

A Cosmetic End to Madagascar's Crisis?

Africa Report N°218 | 19 May 2014

Table of Contents

Executive Summary.....	i
Recommendations.....	iii
I. Introduction	1
II. From Deadlock to Elections	3
A. Postponed Elections.....	3
B. Proxy Battles	4
C. A Contested but Valid Election	5
III. Old Wine, New Bottles	7
A. Political Divides, Old and New	7
1. Rivalry between Rajoelina and Rajaonarimampianina	7
2. Parliamentary battles and the nomination of a prime minister	8
3. The new government and prospects of stabilisation	10
B. Risk of Military Intervention	12
IV. International Isolation: The Good, the Bad and the Ugly.....	16
A. The Good: Pressure and Precedent	16
B. The Bad: Increased Corruption and Cosmetic Change	16
C. The Ugly: Humanitarian Crises and Weakening of the State	18
V. Beyond Cosmetic Solutions	20
A. Decoupling the Military from Politics	21
B. Political Reconciliation	22
C. Limiting Political Interference and Building Credible Institutions	22
VI. Conclusion	24
APPENDICES	
A. Map of Madagascar	25
B. About the International Crisis Group	26
C. Crisis Group Reports and Briefings on Africa since 2011	27
D. Crisis Group Board of Trustees	29

Executive Summary

Madagascar is on the cusp of exiting a five-year political crisis compounded by economic disorder and international isolation. Presidential elections in late 2013 were endorsed as credible following the victory of Hery Rajaonarimampianina. The return to democracy paves the way for renewed international support. However, division entrenched by former President Marc Ravalomanana's exile has polarised the country. The coup regime of Andry Rajoelina was characterised by socio-economic malaise, rampant corruption, institutional decay and the breakdown in the rule of law. The political system, which is the primary obstacle to sustained recovery, needs much more than a cosmetic makeover; fundamental reform is necessary. The African Union, Southern African Development Community and International Support Group for Madagascar must support Rajaonarimampianina's efforts to balance political interests in a marked departure from the traditional winner-take-all approach; reform and strengthening of key democratic institutions; and reform and professionalisation of the security sector.

The elections were a major step forward, but they did nothing to resolve the underlying causes and impact of the 2009 coup. Laws and institutions matter less than personal relationships and zero-sum politics. The malleability of political alliances again came to the fore over the formation of the new government and the battle over control of the National Assembly, as independent parliamentarians gravitated toward whichever political bloc seemed closest to forming a dominant coalition. The military remains outside civilian control in one of the world's most coup-prone countries. The political chasm between Ravalomanana and Rajoelina and their respective movements, which started the crisis, has not been bridged. Old divides remain, but are now surpassed and complicated by new mutating rivalries generated by the 2013 elections, both between political movements and within them.

Nonetheless, Madagascar is being reincorporated into the international fold, led by the African Union, which lifted its suspension shortly after the president's inauguration in January 2014. The International Monetary Fund and World Bank have already reestablished ties, while others (notably the European Union and U.S.) have indicated that they will resume direct development assistance when a government is in place – a development that is imminent following the appointment of a new prime minister, Kolo Roger, on 11 April and the formation of a new administration on 18 April. The Southern African Development Community, which has been instrumental in chaperoning the political negotiations leading to elections, closed its liaison office in Antananarivo at the end of April, but should maintain an active presence.

Further development assistance is expected, but there is a risk that long-term political challenges will be swept aside by seemingly more pressing development concerns. Doing so would be a grave error, as structural and institutional weaknesses are the root cause of underdevelopment and cyclical political crises. A long-term development strategy that incorporates reconciliation and reform, as well as an emphasis on conflict prevention and peacebuilding, should be adopted. A post-election dispute in late 2001 and early 2002 almost triggered a civil war, and there have since been frequent military interventions in politics, including two failed coup attempts since the army brought Rajoelina to power in 2009. It would be a mistake to assume that

the current government has sufficient foundations for lasting peace and stability or that elections ended the country's fragility.

President Rajaonarimampianina faces immense challenges: establishing an inclusive government he can work with to reform the political system and culture; building institutional integrity; fostering national reconciliation; averting political misuse of the security services by addressing realistic professional demands; resuscitating development and service delivery; addressing a public health crisis (both in terms of food security and disease outbreaks); and restoring government control in the south, which is rife with bandits and weapons. Unless there is a fundamental transformation that addresses Madagascar's structural challenges, the current period will be little more than the calm before the next inevitable storm.

Recommendations

To promote reconciliation

To Madagascar's government and political leadership:

1. Promote a platform of shared values and goals, and an approach to cooperative governance that embraces political inclusiveness, and legislative and institutional reform; and explain, endorse and officially support the concept of a "loyal opposition".
2. Extend the mandate of Madagascar's Reconciliation Council (FFM) and include the Madagascar Council of Churches (FFKM), and draw up a clear program of action covering national, regional and local spheres that should be signed by political parties, movements and individuals.
3. Review security concerns relating to the return of former President Marc Ravalomanana and reconsider urgently his exclusion from the current amnesty process.
4. Publicise and disseminate widely government priorities and commitments to reconciliation so as to promote civil society participation.

To the International Support Group – Madagascar, the African Union (AU) and Southern African Development Community (SADC):

5. Provide continued and expanded support for the reconciliation process.

To tackle corruption and build institutional integrity

To Madagascar's government:

6. Demonstrate a clear commitment to promoting the rule of law, tackling corruption and building the capacities of, and trust in, state institutions.
7. Support the strengthening of BIANCO, the anti-corruption agency, to investigate and prosecute high-level corruption cases.
8. Invest in domestic capacities and re-engage with the Extractive Industry Transparency Initiative to promote accountability in key resource industries.

To the International Support Group – Madagascar, AU and SADC:

9. Support government efforts to tackle corruption and build institutional integrity.
10. Monitor closely adherence to rule of law and democratic practices.

To decouple the security sector from politics

To Madagascar's government:

11. Forbid military officers from serving in a political or civilian administrative capacity, and replace military regional governors appointed by former transitional President Rajoelina with civilians.

12. Ensure career advancement for military officers is shielded from political manipulation and in line with international best practices.
13. Facilitate cohesion and professionalism within the security sector, both military and gendarmerie, including through connections to AU and SADC security sector initiatives.

To Madagascar's security service chiefs:

14. Declare publicly and unequivocally their commitment and loyalty to the constitution and the principle of civilian oversight over the military.

To the international community, in particular the AU and SADC:

15. Apply firm and unified pressure on these fronts.

Johannesburg/Brussels, 19 May 2014

A Cosmetic End to Madagascar's Crisis?

I. Introduction

Madagascar is a divided, impoverished, broken democracy that has suffered a “cyclical pattern from crisis to crisis, but the period in between each appears to be getting shorter”. Its latest crisis has proven particularly intense, drawn-out and damaging, politically, diplomatically and economically.¹

In 2009, a military directorate took power from President Marc Ravalomanana and handed it to then Antananarivo Mayor Andry Rajoelina. Ravalomanana was forced into exile, and Rajoelina became president of the “High Authority of the Transition” (HAT).² In response, the international community, led by the African Union (AU) and Southern African Development Community (SADC), took a principled, firm stance: governments that come to power in a coup should not be rewarded with recognition and financial support. Consequently, Madagascar became an international pariah, deprived of critical foreign budget support.

A unified international community signalled that only democratic elections would bring Madagascar back into the community of states. Rajoelina, however, would not allow his deposed rival to return from exile, while Ravalomanana – and his millions of followers – refused to participate in polls that excluded his movement. Neither camp would budge and Madagascar slipped further into stagnation.³ The international community, led by the International Contact Group for Madagascar (ICG-M, an aggregation of foreign governments and donors) repeatedly pushed for inclusive elections to be held as soon as possible.⁴ The pressure yielded a roadmap in 2011, but limited tangible progress.⁵

After almost five years of wrangling, presidential and legislative elections eventually took place in late 2013. The polls were made possible by an agreement that Rajoelina and Ravalomanana would not stand and instead put substitute candidates

¹ Crisis Group interview, Malagasy journalist, Antananarivo, 22 June 2012; Crisis Group Africa Reports N°156, *Madagascar: Ending the Crisis*, 18 March 2010; and N°166, *Madagascar: Crisis Heating Up*, 18 November 2010.

² The word “transition” comes from Order 2009-002 of 17 March 2009 that transferred power to Rajoelina and provided for a 24-month transition.

³ Stagnation is reflected in a stalling economy and fall in per capita income, higher poverty rates, increased stress on public finances and deteriorating infrastructure. “Madagascar: Measuring the impact of the political crisis”, World Bank, 5 June 2013.

⁴ The International Contact Group for Madagascar (ICG-M) includes: the AU, the UN, African and permanent members of the UN Security Council (Rwanda, Togo, China, France, Russia, the UK and U.S.), Mozambique, Tanzania, South Africa, Germany and Japan, as well as the Indian Ocean Commission (IOC), the Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa (COMESA), the International Organisation of Francophonie (OIF), SADC and the European Union (EU). The ICG-M met nine times between 2009 and late March 2014. However, international involvement was initially fragmented rather than unified. Political actors played different sides off one another, until the signing of the September 2011 roadmap and its consolidation throughout 2012–2013, when most international actors lined up behind SADC’s mediation efforts.

⁵ As with many other roadmaps and agreements, it lacked effective monitoring and the parties often were not held accountable for implementation delays.

forth. Hery Rajaonarimampianina, Rajoelina's proxy, defeated Jean-Louis Robinson, Ravalomanana's substitute, with 53.5 per cent of the 20 December 2013 runoff vote. He was inaugurated on 25 January 2014.

The international community got what it pressed for – a democratic election. It expected flaws, but not so problematic for the process to be rejected. However, Malagasy institutions remain weak, and power and influence often trump law and principle.⁶ Politicians rarely focus on policy, and many parties are home to just one politician rather than a platform of candidates and ideas.⁷ When political impasses arise – as they do frequently in Madagascar – the military far too often becomes the unconstitutional arbiter, through force or the threat thereof.⁸ Post-election optimism has prompted many observers to rule out the prospect of military involvement, but there was a failed coup attempt as recently as July 2012, and the risk remains.⁹

A fundamental political transformation is necessary; cosmetic solutions cannot treat deep wounds. This report outlines a strategy for Madagascar's elites and the international community to do so, and to ensure the country does not lurch back into crisis after the good-will ushered in by the 2013 elections. It is based on field interviews conducted between June 2012 and March 2014, primarily in Antananarivo, but also with international actors in Brussels, Johannesburg and New York.

⁶ For an analysis of the underlying causes of previous crises and Madagascar's institutional weakness, see Crisis Group Report, *Madagascar: Ending the Crisis*, op. cit.

⁷ For example, 42 newly-elected members, or 29 per cent of the National Assembly, were registered either as their own party or as "independents". "Madagascar: Time to Make a Fresh Start", Chatham House, January 2013; Juvence Ramasy and Olivier Vallée, "Transition électorale à Madagascar et enjeux sécuritaires", Fondation pour la recherche stratégique, no. 1, 20 January 2014; Crisis Group Report, *Madagascar: Ending the Crisis*, op. cit.

⁸ There have been at least eight failed coup attempts, of varying levels of seriousness, between 1974 and 2012, in addition to the successful 2009 coup. The failed attempts took place in 1974, 1982, 1989, 1990, 1992, 2006, 2010 and 2012. The 2001-2002 crisis arose when incumbent Didier Ratsiraka and challenger Marc Ravalomanana both declared themselves president after inconclusive elections. There were two parallel governments until military pressure coalesced in support of Ravalomanana and forced Ratsiraka to flee to Paris.

⁹ The 2012 coup attempt was not well planned, though the soldiers were able to take over Ivato international airport in Antananarivo. The ensuing firefight ended with three soldiers involved in the attempt being killed and the remaining contingent surrendering. "Soldiers mutiny at Madagascar army base", CNN, 25 July 2012. Currently, the military remains in the background and is not regarded as an immediate threat. Crisis Group interviews, Madagascar analysts, February-March 2014.

II. From Deadlock to Elections

A. Postponed Elections

Between March 2009 and October 2013, the transitional government's primary mandate was to prepare and hold elections. Little progress was made to address the array of contested issues that sparked the crisis.¹⁰ Although international mediation – led by SADC and the International Contact Group for Madagascar – began almost immediately, it took more than two years to adopt a roadmap in September 2011. It called for a twelve-month preparation period, implying elections would be held by September 2012, but the date was repeatedly postponed.¹¹ Elections eventually took place more than thirteen months behind schedule.

