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AREA HANDBOOK
for
BURUNDI

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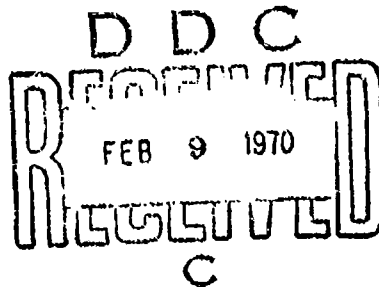
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FOREWORD

This volume is one of a series of handbooks prepared by Foreign Area Studies (FAS) of The American University, designed to be useful to military and other personnel who need a convenient compilation of basic facts about the social, economic, political, and military institutions and practices of various countries. The emphasis is on objective description of the nation's present society and the kinds of possible or probable changes that might be expected in the future. The handbook seeks to present as full and as balanced an integrated exposition as limitations on space and research time permit. It was compiled from information available in openly published material. An extensive bibliography is provided to permit recourse to other published sources for more detailed information. There has been no attempt to express any specific point of view or to make policy recommendations. The contents of the handbook represent the work of the authors and FAS and do not represent the official view of the United States Government.

An effort has been made to make the handbook as comprehensive as possible. It can be expected, however, that the material, interpretations, and conclusions are subject to modification in the light of new information and developments. Such corrections, additions, and suggestions for factual, interpretive, or other change as readers may have will be welcomed for use in future revisions. Comments may be addressed to:

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PREFACE

With the advent of Independence in 1962, Burundi shared in the new prestige achieved by African nations as they moved from colonial or guardianship status to complete self government. The full development of the air age makes the new state, formerly isolated by geography, appear much less remote. The capital city of Bujumbura is a focal point of local water, land, and air routes connecting Burundi and her northern neighbors, Rwanda and Uganda, with the Congo (Kinshasa) and the nations in southern central Africa. Increased interest among the world community has brought into focus the need for a brief but comprehensive coverage of information on the new state. This handbook is an attempt to fill this need.

When research was completed early in 1969, source material of recent date was meager in several subject-areas, including population, living conditions, political dynamics, and the operations of the customary and formal courts.

Grateful acknowledgment is due to many persons who gave time and detailed knowledge to provide data and constructive criticism, particularly to John D. Stempel and Lloyd M. Rives, Foreign Service Officers of the Department of State, and to Robert L. Clifford, United Nations Economic Advisor.

The Europeanized versions of Rundi (Kirundi) proper names are not standardized. In Rundi, a Bantu language, prefixes determine the nature of the main word (radical) and whether it is singular or plural. Thus Murundi is a man of the Rundi, and is also the adjectival form, as in Murundi hut; Barundi is men of the Rundi, and is also the adjective, as in Barundi huts. Burundi, the place of the Rundi, is the name of the country.

For the sake of simplification, completely anglicized versions of proper nouns have been used. The word Burundi is used as both singular and plural for a man or several men of Burundi rather than the Rundi words Murundi and Barundi, and is also extended to the adjectival form, as in Burundi hut. The simpler versions of other nouns, such as Tutsi and Hutu (which are both singular and plural) rather than Mututsi (Batutsi) and Muhutu (Bahutu), have been used.

Urundi, a Swahili (Kiswahili) version of Burundi, the Bantu name for the country, was used in the U.N. Trusteeship Agreement which covered Ruanda-Urundi from World War II to Independence in 1962. Ruanda was a Europeanized version of the local language form, Rwanda. The two new nations took the original local name forms, Rwanda and Burundi.

Place names in most cases are given as established by the United States Board on Geographic Names.

A short glossary covers terms that are not explained in the text or are especially unfamiliar outside Burundi.

COUNTRY SUMMARY

1. **COUNTRY:** Became independent as a monarchy on July 1, 1962, and was proclaimed a republic on November 28, 1966. Formerly administered by Belgium as part of the League of Nations Mandate Territory and, later, as the United Nations Trust Territory of Rwanda-Burundi (Ruanda-Urundi).

2. **GOVERNMENT:** Under the strong personal leadership of Colonel Michel Micombero, who is President, Prime Minister, and leader of the National Unity and Progress party (Unité et progrès national—UPRONA). The President is assisted by a 18-member Council of Ministers. The country is divided into eight provinces with appointed governors. In the absence of a Constitution, the President rules by executive decree.

3. **POPULATION:** 8,500,000 (1969 estimate). *Growth rate:* 2 to 2.5 percent. *Density:* 325 per square mile. *Composition:* Hutu, 83 percent; Tutsi, 16 percent; Twa, less than 1 percent; and a few Europeans and Asians.

4. **GEOGRAPHIC DESCRIPTION:** Landlocked, located between 2 and 4½ degrees South and 29 to 31 degrees East. Situated northeast and east of Lake Tanganyika; borders Congo (Kinshasa) on west, Rwanda on north, Tanzania on east and south. 10,746 square miles in area. The western branch of the Great Rift Valley extends the length of the western border area, providing narrow plains along the Rusizi River and Lake Tanganyika. Most of the country consists of highlands and plateaus of the Congo-Nile Divide. Average elevation is 5,800 feet; the highest peaks do not exceed 8,500 feet.

5. **LANGUAGES:** Rundi (Kirundi) is the national language. French is the official language of the Government and is employed in all postprimary education. Swahili is used as a commercial language.

6. **RELIGION:** More than 60 percent Christian, mostly Roman Catholic; approximately 1 percent Moslem, remainder, traditional religions.

7. **EDUCATION:** Education is developed on the Belgian pattern established during the Trusteeship period. Most primary and a large share of secondary education are carried out through Roman Catholic and Protestant missionary organizations, which are subsidized by the Government. About 25 percent of the children attend primary school; less than 1 percent attend secondary school. A recently established university provides the first 2 years of university-level education, and an advanced normal school provides teacher training. The expansion of education has been hindered by lack of funds and lack of adequately trained personnel.

8. **HEALTH:** The major health problems result from the low protein content of the typical diet. Prevalent serious diseases include malaria, typhus, tuberculosis, venereal diseases, and various parasitic and debilitating ailments. Treatment facilities and personnel are limited, particularly in the rural areas, with large segments of the population having no ready access to medical help.

9. **CLIMATE:** Elevation is the dominant factor. Average annual temperatures are 78°F. in the Rift Valley region and 65°-67°F. in the central plateau. Rainfall averages 40 to 60 inches per year. June, July, and August are the driest months, with the heaviest rainfall in March and April.

10. **JUSTICE:** Four-level court system functions under Ministry of Justice; based on Belgian system; court officials appointed by the President; codified law not dominant in all rural areas; uncoded customary law is applied by traditional courts.

11. **NATIONAL ECONOMY:** Based almost entirely upon subsistence-level agriculture. Coffee and cotton are the most important commercial agricultural products and main source of foreign exchange. *Industry.* Limited to a few small enterprises, most operating at less than 50 percent of capacity. Mining was not an important factor in the economy during the mid-1960's. *Labor.* About 93 percent of the active population engaged in subsistence agriculture. Large corps of unemployed people in Bujumbura and underemployed people in the rest of the country.

12. **INTERNATIONAL TRADE:** *Exports.* Coffee, the main export, accounts for about 80 percent of foreign exchange earnings. Cotton follows in importance. *Destination.* The United States buys more than 75 percent of exports, mostly coffee beans. Belgium and Luxembourg buy 12.5 percent, mainly cotton. *Imports.* Textiles and leathers are the most important items. Other manufactured

goods imported mainly for the foreign population. *Source.* Europe, primarily Belgium and Luxembourg, supplies more than half of imports; Asia, 22 percent; United States, 10 percent; and African countries, mainly Tanzania and Congo (Kinshasa), 15 percent.

18. **FINANCE:** The monetary unit is the Burundi franc, created in 1964 after the economic union between Rwanda and Burundi was ended. Valued at approximately U.S. \$0.02 until February 1965, it was devalued to U.S. \$0.0142 (FBu87.5 equals U.S. \$1) as part of a monetary reform. By the end of 1967, monetary reform was considered successful in maintaining currency and price stability. *Banking.* In 1967 there were three commercial banks in Burundi, linked to Belgian banking groups. The Bank of the Republic is the central bank that is responsible for currency issue, foreign exchange controls, and rediscount operations.

14. **COMMUNICATIONS:** *Telephone and Telegraph.* Automatic telephone system, with 2,000 subscribers in Bujumbura, links to Congo and Rwanda. Radio-telephone service through Brussels. Provinces connected via radio-telegraph network. *Radio.* The most important media of communication. Two radio stations, the official Government station, Voice of the Revolution (Voix de la Revolution), and a Protestant religious station, broadcast from Bujumbura. *Press.* No daily newspaper. The most widely distributed publication is the weekly Government newspaper, *Unité et Revolution* (Unity and Revolution).

15. **TRANSPORTATION:** *Ground.* There are no railroads in Burundi and, although the country has an extensive road network, most roads are poor. About 2 percent of the country's 3,728 miles of roads are paved. In 1966 there were about 4,400 motor vehicles in the country. *Water.* Lake Tanganyika is the principal route of foreign transportation and commerce, since Burundi does not have direct access to the sea. Bujumbura is the most important port, handling about 100,000 tons of goods in 1967. *Air.* Three foreign airlines connect Burundi with other African countries and Europe. Bujumbura airport is the only airfield capable of handling international traffic; its runway was being extended in 1968. Other airfields suitable for small aircraft only.

16. **INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS:** Member state of the Organization of African Unity and the United Nations. The Government describes its foreign policy as one of "positive non-alignment." A major problem in foreign relations, with neighboring Rwanda, centered upon the large number of Rwandan refugees in Burundi. The President maintains personal contact with other

African leaders at the annual meetings of East and Central African Heads of State.

17. **FOREIGN AID:** Heavily dependent upon foreign financial aid and technical assistance, with Belgium as the prime donor. Belgian aid for the period 1964-68 totaled FBu 534.1 million, plus a loan of FBu 16 million for the expansion of airport facilities at Bujumbura and partial financing of a program of technical assistance. France, the Federal Republic of Germany (West Germany), and the United Nations have also granted financial, cultural, and technical assistance.

18. **ARMED FORCES:** All-volunteer army numbers about 1,200 men; no navy or air forces. Approximately 33 percent of the 1966 budget was devoted to police and military expenditures. In 1968 the gendarmerie merged into the Armed Forces structure.

BURUNDI

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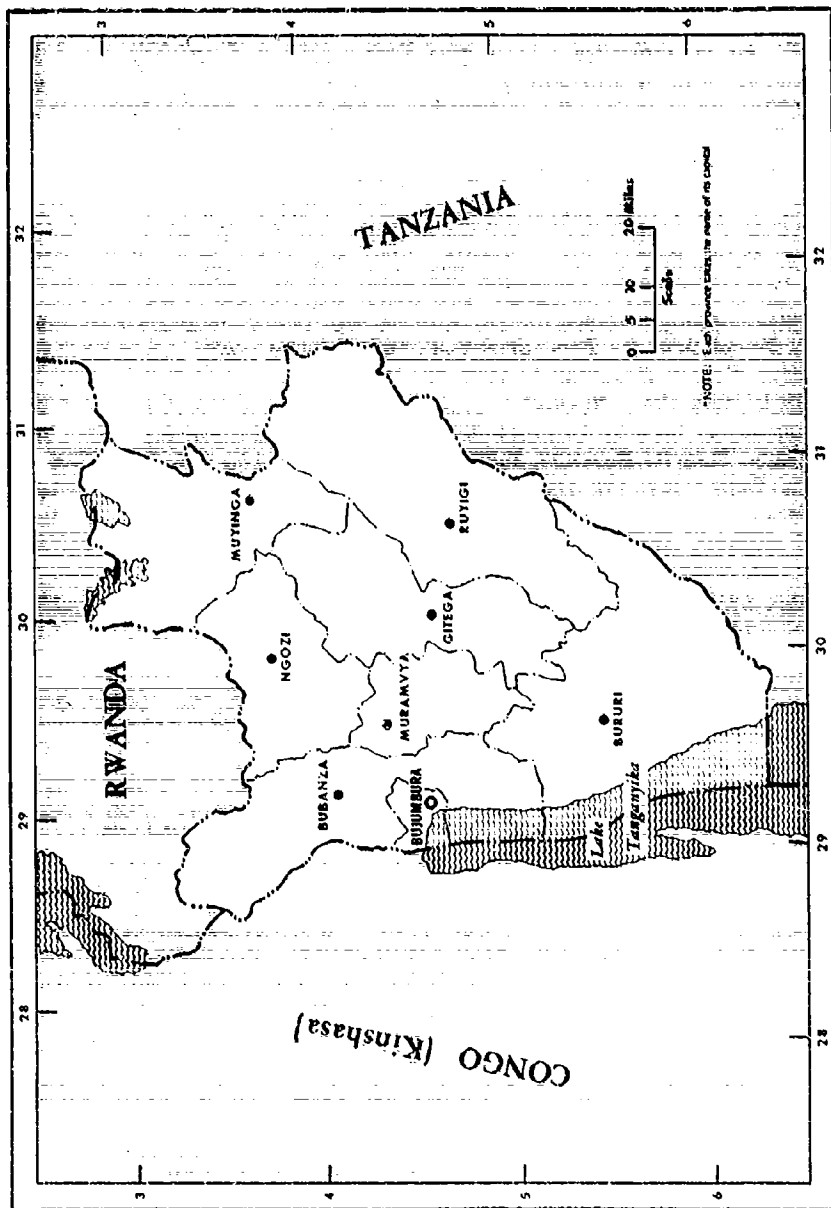


Figure 1. Position of Burundi in Africa.

CHAPTER 1

GENERAL CHARACTER OF THE SOCIETY

Burundi is located on the highlands of the Congo-Nile Divide, along the western branch of the Great East African Rift Valley. Moderate climate and relatively productive soils have fostered an expanding population of about 3,500,000 people in a total area of 10,746 square miles. Regional densities range from under 100 to over 800 per square mile, with an average of approximately 325, making this one of the most densely populated countries in Africa (see Physical Environment, ch. 3; Population, ch. 4).

Ninety-nine percent of the people are of African descent, and more than 90 percent make their living by subsistence farming and cattle raising. The historical division between farmer and herder formed much of the basis for the feudal master-servant relationship between the major Tutsi (Batutsi) and Hutu (Bahutu) ethnic groups, the major factor in the social structure (see Social Structure, ch. 5).

Burundi was among the last areas of Africa to be penetrated by Europeans, and it was not until 1885, at the Conference of Berlin, that the area that is now Burundi was officially regarded by European powers as a German area of influence. The centralization of power in the Tutsi monarchy was not disrupted by German rule, which ended with the defeat of Germany in 1918. In the postwar settlements the Territory of Ruanda-Urundi was declared a League of Nations Mandate, to be administered by Belgium. It became a United Nations Trusteeship after World War II, again under the Belgians who administered it much as an adjunct of the Congo (now Congo Kinshasa) until 1962, when the former Territory achieved independence as two approximately equal-sized nations, Burundi and Rwanda (see Historical Setting, ch. 2).

Christian missionary teachings and the experience of working under the Belgium Trusteeship brought an awareness of European political processes to a small minority of Burundi, many of whom later became active in the move toward independence and self-government. Under the United Nations a modified ver-

sion of representative self-government was developed after 1952, based in part upon a system of advisory councils.

In preindependence years the ethnic Hutu made up approximately 88 percent of the population, and the pygmoid Twa less than 1 percent. The Tutsi, accounting for about 16 percent, still held most of their traditional authority and influence in the social and political structure.

Old rivalries and feuds, usually suppressed during the periods of German and Belgian control, were diverted into political maneuvering during the 1950's, and more than 15 political parties demanded recognition. Two of these dominated the field by the end of 1960—the National Unity and Progress Party (*Unité et progrès national*—UPRONA) and the Christian Democratic Party (*Parti démocrate Chrétien*—PDC) (see Historical Setting, ch. 2).

Tutsi-Hutu factionalism continued when the nation became fully independent as a constitutional monarchy on July 1, 1962. From 1962 to 1966 political conflicts continued. The Constitution was suspended in mid-1966, and on November 28 of that year Army Captain Michel Micombero, then Prime Minister, announced that the military leaders had decided to end the rule of the monarchy. A 13-man Revolutionary Council assumed control, with Micombero as President (see Political and Government Systems, ch. 6).

In 1969 this Government continued to control the nation, ruling by presidential edict. There was little of the dissidence and violence of the pre-1966 period. As head of the State and of UPRONA, the only political party, Micombero had great personal authority which he generally used with restraint. After consolidating control he had, for the most part, avoided punitive measures against the restive leaders of the Hutu majority, and had accepted a limited number of Hutu into administrative positions. He had worked for national unity and for economic development along socialist lines. His government had avoided alignments with either Communist or Western nations, and had sought good relationships with the neighboring states of Rwanda, Tanzania, and Congo (Kinshasa).

In the 1965 census, 46 percent of the people were under 15 years of age, indicating that population growth will probably put increasing pressure on the land during the 1970's.

The Burundi child lives amid the local kin group, and is taught the social values and religious beliefs of his forefathers, including total resignation to the will of Imana, the Supreme Being and source of all good. Acceptance of Imana's will and an immutable future helps to explain the subsistence farmers' uncomplaining acceptance of a precarious survival of an inadequate

diet, which is extracted from an overworked soil by daily hand-labor (see Religion and Social Values, ch. 5). Since the turn of the century, more than half the population has adopted Christianity, but other changes have proceeded more slowly.

Most farmers are Hutu, descendants of migrants who probably came from the north and west five or six centuries ago, and began to clear the prevailing mixed forests. Pygmoid Twa (Batwa) who already lived in the area were pushed aside, and the Hutu farmers were well established before the arrival of the Tutsi, the Nilotic herdsmen who moved in from the north three centuries ago. During a period of two centuries the Tutsi warrior-herdsmen subjugated the Hutu, who became serfs. The Hutu adopted the Tutsi's mystic attachment to his cattle, living symbols of wealth and prestige. A clientship system (*ubugabire*) developed, in which the Hutu tended cattle owned by the Tutsi, receiving in return protection from enemies and possibly some of the increase in the herds. (see Ethnic Groups, ch. 4; Social Values, ch. 5).

There has been no great change in this use of land and labor for the production of cattle which contribute little to the economy, even though the nation's major problem is the need to increase food production. About two-fifths of the land is suitable for farming, and another two-fifths for grazing. The combination of moderately fertile soil and tropical highland climate encourages a wide variety of legumes, tubers, cereals, and other food crops. Many varieties of beans and peas are grown, and are a main source of protein. Maize, barley, sorghum, several millets, and other cereals are common in most provinces. Most farm families also produce cassava, potatoes, various green vegetables, and bananas. Much of the banana and sorghum crop is used for the production of beer, which is extremely important as a diet item and a social necessity.

The rural family is the main body of the social structure. Each family or kin group lives in a separate farmstead, preferably on the slopes or tops of hills. There are few villages, and very few rural dwellers have had social, psychological, or political ties which would distract them from family, crops, and cattle (see Social Values, ch. 5).

In the past, a clan chief sometimes improved his status or increased his wealth by marriage. Before the influence of the Roman Catholic and Protestant missionaries became widespread, a man might have had several wives. Whether a man was well-to-do or not, a large family was considered a blessing. Fathers had great authority, and usually took seriously their responsibility for maintaining the well-being and dignity of the family. All rela-

tives were taken in by a family or kin group, so that there were no unattached people.

Strict taboos governed relationships with blood relatives and in-laws. Among the Tutsi, a successful male was expected to display refined manners and eloquence. Women did not normally achieve authority, but were respected as bearers of children and symbols of fertility. Rituals, cults, diviners, witchcraft, amulets, and charms influenced the attitudes and daily life of the family. Magico-religious specialists treated illnesses, predicted the future, prepared charms, and acted as mediators with the ever-present ancestor-spirits, who sometimes became hostile and had to be placated if misfortune was to be avoided.

Through informal training within the family, children received a thorough knowledge of manners and taboos. Formal education has been given almost exclusively by Roman Catholic and Protestant missionary organizations, subsidized in some cases by the Belgian Government. Education above primary level is limited, but some progress has been made since 1962, including the training of additional, badly needed teachers. Schooling was given in Rundi (Kirundi), a Bantu language used by most of the population, and in French, the official language of the Government. Only a very small minority have used French regularly outside the schools. Swahili (Kiswahili) is used as a language of commerce in Bujumbura and the larger settlements (see Education, ch. 7).

Bujumbura is the national capital as well as the only important business center, containing most of the nation's industry and handling most of the foreign trade. Basic resources, on which an enlarged manufacturing and money economy might be based, are scarce, and coffee is the only major cash and export crop. A provisional Five-Year Development Plan (1968-72) envisions social and economic projects which are designed to increase monetary income and living standards (see Economic and Financial Systems, ch. 8).

Situated deep in the African continent, away from major ports and trade centers, the new nation has not been able to import the capital and technical skills needed to develop a strong market and money economy.

CHAPTER 2

HISTORICAL SETTING

Burundi became an independent state on July 1, 1962, as a constitutional monarchy. On November 28, 1966, Captain Michel Micombero, then Secretary of State for Defense, ended the monarchy and declared Burundi a republic with himself as President.

Although Burundi is a recent member of the world community of independent nations, its existence as a social and political entity can be traced back several centuries. Between the early 17th century and the beginning of colonial control in the 1880's, most of the area of present-day Burundi was brought under some degree of centralization under Tutsi monarchs. It was only with the aid of German armed force, however, that the Mwami (King) was able to consolidate his control fully.

The colonial period covered slightly more than half a century, when the two kingdoms of Rwanda and Burundi were administered successively by Germany and Belgium. The Belgian Administration, officially instituted in 1919, was initially carried out under a League of Nations Mandate and, after 1946, was continued under a United Nations Trusteeship Agreement.

Although the two kingdoms were administered as one unit, Ruanda-Urundi, by German and Belgian colonial regimes, they had historically been separate kingdoms. A half-century of colonial rule, plus the repeated urging of the United Nations (UN), failed to develop a lasting political union between them.

THE PRECOLONIAL PERIOD

Prehistory

Traditional organization in Burundi was based upon a type of feudal caste systems. The Mwami and the *ganwa* (princes of royal blood) monopolized political power and dominated the social structure. Below this ruling oligarchy were the several ethnic groups: Tutsi, Hima, Hutu, and Twa. In a very general way, these may be considered as castes.

At the lowest level of the social system were the Twa, a pygmoid people who are believed to have been the original inhabitants of the area. A folksong recalls that in the distant past the Twa used tools made of stone. They lived by hunting, pottery making, and gathering food from the forests. This group now constitutes only about 1 percent of the total population.

The great majority of the population, nearly 88 percent, consists of Hutu, an agricultural people who were the principal occupants of the region at the time of the Tutsi arrival. The origins of the Hutu are obscure. Oral traditions relate that, before the Tutsi period, Hutu life was centered about small-scale agriculture. Social organization was based on the clan, and petty kings ruled over limited domains. Known as *bahinza* (those who cause things to grow), the strength of these kings was founded on the popular belief that they were endowed with supernatural powers by which they could control the fertility of the earth, of domestic animals, and of persons. By these powers the *bahinza* could also cause rain to fall, protect crops from insects, and protect cattle from disease.

Several centuries ago the Tutsi, a nomadic pastoral people of Nilotic origin, migrated into the lake region of central Africa and gradually achieved economic, social, and political dominance over the Hutu population. The Hutu mortgaged themselves to the Tutsi minority, in exchange for cattle and protection, through a contract known as the *ubugabira* (see Agriculture, ch. 9).

The Mwami and the *ganwa* were Tutsi, but they had special status and were considered a group apart. The ordinary Tutsi were themselves subject to *ganwa* although, on the whole, their social standing was superior to that of both Hutu and Twa. The Tutsi now constitute about 16 percent of the population.

Another pastoral people, the Hima, are ethnically related to the Tutsi, and the two groups are generally regarded as one. Socially, however, the Hima were set apart in that they were excluded from the privilege of forming alliances with the Mwami through marriage or through the giving of cattle.

Tutsi control was first extended over limited areas, and small chiefs ruled only one or two hills. Ntare I Rushatsi, the first Burundi monarch, consolidated a number of these smaller units and established his rule over an area centering in the region of Muramvya. His reign is placed in the mid-17th century by oral historians.

The origin of the monarchy and the person of the original Mwami are related in myths and popular traditions. Burundi, however, did not have the official court historians that existed in Rwanda, and details of the reigns of several monarch are lacking.

Some information has been gleaned from the oral traditions of Rwanda, for there were frequent wars between the two kingdoms.

Certain myths trace the origins of Rwanda and Burundi to a common ancestor, Gihanga. According to this tradition, two of Gihanga's sons, Kanyaburundi and Kanyaruanda, founded the two kingdoms. There are, however, other conflicting traditions, some relating that Kanyaburundi, who ruled as Ntare I Rushatsi, was the great-grandson of Kanyaruanda. Another tradition attributes the origin of Ntare I Rushatsi to the small Tutsi kingdom of Buha, which was located in the area adjacent to the southeastern border of modern Burundi.

The Traditional Political Structure

Beginning with the reign of Ntare I, the succeeding kings assumed, in order, one of four dynastic names: Ntare, Mwezi, Mutaga, and Mwambutsa. The descendants of these kings are known, respectively, as the Batare, Bezi, Bataga, and Bambutsa. These descendants are the *ganwa*, who constitute the ruling class and share power with the Mwami. Certain lands, known as *ivyibare* (crown lands), were under the direct control of the monarch. Other lands were under the authority of the princes. Theoretically, the Mwami ruled the entire country as an absolute monarch. In practice, however, his power was limited by the *ganwa*, who held full power in their own regions and who were comparable to the feudal lords of medieval Europe.

The history of the monarchy is one of continual struggle for power among the *ganwa*. The time of the accession of a new monarch to the throne was marked by bitter competition, often developing into wars of succession. This competition among the *ganwa* clans persisted into the independence period and formed the basis for some of the political parties.

There were some important social consequences that resulted from the decentralization of power by the *ganwa*. The limitations placed on the authority of the Mwami made him simply first among equals. Because of the threats to his position posed by the opposing *ganwa* clans, the Mwami developed close ties with the larger Hutu population, often ruling the crown lands through Hutu subchiefs. This practice served to make Hutu-Tutsi social differences less pronounced in Burundi than in the neighboring kingdom of Rwanda.

Little is known of the reigns of several of the Bami (plural of Mwami) who followed Ntare I. The practice of naming one of the younger sons of the Mwami as the royal heir was adopted. A regency was established to rule until the young Mwami was able to do so on his own. The monarchy was a source of cohesion

in spite of the decentralizing tendencies of the *ganwa*. Certain mystical qualities were attributed to the Mwami, and his annual performance of *umuganuro* (fertility ceremony) at the time of the planting of sorghum was believed essential for the continued prosperity of the Kingdom. The royal symbol of the monarchy was the *karyenda* (sacred drum).

The accession of Mwami Mwezi IV Gisabo (some writers list this monarch as Mwezi II) to the throne in the mid-19th century served to sharpen the conflict between two powerful *ganwa* factions, the Bezi and the Batare. At the time of the German arrival in 1894, the Bezi, who were then the stronger, occupied the center of the country, and the Batare controlled the peripheral areas.

European Exploration and Annexation

Remoteness and difficulty of access caused the area of Rwanda-Burundi to be one of the last regions of Africa to be penetrated by Europeans. The British explorers, Sir Richard Burton and John Hanning Speke, visited the area briefly in 1858, but they touched only the southern part of Burundi in their explorations of Lake Tanganyika. Information provided to Burton by the Arabs described Burundi as a monarchy, governed by local chiefs who paid regular tribute to their sovereign.

In 1878 Henry Morton Stanley and David Livingstone visited the area around the mouth of the Ruzizi River. Stanley recorded that an African chief told him that the Ruzizi flowed from a large northern lake called Kivu.

For the most part, however, the areas of Rwanda and Burundi remained unexplored. Arab traders and slave raiders had not been able to penetrate the region either by trade incentive or by force, and it remained distant from the Arab trade routes. In contrast to most other parts of Africa, the exploration of Rwanda-Burundi came after the division into spheres of European influence.

The Conference of Berlin, in 1885, designated the kingdoms of Rwanda and Burundi as a German sphere of interest. It was not until the 1890's, however, that further explorations provided more detailed knowledge of Rwanda-Burundi. The expeditions of Oskar Baumann and Count Von Götzen initiated a series of explorations under German sponsorship. Baumann, leading a German antislavery society expedition entered Burundi in September 1892 and 4 days later crossed into Rwanda. Von Götzen, who later became Governor of German East Africa, discovered Lake Kivu on June 18, 1894. Other expeditions followed and began to chart the area accurately. Richard Kandt led an important expedition in 1898 and made the first detailed maps of the region.

He remained in the Lake Kivu area for the next 2 years and continued explorations and scientific studies.

Before these explorations, the European political discussions concerning the frontiers of the different spheres of interest in Africa were merely conjectural. Lack of accurate geographical information, vague boundaries, and overlapping territorial claims formed the basis for a border controversy between Belgium, Germany, and Great Britain that lasted until 1910.

The area of Rwanda-Burundi was located at the strategic junction of three empires. Belgium's King Leopold II, who held personal dominion over the Congo Free State (now Congo Kinshasa) laid claim to the region because of its access to Lake Victoria and as a link to the east coast of Africa. Germany wanted the area as a part of the formation of a great *Mittelafrika*, a German central African empire. The British regarded the territory as a vital link in the projected Cape-to-Cairo Railroad, uniting their possessions in the north with those in the south.

During the first decade of the 20th century there was intense diplomatic maneuvering among the European powers concerning the exact location of the borders of their respective territories. The death of King Leopold in 1909 cleared the way for a 1910 agreement, whereby the three powers would use natural features to delimit their possessions.

During the period of the European diplomatic struggle over colonial boundaries, there were other important forces at work in central Africa. Members of the Roman Catholic order of the Missionaries of Africa (White Fathers) had visited parts of the eastern shore of Lake Tanganyika as early as 1879. Mission stations were established in Muyaga and Mugeru in Burundi in 1898, and in 1900 the first stations were founded in Rwanda. Protestant mission posts were first established in 1907 and 1908. Because of their emphasis on education and implicit egalitarianism, the missions had a significant influence on the history of the territory throughout the colonial period (see Religion, ch. 5).

THE COLONIAL PERIOD

German Rule

Although the Conference of Berlin, in 1885, designated Rwanda-Burundi as a sphere of German interest, it was not until the 1890's that the Government of German East Africa extended its authority to cover the territory. In 1896 a military post was founded in Usumbura. This remained the administrative center for the two kingdoms until the establishment of a German Resident for Burundi in 1906 and for Rwanda in 1907.

The German administrators found that the control of Mwami Mwezi IV Gisabo of Burundi was much less centralized than that of the Rwanda ruler, Mwami Yuhi V Musinga. Before the establishment of the Residency of Burundi under Von Grawert, the German officials in Usumburu (now Bujumbura) had been inconsistent in their policies, sometimes supporting Mwami Gisabo, sometimes supporting the *ganwa* who opposed him. Von Grawert, on the instructions of Von Götzen, the Governor of German East Africa, gave consistent support to Mwami Gisabo. By the end of 1907 Mwami Gisabo and the German forces were able to subdue the refractory princes. The German form of indirect rule was most successful under the Residency of Von Grawert.

He described the ideal of German policy as unqualified recognition of the two monarchs and a linking of their interests with those of Germany in such a way as to interfere as little as possible in the traditional structure. To accomplish this ideal, Von Grawert declared that the first need in Burundi was to first re-establish the authority of the king, which had been weakened by an inconsistent colonial policy.

Von Grawert returned to Germany in 1903. The lack of an adequate replacement for him and the death of Mwami Gisabo later that year resulted in chaos in Burundi. The new ruler, Mwami Mutaga IV, was a youth about 15 years of age. A number of the *ganwa* and lesser chiefs took advantage of Mutaga's weakness to consolidate their own power, and the centralized rule disintegrated. So extensive was the loss of central control that Von Stegman, the Burundi Resident in 1911, wrote, "The mwami himself has nothing to say except in his own village . . . in short, his political influence is non-existent; he exists because tradition says that he must; but he is not the ruler of the country."

German control remained firm only in Usumbura and the immediate area. German authority diminished in proportion to the distance the *ganwa* were situated from the center of German power. This led to the decision to move the seat of the Residency to Gitega in 1912. From Gitega it was hoped, it would be possible to maintain more effective supervision over the *ganwa*.

The young Mutaga died suddenly on November 30, 1915. One of the last acts of the German regime was the installation of Mutaga's son as Mwami Mwambutsa IV on December 16, 1915. As Mwambutsa was only 2 years of age at the time of his accession, a regency was established to rule in his behalf.

During the period of German administration there were attempts to complete a census of the area. The limited number of German officials and the difficulty of communications made a precise head count impossible. Instead, each chief was required

to report the number of huts in his area. The resulting estimate, considered to have been reasonably accurate, was that in 1911 the African population of Burundi was approximately 1½ million; that of Rwanda, 2 million (see Population, ch. 4).

German colonial policy provided for mission education of the sons of chiefs in order to equip them for a variety of tasks in the administration. The intention was to develop a sizable number of civil servants to work under the direction of German administrators. The German Administration as conducted by a handful of Europeans; the total European population of Rwanda and Burundi in 1914 was approximately 190, of whom about 130 were missionaries. The remainder included a few traders and about 40 soldiers. In 1914 there were reportedly only six civilian officials in Rwanda.

Some senior German officials considered World War I the opportunity to create a great German empire in central Africa by linking the territories of German East Africa to both the Cameroons and South-West Africa. Such high ambitions were unrealistic, for the German forces in East Africa were far inferior to those of its enemies, particularly in Rwanda-Burundi.

Belgian strength in the area was placed at 7,700 troops, 52 light artillery guns, and 52 machineguns. In January 1916 German military forces were reported to total 1,407 Askari (African troops), 166 Germans, three artillery pieces, and 12 machineguns in Rwanda-Burundi. In April fully a third of this force was withdrawn, so there was only token German resistance to the Belgian occupation of the region. By June 27, 1916, Burundi was under Belgian control.

Belgian plans for the conquered territories involved their use as a pawn in postwar negotiations. The Belgians hoped for a three-way exchange: the Belgians would cede Rwanda-Burundi to Great Britain; the British would cede a portion of German East Africa to Portugal; the Portuguese would cede the southern bank of the lower Congo River to be joined to Belgium's Congo colony. Belgium's first task, however, was to have its claims to the possession of the conquered territories recognized by the four-power allied council (Council of Four), consisting of the United States, Great Britain, France, and Italy.

The negotiations were long, and the Portuguese were not amenable to the proposed exchange, but on August 7, 1919, the Council of Four finally recognized Belgium's claims to Rwanda-Burundi. The United States was more hesitant to recognize the claim than the other three members of the Council, but it finally approved after withholding its vote for 2 weeks. With this decision and subsequent approval by the League of Nations on August 23,

1923, Rwanda-Burundi became a mandated territory of the League of Nations, under the supervision of Belgium.

Belgian Administration Under the Mandate

The League of Nations Mandate charged the Belgian Government with the maintenance of peace, order, and good administration. As the Administrating Authority, Belgium was to work toward the emancipation of all slaves, protect the African population from fraud, arms traffic, and commerce in alcoholic beverages, and promote both social progress and moral well-being. In 1924 the Belgian Parliament formally accepted the responsibility for Rwanda-Burundi under the conditions established by the League of Nations.

Confronted with a multitude of problems, such as famine, endemic diseases, difficult communications, and a widely scattered population, Belgium turned to the existing political structure in order to concentrate administrative personnel on the more urgent social and economic needs.

Although the terms of the Mandate required that Rwanda-Burundi be maintained as a separate and distinct territory, the League of Nations permitted Belgium to administer it as a part of the Congo colony. A law joining Rwanda-Burundi in an administrative union with the Belgian Congo was passed by the Belgian Parliament in August 1925. A separate budget was maintained for the Mandate Territory, but the administration, custom, and monetary systems were combined with those of the Congo. The power to legislate for Rwanda-Burundi rested with the Belgian Parliament. Laws which applied to the Mandate Territory were sanctioned and promulgated by the Belgian King.

The seat of the colonial administration was in Brussels, where the major policy decisions were made. The chain of command then passed to the Governor General in Léopoldville (now Kinshasa), and from there to the Governor of Rwanda-Burundi, who bore the title of Vice Governor General of the Belgian Congo, in Usumbura, the administrative center for Rwanda-Burundi. Many in Brussels considered the Territory merely another province of the Belgian Congo.

The Territory was divided into two units, Rwanda and Burundi, each administered by an officer known as a Resident. The Residency of Burundi was divided into nine territories, each under a Belgian Territorial Administrator. The traditional political organization was subordinate to the Belgian administration. Under the Mwami, Burundi was divided into 36 chiefdoms, each under a chief whose position was usually hereditary. Each of the chiefdoms was further divided into subchiefdoms, of which there

were 492 in Burundi. All of the chiefs and subchiefs were subject to the approval of the Administrating Authority.

The Mwami of Burundi throughout the entire period of Belgian administration was Mwambutsa IV (some historians list him as Mwambutsa II). Mwambutsa's long reign is explained by the fact that he became king when he was 2 years old. He was installed on December 16, 1915, when the Territory was still under German rule. Until his marriage in 1930, he was assisted by a council of regency, composed of his mother and two uncles. Mwambutsa was a popular monarch and is credited with effectively balancing his traditional obligations and the requirements of the Belgian Administration.

In contrast to Rwanda, those who held power in Burundi were not considered members of a dominant race. Rather, they were members of favored families, the *ganwa*. When there were protests against the traditional social and political systems, they were directed against the *ganwa* by both the Hutu and the Tutsi. The *ganwa* filled the African administrative posts to the exclusion of almost all others.

The Government educational policy during the early years of the Belgian Administration was concentrated on the training of the sons of the *ganwa* and the lesser Tutsi chiefs. The intent was to equip them to fill positions in the administration and the civil service. For the remainder of the population, emphasis was placed on mass primary education and was carried out mainly through subsidizing the Catholic mission schools. A 1930 report indicated a total of slightly more than 44,000 primary school students in 552 schools (see Education, ch. 7).

Exploration failed to locate any significant amounts of mineral resources in Rwanda-Burundi, and efforts to make the Territory self-sufficient were directed toward the development of the agricultural sector. Severe famines struck the area in 1928-29 and again in 1943-44. In taking steps to increase food reserves and ensure the production of a surplus in good harvest years, the Administration established compulsory food crop quotas and promoted the cultivation of cash crops, the most successful of which was coffee. New food crops less susceptible to drought were introduced, and measures were taken to prevent soil erosion. A major portion of the administration's efforts were directed toward raising the level of the subsistence economy.

Belgian Administration Under the Trusteeship Agreement

After the formation of the United Nations, Rwanda-Burundi was made a Trust Territory, and the period of the League of Nations Mandate was ended. On December 3, 1946, the General

Assembly approved the Trusteeship Agreement, which again placed Rwanda-Burundi under the Belgian Administration. The Belgian Parliament, however, delayed ratification until April 1949.

The United Nations was more explicit than the League of Nations had been in delineating the responsibilities of the Administering Authority. A significant addition to the Trusteeship Agreement, which was not found in the Mandate, involved the political development of the people. The agreement required Belgium to work for the development of free political institutions and to assure the inhabitants of increased participation in administrative responsibilities. In addition, the agreement required progress toward appropriate forms of representative government and stated that "the Administering Authority shall take all measures conducive to the political advancement of the people of Ruanda-Urundi in accordance with Article 76 (b) of the Charter of the United Nations."

The question of the priority of political advancement over social and economic advancement formed the major element of disagreement between Belgium and the United Nations during the trusteeship period. Belgium believed that it first was necessary to concentrate on areas of economic and social need before it would be possible to bring about significant political progress.

The United Nations Trusteeship Council sent a number of Visiting Missions to Rwanda-Burundi to examine firsthand the implementation of the agreement. The first mission visited the Territory in 1948; a second was sent in 1951; and others followed at 3-year intervals. In their reports to United Nations the first two missions stated that social and political advancements were proceeding too slowly. They further declared that the administrative union with the Belgian Congo should not be allowed to impede the political development of Rwanda-Burundi.

In response to the conclusion of the Visiting Missions of 1948 and 1951, Belgium instituted a series of economic and administrative reforms in the Territory. The economic reforms were embodied in the comprehensive Ten-Year Development Plan for Ruanda-Urundi (1952-61). Proposals for administrative reforms involved several significant changes in the organization of the indigenous political structure and instituted a limited degree of representative government.

The Ten-Year Plan was based on extensive research into the existing economic situation and on analysis of the immediate and long-range needs of the Territory. Included in the plan were proposals for economic development projects, the expansion of

education and health programs, and a consideration of the problems of population pressures.

Administrative reforms were embodied in the Decree of July 14, 1952. This was looked upon as a cautious first step in representative government. A 1948 decree had established a system of councils, whose members were appointed, to advise the Mwami and the chiefs on matters of budget and taxation. The 1952 decree broadened the functions of these councils and established a limited degree of elected representation. Councils existed for each administrative level—subchiefdoms, chiefdoms, districts, and the High Council of Burundi, the latter of which was presided over by the Mwami. Through a complicated system, part of the membership of each council was chosen by the members of the councils immediately below it.

At the bottom of the scale, each subchief was required to compile a list of electors from his region by "taking into account the preferences of the inhabitants." Those named on this list then elected from among their own number from five to nine members to serve on the Sub-Chiefdom Advisory Council. The members of these councils then elected from their own number a portion of the membership of the Chiefdom Councils. This process was repeated again on the level of the District Council, the representatives being elected from the Chiefdom Councils. The High Council of Burundi, presided over by the Mwami, consisted of a balance of appointed members and notables chosen by and from the District Councils.

In 1956 the Governor of Rwanda-Burundi decided to interpret the Decree of 1952 so as to allow the notables of the subchiefdom electoral colleges to be chosen by universal male suffrage. There were 3,904 seats to be filled, and the balloting resulted in the election of 1,664 Tutsi electors. Since the Hutu portion of the total population was much greater than that of the Tutsi, some observers believed these results to indicate that there was rapport between the Hutu and the ordinary Tutsi and that the basic causes of the social and political problems of Burundi were the *ganwa*.

Competition between the *ganwa* factions remained at least partially dormant throughout most of the Belgian period. The control exercised by the administration had limited the powers of the *ganwa* and eliminated their opportunities to resort to armed force against each other. During the 1950's, however, old rivalries began to emerge. In the period just before independence, these divisions were evidenced by the development of opposing political groups.

