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Madagascar Summary 19 November 2025

Transitional president Michael Randrianirina (2025-present) and prime minister Herintsalama Rajaonarivelo unveil their new cabinet, which is importantly, mostly comprised of civilians, a decision Madagascar's external partners will welcome. The appointment of a technocratic economics professor, Herinjatovo Aimé Ramiarison, as finance minister is expected to be especially approved of. The government strips former president Andry Rajoelina (2019-present) of his Malagasy citizenship on the grounds that he should have lost it when he secured French nationality in 2014. Ramiarison tables the 2026 finance bill, which confirms that Madagascar remains reliant on external funding. Madagascar's main intelligence agency, the Central Intelligence Service (CIS), announces on 8 November it thwarted a coup plot against the new government.

New Council of Ministers appointed

Transitional president **Michael Randrianirina** (2025-present) and prime minister **Herintsalama Rajaonarivelo** [unveiled](#) their newly appointed cabinet on 28 October, two weeks after the 14 October military coup that brought Randrianirina (a colonel with the military's **CAPSAT** unit) to power (*see ARC Briefing Madagascar Oct 2025*). The announcement of the new cabinet had been keenly anticipated as it was hoped that the appointments would provide some insight into Randrianirina's intentions and policy preferences as president.

The most notable aspect of the new cabinet was it is primarily comprised of civilians; out of the 29 cabinet members (excluding the prime minister), only four of the new ministers came from the military or police, three of whom oversee the security sector portfolios. These ministers include:

- Armed forces minister, Major General **Ely Maminirina Razafitombo**;
- Public security minister, Police Inspector General **Erick Michel Wouli Soumah Idrissa**;
- Land planning and land services minister, Major General **Lylison René de Rolland**; and
- Delegate minister in charge of the national gendarmerie, Major General **Marima Bama**.

Madagascar's diplomatic and regional partners will be relieved by the appointment of a majority civilian government as it indicates that Madagascar has not fully fallen under military rule and that Randrianirina may be serious about his stated plan to restore Madagascar to democratic civilian rule. However, it should be noted that the **Conseil des ministres** (council of ministers) will still have some oversight from the council of senior military and police officers that was formed shortly after the coup. As such, the full independence of the new cabinet is yet to be tested.

Rajaonarivelo appears to have had his way with most of the cabinet appointments and is primarily comprised of technocratic figures, with only a few politicians included in an apparent effort to ensure political cohesion and reconciliation. Indictive of this technocratic government, Madagascar's new finance minister, **Herinjatovo Aimé Ramiarison**, is a career economist who was most [recently](#) an economics professor at the **University of Antananarivo** and headed the university's **ODRES** economics lab.

Among the most notable politicians included in the new cabinet is the new foreign minister, **Christine Razanamahasoa**. She is a former **Assemblée Nationale** (national assembly) president and erstwhile supporter of former president **Andry Rajoelina** (2019-2025). Rajoelina's **Isika Rehetra Miaraka amin'i Andry Rajoelina (IRD)** coalition ousted Razanamahasoa after she [supported a measure](#) to

delay the 2023 presidential elections, believing that the conditions for a credible election had not been met. Razanamahasoa is a well-known figure and may be able to bring former Rajoelina's supporters into the fold. Razanamahasoa is also a former justice minister; this, combined with her experience as the national assembly president, will help her quickly adapt to her new role as foreign minister. This is important given that reassuring Madagascar's financial and development partners is one of the new government's leading priorities.

Another significant figure within the new government is **Hanitriniaina Lobo Razafimanantsoa**, the new state minister in the presidency in charge of the refoundation. Razafimanantsoa has essentially been tasked with driving the new government's reform agenda. She is a qualified lawyer and a former parliamentarian; notably, she is considered close to former president **Marc Ravalomanana** (2002-2009). As such, Razafimanantsoa will be essential to securing the support of Ravalomanana and his **Tiako I Madagasikara (TIM)** party for the new government's agenda.

