

Country: Madagascar

Years: 1960-1971

Head of government: Philibert Tsiranana

Ideology: Left

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS identifies Tsiranana's party as PSD. Encyclopedia Britannica (2019) identifies ideology as left, writing "Tsiranana and the PSD remained in power until 1972. Under his regime, successive development plans were inspired, according to Tsiranana, by a 'grassroots socialism' and were aimed at improving the lot of the peasantry." Serpa (1991) adds that Tsiranana's "domestic policies were based upon a concept of national unity that implied both the elimination of Merina prejudices with regard to the catiers and a moderate and pragmatic form of socialism." Manzano (2017) corroborates that Tsiranana is Left. World Statesmen (2020) identifies Tsiranana's party affiliation as PSD, and corroborates that PSD is leftist, stating it was "socialist". Lentz (1994) writes "Tsiranana was a pro-Western leader who tried to keep Communism from gaining a foothold in Madagascar." Political Handbook of the World (2015) writes "Madagascar... In the 1970s much of the country's economic base, formerly dominated by foreign businesses, was nationalized by a strongly socialist regime." In V-Party (2020), 3 experts identify head of government party's ideology as "Center-left" (-0.632) in 1970.

Years: 1972-1974

Head of government: Gabriel Ramanantsoa

Ideology: Left

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS identifies Ramanantsoa's party as none. Manzano (2017) identifies Ramanantsoa as Left. World Statesmen (2020) identifies Ramanantsoa's party affiliation as none. Political Handbook of the World (2015) writes "Madagascar... In the 1970s much of the country's economic base, formerly dominated by foreign businesses, was nationalized by a strongly socialist regime."

Years: 1975

Head of government: Didier Ratsiraka

Ideology: Left

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS does identifies Ratsiraka's party as AREMA. DPI identifies head of government's party ideology as left. Political Handbook of the World (2015) elaborates, writing "Madagascar... In the 1970s much of the country's economic base, formerly dominated by foreign

businesses, was nationalized by a strongly socialist regime” and “Vanguard of the Malagasy Revolution (*Avant-Garde de la Révolution Malgache/Antoky’ny Revolositona Malagasy*—AREMA). AREMA was organized by Didier Ratsiraka in 1976”. Manzano (2017) corroborates that Ratsiraka is Left. Perspective Monde (2020) identifies Ratsiraka as left. World Statesmen (2020) corroborates that Ratsiraka’s affiliation was AREMA and FNDR, and also verifies that FNDR was the leading party within the coalition AREMA. World Statesmen corroborates that both AREMA and FNDR are leftist, stating that they were “socialist”. Metz (1994) writes “Ratsiraka's policy of "revolution from above" went beyond confiscating or buying out foreign firms and turning them over to Malagasy ownership; he intended to socialize the economy by nationalizing major enterprises... By the start of the 1980s, however, Ratsiraka's attempt to fashion viable socialist institutions and to stimulate the economy through increased investment had failed to improve economic production and welfare... Eventually admitting that adoption of the socialist model of economic centralization and state control was a mistake, the Ratsiraka regime in 1980 initiated a return to a more classic liberal economic model that the Zafy regime wholeheartedly adopted following its inauguration in 1993. The post-1980 Ratsiraka and Zafy regimes have overseen the privatization of parastatals, the disbanding of agricultural marketing boards, the ratification of more liberal investment codes favoring foreign investment, the privatization of the banking industry, diversification of traditional, primary-product exports, and greater investment in food production” and “Despite a reputation for reneging on commitments to reform, formerly Marxist Ratsiraka ironically became known as one of the IMF's "star pupils" in Africa.” Meyers (2006) identifies AREMA’s ideology as leftist, writing “AREMA was established by then-president Ratsiraka as one of the new revolutionary institutions of the Second Republic... Its ability to coordinate and govern was, however, continually compromised by internal factions. Its members held differing images of Socialism, disagreed strongly about its application, and had varying reactions to the president’s slide from Socialist revolutionary toward reluctant free marketer”.