EVENTS LEADING TO INDEPENDENCE

In the 3-year period immediately preceding independence in 1962 there were two principal developments: the formation of political parties and the establishment of internal autonomy.

By the end of 1960 nearly 20 political parties had received recognition. Only a few of these parties were large enough to play a significant role in later political events. Of the larger parties the two most significant ones were the National Unity and Progress Party (Unité et progrès national—UPRONA), founded in September 1959, and the Christian Democratic Party (Parti démocrate chrétien—PDC), founded in February 1960.

The central figure of UPRONA was Ganwa Louis Rwagasore, elder son of Mwami Mwambutsa II. Rwagasore was not the designated heir to the throne, but he was a powerful and popular figure. A member of the ruling Bezi clan, he had married a Hutu and had the advantage of strong support from the Hutu population. The founders of the PDC were Ganwa Jean-Baptiste Ntindereza and Joseph Biroli, the sons of Chief Pierre Baranyaka, a distinguished leader of the Batware clan.

In October 1959 UPRONA had issued a manifesto calling for immediate internal autonomy and rapid progress toward independence under a constitutional monarchy. The Belgian authorities viewed the UPRONA demands as radical and expressed concern over the party's association with other African nationalist organizations, such as the Congolese National Movement (Mouvement National Congolais, known as M.N.C.—Lumumba); the Rwanda Democratic Rally (Rassemblement démocratique du Rwanda—RADER); and the Tanganyika African National Union (TANU).

The PDC proposals were more agreeable to the administration. They called for cooperation with Belgium and a delay in self-government until further economic and social progress could be made. Both parties were, at least initially, in favor of continuing the monarchy. Because the UPRONA was led primarily by *ganwa* of the Bezi and Bataga clans and the PDC was founded by leaders of the Batware clan, the longstanding antagonisms and rivalries among the *ganwa* were more significant than the ideological differences.

In November 1959 a serious outbreak of violence between Hutu and Tutsi factions occurred in Rwanda, and it also augmented tensions in Burundi. At this same time the Belgian Administration issued a statement of its plans for the political future of the Territory. Earlier in the year a special Working Group had been established to visit Rwanda-Burundi to study the political situa-

tion and make recommendations. The proposals made by this Working Group formed the basis for the administration's plans, the main features of which provided for the transformation of the subchiefdoms into communes having a burgomaster (mayor) and an elected council; and the formation of a new State council with the Mwami as a figurehead "outside the government and above parties."

The reaction of the High Council of Burundi was extremely unfavorable and, on January 20, 1960, the members of the High Council issued a memorandum opposing the administration's plans. Relations between the Administration and the High Council deteriorated rapidly. When it heard of Belgium's intention to grant independence to the Congo on June 30, 1960, the High Council, in a motion adopted on February 3, demanded independence for Burundi by June 21.

The 3-year term of office for the High Council expired on February 17 and, as a result of the split between the High Council and the administration, the Belgian Resident decided to replace the council with a five-member temporary committee to be presided over by the Mwami.

The formation of the communes, as proposed in the administration's plans, began in February. In March it was announced that communal elections would be held the following November. Five of the political parties, including the PDC and the People's Party (Parti du peuple—PP), united to form the Common Front (Front Commun). Members of the Administration looked upon the Common Front as a means of counterbalancing the strength of the UPRONA and Rwagasore.

A meeting was held in Brussels in August 1960 to discuss arrangements for the communal elections and plans for administrative reorganization. The appointed members of the Interim Committee, which replaced the High Council, and representatives of 13 political parties were present. By a unanimous vote, with six abstentions, the following addition was made to an administrative decree of 1959:

Relatives and connexions of the Mwami, within two degrees of relationship, may not receive an electoral mandate, hold political office or take part in any political activity.

The intent of this regulation was to undermine the political power of the Bezi- and Bataga-led UPRONA party. In effect, the only *ganwa* eligible for political office under such a rule were the Batare. By an ordinance of October 27, Rwagasore was restricted to a residence in Bururi, a village in a remote southwestern province. André Muhirwa, the only Batare politician who belonged to UPRONA, was also prevented from participating

in the communal elections on the grounds of his marriage to one of Mwami Mwambutsa's daughters.

Communal elections were held from November 15 to December 8, 1960. The results were overwhelmingly in favor of the Common Front parties led by the PDC. Of the total of 2,878 seats, the Common Front won 2,004 against 545 for UPRONA. After the elections the ordinance restricting Rwagasore to Bururi was lifted.

A meeting was held in Gitega from December 18 to 20, 1960, for the purpose of discussing arrangements for internal self-government. Elections for constituting a national assembly were set for January 15, 1961, on the basis of universal suffrage. The United Nations was invited to supervise the elections.

Discussion of the Rwanda-Burundi situation in 1960 at the 15th Session of the United National General Assembly resulted in a request for postponing the election date and convening a conference fully representative of all political parties early in 1961. The purpose of the conference was to "compose the differences between parties and bring about national harmony." In addition, the General Assembly endorsed the UN Trusteeship Council's statement that the "best future for Ruanda-Urundi lies in the evolution of a single, united and composite State, with such arrangements for the internal autonomy of Ruanda and Urundi as may be agreed upon by their representatives." The General Assembly established a three-member commission headed by Haitian Ambassador Max Dorsinville, to participate in the conference and to supervise the elections.

In December 1960 the Permanent Representative of Belgium to the United Nations informed the Secretary General that a conference of political parties of Rwanda-Burundi would be held in Ostend, Belgium, on January 6, 1961. The United Nations was invited to send observers. Participation in the Ostend Conference was based on the results of the communal elections, which gave eight delegates to the Common Front and two to UPRONA. At the opening of the conference, the Belgian Government announced that elections would be held in Burundi on January 18, and in Rwanda on January 23. Dorsinville, on behalf of the United Nations, protested this decision as an attempt to circumvent the U.N. resolution. On January 21 the Belgian Government announced that it had agreed to follow the recommendations of the United Nations and that the elections would be postponed until the Dorsinville Commission had the opportunity to carry out its work of supervising the arrangements.

On January 26, however, Belgium set up an interim government for Burundi, asserting that such action was necessary to

ease the unrest caused by its decision to postpone the elections. The appointment of the five-member Government was based on the results of the communal elections, and all posts went to members of the Common Front party. A sixth ministry was offered to a UPRONA member, but UPRONA declined to participate. Ntidendereza of the PDC was named Minister of the Interior.

The next day the Belgian Resident signed an order establishing an interim legislative council; its 64 members were to be elected by representatives of the existing Communal Councils. These elections were held on January 29. UPRONA boycotted the elections, declaring them illegal and not representative, and declined to accept the four seats given to its members. In Rwanda, in the meantime, the Hutu-dominated Provisional Government had assembled in Gitarama and proclaimed Rwanda a republic. On February 1 the Belgian Administration announced its intention to grant recognition to both governments.

Strong objections to the Belgian action were registered in the UN. The Dorsinville Commission declared that, although the Belgian Government had indicated a desire to cooperate with the UN, the attitudes of the local administration had proved a hindrance to the implementation of UN resolutions. The Commission stated that democracy had not been strengthened in Burundi because the administration simply had favored one feudal group over another.

The General Assembly called upon Belgium to continue its responsibilities as stated in the Trusteeship Agreement and to establish broad-based caretaker governments in both Rwanda and Burundi until the United Nations-supervised elections could be held. A caretaker government was established in Burundi on June 25, 1961. The Common Front remained dominant, but UPRONA obtained the Ministries of Information and Finance.

After a decision was made not to extend the vote to women, the elections were held on September 18, 1961. The results were a serious setback for the Common Front, as UPRONA won 58 of the 64 seats. Of the six members of the Common Front who were elected, four went over to UPRONA. The first meeting of the Legislative Assembly was held 10 days later at Gitega, and Rwagasore was named Prime Minister. He balanced his government between Tutsi and Hutu; he and Muhirwa were the only *ganyu*.

Rwagasore was assassinated 2 weeks later by a Greek national who worked in a shop in Usumbura. When he was captured, the assassin implicated Ntidendereza and Biroli, the Common Front leaders, as the instigators of the plot. Other Batware politicians were also arrested. The assassin, Ntidendereza, Biroli, and sev-

eral other members of the Batare clan were judged guilty and eventually were executed. Muhirwa succeeded Rwagasore as Prime Minister.

Without the strong leadership of Rwagasore the UPRONA began to divide into two factions along ethnic lines. Muhirwa, a Tutsi prince and son-in-law of Mwami Mwambutsa, was opposed in his role as party leader by Paul Mirerekano, a Hutu. In the midst of the widening rift between Hutu and Tutsi factions, Burundi achieved full independence on July 1, 1962. The political crisis continued (see Political and Governmental Systems, ch. 6).

CHAPTER 3

PHYSICAL ENVIRONMENT, SETTLEMENT PATTERNS AND LIVING CONDITIONS

Burundi is a landlocked nation covering 10,746 square miles, located between $2\frac{1}{4}^{\circ}$ and $4\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ south of the equator in east-central Africa, 700 miles from the Indian Ocean. It lies between 29° and 31° east, bordering Rwanda to the north, Tanzania to the east and south, and the Republic of the Congo (Kinshasa) to the west (see fig. 1).

The geologic base of the country is an irregularly shaped area of the Great East African Plateau. Much of the countryside is covered by savanna grasslands and small farms extending over rolling hills, but there are also areas of both swamps and mountains. The divide between two of Africa's great watersheds, the Congo and Nile Basins, extends from north to south through western Burundi at an average elevation of 8,000 feet. On the western slopes of this Congo-Nile ridgeline, the land slopes abruptly into the Great East African Rift Valley, where the Rusizi Plain and Lake Tanganyika mark the western border of the country. The eastern slopes are more moderate, with rolling hills extending across the central uplands, at gradually reduced altitudes, to the dry plains and small plateaus of the eastern and southern border regions.

Except for the eastern and western border areas, Burundi lies at fairly high altitudes. The extremes of the tropical savanna climate are moderated because most of the land is at least 3,000 feet above sea level; much of the central plateau has an average altitude of 5,000 to 6,500 feet, and the average for the entire country is about 5,300 feet. The heaviest concentrations of people are located in the central uplands, which are from 5,000 to 7,500 feet in elevation. Trade winds from the Indian Ocean tend to hold temperatures down, providing these plateaus and rolling hills with a climate that is more comfortable and healthful for human beings than the higher altitudes of the Congo-Nile Divide in the west or the lower altitudes of the Rift Valley or along the eastern and southern borders. The low areas are less desirable

because of heat, inadequate and erratic rainfall, and tropical diseases affecting men, livestock, or both.

Bujumbura, with an estimated population of 70,000 in 1969, is the country's trade center, port on Lake Tanganyika, and seat of Government—the only urban center in the nation. Gitega and approximately eight other settlements or hill stations are growing, but they remain little more than enlarged rural concentrations.

Most Burundi live by subsistence agriculture. Perhaps 7 percent of the people derive a part of their income from occupations such as mining, trade, production of cash crops, or labor on commercial plantations. Even among this group or among the relatively few who are nominally town dwellers, many families produce part of their food by subsistence farming. Rural families prefer to live on or near the hilltops, above the humidity, floods, and insects that affect the valleys. Many families work several scattered small tracts of land, each at different elevations, to reduce the risk of crop loss. Soils in the farming and grazing areas, about 65 percent of the total land area, remain moderately productive, despite intensive farming and damage from erosion.

An extensive road network covers the country, but road surfaces consist almost exclusively of locally available materials, and many routes are useful only during dry seasons. There are no railroads and very few useful waterways other than Lake Tanganyika, the most important trade route.

Malnutrition and disease are major problems throughout the country. *Kwashiorkor*, a condition resulting from an acute shortage of protein in the diet, predisposes the population, especially children, to debilitating or fatal diseases such as typhus, tuberculosis, dysentery, and other illnesses.

There is a severe shortage of adequate medical treatment facilities and personnel, especially in the countryside. The Government estimated that the rural areas had only one medical doctor for every 187,000 inhabitants in 1966. Missionary organizations maintain and staff some medical facilities and cooperate with the Government in its health program. In 1966 eight of the 17 hospitals were administered by missions.

NATURAL REGIONS

There are three natural regions: the Rift Valley area, consisting of the narrow plains along the Rusizi River and the shores of Lake Tanganyika (the Imbo area), together with the belt of foothills and slopeland on the western face of the Congo-Nile Divide; the range of peaks which form this Divide; and the ex-

tensive central and eastern plateaus and savannas, separated by wide valleys and sloping into the warmer, drier plains of the eastern and southeastern borders (see fig. 2).

The Rift Valley—Western Slope Area

West of the mountains of the Congo-Nile Divide, a narrow plain extends southward along the Rusizi River from the Rwanda border through Bujumbura, at the north corner of Lake Tanganyika, then extends southward for another 30 miles along the eastern shore of the lake. All of this plain (the Imbo) is below 3,500 feet in elevation, and tropical temperatures prevail, with average annual temperatures of 70° to 73° F. Rainfall is 30 to 40 inches per year and is often erratic. Until recently this expanse of acacia and palm trees, thorny plants, and grasses was primarily a homeland for elephants, antelopes, and various other savanna animals. Since 1950 resettlement programs have brought in farmers who produce corn, rice, cotton, peanuts, and vegetables. Much of this produce is sold in Bujumbura markets.

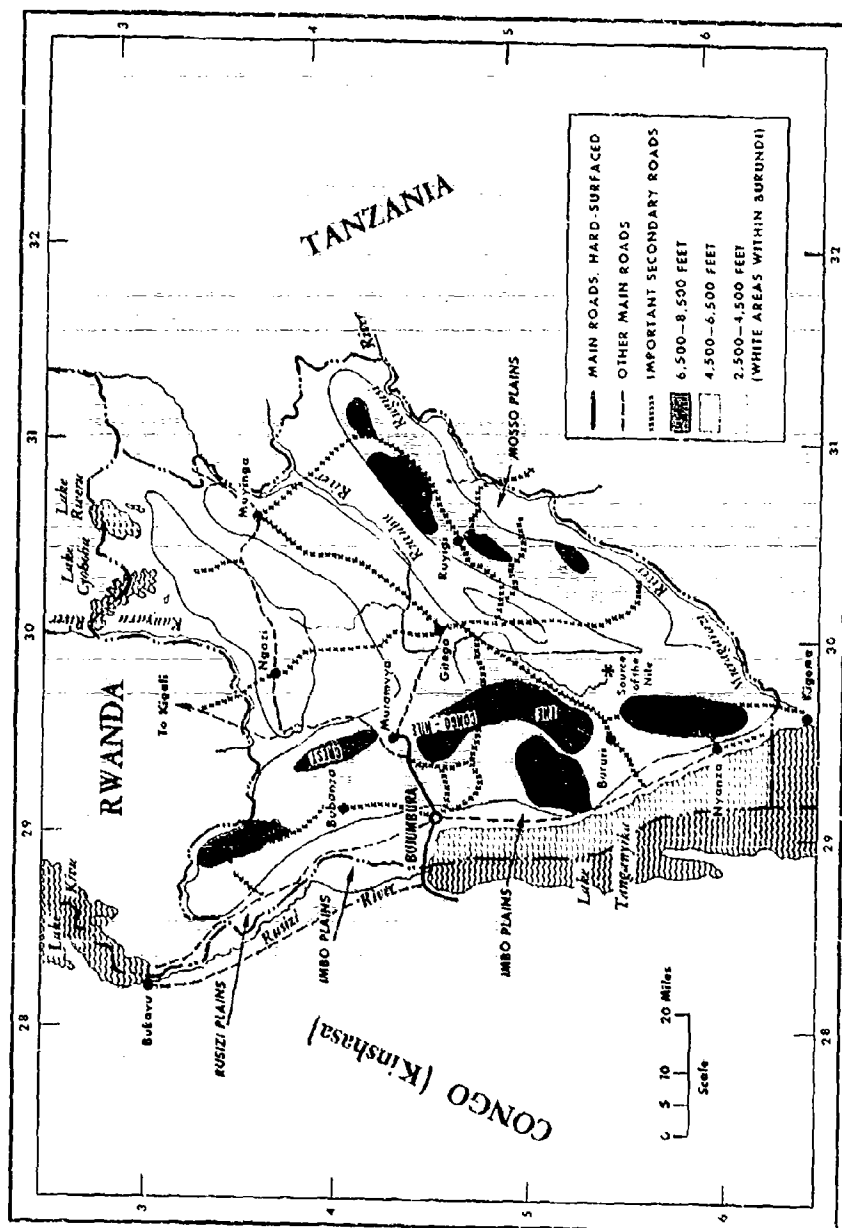
Above these flat plains, the belt of foothills and steep slopeland that forms the western face of the Divide is a mixture of farmlands and rough gullies and valleys. These rougher areas contain gallery forests, in which tree branches tend to form canopies over open aisles, or galleries. Temperatures decrease with elevation, and rainfall increases to as much as 50 inches annually near the top of the watershed.

The Congo-Nile Divide

Eastward from Lake Tanganyika and the Rusizi-Imbo Plains, which lie in the Great East African Rift Valley, the mountains associated with this Rift system rise steeply; an elongated series of ridges, generally less than 10 miles wide, averages about 8,000 feet in elevation, but none of the peaks within Burundi exceed 8,500 feet. Extending from south to north throughout the western part of the country, this Congo-Nile Crest is the dominant geographic feature. The "source of the Nile" is the headwaters of the Ruvubu River, on the eastern slope of this range in south-central Burundi. Annual rainfall is 50 to 60 inches in the upper elevations, rising to about 70 inches in the north, near the Rwanda border. Average annual temperatures are in the low sixties, with a high daily range, and nights are distinctly cool for much of the year. Farmers in these upper elevations produce principally peas, corn, and barley.

Plateaus and Savannas

The central and eastern plateaus, from the Congo-Nile Crest to the eastern settlements of Kirunda, Muhinga, and Cankuza,



are the areas of heaviest settlement. Almost half the population lives on these uplands, between 5,000 and 6,500 feet above sea level. The climate in the upper elevations is cool and rainy. In central Burundi average annual temperatures are approximately 65° to 67° F. and rainfall is 40 to 55 inches. As there is little trouble with tsetse fly above 5,000 feet, cattle herders as well as farmers have crowded these middle and higher altitude plateaus. All usable land is heavily farmed or grazed. Farmers grow wheat, barley, sorghum, corn, various beans and peas, bananas, manioc, and other tropical- and temperate-zone food crops; coffee and cotton are the most important commercial crops (see Agriculture, ch. 9).

The savannas of the eastern border are less than 5,000 feet above sea level, and the Mosso plains along the Muragarazi, Rumpungu, and Rugusi Rivers, which mark much of the southeastern border, average about 3,400 feet. Average temperatures are between 68° and 73° F., hotter than the central uplands. Rainfall ranges from 30 to 45 inches per year, but is irregular, and these areas take on a semidesert appearance during the annual dry seasons. These plains are not as heavily populated as the higher plateaus, but by 1969 many of the more fertile spots were being farmed by families who moved here under recent resettlement programs. Crops include cotton, peanuts, cassava, coffee, and peppers. Before 1900 this was a stockraising area, but *nagana*, the bovine sleeping sickness carried by the tsetse fly, became more prevalent, and these hot savanna lands, many already overgrazed into semidesert, were left to the wild game until new settlers began to arrive during the 1950's. Outside the settled areas there are large areas of savanna land, swamplands, scattered forests, and bamboo groves which still provide a home for lions, leopards, warthogs, various antelopes, and other large and small animals and birds.

NATIONAL BOUNDARIES

National boundaries remain essentially as they were throughout the colonial period, from 1899 to 1918, and the subsequent periods of the League of Nations Mandate and the United Nations Trusteeship.

A de facto boundary existed between what is now Burundi and Rwanda during the period of German control. The division of the area of Ruanda-Urundi and the establishment of the present boundary moved through a series of steps taken under the Belgian Administration during the period of the League of Nations Mandate and, after World War II, the United Nations Trusteeship. On August 14, 1949, the Vice Governor General of

the Trusteeship published an ordinance that formally recognized the boundary between the residencies of Ruanda and Urundi. When these became the independent states of Rwanda and Burundi in 1962, they accepted the border defined in the statute. There were no active disputes in early 1969 concerning this 180-mile boundary.

Much of this line follows rivers, including the Kagera, Kanyaru, and Ruwa, which flow from east to west. In the eastern area it also traverses Lakes Rweru and Cyohoha. Segments between rivers are connected by artificial lines. The western tripoint, at the junction with the Congo (Kinshasa) border is at the confluence of the Ruwa and Rusizi Rivers.

The easternmost 50 miles of this border traverse many swampy areas. In the west it extends over sharply eroded ridges and valleys, including the Congo-Nile Divide, crossed at an elevation of 8,700 feet. From this mountain area, the land slopes eastward to the 5,000-foot level in the plateau and lake area of the northeast. Westward there is a drop of 5,000 feet in the 25-mile distance to the Congo (Kinshasa) border at 3,200-foot elevation in the Rift Valley. Except in the areas of very poor drainage or in the small areas of high-altitude forest, population density is 100 to 250 per square mile.

An important road crosses the boundary east of the mountains, connecting Bujumbura, Gitega, and central Burundi with Kigali and other points in Rwanda and Uganda. Another road crosses the border in the Rift Valley in extreme northwestern Burundi, connecting Bujumbura with southwestern Rwanda and Lake Kivu. Trails also cross this open border in many places. The people on both sides have shared a common history, and there is little ethnic or linguistic difference between them.

In the east and southeast, the Burundi-Tanzania boundary originally marked an internal administrative division in German East Africa. The line has continued through the periods of Belgium's League of Nations Mandate and United Nations Trusteeship for Ruanda-Urundi, becoming a national boundary when Ruanda-Urundi and Tanganyika achieved independence between 1962 and 1964 as Rwanda, Burundi, and Tanzania. Historically, the most important documentary basis for this boundary was the Anglo-Belgian protocol signed on August 4, 1924, which set a precise demarcation between Urundi and Tanganyika, now Burundi and Tanzania.

This 280-mile line extends southward and southwestward from a tripoint with Rwanda and Tanzania at the confluence of the Mwibu and Kagera Rivers. For much of its length it follows the

Mwibu, Ruvubu, Rumpungu, and Muragarazi Rivers and, for short distances, about 40 smaller river and stream beds. Most of the border terrain is a series of dissected plateaus. Wherever the border crosses divides between the many streams, it is fully marked by border pillars. Most of the border is at elevations between 4,000 and 5,000 feet. In the south the demarcation line extends 15 miles on Lake Tanganyika, to a tripoint with the Congo (Kinshasa) on the median line of the lake.

Rainfall varies considerably, but averages above 40 inches annually. Border areas include cropland, grazing land and, in the drier areas of the northeast, areas of savanna and wild game. At five to 50 people per square mile, the population density is relatively lower than in most of Burundi. Three secondary roads cross the boundary in the north, central, and southwestern sections, but most of the boundary area consists of difficult terrain, crossed only by minor tracks and trails.

The western boundary, with the Congo (Kinshasa), follows the alignment originally set forth in a convention of August 11, 1910, signed by Belgium and Germany. Thereafter the boundary remained essentially unchanged throughout the League of Nations Mandate and the United Nations Trusteeship periods and the achievement of independence in the 1960's by the Congo (Kinshasa), Burundi, and other adjacent states.

From the Congo-Tanzania tripoint on Lake Tanganyika, the boundary line extends due north for 145 miles—79 on the lake, eight along the median of the Rusizi Rutoya, or Little Rusizi River, and 58 miles along the main Rusizi River. The northern (Rwanda) tripoint is at the confluence of the Ruwa River with the Rusizi.

The entire western border lies along the western branch of the Rift Valley, at an altitude below 3,500 feet. Rainfall is less than 40 inches per year in the bottom of the Rift Valley, and tropical temperatures prevail. Population densities range from 100 to 250 per square mile. Most border area residents are subsistence farmers, but some also grow coffee and cotton as cash crops in the Rusizi Valley. In recent years there has been some drifting of people, disrupted by political strife, in both directions across the border area.

One one major road crosses the border, curving northwestward from Bujumbura to connect with a Congo (Kinshasa) road on the west side of Lake Tanganyika. In 1969 there were no active disputes over the position of this boundary.

CLIMATE

Daily temperatures in this tropical highland climate vary with

elevation, which is the dominant temperature factor. The only land below 3,000 feet is a narrow plains area along the Rusizi River, which is at 2,600 feet above sea level and forms the western boundary north of Lake Tanganyika. The temperature in this region may reach a maximum of 93° F.; the average is about 78° F. The eastern border areas, generally below 5,000 feet, are also warmer than the heavily populated central plateaus, which averages 65° to 67° F. In the mountainous areas, temperatures fluctuate between 57° and 68° F. during the day and may drop 20 degrees or more at night. Above 5,000-foot elevation in the central plateaus and highlands, where most of the population is concentrated, the climate is rarely hot enough to be uncomfortable to humans, despite a location within 5° of the equator.

Total rainfall varies greatly between one locale and another and from year to year. The countrywide average is between 40 and 60 inches per year. Rainstorms at the higher elevations are usually longer but of lighter intensity than at the lower levels (see fig. 3).

Although some rain falls during each month, June, July, and August are considered dry months, as the average during each of these months is less than one-half inch, too little to be of much significance to farmers. From September until November or December, rainfall increases to about 6 inches per month, then drops slightly during January and February. There is an increase to 7 or 8 inches per month during March and April, a sharp reduction to about 4 inches in May, followed by the three almost rainless months of June through August.

DRAINAGE

The country includes areas along both slopes of the Congo-Nile Divide, the range of mountains associated with the western extension of the Rift Valley. Westward from this north-south ridgeline, short, swift rivers carry runoff waters down Burundi's narrow western watershed into the Rusizi River or Lake Tanganyika, which together form the boundary with the Congo (Kinshasa). Since the Rusizi flows into Lake Tanganyika, which drains into the Congo River systems, rainfall from this western slope eventually flows into the Atlantic Ocean. The short western-slope rivers tend to have shallow beds, and falls and rapids are common.

The areas east and southeast of the ridgeline, constituting four-fifths of the country, are part of the upper reaches of the Nile River system. From the small surviving forests near the mountain tops, elevations decrease eastward in a series of

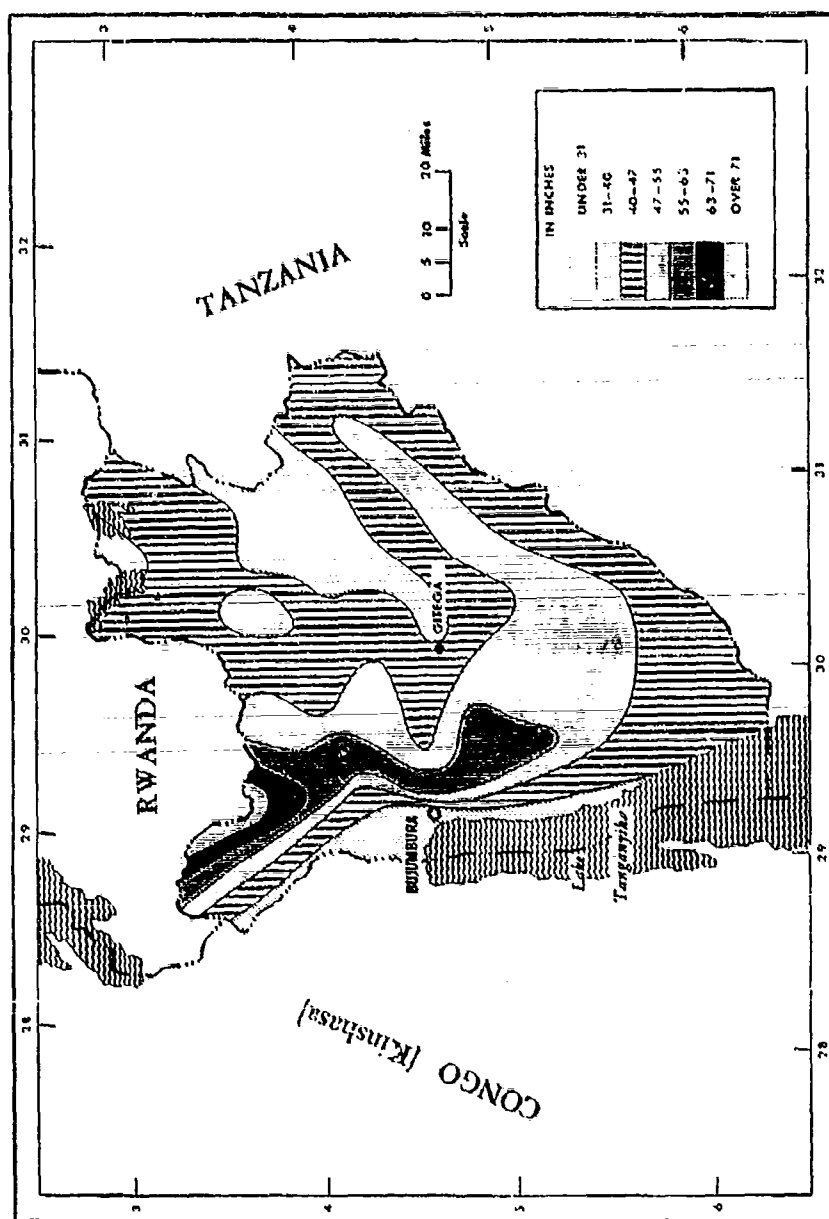


Figure 3. Annual rainfall in Burundi.

plateaus and rounded hills to about 5,000 feet in the border areas of the northeast. Principal rivers in the central plateaus include the Ruvironza and Ruvubu, the main channels of extremely complex networks. On the average, slopes are not as steep as those on the western face of the Divide, but cropland is subjected to serious erosion. Drainage channels in the southeastern areas carry surplus water south or east to the two principal rivers on the border with Tanzania, the Muragarazi and the Rumpungu. The Muragarazi flows northeastward, then southward and westward in Tanzania, eventually emptying into Lake Tanganyika. The Rumpungu extends northeastward into the Kagera River, which empties into Lake Victoria, a part of the Nile system.

Rivers vary greatly in different areas and seasons. Some segments are rushing torrents; other stretches of the same river, crossing a nearly level plateau, may be almost stagnant and lined with papyrus grasses. Flow rates depend upon wide local variations in rainfall and upon the vagaries of the two annual wet and dry seasons.

VEGETATION, SOILS, AND MINERALS

Most of the surviving forests, covering less than 2 percent of the nation's land, are at the top of the Congo-Nile ridge, which extends in a north-south axis through the western part of the country at about 8,000 feet. Only small vestiges of the ancient forests remain in other areas, even though there are some scattered savanna woodlands in the eastern provinces. Although used locally for both fuel and construction, the forests are not important to the national economy.

Non-native shrubs and trees, such as eucalyptus, may be seen among the farms of the central highlands. Many of these were planted during the past 20 years as part of an erosion control program. Thus, although the original forests have long since been removed from the heavily populated plateaus, the landscape is not entirely treeless. Depending upon altitude, natural tree cover once included a wide variety of temperate- and tropical-zone trees, shrubs, and bushes, both evergreen and deciduous.

Most Burundi soils are latosols, containing many of the metal compounds found in laterite soils, but generally lighter, more fertile, more workable, and less troublesome to agriculturalists than the true laterites. Moderately rich alluvial soils are found in river valleys, especially along the Rusizi River in western Burundi.

In approximately two-fifth of the country, soils are suitable for farming, and slightly more than another one-fifth of the

land is suitable for grazing. Most of these farming and grazing areas were derived from the forests that covered the areas until they were removed by Hutu farmers during the last 500 years. Except where seriously eroded or leached by heavy farming, humus content and fertility are good, comparing favorably with the soils of many African areas. Soil quality and productivity are usually excellent in the alluvial valleys. Tillable soils throughout Burundi are heavily cropped, producing a very large variety of cereals, legumes, grasses, tubers, shrubs, and trees.

Intensive food crop production, often on steep slopes, has led to serious soil erosion. Pastureland has been overgrazed in many areas, and landscapes in some areas appear bleak and barren during the dry months. Erosion control measures, such as the planting of hedges in appropriate farming areas to control runoff, were established by the Belgians during the Trusteeship period. Population pressure on the better lands is so intense that soil damage, through leaching, erosion, and intensive farming without adequate fertilizing, continues to be a serious problem.

Many outcroppings of minerals have been recorded, but none of these ore deposits have been rich enough to have become a major factor in the national economy. Known minerals include cassiterite, or tin ore; bastnaesite, a rare earth metal concentrate; limestone; radioactive monazite; gold; wolframite, or tungsten ore; columbium-tantalum ores; beryllium ore; iron ore; amblygonite, a source of lithium; and kaolin (see Industry and Labor Force, ch. 9).

CONSERVATION AND WILDLIFE

Before 1950, thousands of miles of hedges and ditches were established to protect the slopelands in heavily farmed areas. Most cultivated lands have slopes of at least 5 percent. A large percentage of the good farmland lies on 10- to 25-percent slopes, and land on steeper slopes is cultivated in many areas. Since such land is susceptible to serious erosion, the earlier conservation programs were greatly expanded after 1950. By the 1960's countless man-days had been devoted to the completion of thousands of hedges and ditches, which have become a very visible part of the landscape. Reforestation programs had also been established between 1940 and 1950 and were expanded under the Ten-Year Development Plan for Rwanda-Urundi (1952-61), but the total acreage was still small and was limited mainly to the upper altitudes of the Congo-Nile Divide. Most of the

remaining natural forests are along this Divide, constituting less than 3 percent of the area of the country.

The large African animals, which centuries ago were common in the original mixed forests and savannas of this area, are now scarce in the agricultural areas. They are still found in the eastern and western plains area, where heat and low rainfall have discouraged farming. Species still prevalent in certain areas are the elephant, hippopotamus, wild boar, river hog, baboon, leopard, lion, various antelope, lemur, and others. Game birds include guinea hen, partridge, duck, goose, quail, and snipe. A few animals, such as the river hog and baboon, have in fact become too numerous in or near farming areas and are eradicated whenever possible.

TRANSPORTATION AND COMMUNICATION

No roads were built until 1922, but thereafter the road mileage was quickly expanded into a comprehensive countrywide network of about 3,728 route miles. Less than 150 miles can be considered main roads. Except for about 84 miles of macadam in the Bujumbura-Gitega areas, almost all roads have surfaces of laterite or other natural materials. Such roads are susceptible to serious damage from heavy rains, and many routes may become difficult or impassable. Many rivers are crossed by fords, rather than bridges, and may therefore be impassable during high water periods.

The major roads, including those between provinces, are maintained with Central Government funds. Secondary roads are kept up by provinces or communes (see Domestic Trade, ch. 8).

There are no railroads within the country; the nearest railhead is 125 miles south of Bujumbura, at Kigoma, Tanzania. Thus, although their carrying capacity is limited, roads are almost the only means for moving the nation's limited tonnages of internal trade. Lake Tanganyika provides a water route to railheads in the Congo (Kinshasa) as well as Kigoma, and 80 percent of Burundi's foreign trade is moved by way of the lake (see Domestic Trade, Foreign Economic Relations, ch. 8). Some trade goods are moved via principal roads that extend westward from the Bujumbura to connect with a north-south road in the Congo (Kinshasa) on the west side of Lake Tanganyika. A main road runs from Bujumbura northeastward to the border, providing connections with settlements and towns in Rwanda and Uganda.

During 1968 the Bujumbura airfield was improved to permit use by jet transports (see Domestic Trade, ch. 8). Secondary

airfields with limited capabilities are located at Gitega and Butare (near Rutana in southern Burundi). Twenty helicopter landing pads have been constructed throughout the country since 1955.

Internal postal distribution serves all the provincial administrative centers and most of the localities of any importance. There are also a bus service between Bujumbura and Butare and freight service between Bujumbura and Kigali in Rwanda.

Bujumbura has an automatic telephone system that serves about 2,000 subscribers and links with Bukavu and Kalemie, formerly Albertville, in the Congo (Kinshasa). Another link provides service to Kigali and Gisenyi in Rwanda. In 1960 radio-telephone facilities were established between Bujumbura and Brussels providing service to other European cities. A radio-telegraph for the use of Government officials connects all eight provincial centers. In early 1968 Burundi officials contracted with a Dutch corporation for delivery of a complete telecommunication system, including training courses for Burundi Postal and Communications Ministry personnel.

The Government radio station in Bujumbura, "The Voice of the Revolution" (*Voix de la Révolution*), provides weather, news, and entertainment programs in Kirundi, French, and Swahili. In 1967 another AM station was established at Mwaro, in south central Burundi, to function as a branch of the main station in Bujumbura. Burundi has no television or FM broadcast facilities. In early 1969 the number of radio receivers in Burundi was estimated at 50,000 (see Public Information, ch. 7).

SETTLEMENT PATTERNS AND LIVING CONDITIONS

Settlement Patterns

The pattern of life in Burundi is overwhelmingly rural, with more than 90 percent of the population engaged in agriculture. Apart from the capital, Bujumbura, there are few concentrations of population, but movement toward the few towns has been increasing in recent years (see Population, ch. 4).

In the rural areas each family occupies a self-contained homestead on its own plot of land. The usual shelters, scattered over the slopes and summits of the hills, are small, beehive-shaped huts, surrounded by courtyards; the area is circled by an enclosure. Hut size is reduced to a minimum, since most activities, including food preparation, are carried on in the open air. Even the poorest family may farm several small plots of land, preferably at different altitudes or in different types of soil to reduce the risk of crop failure. The hut itself may be burned

after several years of use, when the grass roof has rotted and vermin have infested the entire structure. The soil of the hut area, enriched by night soil kitchen middens, and the ashes of the hut, is then used for planting crops, and a new hut is built elsewhere (see Population, ch. 4).

The rhythm of rural life follows the agricultural calendar. Since storage and preservation are difficult, it is important that one or more crops be maturing throughout the year. September, the end of the principal dry season, is a time of tilling the hillside soil in preparation for planting. Corn, beans, peas, gourds, and millet are generally planted during October and early November in order to gain the maximum benefits from the principal rainy season. Beans and peas are ready for harvest in January and sorghum is planted. The principal root crops, sweet potatoes and cassava, are planted in the lowlands during February and on the hills in March. The cassava begins to mature in May, whereas corn and sorghum, along with the second bean crop, are ready for harvest during June and July (see Agriculture, ch. 9).

Each crop is harvested with great selectivity. Sweet potatoes large enough to eat are extracted from the earth without disturbing the rest of the plant. Green vegetables and beans are individually collected with equal care. By planting a variety of crops, the subsistence farmer seeks to ensure against disastrous losses due to drought, insects, blight, and roving animals.

The Burundi have avoided settlement in the valleys and lower areas because of higher temperatures and the health hazards posed by the tsetse fly. The preference for residing on the crests and slopes of the hills is deeply ingrained, and the pattern has prevailed even though the family water supply must be carried up from sources in the valleys. The heaviest concentrations of population are located in the areas where the soil is most fertile—the northern and central plateau regions of Gitega, Ngozi, and Muramvya (see Population, ch. 4).

With the implementation of the Ten-Year Development Plan for Ruanda-Urundi in 1952, the Belgian Administration carried out a program of tsetse fly and mosquito eradication in the lowlands and initiated a resettlement scheme to relieve population pressures in the overcrowded regions. It proved difficult, however, to persuade residents of the densely populated uplands to move to these new developments in the east and in the Ruzizi Valley of the northwest.

Nutrition and Health

The diet varies with the agricultural season, although some

crops, such as cassava, sweet potatoes, and bananas, are usually available all year. Seasonal foods such as corn, peas, beans, and millet are commonly used. Despite the abundance of cattle, meat consumption is minimal. Fish is eaten by only a small portion of the population and is almost unknown in the upland areas. An extensive study of the eating habits of representative cross-sections of the Burundi population, carried out in 1956, revealed that most Burundi eat two meals per day and that 69 percent of the meals included beans, whereas 32 percent included sweet potatoes.

Nutritionally, the diet runs heavily to starch and is deficient in fats and proteins. A number of the prevalent health problems are directly related to these deficiencies in diet. Even though the prevalent nutritional diseases are not usually fatal in themselves, they are debilitating and may lead to other serious illnesses.

A prevalent malnutrition condition in younger children is *kwashiorkor*, which results from a severe lack of protein. This is often caused by the sudden changeover from a protein to a predominantly carbohydrate diet when the child is weaned. *Kwashiorkor* results in the death of many children, and a high rate of liver disorders has been observed in later life among those who survive.

The Burundi Government reported that there were 22,514 recorded treatments of diseases caused by nutritional deficiencies in 1966. This contrasts with 19,226 cases in 1964 and 10,427 in 1962. In addition, the physical weaknesses brought about by nutritional diseases play an important role in deaths attributed to other illnesses, such as pneumonia, tuberculosis, and dysentery. Because treatment facilities and medical personnel are limited, the statistics available serve only as indications of prevalent health problems and not as the actual number of cases existing.

Typhus and tuberculosis are two endemic diseases presenting serious problems, and the number of cases has increased significantly in recent years. There were 1,623 cases of typhus reported in 1966, as compared with only seven in 1960. Reported cases of tuberculosis numbered 2,436 in 1966, more than 1,500 above the total in 1960. Although some apparent increases may simply reflect better reporting, the number of typhus cases is said to be the result of the abandonment of measures for controlling lice, whereas the tuberculosis increase is primarily the result of the lack of treatment programs that would isolate active cases.

Other major health problems are posed by malaria and schisto-

somiasis, a disease in which flatworms damage the liver and other tissue. There were more than 3,000 known cases of schistosomiasis and 106,000 reported cases of malaria in 1966. The true number of malaria cases is unquestionably much higher, since many persons do not seek medical treatment for it. Mosquito control programs have not been consistently maintained since 1961, and the reported cases of malaria have increased by nearly 40 percent during this period.

Trypanosomiasis, a form of sleeping sickness resulting from parasites passed into the body through bites of the tsetse fly, is almost exclusively confined to Muhinga Province. Of the 205 cases treated during 1966, 192 were in the Muhinga lowlands.

There has been a significant increase in health problems related to venereal disease in recent years. Although a Government report cited 2,294 cases of syphilis and 15,032 cases of gonorrhea in 1966, it indicated that these figures were well below the actual number of persons infected. Official tabulations show that the reported instances of syphilis have doubled since 1960 and those of gonorrhea have tripled as more people receive treatment.

