



Threat Assessment: MADAGASCAR

(Based on CIFP Methodology)

Submitted by:
Ruby Dhand
Souleima El Achkar
Sarah McNeill
Sarah Rudolph

BACKGROUND

Madagascar's population is comprised of mixed Asian and African origin. Asian features are predominant in the Central Highlands people (the Merina, 3 million citizens) while the coastal dwellers (the Betsileo, 2 million citizens) have African features. The main language spoken is Malagasy, a language that has Polynesian roots. Approximately 45% of the population is Christian; there is also a Muslim minority. The Island primarily developed during the 1790's as Merina rulers succeeded in establishing order with the help of the British. In 1885, the British approved the imposition of a French protectorate in an agreement that would see the return of Tanzania. French military control was established in 1895, which ensured the abolishment of the Merina government.

Madagascar obtained independence on June 26, 1960 with the reformed institutions act of France in 1956. A constitution was adopted in 1959. Political conditions in Madagascar have been tumultuous. Resignations, assassinations and removal of Presidents have been common in the five decades following independence. In June 1975, a new government was formed under Didier Ratsiraka who ruled for 16 years with a government committed to revolutionary socialism. During this period, no criticism was permitted by the press. In the 1980's the regime came under pressure to modernize in response to a deteriorating economy. International financial institutions applied pressure for structural reforms. Consequently, Ratsiraka relaxed his ideological stance and implemented economic reforms. However, Ratsiraka was overthrown after his military open fired on peaceful demonstrators marching on his suburban palace, killing more than 30 protesters.

President Albert Zafy held a brief term in office until his impeachment, which brought Ratsiraka and his Association for the Rebirth of Madagascar (AREMA) party to power again in 1997. In 2001, an election was held and the two primary candidates, Ratsiraka and Marc Ravalomanana, both claimed victory. Economic stability waxed and waned in response to the political upheaval, decreasing during a period of violence and increasing after the election results were determined. A crisis ensued as Ratsiraka supporters cut major transport routes from the primary port city to the capital city, a stronghold of Ravalomanana support. It is estimated that some 100 people were killed in the clashes. Some pro-Ratsiraka radio stations were accused of operating as hate radios. Violence and disruption of the economy continued until 2002 when Ratsiraka fled to France. The political crisis belied the ethnic problems in this revolt as Ratsiraka is from a coastal tribe and Ravalomanana comes from a highland Merina tribe. Presently, Madagascar depends on government reform, foreign investment and outside financial aid for future growth.¹

TIMELINE

1790-1890- The Merina (the predominantly Asian/Indo Malayo-Indonesian Central Highlands people numbering 3 million) force the Cotier (Coastal dwellers of African/Indo Malayan heritage numbering 2 million) into a Malagasy kingdom.

1896- French occupation of the territory ends Merina control.

1946 - Merina-dominated Democratic Movement for Malagasy Renewal (MDRM) wins national assembly elections. Political mobilization by the côtiers shortly followed with the creation of an alternative party, the PADESM (Party of Disinherited Malagasy).

1947- 50-000-80,000 people die in anti-colonial revolt
1956 – French transfer significant executive power to local Malagasy authorities and allow universal suffrage.

1960- Madagascar obtains independence and adopts a constitution.

1972-President Tsiranana, leader of the Social Democratic Party (SPD) resigns amid anti-government revolts.

1972-1975- Gabriel Ramanantsoa and Richard Ratsimandrava are elected, resign and are assassinated.

1975- A new government is formed under Didier Ratsiraka, a revolutionary socialist from the AREMA party

1976- Establishment of a one-party state by the ruling Front for the Defense of the Socialist Malagasy (FNRD), a coalition of political parties including both Merina-supported and côtier-supported organizations.
1980's- Ratsiraka gains criticism for his iron-fisted rule and subsequent demonstrations result in the death of 34 innocent protesters .

1990 - Growing political opposition to FNRD. A new constitution is enacted.

1991- President Albert Zafy, a Merina supported Cotier, is elected.

1997- Ratsiraka is reelected.

2001- New election results in both Ratsiraka and Marc Ravalomanana (I love Madagascar Party) claiming victory. Ravalomanana is the first Merina to be elected President.