This delay was partly caused by ambiguous roadmap language, particularly regarding whether former President Ravalomanana would be allowed to return from exile in South Africa without being prosecuted upon arrival. This was made more complicated by an ongoing investigation into whether he had committed crimes against humanity shortly before his ousting.¹² Rajoelina refused to allow his rival the chance to stage a political comeback, and did not want to rush elections that could end in his defeat.¹³ However, a vote without Ravalomanana's movement participating was never credible to the international community. Month after month, the impasse over candidate eligibility persisted as the Malagasy felt the bite of a stagnant economy and the collapse of public services.¹⁴

¹⁰ These issues included: corruption; abuse of presidential authority; exiled politicians and political prisoners; military pressure on civilian political leaders; weak political institutions; exclusion of rivals from elections; and social instability.

¹¹ Rajoelina announced on 12 July 2009 that elections would be held by the end of the year. In May 2010, the elections were slated for 26 November of that year, but that date also came and went. In 2013 alone, the elections were postponed three times, first from 8 May to 24 July, then to 23 August and finally to 25 October, when the first round actually took place.

¹² Article 18 of the roadmap called for "blanket amnesty for all political events which happened between 2002 and 2009, except for crimes against humanity, war crimes, crimes of genocide, and other serious violations of human rights and fundamental freedoms". Article 20 confirmed that the transitional government would "allow all Malagasy citizens in exile for political reasons to return to the country unconditionally, including Mr. Marc Ravalomanana". However, Rajoelina insisted Ravalomanana's actions immediately prior to the coup, particularly allegations he ordered the military to fire on unarmed protesters, killing fifty, were too severe to fall under the amnesty provision. Ravalomanana dismissed the findings of the tribunal that found him guilty in his absence as illegitimate and claimed that he therefore did not need amnesty. In the meantime, South Africa has committed to investigate these allegations in terms of its domestic legislation to bolster its commitments under the Rome Statute. Subsequent related legal action by Malagasy complainants who argued Ravalomanana would flee South Africa to avoid prosecution resulted in his passport being confiscated by the authorities. Meanwhile it is widely believed HAT officials engineered the submission of charges under South Africa's international criminal law. So even if the reconciliation process invited him back, it is unclear whether he would be allowed to travel. This has reduced his influence. As of publication, the new government has not pronounced on these issues and Ravalomanana remains in South Africa.

¹³ "Rajoelina is in no hurry to hold elections that he might lose. He has access to state resources and illegal sources of funding. Ravalomanana could beat him. Why would he be in a rush to risk losing everything?". Crisis Group analyst interview in another capacity, diplomat, Antananarivo, 12 September 2012.

¹⁴ The continued suspension of budget support from the international community forced the scaling back of services including education, water and health care. "Madagascar seeks end to isolation in first post-coup vote", Bloomberg, 23 October 2013.

B. Proxy Battles

The critical breakthrough finally came when the international community started to put its weight behind the “ni ... ni” (neither/nor) arrangement, under which elections would proceed without Rajoelina and Ravalomanana.¹⁵ Pressure, especially from South Africa and by extension SADC, eventually paid off and on 12 December 2012, Ravalomanana reluctantly pledged that he would not contest the elections.¹⁶ Rajoelina followed suit on 16 January 2013, saying “it is better that I sacrifice myself than our entire nation of more than 22 million”.¹⁷ Elections were scheduled for July 2013.

However, on 15 April 2013, Ravalomanana announced that his wife, Lalao, would stand in his place – violating the spirit if not the letter of the “ni ... ni” agreement.¹⁸ Rajoelina viewed this move as a bad faith violation and an excuse to renege on his own commitment. He announced on 4 May that he would contest the elections after all.¹⁹ In response, the international community withdrew its support for election preparations.²⁰

The Special Electoral Court (CES), however, demonstrated a rare bout of judicial independence in a surprise mid-August ruling, invalidating the candidacies of Rajoelina, Lalao Ravalomanana and former President Didier Ratsiraka.²¹ They were given a grace period to name replacements.

¹⁵ This arrangement was originally intended as a means to cool tensions between the two camps. Initially it was regarded as a non-starter, particularly because Ravalomanana was vocally opposed. That position allowed Rajoelina to take the easy road, saying that he would accept if Ravalomanana would – something he calculated was unlikely to happen.

¹⁶ The strategy reflected the international community's limited options, and offered little more than a short-term containment of immediate political fault lines – something deemed only a critical first step – and underscored the importance of continued post-election engagement to support reconciliation and political transformation. It was also a major shift from the initial position taken by SADC, which had previously insisted Ravalomanana be allowed to return and participate in elections.

¹⁷ “Andry Rajoelina renonce à la présidentielle”, *L'Express de Madagascar*, 16 January 2013.

¹⁸ “Ousted Madagascar leader names wife for presidential race”, *Africa Review*, 15 April 2013.

¹⁹ “Rajoelina adamant to run for Madagascar presidency”, *Mail & Guardian*, 14 May 2013.

²⁰ Elections were repeatedly postponed partly because they could not proceed without international financing. Shortly after Rajoelina announced his candidacy, the key donors, particularly the EU, withdrew their pledges. The president asserted that the government “could finance the elections if necessary”, saying that the state could sell one of its aircraft to raise \$24.5 million. Inevitably the election (already pushed back from May to July) was delayed further, at first to August – because the judiciary had not yet ruled on candidate eligibility – and later to October. The delays pushed polls into the cyclone season, prompting fears of further postponements. “Donors pull plug on Madagascar”, Agence France-Presse (AFP), 23 May 2013.

²¹ The ruling barred Lalao Ravalomanana and Ratsiraka on grounds that they had not fulfilled the requisite six-month residency period prior to the election, because they had returned recently from enforced exile. Rajoelina was barred because he had registered after the deadline. The ruling was made on 18 August 2013, just five days before polls were scheduled – a reminder of the overly flexible electoral calendar, which nobody took seriously. “Madagascar court bans president and rival's wife from standing for election”, Associated Press, 18 August 2013. It was a rare instance of a government institution directly defying Rajoelina's publicly stated desires, something that had not happened on any major issue since 2009. There is credible, but unconfirmed, speculation the court responded to international pressure – led by South Africa and SADC – that elections could not take place without a ruling. “South Africa welcomes the decision of the Special Election Court of Madagascar”, press release, government of South Africa, 20 August 2013. Whether grounded in fact or not, the decision furthered antipathy among some nationalist elements toward the international community and raised questions in some quarters about SADC's commitment to non-interference. The ruling was less problematic regarding Rajoelina, who had missed a clear deadline. However,

Ravalomanana selected a former health and sports minister and World Health Organisation (WHO) official, Dr Jean-Louis Robinson.²² Rajoelina chose a former accountant turned transitional finance and budget minister, Hery Rajaonarimampianina. They came first (21.1 per cent) and second (15.9 per cent) respectively in the 25 October 2013 first round.²³

The “ni ... ni” solution devolved into a battle between thinly veiled proxy candidates. During the run-off campaign, images of Rajoelina and Ravalomanana dwarfed photos of the candidates. Rajoelina danced on stage alongside Rajaonarimampianina at his rallies, while Lalao Ravalomanana spoke at Robinson’s gatherings with her husband appearing by video-link.²⁴ At Robinson’s final campaign event, the rallying call was not for national reconciliation, development or any other policy issue, but in essence about Robinson winning so Ravalomanana could return from exile.

C. *A Contested but Valid Election*

The second round proceeded smoothly, with no major incidents of violence or intimidation. International observers praised the independent election commission, citing few irregularities.²⁵ Once polls closed, however, both candidates proclaimed victory and popped open champagne on live television before a single ballot had been officially counted. After initial results showed Rajaonarimampianina in the lead, both candidates cried foul. Robinson alleged massive fraud, saying his camp discovered “an entire airplane full of pre-marked ballots, while Rajaonarimampianina said they understated his margin of victory. His campaign claimed that “we haven’t rigged the vote, but actually they [Robinson’s camp] did. We have proof”.²⁶

banning Lalao Ravalomanana because she had been in exile could create a dangerous precedent and justify sidelining opponents by forcing them to leave the country.

²² Ravalomanana’s camp initially sought to fight the ruling. Consequently, the deadline for naming a replacement passed and they were then forced to find a proxy candidate from among those who had already registered. Robinson would otherwise have had a slim chance without the backing of Ravalomanana movement (Tiako i Madakasikara – TIM). “Backers of Madagascar’s deposed leader to name new candidate”, Reuters, 27 August 2013.

²³ 31 other candidates did not make it past the first round. The vote received international approval despite doubts about the fairness of the campaign finance and flawed voter registration that left an estimated two to three million eligible citizens off the voter rolls. Brian Klaas, “The Curse of Low Expectations: Lessons for Democracy from Madagascar’s Election”, *Foreign Policy*, 27 November 2013.

²⁴ Rajoelina’s overt involvement was a clear electoral law violation. The Robinson campaign complained, but the Special Electoral Court only issued a ruling two days before the December vote. The court found his involvement was illegal, but did not take any punitive measures. “Présidentielle à Madagascar: Rajoelina interdit de campagne ... après la campagne”, AFP, 19 December 2013.

²⁵ Extensive observation of 20,001 polling stations scattered across an island nearly the size of France with many inaccessible regions presented a significant challenge. The AU, EU, Carter Center, Electoral Institute for Sustainable Democracy in Africa (EISA), International Organisation of Francophonie and Indian Ocean Commission deployed observers. The largest contingent of short-term observers came from SADC and the EU – with 300 and 123 observers respectively – while other missions were much smaller – Carter Center and EISA jointly deployed 26 observers. They called the vote “peaceful ... calm and transparent”, but cited low turnout as a possible concern. “Preliminary statement”, Carter Center, 22 December 2013. There were also thousands of domestic observers, including 1,926 from the largest Malagasy observation mission, KMF/CNOE. See www.kmf-cnoe.org.

²⁶ “Madagascar candidates both claim victory”, AFP, 21 December 2013.

On 17 January 2014, the Special Electoral Court certified Rajaonarimampianina as the victor with 53.3 per cent of the vote.²⁷ Power was transferred during a two-day inauguration on 24-25 January, and Robinson did not further challenge the polls' validity.²⁸

But the outcome has limited popular legitimacy. The combination of flawed registration, which left several million off the voter rolls, and the low (50.7 per cent) turnout meant that only 4.04 million ballots were cast – 40 per cent of eligible citizens.²⁹ Thus, Rajaonarimampianina won with just over two million votes, representing less than 10 per cent of Madagascar's 22 million people. This limited mandate, along with the widespread belief of electoral manipulation among the Ravalomanana-Robinson support base, could hamper the president's efforts to build national consensus.³⁰

²⁷ "Carter Center commends peaceful release of Madagascar final election results; urges commitment to reconciliation", Carter Center, 18 January 2014.

²⁸ Robinson's announcement that he would attend the inauguration was considered his acceptance of results, but was not done with a press conference, likely owing to continuing pressure from Ravalomanana to reject the outcome.

²⁹ The best estimate based on 2010 data is that there were more than 10.5 million eligible citizens, but just over 7.8 million were on the voter rolls. 143,408 voters were added between the first and second round without transparency as to where the additions were being made. Turnout was higher in the first round, at 61.7 per cent, compared to just over 50 per cent in the run-off. "Madagascar: Legislative and second round of presidential elections – preliminary statement", Carter Center Election Observation Mission, 22 December 2013, pp. 7-8.

³⁰ Allegations of fraud were not corroborated on a significant scale by any international monitors. The Ravalomanana-Robinson camp criticised Rajoelina's active (and prohibited) involvement in the Rajaonarimampianina campaign, as well as instances of vote buying. This latter allegation was corroborated by the EU mission, which witnessed the distribution by candidates from MAPAR – the former president's new party – of gifts and money to voters (in at least one instance in Morondava). "Union européenne, Mission d'observation électorale, Madagascar 2013: rapport final", 26 February 2014. Regardless of the allegations' veracity, the lingering perception among Ravalomanana-Robinson supporters that the election was unfair, was cited as a barrier to national reconciliation. Crisis Group interview, Ravalomanana movement politician, Antananarivo, 20 February 2014.

