

# ICWA LETTERS

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*John B. Robinson is an Institute Fellow studying the struggle of the people and island of Madagascar to survive.*

## If Only the Rain Would Stop

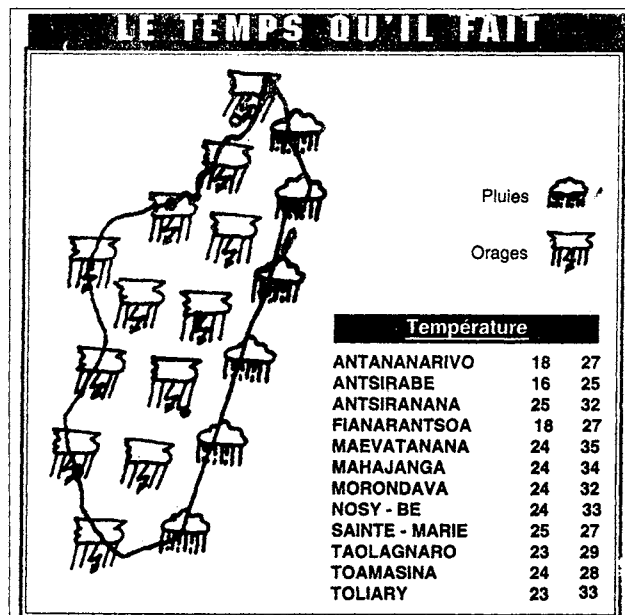
ANTISANANA, Madagascar

January 10, 1997

By John B. Robinson

Out my window the rain falls so hard I can see individual streams of water descending directly from the open sky. In the bush, some villages can be reached only by farm tractors, others only by walking for hours through knee-deep mud, still others are completely inaccessible by any means and totally cut off from the human world beyond. In this waterlogged atmosphere the Malgash slogged through the first un-predetermined Presidential election in their 1,000-year history. The ambiguous result, with no clear winner or loser, is typical of Madagascar, where the red earth sweeps off hillsides scorched clean of vegetation, and no one person can be held responsible for the disaster.

The roots of the recent Presidential election reach back to the late eighteenth century, when the Merina tribe under the leadership of King Andrianampoinimerina (1787-1810), and his son Ramada I (1810-1828) attacked and conquered most of the other tribes on Madagascar. Their vision, a unified Madagascar governed by one ruler, was never quite attained. Nevertheless, the royals created an impressive centralized kingdom (ruled in later years by a prime minister who married three successive queens), which governed more or less unhindered until the French invasion and colonization in 1896. It was the French, in fact, who realized the concept of a nation-state in Madagascar. The simplistic idea that the entire island of Madagascar should be governed by one tribe (Merina or White Frenchmen) was not a natural idea for the other 48 ethnic groups, some with their own kings, armies and well-developed administrations. In any case, the French treated Madagascar as a single political entity during the time of their domination (1897-1960), and recent Malagasy history starts with the Enabling Act (*loi cadre*) passed in France in 1956, allowing the Malgash



*The weather report  
the day of the election*

to fill administrative posts and chart the future of their own country.

Above and beyond all other things the Malgash are islanders, but running down the spine of the island is an immense plateau. The people who live on this plateau come from several ethnic groups and are referred to as "*les gens du Haut Plateau*, (literally "people of the high plateau")" or simply lumped together as *les Merinas*. Everybody else, those who live by herding cattle in the great southern desert, those who chop wood in the enormous rain forest on the Eastern escarpment, those who follow the fish in dugouts on the West coast, those who smuggle goods on the northwestern rivers, and those far up North, cut off behind the mountains and sweltering under the equatorial heat, all of them, are *cotiers* (people of the coast). The division or agreement between the *merina* and the *cotiers* has been the determining factor in every political decision since King Andrianampoinimena embarked on the forced unification of the "big island."

During the time of the colony, the French recognized 18 ethnic groups and divided the territory into six different departments. One of their original goals was to break the "pride and power" of the Merina, and before they left they carefully placed *cotiers* into positions of responsibility. It is important to note that the French suppressed a massive revolutionary movement in 1947, which left 100,000 dead. The subsequent absence of an organized elite allowed France to select the leader of the transition, Philibert Tsiranana, and to dictate terms for the transfer of power.

Philibert Tsiranana, a *cotier*, personally chose which people, from which ethnicity, would replace the French bureaucrats during his two years of conditional power (1958-1960). Naturally enough, with the full support of his hand-picked administrators, and the lack of a powerful rival, he won the first presidential elections by a landslide. The election was predetermined and the out-

come known well in advance. Independence (June 26, 1960) went smoothly and Tsiranana ruled Madagascar until 1972 without serious opposition until a series of short-term natural catastrophes (a killer cyclone and a drought), coupled with his own brain hemorrhage, forced him to rely on the military who consequently pushed him from office.

