

**Grant Number**: ES/V012568/1

**Sponsor: ESRC**

**Project title**: **Exploring the impacts of hybridisation on the local conflict trajectories of Madagascar.**

**RAZAKAMAHARAVO et Al (2024) – CODEBOOK**

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
| **Code heading** | **Code sub-heading 1** | **Code sub-heading 2** | **Examples from transcripts** |
| **CONFLICT DIMENSIONS** | SOC |  | I maintain that we will remain vulnerable as long as external influences disrupt our organizational structure through foreign connections. The initiatives funded by these financial inflows have been derailed, making it apparent that unraveling the intricacies of this issue will be a protracted endeavor. Individually, the Malagasy people face formidable challenges, evident in the widespread hardships endured by many … I am going to address your first question: Were these easy to introduce? Yes, it was remarkably easy, primarily because of our economic hardship. We faced poverty on various fronts – material, intellectual, and particularly during that period. Our material poverty, coupled with intellectual limitations, made it effortless for foreign values to find their way into our society. |
| EC |  | The perpetrators had the opportunity to deploy deceptive tactics, including the use of fake identities like Zanadambo, who were people from different regions exhibiting a lack of hesitation in resorting to violence upon arriving in unfamiliar territories. The heightened chaos was exacerbated by a scarcity of provisions and road blockades, making it easier to sow disorder. During that period, those fortunate enough to have provisions at home lived in constant fear of vandalism, as desperation led some individuals to resort to violence to secure food. The prices of essential goods soared to unprecedented levels, making it challenging for anyone to find affordable items for purchase. The once-strong sense of Fihavanana, a community spirit, was shattered during those tumultuous times and, regrettably, has never fully recovered since. This disruption was exemplified by the pledge taken by TIM and AREMA members, vowing not to bury each other.  …. In 2002, I was still a child, and during that period, a significant economic impact was felt due to the destruction of the Betsiboka Bridge. This had severe repercussions on various aspects of the economy, particularly in Diego, which was one of the most adversely affected areas. The entire Betsiboka region suffered as people were restricted from interconnecting.  During that time, I travelled to Antananarivo, where the weather was exceptionally hot. The Bridge of Betsiboka had been broken at that time, disrupting the usual routes. I vividly remember that we were supposed to cross that bridge.  Can you recall the name of the village located just after Mampikony and before reaching Antanetilava? It's the village where, upon leaving Bekoratsaka, crocodile oils are often sold. Additionally, there were two bridges in that area before reaching Manerinerina … |
| POL |  | Interestingly, in 2011, the roadmap includes the collaboration of, I believe, 11 political parties sharing positions and responsibilities. I contend that since the third wave of 1989, there has been a usurpation of the democratic process by politicians or the political elite, leading to a lack of genuine reconciliation. The roadmap aims for national reconciliation, deemed necessary since 2001-2002 to bring together the Malagasy people. However, the population perceives it as an elite-focused reconciliation rather than a genuine need, raising several questions. |
| CUL |  | As long as the intellectual hegemony of the Merina persists, conflicts continue to arise in Madagascar. This perspective is personal. Similar to the case in England, whether it's an American or British issue, there are numerous ethnicities; facts have shown us that diversity is prevalent in both American and British societies. Our issue is an inclination towards excessive categorization. During our school days, we frequently assigned nicknames to people.  My typical example revolves around people labeling me as a mixed breed, a term I find distasteful. Nonetheless, such behavior is deeply ingrained in us, and breaking free from it proves challenging. Some individuals acknowledge the injustice in this labeling. With a slight shift, their grievances are directed towards the Merina. Conflicts persist. This is the focal point of my concern when exploring XXX's intervention. You've always observed this pattern. I am XXX and XXX’s father, signifying that even my children have encountered this prejudiced attitude. It suggests a transgenerational transmission, contributing to its enduring presence. Unless we eliminate this sentiment, living without social conflicts in Madagascar remains an unrealistic expectation. This represents my viewpoint; I cannot speak for others' perspectives. |
| EXT |  | In fact, I emphasize that the World Bank represents a modern form of colonialism. Countries in need borrow money from them, yet, in return, they are compelled to implement structural adjustments. This involves opening up their territories, constructing factories, and more, while the World Bank, in contrast, adopts protectionist measures. Their products are allowed entry, while ours are often denied access.  --The World Bank is our primary concern; that's what I would like to convey. |
| **CONFLICTS** | Definitions |  | --In my view, from a Malagasy perspective, 'conflict' should encompass warfare or divergent opinions leading to conflicts. It can manifest within households, in the social sphere, or even on a national scale. As our ancestral proverb suggests: 'Harmony arises from disorder.' Often, conflicts are necessary to establish future order. This is my understanding.  --In the Malagasy interpretation, 'conflict' is a fusion of two words. Essentially, two entities—the pestle and the mortar—are involved in an interaction. What occurs is the contact between the two. Conflict entails a twisting, a confrontation between two issues.  --Allow me to elaborate; conflict is of a lesser intensity than a fight. Conflict can endure at a certain level for a specific duration, especially when the involved parties or the societies in conflict cannot reach agreement. Consequently, the conflict persists and remains unresolved. Urgent attention is necessary before it potentially escalates into animosity, ultimately leading to physical confrontation. |
| 1947 |  | Now, let's turn our attention to 1959. The choice to highlight this year may seem curious, and I'm eager to share my reasoning. Personally, I believe it's imperative to start our historical exploration from this point. While the events of 1947 are well-known, our focus shifts to the critical trial initiated in 1948, unfolding in Andafiavaratra, Antananarivo. The public became aware that the orchestrated events were either acts of retaliation or war. I want to emphasize that the events of 1947 constituted a war, a resistance against colonization — not merely an insurrection or isolated clashes. |
| 1971 |  | -- May I inquire about something? I'm curious to learn about the events that transpired in the Southern region during the 1970s.  -- The year 1971 involved Monja Jaona. In Tana, it occurred in 1972, and here, it unfolded in 1973.  -- If the government demands taxes from these individuals without taking substantial steps to develop their livelihoods, we might witness situations akin to the 1971 events in Ambovombe Androy. It could lead to conflict between the government and the farmers, compelling them to pay taxes without receiving the necessary support to enhance their businesses.  Henceforth, social conflict persists here, primarily stemming from the actions of leaders. Even if they did not directly cause it, they appear incapable of resolving it, a responsibility integral to their role. One of the chief duties of leaders is to pinpoint and define problems for effective resolution. |
| 1972 |  | In 1972, there was a demand for the cancellation of the agreement with the French people. The French people had monopolized everything, claiming authority and the like.  Let me remind you that when people make statements, we must rectify the records, as what we did in '72 was not the cause of our troubles, as some claim. These are baseless arguments. I emphasize never to forget to ask: What is the distribution of power? How is the power balanced? We placed it there deliberately. |
| 1975 |  | -- Personally, I always trace the origin of the clashes back to the government. In 1975, people relied on us, and individuals from the government sought advice from us. What we have come to realize, in our current living situation, is that the root cause of all difficulties lies in the existence of the Ministry of Police, which was established recently. Previously, there was only the Ministry of the Interior responsible for managing the population. |
| 1985 |  | XXX |
| 1991 |  | --In 1991, the situation varied across regions. Conversely, the conditions in 1991 were tolerable, but by 2002, matters had taken a grave turn. Incidents of rape were prevalent, differing in severity depending on the region. While those of 1991 were relatively less severe, the events in 2002 were more distressing. The escalation was fuelled by an increase in the availability of sophisticated weaponry, coupled with improved communication. Consequently, the response time became faster. Moreover, the perpetrators had the opportunity to deploy deceptive tactics, including the use of fake identities like Zanadambo, who were people from different regions exhibiting a lack of hesitation in resorting to violence upon arriving in unfamiliar territories. The heightened chaos was exacerbated by a scarcity of provisions and road blockades, making it easier to sow disorder. |
| 1996 |  | It became widely accepted that Zafy had assumed his position at that time due to the uprising of the population, marking a significant historical moment. The population held considerable favor during that era, with the president often addressing their concerns in his speeches. However, the excessive focus on the population's demands contributed to his downfall, as it led to critical errors resulting in his removal from power. It seemed as though he wasn’t truly independent in his decision-making, which was an opportunity for the politicians in Tsimbazaza leading to his impeachment. Democracy was popular at that time, allowing everyone to express their thoughts and pursue their desires, unaware that behind these expressions lay the seeds of his downfall. Had Zafy remained in power longer, perhaps the outcome would have been different. He was an intelligent and patriotic individual. Another aspect of politics in Madagascar, from my perspective, is that those who ascend to power may genuinely desire the country's prosperity, but the integrity of their associates is often questionable. As Zafy famously expressed, the Malagasy people often find themselves stagnating or even regressing, a sentiment echoed when deputies requested 4x4 vehicles. This sentiment was later exploited by those deputies. Additionally, there was the case of Tamatave. He was impeached, with Francisque Ravony serving as the Prime Minister at that time. I remember the events of that period vividly. He faced impeachment because he was perceived as being too committed to democracy. Some argued that, given the circumstances, Madagascar should transition to a dictatorship system since democracy seemed ineffective. There were rumors circulating that this transition was necessary to prevent the Malagasy people from suffering losses. Eventually, certain measures were taken, leading to his downfall. It was a somber moment indeed. |
| 2002 |  | Nevertheless, in 2002, real military personnel were involved. If they were scarce during previous events, such as in 1990, specifically Kotity, I apologize, but there was a military crew present at that time, namely Kotity, Rahitso, and cohorts, just a few examples of them. On the contrary, in 2002, they were visible, proclaiming, "Here we are." They dared; well, they weren't a youth crew but a military crew. Their presence distinguished the events of 1990 from those of 2002. |
| 2009 |  | Due to a concealed and unspoken agreement behind the scenes, those responsible for the overthrow never fully embraced their decision and remained steadfast in their choice. Throughout this scenario, their sole focus was on acquiring the necessary funds, symbolized by the coveted "cake", a staggering $100 million from the Kit Fer fund of Soalala coupled with Ambatovy identified as the target. The dissonance is palpable, and it brings us to the crux of the issue. |
| Other conflicts |  | It is considered a taboo subject for us. The concept of federalism remains elusive, its meaning obscured in our understanding. In our perspective, federalism is synonymous with tribal conflict, a notion rooted in the tumultuous events of the 1973 activism. During that period, the Merina diaspora from Diego faced a somber exodus towards the sea, leaving a lasting impact.  The gravity of the situation became evident as the university students and the Merina diaspora formed a solemn line at Air Mad. The reminiscence of those times evokes a sense of sadness. A cautionary note echoes – when people harbor certain ideas, vigilance is crucial. |
| Violence |  | -- In Diego, people suffered significant harm during that time. Additionally, the destruction of bridges was another form of harm. This occurred in Brickaville, on the way to Mahajanga, particularly at the Betsiboka bridge, and also in Fatihita. The bridges were intentionally exploded, including the Behenjy bridge. The military presence in Diego was also a source of considerable harm during that period.  -- What did they do?  -- During that period, individuals were subjected to the gruesome act of forcibly removing the skin from people's feet. Acts of violence resulted in the loss of lives during those dark times, showcasing a truly bestial demeanor. I refrained from participating, and communication networks were not yet fully operational. Information was garnered from radios broadcasting at the time, but it's crucial to note that these details are based on hearsays. Nonetheless, the most horrifying events unfolded in Diego.. |