Rajaonarivelo's new cabinet also confirmed that the new prime minister is serious in his desire to reform the government and strip Rajoelina's influence from the state. The clearest indicator of this was the appointment of **Fanirisoa Ernaivo** as the new justice minister. Ernaivo is a former magistrate and opposition politician. She contested the 2018 presidential election and was a leading figure in the opposition **Rodoben' ny Mpanohitra ho an' ny Demokrasia eto Madagasikara (RMDM)** movement. She also helped publicise the 2023 [revelation](#) that Rajoelina had acquired **French** citizenship. Ernaivo lived in self-imposed exile in France since 2018 and only returned after Rajoelina was deposed.

In another indication that Rajaonarivelo is working to reform the government and strip Rajoelina's influence from the state, the government [announced](#) on 24 October that it had stripped Rajoelina of his Malagasy citizenship. According to the official gazette, this was due to Rajoelina illegally acquiring French nationality in 2014. Under Malagasy law, an individual automatically loses their citizenship if they assume a second nationality. Rajoelina retaining both citizenships reflected his power when he was president, especially in 2023 when he ran for re-election despite scandal over this dual nationality. He succeeded in doing this after the **Haute Cour Constitutionnelle (HCC)** (high constitutional court) declined to rule on the matter.

The revocation of his citizenship has made it almost impossible for Rajoelina to ever return to formal Malagasy politics, as he will not be able to contest elections in the country. Furthermore, the former president no longer has the popular or military support required to stage an effective counter coup.

In addition to removing Rajoelina as a key political power, the new government has removed former senior government officials from their positions and [launched corruption investigations](#) into former cabinet ministers and known Rajoelina loyalists. Given the high levels of corruption within the Malagasy state, there are likely legitimate reasons for these investigations. This will make it even easier to purge the government of Rajoelina's allies.

Draft budget submitted to the national assembly

Rajaonarivelo's next challenge will be ensuring that the government is able to finance itself in the coming year. As such, Ramiarison [submitted](#) the 2026 **Finance Bill** to the national assembly on 30 October. The bill largely reflects the priorities of the Rajoelina government, as it was mostly compiled by the finance ministry between March and October. Ramiarison has not yet had sufficient time to adequately review the budget and adjust it to reflect the new government's priorities. However, Malagasy law outlines that the budget must be passed and signed into effect before 1 January. This requirement had created some uncertainty around the bill and led to expectations that the bill will be heavily amended during the parliamentary debates, or by an amendment bill in 2026. Officials have already indicated that they are considering a major budget amendment bill for July next year to reprioritise government spending.

In the immediate term, Ramiarison is pushing for changes that will enable increased monitoring of state spending; the minister has stressed that this is not about imposing austerity but rather reducing

wasteful and irregular expenditure. This approach dovetails with Rajaonarivelo's public push to extensively audit all government ministries and agencies. Ramiarison has further stated that he will not push for a tax increase, but rather that his ministry wants to improve Madagascar's revenue collection capabilities to improve recovery.

However, the biggest concern about the 2026 budget is whether Madagascar will manage to maintain access to external funding. The country is heavily reliant on external budget support from its bilateral partners and international institutions – most notably, the **International Monetary Fund (IMF)** and the **World Bank**. The IMF is expected to soon conduct a review of its **Extended Credit Facility (ECF)** with Madagascar. If the institution agrees to continue to provide credit from the ECF despite the coup, other funding partners will likely follow suit. If Madagascar does not secure the continuation of this external support, the government will struggle to fund its operations in the coming year. Such a development would undermine the government's reform agenda and likely lead to increased political destabilisation in the country.

Intelligence agency claims to have foiled a coup plot

Madagascar is still recovering from the September/October political unrest that precipitated the 14 October coup and is still experiencing political uncertainty, as seen when Madagascar's main spy agency, the **Central Intelligence Service (CIS)**, [announced](#) on 8 November that it had thwarted a coup plot against the new government.

CIS director-general **Ruffin Lebiria** reported that this plot was dismantled when CIS and law enforcement officers conducted a raid earlier that day, during which they arrested at least two foreign nationals, several firearms, and a large amount of cash. Lebiria and other officials declined to provide further details about the coup plotters or even the plot itself.