Years: 1976

Head of government: Justin Rakotonirainy

Ideology: Left

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS does not identify head of government. Cahoon (2018) identifies Rakotonirainy’s party as AREMA. DPI identifies AREMA as left. Political Handbook of the World (2015) writes “Madagascar... In the 1970s much of the country’s economic base, formerly dominated by foreign businesses, was nationalized by a strongly socialist regime” and “Vanguard of the Malagasy Revolution (*Avant-Garde de la Révolution*

Malgache/Antoky'ny Revolosiona Malagasy—Arema). Arema was organized by Didier Ratsiraka in 1976". Perspective Monde (2020) identifies Rakotoniana as left. World Statesmen (2020) corroborates that Rakotoniaina's affiliation was AREMA and FNDR, and also verifies that FNDR was the leading party within the coalition AREMA. World Statesmen corroborates that both AREMA and FNDR are leftist, stating that they were "socialist". Meyers (2006) identifies AREMA's ideology as leftist, writing "AREMA was established by then-president Ratsiraka as one of the new revolutionary institutions of the Second Republic... Its ability to coordinate and govern was, however, continually compromised by internal factions. Its members held differing images of Socialism, disagreed strongly about its application, and had varying reactions to the president's slide from Socialist revolutionary toward reluctant free marketeer". In V-Party (2020), 3 experts identify head of government party's ideology as "Center-left" (-1.453) in 1977.

Years: 1977-1987

Head of government: Désiré Rakotoarijaona

Ideology: Left

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS does not identify head of government. Marcus and Ratsimbaharison (2005) identify head of government's party as AREMA, writing that heads of government were picked "based on AREMA notables [amongst them] General Désiré Rakotoarijaona and General Victor Ramahatra, both Merina, to the position of prime minister." DPI identifies AREMA as left. Political Handbook of the World (2015) writes "Madagascar... In the 1970s much of the country's economic base, formerly dominated by foreign businesses, was nationalized by a strongly socialist regime. However, in the face of mounting external debt, worsening trade deficits, and capital flight, the administration in 1980 abandoned its formal commitment to socialism and called for assistance from the International Monetary Fund (IMF), the World Bank, and U.S. and European donors" and "Vanguard of the Malagasy Revolution (*Avant-Garde de la Révolution Malgache/Antoky'ny Revolosiona Malagasy—Arema*). Arema was organized by Didier Ratsiraka in 1976". World Statesmen (2020) corroborates that Rakotoarijaona's affiliation was AREMA and FNDR, and also verifies that FNDR was the leading party within the coalition AREMA. World Statesmen corroborates that both AREMA and FNDR are leftist, stating that they were "socialist". Meyers (2006) identifies AREMA's ideology as leftist, writing "AREMA was established by then-president Ratsiraka as one of the new revolutionary institutions of the Second Republic... Its ability to coordinate and govern was, however, continually compromised by internal factions. Its members held differing images of Socialism, disagreed strongly about its application, and had varying reactions to the president's slide from Socialist revolutionary toward

reluctant free marketeer”. In V-Party (2020), 3 experts identify head of government party’s ideology as “Center-left” (-1.453) in 1977 and as “Center-left” (-1.037) in 1983.