2002- Clashes between pro-Ratsiraka and pro-Ravalomanana groups. Crisis ensues and blockade are set up in Antananarivo (Capital of Madagascar), paralyzing formal economy. Western support for Ravalomanana; Ratsiraka leaves to France.

2003- Mr. Ravalomanana dismisses provincial leaders

2004- Ravalomanana pardons most Ratsirakistes

2005-Madagascar attends SADC meeting as precursor to membership; membership granted in August.

MAJOR STAKEHOLDERS

Internal		
Stakeholder	Composition	Grievance/Interest
Association for the Rebirth of Madagascar (AREMA)	Didier Ratsiraka – leader Cotier support base (African, Malayo-Indonesian background)	- wants to pursue socialist policies
I Love Madagascar (TIM)	Marc Ravalomanana – leader Merina support base (highlands tribe) Holds solid majority of seats	- wants to implement liberal economic reforms
Coalition of: National Reconciliation Committee (CRN), Solidarité parlementaire pour l'unité nationale (SPDUN), Rally of Forces for the Nation (RFN)	Former President Zafy - leader	- CRN accuses Ravalomanana of dictatorial behaviour & decreased social services due to IMF reforms - SPDUN decries poor government management RFN wants a transitional government & reconciliation movement; not as radical as CRN ²
External		
Stakeholder	Interest	
France	Colonial interest	
African Union	Madagascar rejoined in 2003; economic support	
SADC	Madagascar became a full member of this economic community in August 2005	
World Bank/IMF	Implemented debt relief, economic reforms in Madagascar	
United States	Providing economic support: Millennium Challenge funding; U.S. – Madagascar Business Council ³	

HISTORY OF CONFLICT

Peace-Generating Factors	Conflict-Generating Factors
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -No history of external conflict -Many countries are actively interested in Madagascar's foreign investments i.e. Mauritius, France, SADC, U.S.⁴ 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Madagascar has experienced five decades of political instability and vacillating political views which have seen Presidents impeached, assassinated, removed and resigned -This political instability has exacerbated ethnic tensions between the Merina and the Cotier, and caused strife in general between the various factions and political parties -Erupting violence accompanying elections has become the status quo as elections (1972, 1975, 1991, 1996 and 2001) have all resulted in demonstrations, most of which have turned violent and been disruptive to the country and the economy⁵ - Scores 1.0 on CIPF Risk Analysis⁶

GOVERNANCE & POLITICAL STABILITY

Peace-Generating Factors	Conflict-Generating Factors
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The radical opposition and the formal opposition have not been able to gain enough support to disrupt the state.⁷ - Large-scale violence has not occurred and conflict has been confined to the "realm of factionalism."⁸ - President Ravalomanana has created a new party called TIM (Tiako-I-Madasikara-I), meaning I love Madagascar. In an attempt to expand his base of support, the President has also created better relations with provincial political leaders.⁹ 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The impact of the 2001 presidential crisis upon foreign relations and the ethnic conflicts between the "Merina" and "Cotiers" groups created ongoing conflict. Violence was apparent amongst the pro-Ratsiraka and pro-Ravalomanana groups. - The primary opposition coalitions in Madagascar include SPDUN, the RFN and the CRN. Former ruling Association pour la renaissance de Madagascar is also in conflict to the President.¹⁰ - The current levels of conflict are attributed to the civic groups and the opposition that resides outside of the government. There is a concern over President Ravalomanana's personal corporate activities and policies. - The economic reforms under the government have been unable to increase the living standards and create better jobs¹¹ - Scores 7.09 on CIPF Risk Analysis¹²

MILITARIZATION

Peace-Generating Factors	Conflict-Generating Factors
<p>-Madagascar has a large Gendarmerie (8,100) which could contribute to stabilizing the country during elections¹³</p>	<p>-Armed Forces consists of: the People's Armed Forces (Intervention Force, Development Force, Aeronaval –Navy and Air-Force), Gendarmerie, Presidential Security Regiment¹⁴</p> <p>-Defence expenditure hovers around \$48 million per year or 1.2% of the GDP¹⁵</p> <p>-Army assets, 12,500 personnel (with 5,000 conscripts), 12 light tanks, 39 reconnaissance vehicles, 21 APC's and 25 towed artillery guns. Navy assets, 430 personnel plus 120 marines, 1 patrol craft and 4-5 minor vessels. Air Force assets, 500 personnel, 8 combat aircraft and 4 helicopters.¹⁶</p> <p>- Scores 4.65 on CIPF Risk Analysis¹⁷</p>