This development underscores the current instability in Madagascar, which is expected to persist while Randrianirina entrenches his authority as president. The coup and preceding unrest not only destabilised the country but also resulted in a dramatic shift in Madagascar's ruling clique. As such, there are influential figures in the country resentful of Randrianirina's ascent.

However, the CIS's announcement does indicate that Randrianirina has secured the support for the intelligence agency. This is important as it means that the new government is viewed as legitimate by the intelligence services, which will help Randrianirina secure his control over the state. This support is also essential to identify any potential domestic threats, such as this alleged coup plot.

Planner

31 Dec 2025 (**Madagascar**) Senate term ends;

TBD (**Madagascar**) Senate elections

Chronology

16 Nov 2025 **Antananarivo (Madagascar)** *Midi Madagasikara*. President **Michael Randrianirina** delivers a national address in which he denies that he led a coup, and announces a new anti-corruption campaign;

15 Nov 2025 **Antananarivo (Madagascar)** 2424. Four officials from the state-owned **Madagascar Airlines**, including CEO **Rinah Rakotomanga**, are placed in pretrial detention amid a corruption investigation into the airline;

13 Nov 2025 **Antananarivo (Madagascar)** *L'Express*. Madagascar's anti-corruption court, the **Pole Anti-Corruption (PAC)**, begins hearings into a case concerning a loan agreement between the **Caisse nationale de prévoyance sociale (CNaPS)** (national social security fund) and the **Société municipale de gestion digitale (SMGD)** (municipal digital management company)

13 Nov 2025 **Antananarivo (Madagascar)** *L'Express*. **Conseil des ministres** (council of ministers) appoints new directors-general for taxes and treasury operations economy and finance ministry;

13 Nov 2025 **Antananarivo (Madagascar)** *L'Express*. Security forces rescue an Indian national who had been kidnapped a day prior in **Antsirabe (Vakinankaratra Region)**;

12 Nov 2025 **Antananarivo (Madagascar)** *2424*. **Commission électorale nationale indépendant (CENI)** (independent national electoral commission) president **Arsène Andrianarisedo Dama**, confirms that no new date for Madagascar's senate elections has been set despite the Senate's term set to end on 31 December;

11 Nov 2025 **Antananarivo (Madagascar)** *Ecofin Agency*. National carrier **Madagascar Airlines** announces that the **World Bank** has approved \$40m in financing to support the company's restructuring plan;

9 Nov 2025 **Moscow (Russia)** *2424*. **Assemblée Nationale** (national assembly) president **Siteny Randrianasoloniaiko** conducts a visit to Moscow during which he met with Russian officials;

5 Nov 2025 **Antananarivo (Madagascar)** *Madagascar Tribune*. **Conseil des ministres** (council of ministers) dismisses six senior officials at the economy and finance ministry;

4 Nov 2025 **Antananarivo (Madagascar)** *Midi Madagasikara*. A meeting of 36 civil society organisations, political parties, and labour unions elect to create a new watchdog called the **Komity Miaro ny Tolona (KMT)** to monitor the new government and advocate for the reforms demanded during the September/October protests;

1 Nov 2025 **Antsirananana (Madagascar)** *L'Express*. At least one person is killed in clashes between protesting students and a group that is illegally occupying student accommodation at the **Campus universitaire régional (CUR)** in Antsirananana (**Diana Region**);

31 Oct 2025 **Antananarivo (Madagascar)** *Midi Madagasikara*. Former president **Marc Ravalomanana** announces that his party, the **Tiako I Madagasikara (TIM)**, has withdrawn from the **Firaisankina platform** opposition alliance;

31 Oct 2025 **Antananarivo (Madagascar)** *Mining Weekly*. **Japanese** commodity miner, **Sumitomo Corporation**, announces that operations at its **Ambatovy** nickel project in Madagascar had not been impacted by the political unrest and subsequent military coup in September and October;

28 Oct 2025 **Antananarivo (Madagascar)** *Midi Madagasikara*. Chief of staff of Madagascar's army, **Major General Demosthenes Pikulas**, announces that the military will soon hold a summit to restore cohesion within the armed forces following the 14 October coup.

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