During Tsiranana's time, French texts were used in schools, the level of education and foreign investment remained relatively high, and slow-but-steady economic growth began to improve the standard of living for some of the peasants living in absolute poverty. An early attempt to teach school in the Malagasy language led to riots where students held up banners reading *malgachisation* = *merinization*. Rather than learn to read and write the "official" Malagasy language of the *merina*, the *cotiers* preferred to spend their school years mastering an extremely complex foreign tongue. The same situation exists today in Uganda, where the inflexible and violent tribes communicate with each other in English.

Profiting from the lack of authority, and under the guise of "creating stability," a military directorate headed by Gabriel Ramanantsoa, a *merina*, took control of Madagascar in 1972. The military directorate ran Madagascar until 1975, when it resolved the tricky problem of maintaining power while appearing to remain neutral by putting Commodore (now Admiral) Didier Ratsiraka, a *cotier*, in power and organizing an "open" referendum to elect him President of the Second Republic. Ratsiraka had no serious challengers (especially after the most prominent one was machine-gunned to death in the center of Antananarivo), and he maintained power for 16 years by creating a new constitution and rigging all subsequent elections.

Didier Ratsiraka used a sophisticated blend of North Korean-communist inspired ideology, nationalism and tribal appeal to sink Madagascar deep into misery with-



Lack of security

ZAFY ALBERT

## “Avec 6/20 on avait le bac”

Le Pr. Zafy Albert devait hier lancer des piques à l'endroit de la politique éducative de la Deuxième République. « Au cours du régime socialiste il fut un temps où ceux qui avaient seulement obtenu une moyenne de 6/20 furent admis au baccalauréat... », a-t-il dit. Et le professeur d'ajouter que la malgachisation à outrance entreprise par le gouvernement de l'époque, a été une véritable catastrophe pour nos jeunes: « Dans les écoles, la langue française a été minimisée, alors que les enfants des hauts dignitaires du régime envoyaient leurs progénitures étudier en France ou dans les lycées français... ».

*Education*

out immediately feeling the backlash. His most popular achievement was the *malgachisation* of all education. According to his plan, all schoolchildren would learn the language of their ancestors in the land of their ancestors.

However, due to the entrenched resistance to “official” Malagasy, no textbooks were ever printed and no study plans or national goals were devised. As a result, more than four-fifths of the people born after 1970 are illiterate; their elders refer to them as “the lost generation.”

In 1991 Ratsiraka was forced from power by a popular movement that paralyzed the country for eight months. His final blunder was the August 10th attack on a nonviolent protest march to the presidential palace. Guards opened fire on his direct orders (audiotaped by a bodyguard), a helicopter dropped grenades (videotaped by the international press corps), and panicked demonstrators were blown to bits by mines placed in rice paddies alongside the road.

Professor Albert Zafy, a *cotier*, leader of the movement

## Peut-on oublier Ratsiraka et son régime ?

P. 2,3

QUE SONT DEVENUS LES DOSSIERS? ....

- Colonel Ratsimandrava

- Kung-fu PIERRE-BE



- Et l' Affaire de la Tuerie du 10 Août à Mavoloha.



A moins d'être vraiment aveugle, Ratsiraka -et qui sait? le peuple-, ne peut décemment pas mettre une croix sur tous ces crimes-là

**Le massacre du 14 Mai**

**1982(Sakaraha);65 morts**

**tués par lesForces Armées Nationales Populaires**



*Past Repression*

against Ratsiraka, was elected President of the Third Republic. The election, like Tsiranana's first, was a change of power more than an election. If Zafy had not won, a civil war might have erupted. One of Zafy's first acts was the redesignation of French as the official language of learning (schools are once again trying to teach the majority of their subjects in French — which begs the question, who are the teachers?).

After Zafy's impeachment a few months ago by members of the National Assembly weary of his inept, corrupt, laissez-faire style, Madagascar prepared itself for the first open-ended Presidential election in its history.

The elections were organized along the same principles as elections in France; that is to say, a first round of voting to narrow the field of candidates, and a second round soon after to give an absolute majority (50.01 percent) to one person or the other. Among the egoists who presented themselves for President were: Zafy, Ratsiraka, the prime minister, the leader of the National Assembly, the Mayor of Antananarivo, a swath of former ministers, a couple of businessmen and various tribal leaders.

The campaigns were a revealing look at how the Malgash perceive great men; or rather, how powerful men perceive themselves. One poster showed a picture of a brutal, heavy-set businessman seated behind his desk, in shirtsleeves, holding a portable telephone to his ear. Another, the photograph of a candidate wrapped in shotgun shells firing at wild ducks. My personal favor-



Corruption

ite was a fat, fortyish-looking businessman, his profile highlighted from the background crowd by image processing, with his arms outstretched toward the viewer. The subliminal message: Are you ready to be saved? Ratsiraka's poster looked like an angled passport photo, the subject remaining rigid, his regard fixed on something ahead and to his right. Zafy's most disseminated image was a photograph of himself relaxing on a couch, profile slouched, arm extended horizontally along the armrest — the picture of a man at ease with his own omnipotence.