III. Old Wine, New Bottles

A. Political Divides, Old and New

No progress has been made to bridge the chasm between the Rajoelina and Ravalomanana camps, and proxy politics have forged new divides. Both Rajoelina and Ravalomanana hoped that their favoured candidates would be docile, but their control turned out to be limited and their surrogates are eager to assert their independence.³¹

1. Rivalry between Rajoelina and Rajaonarimampianina

The link between President Rajaonarimampianina and his former “patron” Rajoelina is already severely strained.³² Rajaonarimampianina is president, but Rajoelina’s party, MAPAR, appeared at first to dominate the legislature with a plurality of seats.³³ The ensuing power struggle could be even more destabilising than the Ravalomanana-Rajoelina divide, as Rajaonarimampianina actively seeks to remove himself from the shadow of his former boss, who remains “badly tainted” in the eyes of the international community.³⁴ The president has patiently and systematically sidelined Rajoelina in the contested selection of the new prime minister (see below) and battle for control of the National Assembly. In the worst case scenario, some fear the former president could turn to illegitimate avenues, even military intervention, to attempt to reassert control if he feels sidelined.³⁵ The root of the problem is both structural and personal.

On a structural level, the lack of institutionalisation of political parties means that politicians tend to create a new party for every election. Robinson’s Avana (Rainbow) and Rajaonarimampianina’s Hery Vaovao (New Forces) parties were both created in 2013. This allowed Rajoelina to develop MAPAR, a party based exclusively on

³¹ Crisis Group interview, HAT member, Antananarivo, 7 February 2014.

³² Crisis Group interviews, MAPAR official, Antananarivo, 19 February 2014; political journalist, Antananarivo, 20 February 2014.

³³ MAPAR candidates occupy 49 of the 160 seats in the National Assembly. The second largest bloc are independents (43 seats), followed by the Ravalomanana Movement (nineteen), VP-MMM (fourteen), Leader Fanilo (five), Hariaka Isiki (five) and a host of smaller parties. The independent groupings are widely regarded as opportunists waiting to see which movements were most powerful before aligning; this was demonstrated in recent weeks, as many of them subsequently switched allegiances when it appeared that MAPAR was failing in its attempt to build a majority coalition. Independents tend to gravitate toward the locus of power. In 2007, for example, most understood that Ravalomanana’s TIM party was dominant, which led to a landslide victory as the bulk of non-aligned candidates joined the party.

³⁴ Crisis Group Skype interview, UN official, New York, 4 March 2014.

³⁵ Crisis Group telephone interview, Malagasy military officer, 30 January 2014. This is contingent on what support Rajoelina is able to retain among the military, which may well shift if the officers are to make their own assessments of the cost-benefit of supporting such a high-risk intervention.

his cult of personality, rather than any concrete platform or policies.³⁶ The lack of institutionalisation also leads to fluid, chaotic parliamentary dynamics.³⁷

This is compounded by a fledgling petty personal rivalry between Rajoelina and Rajaonarimampianina. Organisers for the inauguration reported that Rajoelina's wife, Mialy, refused to invite her successor to the ceremony. Rajoelina reportedly requested 90 per cent of the seats be allocated to his guests, and he refused to sit with other former heads of state, insisting that he was still politically active, even as he officially turned over the reins of power.³⁸

2. Parliamentary battles and the nomination of a prime minister

The simmering rivalry between Rajaonarimampianina and Rajoelina has played out over wrangling for parliamentary dominance. Rajoelina's coalition (based around MAPAR with support of independents) appeared to have the upper hand, with 77 of 160 seats,³⁹ allowing MAPAR to secure the National Assembly presidency.⁴⁰ But opposition was beginning to coalesce. The first test was a dispute over the appointment of the prime minister. According to Article 54 of the constitution, the parliamentary majority nominates a candidate to be confirmed by the president. But what constitutes a majority – whether a majority coalition or a single party – was contested. MAPAR claimed the right to nominate, even without an overall majority, because it had a plurality. In response the Ravalomanana-Robinson opposition party and their allies claimed that they should nominate the candidate if they could cobble together a larger coalition. They successfully did so, forming a new bloc, the Platform for a Presidential Majority (PMP), which now has a larger number of parliamentarians than MAPAR and its allies.⁴¹

³⁶ MAPAR won a plurality in legislative elections, capturing 49 seats, more than twice as many as Ravalomanana's movement. MAPAR was initially successful in rallying independent candidates to its camp, but Rajoelina has been unable to prevent his coalition subsequently haemorrhaging as his power visibly wanes. MAPAR's name is indicative of its personal rather than policy orientation, as the acronym translates to "Together with President Andry Rajoelina". For further analysis, see "Madagascar: Andry Rajoelina va-t-il devenir Premier ministre?", Radio France Internationale (RFI), 11 January 2014.

³⁷ "National Assembly: the pending political battleground", Madagascar Online, www.madonline.com, 6 February 2014.

³⁸ "TGV already feels he is the solution", *Indian Ocean Newsletter*, no. 1373, 7 February 2014.

³⁹ Official MAPAR candidates won fewer than a third of the seats, but secured the support of independents who came together as the Special Parliamentary Group (GPS).

⁴⁰ Christine Razanamahasoa, a close ally of Rajoelina and transitional justice minister who contributed to frustrating Ravalomanana's efforts to return, was elected president of the National Assembly. "Madagascar: Christine Razanamahasoa élue présidente de l'Assemblée nationale", RFI, 19 February 2014. The promise of parliamentary perks was reportedly instrumental in ensuring her election. Certain of her reported campaign promises drew criticism. "4WD vehicles and privileges for parliament deputies: the ruling power's unexpected priorities, are they not?", Madagascar Online, www.madonline.com, 19 February 2014. In addition, MAPAR's representatives were elected to the key positions in the "Permanent Office" of the National Assembly, ensuring control over the administration and functioning of parliamentary committees.

⁴¹ The PMP comprises various interests, including the Ravalomanana movement; the Movement for Democracy in Madagascar (MDM), the party of presidential candidate Pierrot Rajaonarivelo; the Green Party, led by the most successful female candidate in the first round, Saraha Georget; the Parti Hiaraka Isika, which supported the candidacy of former general and HAT prime minister, Albert Camille Vital; and a string of independent candidates. Many joined when they realised the PMP could be larger than the MAPAR-led coalition, therefore guaranteeing them a place in the ma-

On 18 February 2014, the High Constitutional Court (HCC) ruled in MAPAR's favour.⁴² This created a situation in which a minority coalition retained the power to nominate a prime minister who will have to work with the majority coalition and the president. With support from independents and smaller parties, MAPAR nominated Haja Resampa, but this was rejected by the president,⁴³ a public display of the rupture between Rajaonarimampianina and Rajoelina.⁴⁴

As the president sought an alternative, working with parliamentarians from the Ravalomanana movement (his electoral opponents) within the broader PMP coalition became a tangible option. MAPAR officials were eager to downplay this possibility. As a top party official claimed, "we should de-dramatise this storyline of the divide between President Andry Rajoelina and President Hery Rajaonarimampianina. An alliance between Hery and the Ravalomanana movement would be unnatural".⁴⁵

The PMP majority then submitted its own nomination for prime minister, Roland Jules Etienne, but despite this allegedly being the president's preference,⁴⁶ he was forced to reject him in light of the initial HCC ruling.⁴⁷ Rajaonarimampianina's subsequent move to secure a new ruling required the reconstitution of the court, because its president's mandate had expired in 2010. He appointed a new president and three new members.⁴⁸

majority. The group claims a majority of 86 seats and the right to nominate the prime minister, challenging MAPAR in what Green Party leader Saraha Georget suggested could lead to "an institutional crisis". "Désignation du Premier ministre: la clé dérobée au MAPAR", Tananews, www.tananews.com, 21 February 2014; "Désignation du Premier ministre malgache: vers une crise institutionnelle?", RFI, 18 February 2014.

⁴² "Le premier ministre sera présenté par le MAPAR", *L'Express de Madagascar*, 17 February 2014; "Désignation du Premier ministre malgache", op. cit. The court's ruling claimed that the authority should be awarded to the party or group that received the most certified seats in the election, not the largest coalition. HCC, Decision no. 04-HCC/D3, 18 February 2014: "Concernant une requête aux fins d'intervention volontaire et d'interprétation de l'article 54 alinéa premier de la Constitution", at www.hcc.gov.mg.

⁴³ Rajaonarimampianina did not accept MAPAR constituted the "majority party or group of parties" as required by Article 54 of the constitution, but retained the prerogative to reject the nomination. He was also allegedly under pressure from international actors to reject candidates regarded as too close to Rajoelina. Crisis Group email correspondence, Malagasy academic expert, 7 May 2014. Resampa was the secretary general in the president's office during Rajoelina's tenure. "Premier ministre – Haja Resampa recalé", *L'Express de Madagascar*, 27 February 2014.

⁴⁴ Before this, there was considerable speculation that Rajoelina would put himself forward as a prime minister candidate, opting for what some dubbed the "Putin option", emulating the Russian leader by securing power as prime minister before seeking the presidency again in 2018. "Tough challenges ahead for Madagascar's new president", AllAfrica.com, 12 February 2014.

⁴⁵ Crisis Group interview, MAPAR parliamentarian, Antananarivo, 10 February 2014.

⁴⁶ Crisis Group interview, International Contact Group for Madagascar member, 1 April 2014.

⁴⁷ Some speculate Etienne's appointment would have exacerbated tension with MAPAR, and that Rajaonarimampianina also needed to demonstrate his independence from the PMP. As such, he needed to navigate a middle path, to thread the needle between MAPAR and the PMP. Crisis Group email correspondence, Malagasy academic and political analyst, 11 April 2014.

⁴⁸ Rajaonarimampianina was within his rights to replace the HCC president and appoint three new members. Though his move was a transparent counter-reaction to the HCC ruling in favour of MAPAR, it raised concerns about the separation of powers and the president's blatant manipulation of the highest court to serve his interests. The international community, especially diplomatic representatives in Antananarivo, appeared to turn a blind eye to such manoeuvres in the hope it facilitated progress in the formation of a new government. Some, however, are concerned about its long-term institutional impact, and the court's ability to arbitrate future disputes. Crisis Group interview, International Contact Group for Madagascar member, 1 April 2014.

An institutional showdown was looming. On 27 March, the court ruled that the election of the MAPAR leadership to the “permanent office” of the National Assembly was constitutionally invalid. This ruling subsequently forced the current National Assembly President Christine Razanamahasoa to step down, along with her MAPAR colleagues, and hold new internal assembly elections.⁴⁹ Razanamahasoa rejected the ruling, saying the HCC does not have the authority to nullify the legislature’s internal procedures.⁵⁰ But the president’s PMP allies persisted and on 3 May elected Jean Max Rakotomamonjy (the leader of the Fanilo party and former transitional tourism minister) to replace Razanamahasoa. The cross-cutting nature of the support Rakotomamonjy received in the controversial vote reaffirms an unfortunate reality: power and personality matter more than policy and political parties. “Nobody wants to be stuck in the opposition”.⁵¹

3. The new government and prospects of stabilisation

It is critical President Rajaonarimampianina has a premier and cabinet he can work with to ensure effective governance. As the post-election impasse over the premier’s selection continued, transitional Prime Minister Omer Beriziky continued to carry out his duties, generating speculation that he could be a compromise candidate.⁵²

Finally, on 11 April 2014, having enabled the PMP to make a new nomination, President Rajaonarimampianina confirmed that Dr. Kolo Roger was his choice as prime minister.⁵³ Dr. Roger’s nomination raises a new set of challenges. He is 70 years old and unknown on the Malagasy political scene, having lived in Switzerland between 1983 and 2013.⁵⁴ He returned in mid-2013 to launch a presidential bid without a political party, but was disqualified by the election court, unable to fulfil the six-month residential requirement. Rajaonarimampianina was his replacement

⁴⁹ “Madagascar: imbroglio autour du bureau permanent de l’Assemblée Nationale”, RFI, 28 March 2014 and “La HCC raye le bureau permanent”, *L’Express de Madagascar*, 28 March 2014. The court ruled new procedures would have to be developed and submitted back to it. No date was prescribed, and in the interim, the court allowed Razanamahasoa to remain in place. MAPAR and the Special Parliamentary Group (GPS) responded by accusing the president of executive interference, manipulating the judiciary and violating the constitution. “Memorandum sur la fragilité du processus démocratique au sein de l’Assemblée Nationale de Madagascar” and “Note sur les mises en danger du processus démocratique”, joint statements from MAPAR and GPS, 27 March 2014.

⁵⁰ Razanamahasoa claims the permanent office was dissolved because she was a woman at the head of a Malagasy political institution, and that Rajaonarimampianina is behaving like a dictator. She has referred to this as a “coup” from the presidential palace. MAPAR has not ruled out street protests in response to this latest action. “MAPAR: la tentation d’un nouveau coup d’état”, *TANANews*, 28 March 2014.

