

Foreign Policy of Madagascar under the Leadership of Andry Rajoelina: Analysis of Domestic Determinants

Krisna Silawa

Department of Peace and Conflict Resolution, Faculty of National Security, Universitas Pertahanan RI

Email: krisna.silawa@gmail.com

Achmed Sukendro

Department of Peace and Conflict Resolution, Faculty of National Security, Universitas Pertahanan RI

Email: achmed.sukendro@idu.ac.id

Bayu Setiawan

Department of Peace and Conflict Resolution, Faculty of National Security, Universitas Pertahanan RI

Email: bayu.setiawan1961@gmail.com

Abstract

Madagascar is one of the countries with a strategic geographical position by being one of the doors for traders to enter Africa and Sub-Saharan Africa from the Indian Ocean. Moreover, Madagascar is also directly connected to the Mozambique Strait which has potential resources and trade routes. With the limitations that Madagascar still has to face, the foreign policy that is made can certainly be a strategy in order to articulate the interests of Madagascar. In an article, Bojang A.S., has explained that one of the foreign policy makers used to see how to influence Madagascar's foreign policy was especially under the leadership of Andry Rajoelina. The purpose of this study is to identify the domestic determinants of Madagascar that determine its foreign policy. Using a secondary qualitative method, the findings show that there are eight (8) domestic determinants that influence Madagascar's foreign policy under the leadership of Andry Rajoelina. This research is based on that the eight determinants of Madagascar's foreign policy are closer to non-African. This research is expected to assist the development of international relations studies in the analysis of a country's foreign policy.

Keywords: foreign policy, Madagascar, Rajoelina, domestic determinant

Abstrak

Madagaskar merupakan salah satu negara dengan letak geografis strategis dengan menjadi salah satu pintu bagi pedagang memasuki kawasan Afrika dan Sub-Sahara dari Samudra Hindia. Lebih dari itu, Madagaskar juga berbatasan langsung dengan Selat Mozambik yang memiliki potensi sumber daya dan jalur perdagangan. Dengan keterbatasan yang masih harus dihadapi Madagaskar, kebijakan luar negeri yang dibuat tentu dapat menjadi strategi dalam rangka mengartikulasikan kepentingan Madagaskar. Dalam sebuah artikel, Bojang A.S, telah menjelaskan bahwa salah satu penentu kebijakan luar negeri adalah determinan domestik yang digunakan untuk melihat bagaimana itu mempengaruhi kebijakan luar negeri Madagaskar terutama di bawah kepemimpinan Andry Rajoelina. Tujuan dari penelitian ini adalah untuk mengidentifikasi determinan domestik Madagaskar yang menentukan kebijakan luar negerinya. Dengan menggunakan metode kualitatif sekunder, temuan menunjukkan bahwa

terdapat delapan (8) determinan domestik yang mempengaruhi politik luar negeri Madagaskar di bawah kepemimpinan Andry Rajoelina. Penelitian ini berpendapat bahwa berdasarkan delapan determinan domestik kebijakan luar negeri Madagaskar lebih dekat kearah non-Afrika. Penelitian ini diharapkan dapat membantu pengembangan studi hubungan internasional dalam kajian analisis kebijakan luar negeri suatu negara.

Keywords: kebijakan luar negeri, Madagaskar, Rajoelina, determinan domestik

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INTRODUCTION

Africa and Sub-Saharan Africa's vast natural resource potential and the fact that these areas tend to be unable to fully harness their potential, worldwide attention has long been paid to these regions. When it comes to developing influence in Africa and Sub-Saharan Africa, some nations apply both low and high politics. The enormous potential of the resources held explains the employment of supporting tools in high politics. Threats

to global security may be posed by these developments, as well. Because of such, these areas are often used as a proxy for conflicts involving other nations' security and defense industries. Non-state dangers, such as radicalism and terrorism, have been increasingly worrying for a long time, particularly in Africa and Sub-Saharan Africa, making other nations want to demonstrate their might in these areas (Atta-Asamoah, 2019; Neethling, 2020; Tafotie & Idahosa, 2016).