At the ballot box on November 30th the voters picked up a colored piece of paper bearing the candidate's symbol (or photograph — hence the dopey picture of Zafy in a straw hat, which won him many votes), placed it in an envelope and put it into one of two locked ballot boxes. Each ballot box had two locks, one key held by the chairman of the local election committee, the other by the oldest person in the village. The first round of voting went smoothly, with no violence and few irregularities reported. The winners: Ratsiraka

### 1° Fracture sociale grave

- 75% de la population vit en dessous du seuil de pauvreté.
- 65% ne mange pas à sa faim
- Le pouvoir d'achat du fonctionnaire moyen a baissé 50% en trois ans.
- Taux de déscolarisation: 40%
- On vole un stylo et on tue pour moins
- Crime des crimes: on vole des restes mortels dans les tombeaux
- Valeurs familiale, morale et culturelle déstabilisées.

### Translation

#### Serious Social Problems

- 75% of the population live below the poverty level
- 65% do not eat when they are hungry
- A state employee's purchasing power has dropped 50% in three years.
- Percentage of children who do not attend school: 40%
- People steal pens and kill for less.
- The crime of crimes: people steal the clothes of the dead from their coffins.
- Family values, morality and culture are destabilised.

*The State of the Country According To Ratsiraka's Propaganda*

# EXPRESS

par Elisé Ranarivelo



*In the end, the Malgash were given no new choices. "I know both of you down to the tip of your toes." "And so what?"*

35 percent, Zafy 20 percent, Herizo (the fat young businessman) 16 percent. All others received negligible percentages.

The second round of voting took place one month later (December 27) and neither of the two candidates who made it into the final selection, Ratsiraka and Zafy, bothered to campaign. In the very last days before the election, however, a flurry of accusations, counter-accusations and tales of misdeeds filled the press.

Ratsiraka, whose propaganda machine is quite slick, represented himself as a reborn humanist-ecologist. He blamed Zafy for the economic failure of the country, the illiteracy rate, the lack of personal security, widespread hunger and rampant corruption. In a particularly well-placed barb, his supporters announced that \$80 million

dollars a year is lost through the illegal trade of sapphires. Rumors have it that two days before his impeachment Zafy had whole map sections of sapphire-rich territory transferred into his family's legal possession.

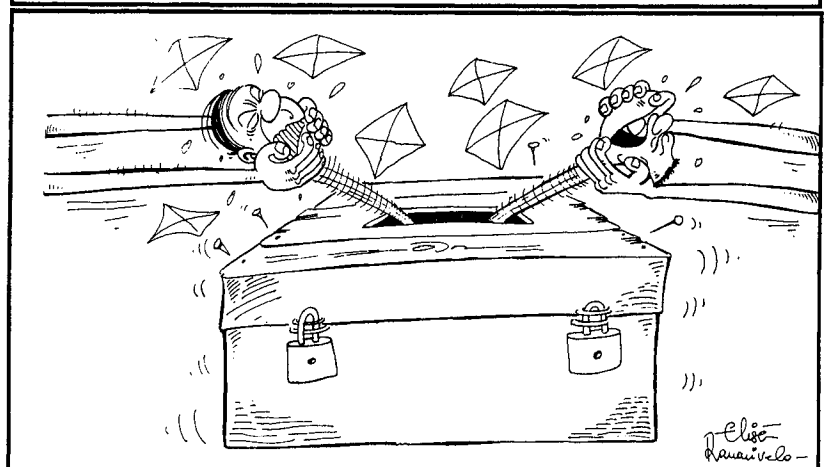
For his part, Zafy commented on the fall in educational standards under Ratsiraka (only six out of 20 earn a high school diploma), and several bloody episodes of repression. His main thrust it seems, was to say, you know who Ratsiraka is and what he has done. Need I say more?

The highlight of the derogatory, revelatory exchanges was supposed to be an American-style televised debate between the two candidates. During the faceoff, however, very little happened. This can be explained by another theme in Malagasy politics: Although the game itself is rough and tumble, with real money and real power at

*Despite fears of massive fraud, the election seemed to go smoothly.*

# EXPRESS

par Elisé Ranarivelo



stake, the players are almost invariably the same. In other words, your opponent of today may be your patron tomorrow, or vice-versa, and all bets must be hedged. Another explanation for the political standoff is the theory of assured mutual destruction — neither ex-president could afford to start revealing the other's secrets without risk of total annihilation.

Last week the second round of voting took place at the height of the rainy season, a crisis period for stranded Malagasy peasants. Why the election was held under the rain and in the mud is as good a question as any, and I personally believe both candidates thought it would strengthen their position: Ratsiraka, because the bulk of his support comes from urban dwellers; Zafy, because the election results could be manipulated more easily in isolated rural villages. The votes, all tabulated by hand, took 10 days to seep in to Antananarivo from around the country. They were called in by the national police over single side-band radios, transported by taxi-brousse, collected by helicopter, picked up by Air Madagascar planes. The last published result? 50.12 percent for Admiral Didier Ratsiraka, 49.88 percent for Professor Albert Zafy. A catastrophe.

