

Country: Madagascar

Years: 1960-1971

Leader: 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 Tsiranana as 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 leader party's ideology as "Center-left" (-0.632) in 1970.

Years: 1972-1974

Leader: 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: 1975-92

Leader: Didier Ratsiraka

Ideology: Left

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS identifies Ratsiraka's party as AREMA. DPI identifies AREMA's 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”. Political Handbook of the World (2018-19: 978) pinpoints that Ratsiraka was the leader of AREMA, the leading party in a coalition government named FNDR: “Arema was organized by Didier Ratsiraka in 1976 and subsequently served as the nucleus of the [...] FNDR”. Manzano (2017) corroborates Ratsiraka as 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 renegeing 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”. In V-Party (2020), 3 experts identify leader party’s ideology as “Center-left” (-1.453) in 1977, “Center-left” (-1.037) in 1983, and “Center-left” (-1.031) in 1989.

Years: 1993-1995

Leader: Zafy

Ideology: Right

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS identifies Zafy's affiliation as UNDD. 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) corroborates that Zafy's affiliation was 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." Metz (1994) writes "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." In V-Party (2020), 3 experts identify leader party's ideology as "Center-right" (0.565) in 1993.

Year: 1996

Leader: Norbert Ratsirahonana

Ideology: Right

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS identifies Ratsirahonana's party as AVI. Economist Intelligence Unit (2005) identifies Leader's party ideology as centrist, describing 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 leader party’s ideology as “Center-right” (0.594) in 1998.

Years: 1997-2001

Leader: Didier Ratsiraka

Ideology: Left

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS identifies Ratsiraka’s party as AREMA. DPI identifies AREMA’s 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. 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”. Political Handbook of the World (2018-19: 978) pinpoints that Ratsiraka was the leader of AREMA, the leading party in a coalition government named FNDR: “Arema was organized by Didier Ratsiraka in 1976 and subsequently served as the nucleus of the [...] FNDR”. Manzano (2017) corroborates Ratsiraka as 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”. In V-Party (2020), 3 experts identify leader party’s ideology as “Center” (-0.364) in 1998.

Years: 2002-2008

Leader: Marc Ravalomanana

Ideology: Rightist

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS does not identify Ravalomanana’s ideology. DPI identifies Ravalomanana’s party as TIM. Marcus identifies Ravalomanana as right-wing: “Ravalomanana is first and foremost a businessman. He is an economic liberal who got his start with the assistance of the World Bank, and he is a great supporter of US-style business-first policies in Madagascar” (Marcus, 2004). Perspective Monde (2020) identifies Ravalomanana as Right. World Statesmen (2020) corroborates that Ravalomanana’s party affiliation was TIM. World Statesmen describes TIM as “reformist.” In V-Party (2020), 3 experts identify leader party’s ideology as “Right” (1.709) in 2002 and 2007.

Years: 2009-2013

Leader: Rajoelina

Ideology:

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. World Statesmen (2020) corroborates that Rajoelina's party affiliation as TGV. World Statesmen describes TGV as "reformist." Perspective Monde (2020) identifies Rajoelina's party as "Jeunes malgaches determines" [TGV].

Years: 2014-2017

Leader: Rajaonarimampianina

Ideology: None

Description: CHISOLS identifies Rajaonarimampianina's party as HVM. World Statesmen (2020) identifies Rajaonarimampianina'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

Leader: Rakotovao

Ideology:

Description: CHISOLS identifies Rakotovao's party as HVM. DPI does not identify HVM's ideology.

Years: 2019-2020

Leader: Rajoelina

Ideology:

Description: World Statesmen (2020) corroborates that Rajoelina's party affiliation as TGV. World Statesmen describes TGV as "reformist." Perspective Monde (2020) identifies Rajoelina's party as "Jeunes malgaches determines" [TGV]. DPI does not identify TGV's ideology.

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