POPULATION & DEMOGRAPHY

Peace-Generating Factors	Conflict-Generating Factors
<p>- Common languages: Malagasy and French. The two main languages in Madagascar are recognized by all citizens. Malagasy is the shared traditional language, while French is a second language tracing back to colonialism.</p> <p>- Only two main religions, and one minority religion are present: Traditional Beliefs (47%), Christian (45%), Muslim (7%).¹⁸ Religious tolerance is high. Conflict due to religious tension is not common.</p>	<p>- 18 Malagasy tribes, with Comorian, French, Indian, Chinese minority¹⁹; the Merina (26.2%), Betsimisaraka (14.9%), and Betsileo (12.1%) ethnic groups are predominant among the 18 tribes.²⁰ There have been tensions between the Merina and cotier groups. Political rivals Ratsiraka and Ravalomanana are from different ethnic groups: Betsimisarka and Merina, respectively.²¹</p> <p>- Total Population (2003): 17.6 million Population Growth Rate: 2.5%</p> <p>Urban population (% of total): 26.6% A high urban population can be a risk for conflict if there are economic disparities.</p> <p>- Population under age 15: 44.4%²²; Population 15-64 years: 52.1%, Median age: 17.46 years²³ A predominantly young population can be mobilized to violence.</p> <p>- Scores 4.50 on CIPF Risk Analysis for population heterogeneity and 6.47 for demographic stress.²⁴</p>

ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

Peace-Generating Factors	Conflict-Generating Factors
<p>- Some economic sectors have good potential: e.g. vanilla sector, prawn fishing and tourism.</p> <p>- Madagascar qualified for the World Bank- IMF enhanced heavily indebted poor countries (HIPC) initiative, benefiting from debt reduction, and completed a PRSP with the World Bank, making poverty reduction a priority target. This has consolidated donor support and significant amount of foreign aid has flowed to the country (including US Millennium Challenge aid programme for Madagascar of \$110 to be disbursed over 4 years.)²⁵</p>	<p>- Uneven recent economic growth driven by rapid exports growth since 1990's, specifically export processing zone (EPZ) manufacturing (mainly textiles and garments). Significant job creation but predominantly for skilled workers in the urban industrial sector (Antananarivo), resulting in rising inequality and little impact on poverty.²⁶</p> <p>- Large urban-rural disparities exacerbated by rapid growth of the urban industrial sector, and slow growth of the traditional rural sector (where most Malgasy live, relying mainly on subsistence food production and tropical cash crops).</p> <p>- Widespread poverty: 61 % of the population living below 1\$ a day line, and 85 % below 2\$ a day. Low per capita GDP: 809 PPP US\$ (2003).²⁷</p> <p>- High Inequality: Poorest 20% of population receives 5 % of total income, whereas richest 20% receive 54 %.²⁸</p> <p>- High inflation (13.8% in 2004), persistent and increasing trade deficit due to rising oil import costs and decrease in vanilla exports. Depreciation of national currency in 2004.²⁹</p> <p>- Highly volatile economic performance, subject to frequent disruptions due to political strife (e.g. strikes and roadblocks during 2002 political crisis), and vulnerable to natural disasters (e.g. cyclones in 2004). In addition to direct impacts such as infrastructure destruction and interruption of daily economic activity, the high level of insecurity caused by these events discourages investment and impedes growth.</p> <p>- Scores 7.87 on CIPF Risk Analysis.³⁰</p>