| **ACTORS** |  |  |  |
|  | TL |  | The current governor seems unable to unite the people. He should first gather all the Tangalamena, and then these leaders can inform the people in turn. The governor needs to show respect to these elders. They summon people for the president's arrival, and you need their 'good wishes' before taking any action. Why don't the communes, mayors, and fokontany mobilize existing organizations before gathering people? Why resort to zebu slaughter? Recently in Mananara, they sacrificed 12 zebus to attract people, and only then did they come.  As the people grapple with poverty and famine, the act of killing a zebu, even if it's just one, holds profound significance for the local community. They chose to slaughter 13 zebus, a figure considered lucky, with the aim of gathering people. Instead of relying on the elders to assemble the crowd because the president, accompanied by some of his ministers, will be present to deliver a speech. |
|  | PE |  | It's crucial to emphasize that colonization brought not only negative consequences. While discussions often focus on the state of affairs before colonization, it's essential to recognize that the elite were already divided during that period.  I'm not discussing the PADESM in this context; rather, I'm addressing other factions. The options were twofold: complete independence for Madagascar and another faction consisting of learned individuals, including pastors and intellectuals. Choosing independence for Madagascar wasn't seen as a favorable route. Ravelojaona and Razafimahefa supported this stance, warning that it would lead us to hit obstacles. They believed a more suitable approach was to maintain our French ties while concurrently advocating for rights and equality. These were the prevailing perspectives, and ultimately, those favoring independence emerged victorious. However, subsequent events took an unfavorable turn. We fell short in our pursuit, with external forces persistently safeguarding their interests. It's at this point that I introduce the role of these external entities. Two external influences are at play: the knowledge inputs assimilated into our society as insulation, which have undeniably proven essential. |
|  | St |  | The student body, instead of embodying a cohesive entity, manifests issues of association rooted in geographical backgrounds, leading to accommodation challenges due to variations in student population sizes per province, departmental studies, and the specific university attended. These discrepancies often breed conflicts, with teachers from the affected regions frequently assuming the roles of mediators or instigators. This scenario presents an opportunity for interventions by national or regional institutions. Major strikes or conflicts typically erupt at the university level, as evidenced in past instances such as those in 72, 91, 2002, 2009, and anticipated future occurrences.  These dynamics become intriguing due to the pattern observed when coastal students, particularly those in Antananarivo, encounter newfound freedom upon entering university life, notwithstanding the strict upbringing they received from their parents. This newfound liberty often leads to unbridled behavior. Even I assumed the role of a strike leader in 1998. The experience was empowering; the primary satisfaction stemmed from challenging the authority of the military. Our motivations were distinct, and the context was marked by the hierarchical structure evident in the three-striped ranks, with overseers serving as sergeants or inspectors.  Upon leaving the educational realm, these students, fueled by their passion, confronted the masses. When a student fell victim to violence, it sparked national protests, demanding a change in government. This pattern has remained consistent over time. |
|  | Pres |  |  |
|  |  | Tsiranana | Consider the perspective of President Tsiranana—I aim to embody his thoughts. Contrary to dismissing Malagasy traditions, he embraced socialism with a distinctly Malagasy flavor. Take the example of 'Tambiroa' when a Malagasy person tends to their rice fields. Today, collective efforts are directed towards working on Rakoto's rice fields, followed by collaborative endeavors on another person's land the next day. In the realm of construction, when someone builds a house, the community comes together. All contribute to the construction of the house, showcasing the essence of socialism. This cooperative spirit not only fosters unity but also propels development, ensuring that necessary tasks are accomplished. This embodies the Malagasy spirit—the crux of Malagasy socialism according to Tsiranana. Those critical of it must reflect: what was inherently flawed in such an approach? |
|  |  | Zafy | -- Since Tsiranana departed from his position, our agricultural activities started to decline. The era of Ratsiraka followed, and during his tenure, it was relatively acceptable. However, from that point until the present, the state of our farming has become utterly appalling.  From Zafy’s tenure then?  -- It was exactly during his tenure that … |
|  |  | Rajoelina | What are their profits? It's crucial to recognize that these apparent gains are merely external facades. It's well-established that nations actively contribute to these financial institutions. Let's be forthright in our discussion. These entities are at the helm of these banks, but why? It boils down to safeguarding their vested interests and profits. Consider the case of land ownership and food assistance, particularly in the context of the prevalent theme of "Alimentary Autonomy." This term has become commonplace in discussions. When we understand that the ultimate objective is to grant multinational corporations control, it signifies a reversion to the quandary of liberalization. Essentially, this implies that governments would forfeit their ability to regulate major industries, such as the multinational corporations we previously discussed. They dictate and exert authority. We are well aware that in 2009, Ratsiraka asserted that Sarkozy was in command, thereby controlling Rajoelina. I possess a comprehensive understanding of this narrative. It's worth reminding you that I have lived through the transitions of these four republics. Despite differing political affiliations, these individuals are my acquaintances. The Ratsiraka faction corroborated this information, and I had prior knowledge of the situation. As my students in 2015, you queried me about this, and I would like to jog your memory on that matter. |
|  |  | Ravalomanana | -- When Antananarivo had to elect its mayor, the party militants and the population chose someone else, diverging from the incumbent.  -- During Ravalomanana's tenure, around 2001, another party proposed a candidate for Antananarivo's mayoral position. As the incumbent military chief faced a civilian candidate, Ratsiraka intervened, replacing the civilian nominee with a military one, who became AREMA's candidate.  -- This was to exert control.  -- Antananarivo harboured an aversion towards the military. Indirectly, Ravalomanana, managing a factory, benefitted from this sentiment. Conversely, Ravalomanana faced minor legal issues at that time. He was utilised as an opposition figure against the military's dominance. Consequently, he was elected, creating a contradictory scenario.  -- Subsequently, Ravalomanana emerged, consolidating his presence and asserting control over Antananarivo as he headed towards the presidential election. Ratsiraka continued to jest about Ravalomanana's restrictions that impeded his candidacy. He mockingly asserted that anyone who stood for election wouldn't succeed.  -- In his perspective, no one succeeded  -- In reality, Ravalomanana didn't secure approval among the Tanindrana people. On the contrary, he confidently declared that he'd secure victory in the first round.  -- He eventually clinched the position, affirming his earlier statement, 'I will win in the first round.' ...They became the catalysts for tribal conflicts, being the initial participants when he ran for the presidency. This is confidential information: Ratsirahonana himself revealed to his peers that Ravalomanana was our Merina candidate.  -- Later on, Ravalomanana fell out of favour with him. This became his predicament.  -- He asserted that Ravalo was the Merina candidate, as he had also participated in the same election before withdrawing. |
|  |  | Rajaonarimampianina | -- The gold counter doesn't show any figures. Why didn't they opt for a 50/50 split? Perhaps it was intended, but the 50% is directed elsewhere.  -- So, 50% goes somewhere, 49% might head elsewhere, leaving a mere 1% for the government. It's concerning.  -- Rajaonarimampianina, certainly, ventured into Tsimiroro. Reports suggested there was production; several barrels, if I recall correctly. Samples were sent to America for testing, yet not a single drop was returned; the work was done there.  -- That raises concerns.  -- They're currently operational, producing approximately 400 barrels a day."  -- Are these still samples to be tested?  -- It's possible, given they still produce raw materials. Tirike has stated it's causing conflicts similar to those of '72, as per the accounts. In '91, they had dismantled Solima and several other factories.  -- All state-owned enterprises were privatized." |
|  |  | Ratsiraka | Ratsiraka was not a socialist; he identified more as a humanist. He had a genuine inclination towards helping people, and his actions reflected that. Contrary to his stance, he opposed the MFM and the MONIMA, which were proponents of Soviet-style socialism. Ratsiraka maintained close ties with progressive nations, indicating his more progressive orientation.  What set him apart was his distinctive personality, which seemed to carry elements of complexity and a desire for revenge stemming from his experiences in France and encounters with racism. Although he was a welleducated and accomplished political figure, there was a palpable frustration concerning the perception of Malagasy people by foreigners (Vazaha). He aspired for respect on par with foreigners, emphasizing the importance of recognition for Malagasy achievements, such as the Malagasy-manufactured car, Karenjy.  Ratsiraka took pride in national achievements and can be characterized more as a progressive figure. Despite his convictions, he struggled to completely detach himself from French influence, expressing a desire for recognition equal to that of foreigners, even as a well-educated Malagasy. |
|  |  | Ratsimandrava | Given that he is an Andevo, it is unknown whether they were united or if they acted separately. Was the 48 Club involved, or did Ratsiraka’s crew do it? XXX was aware of it because he was a Resampist inside the GMP in Antanimora. They sent a sniper, but I can't recall his name, who missed his target and inadvertently assassinated someone on the spot. The ironic thing was, XXXX lived in Faravohitra at that time. On my way home, passing by just five minutes before the event, as I lived in Anjohy, I was stunned because there was nothing suspicious. The scene occurred there. When I arrived home, Ratsimandrava’s house being just beneath ours, I saw many gendarmes. I raised the question, "What's going on?" It turned out Ratsimandrava was being shot. I felt I had missed it. There were many loose circumstances at that time and many obscured zones. |
|  |  | Ramanantsoa | Subsequently, Ramanantsoa emerged after Tsiranana's downfall. The obligation to pay taxes was lifted, prompting widespread elation. However, this marked the commencement of our complacency, considering our tax-exempt status. Unfortunately, this approach lacked maturity. Envisioning a comfortable life without contributing seems unrealistic. Are we meant to exploit others? To assert that everything commenced in 1972 and progressed from there seems dubious.  ---In 1986  Ramanantsoa governed for a year, followed by the demise of Ratsimandrava. Since then, a consistent pattern has prevailed. Internal conflict escalated, and the situation has deteriorated. For instance, among economic operators like us, the arrival of recent Chinese counterparts—although the Malagasy people possess full capability—poses a concern. They were already present before these recent arrivals. As my daughter highlighted, why do we permit their entry here? Presently, the value of Malagasy handicrafts has been obscured. Undoubtedly, we possess skills and competence in these domains. However, we forsake ours and embrace those of others. Consequently, encountering difficulties should not be surprising. Our regression continues, ultimately leading to wholesale exploitation. According to prevailing norms, we are experiencing colonization. |
|  |  | Ratsirahonana | All these instances converge in pursuit of scholarship, serving as the driving force behind these protests. I recall a particular gathering in Tana, where, akin to yourselves, I convened with fellow students. In the morning, we engaged in discussions with Norbert Lala Ratsirahonana, who incentivized us to initiate strikes. In contrast, in the afternoon, our meeting with Herizo Razafimahaleo led to directives aimed at suppressing these very strikes. Upon congregating at the Esplanade, the group fractured, with half instigating strikes and the other half quelling them. The 3000-strong student body, caught up in the moment, headed to 13 Mai square, inciting chaos.  …  --They are targeted based on their affiliations, encompassing associations they are part of, their ethnicity, and the faculty they belong to. We often considered merging these distinctions, acknowledging that sometimes students within a particular faculty were ordinary individuals, whereas those associated with specific groups held predominant influence. During that period, Herizo and Ratsirahonana wielded significant power, if you catch my meaning. |