Figure 1: Armed Forces Presence in Africa

Source: Geopolitical Futures
<https://geopoliticalfutures.com/state-and-nonstate-forces-in-africa/>

For instance, Madagascar is depicted on the map above as receiving increasing international attention. Geopolitical Future

data unveil that Mozambique, India, Russia, and the United States are all looking for 'luck' in Madagascar. A policy-making

process that includes logic and the role of psychology is, definitely, the best way to make big choices in general. Domestic (policy) choices and international interactions, referred to as foreign policy, are handled the same way by the state. The domestic policy of a nation is strongly influenced by its foreign policy. Relations between nations have become increasingly complicated in today's volatile world of uncertainty, complexity, and ambiguity (VUCA). Moreover, an effective response to the acts of other nations is dependent on a country's foreign policy (Atta-Asamoah, 2019; Codreanu, 2016; Neethling, 2020; Tafotie & Idahosa, 2016).

Mozambique's interest in and influence over Madagascar may be traced back to its proximity to Mozambique Strait. The northern Mozambique Strait has become a new security hotspot in the Indian Ocean and a location for gas sector expansion. About 30% of the world's tanker traffic passes through the 1800km Mozambique Strait canal between Madagascar and East Africa (Brewster, 2021).

On the other hands United States has established a presence in this area, by Sustaining US Global Leadership: Priorities for 21st Century Defense. Among the global commons prioritized by the United States is cyberspace as well as international water and airspace. Access to the global commons must be safeguarded for the sake of economic development and commerce in the international system, which is crucial to the United States (US Department of Defense, 2012).

Meanwhile Russia's approach to the African continent is political, including the deployment of military and political advisors with sway over the media. Russia's presence in the African region is aimed not only to gain military advantages but also to reduce the influence of the United States and former

colonial powers France and Britain through energy and mining concessions and infrastructure development agreements (Arbuniés, 2020).

In addition, India has expanded its presence in Africa due to China's Belt Road Initiatives (BRI) development in the Indian Ocean, India is building a network of military bases throughout the area to counter the Chinese military's increasing presence in the region (Neethling, 2020). A regular security presence was then maintained throughout the area by India. There are regular cooperative patrols between the Indian and French navies, as well as an Indian air and naval facility on the island of Agalega Mauritius, located close to the Mozambique Channel and Madagascar (Mishra, 2021; Roche, 2021).

China itself related to Madagascar began a four-decade-long bond. Yet, Chinese Government does not meddle in the country's political decisions and does not pay too much attention to the issue of politics (democracy) (Andriamampandra et al., 2021).

Due to its 'isolation' from Asia, America, and Europe, as well as its lack of ties to Africa, the nation has been able to build ties with the world by its policy. The discussion on foreign policy becomes important by referring to several experts such as Joseph Frankel who in his view, it can be interpreted that foreign policy is related to actions within national boundaries aimed at forces outside the national boundaries and consists of the formulation and implementation of ideas. Which regulates the behavior of the state when interacting with other countries to maintain and enhance the national interest of that country. In addition, Norman J. Padelford and George A. Lincoln link foreign policy with external environmental affairs from the results of a country translating its goals and

interests (domestic) which are understood in certain actions to achieve goals and defend interests. Meanwhile, Hill considers that foreign policy is the axis of domestic and international politics (Frankel, 1968; Li, 2008; Padelford & Lincoln, 1967).

After all we can interpret that foreign policy is a tangent line between domestic politics and international politics. Unfortunately, the discussion about these two parts of foreign policy making is still divided, whether the factors of foreign policy making stand-alone (independent) or are intertwined/ influence each other (dependent). Therefore, we can understand that the study or analysis of a country's foreign policy consists of two important things, namely the internal (domestic) and the external (non-domestic). Bojang A.S's on his study 'The Study of Foreign Policy in International Relations' has broken it down into two parts: external and internal (domestic) factors.

The domestic factor itself is important despite which of the factors appears first. In the end, the product of foreign policy returns to the interests and policies within each country itself (domestic policy). Hence, it is important to look at the capabilities of the country itself before discussing the impact or influence from outside on the country.

RESEARCH METHOD

Determinant in Foreign Policy

To understand better Madagascar's foreign policy, we use eight factors (domestic determinant) where culture influences humans or society in the way they think, see and interpret things in their environment. A nation's approach to foreign affairs is determined by its traditional values and beliefs that have emerged or existed over the past years. In general, countries with the same culture and history find it easier to formulate effective and consistent foreign

policies (Bojang, 2018).