The big surprise of the election was the enormous abstention rate — more than half the eligible voters stayed home. Madagascar has a population of 14 million people. Of these, six million are eligible to vote. Of these, three million did not vote, meaning that about 1.5 mil-

lion votes are all that are needed to win the election. There are many theories about the abstention rate: the difficulty in obtaining voter registration papers (for example, 40 percent of the population do not possess national identity cards, a prerequisite to vote), lack of transportation, lack of information (some reports suggested villagers in the South did not know Ratsiraka had ever left office), the mud. Quite frankly I think it is none of these. I think the Malgash are fed up.

After 16 years of dictatorship and three years of neglect, the Malgash were offered the same two leaders who forced 75 percent of the population below the bare-minimum poverty level. The silent majority said, "no thank you."

What now? Given that Madagascar is used to a strong, decisive leader with a clear mandate to govern, there is a sense of chaos. The Government administration, and hence a large part of the nationalized economy, is paralyzed, with those in positions of power doing as they please, when they please. Personal security is precarious. But most importantly, the split between the *merina* and the *cotiers* has bubbled to the surface once again.

For the election, the country was divided into six regions. The last published results, (see pages 8 and 9) before they were denounced and public posting prohibited are as follows:

**For Didier Ratsiraka:**

Antananarivo (National capital, Haut Plateau)	57%
Fianarantsoa (Haut Plateau)	51%
Toamasina (Ratsiraka's home territory, East, <i>cotiers</i> )	57%
Total # of votes: 1,584,363	

**For Albert Zafy:**

Antsiranana (Zafy's home region, North, <i>cotiers</i> )	77%
Toliara (extreme South, <i>cotiers</i> )	55%
Mahajanga (West, <i>cotiers</i> )	65%
Total # of votes: 1,541,442	

The vote was purely tribal. The Haut Plateau and Ratsiraka's home territory voted for him, the rest of the country for Zafy. Zafy's well known racial apathy toward the *merina*, and Ratsiraka's negligence of the *cotiers* during his time in office, heavily influenced the vote. A quick look at the chart and a glance at a map will show the country completely polarized.

In the past few days both Zafy and Ratsiraka have denounced the official results. As a consequence, all votes will be recounted, and the final verdict may be released sometime in February. The impartiality and finality of the results is called into question by the current prime minister's unqualified support for Zafy, the national police's (and the military's) support for Ratsiraka, human errors in a vote that must be counted by hand, and slight irregularities that may now tip the balance in



Didier Ratsiraka

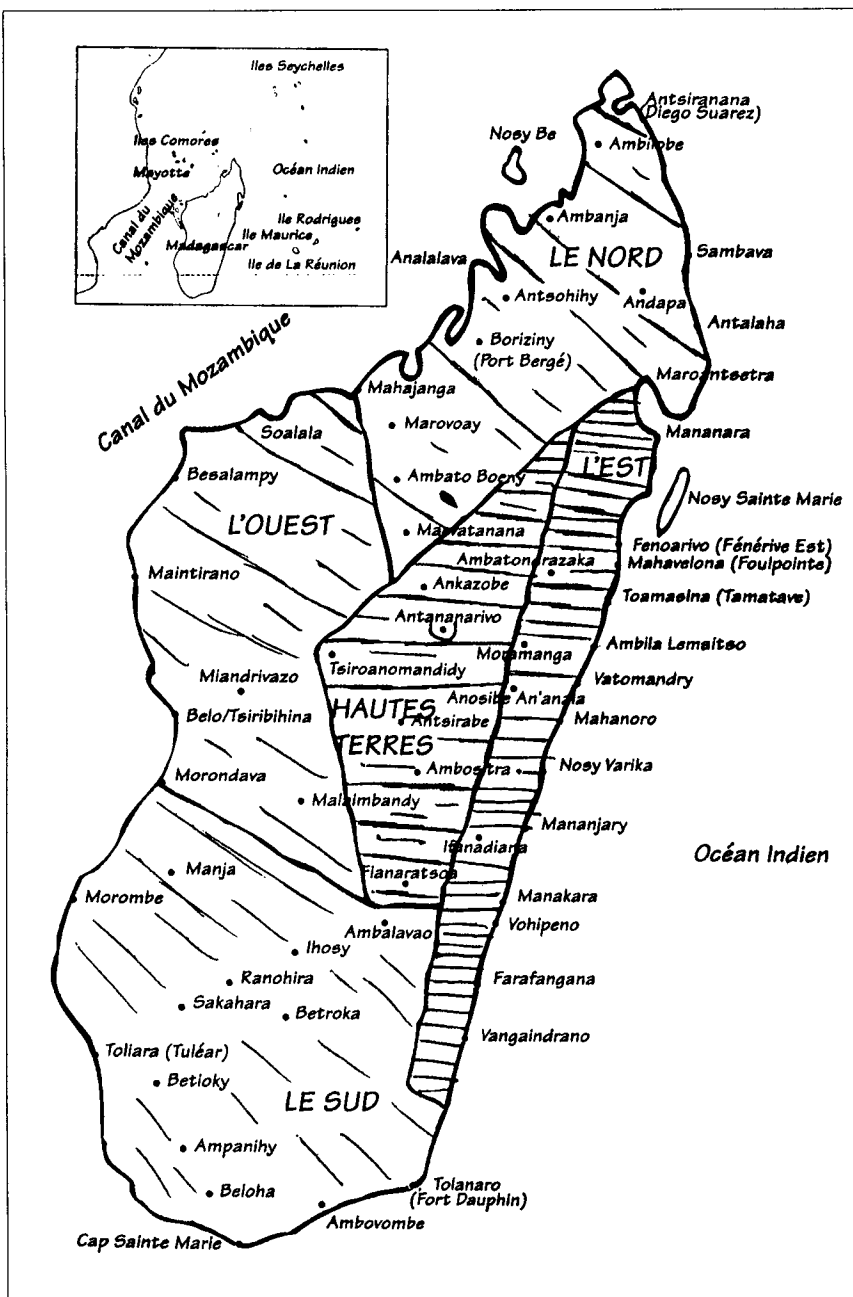
favor of one candidate or the other.