|  | ENS |  | Why not delve into the discourse surrounding France and Africa? Addressing which perspective aligns with your statement, it's essential to acknowledge that, at present, the power dynamics extend beyond France alone. Since the Washington Consensus in the 1980s, the international community and lesser entities also hold sway. No president can assume leadership without their approval, underscoring a shared command that transcends national boundaries. |
|  |  | US | ---In a conflict, most of the time, there were always two contributors: either you are the victims, or you are the actors. Perhaps these are the actors given that at that time, behind the 2009, the Americans were supporting Ravalomanana. That of '91, the French were behind that. |
|  |  | Russ | The issue we face stems from the postindependence era. The cold war fostered competition between the Eastern and Western blocs, influencing global politics. Consequently, Africa became a battleground, leading to conflicts between the two superpowers. Unfortunately, Madagascar was embroiled in this power struggle. During that period, Ratsiraka sought assistance from the Eastern bloc, specifically the Soviet Union, to counter the Western bloc's influence. This alignment with the Eastern bloc had consequences for Madagascar's economy and political landscape. The Soviet Union provided financial aid and military support to Ratsiraka, furthering the socialist agenda. |
|  |  | Fran | For example, a president sought funding in France, emphasizing that it is not merely about financial aid but the sale of our properties. The question arises: what interests does France have in perpetuating conflicts unless it is driven by a desire for our resources? This is the reality; France seeks our wealth. According to historical accounts and statements from journalists, there appears to be a signed agreement spanning 50 years. It is disheartening to learn that our resources are already sold, and we are left with only what they choose to take at the moment. Ravalomanana opposed this agreement, leading to his overthrow and subsequent French disapproval. In contrast, Rajoelina supports the agreement, earning French backing. Presently, President Rajoelina seems unfit for the role. Despite assurances on paper, French assistance is not translating into tangible funds. His ignorance is evident when he claims we have received funds, only to realize nothing materializes. It's apparent that France is the driving force behind these conflicts. It raises the question: do we continue to accept these leaders, or do we acknowledge the need for a revolt? |
|  |  | Afri | Based on that, I believe the English are the best option. Additionally, I want to emphasize not to rely on the French and others alike. Their colonial mentality might lead to disastrous consequences, such as the sinking of Madagascar. I am plain. The French don’t appeal to me. We have a collaboration with Switzerland. Every year since 2010 until 2018, just before the Corona pandemic, they have sent a teacher to our school. Their only criterion is a good house, and you build houses for these teachers. They provide everything for these teachers, and the latter are expected to teach for free. They have an honorable mentality. There was a time I went to Switzerland; their villages are clean and small, yet they are wealthy. Their mentality is inclined towards helping one another and considering each other. This is what thrives in each country. I want to exclude the French because I know that Chissano was behind the French, and he was backing Rajoelina. To answer your question, it is a matter of choice, and we should seek those who are able to resolve our problems. We need mediators. However, I am skeptical about the Malagasy solutions. |
|  | IOs |  |  |
|  |  | UN | The international community has divided our country. I will mention the UNDP. It's related to the United Nations, yet different from international organisms like GIZ or ZTG, which is essentially GIZ, running German projects.  In this globalization, the powerful hold sway over the population, Madagascar not excluded. Why? Due to the fragility of our people. Despite our wealth, we're inhabited by destitute individuals in immense riches. We possess wealth we can't enjoy; others benefit from it. Due to our frailty, we face personal issues. If they assert dominance, it's because they have an edge in education, training, and competence. Moreover, their population doesn't confine themselves to their nations since they enjoy a standard of living with social security, evident in times of illness. |
|  |  | WB | Thankfully, we are not facing recolonization. However, upon closer inspection, we find ourselves colonized by the IMF and the World Bank. Our intrinsic values seem to have diminished. |
|  |  | AfrOrg | Later, a few years afterward, in 2001-2002, electoral conflicts erupted following the presidential election, which foresaw a second round. Despite claims that there would be no second round, the data revealed the presence of dissenters in the elections. Specifically, the church, and more precisely Cardinal Armand, played a significant role in resolving this economic and social conflict. They sided with one of the candidates, Marc Ravalomanana, and determined that a second round should take place. Meanwhile, in 2001-2002, a new development occurred with the entry of African mediation onto the scene.  But in between, new elements came in in 2001-2022. The first time there was an African mediation, thus a foreign mediation, in Madagascar. So, it was the African Union that took on the role of mediator in Madagascar. Then there were the Dakar I and Dakar 2 cases that brought the main protagonists to the table: the outgoing president Didier Ratsiraka and Marc Ravalomanana, who came out on top in the first round of elections. |
|  | NGO\_Assoc |  | it was revealed that their involvement is scant, almost negligible, with the majority fixated on fundraising endeavors. Many gravitate towards non-governmental organizations (NGOs), and, notably, a subset transforms into covert service providers. |
|  | Fok |  | onflicts often arise from clashes, and unusual situations can provoke these clashes. People might find themselves at odds because, as Malagasy, our society is structured in a specific way. When this structure is disturbed, conflicts can emerge. Consider tribal conflicts, which are a part of our everyday life. These conflicts arise when the social structure at the tribal level is disrupted, reflecting the time when we were governed by the fokonolona system. Fokonolona served as our previous societal foundation. It's important to note that when we refer to fokonolona, we're not speaking of a single tribe but rather several tribes. We're all aware that if the integrity of this social structure is compromised, conflicts and clashes may occur. |
|  | Mil |  | Assassinations took place, accompanied by military violence. It is important to note that Ravalomanana enlisted mercenaries known as the Zanadambo. They were prepared, and they were many. It seemed as if Ratsiraka had his own army, while I had mine. Despite General Ranjeva Marcel's departure from the Ratsiraka camp, it's crucial to remember that he previously served as Ratsiraka's Minister of the Army. |
|  | Param |  | --In the eastern region, AREMA's proponents burned people's houses. There were incidents of people being captured, and the critical issue was the active participation of the military in these captures. These were the harsh realities. The army, considered a force that could be used to oppress due to their possession of guns, played a significant role. In our case, a mixed force came and inquired about my house, then proceeded to my mother's house and asked for me. Fortunately, I wasn't there. They requested our mother to leave the house, but she refused. This incident occurred at 1 am. Through the windows, my mom observed the presence of police, but gendarmes were notably involved at that time, collaborating with the violent youths known as Zatovo.  --What was the Zatovo?  --It constituted a sort of local militia, an organization within the community. Members were well-acquainted with each other's allegiances. The situation escalated with incidents of arson and looting in houses. Eventually, they approached our residence while we were inside. Fortunately, there was a concealed exit that allowed my husband and me to evacuate the premises at 2 am. We navigated through our neighborhood, seeking refuge in the dense Aloe's forest beyond the village. The group waited there until morning but failed to locate us. As events unfolded, I received a summons to meet with the gendarme, as their presence was notably heightened during that period. |
|  | ExtMed |  | Due to concerns about the potential lack of funding from the international community, we reluctantly acquiesced. While our official stance was affirmative, internally we acknowledged the reality of our dissent. Fundamentally, we are opposed to the notion of outsiders dictating terms for us. We hesitated to endorse the agreement, as finding a middle ground would likely result in significant frustration for us. As for the act of signing, it's not our forte, and it seems we may not truly appreciate the commitments we have made in our words. Many among us fail to uphold the promises we articulate. |
|  | IntMed |  | If we still hold onto our cherished value of Fihavanana, it should be simple for us to admonish one another, as in places where Olobe is present, children don't turn against each other. |
|  | CFM |  | This exemplifies the type of compromise I am referring to. As we delve into conflicts, the prevailing issue is an imbalanced development, exacerbated by the emphasis on ethnicism. It's like saying, 'No, no, no. When we talk about influence, it pertains to Analamanga. For FOP, it relates to the Southeast. Regarding the Merina, they represent something along those lines.' How is it that in the face of such problems, we seek 'fihavanana,' yet we lack a clear understanding of its content? Is it of a political nature, or something else? Granted, the CFM is present; however, its purpose wasn't intended for reconciliation. Instead, numerous general political debates take place within its confines."  -- He said that it is a council, not a  -- A council was established, symbolizing a compromise. Here is my perspective on the matter. Personally, I believe that the era of Ratsiraka established a semblance of compromise. Assuming power at the age of 36, Ratsiraka actively sought intellectuals, individuals with doctorates and master's degrees, and integrated them into the government, emphasizing the importance of securitization. Then he headed to form the National Council of the Revolution (CNR), which included various Tangalamena. Who was that loquacious figure from Andavamamba? Despite not being an intellectual, Monja Jaona, though not exceptionally brilliant, he was part of this formation due to his valuable perspective. Overall, there was a moderate impact on our progress, development, political stability, and other aspects during this time.  -- The process was discovered. The structure was in place; however, how they managed it hasn’t changed. So, I go back to what I have said: Ratsiraka, as a leader, gave the red book and commanded what was to be done. The members of the CSR were tasked with figuring out how to implement his ideas written in the book. He never consulted Monja Jaona to gather the opinions of the Antandroy people in the South. It wasn’t the case; at that time, this was Ratsiraka’s opinion, and you, Monja Jaona, were to find ways to show the southerners that it was our path. These are different. We had lived that differently. I am 60 years and plus now. I have fully experienced the Second Republic |
|  | FFKM |  | It's widely recognized that the FFKM (the Council of Christian Churches in Madagascar) continually intervenes as a spiritual ray of hope. They tirelessly engage on various fronts, striving to bring about stability even amidst challenging circumstances, often intervening during or after conflicts or crises. However, due to the unpredictable nature of conflicts, their efforts sometimes seem to lack significant impact. Additionally, despite apparent agreement between them and those in power, the latter continue their actions unabated. Herein lies the problem. |
|  | Bourg |  | From this very moment, centralism has solidified—this marks its culmination. For what purpose? The pastor has suggested that perhaps someone stands to benefit from it. He also highlighted the issue of Merina domination. The core problem lies in the bourgeoisie's culture of domination, as he articulated. At that time, the pivotal question was: delving into the history of '72, various intertwined issues emerged, encompassing ethnicism, international affairs, and the involvement of companies, including those from Marseille and Lyonese. Who stood to gain from consolidating centralism? Surprisingly, individuals in the public sphere endeavored to shift towards federalism, but their efforts fell short. Zafy hesitated to proceed; instead, privatization took precedence.  In 2002, liberalism emerged as socialism waned. It took root, and centralism began to favor certain individuals who wielded influence across various spheres. Those who did not benefit from this centralism, including the Tanindrana, found themselves questioning its impact. Concerns were raised about the state of our roads and communal services as we contemplated the transition. |