As geographically a country with sea or not, mountainous areas, and others, the policies will be different and adjust the advantages and disadvantages from the geographical side (Bojang, 2018). In addition, economic development and national resources that are influenced by industrialized countries (in other words, countries with good economies) dominate in world politics and form foreign policies that maintain their 'power. Moreover, natural resources affect the bargaining position of a country in the global contest (Bojang, 2018).

Furthermore, military capability is also a determining which the ability of the state to defend its territory or power from armed aggression plays a big role in internal and external policies. Along with this military capability, the state may change the form of its political policy from peaceful or peaceful to aggressive (Bojang, 2018). As well, with political systems that related to the form of government which authoritarian or totalitarian form of government is quicker and easier to determine policies. On the other hand, countries with democratic systems of making and implementing foreign policies are more difficult and slower (Bojang, 2018).

The personality and character of the leader also have a major role in formulating foreign policy that included a cognitive process and assumes that policy making is a product of 'human agency' which is purely an individual, not a state. The types of leaders are those who are like 'hawks' or aggressive foreign policy, based on a capable military force. Others are 'doves', known as conciliators and seek to resolve international conflicts without threats (Bojang, 2018). Political parties and interest groups have a role in forming a representative group in a country. In the context of foreign policy, these parties can

vocalize their interests and affect the policy in a good and bad way (Bojang, 2018). Mass media indeed can shape public opinion, and public opinion can shape policy outcomes, where this tends to be especially influential in democracies where the leader of the country usually considers opinion polls before deciding on crucial or important policies (Bojang, 2018).

Based on Bojang's research above, it can then be compared how the conditions of Madagascar, especially under the leadership of Rajoelina, afterwards see how the dynamics in these determinants can influence Madagascar's foreign policy.

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

Madagascar's Foreign Policy

As most other nations, Madagascar's foreign policy is subject to shifts based on current events. According to a tally by the United Nations, Madagascar has had at least twelve presidents since gaining its independence in 1960. Madagascar's foreign policy swung toward China and the former Soviet Union shortly after independence and the breakup with France in the 1970s. Malagasy support for the non-aligned movement and Africa's liberation struggle has been long-standing. Madagascar was a vocal opponent of apartheid in South Africa throughout the 1980s. Madagascar likewise left the Franc Zone and the Francophone Common African and Malagasy Organization (OCAM). While contemplating joining the Southern Africa Development Community (SADC) and entering the Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa (COMESA) in 1994, Madagascar's ties with South Africa strengthened (US Library of Congress, 2021; Nations Encyclopedia, 2021).

As a result, Madagascar established diplomatic connections with a wide range of

bilateral or regional nations. Since 1990, the World Bank and the IMF have provided financial support for national environmental initiatives. American funding has also been provided via the World Bank. Despite its membership in the Indian Ocean Community (IOC), the Port Management Association of Eastern and Southern Africa (PMAESA), and the Southern African Development Community (SADC) since 2004, Madagascar has remained outside the mainstream of African relations due to its rejection of African state policy (especially apartheid South Africa). Madagascar established strong relations with Europe, particularly the United Kingdom, France, Italy, Switzerland, and those in Asia-Pacific, such as Russia, Japan, South Korea, and China. Madagascar also maintains good relations with the United States. The presence of international organizations in Madagascar allows them to respond more promptly to disasters like food shortages (Ford et al., 2017).

To improve ties with the United States during Marc Ravalomanana's time as president from 2002 to 2009, he sought to restore excellent relations with France. The New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD) offers a framework for development and commitment to good governance in return for foreign funding. Due to the African Union's unwillingness to recognize Madagascar's Ravalomanana administration, its ties with Madagascar were once again tense (Nations Encyclopedia, 2021).

As a result, under the administration of President Andry Rajoelina, Madagascar's economy was refocused. To attract international investment, Rajoelina has a propensity to focus on infrastructure development and improvement, particularly in the transportation and energy sectors, as well as anti-corruption efforts in the country.

To enhance the investment environment and boost exports, he focuses on fighting corruption (PEM, 2019).