Other important health problems reported in 1966 were: yaws (frambesia), in which bacteria produce ulcers in tissue and eventually damage bones, 9,500 cases; whooping cough, 14,000 cases; measles, 34,200 cases; and smallpox, 363 cases. In addition, poor sanitation and water pollution contribute to the spread of bacillic and amoebic dysentery and other intestinal parasites.

Medical Personnel and Facilities

Both the preventative health programs and the medical treatment services are included under the responsibilities of the Minister of Health. For administrative purposes, the country is divided into nine public health sectors, with at least one hospital in each division. In 1967 there were nine Government hospitals and eight hospitals operated by Protestant missions. There were also 72 Government and eight missionary medical dispensaries, a number of which were equipped to serve bedridden patients. The total hospital beds available were reported at 2,728, less than one per 1,000 people.

The 17 hospitals are located in only nine centers, leaving large rural areas where no medical help of any kind is available. The hospital at Muhinga, for example, has 153 beds and serves the entire province, which had an estimated population of 384,000 in 1966. The 52-bed hospital in Rutana Province serves an estimated population of 141,000.

In 1967 it was reported that there were 39 medical doctors, four dentists, and three pharmacists serving in the country. The figures do not indicate whether or not any of these are Burundi nationals. In 1966 the Government estimated that, in the areas outside Bujumbura, there was one medical doctor for each 187,000 persons.

Other medical personnel reported by the Government in 1967 included 29 medical assistants, 19 medical technicians, and 175 nurses. Besides the hospitals and dispensaries, there were seven maternity clinics, staffed mainly by midwives; one sanitarium; and one leprosarium. The leprosarium, located in Nyankanda, Ruyigi Province, has been maintained by the American Leprosy Missions, a medical missionary organization, since its founding in 1950.

CHAPTER 4

POPULATION, INCLUDING ETHNIC GROUPS AND LANGUAGES

The most recent official census, taken in 1965, enumerated a population of 3,210,000 persons. Government estimates indicate a 1967 total of 3,340,000 based upon a yearly growth rate of between 2 and 2.5 percent. If this yearly increase is maintained, the population will reach 4,500,000 by 1980.

Density for the entire country averaged 325 persons per square mile. Regions varied from 93 to 847 per square mile, making the country one of the most densely populated in Africa. The population is overwhelmingly rural, with small clusters of family groups dispersed throughout the hilly terrain.

Approximately 46 percent of the people in the 1965 census were under 15 years of age, indicating a relatively young population. Another 46 percent were between 15 and 59, and only 8 percent were over 59 years of age.

The African population of Burundi is composed of three distinct ethnic groups: the Hutu, who make up about 83 percent of the population; the Tutsi, 16 percent; and the Twa, less than 1 percent. Group memberships are somewhat indistinct since considerable intermixing has taken place between the dominant Tutsi minority and the Hutus. Social differentiation between the two groups is obvious in occupational distribution. The Tutsi minority fills most administrative positions and about 85 percent of all important Government posts. The Hutu are usually farmers and laborers, although a few have achieved administrative positions. Small numbers of Europeans and Asians, comprising less than 1 percent of the total population, also live in Bujumbura, the capital, or in commercial centers. The Europeans function mostly as missionaries, teachers, and administrators in business and Government; most Asians are traders, small businessmen, clerks or technicians.

The national language is Rundi (Kirundi), a Bantu language closely related to Kinyarwanda, the language of neighboring Rwanda. Although minor regional variations and dialects are found among the three ethnic groups, Kirundi is generally un-

derstood throughout the country. French, which was introduced by the Belgian administrators and missionaries, is used in official documents, newspapers, and radio broadcasting. Swahili, the trade language used throughout East Africa, is spoken in trade centers, especially Bujumbura.

Population trends have been greatly influenced by periodic famines, depletion of usable lands, and immigration and emigration. Jobs on plantations and in mines in Uganda and Tanzania have drawn workers out of Burundi; meanwhile, civil unrest in Rwanda and the Congo (Kinshasa) has driven refugees into this crowded country. Burundi's Five-Year Plan for the period 1968-72, by outlining programs designed to encourage greater food production, reflected governmental recognition of the problems of feeding a growing population in a nation where pressure on the land is already intense.

ETHNIC GROUP CHARACTERISTICS

Although there has been a great deal of intermixing, the three ethnic groups still differ somewhat in physical appearance and social position. Intermarriage, especially between Hutu and Tutsi, has blended physical traits and brought at least some reduction of intergroup conflict.

The Hutu, Tutsi, and Twa share similar kinship structures, social values, and language throughout most of Burundi and her neighbor, Rwanda. They adhere to essentially the same religious beliefs, which include forms of animism, Christianity, and a combination of these beliefs (see Religion, ch. 5).

As the Hutu and Tutsi cultures have become more interrelated, it has become difficult to determine in which ethnic group certain cultural features originated. Clan membership, still a strong cultural feature, probably began with the Tutsi, and the focus on cattle, which became the basis of the society, evolved from the Tutsi pastoral tradition. On the other hand, the common language, Kirundi, is the Bantu language of the Hutu.

For several centuries the Tutsi have functioned as feudal lords, granting the use of cattle and land to Hutu cultivators in exchange for services and goods (see Historical Setting, ch. 2). As part of the agreement, the Tutsi provided their Hutu clients protection against other feudal lords. The client-sponsor agreement could be terminated at any time, but it was most likely to persist through many generations, passing to the male (patrilineal) descendants of deceased patrons and clients. This feudal relationship was the primary framework for a whole system of dominant-subordinate roles which has continued for several centuries (see Social Structure, ch. 5).

The Tutsi and the Hutu have essentially the same kinship system, in which the smallest social unit is the local kin group of the male descent line, or *umuryango*, which includes all married male members of a family and their wives, plus unmarried male and female children.

The largest kin group is the patriclan. Persons in this group recognize a common paternal descent line, but are unable to identify a specific ancestor, who may have been a mythical figure. In spite of their ancestral differences, both Tutsi and Hutu may belong to the same clan. Nine major clans are established in Burundi: the Abarunga, Abararo, Abasapfu (exclusively Tutsi), Abayogema, Abahanza, Abarango (the royal families), Ababibe, Abenengwe, and Abanyakarama (see Historical Setting, ch. 2).

A common way of intermixing ethnic groups has been the acquisition of Hutu concubines by Tutsi males. It was rare for a Hutu male to marry a Tutsi female, but when this occurred, the Hutu's social and political status was elevated. A substantial bride-price, usually in livestock, was generally required for a marriage. Local exogamy, or outgroup marriage, was most prevalent (see Family, ch. 5).

The marriage system before the advent of Christian influence was polygamous. The Tutsi husband housed his wives on separate properties, but the Hutu spouse lived in his wives' hut. Biological paternity was considered important but not essential, since legal fatherhood was based on the acceptance of the child by the man. Divorce has always been commonplace and continues to occur frequently, although it has been discouraged by Christian missionaries, who have been active in Burundi since the end of the 19th century.

The Hutu and Tutsi who have not been converted to Christianity share traditional animistic religious beliefs in which a powerful spirit called Imana is regarded as a creator. Although this dominant figure is frequently mentioned, there are no rites for his worship. The term Imana also refers to the force of good, a pervasive power which causes fecundity, prosperity, joy, and peace.

Other central values of the society are a belief in inherited hierarchical positions of superiority or inferiority, the importance of intelligent judgment, and the benefits of luck. These are recognized as factors in gaining political power and wealth. Desirable qualities include respect and love for others, good manners, and the ability to attain and hold material possessions (see Social Values, ch. 5).

Women and the earth are related symbols of fertility. There is

great veneration for fecundity and for the soil as the Supreme Mother and the source of all food.

The Hutu

The Hutu, who make up most of the population of Burundi, are identified as part of the Rwanda cluster of the East African Lake Region Bantu tribes. All of this group, which includes the ethnic Bantu in Rwanda, parts of Tanzania, Uganda, and the Congo (Kinshasa), originally came into the area from the equatorial belt to the north.

Average Hutu males are 5 feet, 5 inches tall and weigh 180 pounds. They are generally stocky, with muscular frames. Because of considerable intermixing with the Tutsi over the past four or five centuries, many Hutu have the lighter skin and more slender body structure of the Tutsi.

Traditionally, they were hoe cultivators with little division of labor by sex. Their principal crops have included beans, peas, sorghum, cassava, maize, and bananas. Under Tutsi guidance they became adept at handling cattle and adopted the Tutsi's mystical attitude toward the herds (see Agriculture, ch. 9). Work is highly valued, and the ideal man is one who is hard working, prosperous, and proud of his reputation, although he may not hold an important position in the social structure (see Social Values, ch. 5).

Before independence in 1962, the Hutu were the social inferiors of the Tutsi rulers and were forced to contribute agricultural produce and to perform numerous menial services for Tutsi overlords (see Social Structure, ch. 5). Since the political upheaval of the past decade, the Hutu have begun to take part in the social and political systems. They are still primarily agriculturalists, but a minority has been developing trades and skills and has taken over a few of the more significant positions in Government and commerce (see Political Dynamics and Values, ch. 6).

The Tutsi

The Tutsi are tall, slender, angular, relatively light-skinned Nilotic people. Their average height is 5 feet, 8 inches, and the average weight is 126 pounds. Some members of the court or certain royal dancers are more than 6 feet, 3 inches tall, but these individuals are from a specific, highly inbred clan and do not represent the average.

The Tutsi have been pastoralists and warriors since their earliest known history. Since their arrival in the area 300 to 400 years ago, they have controlled the Burundi populace, com-

posed of an elite minority of Tutsi lords and a majority of Hutu commoners in a sharply stratified society (see Social Structure, ch. 5). Control was based upon the hierarchical arrangement of Tutsi clans, in which marriage within the clan, endogamy, was customary. Power was passed down through patrilineal descent. The Tutsi undoubtedly had their own tribal language when they came to Burundi from the north, probably during the 17th century, but the succeeding generations adopted the Kirundi language of the Hutu (see Historical Setting, ch. 2, and Social Structure, ch. 5).

The Twa

The Twa are a pygmoid subgroup of the larger group of Twi pygmies, who are the first known inhabitants of eastern and central Africa. They closely resemble the pygmy, but are somewhat larger; the average male is 5 feet, 1 inch in height and weighs about 105 pounds. They have wide noses, tightly curled hair, and yellowish body hair. The Hutu and Tutsi treat them as inferiors and refer to them in various derogatory terms, allegedly because of what they regard as unacceptable dietary and hygienic customs.

The Twa are by preference forest dwellers with a food-gathering and hunting economy. Centuries ago they retreated from the path of the agrarian Hutu who were systematically reducing the forest area. Generations later, after the Tutsi had achieved political, economic, and social dominance over the Hutu, the Twa settled near the courts of the Tutsi nobility and served as dancers, buffoons, guards, and concubines. Some still roam the surviving forests as hunters and gatherers; others have established themselves permanently near Hutu and Tutsi groups, where they work as potters and artisans.

LANGUAGE AND COMMUNICATIONS

Kirundi, the major language, is spoken throughout the country. It is closely related to Kinyarwanda, the language of Rwanda. Both are important in the Bantu subgroup of the central branch of the Niger-Congo linguistic family, and speakers of the two constitute the third largest language group among all the Bantu languages. In contrast to other Bantu languages, which may be spoken by people scattered over a wide geographic area, Kirundi and Kinyarwanda speakers are found only in the relatively small Hutu and Tutsi tribal areas which have now become the nations of Burundi and Rwanda.

Both languages are filled with complexities. In Kirundi, the difficulties arise primarily from unique pronunciations and from

combinations of prefixes, roots, and stems which are used to make up the numerous and highly diverse verb forms. All verbs fall into one of two tone classes, distinguishable according to the presence or absence of a high tone. There are endless variations by which the tonal system can change the meaning of words.

In contrast, spelling in Kirundi is relatively easy because sounds are distinctive and patterns are consistent. There are five vowels, a, e, i, o, u, which may be of either long or short duration. As in most Bantu languages, consonants occur at the beginning of a syllable, never at the end. Many words begin with vowels, and every word ends with a vowel.

All Burundi speak Kirundi, but there are dialectical and regional variations. The forms spoken by the Tutsi and Hutu are very similar, whereas the variation used by the Twa has more obvious peculiarities.

Kirundi is rich in vocabulary used to explain the ancient traditions. Children and cattle were important traditional focal points of the society. The mystical importance of cattle is illustrated by the presence in the language of a large number of words related to cattle culture and bovine traits and virtues. Metaphors and symbols are drawn from pastoralist activities (see *Artistic and Intellectual Expression*, ch. 7).

Technical and scientific terms are scarce in this traditional pastoralist language. French, introduced by early colonial officials and missionaries, is taught in the secondary schools, used in the sciences, and accepted in Government as a second official language of the country. The use of Swahili, a trade language, is growing in cities and markets as a means of communicating across language families.

POPULATION STRUCTURE

Most population statistics for Burundi are informed estimates based upon data from official Government publications, United Nations documents, Belgian administrative figures, and missionary reports. Demographic Inquiry, a 1965 census by the Burundi Government, indicated a population totaling 3,210,000.

No official analysis of fertility, fecundity, or mortality rates was included in the 1965 census report. Unofficial sources suggest an annual rate of approximately 46 births per 1,000 persons during the past 15 years. United Nations figures for 1964 tend to correlate with this estimate, indicating that about 147,920 babies were born in Burundi during that year.

Partly because of a reluctance among the Burundi to record

or admit infant deaths, useful infant mortality statistics are not available. Miscarriage and stillbirth rates are thought to be high, but rates cannot be accurately determined. One estimate suggests that the infant mortality rate—the death rate of children under 1 year old—was as high as 150 per 1,000 live births in 1965. Annual mortality rates were reported to be approximately 25 per 1,000 per year in the 1950's, with a trend toward a lower rate. Registration of deaths is usually low, but there may be a small reduction in the rate due to moderate improvements in health and sanitation facilities. Longevity estimates, based upon official Burundi statistics and United Nations figures, suggest that life expectancy at birth is 35 for males and 38.5 for females.

A study of marriage in the year 1960 indicated that the mean age at the time of formal marriage in the general population was 22.9 years for males and 22.1 years for females. There were approximately 104 married women per 100 married men, indicating the existence of a limited number of plural marriages. Approximately half of all women over 45 years of age had been widowed or divorced. The average number of members in a nuclear family varied from 3.7 in certain settlements which had some village characteristics to 6.6 per family in the more typical outlying, separate dwellings of the farmers who live on the land they farm and who have no significant community relationships outside the family.

The illiteracy rate is high. In 1966 an estimated 68 percent of the people in the few existing villages or commercial centers and 96 percent in the outlying areas were unable to read or write. About 5 percent of the population was attending educational institutions in 1966; approximately 147,000 students were in primary schools and 4,000 in secondary schools.

Population Distribution

The average population density in 1969 was approximately 325 per square mile, which is relatively high by comparison with most of Africa. Density varied from 847 persons per square mile in some areas to 93 in others.

Inhabitants generally settle in family groupings. Villages, with their sense of community and exchange of services and goods, are not an important part of the settlement pattern in Burundi. Some organized communities exist, but most people have had no experience of interrelationships other than family ties and feel no desire for more communal exchanges. Each family constructs a separate dwelling encompassed by a fence (*rugo*). Within the fence there are fig trees, a banana grove, and fields

of produce (*itongo*) planted for the family's subsistence. The dwellings are normally atop the hillock (*ichango*) on which the various families have their land. There are concentrations of people near some Christian mission stations, but these have not developed into organized communities (see Social Structure, ch. 5).

In 1960 the Government divided the entire country into administrative communes or municipalities. Adjoining communes make up districts, which in turn comprise the eight provinces of the Republic. The governmental boundaries have little significance for the inhabitants, who do not generally regard themselves as belonging to any system other than the family.

Regional comparisons show an uneven population distribution, with the highest density being in the northwest and central areas. A large portion of the population lives in the central plateau regions near Gitega, Ngozi, and Muramvya, between 5,000 and 7,000 feet above sea level. This completely deforested central area is exceptional for its preponderance of cattle-raising Tutsi; the Hutu are in the majority in all other areas. High population densities are also found near Makamba in the south-central portion of the country and at Kigwena in the southwest, on the shores of Lake Tanganyika. In 1965 the central Province of Ngozi had the largest population of the eight provinces—approximately 750,000 people, averaging 622 per square mile. Bujumbura, on the western border, is the only major city and is the focal point of another high-density area.

Lowest densities occur in areas below 4,900 feet, where the climate is hot and humid and the incidence of human and animal disease is greater than at higher altitudes. These low altitudes tend to be in the eastern and western border areas; thus, concentrations of people are relatively lower in the southeastern corner of the country where forest still covers much of the land, in the swampy east-central border area, and at the lower altitudes of the Rift Valley north of Bujumbura. The density is also relatively low in the southern regions where rainfall is low and farmland is less productive than in the central highlands.

There are no accurate statistics on immigration. Estimates prepared after the civil disturbances of the early 1960's in Rwanda suggest that between 20,000 and 40,000 Rwandese immigrants settled in Burundi. In 1963 and 1964 at least 5,000 Congolese refugees entered the country and possibly took up residence.

Periodic internal movements, such as the travels of nomadic cattle herders in the central region of Bunyambo, have been a factor for centuries in the continuing mixing of Tutsi and Hutu

groups. The search for grass brought the pastoralists into contact with settled agriculturalists and fostered intermarriage.

In the Demographic Inquiry of 1965, the urban population was listed at only 71,000 out of a total of 3,210,000, indicating that only Bujumbura, the capital, was officially regarded as an urban center. Several thousand people live in the enlarged but non-urban settlements of the Gitega-Muramvya-Giheta area, which is the ancient seat of the Bami, or rulers, located in the central highlands. The area has a few urban facilities, such as a small airfield, a radio station, and a museum of traditional art. Several province capitals function as both administrative and trade centers and therefore have become expanded settlements. Small agricultural market centers have become more important throughout much of the country during the last 10 years, but have not developed into organized towns. In 1969 the population remained almost entirely rural.

Bujumbura is the major port on Lake Tanganyika and the only major transportation and trade center in Burundi. It has an international airfield, a radio station, hotels, restaurants, sports facilities, and a university just starting. As the center of Government and commerce, it has attracted a variety of people. Most of the Europeans and Asians in Burundi live here, and there are workers, traders, and refugees from the Congo (Kinshasa) and several other African countries.

CHAPTER 5

SOCIAL STRUCTURE, FAMILY, RELIGION, AND SOCIAL VALUES

The traditional society remained intact in 1969. The political and governmental influence associated with colonial rule, international guardianship, and independence has never penetrated deeply into the daily life of the rural, family-oriented population. The Constitution of 1962 called for equality, but the rigid caste system remained in effect, and the Constitution had been suspended since 1966.

Family, clan, and local kin group affiliations continued to be the focal points of societal unity. Close-knit family units are maintained under unquestioned paternal authority. Large clans of ancient origin still exist, but they have been subdivided into lineages, or groups of persons claiming common ancestors. Bloodlines are of primary importance, but it is the local, loosely defined residential kin group which provides the most support to the maturing individual. It is through adherence to rigid family and clan traditions that the individual seeks happiness. Few nonfamily social groupings or clubs exist.

The traditional marriage system included limited polygyny. Marriage between certain blood relatives, cross-cousins (children of a brother and a sister), was preferred, but incest taboos precluded marriages between other close relatives. In customary law a marriage is validated by the transfer of a bridewealth from the family of the bridegroom to that of the bride. Young men usually select their mates, but seek family cooperation because they are dependent upon the family for the bridewealth, which is usually paid in cattle.

Parents in this tradition-bound society carefully instill approved traits in their children. Successful men are sophisticated, eloquent, and constantly cognizant of their paternal duties. Collectively, women are respected as the embodiment of fertility, but individual women rarely have any authority in the social structure. They are trained to be content with their status in the hierarchical society.

Christianity, especially Roman Catholicism, has attracted many converts. Approximately two-thirds of the people were at least nominally Christian in 1969. Many of the existing medical and educational programs were established by missionaries. Thus, the Christian schools helped to influence the thinking of many of the political and social leaders of the 1960's. Although the influence of the mission schools remains strong, and the required education leads to opportunities for positions of leadership, recent ferment at the governmental level has opened other routes to positions of prestige. One result has been a tendency among some converts to drift away from both the opportunities and the teachings found in Christian schools, thereupon reverting to traditional rituals and beliefs.

The traditional religion includes three important components: the recognition of Imana, the creator spirit (see Glossary); the presence of the spirits of one's ancestors; and the existence of a life substance that pervades all beings. The ancestral spirits are malicious and must be placated. Witchcraft by men or women is widely feared, and magicoreligious practitioners are also consulted, even when modern medicine is used during an illness.

Total resignation to the will of Imana accounts for the fatalistic outlook of most Burundi. They believe that natural phenomena and their own personal fate cannot be controlled. This conviction, along with strong family ties and the desire for fertility, is one of the most pervasive social values. The performance of rituals and observance of taboos ward off evil and assure future abundance.

Significant social changes have involved only a small number of people. A minor percentage of the rural population has migrated to one of the few larger settlements or to Bujumbura. A small group is aware of European concepts of social equality. A few businessmen, commercial farmers, and wage earners are participating in the embryonic money economy. Meanwhile, the overwhelming rural majority, preoccupied with survival on overcrowded land, continue to be guided by oral traditions.

All Burundi have a strong spiritual attachment to cattle, which are primarily a medium of exchange and a symbol of wealth and prestige, and only secondarily a source of food. Most clientship contracts between Tutsi and Hutu involved cattle, land, or both.

Beer, made from bananas or sorghum, is an indispensable factor in Burundi life. Every ritual, contract, discussion, or visit, whether important or minor, involves the consumption of beer by all the participants.

SOCIAL STRUCTURE

Traditional Social Structure

The traditional sociopolitical system is based upon three factors: the hierarchial lord-vassal relationships manifested in the Tutsi-Hutu caste division, operating through the *ubugabire* feudal land system; the tight family orientation, as opposed to a communal or village organization; and the superiority of the male role expressed in the custom of patrilineal descent.

The *ubugabire* was essentially a system by which the ruling Tutsi cattle owners granted patronage, protection, and the use of cattle to Hutu serfs. It operated under the leadership of the Mwami (king) and *ganwa* (princes of royal blood), who allocated authority to their relatives or to individuals in their personal service. Included within the courts were the *ntore*, vassals and military aides directly responsible to the Mwami; *bagen-danyi*, young attendants who would eventually gain positions of authority and prestige; *bakamyi*, persons with supernatural power designated to milk the royal herd of cows; *abungene*, herders of the royal cattle; *bakervi*, the cook who had the complete trust of the Mwami; and *inshoreke*, female attendants and servants who constantly accompanied him. Each of these positions was attained only through dedication and service to the Mwami.

Until the system was modified after independence, the Mwami held eminent domain over all lands. The acreage was actually controlled and managed by his chiefs and subchiefs, to whom it had been apportioned. The householders occupied their own *kraals* (farmsteads) or *kongo* (plots of land), but held only the right to work the land, keeping a share of the produce and giving a portion to the patron as usufruct payment. The farmer could share his land rights with his children or other relatives, but according to customary law the Mwami could tax cultivated land, seize it as a penalty for crimes, or demand its return if the farmer failed to fulfill feudal obligations (see Political and Governmental Systems, ch. 6).

Traditionally, the Hutu, both men and women, tilled the soil. At times an impoverished Tutsi would also work the land, but generally his clan would, when necessary, make arrangements for him to borrow cattle, the symbol of superior status, so that he would not lose prestige. The Tutsi considered work with a hoe demeaning and made their living by owning and dealing in cattle. Through their contracts with the Hutu, the Tutsi perpetuated a system in which it was unnecessary for them to do any manual labor. The Hutu worked the land and sought the

privilege of caring for cattle he did not own. For his efforts he received protection from enemies and the chance to become the owner of some of the increase in cattle thereby achieving some degree of wealth and prestige.

The *ubugabire*, or patron-client system, was similar to a feudal relationship in that the Tutsi *shebuja* (lord) entrusted his Hutu *mugabire* (serfs) with cattle. The transfer was not ownership, but a symbol of a contract between the parties, a relationship which allowed the lord to expect services and produce and the serfs to expect protection from other lords and favors from his master. The stipulations imposed on the serfs were extensive. The milk and the calves born of the cattle entrusted to them generally were considered the property of the Hutu. The Hutu could not kill or dispose of cattle, nor could they leave the lord's territory. It was also the patron's right to set aside a specific cow and her increase as his own.

If the *mugabire* neglected his duties, the *shebuja* had the option of asking for the return of the cattle. Patrons could break contracts for the slightest transgressions. If, however, the *mugabire* proved diligent and ambitious in managing cattle, he could eventually become a patron, contracting cattle to others. The contract usually passed from father to son for both patron and client. Generally, possession of land or cattle through inheritance united a man and his ancestors in such a way that he was eternally indebted to them for their goodness. Contracts were formalized by an exchange of gifts, which gave each party a sense of security in his contractual relationship with the other.

Changing Social Structure

Changes affecting the traditional hierarchical, social, and political order began as early as the 1940's. Many of the Tutsi chiefs were being converted to Christianity and were affected by Western thought and customs. Partly because of the influence of Catholic missionaries, monogamy was replacing polygyny which, in turn, affected the overlords who had held large estates through assistance from several wives. A formerly effective system, in which the lords parceled out land through trusteeships to subchiefs, was also breaking down.

The Belgian Administration had its effect on the old order through technical knowledge as well as through authority. The system needed a clerical staff, and it utilized local citizens who had been educated in missionary schools. The prestige positions at the Mwami's court lost their appeal, and the status previously attributed to the court was undermined.

The *ntore* disappeared, and a new clerical (*karani*) system

was making obsolete the old *bagendanyi* system of training young attendants for future service to the elite. The Mwami lost many of his followers, who had seen an alternative to his authority.

The feudal land tenure system was theoretically abolished in 1955. In 1956 the Conseil Supérieur du Pays (Chief Council) presented to the Governor General a program which suggested that grazing land be owned communally and independent agriculturalists be allowed to consider their cultivated land as private property. This proposal was never actually made into law. Some planners believed in 1969 that, unless it was made into law and the *ubugabire* system was totally eliminated, a significant improvement in the standard of living could not be achieved (see Agriculture, ch. 9).

According to Article 6 of the Constitution of 1962, all men are equal under law and are granted equal fundamental rights. By 1969 some Hutu had attained an improved status, some as resourceful agriculturalists and a few as soldiers. Market centers were growing, although they were still not well developed.

As a moderate shift toward a market economy developed, a gradual but continuing change in the relationship between the Hutu majority and the Tutsi overlords has been taking place. The Hutu have taken a few steps toward economic and social equality and have increased hopes for further improvement.

A minority of the young men who have acquired more than a few years of schooling are eager to go into civil administration rather than into social service or professions, such as medical work, where they are badly needed. They prefer the prestige ascribed to Government. There is a small, new elite group composed of students, youth leaders, civil servants, and Army officers who have been competing among themselves for power. Their different orientations and social motivations prolong the traditional caste distinctions as they develop a social class system. The Catholic young people, many of them educated in mission schools, have been emerging in leadership roles. These are only the beginnings of basic social change, however, especially for Hutu youth. President Michel Micombero and most of his officials in 1969 were Tutsi. Only a few Hutu had risen to middle- or upper-level Government positions (see Political and Governmental Systems, ch. 6).

FAMILY

Bududira, the spirit of the traditional family, is an orientation of all members to the lifelong welfare of the whole. Family cohesion and stability are based upon the father's authority. The homestead provides a residential base for the nuclear family, the

spouses and their children. On occasion the family may be extended to include other relatives, such as an elderly parent, aunt, or uncle. Plural marriage was preferred in the past, for it made possible an estate system in which property could be kept in the family and managed by its members.

The traditional family structure has been influenced by Christianity in recent decades, particularly by the prohibition of polygyny, but by lesser social factors as well. In the Christian-influenced family, members often pay homage to ancestral gods as well as recite psalms taught by the missionaries. The modern legal code promulgated since independence also outlaws polygyny. If it were enforced, it would change not only family patterns, but also traditional economic and social structures, because the practice of plural marriage allowed for centralized property holding under the control of the larger and stronger family units.

Interfamilial Relations

The male head of the household, exercising the prerogatives of authority derived from the clan ancestors, governs all family affairs. His duties go beyond immediate affairs, such as presiding over discussions allocating family duties and leading the rites of worship, and include the responsibility for maintaining the dignity of the family and insuring the future of the clan. The reward for successfully caring for the family is its complete loyalty throughout his life and propitiation of his spirit after his death. He can expect that vengeance will be sought by his heir if his death is caused by violence, whether by physical attack or witchcraft. The family head has the right to punish any actions on family members that violate his dignity or have any ill effect on his personal prestige. Historically, he had the authority to kill a family member who was a subordinate. Respect was so important and behavior so tightly controlled that a child was never allowed to speak the name of his father who, as the creator of the child, assumed the privilege of naming it, because the society believed that he should determine the personality qualities implied in the name.

A strong taboo prohibits the father from entering the huts of his daughters after they have reached puberty. After they marry and have a child, he is allowed to resume paternal contacts with them. The mother visits the daughter frequently, showing her affection by bringing small gifts. The relationship between brothers and sisters is usually amicable. A male and his sister's children form a special relationship in that he is expected to help provide for and nurture them and is respected as a second father.

The father's sister is also given a great deal of respect by the children.

A strict avoidance taboo separates a male from his mother-in-law and a female from her father-in-law. A bridegroom, desiring respect and friendship, periodically gives the wife's family beer and other gifts. He fears them and is always on guard against any misunderstandings that might occur in the relationship between the two families. The birth of children lessens the requirement for avoiding in-laws, and an attitude of distant respect is adopted by both parties.

Family ties are generally so strong and inclusive that there are no unattached persons; all relatives are taken care of by clan members, regardless of the degree of blood relationship. The elderly, especially grandparents, when too old to work, are provided for within the homestead and treated with deference, for they will soon join the clan ancestors. If a child has been orphaned, another nuclear family of his parents' clan will, without formal arrangements, take the child as its own. Little notice is taken of actual parentage; the child is treated as a natural child of the adoptive family.

The death of the family head changes the living pattern within the homestead. Although the various members continue to live in close residential proximity, the original family land is divided among the heirs. The chosen heir, generally the eldest son of the first wife, receives legal authority, religious amulets, personal property, and tools of the father. If there are no heirs, the brothers of the deceased divide the property, and the childless widow returns to her family. If an individual dies and leaves no immediate family, a clan or district chief takes over the property.

Fictive or Blood Brotherhood

Occasionally, in the traditional society, when a member of one clan set up a strong friendship with a member of another, they entered into a unique type of social relationship, the *ukanywana* (blood brotherhood). Having decided to share their clan identity, the two parties performed a ceremony to formalize the relationship. Blood from skin incisions on the chest of each man was mixed and drunk by both parties. As part of the ritual, they pledged eternal loyalty and mutual assistance, especially in accumulating cattle.

Larger Kin Groups

Aside from the family, there are few units of organization in the society. The loosely organized patrilineal clan, composed of blood relatives bound through a male line, is the basis of whatever traditional social organization extended beyond the family.

The clan functions to protect its members and, if necessary, to avenge violent deaths. Beyond this, clan membership involves only a limited degree of communal sharing. They provide the framework of the castes and the hierarchy of superiors and inferiors.

More than 200 clans are in existence, because many of the original clans have been segmented or subdivided into several branches, each having its own totemic figure and taboos. Prestigious clans often boast of primordial ancestral founders. Generally, the Tutsi have filled the major clans, which boasted the strongest traditions. Most Hutu belong to less important clans.

Clans are subdivided into lineages, the descendants of a grandfather and a great-grandfather. These are called the *bomunzu*, or *abo bunzu imwe* (those in one household), or persons living in one *kraal* presided over by an elder (*abajuru*). The council that makes a group decision is generally composed of lineage heads, who speak with authority for all members of their groups.

Another social unit, the local kin group, has no defined limits. It may consist of no more than a few nuclear families, or it may be so large that members lose track of the actual lines of relationship. It functions to assist individual members and to unite them in the performance of ancestor cult rituals. As a cooperative group, it is distinct from clans, which may be spread over so wide an area that they are no longer able to maintain contact with or assist each other. The local kin group acts as a unit in religious ceremonies, present its views to the Government as an entity, and takes collective responsibility in cases of crimes involving its members. Members regularly exchange food, beer, and other commodities. They assist one another in farming, herding, constructing huts, and establishing patron-client relationships.

Changing Family Patterns

In the larger settlements, family and clan systems have begun to give way to communal relationships, and neighborhood groups are developing along with the traditional family ties. Societies sponsored by Catholic missions are providing social opportunities for the young. As the social changes of recent decades reach more families, the young people's dependence upon blood ties has been reduced. For example, since a marriage without the exchange of bridewealth is recognized by the State and the missionaries, a young man need not look to his family to arrange a marriage. As the members of the younger generation are freed from depending upon living family members, they may also become less concerned about traditional beliefs and customs.

Since independence the traditional emphasis on family and clan

affiliation has been reduced. Close family relationships have been weakened by land shortages, for it has become difficult for sons to settle near their father's homestead after marriage. Traditionally, the young man and his bride would live for a time with his father before taking up a permanent residence on land given to them. This is no longer possible, and many new families are forced to migrate to new land. Meanwhile, the interwoven patterns of social relationships, fortified by geographical proximity, are breaking down. For some, migration is made more tolerable by the promise of available land in the new governmental *payasanaat* settlements (see Glossary). The married couples who have moved away lack communication facilities and tend to lose touch with their immediate families. Their family feeling continues to be strong, however, and they attempt to visit their home area frequently.

LIFE CYCLE OF THE INDIVIDUAL

The stages in the life of an individual are observed through elaborate rituals and exchanges of gifts. Birth, naming, marriage, and death are ritually important, but the onset of puberty is not accompanied by ceremony. Numerous taboos and rituals are designed to insure the close ties of the family and to intensify cooperation within the group.

Birth and Naming

The birth of a child, preferably a male, is considered a joyful occasion for both civil and religious reasons. Procreation assures the perpetuation of the clan. Male children are highly prized because they contribute to the power of the clan, whereas female children are welcome because they will bring in bridewealth although they eventually pass out of their clan and into their husband's clan. It is not uncommon for a Hutu woman to have as many as eight to 12 children. The Tutsi birth rate is somewhat lower. Many infants die at birth or in early childhood, but there is always an abundance of children.

A woman desires children and takes herbal juices to increase her fecundity. When pregnancy occurs she consults a medicine man, who gives her amulets to protect the embryo against evil spirits. She receives instructions in food taboos. As an added precaution, to insure a healthy child, the husband sometimes blows tobacco smoke at her. Recently there has been great stress on prenatal care, and many women visit a missionary or Government dispensaries and clinics when they learn they are to bear a child.

Artificial abortion (*kukorora*), induced by intensive massage and infusion of herbs, may be resorted to on rare occasions when

an unmarried woman is to bear a child. Although there appear to be no formal laws against abortion, it is treated as a criminal offense. Infanticide is very rare and occurs only if a woman does not want the work involved in child rearing. This is a crime in customary (traditional) law.

Most children are born in the home; very few in medical facilities. When it is time for a child to be born, the woman calls in her female neighbors, including some who are experienced midwives. As soon as the child is born, it is washed in cold water and rubbed with butter. As protections against harmful spirits, the placenta is buried under the bed, and the umbilical cord is kept as an amulet. The infant's limbs are massaged so that they will take the proper shape. After 6 days of seclusion, the child is presented to the family or clan in the *ujusohor* ceremony. The mother is honored with a special crown of maternity. She and the child are greeted by the family and given gifts of beer and, possibly, money.

Twins (*amahassa*) are believed to have been conceived by intervention of some supernatural force through intercourse with the spirits. They are believed to be the favorites of the gods and will be called to their ancestors unless the parents perform special sacrifices. Their birth may be an omen of disaster, so it creates apprehension for the entire community.

Children born of marriages in which bridewealth has not been paid or whose birth has not been sanctioned by marriage are in an unfortunate position because their bloodline has not been consecrated by a paternal clan. Blood kin of the mother have no way of accepting the child into their lineage. Generally, the mother and child are hidden or sent away so that they will not defile the ancestral lands. The mother may eventually marry, whereupon her husband will accept the child into his clan.

The *kwamakiriri* (naming ceremony) takes place when the child has grown hair, is learning to walk, and the danger of early death is decreasing. Names relate to events during birth, familiar incidents, or attributes of Imana. Children are sometimes named Kaimana (little Imana), Mbonimana (gift of Imana), Ndorimana (appearance of Imana), or Keschimana (ornament of Imana). If a couple has an 11th child, it is named Misage (to go too far). The twelfth is named Ijana (hundredth or many), and the thirteenth, Niboyu (cease), which is a prayer to Imana to stop the superabundance of gifts.

In instances where a man and woman have lost several children in infancy, they may guard against further mortality by naming the child "mouse excrement" or "prostitute" in the hopes that the unsavory name will be unattractive to the spirits and

they will not snatch the child away. The paternal grandfather presides over the rite at which the child receives a proper name, his clan name, and one or more nicknames. Nicknames are given because calling a person by his proper name may bring him harm. The baby's hands and feet are anointed, and the families are told the reason for its name. Among the many Burundi who have accepted Christian teachings, the ceremony may be supplemented by baptism and legal birth registration.

Childhood and Puberty

Education by the family begins with the inculcation, almost immediately after birth, of the codes of proper behavior. The child is fed and reared entirely by the mother. Breast feeding persists as long as the mother has milk, sometimes until the child is 3 or 4 years of age, or when the woman discovers she is pregnant again. The child is carried in a sling on the mother's back; older children ride astride the mother's hip. Playthings for boys include swords, spears, and bows and arrows. Both boys and girls play with nuts, hiding them in the sand. Girls are introduced to woman's work early in their development. Sex distinctions are made immediately, as the boys are unclad, but girls are given strings of beads for their hips. Little attention is paid to the difference. Children are expected to obey and respect their superiors; girls are generally under the tutelage of the mother, boys under the father.

There are few rituals or organized social activities for the maturing child. Sexual taboos are not significant before puberty. There are no circumcision, clitoridectomy, or other rites associated with *kukura*, the transition from childhood to puberty, which generally is observed between the ages of 12 and 15. There are no age sets, clubs, or communal huts for either maturing boys or girls.

Marriage and Divorce

Generally, a man marries in his late teens or early twenties, or as soon as he can obtain the necessary bridewealth from his family. Males do not voluntarily remain bachelors, and celibacy is practically nonexistent. For most young men, the bridewealth is still a necessary factor in the arrangements for a wife. Bride stealing is unknown, and women are not eager to run away with a man without the legitimacy and the insurance of her future provided by the transfer of the bridewealth.

A father is instrumental in obtaining a first wife for his son. Before the marriage, a series of visits takes place between the parents of the young couple, during which they discuss the

economic arrangements and the desirability of a union between the two families. The tutelary ancestral spirits are invoked, since their agreement is necessary for and extension of the family through a marriage. Eventually, a pot of beer is blessed in the name of the young man's paternal ancestors. The girl's parents perform a sacrifice to Lyangombe, the spirit of fecundity. On the last visit the young man accompanies his family. This visit completes the arrangements for the union, but the marriage is not valid until after the exchange of gifts and the movement of the bride from her homestead to that of the father of the bridegroom.

On the wedding day a cortege leaves the bridegroom's home bearing gifts and the bridewealth. The girl is taken from her home; she cries and resists, but gifts appease her sorrow. She is blessed, crowned with flowers, which symbolize future maternity, and goes to her new home to be introduced to the family and ancestors. During the feast that follows, the girl and her relatives sing, dance, and drink beer. Traditionally, her parents are excluded from the festivities. The young couple receive gifts from members of both families.

The bridewealth, a compensation to the girl's clan, is generally in cattle, goats, and hoes, but sometimes a young bull or ewe suffices. Gifts are also given to the bridegroom's family by the relatives of the bride. The exchange symbolizes a new alliance between families and legitimizes the children. Divorce is made more difficult by the transfer of bridewealth, as it is the custom in a divorce to reimburse the male's family. Marriage without bridewealth is thought to be precarious and very unwise. The girl's reputation is important in determining the size of the bridewealth, as great value is placed on her virginity.

In the minority of cases in which the bridewealth custom is no longer observed, marriage is becoming an individual arrangement rather than the union of families. Recently, a few Burundi students married non-Burundi mates, but most young men who reached the marriage age in 1969 still followed the traditional marriage customs.

Customary law prohibits certain marriages. Members of the immediate nuclear family and persons who belong to the same clan cannot marry. This taboo applies to any two persons who can trace their parents back to a common ancestor. Traditionally, it was uncommon for a Hutu man to marry a Tutsi woman because of caste distinctions. This occurred only when, through special favor of the Mwami, a Hutu's status was raised and verified by the bestowal of a Tutsi woman.

Although the rule against marriage within the nuclear family unit is strongly enforced, cross-cousins are considered preferred

mates. Such arrangements, between a male and his father's sister's daughter or his mother's brother's daughter, or between a female and her father's sister's son or mother's brother's son do not break the taboo against clan intermarriages; they keep the family and its wealth closely united.

The termination of a marriage without elaborate formal procedures is relatively common. The husband sends the wife away, and she returns to her parents, who generally attempt to reconcile the marriage so that the bridewealth will not have to be returned. If arbitration is not successful the marriage is dissolved.

The husband expects total fidelity of the wife. If she is unfaithful, he sends her away. He may do the same if she is barren, for sterility is always considered the fault of the woman. Idleness or neglect of wifely duties also lead to divorce and the return of the bridewealth. Rules of fidelity do not apply as stringently if the husband has been unfaithful, but ill treatment or reluctance to provide the necessities of life constitute grounds upon which the wife can divorce the husband.

Another marriage can be arranged at any time after a divorce. It generally does not take long for the woman to remarry, since women, with their childbearing potential, are always in demand. Four or five marriages and separations by one person are not uncommon. Divorce is forbidden among Catholics, but Catholic women may leave their husbands and return to their fathers' compounds. Young children accompany the mother, but the father is obliged to help support them. He may expect the male children to return to him when they are old enough to leave the mother.

Death, Burial and Mourning

Rituals connected with death and mourning are most significant in their attempts to solidify the family and society which has lost one of its members. The family of the deceased suspends all daily activities. Their subsistence needs are taken care of by friends or relatives, and their sorrow is shared by the extended family and communal group.