HUMAN DEVELOPMENT³¹

Peace-Generating Factors	Conflict-Generating Factors
<p>- Improved access to schooling for girls.</p>	<p>- Madagascar is ranked as a 'Low Human Development' country, with an HDI value of 0.499 in 2003 (Rank 146 out of 177 countries). Slow progress in human development indicators.</p> <p>- Education: adult literacy rate: 70.6%(some 26% of adult males and 40% of females are illiterate) and combined enrollment ratio (primary, secondary & tertiary): 51%.</p> <p>- Health: Prevalence of HIV/AIDS, malaria, cholera and tuberculosis. Low life expectancy: 55.4 years. Infant mortality rate and under-5 mortality rate per 1,000 live births are respectively: 119 and 195 (for poorest 20% of population), 58 and 101 (for richest 20% of population)</p> <p>- Poor access to water source and proper sanitation, and little sign of improvement. Large</p>

	<p>urban-rural disparity: In urban areas, one-half of the population uses proper sanitation and 83% have access to safe water, but in the rural areas, where most of the population lives, only 3% have proper sanitation and just 10% have access to safe water. Access to electricity is largely restricted to urban areas.³²</p> <p>- Scores 8.37 on CIPF Risk Analysis.³³</p>
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ENVIRONMENTAL STRESS

Peace-Generating Factors	Conflict-Generating Factors
	<p>- Problems with massive deforestation and extinction of a number of plants and animals is apparent. There has been severe erosion where the human populations are sparse. Native dry forests are not being regenerated.³⁴</p> <p>- Heavy rainfall and severe cyclones have occurred in the east coast in February, March and April 2000, May 2003 and February and March 2004. The south is also vulnerable to drought.</p> <p>- Scores 5.00 on CIPF Risk Analysis.³⁵</p>

INTERNATIONAL LINKAGES

Peace-Generating Factors	Conflict-Generating Factors
<p>- In both the private and public sectors, international relationships have been prospering. Madagascar received approval in August 2005 to become a full member of SADC. By becoming a member of this regional trade market, Madagascar is expected to enhance its opportunity for investment, economic growth, development, as well as its bargaining power within the international arena.³⁶</p> <p>- The African Union has also reversed its apprehensions. The French President also decided to open a new Alliance Francaise in order to continue the history of Franco-Malagasy ties.³⁷</p> <p>- Another key ally is Mauritius, a source of textile and garment sector investment.³⁸</p> <p>- Scores 5.98 on CIPF Risk Analysis.³⁹</p>	

SCENARIOS

Worst Case Scenario: Escalation of Internal Violence	
1.	Increased political tensions between Ratsirika (AREMA) and Ravalomanana (TIM) inflames preexisting ethnic tensions between the Merina and the Cotier which is used for political gain by their respective leaders.
2.	Tensions lead to demonstrations and sabotage of infrastructure including communication and transportation lines.
3.	Combination of ethnic unrest and political upheaval causes countrywide economic loss and potential loss of life on a larger scale than the 2001 incident, as a result of increasingly violent confrontations between government and protesters.
4.	This crisis spurs cycles of violence and increase in poverty that sustain the conflict for an extended period of time.
Best Case Scenario: Establishment of Internal Stability	
1.	Ravalomanana pursues an agenda based on the creation of social policies aimed at reducing urban/rural disparity by improving living conditions in rural areas, providing employment opportunities and other basic services such as education and healthcare.
2.	Combination of increasing stability and easing of tension between major political parties encourages cooperation and results in more directive priorities for the country.
3.	Madagascar's stability promotes foreign investment from countries such as Europe (particularly France), Mauritius and SADC partners.
4.	Increased economic prosperity is distributed evenly due to the improved social policies and therefore increases the country's general stability.
Most Likely Scenario: Maintenance of the Status Quo	
1.	Tensions build prior to November 2006 election as AREMA and other opposing parties clash with Ravalomanana and his TIM party.
2.	Outbreak of sporadic demonstrations will likely result in violence, disrupt the city infrastructure including highways and railways and bring the economy to a halt as in the election of 2001.
3.	Situation continues to escalate in the months before and after the election until a decision regarding the new President is made.
4.	Status Quo is reestablished through marginal tolerance with the new government. However ongoing minor disputes and deadlocks continue to prevent effective policy-making and implementation.

