaul of the electoral management body, the updating of the electoral list, the drafting of the draft Constitution of the 5<sup>th</sup> Republic, and the organization of the related elections.

This Program provides for four phases of activities according to a well-defined timeline spanning twenty-four months.



# PHASE I – SOVEREIGN NATIONAL CONSULTATION

Phase I of the process for the Refoundation of the Republic is based on the participation of the national youth group, composed of the primary agents of change, and the Malagasy diaspora.

01

● **This first Phase of the Refoundation process** is dedicated to the Sovereign National Consultation. Its purpose is to gather, across the entire national territory and at all levels of social and territorial life, the aspirations, proposals, and resolutions of Malagasy citizens regarding the founding themes of the Refoundation of the Republic's Institutions.

02

## ● **GUIDING PRINCIPLES:**

**a. The intangibility of the process:** The National Consultation is conducted under the authority of the Malagasy State, as well as the entire Malagasy people ;

**b. Inclusivity :** All components of the Malagasy Nation are equitably represented, including women, youth, persons with disabilities, and the diaspora, in accordance with obligations arising from international Human Rights agreements ratified by Madagascar ;

**c. Pluralism :** All vital forces of the Nation are welcomed and heard with mutual respect and personal dignity; no opinion may be excluded based on its content, subject to the respect of public order ;

**c. Accountability :** The resolutions resulting from the consultation shall be recorded in their entirety, made public as soon as possible, and faithfully transmitted to the Technical Drafting Committees without alteration or arbitrary selection.

03

## ● **SUCCESSIVE AND COMPLEMENTARY SUB-PHASES**

### **a. Preparatory Sub-phase**

The constitution, capacity-building, and deployment of consultation teams across the twenty-four (24) regions of Madagascar; the development and validation of methodological guides for inclusive consultation; as well as the definition, prioritization, and validation of themes ;

### **b. Implementation Sub-phase**

Consultation sessions relating to the refoundation of electoral governance and other themes, organized at territorial and national levels ;

### **c. Drafting of the National Orientation Document for Refoundation.**



# PHASE II – REFOUNDATION OF ELECTORAL GOVERNANCE FOR THE CREDIBILITY OF FUTURE ELECTIONS

04

● **Phase II of the Refoundation process** is dedicated to the overhaul of the legal and structural framework of electoral governance, in order to ensure the conditions for organizing a constitutional or referendary election and a presidential election meeting the standards recognized by international law. It includes the restructuring of the electoral management body, the revision of relevant existing texts, the reorganization of territorial administration, and the comprehensive revision of the electoral list.

05

● **The refoundation of the institutional legal and structural framework of electoral governance** includes the following measures, the adoption of which is mandatory:

**a. Overhaul of the electoral management body :** the law governing the Independent National Electoral Commission (CENI) is entirely refounded to guarantee the institutional independence, functional autonomy, impartiality, and pluralistic representativeness of this body. Its structure, composition, mandate, and powers are redefined in accordance with the resolutions of the National Consultation and international standards ;

**b. Overhaul of the electoral jurisdiction :** a special jurisdiction or judicial body is established, endowed with the necessary independence, competent to hear electoral disputes and to proclaim the final results of the polls. Its structure, composition, and the scope of its competence are determined by law, respecting the guarantees of impartiality and the right to an effective judicial remedy ;

**c. Overhaul of electoral legislation:** For the purpose of drafting a draft Electoral Code, aiming to innovate the normative architecture of the electoral system, to ensure equal opportunity for candidates, and to incorporate the resolutions resulting from the National Consultation ;

**d. Overhaul of legislation** relating to political parties, the Statute of the Opposition, as well as all relevant implementing regulations.

06

● **The revision of the electoral list** is conducted with the objective of having reliable data and information on voters and a high-quality national electoral database.

07

● **Malagasy civil society with an electoral mandate** is invited to exercise its oversight mission over the entire process of overhauling the electoral framework, in accordance with international standards for citizen participation and election observation.



# PHASE III – DRAFTING OF THE DRAFT CONSTITUTION(S) OF THE 5<sup>TH</sup> REPUBLIC

08

● **Based on the resolutions from the Sovereign National Consultation**, this phase consists of the preparation of the draft Constitution(s) for the 5<sup>th</sup> Republic of Madagascar.

09

● **The draft Constitution(s)** shall be submitted to the electorate for approval via a ballot or referendum.



## PHASE IV – ORGANIZATION OF ELECTIONS

10

● **Phase IV of the Refoundation process** concerns the organization of the Constitutional and Presidential elections of the 5<sup>th</sup> Republic of Madagascar, conducted in strict compliance with universally recognized standards for democratic elections, as well as the commitments made under this program.



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● **The organization of the elections** is entrusted to the new electoral management body.

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● **The election of the President of the 5<sup>th</sup> Republic** is organized according to the voting procedures determined by the new Constitution.