Because of the belief that the individual lives on as an ancestral spirit, the deceased is buried near the dwelling of his kin. A deceased family head is placed in a grave near the cattle enclosure. The soul is said to leave the body to find a new residence. This does not imply reward or punishment through reincarnation, but indicates belief in a continuity of the spirit's participation in family life. The corpse is placed in a crouched position, with limbs bent and tied to prevent the spirit from returning. During the funeral, female relatives wail and attempt to prevent

the body from being buried. At the end of the ceremony the family goes to the river and performs a purification ritual.

During the time of mourning, which may last for as long as 2 months, family members are not allowed to eat salt, cut their hair, or have sexual relations. To emphasize their sorrow, immediate relatives may rub their bodies with kaolin, a chalky mineral.

A widow becomes the ward of her dead husband's brother or, in some cases, marries either the husband's brother, or levirate, or a member of his family. If none of these is possible, she returns to her own family.

RELIGION

Article 13 of the Constitution, which is used as the guideline for presidential decree, assures all Burundi of "Freedom of religion, public exercise of it and the freedom and manifest opinions" (see Political and Governmental Systems, ch. 6). In 1969 over half of the population had been converted from the traditional tribal beliefs to some form of Christianity.

Adherence to dogma, either traditional or Christian, is flexible. Christianity, as a pure form, is rare except near mission centers. In rural areas, especially, converts generally retain traditional beliefs simultaneously with their adopted religious faith.

The traditional belief states that all men and animals possess the same principal life force, *igitshutshu*, which is projected into physical existence. This invisible soul, which an animal carries disappears when the creature dies, but in humans it is transformed into a spirit of the dead. It eventually eliminates the personal identity of the human and becomes an energy force in the spiritual world. Rituals and mediators allay impending disaster from malevolent spirits. Imana is the most powerful force, but is least concerned with worldly activities.

Catholic missionaries have been active since the late 19th century. Certain similarities between tribal religion and Christianity account for much of the success of the missionaries. In addition to proselytizing, the Church has been instrumental in establishing educational, medical, and social work facilities and in contributing to the development of a native elite and leadership class. Since independence, youth organizations started under religious auspices have turned to social and political activities.

Islam, Hinduism, and Buddhism are practiced by a small number of persons who compose the Asian population. Non-Christian religions have not actively sought converts, but they are influential in urban centers where their members control economic and mercantile activities. Independent and separatist churches

have not yet developed, even though the form of Christianity practiced in the outlying areas is an agglomeration of beliefs.

The High God and Spirits

Imana is the core of traditional religion. He and a group of nondivinatory spirit are accorded specific functions in the invisible world. Although many spirits are of local origin, the belief in Imana as the eternal, supreme source of all good is universal in Burundi. Imana's names indicate the roles he performs in relationship to man. Reverential titles include: Rurema, the creator; Rugaba, the giver; Rukaza, the healer; Sebibondo, he of little children; Itanga or Itangikunda, he who gives with love; Niyonzima, the living one; and Rugira, always active.

The saying "Imana Y'i Burundi" (Burundi is Imana's country) indicates the nation's strong dependence on the supreme being. The people's fatalistic attitude and total resignation to his will are illustrated in the statement "We have done our best, it is up to him." The name is used in proverbs, in naming children, and as words of comfort, warnings against complacency, blessings, salutations, and during rites associated with marriage and death. Oaths take the form of "May Imana give me a stroke," or "May I be killed by Imana." In another instance, when a long-desired child is born, people say to the new mother, "Imana has removed your shame."

There are no formalized public cults, sacrifices, idols, or priests dedicated to Imana, but individuals perform informal ceremonies imploring his blessing. There is a tradition that, before retiring, a woman may leave a pitcher of water for Imana, with the hope that he will make her fertile. At times the word "imana" is used in flattering the spirit, which is somewhat contradictory to the belief that people cannot alter the will of Imana, regardless of the amount of sacrifice offered to him.

Creation myths and legends concerning Imana's relationship to man do not exist, but stories describing Imana's travels through the country are told. There is also a tale that speaks of Imana's assuming a visible form in order to chase death. Some animals, such as the white rooster, lamb, or water wagtail (a bird), are thought to be associated with Imana and the harbingers of good luck.

The word "imana" also indicates the intangible life force of all things, organic and inorganic. Human beings, plants, stones, fire, and rivers all have imana, a soul which becomes apparent when, for example, a fire dies, then suddenly bursts into flame without being kindled.

Imana Mbi, or Rwuba, the miscreator, is the spirit that orig-

inates all evil and causes the disasters of the world. He is the antithesis of the spirit of goodness and is Imana's greatest adversary.

The departed ancestors form a group of malicious spirits called *ubuzima*, *mizimu*, *imizimu*, or *abasimu*. They bring misfortune, sickness, crop failure, and cattle epidemics because they envy the living the cherished things they had to leave behind. Their power, actuated by the male spirits or grandfathers, extends only over their own clan. The living members of a family must consult a diviner to discover the reason for the ancestors' anger. Respect is shown principally by joining a secret cult group. Hutu placate the hostile ancestral spirits more frequently than the Tutsi, who have adopted an attitude of reverence without fear or subservience.

The nature spirits, *bisigo* and *bikange*, once-human forms now disembodied, inhabit the incorporeal world. Although they keep to themselves in desolate places, they will capture and punish intruders for disturbing their territory. The *bihume*, souls of men who died a violent death, wander around seeking humans to harass. Many people wear charms for protection against their evils.

Rituals and Cults

Traditional rituals are not a form of nature worship since they do not address a specific tree or rock, but focus upon the spiritual quality of all things and attempt to influence or manipulate the supernatural force inherent in the objects. A favorable effect is obtained only when the rituals are performed properly by the appropriate practitioner at an auspicious time. Ritual practices are directed toward calming the lesser spirits, who might wish to cause harm to human beings. Most rituals are performed during the main harvesttime between July and October, when choice beer can be brewed, but events in the life cycle that prompt a desire for special blessings are sufficient reasons for rituals. Periodically, young men join in spirit cult ceremonies that propitiate the historical clan heroes who have attained powerful positions among the ancestors.

Kiranga (also known as Rikiranga or Ryangombe) is a historical personage, the powerful leader of all ancestral spirits. He is said to have come during the time of the ancient clan state from Rwanda, the neighboring country to the north. Fraternities of young men perform rituals, chants, and dances in honor of Kiranga. During Kubandwa, the grain harvest festival, they paint themselves and decorate the small spirit huts that are part of the Burundi landscape. Kiragna, personified by one of the

groups, appears carrying a sacred spear. A ritual is performed which ends with purification at the stream.

The *umuganuro* (fertility ceremony) occurs around December 27 as the prelude to the harvest. It has both a religious and national significance. In traditional observances, a virgin ceremonially sows the first sorghum seeds. This insures the farmers a high yield as well as prosperity for the entire country. Fertility, always of utmost concern, is the most pervasive element throughout the ceremony (see *Settlement Patterns and Living Conditions*, ch. 8). In preindependence times the Mwami was given a central role in the rites, and each clan was represented. During the festival, contracts between lords and herders were sealed, and the *karyenda* (sacred drum) was displayed. The *umuganuro* was held as recently as 1964; with a somewhat modified format. The program included members of the National Assembly, religious representatives, military leaders, and international diplomatic personnel. The royal drummers beat out a salute, and the youth groups marched in a parade.

A ritual, performed only by the Hutu, involves the belief that the smooth, round stones found in brooks have the power of Imana. They have the spiritual essence (*inguru*) that brings blessings to the possessor. Several stones are collected and placed in a small hut built outside the *rugo*, the fence encompassing each family household. The stones are given daily offerings of meat, milk products, broken pots, pumpkin shells, and beer. Eventually they give birth to 20 to 80 additional stones. The technique of multiplication is taken for granted as a supernatural conception demonstrating spiritual fertility.

Magicoreligious Practitioners

Several magicoreligious practitioners perform specific functions, which meet the spiritual needs of the community. The priests are the human abodes of Kiranga's spirit, acting as mediators between spirits and men. Their position is attained through heredity and inherited talent, but occasionally a man may be seized by the spirit and imbued with the power of mediation. When the proper offering is made, the priests, in a state of religious ecstasy, will speak to the spirits, uttering prophecies and oracles.

Medical practitioners known as *abafumu* (singular, *umufumu*) possess powers to ward off misfortunes and disease caused by the supernatural powers of malevolent spirits. The insignia of office—a leopard skin, a headdress made from a cowtail, and a gourd rattle—and the various curing techniques are passed from father to son or are earned by apprenticeship to a practicing

umufumu. *Abafumu* interpret dreams, call together the spirits during secret seances, and predict the future. Some *abafumu*, called *abavaurati* (singular, *umavurate*), perform special ceremonies that cause rain. As respected members of the society, the *abafumu* are paid a fee and may become wealthy and politically powerful.

Divination, Curing, and Witchcraft

Divining (through the spirit of Nyabukobwa) is among the *umufumu*'s arts. Chicken divining is the most common form, the fowl providing the medium through which the practitioner consults the oracle. The patterns of the entrails prophesy the fate of the client. At times, the *umufumu* will place butter in the sun, watch it melt, and determine the course of the future from its patterns.

The diviner is also an expert in curing. The external application of medication is in the form of amulets tied over the ailing part of the body. Modern medicines, pills, or tablets may be wrapped in leaves and strapped to the area of illness. Internal medication is used only if the patient's condition does not improve after external treatment. It is generally believed that it is the diviner's power, not the object itself, which will bring relief. Most rural Burundi consult the diviner and only if he fails will they consent to treatment by modern means. Although this practice is changing, traditional techniques are still preferred, because of the belief in the spiritual cause of illness.

In addition to his function as the maker of amulets, the diviner has the ability to identify a person who is operating as a witch and to prevent him or her from harming others by casting spells. The witches, *abarosi* (singular, *umurosi*), are held responsible for any disaster, such as unaccountable deaths, devastation of the harvest, epidemics, and sterility. They are thought to use poison and also practice contagious magic, a technique of using a piece of the victim's body, hair, or fingernail paring, in order to gain power over that person's soul. When discovered, the *umurosi* is subject to ordeals which substantiate guilt or innocence. Those found guilty are beaten or driven into the bush.

Charms and Taboos

Ivihedo (charms) made of sticks and the hair or horns of animals are used to ward off evil and generate supernatural power for their possessor. Diviners transfer supernatural energy to the material object by means of magical formulas; the more powerful the diviner, the more potent the charms. Most people, even those converted to Christianity, use amulets for luck in

hunting, finding a wife, or curing sick cows. Special amulets are made for infants, to insure their health by protecting them against intestinal worms, diarrhea, skin irritations, and snake-bite.

Many Africans believe that their well-being depends on the observance of ritual prohibitions (*imiziro*). Some taboos are universally observed; others, such as self-imposed taboos against drinking milk or eating particular types of meat, apply only to members of specific clans. Major social taboos such as incest are rarely broken, but minor transgressions are more common. It is believed that if a woman whistles her husband will die, and if milk is boiled a cattle herd will die.

Omens or indications of impending disaster are part of the belief system. Most birds, especially owls, bring calamity. The appearance of a jackal or chameleon is an omen of evil. The parents will die, they believe, if a sleeping child grinds its teeth while dreaming. Of all the omens, the coming of the water wag-tail is considered most favorable, for the animal is a harbinger of good luck.

Christianity

Some elements of Christianity were accepted with relative ease because of the similarity between certain traditional beliefs and Western religious dogma. Doctrines concerning a supreme being, the existence of a nonmaterial soul, and the life the spirit after death are held by both systems. Catholic missionaries, especially members of the Order of the Missionaries of Africa, commonly called with White Fathers, were most successful in obtaining converts.

Catholic Missionary Activity

Proselytizing began in the late 1800's at Rumonge in the north-central section of the country, here the White Fathers established a settlement and taught children who were referred to them by the chiefs. In 1881, the missionaries were accused of befriending Arab slave traders and were murdered. In 1899 a second group of White Fathers settled at Mugeru, the residence of Mwami Mwezi IV Gisabo. The ruler used magical charms and supernatural threats to remove the priests, but was persuaded by a sorcerer to cease, with the assurance that Imana would protect them. The German colonial administrator also influenced the Mwami and guarded against further trouble by demanding the 1903 Treaty of Kiganda, which stipulated that missionaries were to be allowed to work with total freedom. By 1911 there were 3,000 baptized Burundi, mostly males, for girls were expected to

stay in the home. Education and catechism for females were regarded as unnecessary.

The chiefs, interested in the educational benefits, gradually became the leaders in the conversion movement. Church law affected customary law by demanding that overlords make restitution for all the goods they had appropriated unjustly. Some were barred from becoming Christians until all property, even cattle held in their keeping but stolen by their superiors, was returned to the rightful owners. The missionaries' definition of lawful ownership prevailed and, as a reward for accepting the faith and making personal sacrifices in the name of morality and justice, converts were eventually given administrative positions when civil reforms eliminated the chieftaincy system. Conversion became closely tied with political motivation, although the missionaries tried to maintain a purity of interest by demanding a good Christian life. Regardless of the priests' efforts and desire for true conversions, mass conversions of ambitious Burundi in the 1930's were widely interpreted as having been motivated by social and political expediency.

The first East African Diocese, established at Kivu in 1912, included Burundi, the adjacent country of Rwanda, and the territory of the Buha tribe, now part of Tanzania. In 1922 Kivu was divided into two dioceses, Rwanda and Burundi. Monsignor Gorju, the first bishop of Burundi, established his see at Mugera and remained there until his death in 1942. At the beginning of his ministry the Catholic population numbered 14,500; by the end it listed 250,000 baptized members, 230,000 persons taking instructions in the faith, over 300 catechists, a junior seminary, and a novitiate for nuns.

Social conditions delayed conversions because the concept of brotherhood was slow to penetrate a system based on hierarchical relations. The Tutsi rejected Christianity and discouraged the Hutu from joining the Christian community. Missionaries met persistent opposition from the diviners and members of the religious cults who manipulated the spiritual and emotional life by controlling access to the ancestral spirits. Conversion was generally restricted to the poor and destitute, who had no real ties with their own people and could freely come to missions for assistance. Only a few were originally converted because of genuine acceptance of Christian dogma.

The Belgian administrators in Burundi were favorably disposed toward missionaries, because of their assumption that colonial goals could be more easily realized in a society embracing Christian social and moral principles. Missionaries provided churches, hostel stations, and medical facilities. By teaching

physical and social sciences: they provided the tools that might quicken economic development. Although the Belgians did not promote Catholicism as a State religion, the two foreign elements, religious and political, were able to lessen local revolts and the chronic subsistence problems. In 1954, however, when Liberals and Socialists came to power in Belgium, they decreased missionary subsidies in favor of nondenominational social agencies, thus indicating to the Burundi that religious and colonial power were not identical. (See Historical Setting, ch. 2).

In 1959 the Burundi African hierarchy was established, to be supervised by its first consecrated bishop, Monsignor Michel Ntuyahaga. In 1964 the country was divided into four dioceses ministering to nearly 1.6 million baptized Catholics and 127,000 catechumens, more than half of the population (see table 1). The Catholic hierarchy, recognizing problems affecting the nature of local Catholic beliefs, tightened regulations for membership to include 4 years of preparation before baptism and greater stress on Sunday observance. They also attempted to improve laity-clergy communications and to decrease the number of divorces.

Table 1. Roman Catholic Dioceses and Parishes in Burundi, 1964^a

Diocese	Bishop ^b	Parish	Members
Bujumbura	Michel Ntuyahaga	Mahaye, Musigati, Kihanga, Ngagara, Buhanga, Ijenda, Mutumba	403,228
Bururi	n.a.	Rumaza, Rumonge, Makamba, Rutovu, Mpingwe	126,033
Gitega	Magr. Nestor Bihonda	Kibumbu, Nyabirara, Makebuko, Mugerera, Mugera, Kitongo, Bukirasazi, Rusengo, Gisuru, Nyabikere, Kitwenge, Muyaga	465,492
Ngozi	Magr. Stanislaus Kaburungu	Mukenke, Kanyinya, Rugari, Muyinga, Muramba, Karuzi, Burasira, Buruniro, Kasenyi, Murehe, Nyanmulenza, Musenyi, Ruganza, Kaiara, Muhanga	597,989
Total		39	1,592,742

n.a. = not available

^aFigures include both baptized persons and catechumens. 1962 breakdown not available.

^bThe three bishops' names are from the native hierarchy. The bishop of Bururi is non-Burundian; his name is not available.

Source: Adapted from *Pro Mundi Vita*, "Burundi: Strength and Weakness of the Christian Centre of Africa," 1965, p. 25.

Contemporary Catholic Activity

Figures published by Catholic authorities indicate that, in 1968, 71 percent of the population had accepted Catholicism; of these, 63 percent were baptized and another 8 percent were catechumens. The 1,671,000 Catholics were divided for administrative purposes into four dioceses (see table 1). There were 247 mission stations, which also served as hostels for travelers. More than 873 missionaries, of which 170 were White Fathers, ministered to the people. Most missionaries were from European religious orders. There were 469 nuns, of whom 350 were Burundi, and 198 brothers (male religious workers who were not priests), of whom 32 were Burundi. The Catholic schools were instructing some 109,000 students (see Education, ch. 7). In addition, there were 42 seminaries scattered throughout the country.

Catholic publications state that the Church is assisting the nation in developing an African group of capable religious and secular leaders. It has been active in programs dealing with increased employment, family problems, and community development. Student movements, which began in the Catholic schools, have spread controversial ideas. In 1967 Government inspectors began to take an interest in the Catholic school system. As a result, the more pessimistic missionaries believe that the Church's influence will be reduced and that the formerly pervasive power of Christian organizations is already dwindling.

It has been difficult to organize activities for lay members, as allegiance to organizations outside the family has been almost unknown. By 1963 two youth organizations had only 12,000 members. Catholic-sponsored periodicals directed toward an African readership have not been successful. Although Burundi is considered a strongly Catholic country with substantial yearly increases in the number of converts, the return to tribal rituals has been on the rise since the late 1950's.

Protestant Missionary Activity

Protestant missionary activity began unsuccessfully with the activities of the Neukirchen Missionary Society in 1914. It was not until 1926 that Reverends Smith and Holms established three mission churches, numerous stations, schools, and dispensaries throughout the territory. Philanthropic activities were supported solely by the missions until 1949, when the Government began a subsidy covering 60 to 80 percent of the cost of administering social facilities. In 1963, the most recent year for which figures were available, there were seven missionary associations working among the 244,000 Protestant converts, setting up liaison be-

tween Government and missionary organizations while striving for progress through education and technical training (see table 2). The major Protestant Mission Centers were at Bujumbura, Ibuye, Muramba, Kigamba, Murore, Kayongozi, Kyankanda, Gitega, and Kibuye.

Table 2. *Non-Catholic Christians in Burundi, 1963**

Denomination	Places of Worship	Members	Ordained minis- ters	Schools
Seventh Day Adventists	43	5,769	—	—
Anglicans	400	43,223	26	1
Penecostal	441	158,792	68	1
Free Methodist	—	5,176	29	4
Friends	30	18,000	—	—
Mission Evangéline Mondiale	84	6,042	13	—
Baptists	70	7,523	6	—
TOTAL	1,068	244,525	142	6

* Approximate.

Source: Adapted from H. W. Coxill and Kenneth Grubb (eds.) *World Christian Handbook*, 1968, p. 221.

Other Religions

Islam has never been a popular religion in the country, possibly because of traditional accounts of battles with Arab slave traders. Approximately 35,000 persons living in Burundi, mostly Asians and a very small number of converted Africans, known locally as Swahili, belong to the Islamic faith. Concentrated primarily in Bujumbura and Gitega, they operate a limited number of Koranic schools devoted exclusively to religious teaching. In 1960 there were about 180 Hindus and Buddhists, 300 adherents to Judaism, and 525 Greek Orthodox in the country, almost all of them of non-African descent.

SOCIAL VALUES

The 1960's have been a decade of ferment in Burundi because of a series of changes in the political structure and the cumulative impact of Christian teachings promulgated during the past 70 years. In a country that lacked education, community organization, and effective communications, traditional values have changed very slowly, in spite of the top-level governmental turmoil. Among most rural dwellers preindependence values prevail, even though they may be contradictory to the new Constitu-

tion or the edicts of the Revolutionary Committee that took over the Government in 1966. In the area of social relations, the traditional value placed upon the integrity and perpetuation of a tightly knit family—upon clan identification—may have diminished somewhat. There has been some movement toward a community-oriented, nationalistic, egalitarian society, prompted by the European value system. Except for the great rural majority, the overall change has been slight, and the traditional family values and hierarchical social structure persist.

In examining the traditional beliefs, an important source of social values is oral tradition, which subtly indicates the most important attitudes of the society. Proverbs, axioms, and sayings express attitudes, feelings, and dicta for action which reflect the guiding philosophy of the society. In the absence of written history and the lack of formal schools, oral traditions continue to be important as the means by which guidelines are introduced among the young Burundi.

Principal Values

Resignation to man's inability to determine the course of nature is the theme of many proverbs. A fatalistic approach to the future and trust in the goodness of Imana, as illustrated by the statement that "Imana is the giver, everything rests in him" is common.

A principal goal in life is parenthood. Children are highly valued. Childlessness is regarded as a great misfortune, as indicated by this proverb: "The greatest sorrow is to have no children to mourn for you."

Most Burundi proverbs are characterized by a sense of humor, which is actually a rationalization of the fatalistic philosophy and traditional hierarchical society. "The Tutsi that you lodge in your passageway will get you out of your bed [deprive you of it]" and "The Tutsi whose sick eyes you cure will open them wide in order to devour you" are examples of the bitter resignation of the Hutu serfs.

The focus upon fatalism and psychological adjustments needed to operate within the rigid social structure place great value on intelligence and adaptability. The statement that "You cannot get the riches of Imana without intelligence" explains the need for wisdom. Respect for authority, resignation, and prudence are recognized as desirable in axioms such as "The leopard cannot pass the night with the lambs"; "Bad company corrupts"; "The imprudent visitor stays two nights"; "The idle never become rich"; and "The husband and father is responsible for the family."

Traditional sayings also stress eloquence, a rich vocabulary, and the ability to speak in allusions. These are important in arguments, debates, and negotiations, all of which are important forms of social activity. Through these traits a man can gain material wealth as well as social status. Emotional appeals, flattery, and alteration of the truth are used frequently, for "The man who tells no lies cannot feed his children." Traditionally, Tutsi youths were given speech training as part of their preparation for leadership.

The Ideal Man

The qualities of an ideal male are clearly defined. He is *ubuntu* (an example of goodness), is polite and refined, and knows the proper behavior in all circumstances. Sincerity (*ubutungane*) in personal relationships is essential, but deceptions in negotiation and the use of rhetorical skills to make a gain are proper. The man must have *iteka* (respect for human life) and must love children, the elderly, and the crippled, but he need not extend love to all men. Finally, *ubuvyeyi* (parental dignity and devotion), the basis of respectful relationships between parents and their children, must be demonstrated. Negative personality traits which men must guard against include imprudence, idleness, avarice, stubbornness, injustice, pride, arrogance, and ingratitude.

The Ideal Woman

The ideal female is fertile and modest and has been trained in artful silence and reticence. As a careful listener, she can generally repeat most conversations verbatim. It is proper for the wife to be shy and gentle, but a husband also admires a woman who is good in bargaining, managing his property, and negotiating for him in his absence. Though their cleverness, some women become powerful matriarchs.

Women are symbolically one with the earth and must act accordingly. As vessels of fertility, women may not, according to traditional beliefs, jump, step over brooks, or climb ladders. Within her, woman has all the potentials of life; she fulfills her role in society by bearing children. If she performs her duties well, fecundity may be transmitted to the seeds she plants, bringing prosperity to all. This belief is demonstrated by the honor accorded the maiden in the *umuganuro* ceremony during harvest rites.

Women, especially mothers, receive a great deal of respect but very little authority in decisionmaking. A woman's position in the society is determined by the marriage she contracts. Few women were interested in voting rights, accorded them in the

1962 Constitution, which was suspended in 1966 (see Political and Governmental Systems, ch. 6). The ideal woman functions almost entirely within the circle of home and family. A few attended classes in homemaking offered at mission and governmental centers in recent years, but in 1969 no women's clubs had developed.

The Importance of Cattle

Cattle (*inka*) are not primarily a source of food, but are regarded as living gold, constituting a symbol of prestige and the most highly prized form of wealth (see Agriculture, ch. 9). Cattle were, and to some extent still are, the basis of the patron-client relationship that dominates the social structure. An exchange of cattle usually confirms important agreements. For example, they are the preferred form of bridewealth, as illustrated by the popular saying, "Down with the franc, long live the cow, source of all life."

Traditional greetings such as "Amashyo" (May you have herds) and the response, "Amashongore" (I wish you herds of females); can still be heard. "Darling, your eyes are like those of a cow" is a profound compliment; and the Tutsi look upon the agriculturalists with disdain and pray to the symbol of superiority and wealth, "Thou, oh cow, spare me from the fatigue of the hoe." In 1969 it was still common for Hutu who had attained an improved economic status to demonstrate their position by walking their cattle down the main thoroughfare on Sunday morning.

Myths, legends, and epics illustrate the manner in which men and cattle share their lives. When the herds are prosperous, fertile, and healthy, the owners will have a good life; if the cattle are having a difficult time, men will inevitably share their sorrows. Because they are dedicated to Imana, cattle are afforded respect through attentive care, prayers of supplication, and taboos. Burundi never heat or boil milk, as such an action could cause the cow to have a sore udder and cease to give milk. Milk may not be drunk on the same day that peas and peanuts are eaten. Anyone with an open wound is prohibited from watching a cow give birth to a calf, as this would cause his wound to become worse.

Each cow receives a name and is assured of respectful care. When it dies a natural death, it is eaten; its horns are driven into the ground near the hut as a symbol of its beneficent character and an indication that "Nothing excels the cow."

The Importance of Beer

Beer is a necessity for all socially significant communal gather-

ings. Its use is not restricted to ceremonies, at which large quantities are consumed. Beer is an everyday adjunct to social interaction. Large amounts are part of the social processes involved in friendships, marriages, funerals, contracts, and divination rites. Beer is sometimes used as a medium of exchange or as a gift (*abatererezi*). It is offered as an expression of homage or for amusement and refreshment. Beer is usually drunk through a straw. The type of drinking pot used indicates the status of the drinker, as there are different types of pots for persons of different social positions.

Especially large amounts are brewed during the main harvest season, from July to October, when most festivals occur, but beer is consumed in all seasons. It may be made from bananas, sorghum, millet, or honey. All adults, especially males, are beer drinkers. To refuse beer when it is offered is an insult. Drunkenness is not considered a vice but, rather, the mark of a prosperous man.

CHAPTER 6

POLITICAL AND GOVERNMENTAL SYSTEMS, POLITICAL DYNAMICS AND VALUES, FOREIGN RELATIONS

The most important person in the Government of Burundi in early 1969 was President Michel Micombero, who was both Head of State and chief of the National Unity and Progress Party (Unité et progrès national—UPRONA). Since November 1966, when Micombero and other military leaders deposed the monarch and proclaimed Burundi a republic, he had ruled by decree through an appointed Council of Ministers. The President retained the posts of Prime Minister and Minister of Defense and appointed or approved all executive, judicial, and local officials. In a general way, internal administration, the civil service, and the judicial system operated within patterns established during the period of Belgian Trusteeship, which had ended with the establishment of Burundi as an independent constitutional monarchy in July 1962.

During its brief 4 years as an independent monarchy, from 1962 to 1966, the nation had been torn by political strife that developed from an ethnic conflict between the Hutu majority and the powerful Tutsi minority. Aware of the need to draw the nation together, President Micombero has worked toward national unity and internal stability as primary goals. Since becoming President, he has avoided harsh repressive measures against Hutu leaders.

The Hutu-Tutsi conflict was also the basis of the Micombero government's major foreign policy problem—the presence within northern Burundi of a large number of Tutsi refugees from neighboring Rwanda. The Government has refused to support action against the Hutu government of Rwanda by these refugees and has worked to improve relations with Rwanda and all other neighboring states.

As a member of the Organization of African Unity (OAU), Burundi has supported its policy of opposition to the Governments of South Africa and Rhodesia and has publicly condemned

Portuguese control of African territories. Burundi is a member of the United Nations and has declared a policy of positive non-alignment in international relations.

RECENT HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

Burundi became independent as a constitutional monarchy on July 1, 1962, in the midst of mounting internal tensions. General elections had been held in September 1961, under United States supervision, to select a government to lead the country after independence. The result was an overwhelming victory for UPRONA, led by *ganwa* (Prince) Louis Rwagasore. Before the 1961 elections, the dominant party had been the Christian Democratic Party (Parti démocrate chrétien—PDC), whose leaders were the *ganwa* Jean-Baptiste Ntidendereza and Joseph Biroli.

Rwagasore became Prime Minister in the Government-elect, but was assassinated 2 weeks after the elections. The two PDC leaders, Ntidendereza and Biroli, were found guilty of involvement in the plot and were executed. With its crushing defeat in the elections and the execution of its two major leaders, the PDC was eliminated as a political force. UPRONA was left in a dominant position, the only other party of significance being the People's Party (Parti du peuple—PP) (see Historical Setting, ch. 2).

Before the elections and the death of Rwagasore, the main contest for political power had been between the principal *ganwa* clans. After these events, the focus of the political struggle shifted to a conflict between Hutu and Tutsi, the two major ethnic groups (see Ethnic Groups and Languages, ch. 4).

Rwagasore had received support from both elements. As the eldest son of the ruling monarch, Mwami Mwambutsa IV, and the leading figure of the influential Bezi clan, he commanded the allegiance of a majority of the Tutsi. Strong ties with the Hutu population had been gained through his marriage to a Hutu girl. His aim was the development of a truly nationalist party that could unify all the people of Burundi, but the racial cohesion that had centered upon him was lost at his death. UPRONA broke into factions competing for control of the party. One element was led by Andre Muhirwa, a Tutsi *ganwa* of the Bataro clan who succeeded Rwagasore as Prime Minister; the other, by Paul Mirerekano, a Hutu. With each claiming to be the rightful successor of Rwagasore, the political conflict broadened into a racial struggle between Hutu and Tutsi (see Historical Setting, ch. 2).

In 1962, when the UPRONA split erupted into civil disorders, Mwambutsa intervened and declared that a new party central committee would be elected; however, the party elections, held in

September 1962, failed to provide a solution to the problems of UPRONA. Although both Muhirwa and Mirerekano were elected to vice-presidential posts, Mirerekano boycotted the committee and led his followers into the formation of a separate UPRONA wing.

In the period before independence, UPRONA had developed a strong anti-Belgian attitude and had pressed for more rapid progress toward self-government. After independence the Belgian Government continued to support the monarchy as the best means of maintaining stability in Burundi. The Roman Catholic Church was considered by a number of UPRONA leaders to be identified with the old feudal system centering in the *ganwa* and the Royal Court. The Muhirwa-led Tutsi faction broadened the anti-Belgian sentiment into an orientation that was vigorously anti-Western and anticlerical.

The Muhirwa faction became known as the "Casablanca" group, and the Mirerekano element as the "Monrovia" group. These terms derived from two important conferences of African states, one held in Casablanca and the other in Monrovia, and the two African blocs that resulted from them. The use of these terms in Burundi, however, bore no direct relationship to the two African blocs, except that "Monrovia" denoted a generally neutral or pro-Western sentiment, whereas "Casablanca" denoted an anti-Western orientation.

Antagonism between these two groups increased. In March 1963 Prime Minister Muhirwa ordered the arrest of three "Monrovia" leaders for alleged conspiracy against the State. Mwami Mwambutsa, however, intervened and ordered the three released. A short time later the Mwami dissolved the Muhirwa government and assigned the task of forming a new cabinet to Pierre Ngendandumwe, a 31-year-old Hutu of the "Monrovia" group.

In February 1964, responding to pressures from the "Casablanca" group, the Mwami issued a decree that further restricted the powers of the Government and centered greater control in himself and his close associates. The Mwami had hoped that this action would stabilize the political situation, but it served instead to further entrench the traditional *ganwa* elements of the Royal Court. Opposition to the monarchy became more pronounced in both wings of UPRONA as each group came to consider the Mwami and his entourage as obstacles in their own quest for political control. The maneuvering for political power developed into a three-way contest among the Royal Court, the Tutsi-controlled "Casablanca" faction, and the Hutu-dominated "Monrovia" group. In March 1964 Mwami Mwambutsa unexpectedly dismissed four Hutu members of the Cabinet. When Ngendandumwe

was unable to form another government, Mwambutsa gave the task to a member of the "Casablanca" group, Albin Nyamoya.

The anti-Western orientation of the "Casablanca" group resulted in the establishment of close ties with the Chinese Communist regime by the Nyamoya government. Diplomatic ties were also developed with a number of other Communist-bloc nations. These moves were made to provide the Tutsi faction with additional leverage against the monarchy which continued to have the support of the Western nations.

Political tension in the country mounted rapidly in late 1964, when a large cache of arms was discovered and fears spread of an impending coup allegedly fostered by pro-Peking elements. The reaction of the Mwami was to dismiss the Nyamoya government and reappoint Ngendandumwe as Prime Minister. Three days later, on June 15, 1965, Ngendandumwe was assassinated.

The assassination of the Prime Minister served to confirm the Mwami's fears of an impending coup d'état. Officials of the Chinese Embassy were expelled from the country, and diplomatic relations were broken. A number of the "Casablanca" group politicians were arrested, but no convictions have ever been announced. The leftist labor union, the Federation of Burundi Workers (Fédération des Travailleurs du Burundi—FTB), was ordered to suspend its activities, as was the youth wing of UPRONA, the Rwagasore Nationalist Youth (Jeunesse Nationale Rwagasore—JNR).

Joseph Bamina, the chairman of the UPRONA central committee and one of the few Hutu who had maintained political ties with the Casablanca group, was named Prime Minister. Mwami Mwambutsa, however, continued to restrict the powers of the Government. The office of Secretary of State for the Army had already been placed under the direct control of the Crown. Following the dissolution of the Assembly, the Ministry of Justice and the Ministry of Information and Immigration were merged into a single office and made directly responsible to the Mwami. Legislative elections were set for May.

The elections resulted in 28 of the 33 seats going to the Hutu deputies of either UPRONA or the PP. The Mwami then sought to minimize the substantial Hutu gains by further centralization of control in his own office. He decreed the reduction of the number of communes (a local administrative unit) from 181 to 78 and brought the communal office of burgomaster (mayor) directly under his control, making it an appointive rather than an elective position. Mwambutsa refused to approve a Hutu candidate for Prime Minister and, in September, named his personal secretary, Leopold Biha, to that post.

Hutu elements in the Army and Gendarmerie launched an abortive coup on October 18, 1965. Prime Minister Biha was seriously wounded, and Mwami Mwambutsa fled to safety across the Congo (Kinshasa) border. Loyal forces, led by Army Captain Michel Micombero, acted quickly to put down the rebellion. Mwambutsa returned after order was restored, but on November 2 he left for Europe, where he has remained ever since. In the wake of the Hutu burnings of Tutsi huts, particularly in Muramvya Province, a countrywide wave of reprisals was carried out by the Government. Between mid-October and mid-December, a number of ethnic Hutu Army, Gendarmerie, and political figures were arrested, tried under martial law, and executed.

This program set off sharp reactions from the International Labour Organisation and the International Commission of Jurists. On January 8, 1966, the Commission issued a statement at Geneva, charging violations of minimum standards of justice and human rights. There was no direct response. Two days later, the American Ambassador and his two chief aides were ordered to leave the country. They were told that they had "rightly, or wrongly, been suspected of having had contact with the conspirators." No supporting evidence was made available to the United States. Upon State Department request, the Burundi Ambassador to the United States was recalled. Diplomatic relations were not formally broken, but in early 1969 direct contacts between the two states were still being handled at the chargé d'affaires level at both capitals.

Amid growing discontent with the governmental situation, the National Union of Burundi Students (Union nationale de étudiants Burundi—UNEBA) published demands for the abdication of the Mwami and the establishment of a provisional government. On July 8, 1966, the Crown Prince, Charles Ndizeye, announced the deposition of his absent father, dismissed the Biha government, suspended the Constitution, and began rule under the dynastic title of Mwami Ntare V.

The 16-member Cabinet formed by Mwami Ntare included five military officers. Army Captain Micombero was named as Prime Minister and was also given the posts of Minister of Defense and Minister of the Interior. The oldest member of the Cabinet was 85, and the average age was 26.

Despite the change in monarchs, the tensions and struggles between the Royal Court and the Government persisted throughout the following months. In an attempt to eliminate some of the sources of dissension the Mwami issued a decree on November 23, 1966, recognizing UPRONA as the sole national party. Continuing instability, however, fostered the decision of the Prime

Minister and his colleagues to end the monarchy.

On November 28, 1966, while Mwami Ntare V was on a State visit to the Democratic Republic of the Congo (Kinshasa), Prime Minister Micombero announced the decision of the military leaders to end the monarchy and establish the republic. A National Revolutionary Council (Conseil National de la Révolution—CNR), composed of 18 Army officers, was set up to govern the country. All provincial governors were relieved of their posts and replaced by military officers.

A meeting of UPRONA was convened on November 30. Micombero, as President of the Republic, was also recognized as the leader of the party and presided over the meeting. The session confirmed the end of the monarchy, lauded the decision of the military leaders to form the republic, and approved the principle of the one-party state. It was agreed that party activities and policy would be guided by the CNR.

In December the CNR named a 13-member Council of Ministers to govern the country under CNR supervision. President Micombero was also named as the Prime Minister and given the rank of colonel. It was announced that all governmental directives would be issued as presidential decrees. A few months later, in March 1967, the President took personal control of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Cooperation and the Ministry of National Defense and Public Affairs. At the same time, he decreed the integration of the police into the Army.

During 1967 and 1968 a number of changes were made in the membership of the Council of Ministers. In November 1967 the President relinquished the Foreign Affairs portfolio and reestablished a Foreign Affairs Ministry. Full control of the Government was retained by President Micombero and his ministers when the CNR was dissolved in January 1968. In early 1969 the President continued to rule by decree.

POLITICAL AND GOVERNMENTAL SYSTEMS

Executive Rule

In early 1969 there was little information available on the daily functioning of the Micombero government. It was clear, however, that the most important single factor in the political life of the country was the personal leadership of President Micombero, who headed both the Government and UPRONA, the sole political party.

In its operations, the Government has taken a pragmatic approach toward problems of internal administration as well as toward foreign relations. The active personal direction of the

President has resulted in frequent changes in the makeup of the Council of Ministers and numerous shifts in responsibilities assigned to the various ministries.

Central authority was the pattern of the traditional political structure, and the executive role of President Micombero has coincided well with Burundi concepts of governmental authority. The centralized structure of the Government was, in part, the result of a determination to forge and maintain national unity and to suppress the divisive forces growing out of ethnic loyalties.

The Head of State controls and supervises the functioning of the Government. He controls the Armed Forces, makes the final decisions concerning foreign relations, and determines judiciary appointments. In the absence of a constitution, he rules by executive decree.

Members of the Council of Ministers are appointed by the President. They are individually responsible to him and may be dismissed at any time. All appointments to the public administration and military service are also either made directly by the President or subject to his approval. The Ministers generally countersign presidential decrees when the subject matters falls into their particular areas of responsibility.

A special seven-member cabinet also assists President Micombero in carrying out his executive duties. The presidential Cabinet is made up of leading civil servants selected for their trustworthiness and competence.

During 1967 and 1968 there were frequent changes in the organization and membership of the Council of Ministers. In 1969 the President continued to hold the post of Minister of Defense. The other ministries listed were: Agriculture, Public Works and Transport, Communications and Aviation, Public Health, Finance, Secretary General UPRONA, Interior and Civil Service, Foreign Affairs, Justice, Information, Social Affairs, Economic Affairs, Plans, National Education.

The governors of the eight provinces are nominated by the Minister of the Interior and Civil Service and appointed by the President. The provinces are divided into 18 sub-units called *arrondissements* and 79 communes. The administrators of the *arrondissements* are also appointed by the Minister of the Interior and civil service. Communal Councils, headed by an appointed burgomaster, administer local affairs.

In order to consolidate political control and combat the problems of internal conflict which had filled the post-independence period, President Micombero decreed the merger of all trade unions into a single national labor movement, the Burundi Workers' Union (Union des Travailleurs du Burundi—UTB), which

was made a bureau of UPRONA, the only political party. The President also called for the merger of all youth organizations into a single movement called the Rwagasore Revolutionary Youth (Jeunesse Revolutionnaire Rwagasore—JRR), which would function as the youth wing of UPRONA. All women's organizations were also merged and brought under UPRONA supervision as the Union of Burundi Women (Union des Femmes Burundaises—UFB).

The Government has concentrated its efforts upon the promotion of internal stability. Strict punishments have been meted out to public officials found guilty of corruption. Observers report a high degree of responsibility and seriousness among public servants. The national leadership has made major efforts to mitigate inequities based on race, although racial tensions persist. UPRONA programs call for national unity in working toward the building of a "new Burundi," and the three-fingered salute symbolizing "progress, work and unity" is required of all citizens.

Public Administration and The Judiciary

The Civil Service

The civil service functions under a Director who is responsible to the Minister of the Interior and Civil Service. All governmental civil service appointments, other than for judicial and foreign service posts, are made by the Director of Civil Service, who also regulates salaries and pensions and supervises the work of foreign technical advisers.

A primary problem of the civil service has been the shortage of adequately trained personnel. In January 1969 most of the senior civil service posts continued to be held by Tutsi who had obtained these positions because of easier access to education in past years. A number of foreign advisers remain in the country. Some of these were Government functionaries in the Belgian Administration and were invited to remain as aides. The Government, however, has placed a high priority on the training of nationals to fill all civil service posts.

To implement this training, a National School of Public Administration was created in 1964 to train middle-level administrative personnel. In July 1967 the United Nations agreed to sponsor a special in-service training program at the school as a project of the United National Development Program (see Education, ch. 7).

The Judicial System

Throughout most of the period of Belgian administration, there existed a dual judicial system, formal courts settling disputes

in accordance with written law and traditional courts dealing with matters of customary law.

Cases involving Africans, in which the offense was not covered by statutory law, were tried by the customary courts. Although a number of studies have been made, the customary laws have never been fully codified (see Customary Laws and Courts, ch. 10).