In conclusion, outcome of the first unpredictable election in the history of Madagascar is impossible to predict—a stalemate, the result of intractable historical tension between the *merina* and the *cotiers*. The high abstention rate, due in some degree to the rain, is in my opinion more a sign of political resignation rather than organized exclusion or intimidation. In fact, the election was fairly well organized and the deadlock seems to be the result of an actual parity of votes.

There is a popular statue sold in the capital that depicts a zebu (a native bull) and a crocodile locked in

mortal combat. The crocodile has its jaws clamped tight over the zebu's nostrils, and the zebu is trampling the crocodile to death. Like the *merina* and the *cotiers*, neither combatant can win a clear victory, and the outcome will probably be fatal for both.

Conventional wisdom predicts one of two possible courses for Madagascar in the upcoming year. Prediction one: Madagascar has reached the point of no return ("*on a passé le cap*"), with social and political unrest sure to explode (*c'est la guerre*). Prediction two: Madagascar will limp through this year as it has muddled through the past twenty years; directionless, hungry, and self-destructive, a threat and a malediction only to itself. □



On this map, the "Hautes Terres" and "L'est" voted for Ratsirava. The "Nord," "L'Ouest" and "Sud" for Zafy.

**RESULTATS NATIONAUX PAR FIVONDRONANA CONNUS LE 06/01/97**

FIVONDRONANA	Nb B.V	INSCRITS	VOTANTS	B ou N	SUFF. EXPRIMÉS	PART.	Albert ZAFY		Didier RATSIRAKA	
							NRE VOIX	%	NRE VOIX	%
<b>ANTANANARIVO</b>										
ANTA/RIVO-RENIHOHITRA	394/394	476771	252023	14930	237093	52,86	112800	47,58	124293	52,42
ANTA/RIVO-ATSIMONDRAHO	233/233	163345	78536	4413	74123	48,08	28814	38,87	45309	61,73
ANTA/RIVO-AVARADRANO	207/207	116565	54227	3287	50990	46,56	19426	38,10	31554	61,90
AMBATOLAMPY	146/146	81085	43989	1980	42009	54,25	12100	28,80	29909	71,20
AMBOHIDRATRIMO	306/306	121495	58002	3448	54554	47,74	18412	33,75	36142	66,25
ANDRAMASINA	88/88	56104	30415	2012	28403	54,21	13321	46,90	15082	53,10
ANJOZOROBE	174/174	59269	36480	1446	35034	61,55	15657	44,69	19377	55,31
ANKAZOBE	141/141	43856	23134	868	22266	52,75	10362	46,54	11904	53,46
ANTANIFOTSY	231/231	104297	56408	1539	54869	54,08	16157	29,45	38712	70,55
ANTSIRABE-I	72/72	76550	42776	2183	40593	55,88	15743	38,78	24850	61,22
ANTSIRABE-II	206/206	121778	72684	1978	70706	59,69	21345	30,19	49361	69,81
ARIVONIMAMO	229/229	96688	53194	2783	50411	55,02	19363	38,41	31048	61,59
BETAFO	196/196	125248	62497	1832	60665	49,90	28411	46,83	32254	53,17
FARATSIHO	98/98	61727	31278	803	30475	50,67	16484	54,09	13991	45,91
FENOARIBO-BE	67/67	32821	14925	532	14393	45,47	7021	48,78	7372	51,22