⁵¹ “The PMP is going to become a ‘catch-all’ party”. Crisis Group email correspondence, Malagasy academic expert, 5 May 2014. Rakotomamonjy received 111 votes out of 147 parliamentarians, suggesting he had support from several representatives that had previously supported MAPAR’s candidate. “Jean Max Rakotomamonjy élu la tête de l’Assemblée malgache”, RFI, 4 May 2014. Crisis Group email correspondence, Malagasy academic expert, 7 May 2014.

⁵² Although well respected, he has virtually no political base, which may have been good for reconciliation but would do little to balance the power of the presidency with the assembly. Crisis Group Skype interview, UN analyst, 20 March 2014.

⁵³ “Madagascar names new prime minister, eyes World Bank aid”, Reuters, 12 April 2014.

⁵⁴ See “Madagascar: un médecin au chevet de la Grand Île”, *Jeune Afrique*, 11 April 2014.

candidate, now leading some to speculate that the prime minister post was being used to “return the favour” to Kolo Roger.⁵⁵

Roger's nomination again suggests that Malagasy politics is neither institutionalised nor policy based. Roger has never held a post in government, nor does he represent a policy platform.

The PMP and MAPAR have welcomed Roger's nomination with both hoping to gain crucial portfolios.⁵⁶ Given that the nomination process took several months, it was a positive development that the government was announced on 18 April, a week after Roger's appointment. Of the 31 new ministers, six are women and seven previously served under the transitional government.⁵⁷

The composition of the new administration creates opportunities and challenges. On the one hand, a diverse array of parties and loyalties are represented – an important step toward consensus.⁵⁸ On the other hand, several key appointments, including the strategic resources minister and the secretary of state for infrastructure and public works appear to have been doled out to loyal lieutenants of the president. This could create a turf battle for some of the most important aspects of Madagascar's immediate economic re-opening: infrastructure and extractive industries.⁵⁹ Roger has emphasised the technical nature of the cabinet.⁶⁰ How these ministries are run will be an important barometer not only for how seriously the new president addresses governance issues, but also for how dominant he is over the National Assembly. Recent developments there have heightened prospects of a constructive relationship between the government and the “Permanent Office” of the National Assembly.⁶¹

No matter what, Rajoelina, who purposefully fuelled speculation that he is preparing a future presidential bid, is unlikely to sit idly on the sidelines. The extent to which he is willing to defy institutional authority remains to be seen, but as a journalist put

⁵⁵ “It's a logical strategic choice, given that Kolo and Etienne chose Hery as their substitution candidate”. Crisis Group email correspondence, Malagasy political expert, 11 April 2014.

⁵⁶ “Everyone is just going to position themselves to become a member of [Roger's] government”. Crisis Group email correspondence, Malagasy political expert, 11 April 2014. Dr Rogers was nominated by twelve parties represented in the Assembly and was backed by 93 parliamentarians. “Madagascar names new prime minister ...”, *op. cit.* MAPAR's nascent coalition with independent parliamentarians unravelled as its members joined the PMP establishing an unassailable majority. Rajaonarimampianina and Kolo put together an inclusive government, with two ministries for MAPAR members (both of whom reportedly defied Rajoelina's assertion that MAPAR would not participate in the new government) and one ministry for the leader of the Ravalomanana movement, Roland Ravotomanga. The government also includes two former presidential candidates but excludes both the Green Party of Saraha Georget and Hiaraka Isiki of former Prime Minister Camille Vital. “Madagascar: Kolo Roger forme un gouvernement d'ouverture”, RFI, 18 April 2014.

⁵⁷ Several international actors made it clear that they were hopeful women would be well represented, and some pressed the government to avoid appointing any ministers who had served during the transition. Crisis Group email correspondence, Malagasy political expert, 20 April 2014.

⁵⁸ Ravalomanana movement and MAPAR representatives are both included in the new government, for example.

⁵⁹ Crisis Group email correspondence, Madagascar expert, 20 April 2014.

⁶⁰ “Madagascar: Kolo Roger forme un gouvernement d'ouverture”, *op. cit.* The new strategic resources ministry, which will be overseen by the presidency, is to be run by Joeli Laharisaina, regarded as one of most qualified technicians in the sector. Crisis Group email correspondence, Malagasy academic expert, 7 May 2014.

⁶¹ Roger and Rajaonarimampianina have also encouraged a balance of interests in the composition of the new “Permanent Office”. The Ravalomanana movement, for example, has been allocated one of the six vice president positions in the National Assembly as well as one of the key administrative oversight roles (“questeur”).

it, “the Ravalomanana-Rajoelina divide is now secondary; what matters now is Rajoelina-Rajaonarimampianina”.⁶² If Rajaonarimampianina distances himself too far from MAPAR – and Rajoelina – the latter could try to undermine, or even destabilise, his administration.⁶³ Fortunately, a military coup seems unlikely in the short term, as there is general awareness that this would be “suicidal” and “generate fierce blowback” from the international community.⁶⁴

Aside from the Rajoelina-Rajaonarimampianina divide, the relationship between Ravalomanana and Robinson is also strained. They have reportedly not spoken since late January 2014, when Robinson accepted the election result. He also is keen to assert himself as a major political player in his own right. Both Ravalomanana and Rajoelina may well try to block these attempts.

It is therefore unclear whether the proxy dynamic, deemed necessary to ensure elections took place, will end up being more stabilising than destabilising. While it reduces the salience of the Ravalomanana-Rajoelina rivalry, not to mention their immediate visibility as potential destabilising elements, it has fuelled internal rivalries between the patrons and their proxies. This creates new challenges, but appears for the moment to be contained as all parties continue to work within the legal and institutional framework. Further crisis beckons if protagonists resort to the cynical political tactics that have been the hallmark of Malagasy politics.

One positive break with the past – so far – has been President Rajaonarimampianina’s positive treatment of his rival. Historically, election losers have been exiled or jailed, though in this instance Robinson is unlikely to be seen as an independent threat. There was some talk Robinson might be offered the health portfolio but Prime Minister Roger took it and in recent weeks, Robinson has slipped largely out of public view.⁶⁵ The new government should continue treating its former rivals with respect, and there should be a safe space for a “loyal opposition” to form and actively voice dissent. This does not contradict efforts to promote inclusivity, but should rather be promoted as complementary.

B. *Risk of Military Intervention*

Madagascar’s “dysfunctional” security sector, and in particular its army and gendarmerie, are central to the present challenges. Historically weak, the military has been

⁶² Rajaonarimampianina was an accountant, not a politician, until Rajoelina made him budget and finance minister in the transitional government. As a result, he is seen as a technocrat who was “made” by Rajoelina but is now seeking his own power base. Crisis Group interview, Malagasy journalist, Antananarivo, 30 January 2014.

⁶³ “Rajaonarimampianina must speak to us and end his politics of exclusion toward MAPAR. Otherwise, he could force us into a strategy of political survival ...”. Crisis Group interview, MAPAR official, Antananarivo, 18 February 2014.

⁶⁴ Crisis Group Skype interview, UN analyst, 20 March 2014. Others are less optimistic. “We cannot say that military intervention is unimaginable, now, in a month, in three months or a year. The early period of the new president’s regime has commenced badly”. Crisis Group email correspondence, Malagasy (retired) general, 28 January 2014. In the wake of the HCC ruling, rumours have begun to circulate that MAPAR members approached the military for support, but that at the moment the latter is keen to retain a distance. Crisis Group interview, International Contact Group for Madagascar member, 1 April 2014.

⁶⁵ Crisis Group email correspondence, Malagasy academic expert, 7 May 2014.

“instrumentalised by successive heads of state”, and senior military officers proactively engaged in pursuit of their own economic and political interests.⁶⁶

The close links between political and military elites combined with the politicisation of career advancement has created opportunities and incentives for the army to intervene in politics. It has repeatedly done so since independence, with officers serving as presidents more often than civilians, several successful coups and even more failed attempts.⁶⁷ Political intervention has generated and exacerbated fault lines in the security services as well.

Although considered a remote prospect, the risk of direct military involvement has not entirely dissipated. The recent removal of General Andre Ndirarijaona and General Richard Ravalomanana (no relative of the former president), the heads of the army and gendarmerie respectively, coupled with their replacements alongside other significant appointments in the heart of the defence ministry, reflect Rajoanarimampianina's efforts to consolidate his position and authority, but at the same time ensure a measure of continuity for, and confidence in, the security services.⁶⁸

Political interference in military career advancement is a common practice, but it intensified after 2009.⁶⁹ Both Ndirarijaona and Ravalomanana were loyal to Rajoelina by careful design, not influence.⁷⁰ On 27 December 2013, even before Rajoanarimampianina's victory was certified, Rajoelina promoted a slate of loyal officers who had served him, both by putting him in power and during the transition.⁷¹ These latest promotions may have been designed to enhance the former president's standing among senior officers as some form of insurance policy, should Rajoanarimampianina try to sideline him,⁷² but this has not stopped the new administration from taking bold moves that significantly reduce his influence in the security sector.

⁶⁶ Oliver Jütersonke and Moncef Kartas, “Ethos of Exploitation: Insecurity and predation in Madagascar”, Small Arms Survey, 2011, p. 167.

⁶⁷ There are examples of political crises in which the military remained largely neutral: in 1991, when Ratsiraka's increasingly unpopular government was replaced by a transitional government led by Albert Zafy, who won the 1992 elections and established the 3rd Republic, as well as in 2002, in the standoff between President Ratsiraka and his challenger, Marc Ravalomanana. Presidents Gabriel Ramanantsoa (1972-1975), Richard Ratsimandrava (1975), Gilles Andriamahazo (1975) and Didier Ratsiraka (1975-1993 and 1997-2002) were all military officers, although their administrations cannot be described as military regimes.

⁶⁸ “Coup de balai aux Forces armées”, *L'Express de Madagascar*, 3 May 2014.

⁶⁹ “Many of the current officers experienced a lightning-fast rise through the ranks on the coat-tails of Rajoelina”. Crisis Group email correspondence, Malagasy academic and military expert, 19 October 2013.

⁷⁰ “The problem is that in Madagascar, you can simply buy the military off. Rajoelina did it”. Crisis Group interview, opposition member, Antananarivo, 5 July 2012. “The regime has tried to buy off members of the gendarmerie in exchange for their support”. Crisis Group email correspondence, academic and military expert, 19 October 2013. While such claims are not corroborated in any particular case, observers have noted that loyalty appears to be a reliable ticket to career advancement and the associated benefits. General Rakotoarimasy (minister of the armed forces), General Randrianazary (secretary of state of the gendarmerie) and Richard Ravalomanana (no relation to the former president, commander of the gendarmerie) were all Rajoelina allies. For more, see Ramasy and Vallée, op. cit., p. 9.

⁷¹ Eighteen colonels were promoted to general, and thirteen brigadier-generals were promoted to major-generals. The international community worries that those who “were promoted during the dying days of [Rajoelina's] presidency may feel threatened”. Crisis Group Skype interview, UN analyst, 20 March 2014.

⁷² Crisis Group telephone interview, Malagasy academic and military expert, 31 January 2014. Rajoelina's personal protection force, the Special Intervention Force (FIS), was disbanded in late

Both presidents Ravalomanana and Rajoelina used military promotions and appointments to secure their authority.⁷³ Rajaonarimampianina on face value has followed suit, albeit for perhaps understandable short-term reasons, as he needs to firewall his administration from the toxic residue of the coup regime and to rebrand his security forces. This balancing act is potentially very risky, and the president needs over the medium term to break this dynamic of “buying” the loyalty of key officers and ensuring realistic prospects for professional career advancement.⁷⁴ A broader reform agenda within the security sector is needed. The newly appointed administrative head of the defence ministry, General Didier Paza, seems to share this understanding, emphasising – with respect to policing in this instance – prospects for promotion among young officers and commanders.⁷⁵

This also requires removing serving military officers from the civilian administration. Rajoelina unilaterally replaced eight of 22 regional governors with military officers less than a month before the December 2013 run-off vote.⁷⁶ Labelled by some a “partial coup”, Ravalomanana’s camp cried foul, insisting it was an insurance strategy should the regime’s candidate lose.⁷⁷ Some believed it was intended to create conditions approaching a police state to ensure the regime’s control, though that did not come to fruition.⁷⁸ Ultimately, Rajaonarimampianina won, but many regional administrations remain controlled by military elements. The officers may be indebted

January 2014. Its commanding officers, who were very loyal to Rajoelina, may find themselves transferred to less powerful (and less lucrative) positions, which could prove a source of discord – and pressure Rajoelina to act to reassert himself. There has been speculation that the former FIS commander, Colonel Lylson René de Roland, may enter Rajaonarimampianina’s government. His sister, Lyllette René de Roland, was elected to the National Assembly, after the Special Election Commission disqualified her opponent. “Colonel Lylson takes his revenge in Madagascar”, *Indian Ocean Newsletter*, no. 1374, 21 February 2014.