In 1969 the formal judicial structure as well as the criminal and civil law codes continued to be based on the 1962 Constitution, which largely follows the Belgian system. The highest court, the Supreme Court of the Republic, serves also as a Court of Appeals for dealing with major political offenses. There also are the General Court of Appeals, the Court of First Instance, and a system of provincial courts and local tribunals. Special laws regulate the powers and organization of military tribunals. The judicial system was broadened during 1967 and 1968 to establish additional seats for the General Court of Appeals in three centers: Gitega, Ngozi, and Bururi. Before the addition of these seats, it was necessary for all persons involved in cases before this court to journey to Bujumbura (see Public Order, ch. 10).

Judicial appointments for the lower courts are made by the Minister of Justice on recommendation of the provincial governor. Appointments to the Supreme Court and General Courts of Appeals are made by the President and his Council of Ministers.

FOREIGN RELATIONS

The Micombero government has described its foreign policy as one of positive nonalignment. In December 1967 the President declared that, although Burundi sought peaceful and friendly relations with all nations, it had chosen the Socialist road to development, and its preferences would be directed toward government following the Socialist system.

Relations with African States

The first efforts of the Micombero government in foreign affairs were directed toward the normalization of relations with neighboring countries, particularly with the Republic of Rwanda.

Relations with Rwanda had been openly hostile throughout the post-independence period. In 1962, when the republican coup d'état established a Hutu government in Rwanda, thousands of Tutsi refugees fled into Burundi. These refugees launched several abortive invasions into Rwanda, incursions that led the Rwandan Government to bring charges against Burundi before the political committee of the OAU. Rwanda charged that the attacks were carried out with the full knowledge and support of

the Burundi monarchy and represented attempts to restore a Tutsi-dominated government in Kigali.

Relations between the two nations improved substantially after Micombero took control of the Burundi Government. Rwanda acted quickly to recognize the new Government, and President Micombero responded by issuing a warning to refugees residing in Burundi that they would not be allowed to prejudice the nation's foreign relations. General Joseph Mobutu, President of the Democratic Republic of the Congo (Kinshasa), was asked by the OAU to mediate the dispute. In early 1969 relations between the two countries were less strained than at any other time since both achieved independence in 1962; however, formal diplomatic relations had not yet been restored.

As a member of the OAU, Burundi has pledged its support for the principles of the OAU Charter. The Micombero government has consistently joined in OAU condemnation of the white minority regime in Rhodesia and has been critical of Great Britain's role in dealing with the situation. Burundi has demonstrated particular concern for the African territories under Portuguese administration and has censured Portugal's policies before both the OAU and the United Nations. In 1967 Burundi called upon the United Nations to use force to compel South Africa to withdraw from South-West Africa.

The Government has shown a willingness to participate in regional organizations as well as those of continental and worldwide dimensions. The President believes that workable regional groupings are a necessary steppingstone toward the unification of all African states. Burundi has applied for associate membership in the East African Community (EAC) and has indicated its intention of joining the United States of Central Africa (Union des Etats de l'Afrique Centrale—UECA).

President Micombero maintains personal contact with several of the leaders of neighboring states through his attendance at the annual meetings of the East and Central Africa Heads of State. The other Heads of State normally attending these meetings are those of Rwanda, the Central African Republic, Republic of the Congo (Brazzaville), Democratic Republic of the Congo (Kinshasa), Ethiopia, Kenya, Malawi, Somalia, Sudan, Tanzania, Uganda, and Zambia.

Relations with the United Nations and Non-African States

Burundi became a member of the United Nations immediately after achieving independence in 1962. Because few foreign diplomatic missions are maintained, Burundi considers its relations with the United Nations to be of particular importance and main-

tains diplomatic contacts with many nations through its UN mission. In early 1969 the Burundi Ambassador to the United States, T rence Nsanze, also served as the Permanent Representative to the United Nations.

In the United Nations Burundi has sought to relate regional and global interests and was one of the co-sponsors of a draft resolution for the promotion of greater cooperation between the UN and the OAU.

Burundi did not reestablish diplomatic relations with the People's Republic of China after breaking relations in 1965. The People's Republic of Korea (North Korea) signed an accord with Burundi in March 1967 whereby the two nations agreed to establish diplomatic relations on an embassy level. Several protocols for cultural, educational, and informational exchanges have been made with France, the Soviet Union, and some East European nations.

Burundi has pledged its support to the Arab states in their dispute with Israel and has asked the United Nations to call for Israel to withdraw from occupied Arab territory and make restitution for war damages.

With regard to Vietnam, Burundi has urged a solution based on the Geneva Agreement of 1954, a withdrawal of all foreign troops, and the conducting of free elections. In a public statement delivered in November 1967, President Micombero demanded that all United States troops be removed from Vietnam. The Burundi Government has also called for the withdrawal of foreign troops from Korea and the admission of the People's Republic of China to UN membership.

Relations with Belgium, the former administering power, had survived a number of difficulties during the period of the monarchy. The Micombero government has sought to improve and strengthen relations with Belgium, but relations again became strained in July 1968 when the Government suddenly expelled seven officers and an enlisted man belonging to the 44-member Belgian military assistance group in Burundi. Despite this event the two nations signed a cooperation agreement in December 1968. The agreement provides for several agricultural, public works, and educational projects for Burundi during 1969. Belgium agreed to provide 50 additional scholarships for Burundi students and to send 238 Belgian technical advisers and teachers in 1969.

On June 7, 1968, President Lyndon B. Johnson named George W. Renchard as the new United States Ambassador to Burundi, filling the vacancy that had existed since January 1966.

CHAPTER 7

PUBLIC INFORMATION, EDUCATION, AND ARTISTIC AND INTELLECTUAL EXPRESSION

The Government in 1969 played the dominant role in the dissemination of information to the public through the national radio station, *Voix de la Révolution* (Voice of the Revolution), and the official newspaper, *Unité et Révolution*. (French and Rundi are the official languages of the state.) National unity and Progress (*Unité et progrès national*—UPRONA), the national political party, periodically sent political teams to all parts of the country to explain official policy and mobilize the population in support of Government programs. The oral transmission of information remained the most important medium of communication.

Non-Government publications were few in number and had small circulations. All private information channels were limited by considerations of political sensitivity and had to operate within the range of acceptable opinion. The difficulties of distributing printed materials and the low literacy rate made radio the principal means of formal communication.

The most important feature of the educational system was the predominance of schools administered by Roman Catholic and Protestant religious organizations but subsidized by the Government. Primary education was provided almost exclusively by these mission schools. Secondary education remained, to a large extent, based on the Belgian system, but reform measures, designed to adapt the program to the real needs of the country, had been initiated in 1964 and were being progressively applied.

Higher education was provided through two institutions, the national university (*Université officielle de Bujumbura*), founded in January 1964, and the postsecondary teacher training school (*Ecole Normale Supérieure de Bujumbura*), established in October 1965. A number of Burundi students received grants and scholarships for study in other countries.

Artistic expression remained traditional in form and content. Interest in the plastic arts was expressed primarily in utilitarian objects such as baskets, wooden pots, and some iron and leather

goods. Pottery-making was almost exclusively an activity of the small minority of Twa.

Music and dance were well-developed art forms. Oral literature was the traditional means of entertainment, and polished rhetoric as a form of artistic expression played an important role in social relations. Verbal communication was the principal cultural vehicle, conveying traditions and historical adventures from generation to generation.

PUBLIC INFORMATION

Information Media

The traditional word-of-mouth communication was the most important means of spreading information in the 1960's. As the domestic press was limited to a few biweekly and monthly newspapers and periodicals, the Government has sought to exploit the traditional oral means of communication by sending political teams into all parts of the country and by broadcasting over the national radio station, the Voice of the Revolution. These teams and other Government personnel explained policies, disseminated information about official programs, and fostered a sentiment of national unity.

Radio

Because of the lack of printed media, the difficulties of distribution, and the low literacy rate, radio provided the most efficient means of communicating information. Requiring no literacy on the part of its audience, it was able to capitalize on the familiarity of oral communication.

In 1969 there were two radio stations: the Government radio, Voice of the Revolution, and a religious station, Radio Cordac (Corporation de radiodiffusion de l'Afrique Centrale), the latter of which was supported through the cooperative efforts of Protestant missionary organizations.

The Government radio, located in Bujumbura, had been in operation since 1960, broadcasting internal service over three transmitters, one medium wave and two shortwave. In November 1967 a branch of the Government radio station was opened in Mwaro. In 1965, the latest year for which figures are available, the Government radio operated 63 hours per week, 20 of which were given to news and commentary. Broadcasts were given in the French, Kirundi, and Swahili languages.

Radio Cordac had been in operation since 1963. The three Cordac transmitters, one mediumwave and two shortwave, were located in Bujumbura, sending out programs in French, English, Kirundi, and Swahili, with a total broadcast time of approximately 30 hours per week (see table 3).

Table 3. Burundi Radio Stations

Station	Location	Power	Wave length	Frequency
Government	Bujumbura	1,000	250.90	1168
		10,000	48.85	6141
		10,000	48.43	6195
Cordac	do.	250	75.28	3985
		250	214.30	1400
		2,500	60.98	4920

Source: Adapted from *World Radio TV Handbook* (21st ed.), 1967.

In 1965 it was estimated that there were 30,000 receivers in Burundi, or about 1.1 for each 100 persons. Since that time, the number of radios has increased; about 5,000 were imported in 1967 alone.

Press

In 1969 no daily newspapers were published in the country. The most influential and widely distributed publication was *Unité et Révolution*, the official organ of UPRONA. Published weekly in French, it was established in 1967 as the replacement for the former official publication, *Infor-Burundi*. UPRONA described the purpose of establishing *Unité et Révolution* as being to inform, educate, and mobilize the people for the achievement of the objectives of Government programs. The printing was done on the presses of the Government Printing Office.

Through an agreement concluded in April 1967 between Burundi and the Soviet Union, international news service is supplied to *Unité et Révolution* through TASS, the Soviet news agency. A Telex receiver was installed in Bujumbura to receive TASS news dispatches. News reports were also received through the French press agency, Agence France Presse.

Other newspapers and periodicals included: *Tribune du Burundi*, a weekly French language newspaper having a circulation of less than 2,000; *Burakeye*, a Protestant monthly, published in the Rundi language; *Intumwa*, a Roman Catholic monthly in Rundi; *Kindugu*, a Swahili monthly; and *Ndongezi*, a second Rundi language Roman Catholic publication. The circulation of these monthly periodicals totaled 15,000 in 1966. All were required to operate within limits acceptable to the Government.

Other Media

After the deposition of the monarchy and the proclamation of the Republic in November 1966, UPRONA political teams visited all parts of the country to explain the goals of the new regime.

This extension of the traditional verbal forms of communication proved effective, and the use of political teams and open-air rallies was continued.

A French cultural center, the Alliance Française, was maintained in Bujumbura and provided a library of about 2,000 volumes, a theater, and conference facilities for cultural and educational activities. A Belgian Information Center was also situated in Bujumbura and provided library facilities as well.

In 1969 foreign radio heard in Burundi included the Voice of America, the British Broadcasting Corporation, and Belgium Radio. Propaganda broadcasts were beamed to Burundi by nations of the Communist bloc, particularly the Soviet Union and Communist China. The size of the Burundi audience for these foreign broadcasts was not known.

EDUCATION

Traditional Education

Before the introduction of European educational institutions, which were first established by Roman Catholic and Protestant missionaries around the turn of the century, children received little or no formal education. Traditional education was informal and aimed at equipping the child with skills needed to fulfill his social and economic responsibilities and to become a productive member of society. The responsibility for the training of children was shared by the immediate family and the kinship group (see Social Values, ch. 5).

Most of the early training was carried out within the confines of the family compound, where the smaller children were taught proper behavior and given small household tasks to perform. When the child approached 5 years of age, his responsibilities were increased to include activities outside of the compound, such as gathering wood and watching over calves and goats. On nearing the age of 10, Hutu boys learned to work in the fields while the girls were taught to perform household duties. Older boys, ages 12 to 15, were charged with looking after the cattle and often remained away from the compound for days at a time. After reaching puberty, young Tutsi males were sent to reside at either the Royal Court or the court of a *ganwa* (prince) in order to receive additional training. Here they learned attitudes and activities in keeping with their social status: traditional dances, the art of conversation, oral traditions, and military skills. The completion of this training marked the young person's entry into adult society.

Education Under Belgian Administration

Formal education was first introduced by Christian missionaries, who established small schools in connection with programs of religious instruction. The earliest mission schools are believed to have been established in 1900 by the Roman Catholic Order of the Missionaries of Africa (White Fathers). The number was augmented after 1916 by the entrance of Belgian missionaries. In 1925 the Belgian Administration gave official sanction to these mission schools and decided to carry out all primary education through missionary institutions. The programs of study were prescribed by the Government, and approved mission schools were subsidized, but financial support remained minimal until the 1930's. For a number of years, subsidy grants applied only to schools sponsored by Roman Catholic missions from Belgium; however, with the institution of educational reforms in 1946, the schools of non-Belgian missions also were provided subsidies (see Historical Setting, ch. 2; Religion, ch. 5).

Throughout the period of the Belgian administration, under the League of Nations Mandate (approximately from 1928 to 1946) the emphasis was on primary education to the exclusion of higher levels of training. In addition to the mission schools, a variety of unofficial, nonsubsidized chapel and reading schools were developed. They provided religious training and rudimentary instruction in reading. Pupils enrolled in these schools heavily outnumbered those enrolled in the subsidized mission schools.

The system of elementary education in the subsidized schools included lower primary schools, consisting of 2 years of training, and upper primary schools, which provided 3 additional years of instruction. Most children did not advance beyond the lower level.

In the early 1940's a sixth year of primary instruction was added. Until the introduction of French in 1946 as one of the official media of instruction, all instruction of African children was given in Rundi or Swahili. There also existed a more advanced school system for European children as well as a small number of Koran schools for the few Moslem children in the territory.

Additional changes were made in the educational system in 1948. The program of the upper primary school was divided into two sections, a 3-year "ordinary" course and a 4-year "selected" (advanced) course, which was designed to prepare pupils for postprimary or secondary education. The lower school curriculum included arithmetic, the metric system, drawing, gymnastics, handicrafts, Rundi language studies, observation exercises, reli-

gion (or moral instruction), and singing. The upper primary school continued these programs in addition to agriculture, French, vocational training and 2 hours of practical work per day. The advanced upper primary course included additional studies in French, geography, and writing.

In 1950 the total number of pupils in the subsidized primary schools of the combined territories of Rwanda and Burundi (Ruanda-Urundi) was 102,897. There was, in addition, a total of 348,778 pupils in the unofficial chapel and reading schools. Although the enrollment of primary schools was often reported as a combined total of these two types of schools, the latter cannot be regarded as true primary level institutions.

Technical and vocational education was limited almost entirely to the preparation of officeworkers, primary school teachers, and technicians. An educational center, including a postprimary program for teachers, was established at Astrida (now Butare), Rwanda, during the 1920's by the Roman Catholic Order of the Brothers of Charity (Frères de la Charité). In 1932 the Government directed that the teacher training section be made into a center for the training of Africans to fill lower civil service positions. Some 10 years later, during the 1940's, the Brothers of Charity opened a teacher training school at Gitega.

Apart from the Astrida center, there were no schools offering a full secondary education in the territory before 1950. The Astrida program was on a lower academic level than similar schools for European children. In 1956 there were 4,135 African pupils in all types of postprimary schools (general secondary, teacher training, and special vocational institutions)—less than 1 percent of the young people of postprimary school age.

United Nations teams visited the Territory of Ruanda-Urundi regularly after 1948 and called for greater emphasis on the education of African children. The 1957 U.N. Visiting Mission reported that of the 286,193 children attending primary schools, 110,852 were in their first year and only 1,788 were in the sixth year. The education of girls was reported as especially limited, with only 20 percent of school age girls attending primary school.

During the 1950's, the Government, for the first time, established schools directly rather than through mission institutions. A coeducational, interracial State school, the Athénée Royal (high school), was opened in Bujumbura. In 1956 it had a total of 157 students, of whom 76 were African. The Government also opened 10 primary schools and one normal school in Bujumbura and another high school in Gitega.

In 1956 a preuniversity institute was opened in Astrida

(Rwanda) to serve students from Rwanda, Burundi, and the Belgian Congo. It provided a link between the low level of secondary education and university education. Two institutions of higher education in the Belgian Congo, Louvainum University at Léopoldville (now Kinshasa), and the University of Elisabethville (now Lubumbashi) were accepting qualified students from Ruanda-Urundi. In the 1956-57 school year there were 20 Ruanda-Urundi students at Louvainum and 12 at Elisabethville. During the same year, there were 70 students from the Trust Territory studying in Belgium, although 50 of these were in secondary schools. 1958 marked the establishment of the first university-level institution in the Territory, when a Faculty of Agronomy was opened at the Astrida center.

A study commission from the University of Liège (Belgium), known as the FULREAC mission, visited the Territory in 1958 to make a survey of school conditions and needs. The commission concluded that despite the large expenditure for education, the number of schools was very inadequate when compared with the school-age population. The commission further stated that even those who were able to be in school received only limited benefits from their attendance because of social and health problems and inadequately trained teachers, and in addition to the European curriculum, which had not been adapted to the needs of the African student.

Post-Independence Education

Although the Government of Burundi sought to give high priority to education after 1962, political and financial problems impeded development. Most schools continued to be administered by missionary societies, and operated under Government subsidy. The educational system was supervised by the Ministry of Education, which exercises its authority through a system of school inspectors. Education was not compulsory, but primary and secondary education has been free since 1966.

In early 1969 the educational system consisted of official State schools, subsidized schools administered by Protestant and Roman Catholic organizations, and nonsubsidized religious schools. The subsidized schools under the administration of religious groups were required to conform to Government regulations about curriculum and qualifications of teaching staff. Under the subsidy program the State provides certain teaching materials and teachers' salaries. The nonsubsidized schools consisted of six Roman Catholic seminaries for the training of religious personnel, and also several Seventh Day Adventist schools (see Religion, ch. 5).

Primary Education

Primary education was intended for children between 6 and 12 years of age and consisted of a 6-year program of study divided into three stages of 2 years each. Schools providing only the first and second stages were widespread, but there were few centers that provided the full primary program. There were also several kindergartens in urban centers, and a number of schools offered a seventh year of study as a preparatory year for entrance into secondary school. The language of primary instruction was Rundi, with French as a required subject for each grade level.

In the 1966-67 school year, the latest year for which figures were available, the total number of primary school students was reported at 153,451. Of this total, less than 5 percent were in public schools administered directly by the Government; most of the others were in schools established by the religious organizations. The total enrollment for all primary schools is estimated to represent only 25 percent of the children of primary school age (see table 4).

The education of girls lagged far behind that of boys. Less than half of the girls who began the first year of primary school advanced beyond the second year. The Government sought to encourage the education of girls and, since 1966, the Ministry of Education permitted girls to advance into the seventh (preparatory) year with a score of 40 percent, while boys were still required to obtain 50 percent. Another problem of educational de-

Table 4. *Pupil Enrollment by Type of School, 1965-66, Burundi*

Level	Official schools	Catholic schools	Protestant schools	Total
Preschool	99	123	187	409
Stage 1:				
Year 1	1,180	35,217	11,703	48,100
Year 2	1,102	23,959	6,387	31,448
Stage 2:				
Year 3	1,061	18,526	4,659	24,246
Year 4	916	13,524	3,436	17,876
Stage 3:				
Year 5	741	10,423	2,570	13,734
Year 6	693	5,505	1,764	7,962
Preparatory Year (7th)	650	1,902	1,002	3,554
TOTAL	6,442	109,179	31,708	147,329
PERCENT	4.1	74.1	21.5	100

Source: Adapted from Burundi, *Plan Quinquennal de Développement Economique et Social du Burundi 1968-72*.

velopment was the high percentage of pupils who left school before completing the entire primary course (see table 5).

Secondary Education

The intermediate social schools, specifically for the education of girls, provided a 4-year general course in the humanities. The home economics schools offered a 3-year program for the training of women primary school teachers. Both of these types of schools were of recent origin, and in 1969 the programs were not yet fully developed.

Vocational and technical training was provided at the Official Technical School at Kamenge (*Ecole Professionnelle Officielle des Métiers*) and at seven craft schools, six of which were sponsored by religious organizations. These institutions offered programs of 2, 3, and 4 years beyond primary school in the fields of carpentry, cabinetmaking, mechanics, electricity, machine tooling, and dressmaking. Agricultural training was provided at the Karuzi Agricultural School, which offered courses of 2 and 3 years' duration. Training for nurses and public health workers was offered in four institutions in 1967, and 136 students were reported enrolled in these programs. These institutions were organized under the administration of the Ministry of Public Health (*Santé*

Table 5. *Primary School Enrollment, 1965-66, Burundi*

Level	Boys	Girls	Total
Preschool	248	161	409
Stage 1:			
Year 1	32,291	15,769	48,060
Year 2	21,808	9,590	31,398
Stage 2:			
Year 3	17,122	7,074	24,196
Year 4	12,791	4,998	17,789
Stage 3:			
Year 5	10,210	3,461	13,671
Year 6	6,090	1,827	7,917
Preparatory Year 7*	3,011	494	3,505
Other pupils, category unknown ..			384
TOTAL			147,329

* Figures include preparatory (7th) years attached to both primary schools and to secondary schools.

Source: Adapted from Burundi, *Plan Quinquennal de Développement Economique et Social du Burundi*, p. 244; Burundi, Institut Rundi des Statistiques, *Annuaire Statistique 1966* (Supplement); and "Le marche du Burundi," *Marchés Tropicaux et Méditerranéens*, May 13, 1967.

Publique) rather than under the Ministry of Education. A National School of Administration (Ecole Nationale d'Administration) was established under the direction of the Ministry of the Interior and Civil Service. In 1967 this school reported 30 students enrolled. The total enrollment of all vocational and technical schools was reported at 923 in 1967 (see table 6).

Table 6. Pupil Distribution, Burundi

	1964-65			1966-67		
	Boys	Girls	Total	Boys	Girls	Total
University of Bujumbura -----	146	8	154	240	11	251
Higher normal school -----	—	—	—	30	6	36
General secondary school -----	2,072	232	2,304	2,694	238	2,932
Normal school (7-year) -----	393	6	399	440	93	533
Intermediate teacher training schools -	825	566	1,391	938	477	1,415
Intermediate social school -----	—	28	28	—	127	127
Home economics schools -----	—	586	586	—	567	567
Technical and vocational -----	766	—	766	923	—	923
Primary schools --	98,784	40,948	139,732	107,693	45,758	153,451
Not categorized ---	—	—	—	—	—	(240)
TOTAL -----	102,286	42,374	145,360	112,958	47,277	160,235

Source: Adapted from Burundi, Institut des Statistiques, *Annuaire Statistique*, September 1967 p. 52.

Higher Education

The Official University of Bujumbura (Université Officielle de Bujumbura) was established on January 10, 1964 by Royal Decree of Mwami Mwambutsa IV. This decree transformed the former Collège du Saint-Esprit, established by the Roman Catholic Society of Jesus in Bujumbura in 1960, into a joint enterprise of the Government and the Church, both of which appointed the members of the Board of Directors on a 50-50 basis.

The University had three faculties: philosophy and letters, economic and social sciences, and science. In 1969 it continued to provide the first 2 years of university education; scholarships were provided for additional studies outside of Burundi for those

able to continue their studies. In 1965-66 there were 162 students enrolled at the University, of which only 81 were Burundi nationals. The enrollment increased to 251 in 1966-67. A total of 342 students were reportedly studying outside the country during the 1965-66 school year. Of these, 123 were in Belgium; 61 in France; 103 in the Netherlands, West Germany, and Italy; 40 in the Soviet Union; 10 in Great Britain; and 5 with the World Health Organization. This total includes both secondary and university level education. No figures were available for university training alone.

A second institution of higher education, Ecole Normale Supérieure, an advanced normal school, was opened in October 1965 at Bujumbura to train secondary school teachers and school inspectors. There were 36 students enrolled during the 1966-67 school year.

Personnel and Financing. One of the impediments to educational development was the lack of adequately trained teachers. Of the 3,406 primary school teachers employed in 1966, less than 40 percent hold diplomas from teacher training schools. Over 30 percent of those teaching had received no pedagogical training at all, but the need for teachers required that these persons be retained. Secondary and higher education teaching positions continue to be almost entirely staffed by foreign nationals (see table 7).

The 1966 budget of the Ministry of Education was reported at 307,405,000 Burundi francs (FBu87.5 equal U.S.\$1—see Glossary) This was an increase of 12 percent over the previous year and represented 25 percent of the general budget of the State. There were no budget provisions for school construction, and Burundi has sought bilateral or international aid to provide funds for needed building programs.

In 1967 Burundi entered into an agreement with the United

Table 7. *Qualifications Held by Primary School Teachers, 1966, Burundi*

	Graduates of secondary and 7-year normal schools	Graduates of 4-year pedagogy schools	Teachers with some pedagogy training	Teachers with no pedagogy training	Total
Men	19	940	541	1,234	2,734
Women	10	251	352	59	672
TOTAL	29	1,191	893	1,293	3,406

Source: Adapted from Burundi, *Plan Quinquennel de Développement Économique et Social du Burundi 1968-72*.

Nations under its Development Program (UNDP), by which the United Nations would provide aid in the development of preservice and inservice training at the National School of Administration. The UNDP designated \$740,000 for the project, and the Burundi Government agreed to provide the equivalent of approximately \$1,100,000 in unspecified support.

ARTISTIC AND INTELLECTUAL EXPRESSION

Most Burundi artisans retained their traditional spirit of artistic expression for its own sake rather than for material gain. Baskets made of fibers and useful objects made of iron or leather usually bore creative decorations that reflected the makers' aesthetic interests. Nonutilitarian plastic arts, such as sculpture, painting, and wood carving, had not been broadly developed. Clay objects were not common, and pots for day-to-day use, such as milk pots were made of wood rather than clay or metal. Pots, ladles, and other wooden articles occasionally were given simple parallel linear decorations, which were burnt in with a heated metal tool.

The simple ornamental designs on baskets and on workaday items of iron or leather sprang from a desire for self-expression. Traditionally, geometric patterns were the rule. Harmony was developed from combinations of asymmetric and contrasting elements. A maximum of two or three themes were used alternately. In the use of color a rigorous classicism was preferred, with white in the background and black in the decorative elements. Red and blue were sometimes used on luxury articles.

Wherever foreign influences had penetrated, a sharp contrast was detected between traditional and modern art. Western techniques and themes had been acquired in the art shops of the Catholic mission schools. Geometric designs tended to disappear under outside influence, and realistic figures were shown. Art traditionalists expressed hopes that the success of the Black Arts World Festival (Festival mondial des arts nègres) held in Dakar in 1966, would encourage Burundi artists who have done modern work to return to traditional themes.

Oral literature, rhetoric, music, and dance, which express the life and movement of the individual, were still the most active and beloved forms of artistic expression in 1969. Oral traditional literature was a rich source of historical data and a means of entertainment, particularly during family gatherings, and music and dance played an important role in social activities as well as ceremonial occasions (see Social Values, ch. 5).

Repositories for written history, literature, and artworks were limited. A small museum of traditional art in Gitega held some

representative art works, and there were small libraries in Bujumbura and in several province headquarters.

Basketry

Women were proficient in basketmaking. Traditionally, specialists in fine basketwork considered it a matter of honor to make only high quality items. The artist created freely, directing her thoughts to the material without using any previous model as a guide. A rough awl manufactured by the artisan was the only tool used in basketwork. The necessary raw materials were abundant and inexpensive; pithy fibers of the papyrus, bast, banana, and other common herbs were used.

Both weaving and coiling techniques were used. Coiling was more common, particularly for thick-walled baskets and bowls, as coils were more resistant to shock and pressure than woven containers. Coiling technique was preferred when crafting waterproof cups, lids for the gourd bottles used for beer, and the rings used to keep vessels in an upright position and to carry bundles on the head.

Baskets vary according to use, but the most common were convex flattened globes or bells. The base and lid of a convex basket were similar in height, but the lid of the bell-shaped basket was higher, providing a symmetrical shape. Various sizes were used for storage of salt, pepper, beans, and many other foods. Small oblong baskets were used to hold beer pots when visitors were entertained.

Most of the fibers used tended to dry into shades of yellow or tan. Many baskets were decorated with strips of black or mauve fibers, dyed with mud from the marshes and arranged in geometric patterns. Simple zigzag patterns were common. Sometimes triangles were added, tiered in a quincunx pattern (see Glossary) with squares, rectangles and strips in V-shapes or spirals. These combinations of narrow fiber strips subtly represented the natural latticework of banana leaves, which were a common artistic theme because of the importance of the banana plant as the source of banana beer, considered a necessity in social relations (see Social Structure, ch. 5). Both the base and the lid of the basket had the same pattern. More sophisticated basket styles included trimmings of white and blue beads, with the white arranged in geometrical figures, forming triangles and diamonds.

All the baskets, embellished or not, were socially valuable and utilitarian. In general, the number of baskets a family had, and the skill and artistry displayed in them, indicated the social status of the household.

Upper-class Tutsi women did most of the basketmaking, with the help of servants and laborers. Experienced makers taught young people their arts. Learning the various techniques and designs took much time and effort. Basketry lessons cost several hoes, goats, or a cow; in recent times the pupil sometimes paid the teacher with money or imported articles.

Formerly, baskets were not normally made to sell, and it was difficult for would-be purchasers to establish a mutually agreeable price, which depended entirely upon the buyer's mood. It was not unusual to exchange a cow for a particular basket.

Ironwork

Metallic handiwork included iron decorations for pots and baskets, and copper bracelets made from old African jewelry or old European objects. Lances made by blacksmiths were usually functional, but were also kept for their prestige or decorative value. Made in multiple shapes showing simple design and great skill, the lances were originally used both for hunting game and for war. They were forged in such a way that, once they were plunged into its flesh, an animal had difficulty to twist or to break loose from it. War lances had a small hook at the end on which poison could be placed.

Aside from use in war or hunting, lances had symbolic and spiritual values. The chief of the family usually took his lance with him on trips and used it as a walking stick and status symbol. Gentlemen from upper classes carried artistically decorated lances as part of their traditional costume on special occasions. His lance was the instrument by which a dying family head symbolically transmitted his power to a successor. A particular type of lance having white and black colors played an important role in rituals for the clan's ancestral heroes and their mediators (*kiranga*) (see Religion, ch. 5).

Music and Dance

Music and dance were extremely important arts. Music was associated with most family meetings and other activities. The Burundi have had a large repertoire of songs for every mood and occasion, and every family event has been enhanced by songs. Musical compositions were usually short, but different words and dances added variety to the repetitious beat of the music.

The *imvyino*, a type of group song, was popular in family reunions. It had a refrain composed of a short musical phrase with a strong beat, and the group singing was sometimes accompanied by dances. Couplets improvised by a soloist were popular in the *imvyino* because they were usually colorful and were

closely related to the event or the specific moment when sung. Such solo verses were often used to bring news to the group.

The *indirimbo*, another popular type of song, was performed by one person or a very small group and was considered the type of music appropriate for the expression of quiet feelings. The themes were varied and touching. Some of these songs were in free verse associated with a strong beat. *Bilito*, a type of elegy accompanied by a very melancholy and sentimental music, were the evening delights of families having several daughters. *Kwishongora*, however, was of the men's domain. These were long, lyrical, rhythmic declamations, full of trills that required a clear, high-pitched voice.

The most important musical instruments were the drum, the *inanga*, the *idono*, and the flute, all of which were used to accompany singing and dancing. The *inanga* was a zither-like instrument, with six to eight cords strung across a long, flat bowl of bark or wood. Usually the wood bore a few simple linear decorations; holes pierced in the bottom were said to add richness to the tone. The *idono* was like a hunting bow with its single taut string pulled against the bow by a ring that was also connected to a bowl-shaped wooden chamber. The bowl was held in front of the body with the chamber pressed against the chest. Striking the single string with a slender stick, the player moved the ring up or down, changing the length of the string to achieve different notes.

Both the *inanga* and the *idono* were usually accompanied by singing. The instruments were not loud, and the singing had to be in subdued or low voices if the instruments were to be heard. Some traditional lyrics, handed down in the old Rundi dialect, were accompanied by the *inanga* or the *idono* and were favored as songs for the quiet of the night.

Types of flutes and fifes were popular and were usually played as part of an orchestral group which included drums. The clarinet-like flute, *ikihuschama*, was made of a wooden tube about 1 foot long, with three holes at the lower end which could be opened or closed to produce various notes. The typical fife was short, and was much more popular than the flute. It had a hole near the upper end and two or three fingerholes at the lower end.

Under the monarchy, the drum was the most important symbol of power, particularly the King's sacred drum. Every young Burundi wished to learn to play this most prestigious and highly valued instrument. Holiday celebrations invariably included drum music for dancers, usually for solo dancers. Several men beat one drum, each alternating quickly with the others, using two sticks to express his own version of rhythm. After a short time

a drummer would suddenly jump up while the others continued drumming. He leaped about, stamped his feet, crept, ran, and shook his drumsticks. Then he jumped back to the drum and picked up the beat with his partners, continuing this routing for hours. The drum concert and dance were rarely accompanied by singing.

The Burundi valued this instrument for its spiritual significance and its rhythm, as there was no drum language or code to be used for signals or for transmittal of news. Despite the traditional love of drums, they have become rare in recent decades. They were normally made of the boles of large trees, which are no longer available in many areas.

Dances were an important and typical art form. Filled with excitement and rhythm, they were beloved by foreigners as well as by Burundi; groups of Tutsi dancers have made world tours, performing for a great variety of audiences. The intricate traditional dances demanded talent, study, and skilled technique. Elaborate costumes added color to the spirited dance routines. Dancers usually wore a piece of leopard fur around their waists, several strings of beads on different parts of their body, a half-moon-shaped pendant of carved bone at the neck, and a cluster of feathers as a headdress.

Literature and Rhetoric

Before the establishment of the colonial administration at the turn of the century, literary compositions existed only in oral form, and in 1969 oral compositions continued to be far more abundant than written works. Literature had been handed down in many forms: tales, legends, fables, proverbs, poetry, riddles, and ballads. The various forms cover religious, philosophical, historical, and moral subjects, describing events of everyday life, and disseminating news. Much of the literature was in the form of poems, which were often recited against a background of music or converted to songs; no clear distinction between songs and poetry was possible. Cattle in general, and the cow in particular, were the principal themes in legends and epics.

Tales for the entertainment of young people were numerous. Older men tell stories of events they have witnessed, each telling the story in his own way. Many versions of historical events were passed around. In each story the characters represented certain historical figures or groups in disguised forms, and varied greatly.

The use of allusions, indirect references, and figures of speech were the most honored marks of aesthetic excellence in Burundi literature. The quality of an oral or written composition de-

pended upon the subtlety and delicacy of the allusions used.

Speech itself was considered a form of artistic expression, quite apart from its communications function. Eloquent language and the introduction of stories and proverbs were facets of everyday conversation. Literary and rhetorical skills and the creation and delivery of praise poems (*amazina*) were included in the speech training of boys from upper-class families.

Allusions were also popular in polite social intercourse. References to people and events were usually so tenuous and indirect that they were understood only by people concerned with those events being discussed. Exaggerations were commonly used, together with stylistic conventions which made statements misleading if they were interpreted literally. Because of artistic indirection and unique styles used in both literary works and common speech, it was usually difficult for outsiders to determine meanings, particularly for those who had not acquired some knowledge of Burundi attitudes and values.

CHAPTER 8

ECONOMIC AND FINANCIAL SYSTEMS, DOMESTIC TRADE, FOREIGN ECONOMIC RELATIONS

This relatively small country, densely populated by subsistence farmers, has few resources other than the soil, which has been depleted by intensive cropping, overgrazing, and erosion. Estimated per capita income, based on figures that are not always complete or consistent, is between 3,000 and 4,000 FBu (87.5 Burundi francs equal U.S.\$1—see Glossary), or \$34 to \$45 annually. Potential gains in the standard of living resulting from economic and social programs have been swallowed up in population growth, leaving conditions relatively unchanged. An estimated two-thirds of the gross domestic product for 1965 consisted of production and consumption within the subsistence sector; only one-third was derived from the monetary economy.

Government programs since independence have been directed toward an enlargement of the money economy as well as toward the nation's prime need, an increase in subsistence foods to nourish a growing population. Since most good land was already being farmed intensively, any increase in crop yields was difficult to achieve. The dissemination of better farming methods was delayed by traditional attitudes, lack of education, and by the lack of communications among people who are scattered over the hills rather than clustered in villages or settlements. The development of an active trade sector was hindered by illiteracy, the scarcity of handicrafts and other skills, and by the shortage of purchasing power among the general population. Most trade and general commercial activity was limited to Bujumbura and constituted only 8 percent of the gross domestic product.

Commercial agriculture was concentrated in coffee and cotton, and existing industry consisted of small operations that were, for the most part, closely related to agriculture. The most important of these were coffee-processing plants, a brewery, and a few miscellaneous small manufacturing firms; all but the brewery were usually operating below capacity. Until the level of purchasing power can be increased throughout the general population, a significant increase in manufacturing and industrial employment remains unlikely.

Burundi had a large corps of unemployed and underemployed people, especially in Bujumbura. Most skilled workers were foreigners; professionally trained and skilled technicians were scarce. The small minority of young people who have had advanced schooling usually have not entered specialties that would contribute directly to economic growth.

Since money income, trade, and employment were heavily dependent on coffee, economic activity fluctuated with the coffee harvest season, reflecting the size and quality of the crop and its price on the world market.

Before 1962 yearly national budget deficits were met by Belgian subsidies. After independence, which was followed by the breakdown of the economic union with Rwanda, expenditures increased faster than revenue, and deficits continued. Throughout this period Government finances were heavily dependent on foreign trade. In 1966, for example, 40 percent of Government revenue was derived from customs taxes. Approximately 75 percent of Burundi's foreign exchange was derived from coffee exports. Thus, both the balance of payments and the national budget were subjects to movements of the market for the nation's coffee. Equilibrium in the balance of payments has been achieved in only one year, 1964, in spite of the fact that in some years, such as 1967, good crops were harvested on coffee and cotton lands. Deficits were covered by foreign aid and by drafts on foreign reserves, which decreased from \$11.06 million in 1964 to \$3.3 million in September 1968.

In 1965 financial problems culminated in the devaluation of the Burundi franc from 50 to 87.5 per United States dollar. Since then, import and exchange restrictions have been eliminated, and the Central Bank (Bank of the Republic of Burundi) has exercised conservative monetary and credit policies. The bank's actions have helped to control inflation and stabilize the value of Burundi's currency. Although the year 1967 also brought a reduction in the annual budget deficit, the financial situation in 1968 remained precarious, and the nation was dependent upon international organizations and foreign aid.

ROLE OF GOVERNMENT

The first significant step taken toward the economic improvement of the country was the Ten-Year Development Plan for Ruanda-Urundi (1952-61) set up by the Belgian Administration for what was then Ruanda-Urundi (see Agriculture, Industry, and Labor Force and Labor Relations ch. 9). Since independence the Burundi economy has been influenced more by Government

action than by private investment. The Government has been quite liberal with private investors, trying to encourage them to play an active role in the economic development of the country, but has not been successful because of the absence of a broadly based, active money economy and the lack of purchasing power. It has also been difficult to stimulate foreign and local investment in export businesses, since high transportation costs make this type of investment unprofitable.

Political instability from 1962 through 1966 was another factor working against an increase in the activities of private enterprise. In 1967, however, President Michel Micombero met with commercial, industrial, and financial groups to explain his government's development plans and to attempt to instill in them confidence in the republican Government. He assured them of the Governments' willingness to create a favorable investment environment, and encouraged them to employ more Burundi personnel and to reinvest profits in the country. A few months later the Government enacted a new, liberal investment code, but it had little effect upon private investment during 1968.

Government efforts to enlarge the economy have been limited by the lack of surplus tax and other revenues, which were heavily dependent upon coffee production, quality, and prices on the world market. The Governments' scarce resources were employed mainly in agricultural development, which was expected to yield higher returns than new investments in any other sector of the economy. At the same time, an increase in food supply for the growing population was expected.

With this in mind, a Five-Year Development Plan covering the period 1968-72 was prepared (see Agriculture, Industry and Labor Force, and Labor Relations, ch. 9). The plan included economic and social as well as agricultural development projects, to be financed by increased public revenues and aid from Belgium. The interrelated objectives included agricultural diversification; regrouping of rural population to create villages and urban centers; and several improvements in the overall economic structure, including the encouragement of domestic trade.

Balance of payment difficulties since 1962 have increased Government interest in local production of goods that otherwise would be imported. Important examples are meats, rice, eggs, dairy products, and other foodstuffs, purchased mainly by the European population. Statistics showed some improvement in this area during 1967, particularly in the reduction of imports of fish, rice, and dairy products. Foreign textiles, which, together with leather, accounted for 26 percent of total imports in 1966, were expected to be displaced eventually by products

from the new Burutex textile plant (see Agriculture, Industry, and Labor Force and Labor Relations, ch. 9).

MONETARY AND BANKING SYSTEM

Monetary System

Background

Until 1960, under Belgian trusteeship, Burundi was part of an economic union with Rwanda and the Congo (Kinshasa). The monetary unit was the Congolese franc, with an exchange value on a par with the Belgian franc. When the Congo became independent in 1960, the union with that country ended, but Burundi and Rwanda continued their economic arrangements. A new monetary unit, the Rwanda-Burundi franc, with an exchange rate of 50 francs equal U.S.\$1, was created. When Rwanda and Burundi became independent nations in 1962, they continued their economic union, including currency value, as urged by Belgium and the United Nations.

The Congo had been an important market for Burundi goods, but since 1960 the political and economic disturbances there have considerably reduced Burundi exports to that country, resulting in balance-of-payments and monetary difficulties for both Rwanda and Burundi. Exchange restrictions, therefore, were applied to attempt to reduce the foreign trade deficit and to prevent deterioration of currency values.

Imported goods were classified as essential or nonessential. Importers of essential goods were allowed, under license, to obtain foreign exchange from the Central Bank of Rwanda and Burundi at the official rate of 50 francs per United States dollar. Importers of nonessential goods had to obtain foreign exchange at higher cost in the free market. In 1963, for example, the rate was about 100 francs per United States dollar. On the other hand, exporters were required to surrender their export earnings at the official rate to make foreign currency available for importers of essential goods. The free market was supplied from the expenditures of foreign visitors and residents, reinforced by the proceeds from smuggled exports and illegal transactions, such as sales of coffee to foreign countries without payment of export duties and without declaring the proceeds to monetary authorities.