MANJAKANDRIANA	297/297	86205	54633	4819	49814	63,38	23290	46,75	26524	53,25
MIARINARIVO	135/135	73320	41356	1705	39651	56,40	20891	52,69	18760	47,31
SOAVINANDRIANA	124/124	62797	35793	1402	34391	57,00	18785	54,62	15606	45,38
TSIROANOMANDIDY	161/161	98434	50958	1791	49167	51,77	23181	47,15	25986	52,85
TOTAL	3505/3505	2058355	1093358	53751	1039607	53,12	441563	42,47	598044	57,53
<b>ANTSIRANANA</b>										
ANTSIRANANA-I	24/24	40107	19485	377	19108	48,58	11744	61,46	7364	38,54
ANTSIRANANA-II	123/123	35799	18163	187	17976	50,74	12618	70,19	5358	29,81
AMBANJA	162/162	56539	34201	296	33905	60,49	28729	84,73	5176	15,27
AMBILOBE	156/156	76293	35281	292	34989	46,24	27027	77,24	7962	22,76
ANDAPA	120/131	65196	36659	308	36351	56,23	19241	52,93	17110	47,07
ANTALAHA	137/137	74374	40654	302	40352	54,66	33515	83,06	6837	16,94
NOSY-BE	32/32	21666	11386	102	11284	52,55	9204	81,57	2080	18,43
SAMBAVA	229/230	103678	62742	521	62221	60,52	52177	83,86	10044	16,14
VOHÉMAR	150/150	72927	39833	322	39511	54,62	33540	84,89	5971	15,11
TOTAL	1133/1145	546579	298404	2707	295697	54,59	227795	77,04	67902	22,96
<b>TOLIARA</b>										
TOLIARA-I	56/56	49574	23837	330	23507	48,08	11830	50,33	11677	49,67
TOLIARA-II	176/176	61282	30791	234	30557	50,24	15023	49,16	15534	50,84
AMBOASARY	157/167	62104	34507	215	34292	55,56	22279	64,97	12013	35,03
AMBOVOMBE	243/243	91769	56539	377	56162	61,61	32368	57,63	23794	42,37
AMPANIHY	195/250	66124	33683	114	33569	50,94	16479	49,09	17090	50,91
ANKAZOABO-ATSIMO	60/60	22678	10770	102	10668	47,49	6701	62,81	3967	37,19
BEKILY	209/209	52252	29364	116	29248	56,20	15666	53,56	13582	46,44
BELOHA	66/77	26644	8608	63	8545	32,31	2774	32,46	5771	67,54
BELO/TSIRIBIHINA	93/100	30096	11948	94	11854	39,70	7294	61,53	4560	38,47
BENENITRA	38/38	9400	4307	26	4281	45,82	2358	55,08	1923	44,92
BEROROHA	61/62	14403	7532	101	7431	52,29	4395	59,14	3036	40,86
BETIOKY-ATSIMO	170/170	67741	37042	212	36830	54,68	25495	69,22	11335	30,78
BETROKA	158/160	58699	21408	220	21188	36,47	10922	51,55	10266	48,45
TOLAGNARO	131/131	77394	34421	639	33782	44,48	20927	61,95	12855	38,05
MAHABO	51/70	27750	8475	86	8389	30,54	4355	51,91	4034	48,09
MANJA	46/46	22017	8810	92	8718	40,01	5191	59,54	3527	40,46
MIANDRIVAZO	98/98	39267	17507	200	17307	44,58	9625	55,61	7682	44,39
MOROMBE	56/57	35245	11519	117	11402	32,68	6869	60,24	4533	39,76
MORONDAVA	79/90	34226	15730	182	15548	45,96	7280	46,82	8268	53,18
SAKARAH	68/74	24749	11538	115	11423	46,62	5859	51,29	5564	48,71
TSIHOMBE	54/54	29412	10709	89	10620	36,41	3484	32,81	7136	67,19
TOTAL	2265/2388	902826	429045	3724	425321	47,52	237174	55,76	188147	44,24

*Last posted election results before they were banned and publication prohibited.*