The Madagascar government under Rajoelina demonstrated its efforts on Plan d'Emergence (PEM) by promoting Madagascar as an attractive investment destination. Malagasy delegations have been spread across the continent to convey Madagascar's new goals as well as to organize the famous trade fairs in Madagascar. Unfortunately, some investors skeptical toward Madagascar's condition, for bad transportation infrastructure, high-cost electricity, and water supplies yet unreliable, corruption itself and other regulations are weak, impressed hinder foreign investment and the domestic sector (Krishnan, 2020).

Therefore, the Madagascar government then re-discussed the investment law, where the aim was to allow foreign ownership of businesses and not to discriminate against foreign-owned companies. There are no legal requirements that citizens own foreign investment shares, or restrictions on the mobility of foreign investors. The regime for visas, residence permits, and work permits is not discriminatory or unduly onerous (Krishnan, 2020). Broadly address, the Madagascar government already does not set broad constraints on foreign ownership or control of investment in its nation. Investors and businesses from any nation, local or foreign, may do so with no restrictions other than those imposed by the country's laws and regulations. A wide range of commercial activities is permitted for both foreign and local private organizations, including the establishment and ownership of businesses. However, the government restricts foreign ownership to 66% in the telecoms industry (Krishnan, 2020).

Madagascar also has or signed an interim Economic Partnership Agreement (APEi) in 2013 to facilitate EU market

access and secure progressive tariff reductions. Madagascar, as well already have trade relations with the United States and is still Madagascar's largest export market despite they have not yet create separate free trade agreement or a Bilateral Investment Treaty (BIT). Although Madagascar does not have a bilateral tax treaty with the United States but has made agreements with France, Mauritius, Canada in 2017 and Morocco in 2016. In 2017, Madagascar also joined the Tripartite Free Trade Agreement (TFFA) linking the East African Community (EAC), Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa (COMESA), and the South African Development Community (SADC). Although this a liaison in Africa and the sub-Saharan region, America's role is very large in this community (Krishnan, 2020).

In addition, based on the United Nations Conference Trade and Development (UNCTAD), Madagascar has signed nine bilateral investment agreements with Belgium-Luxemburg-Economic Union, China, France, Germany, Mauritius, Norway, Switzerland, Sweden, and South Africa. As well as five other agreements with COMESA EU EPA, COMESA Investment Agreement, COMESA US TIFA, Cotonou Agreement, COMESA Treaty (Krishnan, 2020).

In this way, it is considered that Rajoelina has really moved to fulfill the promises in the PEM made by his administration to focus on investment to improve the structure of his country. Rajoelina himself has served as leader of Madagascar in two periods, 2009-2014 and re-elected in 2019.

Looking at the dynamics of Madagascar's foreign policy, we can 'arbitrarily conclude' that Madagascar has close ties to non-African countries. In fact, these policies seem incredibly open without

Rajoelina's strict rules for incoming investment. Therefore, it is necessary to know how Madagascar came to this decision, especially under the leadership of president Rajoelina.

Domestic-Determinant of Madagascar's Foreign Policy

As already mentioned, the views on the analysis of foreign policy determinants are divided, however in this study there is no 'separation' between each variable on domestic determinant, or in other words the eight points are interrelated. In fact, from each of the variables that make up these domestic determinants, some variables are superior or influential compared to others. As convinced that there is interrelationships between variables, it is easier to combine several variables at once to have better image or big map of Madagascar's foreign policy.

In this section, eight points are grouped into several clusters, *first cluster* is economic development and national resources as long geography, size, and location; *second cluster* is political parties and interest groups as long a political system; *cluster three*, culture and history as well personality and character of the leader. Unfortunately, the rest of variable (press and public opinion; military capability) not yet be explained in more detail in reason they have not a significant influence.

Cluster 1

Madagascar is the world's fourth-largest island, despite its remote location in the Indian Ocean, some 350 kilometers (about 217.48 mi) from Mozambique's coast. The sea area is 5,501 square kilometers of 587.041 square kilometers of land. The Tsaratanana Massif, where Madagascar's tallest mountain, Mount Tsaratanana, is located at the northern tip of

the island, is divided into five geographic regions: the east coast, the wettest region and home to the rain forest; the central highlands, where rice is cultivated at an elevation of 800-1800 meters; the west coast, is deciduous forest; the south coast; and little vegetation in the southern section of Madagascar, which is mostly desert. Madagascar has a constantly shifting climate due to its location and geography, yet it normally has two distinct seasons. The rainy season begins in November and lasts until October, with the driest months being from May to October. Tropical storms and hurricanes often strike the eastern area, which is unfortunate (Wild Madagascar, 2020a).