|  | Entrep |  | -- Everybody abuses one another.  -- And those who pave the way can live with it. Those who can't find this path, despite having money at hand, may enter the sector, but it still amounts to colonization.  -- Currently, according to what Rolland Ratsiraka mentioned on a TV show, no products leave Madagascar without Mamy Ravatomanga's signature on the documents. At that time, Rolland reminded us about his title – whether he is the Prime Minister or the President – stating that he has nothing to do with it. On another occasion, Ravatomanga responded through Kolo TV, clarifying that he wasn't elected as the President; he is merely an entrepreneur in Madagascar and is required to sign all documents, as he mentioned. The process details remain unclear.  -- This is what I told you. The person in charge of what you mentioned is an individual working alone. It isn't within a fokontany or within...  -- Madagascar.  -- How is it that all affairs in Madagascar are managed by a single signature? It stirs our curiosity.  -- Before all of the lychee exporters can engage in early fruit exports before the campaign opening, it is currently restricted to a few people. When Ravatomanga came, no one was allowed to do it; it goes outright to…  -- This single person.  -- All trades must go through boats; no longer on planes before the harvest opening. |
|  | Syndic |  |  |
|  | INTEL |  | Despite being a national movement, the MDRM's influence was not truly unified. The narrative of history tends to be shaped by intellectuals and victors, a phenomenon applicable worldwide. Those wielding pens often emerge as conquerors, and through colonization, the Merina transformed into conquerors themselves, leading to the creation of PADESM (Partie des déshérités de Madagascar) by the Tanindrana. |
|  | KARA |  | --The crux of the matter lies with the Karana community, who stand apart from the majority. It seems more straightforward for individuals to acknowledge the presence of Europeans or Chinese within their society than to recognize the existence and contributions of the Karana.  --Are there any factors contributing to this situation, in your view? According to your thoughts? Feel free to share your perspective or intervene as well, you know.  --Certainly  --Yes, you are welcome as well, you know.  --In Diego, there are specific causes behind this situation. A significant number of locals have houses constructed using bricks and made of stones. This trend emerged when the legionary left.  --French legionary  --Yeah, in 1972, Ratsiraka came into power after expelling the French army. Some of these legionaries owned land and houses. The Karana people acquired most of the legionaries' assets. The houses owned by these legionaries were among the first to be built using bricks, which the Karana people acquired. Meanwhile, the Malagasy people tend to lease houses.  --Were they sad ?  --The Malagasy people frequently rent houses from the Karana community. Over time, they often enhance their rental agreements. However, there have been cases where these leaseholders are eventually displaced. Diego's popularity stems from its familiarity with foreigners, maintaining ongoing connections with them. This has occasionally caused discomfort among the younger Malagasy generation in the society. The lifestyle in Diego is accustomed to coexisting with the French population, which has become a prevailing aspect of life across Madagascar. To some extent, this has evolved into a cultural norm seemingly accepted by parents despite its disadvantages. Consequently, this situation also gives rise to inappropriate issues.-- |
|  | Nationali |  | Indeed, there's a historical context to this. I pinpoint the origin to 1910, coinciding with the VVS era. In essence, it was the VVS that initially articulated the concept of the nation. However, it's important to note that the Menalamba movements weren't driven by nationalism; rather, they were expressions of patriotism for their territory. I emphasize this distinction because the formation of a nation follows certain standards. Examining 19th-century Europe, we observe that nationalism precedes the creation of a nation. In fact, it was the nationalists who played a pivotal role in shaping the nation. This sequence is crucial to understand – nationalists took the lead, giving rise to the entity. Hence, I attribute the timeframe to the 1910s, as it marks the genesis of the intellectual framework and concept of the nation.  The concept of the nation is a modern construct. The term "gasy," used by the people here, signifies a sense of belonging once they set foot in this land. However, it is crucial to recognize that it is the force of nationalism that truly shapes the nation. This phenomenon became prominent around the 1910s. Modern nationalism, in its true sense, requires one to be part of the elite. This was evident in the case of the VVS, exemplifying elite nationalism, sometimes referred to as elitist. The elite played a pivotal role in crafting the national imaginary, with various relays, particularly through the press and newspapers.  Typically, when discussing the region, thoughts often gravitate towards picturesque hills and lush green landscapes. This perception holds true even within the Bara tribe, despite the absence of any actual hills in their surroundings. This phenomenon can be traced back to a historical vector established during the colonial era, primarily through the influence of the press—essentially, the media. Subsequently, various structures emerged, reflecting nationalist ideologies, such as the MDRM and various political parties. |
|  | Royalty |  | When I discuss altering the trajectory of history over the next 60 years, I'm not advocating for a complete overhaul. The emphasis should lie in fostering improvements. Although the origins of the Hova people are unclear—whether they are of Chinese, Malaysian, or Indonesian descent—it's noteworthy that historically, the Ampanjaka held sway in Madagascar.  I want to underscore that my intention is not to criticize or advocate for the dismissal of history. At present, decision-making and governance are concentrated in Antananarivo, reflecting a form of centralism. Rather than advocating for abrupt changes, the focus should be on gradual enhancements and fostering inclusivity. |
|  | Musl |  | Given our ongoing poverty situation, I believe it is time to conclude our conversation with this issue. Malagasy poverty is escalating, making us progressively more vulnerable. The pervasive issue of wealth disparity is a constant challenge. I'm not referring to the European Union, which quietly supports us; rather, I'm addressing collaborations between nations. Specifically, I am concerned about the support from certain Muslim entities that capitalize on people's vulnerabilities. They have even influenced individuals to convert to Islam, exchanging their Bibles for the Quran. This poses a potential source of conflict – a conflict not rooted in tribal differences but rather in religious ones.  Returning to our initial point, how do we define conflict? I fear that the upcoming challenge for Madagascar won't be tribal but religious in nature. While tribal conflicts have historically taken centuries to resolve, religious conflicts have wreaked havoc on many countries and could potentially do the same to Madagascar. |
|  | Church |  | In the post-colonial era, an array of institutions took shape, including schools, the military, and different religious entities. Notably, the church played a significant role in shaping the national imaginary, with both Catholic and Protestant churches exerting considerable influence. During this period, pastors consistently delivered sermons centered around the biblical Land of Canaan, contributing to the formulation of a collective national identity.  It was Madagascar. In the Biblical narrative, they talked about the Jews and the Egyptians who invaded their country. This created a parallelism. The Malagasy people originate from here and built this nation. This is a nationalist speech. When you read a nationalist paper, figures like Ravoahangy and Raseta are considered the Malagasy Moses. The church played a crucial role as a vector of nationalism and the nation. It's not a coincidence that the father of Malagasy nationalism was a pastor, Pastor Ravelojaona |
|  | Media |  | Doctor mentioned, is the goal. Let's begin with freedom of speech. It's something both the government and citizens need to carefully consider. In the communication sphere, we're witnessing certain occurrences. For instance, in our national media like TVM, the opposition party complains about their lack of access to this national platform. They can't freely express their opinions, even when sharing critical points. Conversely, certain individuals or groups have unrestricted access, clearly seen as actively campaigning. One powerful party dominates this national platform, denying access to the dissenting party. This issue exacerbates crises. Is it appropriate to think this way? What's the problem with it? People are clamoring on the outskirts. The dissenting party is vociferous, leading to assumed antipathy. They retreat to private media channels to express their grievances and anger. These are the crises triggering many national events. We need to consider this party creation code, given the multitude of parties being formed. Why have we reached this point? People are frustrated due to current national affairs. |
|  | Foroches |  | --Before conflict surfaced in Diego, a few groups existed – AC/DC, Maiden, and Martinique. They were regulars at the Night Club, where conflicts and tensions often flared. Contrarily, a significant conflict leading to casualties erupted among Diego's males during the '91 events. While groups like Maiden and Martinique had engaged in fights in the past, fatalities were uncommon, and taking lives was unheard of. However, the shock troop incident, especially in the Beloha region, gave rise to the Federates. From that moment onward, genuine criminal activities among Diego's youth began to unfold. This is the progression before delving further.  --I believe that beyond Madagascar's shared history of colonization, with each group attempting to resist the colonizers, there exists an inheritance rooted in the establishment of social norms. This has led to a historical opposition between coastal communities and the Merina. This division has persisted over time. Additionally, the settlement of the Karana community has been conditional on them refraining from excessive accumulation of wealth.  Their moderation in displaying affluence is key, as it varies among families and individuals. Furthermore, there is conflict arising from seemingly inconsequential factors, exemplified by the emergence of the Foroche phenomenon. Originating from a local dance competition, it gradually escalated into minor disputes over courtship in specific neighbourhoods, forming small, neighbourhood-based factions such as the Foroches, Dajars, Togos, shock troops, among others, with the Foroches being the most numerous.  The significance lies in their ability to maintain a name that has permeated beyond their locality. Subsequently, these youth become pawns for politicians, manipulated to incite disorder during strategic moments. As a result, the true instigators can absolve themselves by attributing actions to these youngsters. While at times these youths may act independently, in this instance, their actions are disorganised and isolated, driven solely by desires for technology and personal vendettas, with the support of four gangs.  Alternatively, the ongoing conflict in Diégo perpetuates generational tensions among families, predominantly stemming from disputes over land or inheritances, leading to disagreements lacking universal acceptance as legitimate. Consequently, land conflicts represent the most |
|  | Fede |  | Not only did they harm the Merina, but there were also locals, the natives of Diego. Personally, I have never killed someone. I have never attacked people. Personally, to my point of view. It is a debate about ideology, and I remain there.  I want to make it clear that I am not a violent person, nor would I harm any resident of Diego. The evidence supports this assertion: while many others have been detained, I have not, and even the authorities affirm XXXXX’ s innocence, stating he's not involved in any killings. I am confident in my innocence; my conscience is clear. This has been consistent throughout the years, including 2002. Despite being invited to debate on TV, my principles remain unwavering; I have no intention of causing harm. Moreover, considering my children are Merina, it's inconceivable that I would harm them or allow them to believe I'm capable of such violence. |
|  | Diaspo |  | --So in 2002 and 2009. As you are involved can you tell us what was occurring?  --Let me tell you what happened in 2009. This is my narrative. Our funding was from France. These funds were from France.  -- Was it a state funding?  -- No, no. Only French residents gave us money. I don’t want to divulge their names.  -- Can you inform us to which group the Gasy people belong to?  I have already disclosed his name by providing you this information. He is a politician. Some of them were from France, and some were from Tana. |