⁷³ Ravalomanana subsequently made enemies in the army by refusing to increase pensions in line with inflation. This contributed to the military’s lack of support for him at the time of the coup. Crisis Group email correspondence, Malagasy academic expert, 5 May 2014.

⁷⁴ The 2009 coup was started by a small group of mid-level officers at Camp Capsat. It was not necessary to have active backing from the top-level officers; the coup succeeded because senior commanders did not intervene to stop it and instead waited for it to play out before choosing sides. When they did, Ravalomanana was removed from power. Crisis Group Report, *Madagascar: Crisis Heating Up*, op. cit., p. 1. At times, career advancement has also been perceived as ethnically stratified, with officers from Rajoelina’s ethnic group receiving far more promotions than those of a different group. Merina advancement over Côtier officers (both Ravalomanana and Rajoelina are Merina) was a frequent reason cited for discord and divisions within the military. It is regarded as one of the contributing factors to the 2009 mutiny. Crisis Group analyst interviews in another capacity, June 2012.

⁷⁵ “Général Didier Paza: ‘Ma priorité, la sécurisation rurale’”, *L’Express de Madagascar*, 6 May 2014.

⁷⁶ He appointed five colonels and three generals to the various posts on 22 November 2013. The changes were primarily made in the coastal regions, where support for his proxy was strong, and there was speculation that he was attempting to create a bastion of support should the election go badly. The justification given was vague: “the candidacy of some regional leaders to legislative elections, recent insecurity and the national political context”. “Madagascar military seizes control of eight regions”, AFP, 22 November 2013.

⁷⁷ Lydie Boka, of the French risk analysis group StrategiCo, speculated, “Rajoelina is trying to gain control of coast areas in the second round”. However, international election observers found no evidence of systematic manipulation or pressure in the regions under military governors. “Doubt over election after Madagascar military handed control of regions”, Reuters, 22 November 2013.

⁷⁸ “For me, it’s the reinforcement of a ‘police state’, a type of state that could hinder all sorts of progress, on the political, social, and economic fronts”. Crisis Group email correspondence, retired general, 25 November 2013.

to Rajoelina, but he would likely be unable to play this card from a significantly diminished power base.

For now, there is a sense among the political elites that “nobody wants to see Madagascar go back into a crisis; the military brass and politicians are both in that spirit”.⁷⁹ The military leadership has publicly dismissed any possibility of a coup.⁸⁰ Whether that good-will (or fatigue from five long years of crisis) will be enough to underwrite a sustainable transition remains to be seen. Reform that strengthens capacity, professionalisation and accountability of the security forces remains a pressing need.⁸¹

⁷⁹ Crisis Group interview, MAPAR parliamentarian, Antananarivo, 10 February 2014.

⁸⁰ “General Lucien Rakatoarimasy: ‘Un coup d’état est impossible’”, *L’Express de Madagascar*, 28 February 2014.

⁸¹ Oliver Jütersonke, Moncef Kartas, with Isabelle Dauner, Julie Mandoyan and Christof Spurr, “Peace and Conflict Impact Assessment (PCIA), Madagascar”, Centre on Conflict, Development and Peacebuilding, The Graduate Institute, Geneva, October 2010, p. 5.

IV. International Isolation: The Good, the Bad and the Ugly

The 2009 coup had severe consequences. The AU suspended Madagascar and implemented targeted sanctions against 109 transitional regime members. All donors, including governments and multilateral institutions such as the World Bank and International Monetary Fund (IMF), stopped official bilateral funding, reducing the state's budget by 40 per cent in a few weeks.⁸² The U.S. refused to recognise the transitional government and expelled Madagascar from the African Growth and Opportunity Act (AGOA) program.⁸³

A. The Good: Pressure and Precedent

Isolating Rajoelina's regime set an important precedent that coups will not be rewarded with international recognition and financial support. This forced him to continue negotiations, which led to the 2011 roadmap and the election process. However, by retaining key portfolios in the transitional government, the HAT was able to influence the pace of developments. The targeted AU and SADC sanctions had limited success in preventing many transitional government members from attending summits or travelling internationally.

Suspension of EU support and the expulsion from AGOA diminished popular support for the regime, but at a significant cost for the population itself.⁸⁴ This contributed to further tensions and pressure on the government to expedite elections.⁸⁵

B. The Bad: Increased Corruption and Cosmetic Change

The transition lasted far longer than it should have because elites were able to find alternate, often illicit, income despite international isolation. The extent of graft and corrupt practices during this period is unknown, but it is believed to be widespread

⁸² Some money was diverted to non-governmental organisations, bypassing the government. As a European diplomat put it, "one of the main lessons of the post-coup period is that international aid can be successfully disbursed without any government involvement". Crisis Group interview, Antananarivo, 4 September 2012.

⁸³ Since the coup, the U.S. was represented by a chargé d'affaires rather than an ambassador. According to government statistics, AGOA directly employed at least 50,000 Malagasy, and indirectly supported another 100,000. Most lost their jobs. "Madagascar: Textile industry unravels", Integrated Regional Information Networks (IRIN), 24 February 2010. In late March, President Rajaonarimampianina met with several top-level U.S. officials, including Samantha Power, U.S. permanent representative to the UN. The officials made clear that they are open to reinstating Madagascar but it is likely that this would take place only after a government is formed. Either way, renewed participation in AGOA may not happen until early 2015, as the annual review typically takes place in December. "Name your government, donors urge Madagascar leader", *Africa Review*, 18 March 2014.

⁸⁴ The sharp decline in aid and preferential trade agreements, coupled with the drop in tourism and a global downturn in markets for Madagascar's main food exports (vanilla, cloves, coffee and shrimp) led to 228,000 job losses in 2010, according to the World Bank. "Madagascar: Time to Make a Fresh Start", Chatham House, January 2013; Lauren Ploch and Nicolas Cook, "Madagascar's Political Crisis", Congressional Research Service, 18 June 2012.

⁸⁵ The HAT members of government and its allies knew that they would inevitably face an electorate who were weary of deteriorating economic and social conditions. They needed to secure a popular mandate they knew was unattainable. Crisis Group email correspondence, Malagasy academic expert, 18 April 2014.

in the endangered rosewood trade, mining and oil sectors.⁸⁶ Corruption will likely continue to be a destabilising factor that must be managed carefully in a country where institutions do not have a history of transparency and accountability. Allegations of corruption were among the key factors that brought tens of thousands of Malagasy to the streets in 2009, paving the way for the military takeover. How Rajoanarimampianina handles this challenge will be an important indicator of progress and change. His efforts to shut down illegal rosewood logging practices, as well as any future extractive industry deals, should be scrutinised closely.⁸⁷ The international community, through the AU and ISG-M, must encourage a break from past practices, and pay particular attention to internal and external fiscal accountability.⁸⁸

The post-coup regime was forced in 2011 to negotiate an election roadmap, accommodating a range of Malagasy players and ostensibly designed to focus the government on laying the grounds for credible polls, including the establishment of an independent electoral commission. Although the government did eventually deliver on elections, the transitional and predecessor coup regime has little to show for five years of governance.⁸⁹ Much-needed reforms, such as strengthening the anti-

⁸⁶ For example, there have been widespread reports of illegal trading in endangered rosewood; “I only got off the record comments, nobody was willing to talk on tape, but everyone I spoke to said yes, the state is/was absolutely involved. They suggested that in fact, [illegal rosewood] was what was financing the elections”. Crisis Group email correspondence, investigative journalist, 21 February 2014. The anti-corruption agency, Bureau Indépendant Anti-Corruption (BIANCO), was severely weakened, and there were several indications that resource corruption (particularly in the mining sector) has become deeply engrained in the political system. Crisis Group interview, mining sector employee, Antananarivo, 14 September 2012. There was also at least one instance wherein Rajoelina’s regime allegedly attempted to extract huge sums from a copper-nickel mining project. According to a U.S. embassy cable, the government requested partial ownership of the project, an increase in royalty payments, or that the firm “give certain members of the HAT ‘signing bonuses’”. A fourth option of outright bribe payments was implied”. “09Antananarivo503, Madagascar: Japanese to raise mining concern at G8”, U.S. embassy Antananarivo cable, as published by Wikileaks, 7 July 2009.

⁸⁷ President Rajoanarimampianina “declared war” on rosewood trafficking in mid-February 2014, and vowed to increase patrols and prosecute those who were captured with illegal precious wood. However, there has not been a major change in this illegal trade, primarily due to limited state capacity. “Le pouvoir déclare la guerre”, *L’Express de Madagascar*, 11 February 2014. Former Prime Minister Jean Omer Beriziky wrote a letter to President Rajoanarimampianina on 8 April 2014, noting that few people had been held to account for their alleged actions in the rosewood trade and outlining measures to pursue accountability. “JOB – the sworn enemy of rosewood traffic”, *Indian Ocean Newsletter*, no. 1377, 11 April 2014. Law N°2012-010. The president has not forced this agenda in the current context as he continues to consolidate his position. Crisis Group email correspondence, Madagascar academic expert, 12 May 2014.

⁸⁸ Madagascar is ranked 127th of 177 countries in Transparency International’s 2013 Corruption Perceptions Index. In 2009, it was ranked 99, and it had climbed into the mid-80s in international rankings during the Ravalomanana presidency. See www.transparency.org. The World Bank cites the top five constraints for doing business in Madagascar as government instability/coups, policy instability, corruption, access to finance, and crime and theft. “The Africa Competitiveness Report”, World Economic Forum, 2011.

⁸⁹ The primary achievements of the transitional regime, other than holding elections after five years of negotiations, are a new hospital on the outskirts of the capital and some stadiums. The stadiums are arguably misplaced priorities in a country with rapidly diminishing state revenue and deteriorating socio-economic conditions. There have been highly publicised disbursements by the state to directly subsidise items such as medicine, food or clothing, but almost no positive progress was made for long-term development or economic growth. “Produits de première nécessité: Rajoelina promet du riz à 1200 Ar”, *L’Express de Madagascar*, 6 January 2011. The human development in-

corruption agency, the Bureau Indépendant Anti-Corruption (BIANCO),⁹⁰ did little to change toxic political dynamics that produced the crisis. Political players manoeuvred themselves to maximise their advantage for forthcoming elections.

C. *The Ugly: Humanitarian Crises and Weakening of the State*

The biggest long-term threat to stability is low levels of human development,⁹¹ as social tensions exacerbate Madagascar's multiple vulnerabilities. Socio-economic conditions have deteriorated rapidly since 2009 and 90 per cent of the population lives on less than \$2 per day.⁹² Government neglect and failed clean-up efforts in the wake of Cyclone Haruna in 2013 created prime breeding grounds for locusts, which subsequently infested the island at levels unprecedented since the 1950s, placing the livelihoods of 13 million and the food security of 9.6 million Malagasy at risk.⁹³ The public health context is dire, but would have been more so without international NGOs. Diseases eradicated elsewhere, such as plague, are killing more than 100 Malagasy per year.⁹⁴ Humanitarian crises, including food shortages, pose a threat to long-term political stability, as popular discontent against the government increases when the population is severely strained.⁹⁵

More immediately, international isolation, bad governance and limited state capacity have exacerbated a power vacuum in remote areas, particularly around Betroka in the Anosy region, part of the lawless south. Hundreds of civilians and dozens of government soldiers have been killed by *dahalo*, heavily armed cattle rustlers that often resemble militias more than bandits. They steal zebu cattle for commercial profit

dicators flatlined following the 2009 coup. "Madagascar: HDI values and rank changes in the 2013 Human Development Report", UN Development Programme, 2013.

⁹⁰ Established in 2004 during the Ravalomanana presidency, BIANCO is an independent self-governing agency, but since its inception has been under-resourced and has not been able to deter or provide remedy to mounting corruption.

⁹¹ Madagascar ranks 151st in the UN Development Programme (UNDP)'s Human Development Index and is unlikely to achieve most of the Millennium Development Goals by 2015. "Madagascar overview", World Bank, April 2013.

⁹² "The last five years were worst developmentally that I've seen Madagascar at any point in the previous twenty". Crisis Group email correspondence, Madagascar academic expert, 10 October 2013. The deterioration over the last eight years is confirmed by the 1,200 respondent 2013 Afrobarometer survey, available at <http://bit.ly/1orjr2m>.