It was assumed that essential goods would be available for the community at a lower price since they were paid for with currency bought at the official rate and therefore at a lower actual cost. The actual effect was the opposite. Because of the licensing system and the restriction on the amount of currency available to buy enough goods to satisfy demand, essential items were scarce, and domestic prices went up.

One of the goals of the program was the stimulation of production, but contrary effects were recorded. The farmers collected less for their products, since the value of money received was reduced by the conversion of foreign exchange into local currency at the official rate. The double rate acted as a tax for exporters, in order to subsidize imports. The producers of export goods, who were the suppliers of foreign exchange, finally received less for their goods, although they had to pay more for the essential goods bought from the importers. Farmers were discouraged, and this partly explains why production of export goods decreased during 1963, causing at the same time a reduction in the supply of foreign money.

Smuggling of export goods increased as owners sought to avoid the surrender of foreign exchange. The proceeds from smuggled goods were used to buy imported goods, increasing the amount of foreign exchange available on the free market, while the supply of this type of currency available at official rates continued to decrease. The importers, mostly foreigners, usually transferred their funds abroad rather than reinvest in the country, causing a net drain on the balance of payments.

Monetary authorities were reluctant to devalue, believing that price control would be the solution to the problem. Dissent between the Governments of Burundi and Rwanda continued to develop as budget policies diverged and problems of foreign exchange allocation continued to increase. Several meetings between officials of both countries took place during 1963, but no agreement was reached, and in December Rwanda announced the end of the economic union.

No specific date for dissolution of the economic union was ever agreed upon by the two countries. Since the Central Bank considered itself in liquidation and no separate money was available, a period of confusion resulted. Burundi monetary authorities, however, maintained the parity of the currency and the policy of exchange restrictions. The common monetary system was officially ended in May 1964; the legislature created the Bank of the Kingdom of Burundi and issued a new currency, the franc Burundi (FBu), with the same par value as the Belgian franc—50 francs to the United States dollar.

Because of the reduction in trade operations with the Congo and Rwanda, plus the handicap of the double exchange rates, exports continued to decrease. The control over imports caused a further inflation, and the price index increased approximately 30 percent during 1964. Money supply (currency and demand deposits) increased about 64.5 percent between January 1964 and January 1965. Finally, the Government, advised by experts from

the International Monetary Fund (IMF), decided to follow a stabilization program that included devaluation of the currency. A royal decree, dated February 10, 1965, fixed the new parity of the franc Burundi at 87.5 FBu per United States dollar. This rate was still in force in 1968. As part of the monetary reform, liberal foreign exchange payment policies were adopted; quantitative restrictions on imports and the double exchange rate (the official rate and the free market rate) were abolished.

Recent Developments

By the end of 1967 monetary reform was considered to have been successful in maintaining currency and price stability. The 1967 balance-of-payments deficit was less than that of 1966, when a low price for coffee and a 25-percent reduction in Belgian aid had brought a substantial imbalance. Controls of expenditures and improved tax collection resulted in a sharp improvement in the nation's budget by the end of 1967.

Aside from the longer term inflationary pressures and other monetary problems, Burundi's economy has been subject to periods of inflation during annual coffee harvests. Coffee has been such an important cash crop that economic activity varies according to the size and price of the crop. With income from coffee sales, farmers repay loans, pay for items they have bought on credit, and buy necessities, such as fabrics for clothes. Their spending initiates a chain reaction that extends throughout other sectors of the economy. The increase in money supply begins around May, reaching its peak in July or August. During this quarter of the year, money moves quickly, creating the annual inflationary trend.

The supply of commodities, particularly food products, is relatively inelastic, and the steady increase in demand pushes prices upward. When prices for agricultural products increase, farmers are inclined to regard the income received as adequate. Rather than striving to increase food production, they tend to produce less, and the unfulfilled demand leads to further inflationary pressure.

Bank System

The Bank of the Republic of Burundi (Banque de la Republique du Burundi), originally created as the Bank of the Kingdom of Burundi (Banque du Royaume du Burundi), was established when the economic union with Rwanda ended in 1963. It is the Central Bank and, therefore, is the instrument by which the Government administers monetary policies. Its responsibilities have included currency issue, foreign exchange control, and rediscount operations. As banker for the Government, the Central Bank has been the major source of funds for the financing of budgetary

and balance-of-payments deficits. The bank controlled all foreign trade operations and was required to register and monitor all export and import transactions. Import licenses were granted by the bank, mainly as a guarantee of payment to the supplier. Statistical information on the financial situation of the country has been published periodically in the *Bulletin de la Banque de la Republique du Burundi* (Bulletin of the Bank of the Republic of Burundi).

In 1967 there were three commercial banks in Burundi, linked to Belgian banking groups: the Bujumbura Bank of Credit (Banque de Credit de Bujumbura), the Burundi Commercial Bank (Banque Commerciale du Burundi), and the Belgian African Bank (Banque Belgo-Africaine). These banks provided credit for traders and farmers and have been particularly active and important during coffee and cotton harvest seasons. Thus, banking, like other economic activities, has been subject to seasonal fluctuations, with transactions at a high level from June to September.

The banks played an important role during the coffee season. Although banks shared in practically all phases of production, they played a more active role in the financing of coffee trade than in cultivation. The resources of commercial banks were not equal to the increasing demands placed on them during the peak of the season. The risks in agricultural credit were enormous, and defaults often have accounted for a significant percentage of total credits. Since banks tend to avoid high risks, many farmers were unable to obtain bank credit during the cultivation and harvest stages. These farmers have had to turn to private lenders who charged extremely high interest rates, sometimes 100 percent or more per year.

Banks were engaged for the most part in providing the funds for the continuity of the coffee-marketing cycle, particularly during the time lag of approximately 3 months between the sale of coffee by the farmer and the receipt of payment from abroad. Usually, they lent money to small merchants who were willing to participate in the coffee business, but they avoided granting any excess credit, thus preventing strong competition among coffee exporters that might push down domestic coffee prices to growers and cause losses which otherwise might not have occurred. As a general price stabilization policy, banks insisted that merchants finance most of their coffee purchases from intermediaries for export through the proceeds of their regular sales. This tended to force merchants to sell their goods at reasonable prices in order to obtain money to buy coffee.

By 1967 credits to main exporters had become the most im-

portant aspect of the bank financing of coffee, although intermediaries were most in need of advances since they bought the coffee from the farmers. By extending credit to exporters, the banks retained better control over the money lent. The exporters in turn advanced funds to the intermediaries in return for promises of coffee deliveries.

Different types of credits were granted to exporters, including the so-called "seasonal loans," which were based on the credit standing of the bank clients. This type of loan allowed additional credits, backed up by the coffee itself, to repay preceding credits. Another type of credit, used mostly in trading with American buyers, was based on the guarantee of payment in a letter of credit from the bank of the purchaser. The bank, however, required the Burundi sellers to present the shipping documents issued by the transport company in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania, before payment. Usually an average of 15 days was required for the movement of coffee from Bujumbura to the holds of the ships at Dar es Salaam, and an additional 10 days for the shipping papers to return to Bujumbura. Only then could sellers claim payment from the bank. To avoid delay and to accelerate the rotation of capital, some exporters and foreign buyers made arrangements for credits to be granted against bills of lading issued locally, long before the goods were shipped out of Dar es Salaam.

Still other credit procedures were used to finance coffee exports. Not only were intermediaries and exporters in need of funds during the harvest, but also working capital was needed throughout the year. During the harvest a complete monetary cycle ran its course. The money paid to the farmers returned to the merchants, who then paid the wholesalers. While participating in the financing of the coffee harvest, banks had to extend credit for imports of merchandise as well. They played the role of a force-pump that had to work smoothly, adapting their operations to different circumstances.

In 1967, a National Development Bank was organized, with a capital of 60 million FBu. Main participants were the Government, which supplied 25 million FBu, and the Central Bank, with 10 million FBu. Other organizations involved were the Office of Industrial Works of Burundi (L'Office des cultures, industrielles du Burundi—OCIBU), the National Social Security Institute, and the three commercial banks operating in Bujumbura. The principal goal of the bank has been to encourage Burundi capital to participate in local economic activities, particularly in the establishment of new industries. Since the lack of economic growth in Burundi has discouraged industrial investors, the Develop-

ment Bank has acted mainly as a lending institution serving private or quasi-governmental enterprises that were not necessarily related to new industry. For example, the bank made loans to the Burundi Merchants Association, an established organization, to finance coffee transactions, totaling 135 million FBu, for the 1968 harvest season.

Before 1967 the Development Bank had not accepted deposits from the public, but bank planners expected that it would eventually become a type of deposit bank, in addition to its original activities.

Other financial institutions include the Savings Bank and postal service checking accounts, both small operations. The postal service carried approximately 400 checking accounts in 1966.

PUBLIC FINANCE

Fiscal Administration

Burundi's Constitution promulgated in 1962, required the preparation of an annual budget in which the expected revenues and expenditures of the Government would be detailed. The fiscal year was to coincide with the calendar year. Budget proposals were to be presented to the Ministry of Finance by the different administrative agencies of the Government. Proposals then were to be forwarded to the Director of the Budget, who would discuss them with the heads of the departments that had prepared the proposals. The Director was given responsibility for the implementation of the combined budget programs, estimates of expected revenues, and the enforcement of rules and regulations that would result in a balanced budget.

Proposals of the Director of the Budget were to be examined by the Council of Ministers and, if approved, submitted to the Legislative Assembly. Upon approval by the Legislative Assembly, the budget became law.

The National Treasury was designated to receive Government revenues from the various sources, except for those sent directly to the OCIBU, the agency in charge of coffee equalization funds. The Central Bank became the depository of public funds and made advances to the National Treasury in accordance with the receipts projected in the budget.

The Constitution also provided for the organization of a Court of Accounts which was responsible for the examination and auditing of the accounts of the public treasury. Although the Constitution was inoperative after 1966, its guidelines for budget management were followed by the Micombero government.

In addition to the Central Government's ordinary budget, each

of the 78 communes (local administrative units) was authorized to maintain its own small operational account. Current revenues for the communes were drawn from taxes collected within their jurisdiction, such as the head tax and the cattle tax. Most of the communes' expenditures have gone for local administrative and judicial services, but construction of communal buildings, bridges, and roads has also been paid for out of local budgets, and some revenues have been used in agricultural and medical services.

In 1963 the Government set up a small extraordinary budget to finance development projects. It has been difficult to increase the size of this budget because of the scarcity of Government resources.

Ordinary Budget

From 1954 through 1967, whether dominated by Trusteeship officials or independent leaders, the Government had a continuing deficit that increased yearly and was covered by Belgium subsidies.

Upon achieving independence in 1962, and thereafter, expenditures for defense, internal security, and diplomatic representation increased, although current income remained low. In 1962 total actual expenditures were 553.4 million francs (at the old rate of 50 francs equal U.S. \$1), of which about 39 percent was spent in administrative services. Total revenues for that same year were only 444.8 million francs, making a deficit of 108.6 million francs. At the end of 1965, a year after Burundi's financial stabilization program began, the deficit was only 10.5 million FBu (at the new rate of 87.5 FBu per U.S. \$1). By 1966 tax rates had been increased, tax collection had improved, and revenues were triple those of 1962; however, expenditures also increased, and the deficit grew to 183.0 million FBu, the largest since independence. The deficit was covered by foreign aid, mostly from Belgium, and through Government borrowing from the Central Bank (see table 8).

Expenditures

After independence expenditures rose steadily from 553.4 million francs (at the old rate) in 1962 to 1,688.7 million FBu (at the new rate) in 1966. Expenditures in administrative services increased substantially, but their share in the total budget decreased from 39 percent in 1962 to 34 percent in 1966. Most of the increase in administrative costs was attributable to internal security, since expenditures for the national police and defense and justice organizations more than doubled. Foreign affairs expenditures increased from 5.7 million francs (at the old rate) in

Table 8. Ordinary Budget, Burundi, 1962-66
(in millions of francs)

	1962	1963	1964	1965	1966
REVENUES:					
<i>Direct Taxes:</i>					
Income taxes	46.8	130.9	117.5	146.9	221.5
Minimum personal tax ..	95.5	103.5	104.5	139.5	173.9
Land tax	5.2	10.0	11.0	11.6	14.8
Vehicle tax	6.1	5.8	7.8	7.5	11.2
Tax on cattle	8.7	13.5	10.8	15.1	24.0
Other direct taxes	2.1	5.0	5.9	3.1	1.2
TOTAL	164.4	268.7	257.3	323.7	446.6
<i>Indirect Taxes:</i>					
Import taxes	73.4	99.1	171.1	316.0	375.3
Export taxes	27.6	16.0	58.5	188.0	188.9
Excise taxes	97.7	86.4	140.4	168.1	213.0
Other indirect taxes	4.8	1.7	4.8	6.5	37.7
TOTAL	203.5	203.2	374.8	678.6	814.9
<i>Other Local Revenues</i>	41.9	47.9	142.7	290.8	108.4
Total Local Revenues	409.8	519.8	744.8	1,293.1	1,364.0
<i>External Revenue</i>	35.0	28.0	72.3	56.2	52.8
TOTAL REVENUES	444.8	547.8	847.6	1,349.3	1,417.7
EXPENDITURES:					
<i>Administrative Services:</i>					
Chief of State, National Assembly, Prime Ministry	38.5	43.6	54.5	57.6	59.3
Finance	9.2	18.5	35.6	62.5	49.9
Interior and information	27.3	29.8	38.5	61.2	65.9
Justice	47.0	57.0	66.9	81.4	114.0
Foreign affairs	5.7	15.6	41.6	73.8	92.4
National police	43.8	49.3	60.8	86.2	87.3
National defense	42.1	50.6	58.1	95.5	109.9
TOTAL	213.6	264.4	356.0	518.2	578.7
<i>Social Services:</i>					
Education	138.6	201.6	222.0	281.9	345.1
Health	67.8	69.9	85.8	113.7	127.6
Social affairs	8.0	11.7	11.9	20.2	22.4
TOTAL	214.4	283.2	319.7	415.8	495.1
<i>Economic Services:</i>					
Economy	4.4	7.2	4.2	4.0	6.7
Agriculture and cattle raising	32.1	42.8	67.8	112.9	99.3
Transportation and public works	38.4	72.2	82.6	184.3	216.4
Communications	6.8	27.2	59.4	27.9	55.0

See footnotes at end of table.

Table 8. Ordinary Budget, Burundi, 1962-66--Continued
(in millions of francs)

	1962 ¹	1963 ¹	1964 ²	1965 ³	1966 ³
EXPENDITURES--Cont.					
Plans and technical assistance -----	.5	.9	5.5	21.9	31.0
TOTAL -----	82.2	150.3	219.5	351.0	408.4
Public Debt Service -----	26.4	29.5	37.8	58.6	105.7
Pensions -----	16.8	13.9	14.7	14.2	12.8
Payments to international organizations -----	—	1.6	3.7	2.0	—
TOTAL EXPENDITURES ----	553.4	742.9	951.4	1,359.3	1,600.7
Surplus (+) or Deficit (—) ---	-108.6	-195.1	-103.8	-10.5	-183.0

¹ In Rwanda-Burundi francs: 50 francs equal U.S. \$1.

² In 1964, Burundi francs: 50 francs equal U.S. \$1. Economic Union with Rwanda disintegrated approximately at the end of 1964.

³ 1965-66, after devaluation: \$7.5 francs equal U.S. \$1.

Source: Adapted from Burundi, Institut Rundi des Statistiques, *Annuaire Statistique 1966* (Supplement), February 1968, pp. 68, 69.

1962 to 92.4 million FBu (at the new rate) in 1966.

Economic services increased in importance, as indicated by Government expenditures, particularly on transportation and public works. These accounted for the largest increase, from 82.6 million francs (old rate) in 1962 to 216.4 million FBu million FBu (new rate) in 1966. Expenditures in agriculture and cattle raising trebled from 1962 to 1965, then dropped slightly in 1966, when they amounted to about 99 million FBu (new rate).

The need for trained manpower resources had encouraged Government officials to increase educational facilities. Consequently, expenditures in education had continuously been the largest single item in the budget, increasing to 345 million FBu in 1966.

After independence the cost of servicing the public debt increased from 26.4 million francs (old rate) in 1962 to 105.7 million FBu (new rate) in 1966, mostly because of the increase in Government borrowing to cover balance-of-payments and budgetary deficits and to finance development projects.

Revenue

Taxes have been the most important source of Government income in Burundi. Non-tax revenues, such as those from public services, fines, and licenses, have been less than 10 percent of the total. In 1966 indirect taxes, the source of the largest tax revenue, accounted for 57.5 percent of the total, whereas direct taxes constituted only 31.5 percent.

Direct Taxes. The Minimum Personal Tax, or capitation tax, is a head tax required of every citizen over 18 years old, regardless

of economic situation. About 40 percent of direct taxes came from this source. The amount of the tax ranged from 400 FBu to 600 FBu, according to province or locality. When the taxpayer's income was 80,000 FBu or more, the tax was fixed at 1,020 FBu. This type of tax bore heavily on the peasant, whose monetary income was usually so small that the tax was a heavy burden.

Approximately 50 percent of the direct taxes were levies on income, divided into three main types: property income, professional income, and capital income. The first was levied on income derived from real property located within the country, at rates ranging from 20 percent on net income under 200,000 FBu to 40 percent for returns above 800,000 FBu. It applied to both corporations and individuals.

The professional income tax was levied on business profits (commercial, industrial, and agricultural enterprises) and on personal income, minus certain deductions, exemptions, and benefits, which varied according to the type of income and which were designed to avoid double taxation. Business profits were taxed at the rate of 30 percent on the first million FBu and at 40 percent on profits in excess of 1 million FBu. Personal income tax rates increased progressively from 5 percent for an income under 30,000 FBu to 40 percent for an income of more than 1 million FBu.

A capital income tax was imposed on revenues from stocks, bonds, and loans at a rate of 20 percent of dividends and interest paid on investments in Burundi. The law regarded 50 percent of realized income as having been distributed during the year and, therefore, subject to this tax. Taxable income of this type was considered to be 50 percent of total taxable business profits, as determined for the professional income tax.

In 1965 real property tax was levied on the land and buildings in Bujumbura at the rate of 30 FBu per square meter, or at a lower rate if no buildings were on the land. Vehicles used for the transportation of goods and people were taxed according to the power and weight of the unit. Cattle have been a symbol of wealth, and they were taxed rather heavily—at approximately 120 FBu annually per head. A portion of this tax was given to the commune in which it was collected to finance local expenditures, in accordance with a percentage determined by the Legislative Assembly.

Indirect Taxes. Indirect taxes generally consisted of customs and and excise taxes. Customs duties, which accounted for 45 percent of total taxes collected in 1966, were designed to bring in revenue and to control imports in order to avoid disequilibrium in balance

of payments accounts. Export taxes, about 15 percent of total tax revenues, contributed less than the import duties.

There were two basic customs charges: a nonpreferential fiscal tax, averaging from 15 percent to as little as 13 percent ad valorem, and an entry fee of 2 to 3 percent on selected items. Duties on luxuries were from 50 to 100 percent. Some goods, such as foodstuffs and other essential items, machinery and equipment, and raw materials for local industries, were granted reduced rates or entered duty free. Imports from the European Economic Community (EEC) countries and the Franc Zone (France and most former French territories and colonies) were exempted from entry fees. There were no additional customs surcharges.

In an attempt to balance the budget and reduce import pressure on the balance of payments, the Government ordered a 2-percent tax on all commercial transactions, beginning March 1, 1968. Some economic observers believed that revenues from this source would not be as important as its potential negative effect—depressing the already slow rate of commercial activity.

On the brighter side, the new investment code of 1967 granted total or partial exemptions from duties and import taxes on implements, materials, machinery, and equipment bought by industrial firms which meet specific requirements. Moreover, new companies may be exempted from direct taxes for a period of 5 years. Little new private investment has been placed in Burundi, however, since the new code was issued.

Non-Tax Revenues

About 10 percent of total revenues come from non-tax sources. This group included proceeds from judicial sources, licenses, fees, and miscellaneous other sources. Revenue from external sources is also included and accounted for about one-third of non-tax revenues in 1965 and 1966 (year of latest date), down slightly from 1964.

Extraordinary Budget

The extraordinary budget, initiated in 1963, has been relatively small. It was sustained by Belgian aid, grants from international organizations, and other foreign sources. At times the Government also increased this budget by borrowing from domestic sources, such as the National Social Security Institute, Savings Banks, or the OCIBU, or by providing it with funds from the sale of Government property.

Extraordinary budget revenue was used to finance economic development. In 1965, 150.7 million FBu were spent: 74.1 million for capital goods, 54.4 million for public works and construction, and 22.2 million for various other purposes.

Public Debt

Public debt has been held to a moderate level. It has shown a rising trend since 1962, reaching its highest level of 1,316 million FBu in 1967 (see table 9). Public debt, like other sectors of the

Table 9. *Public Debt, Burundi, 1962-67*
(in millions of FBu*)

	1962	1963	1964	1965	1966	1967
National Currency:						
Central Bank	29	227	319	329	506	563
Commercial banks	—	—	2	5	7	123
Other financial institutions	—	—	1	38	68	92
Others	22	20	34	134	140	148
TOTAL	51	247	356	506	721	926
Foreign currency:	222	212	202	334	343	389
TOTAL DEBT	273	459	558	840	1,064	1,315

* Rates: 50 FBu equal U.S. \$1 before February 1965; thereafter, 87.5 FBu equal U.S. \$1.

Source: Adapted from Burundi, *Bulletin de la Banque de la République du Burundi*, No. 20, February 1968, pp. 48, 49, and International Monetary Fund, *International Financial Statistics*, XXI, September 1968, pp. 66, 67.

economy, was influenced by the coffee harvest. It was necessary for the Central Bank to make advances to the State so that funds would be available to coffee growers for expenses prior to the harvest. These loans were to be repaid when the harvest was completed. Since 1965 agreements between the Government, the Central Bank, and the IMF have allowed standby credits to cover the receipts from coffee sales, thus strengthening the Government's effort to maintain financial stability.

Before 1962 public debt was mostly in foreign currency. Thereafter, public debt holdings by quasi-public and private organizations increased to about 20 percent of the total debt by 1967. Most of the debt, however, has continued to be in foreign currency or held by the Central Bank. In December 1967 the largest single private holder was the National Water and Power Authority (Régie de distribution d'eau et d'électricité—REGIDESO), the Bujumbura water and electricity company, but private banks, the Savings Bank, the OCIBU, and the Development Bank were also involved.

DOMESTIC TRADE

Trade Structure and Practices

Most domestic trade is limited to urbanized or settlement

areas, and much of it is concentrated in Bujumbura. Although almost half is carried on by natives, most of them are managers for European and Asian owners of the enterprises involved. The market system is not well developed, except in Bujumbura. There are very few urban centers and almost no villages. Families try to produce most of the things they need or to concentrate on the manufacture of goods that can be exchanged in the neighborhood for things they do not produce. For this reason, domestic trade in these areas takes the form of barter, as the majority of the people are still living outside the money economy.

Outside the urban areas there seem to be no accepted concepts for "sale" and "purchase." To the rural citizens money is a commodity like any other, its only function being to serve as a medium of exchange. Among them money has no function as a symbol or repository of value. Cattle are preferred over money because of their reproductive capacity and because they are the established symbol of social prestige. Soil, which is considered as an essential good, does not have a cash value. Money is used in a limited way, to pay taxes and to buy a few necessities that cannot be made or obtained by barter.

As the only significant urban commercial center in the country, Bujumbura has continued to attract businessmen, and commercial structures in the capital are adequate to the need in foreign, domestic, wholesale, and retail trade. The lack of economic activity and consumer demand has adversely affected many Bujumbura firms. In 1967 Belgika, one of the largest, most modern of the local coffee-selling firms, closed down. In 1968 and 1969 other establishments, representatives of worldwide firms, were considering closing or reducing their activities in Burundi. In general, only the very large companies or the very small family-owned firms were doing well.

The concentration of business concerns in Bujumbura has resulted in the deterioration of local trade outside the capital. A distribution network to serve the country, made up of branches of the big companies, such as exists in west Africa, has not been established in Burundi. There are not enough urban centers to justify the cost of their establishment and operation. Wholesale centers are established as trading points for the Bujumbura companies, but their members have been reduced during the last few years. From these centers commercial intermediaries obtained goods to be sold to retailers established among the rural homesteads. As the wholesale centers have been reduced, the number of commercial intermediaries has also decreased. As a result, the small retailers must either pay higher prices to the intermediaries still in business or go themselves to the city to buy what

they need. The lack of purchasing power among the rural population prevents them from buying goods in sufficient quantities to encourage greater trade. Interregional commerce is almost nonexistent.

The marketing of garden produce presents the same problem. This is one reason for the periodic scarcity and the high prices for such produce in Bujumbura. Attempts to improve the situation led to the establishment of a cooperative, the Association of Burundi Traders (Association de Commerçants Burundi—ASSOCOBA), with 14 branches, but it went into bankruptcy in 1965. A public transportation system focused on Bujumbura has also been suggested as a way to stabilize the price of goods and produce by providing regular movements of consumer goods in and out of the only urban concentration of trade and consumers.

In another phase of recent consumer organizational activity, the Burundi Merchants' Association was founded in May 1967, with Government support. This association has been taking over the process of buying from farmers the major crops, including export crops, as a means of eliminating the excessive profits that intermediaries had been getting, thereby assisting the farmer by paying him a better price. In addition, the funds received by the farmer remain in Burundi. As most of the former purchasers were non-Africans, profits from the resale of crops such as coffee were often sent abroad. The saving in foreign exchange can help to improve Burundi's balance of payments.

Transportation

The inadequacy of the country's transportation network is one of the greatest obstacles to the development of trade. There are no railroads in Burundi and, although the country has an extensive road network, most roads are poor, especially during rainy months. Most of Burundi's foreign trade passes over Lake Tanganyika, which serves as a link with cities in the Congo (Kinshasa) for traffic going to other points in central or West Africa, or to Kigoma, which is a port and transshipment point on Lake Tanganyika, for traffic going to Dar es Salaam, Tanzania, and other points in east Africa.

Approximately 80 percent of Burundi's exports are transported by train over the route through Kigoma to Dar es Salaam, on the Indian Ocean where they are shipped to Europe and the United States. The overland distance is about 900 miles. The cost of transportation over this route is high, ranging from 2,600 FBU to 3,500 FBU per ton, and tends to reduce the amount of foreign exchange obtained by sellers in Burundi. Freight costs

also drive up the prices of imported goods, creating another impediment to the growth of commerce.

Burundi is therefore interested in obtaining better railroad services to and from Dar es Salaam. Delays in the Kigoma port, where goods are transferred from lake steamer to railroad, and on the railroad line increase the cost of the goods at the ports, thereby reducing the prices at origin. Shortages of locomotives, occasional breaks in the line, inadequacy of the telecommunication system, and increasing competition from Zambia in the use of the line are some of the reasons for the delays. Burundi officials hope to arrange a lower long-haul rate because they ship the full length of the line.

Dar es Salaam port problems have caused delays, which might be increased by Zambia's policy of increasing its foreign trade through this port. The port needs additional berths in order to handle properly the amount of traffic already passing through. Transit operations, documentation, and procedures need to be streamlined. Burundi planners anticipate that the nation's association with the East African Community (EAC) will provide help in solving these problems. Lack of adequate transportation facilities severely limits the volume and scope of both domestic and foreign trade. The movement of agricultural products from the interior of the country to Bujumbura is difficult, and shipment to other nations or ocean ports is slow and expensive.

Land Transportation

Burundi has a relatively dense road network. About 84 miles of the country's 3,728 miles of roads are paved. These asphalted roads are concentrated mostly in and near Bujumbura, radiating from this city to nearby settlements. Some main roads with a width equivalent to two lanes have been ballasted with gravel or rock, but the remainder of the system consists of unsurfaced communal paths and roads.

Because of the mountainous terrain, it is difficult to build and maintain roads, particularly during rainy months, when many become impassable. Flooding, washouts, and landslides are common. There are few bridges, and most streams are crossed via fords, weather and stream level permitting.

By the end of 1966 there were about 4,400 motor vehicles in Burundi. Of these, about 2,400 were cars and 250 were jeeps, the balance including buses, trucks, and special vehicles. The road bordering Lake Tanganyika and the Ruzizi plain favors the use of bicycles and motorcycles, which have been increasing in number in this area during the past few years.

No horses or oxen are trained as beasts of burden. There are

a few private transportation services, but no public passenger services have been established in the countryside, probably because of the lack of demand which will probably continue until a more active trade and exchange of services develop.

Burundi leaders recognize the need to improve the land transportation system in order to encourage agricultural development; however, because of lack of resources, the Government has decided to limit its direct action on road building to main routes, leaving provincial and communal routes under the responsibility of local authorities. In the Five-Year Plan (1968-72) the Government expresses its intention to provide technical assistance in road construction, but the plan assumes voluntary labor by local citizens to improve roads in their area and limits the funds that can be devoted to roads.

In 1967 the Administrative Council of the United Nations Development Program approved the request of the Governments of Burundi and Tanzania for a technical and economic feasibility study of the route from Bujumbura to Kigoma. This road will make it possible to improve the agricultural potential of the plain adjacent to Lake Tanganyika and to the southern part of the Mosso region and will encourage the development of the fishing industry by giving access to Tanzanian markets.

Water Transportation

Lake Tanganyika is Burundi's most useful transportation link with other nations. Most foreign commerce passes to and from Bujumbura via the lake. Goods are shipped southward by water to Kigoma, transferred to railroad cars, and carried to Dar es Salaam for shipment to Europe.

Bujumbura port facilities were more than adequate for the traffic handled in 1969. Tonnage through this port decreased substantially when the economic union between Rwanda and Burundi ended in 1963.

The port has been operated by a Belgian company under a concession granted by the Belgian Government in 1932. This company transported most of the goods between Bujumbura and Kigoma. Until 1966 the Burundi Government was unable to impose any tariff upon the transportation of commodities on the lake, since the company was incorporated under Belgian laws and did not comply with Burundi legislation. In December 1966, however, the four nations bordering Lake Tanganyika agreed to require that ships operating on the lake be placed under the jurisdiction of one of the four nations. The fleet belonging to the Belgian company operating the Bujumbura port was placed under Burundi jurisdiction as part of a company called Arnolac. The

company is now compelled to provide those transportation services considered to be important for the nation. Burundi importers and exporters are permitted to pay transport costs in national currency. The Central Bank receives the foreign exchange paid to the company for transportation services rendered to other nations.

Air Transportation

The only airfield capable of handling international traffic is at Bujumbura. The runway was extended in 1968 to make it capable of receiving jet transports such as the Boeing 727. An additional extension of 1,500 feet is needed before large four-engine jet transports can serve the country.

Three foreign airlines connect Burundi with other African countries and Europe. In 1967 a total of 6,663 international flights, mostly by small aircraft, passed through the Bujumbura airport, transporting 28,850 passengers and 1,463 tons of baggage, freight, and mail. Small airplanes sometimes are used to travel within the country, but there is no scheduled internal service.

FOREIGN ECONOMIC RELATIONS

Foreign Trade

Industrial development in Burundi has always been extremely limited. The majority of manufactured goods, other than beer, some textiles, soft drinks, and furniture, have always been imported. Exports of coffee and cotton have provided most of the foreign exchange needed to pay for imports. Commerce developed along traditional lines. In many cases, small merchants began by picking up goods from producers and taking them to their own shops for sale or for shipment abroad. Most of the traders were both exporters and importers.

After the devaluation of the Burundi franc in 1965 and the suspension of import and exchange restrictions, rigorous banking regulations were enforced among importers. The required banking practices made import procedures complex and caused delays in the flow of commodities, but they were considered necessary in order to maintain a stable currency. For example, the importer was required to get an import license which, in practice, corresponded to a credit notice. A copy of this notice was sent to the seller and served as a guarantee of payment. Bank credits were granted, but they were closely controlled. All credits exceeding 1 million FBu and extended for more than 2 months required previous approval from the Central Bank. Moreover, a deposit was required for certain purchases, which varied accord-

ing to the type of article imported. For items considered to be luxuries, the deposit might be the full value.

The landlocked location also hindered foreign commerce. Because of transportation difficulties, the waiting period for the delivery of foreign goods varied from 2 to 6 months. Relatively small quantities of each type of goods were bought by each importer. Time lags between one order and the next were variable and did not provide for a continuous flow of goods. For regularly traded goods, delivery dates could be foreseen, but the slightest fluctuation in sales caused a breakdown in inventories since they could not be adjusted quickly. The cost of merchandise was increased by high freight charges and erratic delays.

The complexity of the transportation problems of the foreign trade business led several companies to concentrate on transportation arrangements, including transshipping, through all stages of the movement of goods to or from distant points. By handling larger shipments, these companies developed a basis for bargaining with various transportation firms and were able to get lower freight rates and service charges than those available to small merchants. Their services also were a convenience for merchants, who otherwise had to deal with various freight charges. The system made possible the issuance of a direct bill of lading which, as a transferable document, facilitated the financing of the goods.

Composition and Direction of Trade Exports

In 1968 coffee brought in more than 80 percent of the nation's foreign exchange and was expected to continue as the primary export for the next few years (see table 10). For a few years during the mid-1960's, coffee production and export levels had fluctuated, and the nation sometimes was unable to meet the quota it held as a member of the International Coffee Agreement. In 1967, however, coffee production increased to 17,899 tons, nearly 4,000 over its quota, and in 1968 Burundi filled its export quota of 19,350 tons. Carryover of coffee to the 1968-69 quota year (October-September) was about 1,500 tons.

At the beginning of the 1968 harvest, coffee sales were slow in Burundi. Early deliveries appeared to show a low-quality harvest of 15,000 tons at best, and officials were concerned over a United States longshoremen's strike, expected to begin in September. To help dispose of coffee accumulating in storage in Bujumbura and Dar es Salaam, the Central Bank early in September abandoned the fixed price policy. Shipments increased more than expected, and it was estimated that the foreign exchange obtained from coffee would amount to approximately

Table 10. *Composition of Exports of Burundi, 1965 and 1966*

	1965		1966	
	Value (in millions of FBu*)	Percentage of total	Value (in millions of FBu*)	Percentage of total
Agricultural Products:				
Coffee	961.9	81.5	988.7	82.8
Cotton	123.0	10.6	91.5	7.7
Hides	20.5	1.8	22.6	1.9
Minerals	3.4	.3	8.7	.7
Fish (salted or smoked)	8.4	.3	2.0	.2
Other	3.0	.2	10.1	.8
TOTAL	1,105.8	94.7	1,123.6	94.1
Manufactured Products:				
Cement plaques	15.3	1.3	13.9	1.2
Metal works	10.1	1.4	24.7	2.1
Cotton oil and oilcakes	10.6	.9	15.6	1.3
Beverages	3.1	.3	4.2	.3
Other	12.1	1.0	8.9	.7
Total	57.2	4.9	67.3	5.6
Miscellaneous Articles	5.1	.4	3.0	.3
TOTAL EXPORTS ..	1,168.1	100.0	1,193.9	100.0

* 87.5 FBu equal U.S. \$1.

Source: Adapted from Burundi, Institut Rundi des Statistiques, *Annuaire Statistique 1966* (Supplement), February 1968, p. 27.

1,137.5 million FBu at the end of the calendar year. A larger quantity of coffee had brought a lower monetary return than that of 1967. The harvest had included a higher percentage of Robusta (lower quality) coffee, and there had been a drop in the market price of Arabica (higher quality) coffee.

The OCIBU was in charge of testing and classifying coffee berries according to a system of five grades and prices (see Agriculture, ch. 9). The OCIBU role in coffee merchandising had been limited to this qualitative analysis and did not include the authority to participate directly in coffee sales. It remained in charge of equalization funds and sales promotion in foreign countries. After 1967 coffee sales were mainly in the hands of the Burundi Merchants Association.

Before 1966 cotton had been second in importance as an export commodity and was becoming a significant earner of foreign exchange. After a serious reduction in 1966, the market again turned upward. After 1969, or possibly 1970, a new textile mill (Burutex) is scheduled to manufacture much of the cotton into finished products, greatly reducing the export of raw cotton.

Tea is also an important potential earner of foreign exchange. By 1967 the first tea plantation had completed its first year's production of approximately 16 tons. Increases in production and in the percentage of higher quality tea are expected during the next few years as the plantations expand.

In 1969 other export products were of relatively little importance. Hides had been of some importance in recent years, but they accounted for only 2 percent of total foreign exchange earnings in 1966, a poor third behind coffee and cotton. Mineral exports have been of minor importance. Bastnaesite (a mineral used in manufacture of plastics and resins) exports increased from 75 tons in 1965 to 487 tons in 1967, and a few other mineral export figures were up slightly.

Exports of industrial products to neighboring countries, particularly Rwanda and the Congo (Kinshasa), consisted mainly of prefabricated construction elements made of gypsum cement, carbonated beverages, simple metal tools such as hoes and coffee graders, paints, blankets, shoes, and dried fish. Foreign exchange receipts from each of these products were small, and new competition for some of them was springing up outside Burundi.

Imports. Textiles and leathers were the most important import groups, accounting for 27 percent of the total imports in 1966. Local industries did not turn out enough textiles to satisfy the demand; additional fabrics were imported from other African and Asian countries. Foodstuffs, including brewing malt, accounted for only 17 percent of the total imports. Most imported food was consumed by people in Bujumbura, as most rural citizens produced all of their own food (see tables 11 and 12).

In recent years local output has made it possible to cut back substantially on imports of items such as fish which was reduced from 1,089 tons in 1966 to 255 tons in 1967, and rice, down from 1,102 tons in 1966 to 140 tons in 1967. Wheat flour, vegetable oils, dairy products, wines and spirits, cotton textiles, and soap and cleaning products also were among the import items that showed a decrease. On the other hand, 1967 imports listings showed increases in fruits and vegetables (from 1,102 tons in 1966 to 2,149 tons in 1967), sugar, secondhand goods, matches, and cigarettes.

Imports of capital goods did not increase significantly immediately after independence, but during 1967-68 a larger increase in the purchase of this type of goods has been noted. Purchases of cement almost doubled between 1965 (7,766 tons) and 1967 (12,565 tons), but this was used to produce prefabricated building materials, most of which were to be exported to Rwanda and

Table 11. Food Imports, Burundi, 1965 and 1966¹
(in millions of FBu²)

	1965	1966
Malt	66.2	69.4
Flour	43.9	60.5
Drinks (mostly alcoholic beverages)	13.6	27.6
Sugar and derivatives	39.4	24.6
Dairy products	17.2	22.3
Rice	15.1	13.6
Meat (beef)	5.3	7.7
Pork meat and preserves	8.0	14.2
Bakery products, confectionery, and chocolates	5.1	5.8
Vegetables (legumes, pimento, spices, and potatoes)	5.3	5.3
Fish	2.8	4.6
Cereals and fruits	2.9	4.2
Other	10.0	30.0
TOTAL	242.8	289.8

¹ Figures for 1967 were not available in terms of FBu, measured in tons. Imports of fish, rice wheat flour, vegetable oils, dairy products, wines and spirits, cotton textiles, soap and cleaning products decreased as compared to 1966.

² 87.6 FBu equal U.S. \$1.

Source: Adapted from Burundi, Institut Rundi des Statistiques, *Annuaire Statistique 1966* (Supplement), February 1968, p. 31.

Table 12. Composition of Imports of Burundi, 1965 and 1966

	1965		1966	
	Value (in millions of FBu*)	Percentage of total	Value (in millions of FBu*)	Percentage of total
Food	242.8	16.1	289.8	16.9
Power	106.3	6.6	140.9	8.6
Raw materials and goods in process	220.8	13.8	177.2	10.3
Mechanical, industrial and electrical products (machinery, tools and equipment, and vehicles) ..	309.0	19.3	365.1	20.7
Textiles and leathers	471.3	29.3	457.3	25.6
Other industrial products (medicines, glassware, plastics, papers, etc.)	255.8	15.9	290.1	16.9
TOTAL	1,605.0	100.0	1,716.4	100.0

* 87.5 FBu equal U.S. \$1.

Source: Adapted from Burundi, Institut Rundi des Statistiques, *Annuaire Statistique 1966* (Supplement), February 1968, p. 30; and "Le marché du Burundi," *Marchés Tropicaux et Méditerranéens*, No. 1122, May 1967, p. 1354.

the Congo (Kinshasa). Wide fluctuations in purchases of steel products were brought about by new public works, such as a bridge, or a new factory, such as the Burutex textile mill that was under construction during 1967-68.

Although Burundi is practically without forests, imports of wood and timber from the neighboring Congo (Kinshasa) and Tanzania are diminishing. Imports of cardboard to be used in local industries are increasing, as are other paper imports. The most remarkable import item of 1967, however, was the transistor radio. In 1966 sales were about 1,500 per year, low when compared with transistor radio sales in other African countries, but sales jumped to 5,000 units in 1967.

Direction of Trade. More than half of Burundi's imports came from Europe, mostly from Belgium and Luxembourg. Asia supplied about 22 percent, of which half came from Japan. American goods were very expensive, partly because of transportation costs; less than 10 percent of the imports originated in the United States. Imports from African countries were limited to about 15 percent, with Tanzania and the Congo (Kinshasa) the most important African trading partners.

The United States was the nation's most important customer. More than 75 percent of Burundi exports, consisting mostly of coffee beans, were sold to American wholesale buyers. Second in importance were Belgium and Luxembourg, who bought about 12.8 percent of the nation's total exports, mainly in cotton. Of the African countries, Tanzania was the largest purchaser, taking farm products and manufactured goods, but these accounted for only 4 percent of the total exports.

By 1968 commerce with Rwanda was increasing as political differences between the two nations were partially settled, but sales to other African countries were very limited. Before 1960, while under Belgian control, the Congo had been an important trading partner, but the turmoil of the 1960's seriously reduced the level of commerce with Burundi.