FIVONDRONANA	Nb B.V	INSCRITS	VOTANTS	B ou N	SUFF. EXPRIMÉS	PART.	Albert Zafy		Didier RATSIRAKA	
							NRE VOIX	%	NRE VOIX	%
<b>FIANARANTSOA</b>										
FIANARANTSOA-I	55/55	62256	26279	902	25377	42,21	11733	46,23	13644	53,77
FIANARANTSOA-II	310/310	140426	71732	2105	69627	51,08	46343	66,56	23284	33,44
AMBALAVAO	153/153	64081	31212	803	30409	48,71	19490	64,09	10919	35,91
AMBATOFINANDRAHANA	64/82	34704	13062	263	12799	37,64	8139	63,59	4660	36,41
AMBOHIMAHASOA	155/155	63829	32854	992	31862	51,47	19623	61,59	12239	38,41
AMBOSITRA	266/266	89713	46097	1449	44648	51,38	25166	56,37	19482	43,63
BEPOTAKA	35/35	11079	5598	24	5574	50,53	2781	49,89	2793	50,11
FANDRIANA	284/284	63442	37608	1522	36086	59,28	15413	42,71	20673	57,29
FARAFANGANA	215/215	98700	40817	434	40383	41,35	18864	46,71	21519	53,29
IKONGO	150/163	51707	20017	285	19732	38,71	9359	47,43	10373	52,57
IAKORA	00/41	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
IFANADIANA	137/137	52424	16809	284	16525	32,06	7163	43,35	9362	56,65
IHOSY	102/136	32406	14687	213	14474	45,32	6344	43,83	8130	56,17
IKALAMAVONY	25/60	11703	5109	143	4966	43,66	2276	45,83	2690	54,17
IVOHIBE	37/37	13500	4824	96	4728	35,73	2719	57,51	2009	42,49
MANAKARA	222/222	107048	40642	580	40062	37,97	13189	32,92	26873	67,08
MANANDRIANA	100/100	29517	13647	446	13201	46,23	7645	57,91	5556	42,09
MANANJARY	238/238	91865	35129	610	34519	38,24	8281	23,99	26238	76,01
MIDONGY-SUD	47/47	10642	4222	40	4182	39,67	1506	36,01	2676	63,99
NOSY VARIKA	215/215	77779	31769	403	31366	40,85	6056	19,31	25310	80,69
VANGAINDRANO	172/172	79315	28927	299	28628	36,47	13997	48,89	14631	51,11
VOHIPENO	126/126	45518	15673	250	15423	34,43	5852	37,92	9571	62,06
VONDROZO	82/82	27708	11486	69	11417	41,45	7675	67,22	3742	32,78
<b>TOTAL</b>	3190/3331	1259362	548200	12212	535988	43,53	259614	48,44	276374	51,56
<b>MAHAJANGA</b>										
MAHAJANGA-I	51/51	58828	23665	535	23120	40,21	12039	52,07	11081	47,93
MAHAJANGA-II	46/46	21253	8437	100	8337	39,70	4660	55,90	3677	44,10
AMBATO-BOENI	57/107	32958	13013	184	12829	39,48	4900	38,19	7929	61,81
AMBATOMAINITY	22/22	10038	4073	64	4009	40,58	2386	59,52	1623	40,48
ANALALAVA	129/166	31034	15897	98	15799	51,22	12827	81,19	2972	18,81
ANTSALOVA	35/44	11266	3789	34	3755	33,63	2174	57,90	1581	42,10
ANTSOHIHY	144/144	43045	25382	201	25181	58,97	21397	84,97	3784	15,03
BEALANANA	105/123	32291	16993	142	16851	52,62	12346	73,27	4505	26,73
BEPANDRIANA-NORD	79/155	31948	17131	125	17006	53,62	14703	86,46	2303	13,54
BESALAMPY	54/68	12791	5318	51	5267	41,58	2822	53,58	2445	46,42
KANDREHO	21/21	4895	2693	54	2639	55,02	1381	52,33	1258	47,67
MAEVATANANA	109/128	42789	21227	413	20814	49,61	7027	33,76	13787	66,24
MAINTIRANO	88/93	23763	9374	103	9271	39,45	4804	51,82	4467	48,18
MAMPIKONY	122/122	40910	20942	188	20754	51,19	15050	72,52	5704	27,48
MANDRITSARA	219/233	74546	43630	356	43274	58,53	39280	90,77	3994	9,23
MAROVOAY	89/89	58997	24849	379	24470	42,12	11714	47,87	12756	52,13
MITSINJO	59/62	24189	8165	115	8050	33,76	4948	61,47	3102	38,53
MORAFENOBE	16/27	5557	1646	22	1624	29,62	841	51,79	783	48,21
PORT-BERGE	144/146	47491	23362	181	23181	49,19	18880	81,45	4301	18,55
SOALALA	20/29	10701	3295	47	3248	30,79	2348	72,29	900	27,71
TSARATANANA	111/111	37726	18330	331	17999	48,59	6307	35,04	11692	64,96
<b>TOTAL</b>	1720/1987	657016	311211	3723	307478	47,37	202834	65,97	104644	34,03
<b>TOAMASINA</b>										
TOAMASINA-I	140/140	72712	52226	1624	50602	71,83	21777	43,04	28825	56,96
TOAMASINA-II	139/139	71670	28596	377	28219	39,90	7404	26,24	20815	73,76
AMBATONDRAZAKA	136/136	102715	50537	1212	49325	49,20	14070	28,53	35255	71,47
AMPARAFARAVOLA	150/150	90324	47228	952	46276	52,29	24276	52,46	22000	47,54
ANDILAMENA	49/59	24086	11167	156	11011	46,36	8816	80,07	2195	19,93
ANOSIBE AN'ALA	75/76	28867	14403	191	14212	49,89	879	6,18	13333	93,82
ANTANAMBAO-MANAMPOTSY	73/73	17303	9214	116	9098	53,25	773	8,50	8325	91,50
BRICKAVILLE	171/171	62340	33308	430	32878	53,43	3736	11,36	29142	88,64
FENERIVE-EST	151/151	94447	39299	474	38825	41,61	17254	44,44	21571	55,56
MAHANORO	194/194	75420	42387	246	42141	56,20	2016	4,78	40125	95,22
MANANARA-NORD	111/111	52641	29018	267	28751	55,12	21205	73,75	7546	26,25
MAROANTSETRA	133/143	64679	28403	405	27998	43,91	19595	69,99	8403	30,01
MAROLAMBO	124/125	52677	29990	260	29730	56,93	2261	7,61	27469	92,39
MORAMANGA	172/172	86259	46397	1519	44878	53,79	8320	18,54	36558	81,46
SAINTE-MARIE	17/17	7940	4997	205	4792	62,93	2332	48,66	2460	51,34
SOANIERANA-IVONGO	45/64	28496	12023	140	11883	42,19	6025	50,70	5858	49,30
VATOMANDRY	147/168	46746	28017	257	27760	59,93	1876	6,76	25884	93,24
VAVATENINA	97/97	65688	23547	212	23335	35,85	9847	42,20	13488	57,80
<b>TOTAL</b>	2124/2186	1045010	530757	9043	521714	50,79	172462	33,06	349252	66,94