|  | Andriana |  | t. Let me explain; there are two situations. Granted, Beaumarchais did state that "the master becomes a manservant," emphasizing that without his manservant, he could accomplish nothing in any services. Here is the key point: in our case, there is an association of accountability and responsibility. This implies that the person at the forefront, leading a household or a group, has a responsibility towards those they are managing. I apologize for using the term "subaltern," as I consider it a hierarchical system towards the individuals being managed. They, too, have accountability towards the leader, creating a sort of social contract. For instance, when we mention "Andriana, Hova, and Andevo," the mere mention of Andevo triggers thoughts of slavery; it is the first thing that comes to people's minds. I wish to strongly voice my opposition to this particular idea. It's essential to clarify that 'Andevo' does not equate to 'slave'; such a connotation has never been accurate. Domenichini delved into a thorough dissertation on this matter before his passing. Numerous others have also delved into the intricacies of what defines a social contract. In the context of it being a social contract amid turbulent periods, venturing outside posed the peril of abduction or even finding oneself aboard a boat, with the unforeseeable outcome of potentially becoming Peru's president. It was an uncertain possibility. The dynamics of the social contract unfold as follows: a person, whether by strength or intelligence, emerges as the leader, while another attends to specific responsibilities, and yet another assumes household management. Living adjacent to you, this individual is still in their youth. It's imperative never to cause harm to this person, for any aggression results in immediate retaliation; their life rests in the hands of the king. |
|  | Andevo |  | Given that he is an Andevo, it is unknown whether they were united or if they acted separately. Was the 48 Club involved, or did Ratsiraka’s crew do it? My XXXX was aware of it because he was a Resampist inside the GMP in Antanimora. They sent a sniper, but I can't recall his name, who missed his target and inadvertently assassinated someone on the spot. The ironic thing was, XXX lived in Faravohitra at that time. On my way home, passing by just five minutes before the event, as I lived in Anjohy, I was stunned because there was nothing suspicious. The scene occurred there. When I arrived home, Ratsimandrava’s house being just beneath ours, I saw many gendarmes. I raised the question, "What's going on?" It turned out Ratsimandrava was being shot. I felt I had missed it. There were many loose circumstances at that time and many obscured zones. |
|  | Youth |  | -- There are three questions, akin to some of his inquiries. It is evident that if conflicts arise, they will likely be among the Malagasy people. It is probable that these conflicts stem from interests or ideological differences, yet it is conceivable that outsiders play a role. Consider the events in 1972, a historical moment where our independence seemed symbolic. During that period, there was a strong desire for complete independence, which fueled the events of '72. Many involved individuals were students, often employed due to their youthfulness, boldness, and a tendency to disregard the consequences of their actions. However, behind these student-led strikes, there were always mature individuals with connections to outsiders.  After these strikes, we entered a transitional phase marked by elections, during which Didier Ratsiraka took the stage. He introduced the concept of Malgachisation, envisioning it as a means of fostering national identity. However, the interpretation and implementation of Malgachisation by its proponents transformed it into a contentious issue. |
|  |  |  |  |
| **THEMES** | MatRes |  | The migration resulting from liberalization politics is noteworthy, especially considering that these liberal countries contribute to the significant African migration. When discussing potential solutions, one proposition I have put forward is the adoption of socialism coupled with technological development. However, our challenge with socialism is obvious, as seen in the failure of the Soviet Union and similar cases, where individuals sought satisfaction and wel--being. The issue lies in the fact that no book or ideology provided the satisfaction that material possessions did.  Recalling our studies in the Soviet Union, it is worth noting that while they had money, certain luxuries like a television set were lacking. This underscores the essence of the problem. They did not face issues with food or shelter, yet the desire for modern amenities such as TVs, remote controls, and quality cars persisted. This observation becomes apparent when considering the aftermath of the destruction of the Berlin Wall. As socialism crumbled, and the Soviet people gained access to the West, they became avid consumers, flocking to purchase goods previously unavailable to them."  If we trace the trajectory of the Soviet Union from its dissolution under Gorbachev to the present day, it represents a relatively brief period. However, within this time frame, the Soviet Union successfully aligned itself with Europe and embraced liberal ideologies, particularly in technology and various other domains. |
|  | IdRes |  | In Madagascar, especially in rural areas, there is a prevalent tendency for people to adhere to socialist ideologies. Conversely, opting for democracy reveals Madagascar's rich tradition in its practice. This democratic ethos is observable in the functioning of the country, mirroring the democratic principles entrenched in rural communities.  Shifting our focus to 'HIMMO', a similar collaborative spirit is obvious in the countryside. This teamwork echoes the cooperative practices witnessed in office settings, such as Tambiroa and others. |
|  | Ext\_Infl |  | --Regarding the question of whether there are foreign influences in the conflicts here, considering all the circumstances that have transpired, it is evident that foreign involvement is present in all the conflicts unfolding in this region. I distinctly remember an instance when Ratsiraka claimed that Bin Laden was responsible for the World Trade Center explosion. He asserted that a powerful nation like the United States was in a state of slumber, insinuating that although Bin Laden committed a disastrous act, there were surely American citizens collaborating with him. This statement led to a heated exchange, with the American ambassador accusing Ratsiraka of insults.  Subsequently, following this incident, the Americans aligned themselves with Ravalomanana. In my personal observation, there are clear indications of foreign influence in the conflicts here in Madagascar. |
|  | Sociali |  | Allow me to start by sharing my experiences, having lived through two republics since 1991. At that time, the introduction of certain terminologies, such as "socialism," lacked substantive meaning. Specifically, socialism was distinctly implemented during the first republic within the state party, referred to as the Social Democrat Party. It is noteworthy that this term was borrowed from the German SPD, as we were in contact with the German people, who were in the process of establishing a simplified structure, whether cultural or otherwise. |
|  | Communi |  | Personally, I acknowledge that our economic challenges stem from the legacy of communism. We have been unable to fully address these issues since then. Since 1991, the international community has failed to provide solutions. Instead, it exacerbates our situation through continued borrowing and other means. This is largely due to ineffective governance, which, regrettably, lacks respect. Without establishing effective governance, our progress will remain stagnant. Currently, we find ourselves in this predicament, where poverty fuels conflicts.  In my view, the key solution lies in establishing effective governance, a task that requires both local and international cooperation. However, I also recognise that the international community may benefit from our plight and thus lacks the motivation to address our governance issues in depth. They understand the root cause but hesitate to intervene significantly. |
|  | Regionali |  | One prominent concept introduced during the establishment of federalism was the emphasis on regional autonomy. However, over time, concerns about discrimination emerged. Allegations surfaced suggesting that traveling between regions, particularly to and from Antananarivo, required a passport, which was deemed misleading and aimed at discrediting the concept. Such misconceptions persist, often exploited by those seeking to benefit from division and potentially monopolize Madagascar. |
|  | Libera |  | I have observed that some Malagasy politicians who engaged in the liberal international economy were not well-versed about the system they were entering. They were simply enthused about the idea of liberalism without a clear comprehension of the term. "It's appealing, so let's just do it," they remarked. So, what are your expectations? Were you among those who indiscriminately encouraged people to seek funding from the European Union, merely augmenting the numbers in Madagascar? Nobody knows what you were discussing about. All these facets were interconnected. |
|  | Demo |  | Let me provide a concrete example: some people believe that Madagascar shouldn't transition to a republic just yet; they argue that we should remain in the historical royal period. What prompts this perspective? It implies that experiencing what we call democracy is beyond our reach. Living in a democratic society seems unattainable because here, we only learn about democracy in foreign lands, where people have the right to express themselves and hold opinions. However, in Madagascar, our attempt to replicate this democracy results in using our right to expression to insult others. Essentially, we employ it on the wrong side. This is my observation—we strive to emulate democracy without truly understanding what it entails and how to navigate life within a democratic framework.  Within our society, some individuals believe that living in a democracy means living without laws, that's the perception. When they speak ill of someone, they argue that they have the right to express themselves; however, they struggle to internalize the principle that 'My freedom ends where the freedom of others begins.' Thus, this understanding is not deeply ingrained in the general population, even within the political landscape of Madagascar. This represents another indicator of a poorly emulated democracy. Presently, anyone aspiring to wield power must emphasize discussions about democracy, whether leaning towards the left or the right.  It is indeed a foreign influence that we find challenging to replicate optimally. When observing a 'vazaha' (foreigner), a perception of superiority arises, even if we share similar circumstances. However, the moment we identify someone as a 'vazaha,' they are immediately placed above us; this is the prevailing social consideration. The mere presence of a 'vazaha' implies instant superiority. It's a phenomenon where, despite lacking knowledge of their income or lifestyle, the 'vazaha'—being white—is automatically perceived as superior. Consequently, we tend to emulate the 'vazaha' model: their attire, manner of speaking, and way of life. This pattern repeats consistently, each time it occurs. Yet, on our part... |
|  | Federa |  | Here it is, a persistent theme. Each time political unrest arises in Antananarivo, spreading across Madagascar, the idea of federalism surfaces. Before the French reinstated Madagascar's independence in 1957, the debate centered on whether the country would remain a unified state or adopt a federal structure. During that period, established frameworks and discussions took place. Subsequently, in '91, the concept of federalism materialized. Personally, when Ratsiraka brought it up, his intention was to resist the Merina, leading to the advocacy for a fivefold federalism. However, it should not be misconstrued; it was merely a governance organization, a type of territorial arrangement. Our interpretation was peculiar. So, whenever the term federalism is raised, I've engaged in discussions with these federalists. It's your mistake; it's a matter of marketing. If a Merina claims to be a federalist, the Ambaniandro might align with them. When they hear this word, it instills horror, as, for them, it signifies a siege. |
|  | Coloni |  | -- -I will provide you with the background, and then you can continue. Did the adoption of the socialist system adversely affect us in the global context? Considering the current state of affairs worldwide and reflecting on past events, it becomes apparent that we leaned towards socialism, given it was the prevailing trend during that time, and we were grappling with neocolonialism. We simply followed the prevailing currents.  One could argue that when the Soviet bloc collapsed, it was natural for us to align with the economic shift. However, the key question is whether socialism or capitalism is the better choice. In reality, our national Malagasy system has been socialist since then. It's worth noting that even though we might perceive ourselves as tough capitalists, especially when observing our markets, these markets are, in essence, social entities. They serve as platforms where information is exchanged, and they encompass various social aspects beyond mere economic transactions.  Our societal system – just imagine if you were to build something on your own without considering your family. You would discover your parents' stance at that time. I would like to invite you to consider marrying someone without involving your relatives. Just follow your feelings, inviting only your friends and without disregarding your grandparents.  Social life holds utmost importance for Malagasy society. There is an adage: being on bad terms with somebody is worse than losing money (free translation).  -- We are currently losing the Fihavanana. |