Balance of Payments

Since independence, except for the year 1964, Burundi had been faced with an unfavorable balance of payments situation. A continuing excess of commodity imports over exports was the basic cause, but other monetary transactions with foreign countries also increased the deficit (see table 13). The low level of exports reflected a lack of diversification of production and the irregularities of agricultural output, particularly of coffee. Since the crop alone accounted for more than 80 percent of exports,

Table 13. Balance of Payments, Burundi, 1964-67
(in millions of FBu *)

	1964	1965	1966	1967
Current Account				
Merchandise:				
Exports	892.7	1,266.4	1,292.0	1,455.6
Imports	-678.5	-1,339.2	-1,447.0	-1,496.7
Balance of Trade	214.2	-72.8	-155.0	-41.1
Services and Transfer				
Payments:				
Net Travel and Tourism ---	-3.9	-44.3	-55.3	-39.2
Net Freight and Insurance				
Payments	-31.5	-31.2	-57.7	-57.8
Professional Services	-66.6	-144.5	-213.9	-218.4
Government Transactions --	-101.3	-189.8	-186.4	-124.4
Other Service and				
Transfer Payments (net)	22.1	274.6	283.1	131.5
Balance in current account ----	33.0	-208.0	-385.2	-349.4
Capital Account:				
Foreign Aid	163.5	126.7	112.8	223.1
Other Capital	-21.9	-38.4	-38.4	-41.0
Balance on Capital Account	141.6	88.3	74.4	182.1
Balance of Payments Surplus				
(+) or Deficit (-)	174.6	-119.7	-310.8	-167.3
— indicates negative balance				

* 57.5 FBu equal U.S. \$1; minus (—) indicates negative balance.

Source: Adapted from *Economist Intelligence Unit Quarterly Economic Review: Congo, Rwanda, Burundi* (Annual Supplement), 1968, p. 30; *Bulletin de la Banque de la République du Burundi*, No. 20, February 1968, pp. 52, 53.

the balance-of-payments situation depended basically on the production, quality, and price of coffee.

Because of a decline in world prices for coffee, the value of exports for 1966 rose only 2 percent over the 1965 level. Imports rose by over 7 percent, causing the trade deficit to increase from 72.8 million FBu in 1965 to 155 million FBu in 1966. Belgian aid declined from 102 million FBu in 1965 to 75.7 million FBu in 1966. The overall balance-of-payments deficit increased to 310.8 million FBu, causing a substantial fall in foreign exchange reserves and emphasizing the lack of strength in the nation's finances during those years.

In 1967 the deficit in the balance of trade was reduced to 41.1 million FBu. This substantial improvement reflected an increase in exports of the coffee crop that was better than expected. Trade

analysts think that the trade deficit might have been still lower in 1968 had it not been for delays in the harvesting and selling of the new coffee crop, causing losses that were increased by the suspension of coffee exports for a month because of quota problems. Deficits in the balance of payments for these years had been financed for the most part through Government borrowing and foreign aid, particularly from Belgium and international organizations. Burundi has also drawn from its foreign reserves, which were reduced from \$11.06 million in 1965 to \$3.30 million in September 1968.

Trade Agreements

The Convention of Association, signed on July 20, 1963, and effective on June 1, 1964, linked Burundi and certain other African countries with the EEC and provided for the progressive elimination of trade restrictions against imports from the EEC during a period of 4 years. In return, several commodities that originated in Burundi were to enter the EEC countries free of duty, and financial aid for social and economic investment and technical assistance were granted.

Trading in accordance with this agreement, Burundi shipments to the EEC countries were about 16.5 percent of the total exports for 1966, the latest year for which figures are available. Imports from these countries had accounted for more than 45 percent of the total for 3 years, 1964-66 inclusive.

In April 1968 Burundi applied formally for association with the EAC as a step toward increased trade with East Africa and the development of close economic and social ties with the nations involved—Tanzania, Kenya, and Uganda. Burundi was interested in improving transportation systems and wished to participate in technical, educational, and cultural exchanges. The Government did not want to raise the question of participation in all the political, administrative, and legislative institutions of the EAC and was not interested in becoming a full member of the East African Common Market in the near future. Burundi's customs taxes were one of the Government's most important sources of revenue, of which a substantial amount would be lost if the nation entered the customs union of the EAC. Initially, Burundi hoped to participate only in consultations on subjects of common interest.

Burundi has been a member of the International Coffee Agreement and the Inter-African Coffee Organization. The Government has an active trade agreement with the Congo (Kinshasa), Zambia, and other African countries.

Foreign Aid

Before Independence

Even before independence Burundi had been heavily dependent upon foreign countries and international organizations for financial aid and technical assistance. In 1952 the Belgian Government began giving direct financial aid with a \$20 million appropriation to finance the Ten-Year Development Plan for Ruanda-Urundi. Most of this appropriation was designated for agricultural development.

In June 1957 the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (World Bank) made a loan of \$4.8 million, guaranteed by Belgium, to be used for the improvement of the port of Bujumbura and the repair of roads throughout what is now Rwanda and Burundi. The First Development Fund of the EEC (1958-62) approved a grant of \$4.9 million for economic and social improvements. The American aid to both Rwanda and Burundi totaled \$6.1 million as of June 1962.

After Independence

During September 1963 Burundi joined the IMF with a quota of \$11.25 million. The quota was increased to \$15 million in 1966. Each year since 1965 the IMF has approved standby arrangements for the Government of Burundi to support the monetary stabilization program and to prevent annual shortages of foreign exchange reserves as the nation awaits the proceeds from coffee sales.

Burundi became a member of the World Bank at the same time it joined the IMF, its subscription being \$15 million. It also became a member of the International Development Association (IDA), an affiliate of the World Bank, with a subscription of \$760,000. In 1966 the IDA approved a credit of about 96 million FBu to help finance the improvement and expansion of the water supply system in Bujumbura. The credit is for a term of 50 years, with repayment of principal to begin in 1976. The estimated total cost of the project is about 149 million FBu; the extra 53 million FBu are to be supplied by REGIDESO from its own resources.

Belgian financial grants to Burundi since independence have been large, totaling about 534.1 million FBu for the period 1964-68. Before 1965, when the rate was 50 FBu per U.S.\$1, grants totaling 65 million FBu were made; the rest were granted after the exchange rate was changed to 87.5 FBu per U.S.\$1. This aid has been used for the annual debt service payments of the World Bank guaranteed by Belgium; budgetary support; agricultural development; public work projects, including the construction of administrative and military buildings, water supply for rural

areas, and schools; and foreign currency purchases. In addition, Belgian extended in 1967 a loan of 15 million FBu for the expansion of airport facilities at Bujurabura and participated in financing a program of technical assistance that involved more than 300 Belgian specialists, in addition to other expenses.

The Second European Development Fund granted a non-repayable loan of about 638.5 million FBu for agricultural diversification projects and awarded scholarships to 153 students for the academic year 1967-68. Selected students attended universities in various African states, Italy, and Israel.

United States help has been diverse, originally consisting of foodstuffs and assistance with food production. In 1964 a technical and financial agreement provided for the supply of equipment and technical aid for road maintenance and equipment for the police force. United States aid to Burundi totaled \$7.1 million for the fiscal years 1961 to 1965.

Since 1963 Burundi and France have maintained an agreement that is basically cultural and technical, although financial aid was also provided. France agreed to help in the establishment of a national institute of hygiene and microbiology, a development bank, and in the creation of a statistical institute. During 1967 and 1968 the nature of French assistance was changing. The proportion of surveys and material gifts was diminishing, whereas that of operational projects was increasing.

United Nations assistance has been quite large, as many of its agencies have participated. In 1965 the various contributions amounted to about 157 million FBu, including grants of money, seed, food, and medicines, the creation of a maternal and infant care center, and investments in education. The United Nations Development Program agreed to contribute toward a survey to assess the mineral resources of some areas of the country, intended eventually to attract investment for their development. This was a joint project of 2½ years' duration, wherein the Special Fund was to contribute about 84 million FBu and the Burundi Government would provide 18.5 million FBu.

In 1964 the Federal Republic of Germany (West Germany) helped Burundi in the development of a veterinary program and agreed to extend a loan of 105 million FBu for the establishment of the Burutex textile factory, which was scheduled to start operations in 1969. Other nations, such as Switzerland and Denmark, and other international agencies have provided limited aid, usually in the form of technical assistance.

CHAPTER 9

AGRICULTURE, INDUSTRY, AND LABOR FORCE AND LABOR RELATIONS

The economy is based almost entirely upon subsistence-level agriculture. More than 90 percent of the population earn a living from farming, and about 75 percent of the gross domestic product originates in the agricultural sector. Coffee and cotton are the two most important commercial agricultural products and are also the main source of foreign exchange. Production of food-stuffs has been rising during the last few years, but it has not kept ahead of the needs of the increasing population. Cattle are kept as symbols of wealth and social prestige. It is the number and not the quality of the stock that matters to the owner, since meat production is not the primary goal of animal husbandry.

The industrial structure of the country is limited to a few relatively small enterprises located in Bujumbura, the largest of which are owned by foreigners. Because of a lack of foreign markets and a stagnant local demand, even these small industries are suffering from excess capacity. The growth of investment and employment has been slow.

Specific data on the composition and distribution of the labor force of the country are not available. In general, underemployment is prevalent in the rural areas, whereas Bujumbura, the commercial and Government center, has a high level of employment. A relatively low percentage of the population participates in the wage-earning labor force, most of them in occupations requiring little or no technical skill. There is a shortage of skilled and professional manpower. Educational and training facilities must be expanded before they can provide the skills which must be made available if the industrial sector is to be expanded.

The Government has been willing to promote economic progress. Its participation has been oriented toward agriculture, the most important sector of the economy. Government accomplishments have been severely limited, however, by a lack of financial and technical resources.

AGRICULTURE

Most agricultural products are produced and consumed within the subsistence sector to nourish the increasing population. Only

a small percentage of total agricultural output, equivalent to 13 percent of the gross domestic product, is actually marketed. Dependence on coffee and cotton as the main source of foreign exchange has caused continuous fluctuation in the economic activity of the country, triggered by changes in world demand and prices for these commodities.

The ratio of arable land to population is only 1.18 acres per capita. In spite of population density and the relative scarcity of land, Burundi is self-sufficient in foodstuffs, except during sporadic periods of severe drought. The type of crops grown, however, does not provide for a balanced diet.

Large areas of the country are relatively well watered and capable of growing a large variety of crops. Much of the soil, however, has been damaged by erosion caused by removal of forests, overgrazing, the customary use of fire to clear the ground after fallow, and the lack of crop rotation. Commercial fertilizers are not commonly used. Although it might be expected that animal manure would be abundant, the traditional practice of grazing cattle on pastures located among the rocks of the mountains where soil is too poor to farm results in wasting of the manure. This is representative of the lack of agricultural integration; cattle-raising and farming tend to be separate operations.

Before 1960 there was little mechanical agricultural equipment in Burundi, and there is no indication of any important current increase except for a few tractors owned by the Government. Small family farms are the rule, and the use of tractors there would be expensive and impractical. Crops are tended by simple subsistence methods, using rudimentary tools—the stick, the hoe, and the machete. More modern methods, and even a small amount of imported chemical fertilizers, are used in the European-owned farms but this type of farm is not common, representing less than 1 percent of the total arable land.

Land Utilization

Approximately 40 percent of the total land area of 9,915 square miles, excluding lakes, is under cultivation. Another 20 percent of total land is suitable for agricultural purposes but is not being utilized. Forest area is limited to 1.8 percent of the land; most of the forests have long since been removed and the land converted to farming or grazing. Permanent pasturelands and prairies cover 24 percent of the land or 2,400 square miles. The overgrazing of these pasturelands is among the most serious problems facing this crowded nation.

The small family holdings, consisting of less than 2.5 acres, are called *itongo*, each of which is usually characterized by a hut,

a corral for livestock, and a farming area where bananas and seasonal crops are grown. The high rate of population increase, together with the declining rate of land fertility, has been reducing the area of land suitable for farming. The Government has been trying to relocate families from areas of population pressure into less populated regions. For this purpose, it has been necessary to develop natural, relatively unused regions into suitable farmland.

One of these regions is the Imbo, which comprises the plain of the Ruzizi River and the banks of Lake Tanganyika in western Burundi. In 1967 the European Development Fund (EDF) approved the financing of a project for the development of this region. The plan represents a continuation of activities already begun under Belgian administration when about 9,000 families were relocated to this plain. A successful campaign against malaria is making possible the development of agricultural production, particularly of cotton and rice, making this one of the most prosperous areas in the country. The project financed by the EDF includes irrigation, which will increase the carrying capacity of the land and permit the resettlement of 2,200 additional families; improvement of farming and stockbreeding techniques; the establishment of experimental stations, and the development of social services such as schools and dispensaries. Total investment in the area by the EDF will amount to FBu542.5 million (FBu87.5 (francs Burundi) equal U.S.\$1) and the Burundi Government will contribute about 11 million FBu. Yields per acre of cotton, rice, peanuts, maize, and sorghum are to be increased substantially by means of intensive cultivation, and production is expected to become large enough to provide some exports. By 1968 Imbo was one of the principal sources of foodstuffs for nearby Bujumbura.

The Mosso region, in the east, has been an area of relatively low population density. The area seemed to be better adapted to stockraising than to agriculture because of the lack of an adequate water supply, but cattle raisers have avoided it because of sleeping sickness, carried by the tsetse fly. The Government has been providing for the extinction of the tsetse to make settlement possible. Irrigation projects under way in 1968 should make tobacco production possible since climate and altitude seem to be suitable.

The Government of Burundi has requested the aid of the United Nations Development Program (UNDP) for the development of the Mosso-Cankuzo region for the resettlement of families from already crowded areas. The project is divided into two stages the first one being of 2 years' duration, basically concerned with

preparing a master plan and feasibility reports. The second stage will comprise 4 to 5 years of fieldwork in practical training and management of the development of the region. The total contribution requested from the UNDP is about FBu86 million, including expert services, fellowships, equipment and supplies, sub-contracts and miscellaneous. The Government's contribution will be FBu30 million, and it intends to request bilateral aid for the realization of the project. The Food and Agriculture Organization is proposed as the United Nations agency to coordinate and execute the project.

Above the 5,000 foot level, around Gitega and Muramvya in north central Burundi, sleeping sickness is not prevalent. Climatic conditions are suitable for coffee and banana trees, which are extensively cultivated. The nation's highest population density is found in this region. More than half the population of the whole country lives here in a relatively small area. Still higher, near the crest of the Congo-Nile watershed, a small commercially unexploitable natural forest still exists. People in this region engage in the cultivation of garden products or in cattle raising. The area is suitable for tea production, which is now being developed. Reforestation plans are also contemplated, designed to produce commercial timber as well as prevent erosion.

Land Tenure

Before the Tutsi (Batutsi) solidified their control during the last two centuries, land was essentially controlled by Hutu (Bahutu) clans whose chiefs had patriarchal authority. As the number of clans increased, the authority of the clan chief diminished, and the individual holders of the land disposed of it as they pleased. The Tutsi infiltrated into the country, bringing cattle with them. The Hutu exchanged some of their land and mortgaged their services to the Batutsi, who needed domestic servants and labor for their crops, in order to acquire cattle (which were a symbol of wealth and prestige) and protection. In time, the Tutsi seized the land, incorporated it into the domain, and administered it in the name of the Mwami (King). The Hutu became their serfs.

During the Mwamiship a form of feudalism, the *ubugabire* system, existed in Burundi. The Mwami was the sole proprietor of all lands and waters of the country. He granted the use of certain regions of his kingdom but kept his ownership rights. The concession grants were subject to annulment at any time, whereupon lands returned to his domain. Two kinds of property grants existed: one in which the concession was only the right of grazing or farming a plot of land, including the right to hold several

serfs upon the land. This grant did not give the grantee political rights over the people and their cultivable land. Another type of concession included the rights already mentioned but, in addition, granted the right to tax the households (usually from 20 to 30 members) established on the land. Sometimes tracts were set aside for exclusive grazing of the animals of the landholder or the Mwami. The farmer was subject to such duties as, in some cases, working for the landholder 2 days out of 5 and presenting gifts as expressions of gratitude. In addition, the farmer had to pay local authorities an amount called the *umwimbu*, a tax originally paid in foodstuffs but in recent years replaced by payments in cash.

When the Belgians occupied the country in 1916, two land systems existed simultaneously: the customary system, applying to the occupation of land by indigenous inhabitants, and the system of written law, applying to European residents. The Belgian administration preserved the dual system. Some changes were made to protect the interests of the Africans, but as recently as 1981 some of the landholders continued to exert political authority over the residents of their lands. Although they lost that power after 1981, they retained certain land tenure rights. Transfers of property from indigenous to immigrant inhabitants required Government approval, and the compensation allowed was fixed by a scale jointly approved by the Mwami and the colonial Government.

The *ubugabire* system was abolished by the Mwami in 1955, but the customary (traditional) laws continued to have their effects within the society. By 1957 only lands owned by non-indigenous inhabitants, or by Africans who had acquired them under noncustomary title, were subject to formal registration. Under the current *paysannat* system, new settlers receive a title deed giving them the exclusive right to all the income derived from the land (usufruct). They lose their rights, however, if they do not work the land.

The *paysannat* has been of major importance in changing the feudal land tenure system. This is a type of family agricultural holding wherein farmers are allotted a parcel of land of no more than 5 acres, in the belief that they will develop close ties with the land while deriving from it a regular income in food and money. Families are moved out of saturated regions and relocated on these plots in crop-tested areas. Crop rotation and diversification are encouraged, and farmwork is closely supervised in order to maintain or increase productivity.

On the whole, the results of this system have been encouraging, especially in the Ruzizi valley. It has not, however, been as

successful as was hoped for, especially in the densely populated areas where improvement was most needed. It has been disappointing in the area of animal husbandry, as the farmers are not willing to tether animals in order to control grazing; they prefer to pasture them with others in the communal lands. In this traditional system, among other disadvantages, manure that could fertilize the soil of crop areas is lost.

The system has considerably weakened the previously existing feudal organization. Since the farmers are working for themselves and are no longer required to make contributions in food and unpaid labor, they have the incentive to produce more. There seems to be no intent, however, to change to a European form of property ownership. The traditional landholding system continues to influence the social and economic structure. Land reform probably must precede any full modernization and development of agriculture and stockbreeding.

Agricultural Production and Practices

Of the 8,888 square miles under cultivation in 1966, 8,604 square miles (96 percent) were devoted to food crops, and the rest, to industrial crops. Coffee is the most important cash crop, followed by cotton. Bananas, manioc, sweet potatoes, and beans are the primary crops cultivated for local consumption. The Government is encouraging the cultivation of other crops along with these, aiming toward the diversification of agriculture. Government planners also look forward to the cultivation of rice, tea, and tobacco in larger quantities, since the potential for these crops seems excellent. Another possibility is the cultivation of peanuts (ground nuts). Production of food fats from peanuts would enable Burundi to reduce its imports of fats and oils.

Cash Crops

Coffee. Coffee cultivation was introduced in the country around 1930. Two types of coffee, arabica and robusta, are grown; arabica is a higher quality variety and is the type usually planted. About 300,000 farmers produce coffee in an area of about 115 square miles. Under normal conditions, 20,000 tons of marketable coffee can be harvested in this area. In recent years production has fluctuated from a high of 21,916 tons in 1959 to a low of 5,777 tons in 1963 (see table 14).

Output for 1967 was close to that in 1959, but the percentage of high-quality coffee has decreased, and yields per acre have declined from about 0.5 tons per acre in 1959 to 0.2 tons per acre in 1966. The causes of overall decline in production and yield per acre during the last decade are diverse. Among them are the

Table 14. Coffee and Cotton Production in Burundi, 1952-67
(in tons)

Year	Arabica coffee ¹	Cotton ²	Year	Arabica coffee ¹	Cotton ²
1952	7,413	5,008	1960	9,991	9,483
1953	5,523	5,327	1961	13,077	9,408
1954	5,174	7,227	1962	13,001	4,931
1955	8,438	7,284	1963	5,777	5,008
1956	6,467	5,185	1964	17,737	9,373
1957	12,821	6,021	1965	12,881	5,775
1958	9,997	5,935	1966	14,071	5,040
1959	21,916	10,285	1967	17,899	7,617

¹ Figures for 1952-62 are estimates derived from combined Ruanda-Urundi production figures.

² Up to 1963 includes production for both countries. From 1964 figures are for Burundi only.

Source: Adapted from Burundi, *Bulletin de la Banque de la République du Burundi*, No. 20, February 1968, p. 50.

slackening of crop care (lack of mulching and fertilizing), the abandonment of numerous coffee plantations, increased attack by insects, and unfavorable weather conditions. An increase in smuggling and fraud is another factor that accounted for the apparent decrease in production. Part of the actual coffee production has not appeared in the official records because it is illegally sold in neighboring countries by the farmers living near the borders who, in this way, evade export taxes and get a higher profit. These practices have been substantially reduced during the last few years by Government action.

Coffee price fluctuations in the world market have a tremendous impact on production. In 1963 an export price of about U.S.\$0.38 per pound was what might be called the threshold of profitability for coffee producers. When prices fall below that level, farmers are discouraged from increasing production and may even stop planting when they consider that labor costs make production unprofitable. The average price for 1961 was just above the potentially profitable level, but in 1962 it was barely \$0.30. Production decreased from 13,000 tons in 1962 to under 6,000 tons in 1963.

Coffee trade is basically in the hands of a quasi-governmental organization called the Office of Industrial Works of Burundi (L'Office des cultures industrielles du Burundi—OCIBU). This organization was originally created in 1945 under the name of Bureau of Domestic Agriculture of Ruanda-Urundi (L'Office des cultures indigènes du Ruanda-Urundi—OCIRU) for the promotion and development of trade outlets of agricultural products

of Rwanda and Burundi, but in 1964 Burundi expressed its desire to have its own office. The OCIBU analyzes the coffee beans to verify quality and handles the business transactions necessary to expedite the sale of coffee to manufacturers. It makes arrangements with shipping companies and maintains connections with the Central Bank, which has approval authority over the selling price. The services given by the OCIBU are paid for from the export tax on coffee. Its expenses for the plants, fertilizers, and insecticides supplied to farmers are repaid from the difference between the purchasing price previously fixed for export and the real price. The remainder of that difference goes to the Price Equalization Fund. This Fund is a reserve which is used to pay the coffee farmers a guaranteed minimum price for their coffee when world prices are lower than the fixed price, thereby stabilizing the farmers' income.

The Burundi Merchants' Association (ACB), created about 2 years ago, has been attempting gradually to take over control of the entire coffee business. Its main goals are to eliminate the commercial intermediaries and to pay the farmers a better price for their coffee. Their resources are limited, and they must obtain loans from the Burundi Development Bank in order to operate. The loan obtained for the 1968 season amounted to FBu135 million. As the ACB participation increases, the OCIBU task is being limited mostly to research and quality analysis.

Burundi is a member of the International Coffee Agreement. Its quota, although fixed at 17,150 tons, can be modified year by year. The quota for 1967 was reduced to 14,722 tons, but production went up to almost 18,000 tons. The difference had to be stored.

The Government has realized that for some years coffee will continue to be the nation's most important cash crop. The amount of foreign exchange that it provides (an annual average of 80 percent of the total foreign currency earned by the country) and its contribution to the budget, via export taxes, make it an important force in the economic development of the country. For this reason, Government plans are designed to increase total production, yield per acre, and coffee quality by improving cultivation techniques (weeding, mulching, and the use of insecticides and mineral fertilizers) and by agricultural extension programs. Improvements in coffee processing techniques are also supported.

Cotton. Cotton is produced primarily in the Ruzizi plains and near Lake Tanganyika; it ranks second among the country's cash crops. There are no figures available on cotton production in Burundi for the years before 1963, as figures for Rwanda and Burundi were not kept separately. Production for the two coun-

ties has varied since 1952 from a 1959 high of 10,285 tons to a 1962 low of 4,931 tons.

A major percentage of total cotton production is cultivated in the *paysannats*. Experience has shown that farming procedures such as soil preparation, weeding, crop care, harvest, drying, and selection should follow a precise calendar worked out by Government research agencies. Failure to follow the prescribed method of cultivation, together with the lack of adequate maintenance of irrigation networks (sometimes damaged by cattle), has prevented any substantial increase in cotton production. Weather has been so adverse in some recent years that some *paysannats* have been deserted because of flooding. When total cotton production has gone up, usually the cash value of the increase has been partly offset by a deterioration in quality. During 1967, however, cotton production increased by about 2,500 tons over the 5,000 tons produced the previous year and, at the same time, a larger proportion of high-quality cotton was harvested. Moreover, the price per kilo paid in Europe was \$0.04 more than in 1966.

In addition to its importance, second only to coffee, as a source of foreign exchange, cotton enlarges the crop rotation cycle when added to the food crops, including manioc, beans, maize, and peanuts, in the rotation sequence. An increase in cotton production is expected to improve farmer's income in a proportion greater than its cash value. Planners estimate that by 1972, cotton production may reach a level of 15,000 tons through increases in acreage planted and improvements in cultivation techniques.

The cotton trade is managed for the most part by the COGERCO (Comptoir general de courtage), a farmer's cooperative in charge of cotton sales and export transactions. COGERCO's active role in the economy includes efforts directed toward the standardization of farmer's revenue, financing of the distribution of tools and supplies for cultivation, and the promotion of agricultural development in general. It performs for cotton producers a role similar to that played by OCIBU for coffeegrowers. Its resources are accumulated by deductions from cotton sales. Such deductions also serve to increase the reserve funds used for income equalization. Although the COGERCO fund is used mainly for advances to farmers and income stabilization, it also finances community projects and technical work of general interest.

Tea. Climatic conditions in Burundi are considered favorable for tea production. Tea had not been cultivated to any considerable degree until a few years ago, since the development of a tea plantation was and is now an expensive enterprise. Tea production begins with extensive soil preparation, including fertilizers and

antierosion measures. A modern plantation uses expensive equipment. The tea plants require intensive care from planting to harvest. On the other hand, tea can be harvested almost all year and can therefore provide a more regular source of employment than coffee, a seasonable crop. The Government's interest in this matter led to an agreement with the European Economic Community (EEC), through the European Development Fund (EDF), the EEC agency dealing with development projects for associated countries, under which various plantations would be created. Each was to contain about 1,235 acres (500 hectares) of tea. EEC is providing FBu192.5 million of an estimated total cost of FBu257.6 million. The remainder is to be covered by the Burundi Government and the producers. Aid from EDF is scheduled over an 8-year period. The project at Teza, near Muramvya in the highlands of west central Burundi was started in 1963 and is expected to be completed by 1970. A tea processing plant established near the plantation was scheduled to start producing by the end of 1967. The Rwegura project, near Kayanza in the northeast, is also being developed. Other projects have been interrupted or delayed because of landright problems or because studies indicated expensive problems of land drainage.

Tea may be expected to play a major role in Burundi's economy. The first tea crop was sold in January 1968 and was shipped to Holland. Samples of it were sent to potential buyers in world tea market centers. According to Government estimates, production will rise to 73 tons in 1968 and will continue to increase as tea plantations in the EDF contract are fully developed.

ISABU (Institut des sciences agronomiques du Burundi) is the Government agency that has the responsibility of exploiting the tea plantations of the country. This agency, created in June 1962 to replace the INEAC (Institut national d'études agronomiques du Congo), is the technical adviser for the Ministry of Agriculture and Cattle. It is one of the most active and effective agencies in the promotion of agricultural development.

Trends in Food Production

The production of food crops, principally beans, manioc, sweet potatoes, bananas, maize, and sorghum, has been increasing, 1965 totals being more than 16 percent above those of 1962 (see table 15). These crops are produced mainly for family consumption. Surpluses sold to the nonfarming population through local markets are usually the only source of monetary income for farm families.

The rapid increase in population has made it necessary to diversify food crops and increase food production in order to

Table 15. *Agricultural Production in Burundi, 1962-65*
(in thousands of tons)

	1962	1963	1964	1965
Beans	108.5	134.9	114.3	141.0
Manioc	826.4	845.8	891.8	858.4
Sweet potatoes	656.6	532.1	672.8	714.0
Bananas	1,039.0	1,169.0	1,258.0	1,270.6
Maize	92.9	91.9	109.2	107.9
Sorghum	87.8	100.0	114.0	121.9
Index (volume 1962=100)	100.0	101.6	110.6	116.5

Source: *Economist Intelligence Unit Quarterly Economic Review: Congo, Rwanda, Burundi* (Annual Supplement), 1967, p. 22.

prevent starvation. Facing this problem, the Government issued in February 1966 a decree fixing the amount of land to be planted in food crops and set up policies encouraging investment in the development of swamp areas into cropland. These measures appear to have been successful for the last 2 years, contributing to increased production and lower food prices.

Cultivation of rice was introduced in 1953 under a provision of the Ten-Year Development plan for Ruanda-Urundi (1952-61), prepared in 1949 under the Belgian Trusteeship. It has been most successful in the *paysannats* of the Imbo region, but production by farmers outside the *paysannat* system is increasing.

Under the *paysannat* system, rice cultivation takes place in tracts of 3.7 acres assigned to each family. Crop rotation is practiced by dividing the land into three equal parts and planting a rice-peanut-rice sequence for 18 months. The land then lies fallow for 18 months. Cultivation procedures require disciplined, methodical care; most of all, strict attention to planning and harvesting schedules is required. Those requirements are seldom followed by the farmers and, as a result, yields are lower than they should be. Theoretically, rice production in the Imbo region can result in a better return—as either food or cash crop—than the cultivation of cotton or other farm crops. With irrigation and fertilizers, a harvest of more than 2 tons of rice per acre is possible. Actual yields are half this amount, and some farmers regard the work involved as disproportionate to the return. They believe that the purchase price, fixed by the Government, is too low. Government figures indicate considerable variation in annual production, with a downward trend from 2,750 tons in 1962 to 1,967 tons in 1966. Actual production was probably higher, with the difference accounted for in illegal

sales by small producers, especially those who live near the western border of Burundi.

In urban areas, rice is the most popular food. Imports in 1965 amounted to 1,232 tons. The Government has been trying to stimulate local production and reduce imports in order to conserve foreign exchange funds, but the domestic supply is not keeping up with demand. To establish a market which will encourage local production, Government officials attempt to calculate an average price between that demanded by the local growers and the price of imported rice. Cultivation techniques are being improved. If yield per acre can be increased, the price of rice can be lowered without decreasing farmer's income, yet rice will be available to low-income families.

Other agricultural products such as tobacco, sugarcane, castor beans, pyrethrum, palm, and peanuts, although not produced in substantial amounts, are future export possibilities. Palm and peanuts might be used to manufacture oil for local consumption, thus reducing imports. Tobacco and sugarcane can also become important as raw materials for manufacturing industries in Burundi, eventually increasing the nation's exports. The soil in some areas is suitable for these crops, and the feasibility of production is being studied.

Animal Husbandry

Burundians regard cattle as symbols of wealth and social prestige. Cattle have been and continue to be preferred over money, since cattle visibly increase in number. Long-horned cattle, which had little actual economic value, traditionally ranked highest in the owner's esteem, and it was not until 1963 that they began to accept the introduction of the short-horned or hornless species, which is better suited to meat and milk production. Most of the cattle are lean and of poor quality, their average weight being from 400 to 500 pounds. Cows may produce calves on an average of only once every 2 years and give little milk. Cattle diseases such as rinderpest, sleeping sickness, and many parasitical diseases are common in the country. Castration is not practiced; there is little or no attempt to improve cattle by selective breeding; and only old animals and very young calves are sold for slaughter. The overall result is a low yield of meat and milk.

Livestock, especially cattle, have been increasing in number for the last 4 years, but there has been relatively little improvement in income from increased production (see table 16). Animal products constitute about 9 percent of the gross domestic products of the country. Slaughtered livestock are consumed locally. Official figures show that from 1963 to 1966, livestock slaughtered

Table 16. *Livestock in Burundi, 1963-6*
(in thousands)

	1963	1964	1965	1966
Cattle	480.9	516.3	521.4	583.4
Sheep	123.5	164.6	174.8	195.4
Goats	353.8	381.0	418.7	411.1
Pigs	2.0	4.0	7.8	6.5
Poultry	243.7	293.2	305.8	319.5

Source: Adapted from Burundi, Institut Rundi des Statistiques, *Annuaire Statistique 1966* (Supplement), February 1968, p. 15.

annually increased from 4 percent to 5.2 percent. Small quantities of dairy products are imported—350 tons in 1965 and twice that amount in 1966—but few people consume these dairy foods regularly.

Proper development of animal husbandry would require the destruction of inferior animals, improvement in grazing practices, and adequate veterinary and breeding techniques. An obligatory and free vaccination campaign and the establishment of centers for cattle breeding have helped to improve cattle quality. Success will depend in part upon a reorientation of the attitudes of cattle owners. To the Burundi, cattle ownership, as opposed to the production of cattle for food, has traditional spiritual values which cannot be modified quickly.

Fishing

Until World War II, fish were usually caught for family consumption. After 1946, mainly under the Ten-Year Plan, more modern methods were introduced, and fishing activities were expanded. Most fish are caught in Lake Tanganyika by three different methods: industrial fishing, which is completely in the hands of Greek shipowners who do the fishing at night in large boats equipped with lamps and nets; artisan fishing, in which fish are caught from small double-hulled boats (catamarans); and ordinary subsistence fishing from canoes of wood or metal.

According to official figures, ordinary fishing accounts for the largest annual catch. Tonnages taken from Lake Tanganyika vary widely from year to year. The lowest recent annual total catch was 5,210 tons in 1961; the highest was 16,430 tons in 1966, of which 61 percent was ordinary or personal fishing, 24 percent industrial, and 15 percent, the commercial (artisan) fishing total (see table 17).

Fresh fish caught by the so-called industrial method are sold in a central market at Bujumbura. Artisan and ordinary catches

Table 17. *Fish Production by Type of Fishing, Lake Tanganyika in Burundi*

Year	Industrial		Type of fishing Ordinary		Artisan		Total tons
	Tons	Percent	Tons	Percent	Tons	Percent	
1961 ----	1,900	36.5	2,900	55.7	410	7.8	5,210
1963 ----	2,300	21.9	7,300	69.5	900	8.6	10,500
1965 ----	2,685	20.1	8,730	65.5	1,921	14.4	13,336
1967 ----	3,705	30.2	6,634	54.0	1,947	15.8	12,286

Source: Adapted from *Burundi, Bulletin de la Banque de la République du Burundi*, No. 20, February 1968, p. 63.

are sold on the lakeshore or in the market, either fresh (15 percent, of the total) or dried (85 percent). Lack of adequate refrigeration and facilities for smoking the fish have been obstacles to a more rapid development of the industry. Most of the fish are bought for local consumption, alleviating nutritional needs, especially protein shortages. Some of the Burundi people are contemptuous of fish as food, however, a traditional belief handed down through many generations.

The Fishing Service, a Government agency, has taken over responsibility for development of the fishing industry in Lake Tanganyika and in the smaller lakes situated entirely within the country. It has been actively promoting new fishing centers and has provided fishermen with boats and equipment. The service has also been in charge of selling fish, retaining part of the proceeds for the purchase of more boats and equipment. Eventually, through this organization, the fisherman may become owner of a catamaran. A program included in the current Five-Year Plan (1968-72) will provide the Fishing Service with trucks for distribution of fish, thus lowering transportation costs and making it possible for a larger part of the population to include it in their diet, if they wish to, while providing a reasonable return to the fishermen.

The Burundi-owned area of Lake Tanganyika has been heavily fished, while neighboring countries such as Tanzania send out very few fishing vessels. In 1968 the Burundi Government was negotiating with neighboring countries, hoping to arrange for fishing rights in their portions of the lake.

Agricultural Credit

Agricultural credit and credit systems are not fully developed. Most agriculture is carried on at subsistence level by traditional methods. Only a minority of farmers engage in the money economy or have any acquaintance with monetary and credit arrange-

ments. Most agricultural credit extended by the franchised banking system is directed toward the financing of the major cash export crops, coffee and cotton (see Economic and Financial Systems, ch. 8). Except for producers of these crops, few farmers qualify for credit from the official banks. Credit from unofficial sources is available, but may be expensive. Private lenders extend loans to farmers for a maximum of 8 months at interest rates which may range from extremely low to as much as 100 percent. These lenders may be the subsistence farmers' only source of loans. An expansion and diversification of agricultural credit is regarded by planners as one of the major needs of the nation.

INDUSTRY

The industrial sector in 1968 accounted for less than 5 percent of the gross domestic product. Most industrial activity was limited to a few small enterprises based on the use of agricultural produce as raw materials. Coffee curing and cotton ginning dominated the export industries. Some consumer goods were manufactured for local markets. There was little integration between the different manufacturing firms, and interindustry sales were not common. Raw materials were either obtained directly from the agricultural sectors or imported. Handicrafts and trades were not widespread as part of the money economy. Handicraft items were usually produced only for family use.

The building construction industry was limited to a few middle cost houses and some Government buildings. The lack of activity reflected economic adjustments and problems faced by the nation since 1960. Mining has also been in a decline since 1950.

No major industrial development took place during the 2-year adjustment period which followed the establishment of Burundi as an independent nation in 1962. Although several diversification projects were started by existing industries during 1964, continuing economic problems have discouraged further investments. The market for industrial products was significantly reduced with the ending of the economic union with the Congo in 1960 and with Rwanda in 1964. Most industries have faced a stagnant market and were operating at 35 to 40 percent of capacity for several years.

The Government has attempted to encourage private investment, but establishment of new firms will not be practical until existing plants are working at or near capacity. The rate of investment, half of which is provided by the Government, is about 6 percent of the gross national product (GNP). A larger percentage of investment will be necessary before an increase in productive capacity and overall economic growth can be assured.

Manufacturing

Most of the manufacturing industries are located in Bujumbura. In 1966 there were 147 industrial enterprises employing approximately 2,485 workers and having a volume of sales of about FBu1,251.8 million. Available statistical figures include tailors and shoemakers as part of the industrial sector, yet coffee mills are excluded because they are considered a commercial activity. About 40 percent of the industrial firms are owned by Europeans, mostly Belgians. These firms account for more than 98 percent of the volume of business and 96 percent of total employment (see table 18).

Table 18. Industrial Statistics by Type of Ownership in Bujumbura, 1966¹

Item	European	Type of Ownership Asiatic	African ²	Total
Number of establishments	55	3	89	147
Investment ³	76.2	n.a. ⁴	n.a. ⁴	n.a. ⁴
Volume of trade ⁵	1,236.7	0.9	14.2	1,251.8
Employers	97	8	90	130
Employees (total)	2,395	12	78	2,485
African	2,309	12	n.a. ⁴	n.a. ⁴
Non-African	86	⁶	—do—	—do—
Salaries ³	130.1	0.9	—do—	—do—

¹ Does not include coffee processing plants, which are considered a commercial activity.

² Includes tailors and shoemakers.

³ In millions of Burundi francs 87.5 FBu equal U.S. \$1.

⁴ Not available.

⁵ Non-Africans may have active as business associates or family members of employers.

Source: Adapted from Burundi, *Plan Quinquennal de Développement Economique et Social du Burundi 1968-72*, I, p. 149.

The largest commercial industry in Burundi is the brewing of beer, made from imported malt. The single brewery, which employed 270 workers in 1963, also produces soft drinks. Most products are sold to the urban population. This plant produced 5.7 million gallons of beer in 1966, a slight increase over the average for the 2 preceding years. In 1968 it was the only factory working at 100 percent capacity. Subsistence farmers usually brew their own beer from bananas, which are grown for this purpose on most farms. Beer surpluses are sold locally. Bananas require little care. Farmers are generally unwilling to reduce their banana production in spite of their need for other food or cash crops.

Tea processing is expected to become an important industry

during the next few years. The first plantation, located at Teza, near Muramvya, brought in its first production in 1967. With the help of a loan supplied by the first European Development Fund, a tea processing plant was established at Rwegura. During that year, 16 tons of tea were processed, of which 6 tons were considered suitable for export, 5 tons being shipped to Holland and 10 tons either delivered to world markets as samples for potential buyers or kept for local consumption. It was expected that the 1968 production would triple that of 1967, and that a larger percentage of high-quality tea would be produced.

Most coffee is processed for export. The first stage of the process, husking the beans, is usually carried on with the aid of hand-operated machines located at centers created by the OCIBU. There were 300 centers in 1966; the number was expected to increase to 460 during 1967. Most coffee growers are within a few miles of such a center. After husking the coffee beans, farmers take them back to their houses to let them dry. The coffee is then sold to intermediaries who resell it to the export processors. Processing plants clean, classify, and pack the coffee, which is exported green (unroasted). There are seven coffee-processing plants of significant size in Burundi. Some of these roast coffee for local consumption.

When the price offered for coffee in world markets is low, Equalization Funds controlled by the OCIBU are paid out to producers to help prevent a disastrous drop in income.

The second most important cash crop is cotton, which is ginned, processed, classified and packed for export by the Ruzizi Company. The Ruzizi plant, operating since 1957, can process 75 tons of raw cotton per day. Before 1962 the gin operated 6 to 8 months per year, processing cotton brought in from the Congo (Kinshasa) as well as the Burundi crop. In 1967-68 the plant operated only about 3 to 5 months per year, handling only Burundi cotton.

Cottonseed was processed at a subsidiary plant, which operated 2 or 3 months per year, producing 8 to 10 tons of cottonseed oil and 38 tons of cattlefeed per day. Oilcakes produced here were usually exported; many people bought nonrefined palm oil because it was less expensive, but higher income groups preferred imported peanut oil.

A modern textile mill was scheduled to begin operation in 1968 under an agreement between the Burundi Government and German interests. The German Government tendered a credit of FBu105 million through a German investment company. The credit was to be used to buy from Germany the machinery and equipment needed for the mill. Although most of the capital

was European, the Burundi Government was also participating financially. End products would include fabrics and yarns suitable for the manufacture of clothes and blankets.

Before 1968 the existing small Burundi textile and needlework industries were operating below capacity because of a lack of markets. Production and distribution costs were too high to permit these small producers to sell their output in foreign countries. Government officials and the producers were hopeful that Burutex, Burundi's newest textile mill, would eventually supply them with raw materials at a price which would enable them to compete with greater success in local and foreign markets.

A shoe factory, Bata, usually employed about 70 people, producing low-priced sandals. The interests which controlled this factory also operated wholesale and retail stores selling locally produced and imported shoes.

Two paint factories, one of which is relatively modern, were operating in Burundi in 1965. Their capacity was more than 700 tons per year, but the demand for paint reaches only about 300 tons. No foreign markets for these paints have been developed.

There were also small industries which produced corrugated plaques needed in building construction, using cement imported from Tanzania. The final product was sold locally or exported to Rwanda. Other small volume industries included metals, soap, brick, tanning, and printing.