*Last posted election results before they were banned and publication prohibited.*



## Institute of Current World Affairs

### Fellows and their Activities

**Adam Smith Albion.** A former research associate at the Institute for EastWest Studies at Prague in the Czech Republic, Adam is spending two years studying and writing about Turkey and Central Asia, and their importance as actors the Middle East and the former Soviet bloc. A Harvard graduate (1988; History), Adam has completed the first year of a two-year M. Litt. Degree in Russian/East European history and languages at Oxford University. [EUROPE/RUSSIA]

**Christopher P. Ball.** An economist, Chris Ball holds a B.A. from the University of Alabama in Huntsville and attended the 1992 International Summer School at the London School of Economics. He studied Hungarian for two years in Budapest while serving as Project Director for the Hungarian Atlantic Council. As an Institute Fellow, he is studying and writing about Hungarian minorities in the former Soviet-bloc nations of East and Central Europe. [EUROPE/RUSSIA]

**William F. Foote.** Formerly a financial analyst with Lehman Brothers' Emerging Markets Group, Willy Foote is examining the economic substructure of Mexico and the impact of free-market reforms on Mexico's people, society and politics. Willy holds a Bachelor's degree from Yale University (history), a Master's from the London School of Economics (Development Economics; Latin America) and studied Basque history in San Sebastian, Spain. He carried out intensive Spanish-language studies in Guatemala in 1990 and then worked as a copy editor and Reporter for the *Buenos Aires Herald* from 1990 to 1992. [THE AMERICAS]

**John Harris.** A would-be lawyer with an undergraduate degree in History from the University of Chicago, John reverted to international studies after a year of internship in the product-liability department of a Chicago law firm and took two years of postgraduate Russian at the University of Washington in Seattle. Based in Moscow during his fellowship, John is studying and writing about Russia's nascent political parties as they begin the difficult transition from identities based on the personalities of their leaders to positions based on national and international issues. [EUROPE/RUSSIA]

**Pramila Jayapal.** Born in India, Pramila left when she was four and went through primary and secondary education in Indonesia. She graduated from Georgetown University in 1986 and won an M.B.A. from the Kellogg School of Management in Evanston, Illinois in 1990. She has worked as a corporate analyst for PaineWebber, an accounts manager for the world's leading producer of cardiac defibrillators and manager of a \$7 million devel-

oping-country revolving-loan fund for the Program for Appropriate Technology in Health (PATH) in Seattle. Pramila is tracing her roots in India, and studying social issues involving religion, the status of women, population and AIDS. [SOUTH ASIA]

**Marc Michaelson.** A program manager for Save the Children in The Gambia, Marc has moved across Africa to the Horn, there to assess nation-building in Eritrea and Ethiopia, and (conditions permitting) availing and un-availing humanitarian efforts in northern Somalia and southern Sudan. With a B.A. in political science from Tufts, a year of non-degree study at the London School of Economics and a Master's in International Peace Studies from Notre Dame, he describes his postgraduate years as "seven years' experience in international development programming and peace research." [sub-SAHARA]

**Randi Movich.** The current John Miller Musser Memorial Forest & Society Fellow, Randi is spending two years in Guinea, West Africa, studying and writing about the ways in which indigenous women use forest resources for reproductive health. With a B.A. in biology from the University of California at Santa Cruz and a Master of Science degree in Forest Resources from the University of Idaho, Randi is building on two years' experience as a Peace Corps agroforestry extension agent in the same region of Guinea where she will be living as a Fellow with her husband, Jeff Fields — also the holder of an Idaho Master's in Forest Resources. [sub-SAHARA]

**John B. Robinson.** A 1991 Harvard graduate with a certificate of proficiency from the Institute of Kiswahili in Zanzibar, John spent two years as an English teacher in Tanzania. He received a Master's degree in Creative Writing from Brown University in 1995. He and his wife Delphine, a French oceanographer, are spending two years in Madagascar with their two young sons, Nicolas and Rowland, where he will be writing about varied aspects of the island-nation's struggle to survive industrial and natural-resource exploitation and the effects of a rapidly swelling population. [sub-SAHARA]

**Teresa C. Yates.** A former member of the American Civil Liberties Union's national task force on the workplace, Teresa is spending two years in South Africa observing and reporting on the efforts of the Mandela government to reform the national land-tenure system. A Vassar graduate with a juris doctor from the University of Cincinnati College of Law, Teresa had an internship at the Centre for Applied Legal Studies in Johannesburg in 1991 and 1992, studying the feasibility of including social and economic rights in the new South African constitution. [sub-SAHARA]

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