|  | Gend |  | --Thank you, Doctor, that was indeed a harsh reality, especially considering the inadvertent divorces occurring during that time. Personally, in my own situation then, if I couldn't afford it, I would have contemplated divorcing my husband. Among those who were imprisoned with him, three couples ended up divorcing during those trials, as the women were accustomed to their husbands' financial support, which suddenly vanished. Furthermore, the societal persecution endured added another layer of hardship. This struggle not only shattered lives but also reflected the turbulent political landscape of Madagascar. Another issue I've noticed concerning women is the persistent exclusion they face. Even if you're competent and qualified for certain positions, you often won't be considered unless you're romantically involved with someone in a higher position, despite deserving the role based on merit alone.  ---  --I appreciate your inquiry. Initially, there was a strong sense of solidarity among the women, with everyone sharing responsibilities and offering support to one another. We constantly leaned on each other for guidance on where to go, whom to approach, and what actions to take. However, after two months, exhaustion set in, and individuals began to focus more on their own paths. Each person became preoccupied with figuring out how to secure their family's release from prison, often prioritising their own interests despite being part of a collective effort.  Despite facing personal burdens and encountering individuals who drained our energy, we should have continued assisting each other. This collaborative spirit is vital in our daily lives, empowering us to resist exclusion and adversity. In our situation back then, we fought together for two months, but when solutions proved elusive, we reluctantly went our separate ways. Those who left our group often found themselves isolated. And some of them who were ended in divorce due to some misbehaviour. Independence and strength are admirable qualities, but like lone stones, they lack the resilience and impact of a united front. Just as individual stones can be easily moved or removed, a collective of stones forms an impenetrable barrier. |
|  | Ment |  | Then, would you mind not being flustered by the current circumstances? These are our methods and mentality that we ought to alter in this context. Let us agree. Malagasy people don't seem to care much about how they interpret a law when it becomes effective. Currently, I am more critical of Malagasy people. When a law becomes effective, whether it's a text or whatever, here in Madagascar, our primary concern should be to consider what new attitude I need to adopt when reading this text. However, what we are is looking for exceptions. And if it's me, how is my approach? Does it work this way? For example, there is a path that was built. From now on, this path leads us in a certain direction, and everyone living along this path has to adjust at some point. The reaction of the first person is: what if we live near the end of this path? Could we get through using our distress signal? Why does it have to be our first reaction instead of adopting new routes? If any exceptions arise for me, how do I handle them? Do you agree or not? Take time to consider it; this is exactly what we do. |
|  | Intere |  | -- To affirm this perspective, as I often emphasize, our curricula inherently serve the interests of colonisers. Upon completing their studies, students are confronted with inquiries about their future endeavours. Many express intentions to engage in projects or governmental work, yet few aspire to establish their own enterprises. It is essential to advocate for cultivating an entrepreneurial spirit within our curricula rather than perpetuating a mindset of being mere employees. Despite attempts to modify these curricula in response to changing circumstances, they remain resistant to substantive change. My personal experience in the PSE prompted my departure, as the World Bank consistently exerted control over it. It is noteworthy how our curricula, in a somewhat amusing manner, fail to appreciate and highlight our unique realities. |
|  | Indep |  | This is the issue at hand. Removing outsiders from our country, given our continued moral and political colonization, is crucial. This colonization has seeped into our daily language, a fact we are all aware of. Despite not being an intellectual or a presidential candidate, considering this matter is pertinent. Simultaneously, shaping our fellow citizens to produce capable leaders is essential; a leaderless nation stagnates.  How do we proceed and extricate ourselves from those who have colonized us? Transitioning from dependence to independence is crucial, shifting from moral and economic colonization. Even our food supply is being controlled. Apologies for specificity, but the Karana community currently dominates our food supply, displacing the Gasy. While the Gasy are urged to cultivate, their produce is primarily exported despite its quality. The question arises: why export instead of local consumption? We are compelled to consume inferior products while our high-quality produce is exported, laden with chemicals. |
|  | Repre |  | --I'll offer an example: let's consider two tribes—the southeastern people commonly known as the Betsirebaka, along with the Antandroy. It's been twenty years since Somapeche ceased to function as a factory. A significant number of individuals used to work at Somapeche as boatmen, and when the factory closed, they left. Despite fishing typically being associated with the Sakalava people, there was a director who encouraged these individuals to transition to fishing. Presently, members of the southeastern tribes actively participate in fish production, sales, and distribution in Belobaka and across the islands.  The ancestral occupation of the Sakalava was unjustly taken from them. Surprisingly, neither the state nor any concerned parties have taken notice. Even politicians seem indifferent to this issue. On the contrary, fishing, a traditional value deeply cherished by the Sakalava, has been forcefully taken away from them, despite their strong desire to preserve this cultural heritage, which is the only way of life they have known. |
|  | Decent\_Decon |  | Therefore, for the development of our city, if we could have control over returns, taxes, and other matters, projects could be executed, similar to the state of our roads today. The roads in Diego are splendid, as evident when you see them for yourself. With the backing of the PIC, encompassing the World Bank, the French Development Agency, and others, there are numerous projects seeking realization. However, our participation remains inadequate. In any project, regardless of its nature, a minimum of 20% participation is essential.  We possess the allocated 20%, and it's the central government that makes the decision, even if it means waiting for up to a year for them to grasp our project. We must understand them; they juggle a thousand projects, not just Diego's. The fate of our proposal depends on its position in the minister's or government's stack. While we might secure approval, it comes with a three-year timeline, during which many other initiatives will degrade, leading to a setback in overall development. The impact, particularly in the North, will be felt on infrastructural progress. Infrastructural development primarily aims to cater to cruise ship passengers and establish efficient routes for transporting thousands of tons of rice, located 50 km away in the northern belt between Anivorano and Baie de Courrier. Despite having comprehensive statistics, the missing link is the funding required to infuse life into these public projects. |
|  | Corrup |  | Returning to your previous question about the mediators, there were indeed mediators due to the loss of our traditions, as I previously explained. The Tsiranana system was originally rooted in our ancestral traditions, but we deviated onto the wrong path, aligning ourselves with the Soviet Union, which had no relevance to our cultural context. This shift led to further erosion of our traditions, with corruption becoming an unfortunate Soviet legacy.  In the Soviet tradition, power was concentrated within the party, leaving those outside it marginalized. This influence persists, as we have inherited these tendencies. The general population is left grappling with the consequences of communism, having to endure queues for basic necessities like rice, while the privileged few within the party enjoy a more comfortable lifestyle. This system mirrors the apparatchik structure, where political party members hold significant power.  Unfortunately, we have strayed from our original vision, now engaging in politics primarily for personal wealth. This shift in focus is a lesson learned from the Soviets, further distancing us from our cultural roots.  We have already forsaken our traditions, and this trend persists. Numerous individuals were sent to study in the USSR and China. Are there no refresher courses aimed at integrating our traditions into their knowledge? Despite the quality of their education, during their time abroad, no one seemed to remind them of our core values even after a year. Would they then adhere to our values? Originating from those places, they did as they pleased, turning everything upside down. Thankfully, we are not facing recolonization. However, upon closer inspection, we find ourselves colonized by the IMF and the World Bank. Our intrinsic values seem to have diminished. If we still hold onto our cherished value of Fihavanana, it should be simple for us to admonish one another, as in places where Olobe is present, children don't turn against each other. |
|  | Ext\_proj |  | Throughout my experiences, I uncovered the substantial financial support and aid injected into Madagascar. However, one particular case during my tenure at XXX left me utterly shocked.  Concerning this project, Madagascar had five partners, which were local NGOs. The budget for each NGO in the project amounted to approximately a billion ariary per month. It wasn't the XXX, but a local NGO. Therefore, a total of five billion per month, specifically in the context of this project. I was responsible for overseeing the association and the local NGOs, focusing on finance and administration.  When considering the money being invested here, I have started to question why Madagascar has not progressed yet. I have worked with projects for a long time, and until now, I haven't seen significant progress. At that time, I was 30 years old. I find myself wondering what I have accomplished in my life, as I haven't witnessed a tangible legacy. |
|  | Trad\_Val\_Princip |  | These challenges extend beyond regional concerns, touching on broader influences, including Arabic, as well as Western influences like English and French. Furthermore, historical events, such as the Sakalava warriors' support in 1896, when 12,000 warriors, under Queen Binao of Nosibe, aided the French military in the invasion of Tana, are crucial to understanding Madagascar's complex past. Without the backing of the Sakalava, the dominance of the Merina royalty would have been unattainable. The reception of Queen Binao in Ambohitsorohitra underscores the intricate historical tapestry that shapes Madagascar's identity.  How can we expect national unity under the current circumstances? I'm unsure if you grasp the point I am attempting to convey. Despite the undisclosed alliances during Andrianampoinimerina’s era, a significant issue arose when The Zafinifotsy was defeated in the Boina region. A Sakalava princess was married to Radama I, distinct from the one from Menabe (Rasalimo). There are other instances as well.  Before this marriage, the most sacred relics of their kingdom were relocated to Tana by Radama I. Upon Radama's death, this princess brought these relics back to Majunga, leading to the current problem. Due to the presence of this Sakalava princess, Andriamisara and relatives returned to Majunga and have ruled in the Sakalava region ever since. However, before that, the founding father of this Sakalava kingdom was Andriamandisoarivo. He held power due to support from outsiders. |
|  | Gov |  | When I discuss altering the trajectory of history over the next 60 years, I'm not advocating for a complete overhaul. The emphasis should lie in fostering improvements. Although the origins of the Hova people are unclear—whether they are of Chinese, Malaysian, or Indonesian descent—it's noteworthy that historically, the Ampanjaka held sway in Madagascar.  I want to underscore that my intention is not to criticize or advocate for the dismissal of history. At present, decision-making and governance are concentrated in Antananarivo, reflecting a form of centralism. Rather than advocating for abrupt changes, the focus should be on gradual enhancements and fostering inclusivity. |
|  | Const |  | The MFM adhered to Marxist Leninist principles, while MONIMA leaned towards Maoism. AREMA, on the other hand, did not align with either ideology and functioned more as a tool for legitimizing power. It could be argued that AREMA lacked a strong ideological foundation. The Red Book served as a program outlining economic and social strategies. AREMA was characterized by a strong sense of nationalism, evident in its promotion of the Vondrombahoaka itsinjarampahefana ideology, leading to the establishment of a new state. Despite this, our constitution did not completely deviate from the Western model. Resistance arose, particularly from the Catholic Church and Christian communities who disagreed. Many people, especially those attached to traditional forms from the colonial era, expressed dissent. |