Years: 1988-1990

Head of government: Victor Ramahatra

Ideology: Left

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS does not identify head of government. Marcus and Ratsimbaharison (2005) identify head of government’s party as AREMA, writing that heads of government were picked “based on AREMA notables [amongst them] General Désiré Rakotoarijaona and General Victor Ramahatra, both Merina, to the position of prime minister.” DPI identifies AREMA as left. Political Handbook of the World (2015) writes “Madagascar... In the 1970s much of the country’s economic base, formerly dominated by foreign businesses, was nationalized by a strongly socialist regime. However, in the face of mounting external debt, worsening trade deficits, and capital flight, the administration in 1980 abandoned its formal commitment to socialism and called for assistance from the International Monetary Fund (IMF), the World Bank, and U.S. and European donors” and “Vanguard of the Malagasy Revolution (*Avant-Garde de la Révolution Malgache/Antoky’ny Revolositona Malagasy*—Arema). Arema was organized by Didier Ratsiraka in 1976”. World Statesmen (2020) corroborates that Ramahatra’s affiliation was AREMA and FNDR, and also verifies that FNDR was the leading party within the coalition AREMA. World Statesmen corroborates that both AREMA and FNDR are leftist, stating that they were “socialist”. Meyers (2006) identifies AREMA’s ideology as leftist, writing “AREMA was established by then-president Ratsiraka as one of the new revolutionary institutions of the Second Republic... Its ability to coordinate and govern was, however, continually compromised by internal factions. Its members held differing images of Socialism, disagreed strongly about its application, and had varying reactions to the president’s slide from Socialist revolutionary toward reluctant free marketeer”. In V-Party (2020), 3 experts identify head of government party’s ideology as “Center-left” (-1.037) in 1983 and as “Center-left” (-1.031) in 1989.

Years: 1991-1992

Head of government: Guy Razanamasy

Ideology: Left

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS does not identify head of government. Cadoux (2007) identifies head of government’s party as AREMA, coding “Guy Razanamasy (AREMA) - 8 August 1991-9 August 1993.” DPI

identifies AREMA as left. Political Handbook of the World (2015) elaborates, writing “Madagascar... In the 1970s much of the country’s economic base, formerly dominated by foreign businesses, was nationalized by a strongly socialist regime. However, in the face of mounting external debt, worsening trade deficits, and capital flight, the administration in 1980 abandoned its formal commitment to socialism and called for assistance from the International Monetary Fund (IMF), the World Bank, and U.S. and European donors” and “Vanguard of the Malagasy Revolution (*Avant-Garde de la Révolution Malgache/Antoky’ny Revolositona Malagasy—Arema*). Arema was organized by Didier Ratsiraka in 1976”. Perspective Monde (2020) identifies Razanamasy as left. World Statesmen (2020) identifies Razanamasy’s party affiliation as non-party. Meyers (2006) identifies AREMA’s ideology as leftist, writing “AREMA was established by then-president Ratsiraka as one of the new revolutionary institutions of the Second Republic... Its ability to coordinate and govern was, however, continually compromised by internal factions. Its members held differing images of Socialism, disagreed strongly about its application, and had varying reactions to the president’s slide from Socialist revolutionary toward reluctant free marketeer”. In V-Party (2020), 3 experts identify head of government party’s ideology as “Center-left” (-1.031) in 1989.

Years: 1993-1994

Head of government: Francisque Ravony

Ideology: Right

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS does not identify head of government. Kim (2012) notes that Ravony believed in the IMF’s austerity and SAPs, suggesting that he is Right: “Zafy was a radical populist and his party, Forces of Vives (FV) was radical left. But once the government took office, the prime ministers pushed for the IMF supported economic programs, and Zafy disputed with the succession of three prime ministers, who all believed that Madagascar should accept the austerity and structural adjustment programs.” (113-114) Ratsimbaharison (2003) also notes that Ravony supported development with Bretton Woods institutions, suggesting that he is right: “However, when the new government led by Prime Minister Francisque Ravony was established in June 1993, they were divided into two groups: the first group, represented by President Albert Zafy, was in favor of the so-called *financement parallèle* (“parallel financing”) in conjunction with – if not, outside of – the traditional financial flows from the Bretton Woods institutions and the capitalist developed countries; and the second group, represented by Prime Minister Francisque Ravony, was in favor of the continuation of the SAP with the Bretton Woods institutions.” (121) World Statesmen (2020) identifies Ravony’s party affiliation as CSDDM. World

Statesmen states that CSDDM was “Anti-Ratsiraka”. Allen and Covell (2005) write “Zafy... was also suspicious of “foreign” influences that he decried in Ravony’s efforts to satisfy international donor demands for fiscal austerity and market liberalization... he fired Ravony and took hold of the economy on his own with a more complaisant ministry under Emmanuel Rakotovahiny.”