Considering these circumstances, Madagascar's foreign policy naturally concentrates on exploiting its resources, where places a high value on agriculture and fishing. Consequently, these industries will work with other nations, such as Indonesia. Agricultural equipment and agricultural goods are being exported and processed in copious quantities by Indonesia. In addition, Madagascar imports fishing gear (Aldila, 2021).

Even while geography is a factor in determining economic development and national resources, it also determines a country's potential. Agriculture, fishing, and forestry account for most of the country's revenue. Madagascar has a lot of land area. Sapphire and substantial oil and gas deposits were found on land and territorial seas in 2005, but it does not mean that Madagascar is a wealthy country (Minority Rights Group, 2020). At the end of 2019, 92% of Madagascar's population was living on less than US\$2 per day, according to the United Nations (UN) (Australian Government Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade, n.d.).

With the help of international donors, the administration has been focusing on economic reforms since 2014. After it, the country's GDP grew from 2.3% in 2013 to 4% in 2017 and 5% in 2018. Infrastructure projects such as roads, airports, electricity, and Toamasina port building have fueled

this enhancement. Consequently, textiles, vanilla, and essential oils all have seen an uptick in demand (Bertelsmann Stiftung's Transformation Index (BTI), 2020).



Figure 2: Madagascar's Trade (exports) Statistics
 Source: WTO | Madagascar and the WTO
 (https://www.wto.org/english/res_e/statis_e/statis_maps_iframe_e.htm?country_selected=MDG&optionSelected=3)



Figure 3: Madagascar's Trade (imports) Statistics
 Source: WTO | Madagascar and the WTO
 (https://www.wto.org/english/res_e/statis_e/statis_maps_iframe_e.htm?country_selected=MDG&optionSelected=4)

Geography, size, and location are concerned, they impact both policymaking and execution. As the country's geography changes, so do the implemented policies to take advantage of and minimize the drawbacks. Hence Madagascar prioritizes economic relations through trade in agricultural and marine products. Alongside by observe at the figure above, we can see that geographically Madagascar is close to Africa and Sub-Saharan Africa however exports and imports are mostly to non-African and Sub-Saharan regions.

With this condition, Rajoelina made a strategy 'using' Madagascar's Emergence Initiative from 2018-2023 (economic sector especially), focused on four main goals: first, a growth acceleration rate of 7%; second, improving the efficiency of growth by creating jobs; third, achieving full employment in 10 years; and fourth, involving Madagascar in the process of ecological resilience (Bertelsmann Stiftung's Transformation Index (BTI), 2020).

Cluster 2

Government of Madagascar has a republican system with two legislative chambers and parliament is divided into two chambers as well (US Library of Congress, 2021). Rajoelina, however, disbanded the previous Senate and Parliament and established a new Council for economic and social improvement when he became president in 2010 (Bachelard & Marcus, 2011).

When it comes to making foreign policy, the political system as another domestic variable tied to the type of government has the same influence. Authoritarian governments are nimbler and more efficient in making policy decisions, on the other hand democratic institutions are more complicated and take longer. By establishing a new Council for economic and social improvement, indeed the policy (foreign) that made is more focused on economic and social improvement. Rajoelina was able to come to this decision, Rajoelina's background was different from the previous leaders, some of whom were from the military. Madagascar known, was

formerly a military dictatorship or a totalitarian state during the colonial era.