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- ¹ Central Intelligence Agency, World Fact Book Madagascar (Washington, DC: Brassey's Inc., 2003)
 - ² Countries of the World, Thomson and Gale, Volume 1, USA, 2006, 1161
 - ³ U.S. Department of State. (January 2006) Background Note: Madagascar. Retrieved January 18, 2006 from the World Wide Web: <http://www.state.gov/r/pa/ei/bgn/5460.htm>
 - ⁴ Countries of the World, Thomson and Gale, Volume 1, USA, 2006, 1165
 - ⁵ Ibid, pg. 1165
 - ⁶ Country Indicators for Foreign Policy. CIFP Madagascar Risk Analysis. Provided by CIFP: <http://www.carleton.ca/cifp>
 - ⁷ Polity IV Project. Political Regime Characteristics and Transitions, 1800 –2003. Retrieved January 15 2006 from the World Wide Web <http://www.cidcm.umd.edu/inscr/polity/>.
 - ⁸ FAST. Madagascar Update: Quarterly Risk Assessment September to November 2004. Retrieved January 16, 2006 from the World Wide Web: http://www.swisspeace.org/fast/afrika_madagascar.htm
 - ⁹ Economist Intelligence Unit, Country Profile 2005: Madagascar, 4.
 - ¹⁰ FAST. Madagascar Update: Semi-annual Risk Assessment June to November 2005. Retrieved January 17, 2006 from the World Wide Web: www.iss.co.za/AF/profiles/madagascar/fastnov05.pdf
 - ¹¹ Ibid
 - ¹² CIFP.
 - ¹³ International Institute for Strategic Studies, The Military Balance (Routledge: Taylor and Francis, 2005): 386
 - ¹⁴ Central Intelligence Agency, World Fact Book Madagascar (Washington, DC: Brassey's Inc., 2003).
 - ¹⁵ Jane's World Armies, Issue 16, December 2004: 582.
 - ¹⁶ Ibid
 - ¹⁷ CIFP.
 - ¹⁸ ibid
 - ¹⁹ U.S. Department of State. (January 2006) Background Note: Madagascar. Retrieved January 18, 2006 from the World Wide Web: <http://www.state.gov/r/pa/ei/bgn/5460.htm>
 - ²⁰ Madagascar Society. Wild Madagascar. Retrieved January 17, 2006 from the World Wide Web: <http://www.wildmadagascar.org/overview/loc/21-society.html>
 - ²¹ U.S. Department of State. (January 2006) Background Note: Madagascar. Retrieved January 18, 2006 from the World Wide Web: <http://www.state.gov/r/pa/ei/bgn/5460.htm>
 - ²² Madagascar Human Development Index (2006) Retrieved January 16, 2006 from the World Wide Web: http://hdr.undp.org/statistics/data/cty/cty_f_MDG.html
 - ²³ Central Intelligence Agency (2006) CIA World FactBook Madagascar. Retrieved January 17, 2006 from the World Wide Web: <http://www.cia.gov/cia/publications/factbook/geos/ma.html>
 - ²⁴ CIFP.
 - ²⁵ UNDP Human Development Report 2005, 97.
 - ²⁶ UNDP Human Development Report 2005, 123.
 - ²⁷ UNDP Human Development Report 2005, 228.
 - ²⁸ UNDP Human Development Report 2005, 272.
 - ²⁹ Economist Intelligence Unit, Country Profile 2005: Madagascar, 24.
 - ³⁰ CIFP.
 - ³¹ Unless otherwise indicated, all statistics in this subsection are taken from the UNDP Human Development Report 2005: Human Development Indicators, Tables pp. 219-328
 - ³² Economist Intelligence Unit, Country Profile 2005: Madagascar, 14-17.
 - ³³ CIFP.
 - ³⁴ Population and Environment. Population Trends and The Environment in Madagascar. Retrieved January 18, 2006 from the World Wide Web: <http://www.ourplanet.com/aaas/pages/case05.html>
 - ³⁵ CIFP.
 - ³⁶ Ibid.
 - ³⁷ Ibid.
 - ³⁸ Economist Intelligence Unit, Country Profile 2005: Madagascar, 11.
 - ³⁹ CIFP.