|  | Elec |  | Suddenly, the concept of elections became a foreign element that had already been adopted by the Malagasy. There is a tendency among us to be stubborn, especially when it concerns matters like political parties. Following the extension of the 1901 decree on associations, the Malagasy people promptly established political parties. Presently, we have approximately 200 political parties, and this trend was already noticeable in the fifties. One could argue that despite the current utilization of political ideologies, there has been an assimilation of foreign culture.  When examining the MDRM party, its establishment in Paris was intentional and not coincidental. The majority of our ideologies were shaped by European influences, with all references pointing to European origins. For instance, in the 1950s, Christian parties emerged from there. While Christian parties may not perfectly align with Malagasy values, we have chosen to adopt and adapt them as a guiding framework. As we often say, we indigenize the concept, a process likened to 'ethiopinization' in religious terms. We have embraced and continue to apply this approach, leading to various adaptations and grafts over time.  The issue at hand is that while elections exist, they often fall short of truly embodying democracy. Merely having an election does not guarantee a democratic system. We have not only adopted the practice of holding elections but also incorporated all the associated elements, including propaganda, manipulative tactics, and various pressures, encompassing both negative and positive aspects. We've embraced the entire spectrum of these elements. Notably, from the initial elections of the 1940s and 1950s, particularly in 1946, 1947, and the 1950s, it's not surprising that, since the post-colonial era, we no longer import these practices from abroad; instead, they have become inherent to our own political landscape. |
|  | Institutions |  | In various historical instances, specific elements were exploited to incite or support crises. For instance, in 1972, the constitution, army, and law were manipulated to trigger turmoil. Similarly, the constitutional framework and religious institutions were involved in 1991. The events of 2002 witnessed the orchestrated utilization of five distinct elements — the constitution, army, judiciary, religious institutions, and traditional practices — all harnessed in concert to overthrow Ratsiraka." |
|  | Central |  | In '72, Ramanantsoa emerged. The nationalists, expected to instigate change, were not invited to form the government, particularly Manandafy Rakotonirina. From that moment, a question surfaced: Who benefited from obstructing figures like the sons of those known as ZOAM, who were meant to be part of the regime? These individuals were meant to carry on the struggle. However, when Ramanantsoa arrived, hope for change emerged. Instead, he was meant to introduce a rupture and continue; yet, he abruptly severed all established elements. He strengthened centralism and issued a decree—though I can't recall which one; it was in '72. Since then, all financial laws centralized, establishing the principle of treasury unity. Peripheral taxes and individual taxes were also centralized. As a result, affairs were managed in a small office where 20 people were crowded in. No one knows what is happening, and various manipulations are possible. |
|  | VENG |  | It is increasing; hence, it is in crescendo. I am uncertain whether it will continue to rise. The events of 2009 seemed to be a reprisal for those of 2002, with many individuals from the earlier incident involved once again. It appears to be an act of revenge by the frustrated, or let's say, the victims, if I may put it that way. The victims of 2002 seem to be encompassed by the events of 2009, and this is the reality. Considering the financial support that followed the crisis, the year 2009 seems to have been a direct response to the events of 2002. Some may describe it as those who had "alive rats in their belly," as our adage suggests. Perhaps this was one of the factors that prolonged the situation in 2009. On the contrary, it was a rough experience. In moments where there were numerous casualties, there were victims—whether you were a proponent or opponent, you were always a victim. The masses consistently bear the brunt. |
|  | TRIB |  | For example, they come and beg for reconciliation, aiming to have the Malagasy reconcile. All acquiesce that it is a good disposition and there is no downside to that, and we should do that and so forth. Yet, I had an eyewitness account of this during Zafy’s tenure. This era was harsh for the Malagasy due to the near explosion of tribal conflicts, unless we were being cautious. |
|  | Med\_Neg |  | ----We have distanced ourselves from it as people no longer show interest. Consequently, anyone mentioning it transforms it into a legend rather than experiencing it. Let's ponder this scenario: if we bypass the initial question—do we still require foreign presence here? I assert that, unless a respected Gasy individual is present, foreigners should only engage in mediation, steering clear of other involvements. Who embodies this role? Reflecting on our situation, who among us holds legitimacy? We established the CFM (Conseil for the fampihavanana Malagasy). Many claim ownership of something—their tradition. Who can truly claim ownership? Ultimately, none of them possesses that right. Who, within this context, is genuinely acknowledged and followed, given that he is not a mere representative? He cannot assert representation of specific people. Currently, no Gasy person is heeded here, as they have dismissed the Gasy elders you mentioned. Disregarding the Gasy elders' traditions or their own, they abandon the elements deserving respect, including their tribes, as they delve into politics or adopt traditions that their communities disagree with. Such individuals forfeit their Hasina (a form of honor). To reinstate it, they seek foreign mediation solely, not negotiation. Mediation differs from leading negotiations. You may understand the essence of mediation. Responsibilities include orchestrating and distributing speech times during meetings. The individual in charge must ensure the discussion aligns with the established theme, preventing any deviation to unrelated topics. These are the expectations for foreigners. They should refrain from suggesting what should be done. This encapsulates the essence of mediation. I agree; let foreigners play a role in mediation." |
|  |  | Panor | Why are you here? Is life peaceful in your countries? Our investors are pushing us towards a regional approach, and the situation is deteriorating. Reflect on the events of '91, which found resolution through the Panorama convention. In '72, had Tsiranana been a bit more open, the matter would have been settled among the Malagasy. The power transition between Ramanantsoa and him occurred within the Malagasy community, though ours was more severe. Malagasy politicians should scrutinize the inception of the October 31st, 1991 agreement (the Panorama convention), along with Mahambo I and Mahambo II involving Razanamasy Guy Willy. These were aligned with Malagasy philosophy and traditional fragrance (borrowing Rahajarizafy’s words). Foreign involvement is unnecessary. There is no budget for luxury hotels, be it in South Africa, Nairobi, or even Mauritius. We have the capability to handle it ourselves. |
|  |  | Nat\_Rec | --The prior issue has been adequately addressed. Are we to internally manage our conflicts, or shall we depend on external assistance? We engage with diverse external entities, participating actively in various forums like the African Union, the SADC, and the United Nations. Our consistent involvement with these bodies notwithstanding, our 'fihavanana' (social bonding) and conflict avoidance strategies remain intertwined with recurring crises. Nonetheless, the impetus for resolution ought to emanate from within our community. We possess traditional elders, a communal structure, prominent figures, and notably, our own government. These specific institutions furnish the framework to initiate conflict resolution at the local level.  Should there be a rationale for external involvement, it could be within the African Union, for instance, or among the Southern African Development Community (SADC), given their facilitation of our reconciliation in 2009. The United Nations assumed responsibility for peace consolidation and played a significant role through various aspects of the UN Peacebuilding Fund (UNPBF). Valuable insights were gleaned from our assembly at the La Poste Hotel, in which I chose to partake. However, it is imperative to emphasize that circumventing steps is impermissible.  Our setback arose from the conflict in 2009, during which we awaited reconciliation facilitated by the SADC. It appears that there is scant progress to grasp. Similar challenges were encountered in 2002, and their repercussions influenced events in 2009. While collaboration with external entities holds merit, it should originate from the Malagasy people.  We possess a national reconciliation institution. Why allocate an annual budget for it? Presently, this institution expends a considerable amount of funds. What remuneration do its employees receive? The initiative should commence from us rather than abruptly extending to South Africa. There is no necessity to venture there; the initiation and conclusion should transpire here. Even if all involved parties were to assemble, we could accommodate them locally. There is no requirement to journey abroad. This constitutes my intervention. |
|  |  | Dakar | -- In 1996, we found ourselves starting from scratch again. Let me put it this way: when Zafy left after two years, we reverted back to Ratsiraka for a while. Then, in 2002, many things had occurred, and we were well aware of that. Numerous measures deviated from the established common agreements at that time. Perhaps the issue of auto-proclamation was prevalent. It gained popularity due to the treaties of Dakar I and Dakar II between Ratsiraka and Ravalomanana. Once they came into play, things took a different turn. The same scenario unfolded in 2009, if I am not mistaken. I can affirm that we are in a state of standby. Only the people have changed; however, things remain the same. We are discontent with the current leader, overthrow him, and so forth. This is why I assert that it is a matter of the established political system until now. It will take time for us to have two years or two tenures per individual, without mentioning the recent case of Macron, who will enter his second tenure. |
|  |  | Maputo | --I have been ushering it in since the beginning. Through dialogue, we have already been engaging in discussions. The outsiders had already facilitated our reconciliation; I only mention Maputo and Addis Ababa. These were in progress. Just after them, a violation occurred, and the president proclaimed himself to be the winner of the vote, and the majority agreed. Do you realize that there was a dialogue? The European Union has already been present there. However, as Malagasy people, we are required to have our own dialogue. First, engage in reciprocal listening. Next, follow through on the decisions made during the dialogue. This is what is lacking. The dialogue existed; however, the application of what has been decided has been lacking ever since (four times). What have we decided? We are aware of the topic of the dialogue, but upon leaving the table, it shifts to something entirely different. A completely different topic emerges. Our constitution has been around since the first republic, and even the French people have served it for us. However, its application raises issues. How we apply it depends on our mentality.  --This is why I have stated that we are a rancorous people, always holding grudges deep within us. As long as we start with rancor, even if there is reciprocal listening, we will never make progress. We are not politicians. For instance, we are currently discussing around the table with a mediator present. We have even made some statements, and it seems as though the issue will have been sorted out in 10 or 20. On the contrary, upon leaving this table, believe me, without stepping outside this very gate, we will convince ourselves that it was merely a table discussion and this has been the problem with Madagascar, wherever we are; all discussions remain confined to the table.  --Without application  --You conduct various workshops. We are seeking solutions, for example, we discuss farming and breeding, yet everything remains unresolved. Deception is a persistent issue, and grudges continue to plague us. It's become a chronic ailment for our community. |
|  | Fiha |  | - During the 2009 crisis, this represents the Islamic contribution to Madagascar. We presented it alongside the Christians of the FFKM to the international community, addressing questions such as, 'How do you perceive these crises?' and 'Why and what solutions do you propose?' This was our proposition at that time. For now, I'll provide you with the introduction; later, we'll explore it in detail step by step.  This is what we included: 'Madagascar consists of several tribes with diverse habits and customs. However, a common cultural foundation, centered around a shared language, has allowed the island's various kingdoms to coexist harmoniously for centuries, guided by the principles of fihavanana, particularly the 'Fati-dra,' which manifests in different ways across regions. Different people act as kin. This is what transpired previously, emphasizing respect, transcending differences in origin and belief. This serves as our introduction, and it's already been dispatched.  On the contrary, the successive arrivals of Europeans, including the Portuguese, English, French, Dutch, and Americans (I omit to say the 17th and the 19th centuries), ultimately disrupted the balance among the royalties.  There was a map of Madagascar surrounded by 18 yellow stars. At the summit of Diego at Amber Cap, there are two crossed objects: one is a lance, and the other is a long rifle. In small writing, it distinctly stated, and I recall it vividly: 'The stories were deliberately falsified, and we rectify them. |