⁹³ "Madagascar locust crisis response to the locust plague: three-year programme 2013-2016", Food and Agricultural Organization, March 2013; "Floods, locusts leave Madagascar hungry", IRIN, 14 October 2013. Cyclone Haruna's impact could have been lessened, particularly with regard to locust infestations, had the government's response been more robust. Millions are affected both in terms of food security and a loss of livelihood.

⁹⁴ "Plague in Madagascar", IRIN, 20 December 2013; "La lutte contre la peste renforcée", *L'Express de Madagascar*, 4 April 2014.

⁹⁵ Madagascar's first post-independence turmoil was sparked in 1972 when student protests against the elites' cozy relationship with the former coloniser were combined with general unrest among farmers, peasants and government workers about the stagnant economy and a general decline in living standards, leading to the government's fall. The two latest failed coup attempts suggest diminishing popular support for the government may play a role in coup opportunism.

and terrorise villagers along the way.⁹⁶ Shortly after President Rajaonarimampianina's inauguration, fifteen *dahalo* were killed in a firefight with government forces.⁹⁷

The security forces have been accused of heavy-handedness and clashes are common in the south, where the central government has a limited presence and international observers largely stay away.⁹⁸ The elections proceeded there, but reports were received that ballot boxes were stolen during the run-off vote, and *dahalo* killed an election official during the first round.⁹⁹ This lack of territorial control compounded by low levels of human development will be a primary test for Madagascar's security sector and Rajaonarimampianina's administration. The new administration must provide adequate backing and direction to the security services and local administration to address this situation.

⁹⁶ One estimate found that there were over 160 attacks in two months, involving more than 3,000 cattle – for a commercial value well above \$1 million. Accurate figures are scarce, however, as most thefts go unreported. “Madagascar's unforgiving bandit lands”, IRIN, 18 July 2012.

⁹⁷ “Vangaindrano: Quinze dahalo abattu dans une fusillade”, *L'Express de Madagascar*, 8 February 2014. Without adequate government security, affected communities have formed self-defence units, known as *zamas*. “The Zebu and the Zama”, IRIN, 14 April 2014. The situation has reportedly continued to deteriorate. “Madagascar: la situation sécuritaire se dégrade dans le sud”, RFI, 8 May 2014.

⁹⁸ “Madagascar must end mass killings and investigate security forces”, Amnesty International, 20 November 2012. Oliver Jütersonke, Moncef Kartas, with Isabelle Dauner, Julie Mandoyan and Christof Spurk, op. cit, p. 65.

⁹⁹ “Madagascar votes in first post-coup election”, *Daily Nation*, 25 October 2013.

V. Beyond Cosmetic Solutions

Elections have not created a *tabula rasa* and the legacy of decades of toxic political relations will have to be managed carefully and constructively. Resuscitating the economy will take time, and the government must prioritise benefits for the majority rather than pandering to selective elite interests. Despite sizeable challenges, there are opportunities to keep the country on its democratic course. The resources sector is poised to grow significantly if political stability is sufficient to reassure investors.¹⁰⁰ Ecotourism, hit hard by the 2009 coup, is an important source for growth.¹⁰¹ Renewed AGOA benefits could create much-needed employment, though in the short to medium term, it is unlikely to return to pre-coup levels.

The AU and SADC have lifted Madagascar's suspension. Discussions are underway to resuscitate the EU's development program and others will certainly follow suit. The IMF has restored its relationship, and the World Bank has indicated that it will urgently disburse development funds.¹⁰²

Ostensibly the crisis is over; SADC is closing down its liaison office and the International Contact Group will become the International Support Group (ISG-M).¹⁰³ Yet, nothing substantive has changed in Malagasy politics; the election was a cosmetic shift of power, not a fundamental transformation of a system that needs more than just a makeover. The International Contact Group for Madagascar has highlighted the importance of addressing key outstanding issues relating to the roadmap and immediate development priorities.¹⁰⁴ The country faces a phalanx of short-, medium- and long-term challenges. Three policies should be adopted quickly.

¹⁰⁰ The election roadmap suspended the awarding of contracts in the mining and oil exploration sectors during the transition, but the country will now be reopening up for business and investment.

¹⁰¹ President Rajaonarimampianina directly cited ecotourism as one of the main avenues that he will explore for economic growth during a 17 March 2014 press event at the UN. Video remarks available at webtv.un.org.

¹⁰² "African Union welcomes Madagascar back after power handover", Reuters, 27 January 2014; "Madagascar: SADC lifts suspension on Madagascar", press release, SADC, 5 February 2014. The EU is waiting for "constitutional order" to be fully restored, including the formation of a government. Crisis Group interview, Brussels, 3 March 2014. In mid-April, following the formation of the new government, the European Commission recommended "the full normalisation of relations ... and the complete resumption of development cooperation". "Statement by the High Representative Catherine Ashton and the European Commissioner for Development Andries Piebalgs on the return to constitutional rule in Madagascar", European External Action Service 140418/02, 18 April 2014. "The World Bank plans to fully re-engage with Madagascar once an internationally recognized Government is formed". Crisis Group email correspondence, World Bank official, 18 February 2014.

¹⁰³ The ICG-M recent meeting agreed the ISG-M would be co-chaired by the AU and the government and would meet at least twice a year. "9th Meeting of the International Contact Group on Madagascar (ICG-M)", Antananarivo, 28 March 2014. Continued international support in the short to medium term is critical, in particular from SADC, whose work with the ISG-M could help deepen Madagascar's regional integration and raise public awareness about the benefits of membership. Mistrust toward SADC, which was interventionist in its facilitation of the negotiations, remains in certain quarters and must be addressed if this relationship is to be consolidated. Crisis Group interview, Madagascar academic expert, 13 May 2014. However, an extended mandate for SADC in country would require political endorsement from member states as well as an invitation from Madagascar's new government. Crisis Group telephone interview, SADC official, 28 March 2014.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid. Outstanding aspects of the roadmap were highlighted as "the continuation and completion of the reconciliation process, including the return of political exiles and compensation for victims of the political events of 2002 and 2009, and the organisation of local elections".

A. *Decoupling the Military from Politics*

Averting military incursion into political life presents a major challenge that needs to be addressed to prevent another crisis. Rajaonarimampianina's decision to disband Rajoelina's Special Intervention Force (FIS)¹⁰⁵ and the Homeland Security Division (DST)¹⁰⁶ was a good start in distancing the presidency from the military,¹⁰⁷ but further steps are critical. The government must stop manipulation of military career advancement; reaffirm its international commitment to rejecting coup regimes; clearly condemn forced political exile; and expedite the replacement of military regional governors with civilians.

Military career advancement should be put in the hands of an accountable professional committee to ensure the promotion process is depoliticised in accordance with international best practice. A transparent review of policy and recent promotions should be undertaken.

President Rajaonarimampianina could send a clear message to the armed forces that he will not accept military interference in politics and express his intention to return all regional governorships to civilian control. At the same time, he should make good on his promise that there would be no more political prisoners, and should seek to resolve the impasse around the remaining detainees.¹⁰⁸

Furthermore, all international actors currently welcoming Madagascar back into their fold and disbursing funds should do so with a clear caveat: support will be taken away and the country will return to international isolation if the military intervenes again.¹⁰⁹ In addition, the international community should make clear that it will take firm action in case of forced political exile. The expulsion of former Presidents Ravalomanana and Ratsiraka remains a contentious issue; imprisoning or exiling vanquished opponents should no longer be tolerated.

¹⁰⁵ The FIS was established by Rajoelina in 2009 supposedly to combat rural banditry. "In reality ... it has become a prominent actor in urban centres, notably the capital where it [was] perceived as a security arm of the Rajoelina regime". Oliver Jütersonke and Moncef Kartas, "Ethos of Exploitation: Insecurity and Predation in Madagascar", Small Arms Survey, 2011, p. 172. The FIS has been accused of involvement in extrajudicial executions. "Madagascar must end mass killings and investigate security forces", op. cit.

¹⁰⁶ The DST was also set up by Rajoelina in 2009, and along with the FIS has been accused of being a "political police squad loyal to the transitional ruling power"; "Hery Rajaonarimampianina cleans out the presidency", Madagascar Online, www.madonline.com, 30 January, 2014.

¹⁰⁷ "Madagascar: la très décriée Force d'intervention spéciale est dissoute", RFI, 30 January 2014. The subsequent replacement of Generals Ravalomanana and Ndiririjaona sends a further powerful signal of a break with the personalities associated with the coup regime. These changes provide an opportunity to reestablish the boundaries and line responsibilities of the security triad – army, gendarmerie and police – that Madagascar inherited from the French. "Ethos of Exploitation", op. cit.

¹⁰⁸ "Political prisoners' relatives raising contradiction of the president's assertions", Madagascar Online, www.madonline.com, 25 March 2013. This remains a key concern for Ravalomanana and should be incorporated into broader reconciliation efforts. Crisis Group telephone interview, adviser to Ravalomanana, 10 February 2014. Detail on remaining political prisoners is sketchy, although the new administrative head of the defence ministry, General Didier Paza, recently told the media there were four military members still incarcerated. "Général Didier Paza: 'Ma priorité, la sécurisation rurale'", op. cit.

¹⁰⁹ Despite a general sense that military intervention is less likely, significant numbers (up to a third) of Malagasy either support or are indifferent to the prospect of military rule. Only four in ten state a preference for democratic governance. Afrobarometer 2013 Survey, op. cit.

B. *Political Reconciliation*

Public reconciliation between President Rajaonarimampianina and Jean-Louis Robinson was an important symbolic step toward political normalisation and away from winner-take-all politics, exclusion and exile. The outgoing regime's treatment of former Prime Minister Camille Vital, who actively campaigned for Robinson during the run-off election and was subsequently denied the chance to leave the country, reflects the culture of petty manipulations against political rivals.¹¹⁰ Rajaonarimampianina's administration has an opportunity to put an end to such practices.

The reconciliation and commitments initiated during the transition must be taken forward and nationwide efforts should be replicated at the regional, district and local levels.¹¹¹ Rajaonarimampianina should organise a summit between the MAPAR and PMP coalitions. Its scope should be narrow to avoid breakdowns, focusing on the promotion of cooperative governance, as well as a limited short-term dialogue on top priorities for reconciliation and development.

In the spirit of national reconciliation, Ravalomanana should be allowed to return¹¹² – on condition that he publicly pledges to accept the election results and not to incite street protests. His exclusion from the amnesty process must be urgently reviewed. His detractors have consistently accused him of being a “security risk”, but this has not been backed up with hard evidence, as a SADC security review found in late 2012.¹¹³ Lastly, in the spirit of regional cooperation and diplomacy, Madagascar should request South Africa to reduce bail conditions and return Ravalomanana's passport to enable him to travel home. As envisaged by the “ni ... ni” agreement, there should be no restrictions on his ability to participate legitimately in political life or to contest future elections. This process should be tied to the broader political reconciliation efforts. Timing and sequencing are important to balance interests and concerns of those affected, but also recognise the former president has been in exile for over five years.

C. *Limiting Political Interference and Building Credible Institutions*

The ISG-M should closely monitor adherence to rule of law and democratic practices in the early days of Rajaonarimampianina's administration. This is already a concern with respect to the president's relationship with the National Assembly and judici-

¹¹⁰ It is unclear who gave the order to rescind his freedom to travel, but state security forces prohibited Vital from boarding an airplane, without providing a reason. “Camille Vital not allowed to leave Malagasy territory”, *Indian Ocean Times*, 23 December 2013.

¹¹¹ Madagascar's Reconciliation Council (Filankevitryny Fampihavanana Malagasy or FFM) was mandated by Article 25 of the 2011 transitional roadmap. Launched officially in September 2012, council members – two representatives from each of the 22 regions – were sworn in March 2013, and the council's president, retired General Sylvain-Charles Rabotoarison, was appointed the following month. The FFM is mandated to facilitate truth, justice, amnesty, reconciliation and pardons relating to political crises since 2002. It must ensure an inclusive process and should work with the Madagascar Council of Churches (FFKM), which has played an important role in efforts to resolve political crises.

¹¹² Recent efforts by Ravalomanana's legal representatives to meet Rajaonarimampianina to expedite this process have been rebuffed. “Retour de Ravalolo: Brian Currin snobé par Hery Rajaonarimampianina”, *Midi-Madagasikara*, 3 May 2014.

¹¹³ Crisis Group telephone interviews, UN official, 6 February 2014; SADC official, 28 March 2014.

ary.¹¹⁴ Attention should also focus on supporting efforts to promote transparency and address corruption. Support should be given to strengthening BIANCO, the anti-corruption agency, to investigate and prosecute high-level corruption cases. The promotion of transparency in the extractive industry – through re-engagement with the Extractive Industry Transparency Initiative (from which the country was suspended in 2011) – will help reinforce accountability for elites and international corporations. The tone set in this crucial period will influence the trajectory of Madagascar's democratic consolidation.