Madagascar have been 12 presidential elections, 11 parliamentary elections, seven referendums, and four republics since Madagascar's independence from France. The new constitutional order places a high priority on establishing a genuinely free and fair multi-party system. The democratization of the system has led to the growth of political parties of various ideological sorts, in contrast to the Ratsiraka Era, when political organizations could only operate under the National Front for the Defense of the Revolution (FNDR) ideology. It is illegal to create a political party that promotes racial or religious segregation or undermines national cohesion, notwithstanding constitutional protections for this freedom (US Library of Congress, 2021). These political systems, in fact play a significant role in policy making, which is they are vital on (each sectors/ state aspect) representative, where this kind of political system hinder the emergence of other organizations, communities, agencies, or other interest groups that can provide dynamics in policy. These agencies potentially become think-tanks for the state and other sectors so that they can make effective and efficient policies

Along with the changes from the government Madagascar reached at the point where governmental activities are also intertwined with the other interests' groups. Churches and religious organizations, called the Council of Christian Churches in Madagascar (FFKM), significantly influence Madagascar's politics. The Malagasy Lutheran Church, the Roman Catholic Apostolic Church, the Protestant Church of Jesus Christ of Madagascar, and the Malagasy Episcopal Church (EEM) comprise the FFKM. They significantly impact legal items like restricting abortions

and the LGBTI community's struggles with social stigma and prejudice. Following the Transformation Index of the Bertelsmann Stiftung, Madagascar's most prominent actors and political leaders, mostly Protestants and Catholics, utilize their religion as a means of mobilization (BTI, 2020).

Interest groups are dedicated to fostering open communication among corporations and working together to influence public policy. According to a Madagascar National Statistics Institute (Instat) study, 800 associations and non-governmental organizations (NGOs) were registered and tracked in 2013, according to the Madagascar Bank Central report. Sehatra Fanaraha-masonry Fiainam-pirenena (SeFaFi), a religious-based development organization, has successfully integrated the top-down and bottom-up levels to establish efficient communication. However, religious organizations like the Council of Christian Churches are still active in politics. According to Bertelsmann Stiftung's Transformation Index (BTI, 2020), they lead the national reconciliation effort and provide strong presidential election support.

In this approach, Madagascar's foreign policy cannot be at odds with the global trends. It is almost hard to reject global principles such as equality for women, freedom, and other similar social norms, not simply because of political standards (democracy). Influence on a country's political system is as significant as that of the media. We all know that the media has the power to influence public opinion and that the public itself has the power to change the process and the consequences of policymaking. In democracies, where leaders often consult polls before making major policy decisions, it has a greater impact.

Cluster 3

A person's personality and character play an essential role in determining foreign policy's direction, along with other factors. Foreign policymaking relies heavily on this characteristic, which includes cognitive processes and the assumption that 'human agency,' and not the state, is the exclusive source of policymaking (Bojang, 2018).

Madagascar has had 12 presidents of varying origins and circumstances. A former French teacher with liberal socialist ideals, Philibert Tsiranana served as Madagascar's first president from 1960 until 1972. He focused on developing grassroots policy initiatives rather than defending the interests of the wealthy. Madagascar was well-known throughout his tenure, a pragmatic socialist state with a quickly growing economy and relatively steady political stability. Neoliberalism and governmental intervention are the cornerstones of its economic strategy (Presidence.com, n.d.).

Major General Gabriel Ramanantsoa, a graduate of Saint Cyr Military School in France, ruling from 1972 to 1975. Ramanantsoa is well-known for using 'to serve' and 'for the motherland', as a result of an authoritarian regime. Bring Madagascar's economy and society sidelined. After resignation, Richard Ratsimandrava took over the triumph and advocated for political and economic decentralization, giving rural residents a voice in government via his revolutionary ideals. Although Ratsimandrava's initiatives had the backing of the lower middle class, they had the opposite effect, as the affluent class felt threatened. Gilles Andrimahazo served after the killing of President Ratsimandrava. Unlike his two predecessors, he was also a high-ranking military member (Presidence.com, n.d.).

As Madagascar became the Second Republic Didier Ratsiraka, became the next

president. He comes from the military with a solid record of accomplishment. Socialism and Malgachization, together with a system of nationalization, evolved in the economic sector under his leadership. Due to a lack of funding, the envisaged communist regime did not survive long. However, Ratsiraka took office for the second time using the goal of redefining decentralization and implementing privatizations with the state capital. Even though Madagascar's political, economic, and social conditions improved during this time, Ratsiraka's families forced him to step down. Albert Zafy as next leader, was a professor and surgeon in the field of medicine. His rule was marred by political and economic unrest. Norbert Lala Ratsirahonana took over as head of state after Zafy failed to govern the country (Presidence.com, n.d.).