Years: 1995

Head of government: Emmanuel Rakotovahiny

Ideology: Right

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS does not identify head of government. Kim (2012) notes that Rakotovahiny believed in the IMF’s austerity and SAPs, suggesting that he is Right: “Zafy was a radical populist and his party, Forces of Vives (FV) was radical left. But once the government took office, the prime ministers pushed for the IMF supported economic programs, and Zafy disputed with the succession of three prime ministers, who all believed that Madagascar should accept the austerity and structural adjustment programs.” (113-114) World Statesmen (2020) identifies Rakotovahiny’s party affiliation as UNDD. Allen and Covell (2005) write “Zafy... was also suspicious of “foreign” influences that he decried in Ravony’s efforts to satisfy international donor demands for fiscal austerity and market liberalization... he fired Ravony and took hold of the economy on his own with a more complaisant ministry under Emmanuel Rakotovahiny.” In V-Party (2020), 3 experts identify head of government party’s ideology as “Center-right” (0.565) in 1993.

Years: 1996

Head of government: Norbert Ratsirahonana

Ideology: Right

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS identifies Ratsirahonana’s party as AVI. Economist Intelligence Unit (2005) describes Ratsirahonana as “the respected former premier and founder of the centrist pro-reform Ny asa vita no ifamipitsarana (AVI).” World Statesmen (2020) corroborates that Ratsirahonana’s party affiliation was AVI. World Statesmen corroborates that AVI is “centrist.” In V-Party (2020), 3 experts identify head of government party’s ideology as “Center-right” (0.594) in 1998.

Years: 1997

Head of government: Pascal Rakotomavo

Ideology: Left

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS does not identify head of government. Lansford (2017) identifies Rakotomavo’s affiliation as AREMA,

writing “On February 21 Ratsiraka named Pascal RAKOTOMAVO, a business executive and Arema official, as prime minister.” DPI identifies AREMA’s ideology as left. Political Handbook of the World (2015) writes “Madagascar... In the 1970s much of the country’s economic base, formerly dominated by foreign businesses, was nationalized by a strongly socialist regime. However, in the face of mounting external debt, worsening trade deficits, and capital flight, the administration in 1980 abandoned its formal commitment to socialism and called for assistance from the International Monetary Fund (IMF), the World Bank, and U.S. and European donors” and “Vanguard of the Malagasy Revolution (*Avant-Garde de la Révolution Malgache/Antoky’ny Revolositona Malagasy*—Arema). Arema was organized by Didier Ratsiraka in 1976”. Perspective Monde (2020) identifies Rakotomavo as left. World Statesmen (2020) corroborates that Rakotomavo’s affiliation was AREMA, and corroborates that AREMA is leftist, stating that it is “socialist”. In V-Party (2020), 3 experts identify head of government party’s ideology as “Center-left” (-1.031) in 1989.

Years: 1998-2001

Head of government: Tantely Andrianarivo

Ideology: Left

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS does not identify head of government. Cadoux (2007) identifies head of government’s party as AREMA. DPI identifies head of government’s party ideology as left. Political Handbook of the World (2015) writes “Madagascar... In the 1970s much of the country’s economic base, formerly dominated by foreign businesses, was nationalized by a strongly socialist regime. However, in the face of mounting external debt, worsening trade deficits, and capital flight, the administration in 1980 abandoned its formal commitment to socialism and called for assistance from the International Monetary Fund (IMF), the World Bank, and U.S. and European donors” and “Vanguard of the Malagasy Revolution (*Avant-Garde de la Révolution Malgache/Antoky’ny Revolositona Malagasy*—Arema). Arema was organized by Didier Ratsiraka in 1976”. Perspective Monde (2020) identifies Andrianarivo as left. World Statesmen (2020) corroborates that Andrianarivo’s affiliation was AREMA, and corroborates that AREMA is leftist, stating that it is “socialist”. In V-Party (2020), 3 experts identify head of government party’s ideology as “Center” (-0.364) in 1998.