¹¹⁴ There is a history of close relations between the courts and incumbent political leaders, as evidenced by Rajaonarimampianina's replacement of three members of the High Constitutional Court with people regarded as close to his movement. "Hery Rajaonarimampianina place ses hommes", *Midi-Madagasikara*, 28 February 2014; "La Haute cour constitutionnelle remaniée", *L'Express de Madagascar*, 28 February 2014. While the motivation to reconstitute the court is understandable in the context, the president's actions raise concerns about the continuities in executive interference. Political instability has resulted in an increasingly volatile legal system; this has been exacerbated over the past five years, as evidenced by recurring institutional crises. "The effective implementation of constitutional principles [is] minimal or absent". Kevashine Pillay & Aviva Zimbris, "Law and legal systems in Madagascar: A political siege", *Globalex*, April 2013. Trust in the judiciary has continued to decline since the 2009 coup. Only 8 per cent of Malagasy respondents indicated that they had "a lot" of trust in the courts system. Afrobarometer 2013 survey, op. cit.

VI. Conclusion

After five years of pronounced deterioration, Madagascar has an opportunity for recovery. This outcome is not guaranteed as the underlying causes of political instability remain. While donors are keen to re-engage, the international community, in particular ISG-M members, the AU, SADC and other multilateral institutions (IMF, African Development Bank, World Bank) should build its relationships with a view to supporting political and institutional reforms that contribute to long-term stability, beyond the changes brought about by the transition and 2013 elections.

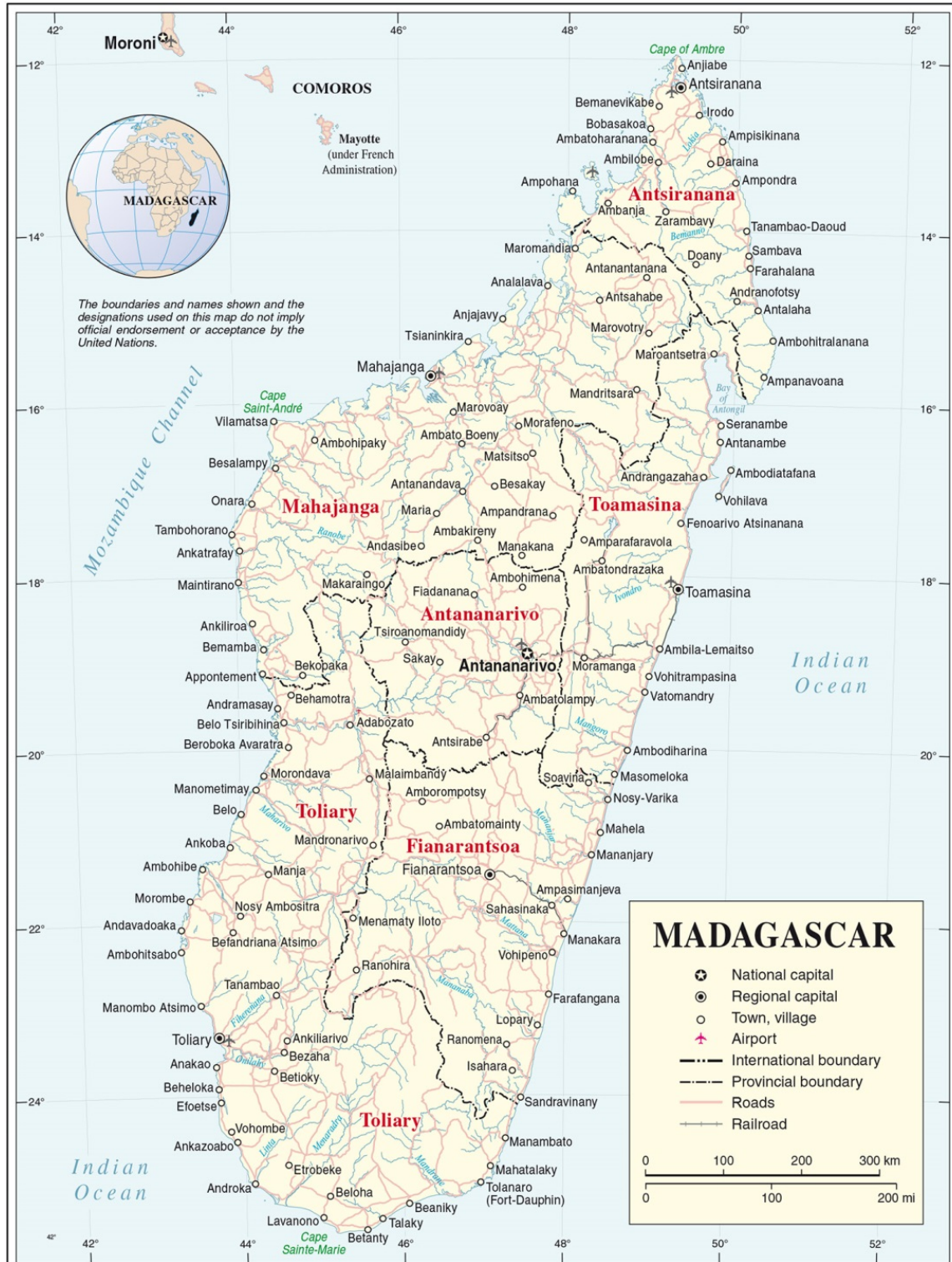
A secure future is contingent on a critical mass of Malagasy politicians placing national interests above their own. The new president and government must actively promote national reconciliation; the military must commit and be seen to support its constitutional mandate under firm civilian control; upholding law and order and tackling corruption must remain a priority, as is investing in institutions that promote good governance and economic development.

President Rajaonarimampianina has moved both cautiously and boldly to distance himself from the former government, and appears intent on balancing interests based on a set of priorities to restore government services and a resuscitated development trajectory. Having cobbled together a de facto government of national unity, his new administration must now devise a realistic program of action that can support the country's recovery.

With determination and leadership from Malagasy politicians and close international support and guidance on agreed objectives, Madagascar can chart a new course. Beyond a cosmetic makeover, the challenge remains to navigate contested interests embedded in the *Grande Ile*'s toxic politics.

Johannesburg/Brussels, 19 May 2014

Appendix A: Map of Madagascar



Appendix B: About the International Crisis Group

The International Crisis Group (Crisis Group) is an independent, non-profit, non-governmental organisation, with some 120 staff members on five continents, working through field-based analysis and high-level advocacy to prevent and resolve deadly conflict.

Crisis Group's approach is grounded in field research. Teams of political analysts are located within or close by countries at risk of outbreak, escalation or recurrence of violent conflict. Based on information and assessments from the field, it produces analytical reports containing practical recommendations targeted at key international decision-takers. Crisis Group also publishes *CrisisWatch*, a twelve-page monthly bulletin, providing a succinct regular update on the state of play in all the most significant situations of conflict or potential conflict around the world.

Crisis Group's reports and briefing papers are distributed widely by email and made available simultaneously on the website, www.crisisgroup.org. Crisis Group works closely with governments and those who influence them, including the media, to highlight its crisis analyses and to generate support for its policy prescriptions.

The Crisis Group Board – which includes prominent figures from the fields of politics, diplomacy, business and the media – is directly involved in helping to bring the reports and recommendations to the attention of senior policy-makers around the world. Crisis Group is co-chaired by former UN Deputy Secretary-General and Administrator of the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), Mark Malloch-Brown, and former U.S. Undersecretary of State and Ambassador Thomas Pickering. Its President and Chief Executive since July 2009 has been Louise Arbour, former UN High Commissioner for Human Rights and Chief Prosecutor for the International Criminal Tribunals for the former Yugoslavia and for Rwanda.

Crisis Group's international headquarters is in Brussels, and the organisation has offices or representation in 26 locations: Baghdad/Suleimaniya, Bangkok, Beijing, Beirut, Bishkek, Bogotá, Brussels, Cairo, Dakar, Dubai, Gaza City, Islamabad, Istanbul, Jerusalem, Johannesburg, Kabul, London, Mexico City, Moscow, Nairobi, New York, Seoul, Toronto, Tripoli, Tunis, Washington DC. Crisis Group currently covers some 70 areas of actual or potential conflict across four continents. In Africa, this includes, Burkina Faso, Burundi, Cameroon, Central African Republic, Chad, Côte d'Ivoire, Democratic Republic of the Congo, Eritrea, Ethiopia, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Kenya, Liberia, Madagascar, Nigeria, Sierra Leone, Somalia, South Sudan, Sudan, Uganda and Zimbabwe; in Asia, Afghanistan, Indonesia, Kashmir, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Malaysia, Myanmar, Nepal, North Korea, Pakistan, Philippines, Sri Lanka, Taiwan Strait, Tajikistan, Thailand, Timor-Leste, Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan; in Europe, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Cyprus, Georgia, Kosovo, Macedonia, North Caucasus, Serbia and Turkey; in the Middle East and North Africa, Algeria, Bahrain, Egypt, Iran, Iraq, Israel-Palestine, Jordan, Lebanon, Libya, Morocco, Syria, Tunisia, Western Sahara and Yemen; and in Latin America and the Caribbean, Colombia, Guatemala, Mexico and Venezuela.

In 2014, Crisis Group receives financial support from, or is in the process of renewing relationships with, a wide range of governments, institutional foundations, and private sources. Crisis Group receives support from the following governmental departments and agencies: Australian Agency for International Development, Austrian Development Agency, Belgian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Canadian International Development Research Centre, Danish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Department of Foreign Affairs, Trade and Development, Deutsche Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit (GIZ), Dutch Ministry of Foreign Affairs, European Union Instrument for Stability, French Ministry of Foreign Affairs, German Federal Foreign Office, Irish Aid, Principality of Liechtenstein, Luxembourg Ministry of Foreign Affairs, New Zealand (Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade), Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Swedish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Swiss Federal Department of Foreign Affairs, United Kingdom Department for International Development, U.S. Agency for International Development.

Crisis Group also holds relationships with the following institutional and private foundations: Adesium Foundation, Carnegie Corporation of New York, The Elders, Henry Luce Foundation, Humanity United, John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation, Oak Foundation, Open Society Foundations, Open Society Initiative for West Africa, Ploughshares Fund, Rockefeller Brothers Fund, Stanley Foundation and VIVA Trust.

May 2014

Appendix C: Reports and Briefings on Africa since 2011

Central Africa

Burundi: From Electoral Boycott to Political Impasse, Africa Report N°169, 7 February 2011 (also available in French).

Chad's North West: The Next High-risk Area?, Africa Briefing N°78, 17 February 2011 (only available in French).

Congo: The Electoral Dilemma, Africa Report N°175, 5 May 2011 (also available in French).

Congo : The Electoral Process Seen from the East, Africa Briefing N°80, 5 September 2011 (also available in French).

Africa without Qaddafi: The Case of Chad, Africa Report N°180, 21 October 2011 (also available in French).

Implementing Peace and Security Architecture (I): Central Africa, Africa Report N°181, 7 November 2011 (also available in French).

The Lord's Resistance Army: End Game?, Africa Report N°182, 17 November 2011.

Burundi: A Deepening Corruption Crisis, Africa Report N°185, 21 March 2012 (also available in French).

Black Gold in the Congo: Threat to Stability or Development Opportunity?, Africa Report N°188, 11 July 2012 (also available in French).

Eastern Congo: Why Stabilisation Failed, Africa Briefing N°91, 4 October 2012 (also available in French).

Burundi: Bye-bye Arusha? Africa Report N°192, 25 October 2012 (only available in French).

The Gulf of Guinea : The New Danger Zone, Africa Report N°195, 12 December 2012 (also available in French).

Eastern Congo: The ADF-Nalu's Lost Rebellion, Africa Briefing N°93, 19 December 2012 (also available in French).

Central African Republic: Priorities of the Transition, Africa Report N°203, 11 June 2013 (also available in French).

Understanding Conflict in Eastern Congo (I): The Ruzizi Plain, Africa Report N°206, 23 July 2013 (also available in French).

Central African Republic: Better Late than Never, Africa Briefing N°96, 2 December 2013 (also available in French).

Fields of Bitterness (I): Land Reform in Burundi, Africa Report N°213, 12 February 2014 (only available in French).

Fields of Bitterness (II): Restitution and Reconciliation in Burundi, Africa Report N°214, 17 February 2014 (only available in French).