|  | Edu |  | An investigation took place, during which the governor made a statement on TVM. He claimed that the Sakalava people, as he is a Sakalava, are lazy, emphasizing their perceived laziness in both farming and education – that they lack the drive to work and the motivation to learn. I contemplated his statement and wondered, 'Is this true?' In my perspective, I've reached the conclusion that unless our children actively seek knowledge and engage in the necessary learning opportunities here in Mahajanga, it will be challenging for us to see individuals from our community occupy high-ranking local positions, except for those who have already pursued education.  If we focus solely on the municipality level, we find that the local natives are engaged in garbage dump service. They arrive in the morning and depart in the late afternoon, despite the absence of specific job roles. They still receive their monthly salary. This highlights a prevailing sense of complacency among them. Considering that many Betsileo, Merina, and Antandroy people work at Belobaka Sotema, it is just and reasonable for the settlers to come and engage in agriculture in places where natives are absent. Education should be prioritized, as Zafera previously emphasized the urgent need to educate our children. The Sakalava Malagasy, who claim to be the rightful landowners, should receive education to enable them to assume their rightful positions. |
|  | Relig |  | Before delving into whether it was deconcentration or decentralization or any other concept, it's crucial to explore the pre-colonial era in Madagascar. Prior to the arrival of colonizers and other civilizations, the Malagasy people possessed a distinct mindset and had established structures that organized and justified their society.  Taking Christianity as an example, in Madagascar during that time, the Malagasy people already believed in the existence of Zanahary, the creator. They acknowledged that while the population coexisted, there were ancestors who served as intermediaries between them and the creator. However, with the advent of Christianity, these pre-existing beliefs were often dismissed as idol worship by the new religious influences.  I am a Christian, and I am not against the Christian education that was introduced by the religious people who came here. On the contrary, it saddens me that the outright assertion that the way the previous Malagasy people lived, the customs that the Gasy people had us follow, is considered idol worship. This is the source of disorders within the society because when the religion came to an individual, he turned to persecute those who didn't follow his religion.  He concluded that the Malagasy tradition is ugly, claiming it involves idol worship, while he is in the mindset or the spirit of the Gasy who establish the notion that Zanahary exists. It is not idol worship. In fact, I recently celebrated Halloween, which we call 'Havandrazana,' especially in this eastern region, particularly among the Betsimisaraka. |
|  | RAD |  | -- From my perspective, it should be well-established where the line between the social structure and the state structure lies. When leaders visit a locality, we often hear them referred to as the "Ray aman-dReny." However, it's crucial to recognise that they are simply leaders. Within the social structure, there are distinct roles, including the Ray aman-dReny, elders, and juniors.  In rural areas, a 20-year-old youth was elected as a mayor, creating confusion in the hierarchy, placing him above the tangalamena in matters of authority. This has led to the absence of a notion of deliberation, a situation that is echoed even at the presidential level.  It deeply saddens me to hear about the gang-related killings in the South. The annual death toll often reaches a thousand, predominantly consisting of men. Consider the impact: a thousand lives lost means two thousand orphans and widows annually. Over a five-year term, 5000 individuals are killed, essentially wiping out entire villages. This violence contributes to the occurrence of famine, as those responsible for providing for families are being eliminated.  In their tradition, men must possess zebus before getting married. This requirement creates additional challenges. Another issue lies in the legitimacy of leaders among the population. During elections, people tend to vote for leaders based on their tribal origin rather than their individual qualifications.  Leaders should guide the population rather than expecting to be served. Despite the notion that leaders should serve the populace with the grace they've earned, the stark reality is that they often find themselves in a position of self-interest, akin to the concept of Ray aman-dReny. The discussion extends to the constitution, with a notable observation that while various constitutions exist, strict adherence is lacking. Leaders frequently resist compliance with these constitutional frameworks. |
|  | Hybrid |  | To assert that society has its own organization, while the state also maintains its distinct structure, they shouldn't necessarily be in opposition. As an example, at the societal level, there is the "Andrimasom-pokonolona" (individuals who work as vigilantes to watch the village). This is a framework established by the Fokonolona rather than the state. Interestingly, this structure predates the current era and has roots in the royal period. Its purpose is to act as watchmen, safeguarding the village.  The "Andrimasompokonolona" is invoked in times of insecurity within the village. There is an issue at hand, questioning who bears the responsibility – whether it is an internal matter involving an intern or someone from outside the community. The internal discord must be addressed, and this strategy should be aligned with the current state policies, particularly considering the existence of human rights.  It is acknowledged that these are external elements being introduced into the community. Therefore, the community should be involved in the resolution process. Consequently, even in the apprehension of a robber, the "Dina" should be applied, adhering to the social structure, especially if the Fokonolona has ordered it. This application must be carried out in accordance with societal norms. However, the state may contradict such measures, citing human rights concerns.  The social and state organizations should be in coordination. This means that if the Fokonolona establishes a Dina, the Fokonolona should inform the state about the rules governing our society, enabling the state to adjust its definition of what constitutes a failure in the social organization. Currently, the state should not adopt a lax attitude, as it is evidently inequitable if a robber is apprehended today only to be released the next morning. This not only fuels frustration among the population but also disrupts the order of the social organization. When a robber is caught stealing, imprisonment should be the consequence. Unfortunately, factual evidence has shown that such individuals are often free to roam unchecked.  From my perspective, social and state organizations are intricately intertwined. They are designed to establish order, and whether it's the first or the second, each contributes to maintaining order. However, their combined efforts prove to be more effective, considering the involvement of the state, personnel, and relatives. |
|  | Local |  | -- For me, what I would like to say is that, in some ways, it is a matter of time, but it is also about the issue of appropriation, which prolongs the process. It’s a fact that when our independence was granted, after 1960, we were not adequately prepared. Even before that, no one could argue that we weren’t a nation. After all, a nation has a country and a language: Malagasy. However, it’s worth noting that even this language was found to have differences, particularly among the highlanders.  A nation possesses a flag and all of these are legal definitions. Nevertheless, socially speaking, we are lacking all of them since then. Even Andrianampoinimerina stated, "Ny ranomasina no valam-parihako" (the sea is my limit). In the end, he couldn’t reach that far, after all. It is also a contrast; we are an island, yet our economy is far from being a blue one. This continues to confirm the paradox that François Roubaud and Mireille Razafindrakoto wrote about. Until now, the list of paradoxes still persists.  In my field of intervention, democracy is active in the election precinct; I have come to realize that there was a time when I would like to call for a street strike. However, it is beyond my scope. Since we have chosen to embrace democracy, recognizing it as the power of the people and for the people, you know these by heart. However, when you delve into it, who do constitute the people? Who are these numerous individuals who become illiterate? To a significant extent, is it poorly adjusted for us? And if we are to opt for this democratic system, we essentially have two choices: are able to concur with the fact that there are only two choices for us: either we respect people’s choices or we adhere to maintaining the order.  On this issue, do people understand it? For instance, if they file for a request at the HCC, not to initiate a lawsuit but a request, despite the accuracy of what they report, they are lacking evidence despite its accuracy. Without enough proofs or I don’t even know if people know how to do it correctly? When do we learn how to do it? How far can we take someone to court? How far are we able to sue people in court? What is the limit for us to understand traditional justice, as well as the existence of the state justice system? We aren’t fully aware of that. The World Bank even stated that we are experiencing a development delay, a growth delay instead of actual development. In 75 years, we will reach Rwanda’s development, not that of another country. It is as though we are being realistic when we say that. Perhaps we made a wrong choice when we opted for the democratic system. |
|  | Malagasy |  | -----I experienced this during my high school years. I won't claim I was the best, but consistently, I ranked among the top 5. There was a girl from here who openly told me, 'Studies are meant for you Merina people, not for us.' And why do you say that? It's not... no, all studies are meant for all of us, not just for the Merina. No, no, no, for us, it's already predetermined, as our colleague said, it comes from education, prostitution, and all that. So for us, it's already predetermined in those areas.  --No, you can change your future; it's not your parents who will determine that. But during my school days, I protested against it. I am originally from Tana, but I don't show that I come from there. On the contrary, I strive to show that I am from here. It's to emphasise that all Malagasy people from Madagascar are the same. That's also the reason why I'm learning the languages of several ethnic groups. Sofia, for example, is a language that I'm proficient in, except for the Tuléar side, which I don't know very well. But it's for this reason, in fact,...  --But you have to put in extra effort because you come from Tana.  --No, I'm not putting in extra effort, but I want to prove that all Malagasy are one and the same person, but it's not because I am Merina...  --But it's not because you're suffering.  --No, I would only like to change their opinions regarding the 'borizano,' that's all.  --Exactly. |
|  | Nation |  |  |
|  | Tanindrana |  | They differ in their commitment to national unity. They feel a true connection to being Malagasy. They recognize that such a caste should lead, while others do not. They respect this distinction. They recognize each 'Hasina' of the region because the Andriana are more involved in matrimonial alliances in this nation. For instance, Radama married a Sakalava princess. My own eyes witnessed Rasalimo's tomb in Morondava. There are historical facts misunderstood by the masses. Almost all officers and military leaders who served during Radama's era across the regions, with the exception of the Ramahatra family in Tulear, were Hova. All the officers who engaged in warfare here were not Andriana but Hovalahy. What the Tanindrana may not be aware of is that the majority of the warriors who committed atrocities in this region were Tanindrana themselves. The officers, constituting 80% of them, were mainly Hova. The primary force of the army included Tanindrana from the southeast, Sakalava, and Betsimisaraka—these groups were the invaders. Many people remain uninformed about this fact because, following the defeat, the ruling administration shifted to Merina, shaping the prevailing perception. Nevertheless, it is crucial to recognize that those who actively participated in the conflict and carried out atrocities were predominantly Tanindrana. This truth remained concealed for an extended period but has come to light through historical research. |
|  | Merina |  | It has a lengthy history, but I've condensed it for you. After Andrianampoinimerina successfully unified the Merina kingdom, it eventually fell apart. Even during the reign of Andriamasinavalona, who preceded Andrianampoinimerina, the Merina faced significant looting and dispersal. To put it into perspective, many Merina individuals were sent to Reunion, Mauritius, and even South America, where they became slaves traded for firearms. The majority of these individuals were Merina.  When Andrianampoinimerina gathered the Merina, the colonization structure shifted. Consequently, the Merina became slave exporters. Can you envision the scenario? They acquired Tanindrana from the surrounding areas, marking a significant transformation. This prompts the question: Why are certain regions prohibited for the Merina? |