Years: 2002-2006

Head of government: Jacques Sylla

Ideology: Right

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS does not identify head of government. Marcus and Ratsimbaharison (2005) identifies Sylla's party as TIM. Allen and Covell (2005) suggest that TIM is Right: "While committed theoretically to market liberalism, TIM like its predecessors and competitors follows any prevailing ideological trajectories. What it seeks are the offices and privileges of election." (209) The National (2009) suggests that TIM has no ideology: "As the then mayor of Antananarivo himself, he stood for president against the head of state at the time, Adm Didier Ratsiraka, a former military dictator, in polls in Dec 2001, with his organisation TIM, or I Love Madagascar, described by the Australian psephologist Adam Carr as 'a populist party with no definable ideology'." Sellström (2015) corroborates that TIM has no ideology and adds that TIM is personalist: After the dissolution of the KMMR support committees, in 2002 he set up his own political party, called *Tiako I Madagasikara* ('I Love Madagascar'/TIM). As most parties in Madagascar, it was not based on a clear ideology or policy agenda, but built around the president's personality." (100) Dewar, Massey, & Baker (2013) corroborate that TIM does not focus on ideology: "In subsequent parliamentary polls, questionable management of the voting process delivered an easy victory to his ideology-light *Tiako y Madagasikara* (I love Madagascar) political movement, whose cadres were largely drawn from executives of his TIKO business group (a movement thus vaguely reminiscent of Silvio Berlusconi's Forza Italia party model)." (4) Kim (2012), however, suggests that TIM is right: "In 2002, Marc Ravalomanana, a businessman, who is committed to market-driven economic system, won the presidential election, and his party, the right-leaning *Tiako-i-Madagasikara* (TIM) and its coalition claim the majority in the parliament. The coalition government did not include left-wing parties. The government's top priority in agenda was faster liberalization and acceleration of privatization programs." (115) World Statesmen (2020) identifies Sylla's party affiliation as non-party, contrary to Marcus and Ratsimbaharison (2005). V-Party (2020), 3 experts identify head of government party's ideology as "Right" (1.709) in 2002.

Years: 2007-2008

Head of government: Charles Rabemananjara

Ideology: Right

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS does not identify head of government. Marcus and Ratsimbaharison (2005) identify Rabemananjara's party as TIM. Allen and Covell (2005) suggest that TIM is Right: "While committed theoretically to market liberalism, TIM like its predecessors and competitors follows any prevailing ideological trajectories. What it seeks are the offices and privileges of election." (209) The National (2009) suggests that TIM has no

ideology: “As the then mayor of Antananarivo himself, he stood for president against the head of state at the time, Adm Didier Ratsiraka, a former military dictator, in polls in Dec 2001, with his organisation TIM, or I Love Madagascar, described by the Australian psephologist Adam Carr as ‘a populist party with no definable ideology’.” Sellström (2015) corroborates that TIM has no ideology and adds that TIM is personalist: After the dissolution of the KMMR support committees, in 2002 he set up his own political party, called *Tiako I Madagasikara* (‘I Love Madagascar’/TIM). As most parties in Madagascar, it was not based on a clear ideology or policy agenda, but built around the president’s personality.” (100) Dewar, Massey, & Baker (2013) corroborate that TIM does not focus on ideology: “In subsequent parliamentary polls, questionable management of the voting process delivered an easy victory to his ideology-light *Tiako y Madagasikara* (I love Madagascar) political movement, whose cadres were largely drawn from executives of his TIKO business group (a movement thus vaguely reminiscent of Silvio Berlusconi’s Forza Italia party model.)” (4) Kim (2012), however, suggests that TIM is right: “In 2002, Marc Ravalomanana, a businessman, who is committed to market-driven economic system, won the presidential election, and his party, the right-leaning *Tiako-i-Madagasikara* (TIM) and its coalition claim the majority in the parliament. The coalition government did not include left-wing parties. The government’s top priority in agenda was faster liberalization and acceleration of privatization programs.” (115) World Statesmen (2020) identifies Rabemananjara’s party affiliation as TIM. World Statesmen describes TIM as “reformist.” V-Party (2020), 3 experts identify head of government party’s ideology as “Right” (1.709) in 2007.