The Security Challenges of Pastoralism in Central Africa, Africa Report N°215, 1 April 2014 (only available in French).

Curbing Violence in Nigeria (II): The Boko Haram Insurgency, Africa Report N°216, 3 April 2014.

Horn of Africa

Somalia: The Transitional Government on Life Support, Africa Report N°170, 21 February 2011.

Politics and Transition in the New South Sudan, Africa Briefing N°172, 4 April 2011.

Divisions in Sudan's Ruling Party and the Threat to the Country's Stability, Africa Report N°174, 4 May 2011.

South Sudan: Compounding Instability in Unity State, Africa Report N°179, 17 October 2011 (also available in Chinese).

Kenya: Impact of the ICC Proceedings, Africa Briefing N°84, 9 January 2012.

Kenyan Somali Islamist Radicalisation, Africa Briefing N°85, 25 January 2012.

The Kenyan Military Intervention in Somalia, Africa Report N°184, 15 February 2012

Somalia: An Opportunity that Should Not Be Missed, Africa Briefing N°87, 22 February 2012.

China's New Courtship in South Sudan, Africa Report N°186, 4 April 2012 (also available in Chinese).

Uganda: No Resolution to Growing Tensions, Africa Report N°187, 5 April 2012.

Ethiopia After Meles, Africa Briefing N°89, 22 August 2012.

Assessing Turkey's Role in Somalia, Africa Briefing N°92, 8 October 2012.

Sudan: Major Reform or More War, Africa Report N°194, 29 November 2012 (also available in Arabic).

Kenya's 2013 Elections, Africa Report N°197, 17 January 2013.

Sudan's Spreading Conflict (I): War in South Kordofan, Africa Report N°198, 14 February 2013.

Eritrea: Scenarios for Future Transition, Africa Report N°200, 28 March 2013.

Kenya After the Elections, Africa Briefing N°94, 15 May 2013.

Sudan's Spreading Conflict (II): War in Blue Nile, Africa Report N°204, 18 June 2013.

Ethiopia: Prospects for Peace in Ogaden, Africa Report N°207, 6 August 2013.

Sudan: Preserving Peace in the East, Africa Report N°209, 26 November 2013.

Somalia: Puntland's Punted Polls, Africa Briefing N°97, 19 December 2013.

Sudan's Spreading Conflict (III): The Limits of Darfur's Peace Process, Africa Report N°211, 27 January 2014.

South Sudan: A Civil War by Any Other Name, Africa Report N°217, 10 April 2014.

Southern Africa

Zimbabwe: The Road to Reform or Another Dead End, Africa Report N°173, 27 April 2011.

Resistance and Denial: Zimbabwe's Stalled Reform Agenda, Africa Briefing N°82, 16 November 2011.

Zimbabwe's Sanctions Standoff, Africa Briefing N°86, 6 February 2012 (also available in Chinese).

Implementing Peace and Security Architecture (II): Southern Africa, Africa Report N°191, 15 October 2012.

Zimbabwe: Election Scenarios, Africa Report N°202, 6 May 2013.

Zimbabwe's Elections: Mugabe's Last Stand, Africa Briefing N°95, 29 July 2013.

West Africa

Nigeria's Elections: Reversing the Degeneration?, Africa Briefing N°79, 24 February 2011.

Côte d'Ivoire: Is War the Only Option?, Africa Report N°171, 3 March 2011 (also available in French).

A Critical Period for Ensuring Stability in Côte d'Ivoire, Africa Report N°176, 1 August 2011 (also available in French).

Liberia: How Sustainable Is the Recovery?, Africa Report N°177, 19 August 2011.

Guinea: Putting the Transition Back on Track, Africa Report N°178, 23 September 2011.

Côte d'Ivoire: Continuing the Recovery, Africa Briefing N°83, 16 December 2011 (also available in French).

Beyond Compromises: Reform Prospects in Guinea-Bissau, Africa Report N°183, 23 January 2012 (only available in French and Portuguese).

Liberia: Time for Much-Delayed Reconciliation and Reform, Africa Briefing N°88, 12 June 2012.

Mali: Avoiding Escalation, Africa Report N°189, 18 July 2012 (also available in French).

Beyond Turf Wars: Managing the Post-Coup Transition in Guinea-Bissau, Africa Report N°190, 17 August 2012 (also available in French).

Mali: The Need for Determined and Coordinated International Action, Africa Briefing N°90, 24 September 2012 (also available in French).

Côte d'Ivoire: Defusing Tensions, Africa Report N°193, 26 November 2012 (also available in French).

Curbing Violence in Nigeria (I): The Jos Crisis, Africa Report N°196, 17 December 2012.

Guinea: A Way Out of the Election Quagmire, Africa Report N°199, 18 February 2013 (only available in French).

Mali: Security, Dialogue and Meaningful Reform, Africa Report N°201, 11 April 2013 (also available in French).

Burkina Faso: With or Without Compaoré, Times of Uncertainty, Africa Report N°205, 22 July 2013 (also available in French).

Niger: Another Weak Link in the Sahel?, Africa Report N°208, 19 September 2013 (also available in French).

Mali: Reform or Relapse, Africa Report N°210, 10 January 2014 (also available in French).

Côte d'Ivoire's Great West: Key to Reconciliation, Africa Report N°212, 28 January 2014 (also available in French).

Guinea Bissau: Elections, But Then What?, Africa Briefing N°98, 8 April 2014 (only available in French).

Appendix D: International Crisis Group Board of Trustees

CO-CHAIRS

Lord (Mark) Malloch-Brown

Former UN Deputy Secretary-General and Administrator of the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP)

Thomas R Pickering

Former U.S. Undersecretary of State; Ambassador to the UN, Russia, India, Israel, Jordan, El Salvador and Nigeria

PRESIDENT & CEO

Louise Arbour

Former UN High Commissioner for Human Rights and Chief Prosecutor for the International Criminal Tribunals for the former Yugoslavia and Rwanda

VICE-CHAIRS

Ayo Obe

Legal Practitioner, Lagos, Nigeria

Ghassan Salamé

Dean, Paris School of International Affairs, Sciences Po

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

Cheryl Carolus

Former South African High Commissioner to the UK and Secretary General of the ANC

Maria Livanos Cattau

Former Secretary-General of the International Chamber of Commerce

Frank Giustra

President & CEO, Fiore Financial Corporation

George Soros

Chairman, Open Society Institute

Pär Stenbäck

Former Foreign Minister of Finland

OTHER BOARD MEMBERS

Morton Abramowitz

Former U.S. Assistant Secretary of State and Ambassador to Turkey

Kofi Annan

Former Secretary-General of the United Nations; Nobel Peace Prize (2001)

Nahum Barnea

Chief Columnist for *Yedioth Ahronoth*, Israel

Samuel Berger

Chair, Albright Stonebridge Group LLC; Former U.S. National Security Adviser

Emma Bonino

Former Foreign Minister of Italy and Vice-President of the Senate; Former European Commissioner for Humanitarian Aid

Micheline Calmy-Rey

Former President of the Swiss Confederation and Foreign Affairs Minister

Wesley Clark

Former NATO Supreme Allied Commander

Sheila Coronel

Toni Stabile Professor of Practice in Investigative Journalism; Director, Toni Stabile Center for Investigative Journalism, Columbia University, U.S.

Mark Eyskens

Former Prime Minister of Belgium

Joschka Fischer

Former Foreign Minister of Germany

Lykke Friis

Former Climate & Energy Minister and Minister of Gender Equality of Denmark; Former Protector at the University of Copenhagen

Jean-Marie Guéhenno

Arnold Saltzman Professor of War and Peace Studies, Columbia University; Former UN Under-Secretary-General for Peacekeeping Operations

Lena Hjelm-Wallén

Former Deputy Prime Minister and Foreign Minister of Sweden

Mo Ibrahim

Founder and Chair, Mo Ibrahim Foundation; Founder, Celtel International

Asma Jahangir

President of the Supreme Court Bar Association of Pakistan, Former UN Special Rapporteur on the Freedom of Religion or Belief

Wadah Khanfar

Co-Founder, Al Sharq Forum; Former Director General, Al Jazeera Network

Wim Kok

Former Prime Minister of the Netherlands

Ricardo Lagos

Former President of Chile

Joanne Leedom-Ackerman

Former International Secretary of PEN International; Novelist and journalist, U.S.

Lalit Mansingh

Former Foreign Secretary of India, Ambassador to the U.S. and High Commissioner to the UK

Benjamin Mkapa

Former President of Tanzania

Laurence Parisot

President, French Business Confederation (MEDEF)

Karim Raslan

Founder, Managing Director and Chief Executive Officer of KRA Group

Paul Reynolds

President & Chief Executive Officer, Canaccord Financial Inc.

Javier Solana

Former EU High Representative for Common Foreign and Security Policy, NATO Secretary General and Foreign Minister of Spain

Liv Monica Stubholt

Senior Vice President for Strategy and Communication, Kvaerner ASA; Former State Secretary for the Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs

Lawrence H. Summers

Former Director of the U.S. National Economic Council and Secretary of the U.S. Treasury; President Emeritus of Harvard University

Wang Jisi

Dean, School of International Studies, Peking University; Member, Foreign Policy Advisory Committee of the Chinese Foreign Ministry

Wu Jianmin

Executive Vice Chairman, China Institute for Innovation and Development Strategy; Member, Foreign Policy Advisory Committee of the Chinese Foreign Ministry; Former Ambassador of China to the UN (Geneva) and France

Lionel Zinsou

CEO, PAI Partners

PRESIDENT'S COUNCIL

A distinguished group of individual and corporate donors providing essential support and expertise to Crisis Group.

Anonymous (3)	Frank Holmes	Pierre Mirabaud	Shearman & Sterling
Frank Caufield	Investec Asset	Ford Nicholson & Lisa	LLP
Dow Chemical	Management	Wolverton	White & Case LLP
Andrew Groves	Steve Killelea		

INTERNATIONAL ADVISORY COUNCIL

Individual and corporate supporters who play a key role in Crisis Group's efforts to prevent deadly conflict.

CORPORATE	Silk Road Finance Ltd	Neil & Sandra DeFeo	Griff Norquist
APCO Worldwide Inc.	Statoil	Family Foundation	Geoffrey R. Hoguet &
Atlas Copco AB	Talisman Energy	Neemat Frem	Ana Luisa Ponti
BP	Yapi Merkezi	Seth & Jane Ginns	Kerry Propper
Chevron	Construction and	Alan Griffiths	Michael L. Riordan
Equinox Partners	Industry Inc.	Rita E. Hauser	Nina K. Solarz
FTI Consulting		George Kellner	Horst Sporer
Lockwood Financial	INDIVIDUAL	Faisel Khan	VIVA Trust
Ltd	Anonymous	Zelmira Koch Polk	Stelios S. Zavvos
MasterCard	Stanley Bergman &	Elliott Kulick	
PTT Public Company	Edward Bergman	David Levy	
Limited	David Brown	Leslie Lishon	
Shell		Harriet Mouchly-Weiss	

SENIOR ADVISERS

Former Board Members who maintain an association with Crisis Group, and whose advice and support are called on (to the extent consistent with any other office they may be holding at the time).

Martti Ahtisaari	Eugene Chien	Matthew McHugh
Chairman Emeritus	Joaquim Alberto	Miklós Németh
George Mitchell	Chissano	Christine Ockrent
Chairman Emeritus	Victor Chu	Timothy Ong
Gareth Evans	Mong Joon Chung	Olara Otunnu
President Emeritus	Pat Cox	Lord (Christopher)
	Gianfranco Dell'Alba	Patten
Kenneth Adelman	Jacques Delors	Shimon Peres
Adnan Abu-Odeh	Alain Destexhe	Victor Pinchuk
HRH Prince Turki al-	Mou-Shih Ding	Surin Pitsuwan
Faisal	Uffe Ellemann-Jensen	Cyril Ramaphosa
Hushang Ansary	Gernot Erlor	Fidel V. Ramos
Óscar Arias	Marika Fahlén	
Ersin Arıoğlu	Stanley Fischer	
Richard Armitage	Malcolm Fraser	
Diego Arria	Carla Hills	
Zainab Bangura	Swanee Hunt	
Shlomo Ben-Ami	James V. Kimsey	
Christoph Bertram	Aleksander	
Alan Blinken	Kwasniewski	
Lakhdar Brahimi	Todung Mulya Lubis	
Zbigniew Brzezinski	Allan J. MacEachen	
Kim Campbell	Graça Machel	
Jorge Castañeda	Jessica T. Mathews	
Naresh Chandra	Barbara McDougall	