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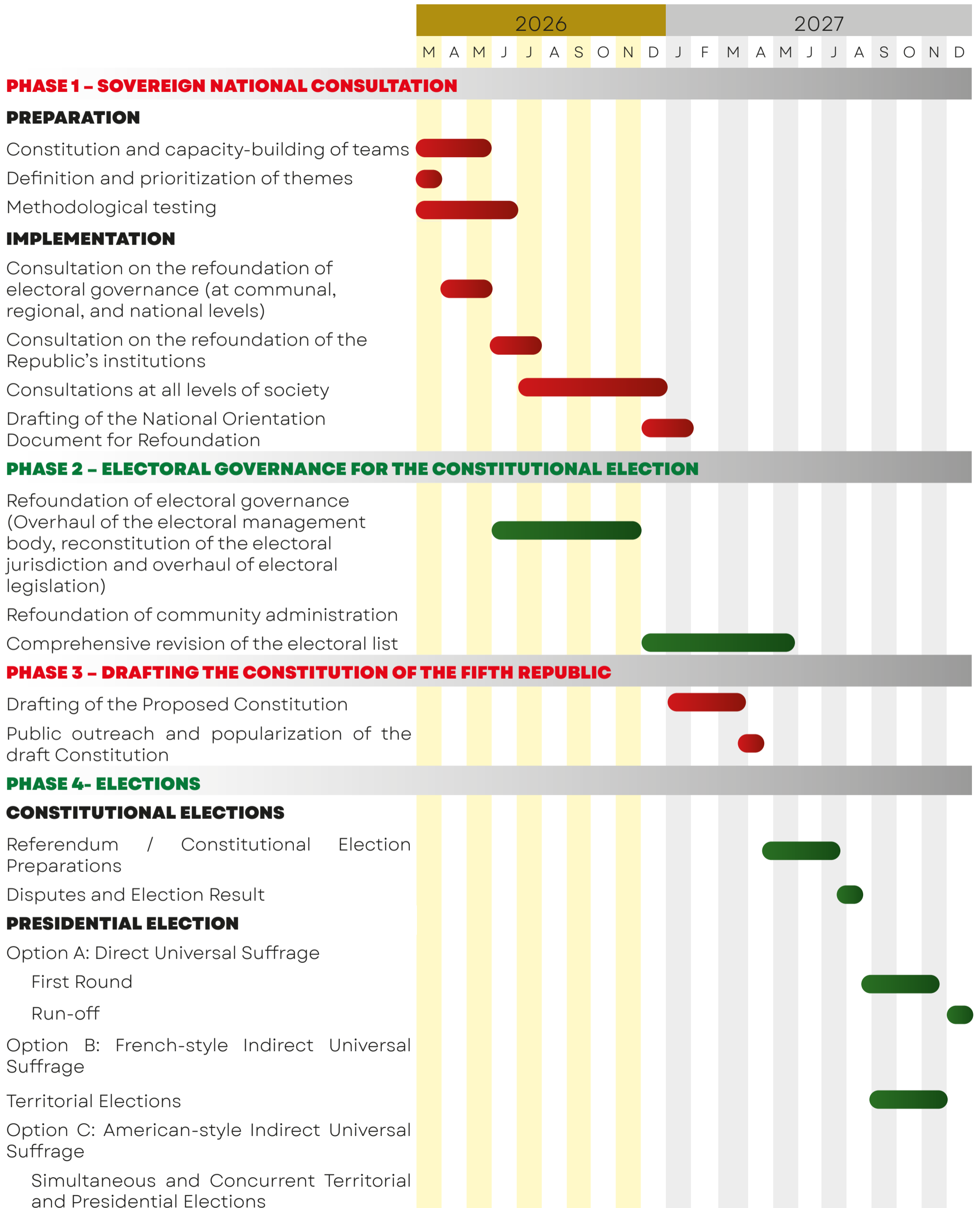
● **Election observation** is a fundamental guarantee of their credibility. Malagasy civil society is invited to exercise its national observation mission, within the framework of accreditation issued by the new electoral body in accordance with the law. The international community is called upon to deploy international election observation missions and to technically and financially support Malagasy civil society organizations responsible for national observation.



14

● **The President of the Republic thus elected** is inaugurated into office in accordance with the provisions of the Constitution of the 5<sup>th</sup> Republic.

# IMPLEMENTATION TIMELINE (CHRONOGRAM)



# CONCLUSION



This Program for the Refoundation of the Republic, having become a « Teny ifampieran'ny vahoaka malagasy » (or Dina), is recognized as such through inclusive citizen participation in the implementation of the national consultation process and the recognition of its sovereign power in making the various resolutions for establishing the institutions of the 5<sup>th</sup> Republic.

Therefore, it is by no means a mere declaration of intent. On the contrary, it presents itself as an instrument possessing both legal and political force, allowing for the achievement of the single, commonly shared, and desired result: a new Republic in which all individuals recognize themselves as citizens enjoying the same rights (economic, social, and cultural) and bound by the same obligations; all decentralized territorial collectivities experience the benefit of the equitable sharing of national wealth; all political authorities are recognized as legitimately and democratically elected; the relationship between the governors and the governed is ruled by the republican principles enshrined in the Constitution; and the governance of public affairs rests upon the principles of the Rule of Law and democracy. These two principles serve as the foundation of the 5<sup>th</sup> Republic.

The implementation schedule for the Refoundation process, determined in the four phases of activities listed in this Program for the Refoundation of the Republic of Madagascar, is set at twenty-four months. These timelines are subject to revision based on changes imposed by the conduct of national affairs.

The international community is invited to accompany the Refoundation process and the strengthening of institutional and technical capacities.