In sum, an entrepreneur Marc Ravalomanana took over presidential. His milk business has grown significantly and is now one of Madagascar's best-known industrial enterprises. Strong legislators support Ravalomanana's leadership. Even while it restricts the actions of normal troops, it nonetheless assures that their zone is safe from harm. It harms entrepreneurship and commerce. He urged Malagasy to put in the effort and promote multilateral cooperation. Ravalomanana implemented several changes during this period, including reviving decentralization and reducing economic, political, and social concentration (Presidence.com, n.d.). Last, Andry Rajoelina is businessperson in printing, advertising, radio, television, and event organizer Rajoelina was recognized in Madagascar before becoming a politician as mayor of Atananarivo. Rajoelina is the leader of the Tangguh Malagasy Youth Movement (Tanora Malagasy Vonoa).

It indicates that the military has dominated Madagascar for more than two

decades since the colonial era. Nevertheless, under Rajoelina, the country is more like the conciliator that shuns pressure and friction. It is possible to deduce the motivations behind Madagascar's foreign policy by examining its current state considering the factors identified by Bojang earlier in this section. Under Rajoelina's leadership, Madagascar's economy has adopted a more liberal policy than other African nations. In order to boost the country's economy, Madagascar has made its natural gas reserves available to outside investors. According to the authors' earlier explanation of determinants, numerous factors contributed to Rajoelina's decision to implement this strategy. The first is Madagascar's lack of human, technological, and infrastructural resources. Indeed, improvements in human resources, such as rising levels of education and literacy, are occurring every year. Rajoelina inherits a better-built city due to his forebears' hard work. Even yet, Madagascar still has a long way to go before it can become self-sufficient in processing its natural resources, particularly natural gas.

However, this closeness and distance does not seem to have been built only because of the background of the leader as well as the facts on Madagascar conditions and the calculation of profit and loss from the socio-economic sector. In fact, massive migration occupied most of Madagascar prior to the early 16th century. Malagasy, the native name of Madagascar, is descended from a mix of Asian and African ancestry (the indigenous peoples of Madagascar), Asian customs and characteristics prevail in this area. Malagasy is spoken throughout the Asia-Pacific area because Madagascarans are related to Malaysians in terms of ethnicity (Isnaeni, 2012; Kent, 2021; Media Indonesia, 2016). Over this latest year, due to French colonial Madagascar is a

developing nation since its economy relies mainly on natural industries like forestry, farming, and fishing, which are frequently less promising for long-term economic development than other sectors. In terms of this variable, the history has also had an impact on how the country (Madagascar) is much closer to non-African countries

Conclusion

By 'bargaining' Madagascar's economy to the largest potential international investment by PEM, Rajoelina aims to improve the country's economy. To improve his country's economy, he has been influenced by his past as a businessperson/ entrepreneur. The aim is adopted by Rajoelina, who sees Madagascar's natural potential and strategic position as a commerce route and judges it to be favorable.

However, he also understands that they do not yet have the needed human and technological resources. Furthermore, because of the area's crime problem and lack of defenses, Rajoelina has come to understand the need to develop strong connections with numerous nations rather than concentrate his efforts on a few. United State, Russia, China, India, Mozambique, and so forth, are present in Madagascar, due to Madagascar's strengths and limitations, these nations. They have lofty goals to ensure the safety of their international business partners.

In Rajoelina's leadership, numerous investments enter Madagascar without 'disrupting' his country's political system, which is different if the United States enters, this connection is even better. In addition, China's Belt Road Initiatives (BRI) need a broader international outreach to complete the project.

A country's foreign policy is not just

dependent on how other nations' interests and policies, on the other hand rationality and 'see what we own', play a role in helping countries' to shape their foreign policies. In this paper, there are three clusters made from Bojang's research on domestic determinants on the making of foreign policy.

Finally, in the case of Madagascar under the leadership of Rajoelina, the author concludes that the foreign policy made is strongly influenced by the natural conditions of the state, the background of the leader, as well as the

political conditions of the country. Naturally, Madagascar has strong potential from the agriculture and fisheries sector so that it becomes the main sector in the political policy strategy or in other words puts forward a subtle (social-economic) approach. The subtle approach can also be achieved because Rajoelina himself is a former entrepreneur whose psychological impact or the way he leads his country's. Lastly, Madagascar's changing political conditions in a more liberal direction have made the subtle approach easier.

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