Madagascar
Rice

Madagascar gained independence from France in 1960. Philibert Tsiranana, the leader of the Social Democratic Party of Madagascar, became the President when his party gained power following independence. Geddes classifies Madagascar during Tsiranana's time in office as a single-party state. Tsiranana was reelected in March 1972, but was forced to resign following massive demonstrations in May. He handed over power to the military, and his successor as President was General Gabriel Ramanantsoa. This is a SOLS change. At this point, Geddes classifies Madagascar as a military state. Ramanantsoa remained in office until 5 February 1975, when he resigned and handed over power to Lt. Col. Richard Ratsimandrava. This is not a SOLS change. Ratsimandrava was assassinated just six days later, on 11 February 1975. Gilles Andriamahazo, took over the government. This is not a SOLS change. Andriamahazo is probably best considered a pre-designated successor since he was a former minister for Ramanantsoa (See Jessup 1998, 25; Crowder 1984, 684; Dahl 1999, 23; and International Business Publications 2006, 161). In any case, like Ramanantsoa and Ratsimandrava, Andriamahazo was also military so we do not code a SOLS change here.

In June, a new government was formed under Didier Ratsiraka, a member of the socialist Pillar and Structure for the Salvation of Madagascar (AREMA). This is a SOLS change. AREMA was, at that time, a member of the conglomerate group the National Front for the Defense of the Revolution (FNDR), and Ratsiraka's SOLS is listed as a combination of the two. Geddes classifies Ratsiraka's government as personalist.

In 1989, the FNDR disbanded, and Ratsiraka's SOLS affiliation changed accordingly (but as the personalist regime continued, this was not a SOLS change). Ratsiraka's government adhered to socialist economic policies, with restrained political opposition. In the late 1980s, some socialist economic policies were relaxed. These economic reforms were followed by political ones—namely the elimination of press censorship in 1989 and the formation of other political parties in 1990. However, mass demonstrations against the government continued, led by the Hery Velona opposition movement. As opposition grew, Ratsiraka agreed to a transitional government and a new constitution, which stripped him of most of his power. However, following Archigos, we continue coding Ratsiraka as the effective ruler until 1993.

In November 1992, presidential elections were held. The High Constitutional Court ruled (over objections from Hery Velona members) that Ratsiraka was allowed to participate in the elections. However, the leader of the Hery Velona movement, Albert Zafy (whose political party affiliation was the National Union for Development and Democracy, or UNDD) defeated Ratsiraka in elections and became Madagascar's President. This is a SOLS change. At this point, Geddes no longer classifies Madagascar as a personalist state.

Zafy was impeached on charges of corruption and abuse of power in September 1996. The Prime Minister, Norbert Ratsirahonana became the acting President. Though Ratsirahonana was a member of the Judged by Your Work (AVI) party, his time in office is not coded as a SOLS change because of his short tenure (five months) and his non-official status. The US Department of State Background Note calls his administration a "quasi-presidency" (United States Department of State, 2010). Elections were held in 1997, and both Zafy and Ratsiraka were

candidates. This time, Ratsiraka won the election (as the AREMA candidate) and became President once again. This is a SOLS change.

In 2001, presidential elections were held. The two main candidates were Ratsiraka and Marc Ravalomanana, the leader of the I Love Madagascar Party (TIM). The Ministry of the Interior declared Ratsiraka the winner, but Ravalomanana contested the results and declared himself the actual winner. Conflict between the supported of both ensued, and continued until 5 July 2002. On that date, Ratsiraka and some of his supporters fled to exile in France, and Ravalomanana assumed the presidency. This is a SOLS change.

In early 2009, anti-government protests against Marc Ravalomanana, in part led by Andre Rajoelina, the mayor of Antananarivo. Rajoelina called for Ravalomanana to resign or his impeachment. On February 7, 2009, the presidential guard kills approximately 30 protesters (Ploch & Cook 2012). Protests continued and by March, the military appeared to take Rajoelina's side. Marc Ravalomanana resigned after military officers seized presidential offices (McGreal & Corbett 2009). He transferred power to Hippolyte Raharison Ramaroson, a military admiral, who refused to take power and subsequently transferred power to Rajoelina and Rajoelina became president of the transitional government (Ploch & Cook 2012). Madagascar is a nondemocracy during this period, so we use those rules to determine whether a SOLS change occurs. The transition from Ravalomanana to Ramaroson is not coded as a SOLS change because Ravalomanana designated Ramaroson to take power. The transition from Ramaroson to Rajoelina is coded as a SOLS change because Ramaroson transfers power from Ravalomanana's regime to Rajoelina.

While Rajoelina was president of a transitional government, he was in power for longer than 18 months so is not considered an interim. In 2013, elections were finally held, under the condition that Rajoelina and Ravalomanana would not run in the election (BBC News 2013). Hery Martial Rajaonarimampianina Rakotoarimanana, former finance minister under Rajoelina, won the election (Iloniaina 2014). In 2014, Madagascar becomes a democracy. Although Rajaonarimampianina had the backing of Rajoelina, Rajaonarimampianina does not have the same political affiliation as Rajoelina. As a result, we code a SOLS change. Rajoelina came into power backed by the military while Rajaonarimampianina was democratically elected, making their source of support different.

In 2018, Rajaonarimampianina resigned to run in the presidential election (AFP 2018). Speaker Rivo Rakotovao took over as interim president. Because Rakotovao is an interim, the traansition from Rajaonarimampianina to Rakotovao is not considered for a SOLS change.

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