Years: 2009-2010

Head of government: Albert Camille Vital

Ideology: Left

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS identifies Vital’s party as PHI. World Statesmen (2020) identifies Vital’s party affiliation as none. In the Global Party Survey 2019, 5 experts identify the average left-right (0-10) score of Hiaraka Isika (PHI) as 1.0.

Years: 2011-2013

Head of government: Omer Beriziky

Ideology: Right

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS does not identify head of government. Lansford (2017) identifies head of government’s party as LEADER-Fanilo. Midi Madagasikara (2018) writes that Beriziky favored free education, health care and a guaranteed income, writing “Sa principale préoccupation : servir

l'intérêt général. Ses dix engagements se traduisent par quatre axes prioritaires: ... Garantie au niveau du revenu, du financement et de la formation;... Education et formation: retour à la gratuité de l'éducation... A cela s'ajoute bien sûr le volet social dont la gratuité des soins avec mise en place d'un fonds de solidarité nationale pour les couches les plus défavorisées.” World Statesmen (2020) identifies Beriziky’s party affiliation as none. In the Global Party Survey 2019, 5 experts identify the average left-right (0-10) score of Economic Liberalism and Democratic Action for National Recovery (LEADER-F) as 8.0. Perspective monde (2019) identifies Beriziky’s party as “Libéralisme économique et Action démocratique pour la reconstruction [Economic Liberalism and Democratic Action for National Recovery (LEADER-F)]”. V-Party (2020), 3 experts identify head of government party’s ideology as “Right” (1.693) in 1998.

Years: 2014

Head of government: Roger Kolo

Ideology: None

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS does not identify head of government. Xinhua (2014) identifies Kolo as formally non-party but having had strong affiliations with HVM, writing “Kolo Roger did not have a political party before being candidate to the presidential race, but he became right hand of Hery Rajaonarimampianina and became one of leaders of "Hery Vaovaon'i Madagasikara," (HVM), which means new force of Madagascar, the political party of the president.” The Economist Intelligence Unit (2015) identifies HVM as having had no ideology, writing “HVM party was only created after [Rajaonarimampianina] came to office, and it lacks a coherent ideology or policy base.” World Statesmen (2020) identifies Kolo’s party affiliation as HVM.

Years: 2015

Head of government: Jean Ravelonarivo

Ideology: None

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS does not identify head of government. World Statesmen (2020) identifies Ravelonarivo’s party affiliation as HVM. The Economist Intelligence Unit (2015) identifies HVM as having had no ideology, writing “HVM party was only created after [Rajaonarimampianina] came to office, and it lacks a coherent ideology or policy base.”

Years: 2016-2017

Head of government: Solonandrasana Olivier Mahafaly

Ideology: None

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS does not identify head of government. World Statesmen (2020) identifies Mahafaly's party affiliation as HVM. The Economist Intelligence Unit (2015) identifies HVM as having had no ideology, writing "HVM party was only created after [Rajaonarimampianina] came to office, and it lacks a coherent ideology or policy base."

Years: 2018-2020

Head of government: Christian Ntsay

Ideology:

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS does not identify head of government. Perspective Monde (2020) identifies Ntsay as independent, writing "Christian Ntsay... Indépendants [independents]". World Statesmen (2020) identifies Ntsay as non-party, writing "Christian Louis Ntsay... Non-party".

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