Handicrafts and trades are usually family operations. The products are used by the family or are traded locally. Traditional disinterest in handiwork has prevented the growth of crafts industries, although in recent years this pattern has been changing somewhat. A relatively small number of people have become interested in specialties such as tailoring, shoemaking, bricklaying, carpentry, hairdressing, and other activities which will permit them to participate in the money economy.

Mining

Mineral resources include gold, bastnaesite, cassiterite, wolfram, and columbium, but ore reserves appear to be small. During World War II, exploitation increased because of the strategic importance of the minerals extracted. After 1960, however, mineral production began to decline as a result of declining world market prices and increasing mining costs. Mining companies, most of which are European owned and operate under Government licenses, have also suffered from the theft of an average estimated to be 20 percent of their output. Mining workers have been encouraged by smugglers to steal part of the production to be sold later in adjacent countries.

National accounting data do not show mining as a separate sector. Mining employment and mineral export figures are either unavailable or contradictory. Ore production figures indicate that mining was not an important factor in the economy during the mid-1960's (see table 19).

Table 19. Mining Production in Burundi, 1933-66

Years	Gold (kg.)	Chalcolite (tons)	Columbium tantalite (tons)	Monazite (tons)
1933-40	325	45	2.3	—
1941-45	276	180	4.8	—
1946-50	149	110	1.4	40
1951-60	117	111	5.0	400
1961-68	14	96	.5	—
1964	—	23	—	—
1965	—	17	—	150
1966	35	50	—	200

Source: Adapted from Burundi, Institut Rundi des Statistiques, *Annuaire Statistique 1968* (Supplement), February 1968, p. 19.

Government interest in increasing mining production has led to studies of extraction methods at existing mines—where much of the work of extraction has been done by hand—directed toward modernization and more profitable production. In 1968, however, no important changes in methods or total production were known to have been made.

The Government had been supporting a country-wide search for additional mineral deposits of commercial value. Small deposits of bauxite, iron, and nickel were being prospected. Two important geological surveys had been planned, one financed by United Nations Special Funds and the other by a credit of FBu20 million granted by the EDF. Geologists were expected to analyze the prospects for gold and petroleum, as well as for less valuable materials such as clay, feldspar, and gravel.

In August 1966 the Congo (Kinshasa), Rwanda, and Burundi announced their wish to participate jointly in the exploitation of methane deposits in Lake Kivu. An office was established to examine the possibility of exploitation. Commercial production by Burundi interests had not been initiated by 1968.

Tourism

The Burundi Government has worked to encourage tourists, since the added income could be important to the economy. The

country's natural attractions provide a base for a growth in tourism. In most areas the climate is pleasant for much of the year. Upland areas are relatively free of the more serious tropical diseases. There are scenic mountains and lakes, exotic birds and butterflies, and such unique geographic features as the source of the Nile River and a shoreline on Lake Tanganyika, the longest freshwater lake in the world. Tribal folklore and Tutsi dances are of interest to ethnologists, anthropologists, and photographers.

Burundi's remoteness from major transportation routes discouraged vacationers and other visitors in the past. As jet air travel becomes relatively less expensive, Burundi is preparing to accommodate more visitors. The Bujumbura airport was enlarged before 1966 in order to enable it to receive jet transports, and another extension of the runway was scheduled. Upon completion of these improvements, Bujumbura will be able to accommodate large four-engine jet transports, some of which will probably arrive directly from European cities. A sports center with swimming, golf, tennis, racing, and boating was already operating in Bujumbura, as were various restaurants and half a dozen hotels. There was also one European-style hotel in Gitega.

Outside Bujumbura, tourist accommodations and modern roads are so scarce that tourist travel is difficult. Travelers are welcome at the various missions throughout the country, which offer shelter upon request. The current Five-Year Plan includes a project for the development of centers of interest, including commercial tourist accommodations.

Fuel and Power Resources

Electrical power is obtained from a hydroelectric plant at Bukavu in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (Kinshasa) and from two thermoelectrical plants within Burundi, one in Bujumbura and another in Gitega. Since investment slackened during the years from 1963 to 1968, there was little growth in demands for power. Energy consumption from these plants remained fairly constant at about 15 million kilowatt-hours per year for several years. Other power sources include two small hydroelectric plants and local plants serving communities or industries, such as the tea-processing plants at Teza and Rwegura. Most of the domestic power producers are operated by REGIDESO (Régie de distribution d'eau et d'électricité), the national water and power authority.

The rural population in general has no electrical power or facilities. Wood is the usual fuel for cooking and, as a result, forests have long since been depleted or removed. Many deposits of

high-quality peat are available but have not been used. Properly exploited, they could become important sources of household fuel.

By 1968 the development of power resources had become one of the Government's primary economic interests. Much of Burundi's electrical power and petroleum were imported, with considerable loss of foreign exchange. Petroleum has been especially expensive because of transportation costs. A study made under a French technical assistance program indicated the feasibility of a hydroelectric project along the Ruvubu River near Gitega, at a cost of about FBu1 billion. The European Development Fund has considered financing the project, and further preliminary study was scheduled.

Investment Code

In 1967 the Government instituted a liberal investment code to encourage the expansion of existing industries and the establishment of new ones. Under this code, new investment which fulfills specified conditions may be granted priority status, including partial or total exemption from import duties and taxes on investment income. Enterprises which are granted priority status may obtain protection from foreign competition, priority in the allocation of Government contracts, and guarantees of free export of profits and dividends, as well as the repatriation of invested capital. Moreover, Government assistance may be made available in the financing of investments by private companies which are considered to be important for the development of the country. Despite the incentives offered by the code, the Government's ability to stimulate private industrial development depends to a large extent upon evaluation by foreign investors of the overall political climate and the potential for a reasonable return on risk capital.

Investment funds are scarce in Burundi. Few people have money to spend for consumer goods other than the basic necessities, and even fewer have capital to invest. The money economy is shared by only a small percentage of the population. No statistics on savings and capital funds are available, but it is clear that surplus funds are scarce among both subsistence farmers and participants in the money economy. Rural people who are able to save are likely to do so by adding to their livestock, which does nothing to increase the amount of loan capital available. Because of the scarcity of surplus funds and the high risk involved in business ventures, capital is expensive. Whatever domestic capital is accumulated is likely to be invested in Europe. Outside the country, potential investors appear to be unwilling to place capital in ventures which ultimately depend upon Burundi's limited market.

A study made by a European Community team during the early 1960's indicated that Burundi must increase national and consumer income, thereby creating an enlarged market, if new industries are to operate at a capacity which would generate a reliable return on investments. Some economists have recommended the organization of an economic region to include Burundi, Rwanda, and the Kivu. Burundi Government planners indicated that the substantial investment required by this program made it impractical for the near future.

LABOR FORCE AND LABOR RELATIONS

During the middle 1960's, about 93 percent of the active population, including people over 15 years of age, were engaged in subsistence agriculture. The remaining 7 percent produced food crops for local cities, cash crops for export, or worked for wages in the cities, usually in unskilled occupations. Ninety-seven percent of this wage-earning work force were of African descent; the remaining 3 percent of the wage earners consisted almost entirely of professional or skilled workers of European ancestry.

Character and Structure of the Labor Force

Available information on labor for the whole country is limited to rough estimates based on employment figures for the year 1965. These figures indicate that less than 4 percent of the active population worked in private enterprises at that time. Approximately 3 percent of the working group were self-employed professionals, Government employees, or were in other miscellaneous services.

The largest group of wage earners consisted of independent farmers who were temporarily or seasonally employed within their own or neighboring regions. Another group included workers permanently employed by private enterprise or the Government, mostly in Bujumbura. These enjoyed more benefits from labor and social legislation than the rural or seasonal employees. A third major group was made up of men who had signed contracts with mining companies, sometimes for as long as 3 years; some of these contracts were for work in the Democratic Republic of the Congo.

Bujumbura is the most important center of business; most of Burundi's commercial and industrial enterprises are located there. By the end of 1966, a total of 1,014 business firms functioned in or near the city, providing employment for approximately 8,700 workers. Approximately 40 percent of these, or 3,500 employees, worked for commercial, trading, and retail firms. Manufacturing, including small craftsmen such as tailors, accounted for another

2,600, more than 30 percent of all business employees in Bujumbura.

Most of the wage earners were men. A minority of women shared in the money economy as vendors of fruit or beer, as washerwomen, or even as stockholders, but the majority were restricted to housework and subsistence farming and remained outside the wage-earning labor force.

Employment tends to be seasonal. Coffee, the main cash crop and principal source of income for commercial farmers, is harvested only during certain months. During these months, the increase in agricultural employment extends its effects into other sectors, bringing on a seasonal inflation. As the coffee season wanes, employment and internal economic activity decline. The levels of industrial and commercial activity, including employment in these sectors, have been closely linked to the level of employment in commercial agriculture, particularly in coffee culture.

Temporary rather than permanent employment is often preferred by the employee. Under customary law, the farmer lost his rights to the plot of land assigned to him if he did not cultivate it. For this reason, farmers often moved back and forth between farmwork and temporary employment in other sectors of the economy. When in need of money for a specific purpose, such as paying taxes or buying clothes, the farmer took a seasonal or temporary job, which he left as soon as he had acquired enough money to take care of the specific need or obligation.

The extent of unemployment and underemployment cannot be determined accurately from the limited statistical information available. In 1962 the International Labor Office carried out two sampling surveys in Bujumbura in an attempt to estimate the rate of unemployment and underemployment in the city. Their analysts estimated the rate of underemployment at a level between 3.8 and 5.7 percent and the rate of unemployment at 18.7 percent of the African adult population. Their studies suggested that unemployment was increasing because of rapid population growth and a decrease in general economic activity in Bujumbura. Immigrants from the Congo (Kinshasa) and Rwanda also increased the ranks of the unemployed.

Quality and Productivity of the Labor Force

The International Labour Organisation has estimated that, as of 1960, 90 percent of the nation's African wage earners were unskilled. Upgrading of skills and increases in productivity are difficult, and the rate of improvement will probably be slow for the near future. Lack of education, inadequate training, malnutrition, poor health, and other factors each take their toll. Much

of industry and most of the agricultural sector functions and produces through the use of rudimentary tools and methods. A general increase in labor productivity depends upon extensive training in technical skills, widespread dissemination of modern agricultural methods, and continuing investment in education and equipment.

Improved production to meet the food requirements and other needs of an increasing population also depends upon changes in traditional social organization and attitudes. Labor in the European sense is, to people brought up in this tradition-oriented society, a duty imposed by political or military authorities, or by the patriarchal authority at the family level. This is a consequence of the *ubugabire* system, in which services were rendered to the ruling class, not in exchange for a tangible remuneration but for protection. Their concept of labor is not associated with voluntary action or economic improvement. It is difficult for the rural citizen to understand that the payments they receive are related to the effort they have expended. There is a tendency to regard a certain amount of income as enough and to refrain from putting additional efforts into obtaining more.

In spite of these traditional attitudes and their tendency to suppress productivity, unskilled labor is usually available because so many people are poor and underemployed. On the other hand, professional and skilled workers are scarce. Government departments are desperately short of competent administrative, research, and clerical staff. During the 1960's some manufacturing and commercial firms had reported staff reductions of as much as 50 percent in a few years because of declines in demand for their products. Yet these companies found it difficult to recruit the minimum required number of qualified supervisors, technicians, accountants, and office staff. In the rural areas as well, technical and managerial manpower was needed to manage the allocation of resources, to teach and supervise improved production methods, and to provide for adequate marketing and trade channels for the rural population.

Wages and Labor Code

A minimum wage law was first established in 1949. Before that time wages, paid in cash or in kind, were established according to custom or tradition. The establishment of a minimum had considerable effect in Bujumbura, where most wage earners are located. In the rural communities, wage payments tended to continue along traditional lines. In a population engaged in subsistence farming centered around family groups, wage levels were rarely a problem.

The minimum remuneration, as dictated by law, has three components: a minimum wage, a food ration or its equivalent, and a shelter or its equivalent. The minimum varies according to the locale and the classification of the work as heavy, ordinary, or light. In 1966 the minimum wage in Bujumbura was officially FBu88 per day, plus FBu5 for housing. After an agreement among industrial leaders, the daily minimum paid to unskilled laborers was not less than FBu50 including housing and food ration. Skilled workers earn higher salaries, which vary according to type of work.

Civil servants benefit from contractual allowances, which are paid over and above their monthly salaries. These include FBu800 per month for the wife and FBu150 per month per child. The National Institute of Social Security receives between 3 and 4.5 percent of the pay of civil servants and contract employees, subtracted from monthly salaries, to cover medical and retirement benefits and services.

In Burundi, as in some other African countries, the minimum wage policy has been under attack because wage employment has been decreasing as minimum wage rates increased. In favor of the minimum, however, is evidence that minimum wage provisions have contributed to stability of employment, reduction in labor turnover, and the development of a competent labor force. The minimum wage may have increased unemployment in some situations or converted disguised into obvious unemployment. But it appears to have stabilized labor costs in Bujumbura and has improved the basic conditions necessary for long-range manpower development.

Another step toward rationalization of the labor market was the Labor Code, promulgated by a legislative order of June 2, 1966. In the code, compulsory labor is forbidden, and limitations upon the duration of employment contracts are imposed. The law regulates apprenticeship contracts, wages, supplements, working hours, weekly rest periods, and annual, maternity, and sick leave. It also provides legal guidelines for occupational safety and health, collective labor negotiations, and the registration of labor organizations.

Government enforcement of labor protective legislation is not yet fully established. Factory inspection, arbitration, conciliation, and labor law enforcement, as they develop, will be the responsibility of the Ministry of Social and Labor Affairs.

Labor and Employers Organizations

Two employers' organizations were active in Burundi in 1968, a small association of manufacturers and a Chamber of Commerce.

No information is available on the present trade union membership in Burundi. Of four existing trade union organizations, three were more or less active in 1968: the Union of Free Workers of Burundi (Syndicat Libre des Travailleurs du Burundi); the Union of Administrative Agents of Burundi (Syndicat des Agents de l'Administration du Burundi), which is composed of all civil servants; and the Federation of Workers of Burundi (Fédération des Travailleurs du Burundi). The latter, which claimed 8,000 members in 1968, was banned by the Minister of Justice in 1965, following the assassination of the Prime Minister, but was reestablished during 1967. Another labor fraternity is the Christian Union of Burundi (Syndicat Chrétien du Burundi), which claimed 8,000 members in 1968. This group became inactive in the aftermath of the attempted coup d'état of October 1965.

In general, trade unions have not been active in terms of labor welfare, wages, or working conditions. When conditions permit, they have been active in general political matters and have sometimes been identified with political disturbances.

THE GOVERNMENT ROLE IN AGRICULTURE AND INDUSTRY

Government participation in the economy has been directed principally toward agriculture, which has been, and for many years will be, the backbone of Burundi's economy. With the industrial structure of the country so underdeveloped, agriculture will continue to be the main source of employment and domestic income and the basic source of foreign exchange. Moreover, the rapidly increasing population demands a quick increase in agricultural output. Basic Government policies have been designed to increase and diversify production. Primary goals have been the prevention of famine and reduction of the nation's dependency upon coffee and cotton as the main sources of foreign exchange.

Some progress was achieved during the implementation of the Ten Year Development Plan, launched during the Belgian administration and financed mainly by interest-free loans from Belgium. As part of the plan, the *paysannat* system was initiated; new food crops less susceptible to drought were planned; swamps were drained for agricultural use; and soil conservation methods were introduced.

Since independence in 1962, the Government has had relatively few resources available for promoting economic development. New governmental and quasi-governmental institutions have been created despite the lack of funds, and already established bureaus have been reorganized in order to enable them to play a larger role in the encouragement of agricultural production. Special

emphasis has been placed on the installation of cooperatives in both production and distribution. Many such programs have disintegrated in the past because of faulty management or because of the entrenched customs and habits of the farmers, but both new and old programs were active in 1968.

By 1968 a provisional Five Year Development Plan, effective until 1972, had been prepared. It was designed to increase monetary national income and to achieve equilibrium in the national budget and the balance of payments. Burundi's Government planners also hoped to achieve an average rate of increase in the GNP of 6 percent per year. Priority was given to agricultural development projects, with particular emphasis on coffee production. Although the Government is aware of the risk of relying heavily on a single crop, coffee sales are considered to be the fastest way to increase foreign exchange and alleviate the nation's financial problems. On the other hand, importance is given to diversification projects, including tobacco and tea, and to the development of fishing and livestock. The Five-Year Plan also provides for further study and possible exploitation of resources and for the development of subsidiary sectors of the economy.

Government participation in industrial development has been indirect, directed largely toward the encouragement of investment. The Government has been inclined to control industrial activity. At the same time, Burundi's leaders and planners have sought to establish joint ventures and have expressed their willingness to share industrial development with private enterprise. Government-owned factories were mentioned in the Five-Year Plan as an approach to development, but this plan has been put aside as unsuitable for Burundi at this time.

Other industrial development possibilities are included in the plan, but it is difficult to be optimistic about their potential. Priority has been given to agricultural programs, such as fertilizer and insecticide programs, and to small industries which can work with materials not presently utilized, such as the casting of scrap iron or the manufacture of rope from banana fiber. Another possibility mentioned was the establishment of factories whose byproducts could also be used as raw materials for other new industries. For example, byproducts of the fish and malt industries and the residue from flour mills might be used for the manufacturing of cattlefeed. Such industries, related to the prime need for food production, would be a step toward an integrated economy.

Financial resources for the implementation of the Five-Year Plan were to be derived from domestic revenues and foreign aid, both of which were expected to increase during the period.

Human resources were to be supplied within the framework of the technical assistance programs included as part of the foreign aid, mainly from Belgium, and from those among the local labor force who have been adequately prepared through a program of education and field training.

CHAPTER 10

THE ARMED FORCES, PUBLIC ORDER, INTERNAL SECURITY AND SAFETY

In mid-1968 supreme authority in the conduct of affairs of state was held by President Michel Micombero and a military council. The Armed Forces, as a newly formed Military Establishment, still relied heavily on Belgium for advisers, training, and logistical support. At the time of independence in 1962, Burundi's few military personnel had little experience with modern military techniques or equipment. In 1968 military resources were still limited to small infantry units which had yet to gain any combat experience. Most military activities consisted of training and assisting in the maintenance of internal security.

Under a President rather than a king, Burundi in 1968 functioned as it had for centuries—under a combination of traditional or customary laws and decrees from a single powerful ruler. Since his assumption of power in November 1966, and the creation of the Revolutionary Government, the President had generally consolidated his authority. Central ministries, province governorships, and judicial offices were staffed by young military officers. As a step in this process of improving internal security, the National Gendarmerie (police) was being merged into the Armed Forces.

With effective internal security established, President Micombero generally refrained from oppressive measures which might damage relationships between the Hutu majority and the Government, in which almost all positions of authority are filled by loyal Tutsi. Military officers were also Tutsi, but the enlisted ranks were almost entirely Hutu. Military personnel received good pay and other benefits and were loyal to the Revolutionary Government. The small military force and the Gendarmerie were receiving relatively good training, much of it under Belgian advisers. Both are dependent upon foreign sources for practically all of their equipment.

With the continuation of a strong central authority, the traditional passivity of the Hutu agriculturalists, the great majority of the population, contributed to a relatively orderly political

situation. Reports indicated an increase in crime in Bujumbura during 1967 and 1968, but no major social unrest.

The formal court structure functioned somewhat as it had under Belgian supervision, but it was staffed by judicial officers appointed by the Revolutionary Government, which could suspend or reverse court actions. In any event, the formal courts touched the lives of few Burundi. Most disputes and crimes continued to be processed through customary courts, without benefit of written codes, as they have been for centuries.

HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT

When the Congo was established as a Belgian colony in 1884-85, and when Great Britain and Germany divided large areas of eastern Africa in 1890, the territory constituting present-day Burundi was still practically unexplored. Its isolation, difficult topography, and hostile inhabitants discouraged early European adventurers and explorers.

The Germans, hoping for profitable commercial activities, constructed a military station at Usumbura (now Bujumbura) in 1896. Between the time of their first military presence and their forcible ejection during World War I, the German garrisons launched numerous punitive expeditions to settle quarrels and punish rebellious chiefs, but they failed to enforce real peace or administrative control. The Tutsi feudal system, developed during centuries of dominion over the Hutu and Twa, was not readily adaptable to a European administrative system. On the eve of World War I, the German visions of profitable enterprise in the territory were still unfulfilled. A small measure of outside influence had been superimposed on the tribal chiefs in the areas now known as Burundi and its neighbor, Rwanda.

The outbreak of World War I caught the Germans, as well as the British and Belgians, unprepared for combat in east Africa. The British and Belgians cooperated to defeat the Germans in 1916. Thereafter, the Belgians retained control of Rwanda-Burundi throughout the periods of the League of Nations mandate and, after World War II, the United Nations trusteeship, until the independent nations of Rwanda and Burundi were formally established in 1962.

Since independence, Belgian aid and advisory personnel have made a major contribution to the economic and social stability of the country. Ironically, certain military problems, such as the absence of a Burundi military cadre which could have been expanded as the time of independence approached, can be attributed in part to earlier Belgian policies. Under Belgian admin-

istration, for example, Burundi men were not recruited into military or police units. The Belgians employed Congolese soldiers to garrison the country. When internal disturbances occurred, the Congolese readily fired on the local inhabitants.

Since they were not recruited into colonial forces, the opportunity to acquire modern military skills was not available to the Burundi. The Belgians did commission a few Tutsi as 2d lieutenants in 1962 and sent them to Belgian military schools. The Burundi Armed Forces, as it existed in 1968, was formed around this small nucleus of Belgian-trained Tutsi officers. The force had no traditional military history and had never been combat tested. National consciousness was growing among military personnel but had not supplanted the traditional family, clan, and tribal loyalties.

THE ARMED FORCES AND THE GOVERNMENT

In 1968 supreme authority in the conduct of domestic and foreign affairs was vested in President Micombero and a Revolutionary Council of military officers, who came to power in a bloodless coup d'etat in 1966. Armed Forces officers occupied civil administrative, judicial, and provincial governor positions. Collectively, they completely dominated the affairs of the nation.

Operational control of the Armed Forces, National Gendarmerie, and Judicial Police units was exercised through the Commander of the Armed Forces, who was directly subordinate to the President. Technically, the military forces had the dual mission of maintaining public order and security within the country and preserving the integrity of the nation's borders. In midyear, President Micombero assigned operational control of all police units to the Commander of the Armed Forces, and the process of integration and combat training of police began.

Logistic and Strategic Background

Burundi is a small nation (about 10,746 square miles) in the remote highlands of east central Africa, possessing only limited resources, industry, and transport facilities. Although the major nations have shown increasing interest in this area in recent years, they do not appear to regard the area as strategically important. Belgium provides military aid and equipment, but other Western nations have shown little interest. This restricts Burundi's options, since the nation is dependent on external sources for practically all military equipment and logistical support.

No large military installations or depots are maintained. There are no railroads in the country and no direct external railroad connections. Military supplies from external sources must come

in by road or by cargo ships on Lake Tanganyika. There are almost 4,000 miles of road, providing a comprehensive nationwide network for military movements during dry seasons, but most roads have natural surfaces and become impassable in many sectors during the rainy season.

The major air facility at Bujumbura had the capacity in 1968 to receive Boeing 727 commercial flights. Runway extension and facility improvement programs were under way, upgrading the airfield in order to handle large jet transports such as the Boeing 707 or equally heavy aircraft.

Organization, Manning and Training

President Micombero, as Minister of National Defense and Chief of the Armed Forces Staff, issued policy and guidance to the Commander of the Armed Forces, which was divided into combat, intervention, and territorial units and controlled through staff directorates in Bujumbura.

Flexibility and mobility were emphasized. Combat units provided border security as their primary responsibility but could be assigned to support the intervention units, which were charged with maintaining or reestablishing internal security. Support companies and intervention units were expected to control public disorders, or, they could be dispatched to augment the combat units in their roles. Territorial units were assigned normal internal police functions in the provinces. Provincial administrative authorities could, in emergency situations or widespread civil disorders, requisition intervention and combat units to support the territorial units.

Changes in the existing system will take place when the National Gendarmerie units are fully merged into the Armed Forces. Additional intervention units utilizing former Gendarmerie personnel are to be created because the primary threat to the Government leadership is internal.

Main supporting installations and units were concentrated in and near the capital city. Staff directorates included personnel, intelligence, operations, and logistics. Most of the Belgian military and technical advisers were assigned to the Armed Forces Headquarters and the Armed Forces School. Supporting units of the Logistic Directorate included a transport platoon, engineers, communications, medical services, quartermaster, and maintenance. All were located at the Armed Forces base in Bujumbura.

With a total of between 1,100 and 1,300 men, the Military Establishment was small and the organizational structure uncomplicated. Since independence all military personnel have been volunteers. Statistics indicating the ethnic origins of military

personnel are not available, but Hutu probably make up more than 75 percent of the force. The officer corps, however, consisted almost entirely of Tutsi, who were well aware of the strong Hutu ethnic and class loyalties and the extensive killings of Tutsi by the Hutu in neighboring Rwanda between 1959 and 1964.

The fighting forces were limited to small infantry units; the nation had no air or naval forces. Volunteers exceed military requirements, but the shortage of applicants possessing technical skills was acute. More than 90 percent of the population was engaged in agricultural pursuits, which offered little opportunity for the development of technical and mechanical backgrounds. Since annual manpower replacement totals were small, the Armed Forces could afford to be rather selective in accepting applicants; the percentage of volunteers disqualified for physical and educational reasons was very high.

A military career offered security and benefits not usually attainable by the majority of civilians. President Micombero instituted a raise in military base pay, established a family allowance, and implemented a retirement system. Periodic increases in base pay, up to 3.5 percent annually, were established by Presidential decree.

Most Army leaders have been drawn from the politically astute Tutsi minority. Below the top echelons, however, the manning of the Armed Forces is predominantly Hutu. Military service has enhanced their social status and improved their material benefits. Despite ethnic and class differences, most of the force is considered to be personally loyal to the President, but this loyalty and the combat capabilities of his forces have never been thoroughly tested in full combat.

Belgian military officers have conducted or supervised most of the incountry military training programs since 1962. There has been an acute shortage of volunteers with technical and mechanical ability. In mid-1968 most of the 40-plus Belgian advisers were assigned to the Armed Forces School in Bujumbura. There is little evidence available concerning the conduct of basic military training, but the quality of training provided by the Belgians, particularly the technical training, was good. The failure rate in technical schools was reportedly in excess of 50 percent. Successful trainees had additional opportunities, and selected students were sent to Belgium or France for advanced courses.

In 1968 a paracommando company of approximately 140 members completed jump training at an Army Training Center operated by an Israeli Mission in the neighboring Republic of the Congo (Kinshasa). Upon graduation, the company performed a mass jump over Bujumbura. Congolese transports were utilized

for this public show. Observers were impressed with the discipline displayed during the operation. The value of paratrooper training is questionable, however, because Burundi has no military transport aircraft.

PUBLIC ORDER AND INTERNAL SECURITY

The military group which governed the country in mid-1968 had taken control in November 1966. All domestic and foreign policies were being formulated and implemented by President Micombero and his Revolutionary Council of military officers, who occupied almost all nominally civilian Government posts. The President may not have had the complete confidence of all citizens, but he did have widespread support. In any case, he effectively controlled the forces capable of quelling any internal opposition. The social conditions which had sparked civil disobedience and tribal warfare in neighboring countries also existed in Burundi in 1968, but the Hutu majority had remained relatively peaceful.

As Commander of the Armed Forces, National Gendarmerie, and all police forces, the President had considerable capacity for oppressive or punitive measures, which he used with caution: for example, an edict of March 1968 gave the Chief of Staff of the Armed Forces full control of the possession and sale of firearms and ammunition. He was authorized to revoke permits in cases of general abuse or in situations wherein the internal or external security of the Republic was believed to be in jeopardy. Violations of firearms edicts were to be handled by the military courts. With the exception of this rule, there were few public indications of additional repressive controls in 1968.

There was probably little need for an increase in overt repressive measures. In Hutu society, respect for authority and conformity with traditional family and communal mores have been sustained. Among older citizens, conduct was motivated by the loyalty and respect accorded the Mwami, who ruled with absolute authority. The passive attitude of the Hutu has been ingrained by centuries of deference to the dominant Tutsi elite. During the past century, the widespread acceptance of Christian doctrine has tended to support nonviolent attitudes which prevailed among most of the population.

The concept of public order based on the supremacy of a central authority is still generally accepted without question. Under Belgian colonial rule, Congolese soldiers garrisoned the country. Resistance was put down with modern firearms, and the futility of resistance to authority was thereby reemphasized.

In this unsophisticated, tradition-oriented society, evolutionary changes have been slow. The period of nominal constitutional government, from 1962 to 1966, probably did not excite country-wide interest in political action. As President Micombero improved the organizational structure of his peace-keeping forces during 1968, control of the population was probably more thorough and effective than that achieved by the Bami (plural of Mwami) or the colonial governors. Public acceptance of the military controls of 1968 was facilitated by the passivity of the subsistence farmer and by his preoccupation with the exigencies of food and shelter.

Crimes against persons and property do occur and may be increasing, but useful statistics covering recent years are not available. Since independence such data are being centralized at the Directorate of the Judicial Police. Since the early 1960's the influx of persons seeking employment in Bujumbura has probably been a factor in a substantial increase in burglary, petty theft, and assault. Few people used the streets of Bujumbura after dark, and additional night police patrols were reportedly set up during 1968.

Prisons

Several types of prisons were constructed under the German and Belgian colonial regimes. Each province had a central prison and a work camp for long-sentence prisoners. Convicted persons, except military prisoners, could generally be worked either inside or outside the walls.

All prisons were expected to be self-supporting. Inmates produced salable products and items for Government consumption. Segregated facilities were maintained, as Europeans were not confined with Africans. Female and juvenile prisoners were provided special quarters; they were never forced to work beyond the prison confines. During the 1960's important prisons have operated at Rumonge (near Bujumbura), Gitega, and Muhinga. Lesser prisons and work camps were located at provincial capitals.

Criminal Courts

The formal court structure that existed in mid-1968 was fundamentally a continuation of the colonial Belgian system, although it was subject to strong military influence and control.

The most significant development in the court system since President Micombero came to power in 1966 was the appointment of military officers to court magistrate positions. For these appointments, the President's Supreme Council performed the initial screening of nominees for various court positions. Al-

though the moral and intellectual qualifications of each candidate were considered, his political reliability and loyalty to the predominantly military regime were paramount. Candidates screened by the Supreme Council required Presidential confirmation prior to assumption of judicial positions. In 1968 a large number of young junior grade Armed Forces officers were confirmed by Presidential decree. The President, by staffing the court system with military officers, was able to extend his authority throughout the population.

The court hierarchy included the Supreme Court, Court of Appeals, Court of Assizes, Courts of First Instance, Province Courts, and Courts of Residence. Apart from the formal civil court structure, there were also military courts.

The entire court apparatus was subject to authority exercised by the Minister of Justice, the Public Prosecutor, and the Supreme Court. The latter, permanently seated at Gitega, has original jurisdiction in questions of constitutionality of laws, lower court disputes, and offenses committed by ministers, deputies, and senators. After the Constitution was suspended, the Supreme Court retained jurisdiction in all cases involving Government officials. Jurisdiction and venue in cases involving an individual holding both an Armed Forces commission and an official Government position was not stipulated but is assumed to be within the competency of both Supreme Court and the Military Court.

The Court of Appeals, seated in Bujumbura, has jurisdiction in all cases against Government officials except those reserved for the Supreme Court. The appellate function and review of lower court deliberations are normal Court of Appeals activities.

The Court of Assizes and the Courts of First Instance are competent to adjudicate cases wherein, upon conviction, sentences of life imprisonment or death may be imposed. All judgments of both courts may be reversed by the Court of Appeals. All court judgments are written and issued as court decrees, becoming final unless appealed within 10 days.

Province Courts, Courts of Residence, and Police Courts constitute the formal lower court structure. Sentences as severe as 5 years' imprisonment and maximum fines of FBu 10,000 (FBu 87.5 equal U.S. \$1—see Glossary) may be adjudged in these courts.

Trials at the Court of Appeals, the Court of Assizes, and the Court of First Instance are public. Jurors, when appointed, function as lay judges and may participate in the proceedings, although they have no legal backgrounds, as a rule.

Each nominee for duty as a juror must be at least 25 years old, able to read and write, and in full possession of his civil and

political rights. Annual lists are screened to ensure that Government officials, commissioners of small administrative units, magistrates, barristers, and personnel of the Armed Forces, Gendarmerie, or other police are not included. Consolidated lists are transmitted to the President of the Court of Appeals.

Two sessions a year must be convened by the Court of Assizes. Lay judges are drawn by lot and notified to appear for duty. At least 15 must be present to install the panel. The lay judge system is also applicable to the Court of First Instance and the Court of Appeals proceedings.

Court proceedings are opened by a reading of the charges and the entering of pleas. The President of the Court questions the witnesses and the accused. Magistrates and lay judges may ask questions after permission is granted by the President of the Court. After all testimony has been presented, the President clears the court, and all deliberations are rendered in chamber. A majority verdict must be obtained; any member not voting is counted as a vote of acquittal. When guilt has been determined, the President reopens the court and informs the accused of the verdict. If guilty, the accused has the opportunity to address the court to deliver a final appeal. The President again clears the court and deliberations on the degree of punishment are conducted. Each court member of the panel votes an individual recommendation. If the maximum penalty recommended does not receive a majority vote, the next less severe recommendation is considered until a majority verdict is obtained. The sentence is written and pronounced in open court.

The Public Prosecutor is privy to all court activities and legal proceedings; he may subpoena the necessary records, transcripts, and persons to investigate repressive or unfair activities suspected in the judicial structure. He may file actions in the name of an injured party or defend an accused who is incapable of obtaining competent representation.

The President, by a declaration of martial law, could suspend the entire formal court structure and remand all legal proceedings to the jurisdiction of the Military Court.

Customary Laws and Courts

Traditionally the head of a Hutu kinship group dispensed justice to its members. Matters pertaining to two or more kinship groups were settled by the joint deliberations of the lineage heads of the groups involved, usually with the assistance of a council of group elders. Until the Tutsi penetration several centuries ago, this kinship structure provided the judicial framework for settling disputes.

The clientship system and the political dominance of the Tutsi largely superseded the Hutu kinship system; only internal familial affairs were to remain as Hutu adjudicatory functions. The hierarchy of the Tutsi court structure paralleled the rank and social positions of the officials. Cases were decided more on the basis of the wealth and position of the litigants than on the legal merits of the case. Courts of the king, the pastoral lords, and the military chiefs provided a certain degree of specialization, and exercised the only existing competency in legal affairs.

Court composition was highly informal; hearings were held in the open air. Typical cases included treason, cattle rustling, petty theft, land disputes, black magic, and assault and battery. Judgments could be deferred or a case might be heard several times. Besides imposing a physical punishment on the guilty party, the judges usually allocated compensation to the injured party. The suppressed Hutu rarely appealed a decision.

Treason and crimes against the king were punished by banishment, death, or emasculation. Punishment for rape depended upon the social status of the persons involved. Any person apprehending a cattle thief in the act could legally kill the offender. Murder and homicide were not court matters since these offenses were dealt with by family vengeance, which could last for years.

After 1918, under Belgian colonial administration, a dual legal system was established. Belgian judicial courts applied the statutory laws, and the tribal courts continued to administer customary tribal laws. The problems of racial discrimination were compounded by questions of the applicability of the various laws. The provisions of the Belgian Penal Code and the Code of Criminal Procedure applied to both Africans and Europeans. All cases involving Africans, wherein the offense was not covered by the Belgian Penal Code, were allowed to revert to native courts for trial. An African was subject to trial for violation of both statutory and customary laws. On the other hand, Europeans could not be tried in an African court; the provisions of customary laws applied only to Africans.

The native courts, traditionally presided over by a Tutsi chief, still offered little opportunity for the Hutu to obtain a fair and impartial hearing. Interpretation of customary law was not uniform throughout the country. Judgments against Tutsi were infrequent. The inequalities of the system did little to foster favorable Hutu attitude toward judicial authority.

Developments Since 1962

Substantial changes in the colonial system of courts and the administration of justice were reflected in the Constitution of

Burundi, promulgated on October 16, 1962. Specific fundamental rights, including individual liberty and equality before the law, were guaranteed. Under Article 94, Tribunals (Courts) of Residence, of Province, and of First Instance, a Court of Appeals, and a Supreme Court were established.

Trial by a board of jurors (professional and lay judges) was prescribed for certain types of criminal cases, including all cases in which the death penalty or life imprisonment could be imposed. The Supreme Court was given sole jurisdiction over offenses committed by Government ministers, deputies, and senators. Questions of constitutionality of laws and disputes between the branches of Government were also assigned solely to the Supreme Court.

In an attempt to provide uniform national standards, the decrees allowed little variation among internal administrative units. Provincial and communal laws were to be enforced in the tribunals only when in full conformity with national laws. Appointments to local and higher tribunals were to be made by the Mwami (King), based on recommendations submitted by the Minister of Justice. This provision was designed to provide separation of the administrative and judicial functions of appointed ex officio judges who had previously adjudicated most cases.

The body of law set forth in 1962 was adapted from Belgian and French legal systems, which are based on the Napoleonic Code. Government advisers, expected it to become, over the long term, the basis for a modern system of laws and courts. Although the Constitution was suspended in November 1966 when President Micombero came to power by deposing the Mwami, the court structure, with some modifications, was intact in mid-1968. The power to appoint court officers, formerly a prerogative of the Mwami, was exercised by the President, who thereby controlled the court system. This helped him to maintain control of anti-Government activities, but the formal court structure remained unknown to most of the nation. With the exception of major issues involving problems of national security and possibly, cases involving foreign interests, civil and criminal cases, especially in rural areas, were usually settled according to unwritten customary laws or traditional social processes. Rules were published by edict, as in generations past, but over the seal of a president rather than the traditional Mwami.

The Judicial Police

Decree No. 1/21 of January 24, 1967, created a directorate of the Judicial Police (Police Judiciaire des Parquets—PJP) within the Ministry of Justice. The Director of the Judicial Police is ap-

pointed by the President of the Republic from nominations made by the Minister of Justice and subject to the orders of the Minister of Justice and the Public Prosecutor of the Republic. A central office and field offices constitute the divisions of the Judicial Police.

The central office is established at Bujumbura. The field offices, set up at the regional level, are called Brigades Mobiles de Police Judiciaire (Mobile Judicial Police Units). Each mobile unit is commanded by a Brigade Chief, appointed by the Minister of Justice from among the officials in the service holding the highest rank.

The Central Directorate is mainly responsible for the collection, use, and dissemination of all data concerning crime. Functionally the Directorate is organized into an administrative secretariat, general documentation section, identification, and professional training. The bureaus of information, publicity, statistics, central archives, and central and special records offices are major divisions of the general documentation section.

Apprehension of violators of the penal code, collection of evidence to substantiate violations charged and, eventually, placing it at the disposal of the prosecuting magistrate are primary responsibilities of the PJP. Under PJP jurisdiction, particularly, are those investigations concerning counterfeiting, dope and slave traffic, assassinations, arson, armed assault, and murder. Additional tasks include publication of statistical studies, extracts, and apprehension bulletins.

The mobile units represent the active arm of the PJP in the collection of evidence and arrest of criminals. Each unit includes a secretariat, an investigations section, and a regional archives section. Normally, the activity of each unit is limited to the territory of the local public prosecutor.

Officers of the Judicial Police are recruited by the Ministry of Justice. Selection is based on competitive examinations. Candidates to take the examinations must be between 19 and 30 years of age, certified as physically qualified, and possess a secondary or equivalent education. Successful candidates are admitted to the Professional Training Center of the PJP as police student officers. Upon completion of an 18-month training cycle, successful students are given 12-month probationary appointments as police officers. Personnel in the judicial service are organized into corps of police, inspectors, and auxiliaries. By Burundi standards, they are well paid (see table 20).

All police units were placed under control of the Armed Forces in mid-1968. The functional changes to be implemented by the Armed Forces Staff to exercise operational control of these units have not been indicated.

Table 20. Rates of Pay of the Judicial Police of the Public Prosecutor's Office in Burundi
(in Burundi francs¹)

Police Officer Corps:		Basic pay *	Police Inspector Corps:		Basic pay *
Chief Police Officer:			Chief Police Inspector:		
Third Class		180,000	Third Class		135,000
Second Class		165,000	Second Class		120,000
First Class		150,000	First Class		105,000
Police Officer:			Police Inspector:		
Fourth Class		135,000	Fourth Class		90,000
Third Class		120,000	Third Class		78,000
Second Class		105,000	Second Class		69,000
First Class		90,000	First Class		60,000
Probationary Police:			Probationary Police:		
Officer		78,000	Inspector		50,000

¹ 87.5 FBu equal U.S. \$1 (1968).

* Members of the Police Aides Corps receive basic pay ranging from FBu20,000 for a Police Aide at entry level to FBu78,000 for a top level (second class) Chief Police Aide.

Source: Adapted from Burundi, *Official Burundi Bulletin*, VI, May 1967.

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GLOSSARY

arrondissements—Sub-units of the provinces; administrators appointed by the Minister of the Interior.

Bami—Plural of Mwami, traditional Tutsi monarch.

FBu—Burundi franc; Burundi unit of currency. Before devaluation in February 1965, equivalent to U.S.\$0.02. After February 1965, equivalent to approximately U.S.\$0.01142, or 87.5-FBu = U.S.\$1.00.

Before February 1965

FBu1	U.S.\$0.02
FBu10	U.S.\$0.20
FBu100	U.S.\$2.00
FBu1,000	U.S.\$20.00
FBu10,000	U.S.\$200.00
FBu100,000	U.S.\$2,000.00
FBu1,000,000	U.S.\$20,000.00
FBu10,000,000	U.S.\$200,000.00
FBu100,000,000	U.S.\$2,000,000.00

After February 1965

FBu1	U.S.\$0.01142
FBu10	U.S.\$0.1142
FBu100	U.S.\$1.142
FBu1,000	U.S.\$11.42
FBu10,000	U.S.\$114.20
FBu100,000	U.S.\$1,142.00
FBu1,000,000	U.S.\$11,420.00
FBu10,000,000	U.S.\$114,200.00
FBu100,000,000	U.S.\$1,142,000.00

Five Year Development Plan—A provisional economic and social development plan prepared in 1968, covering the period 1968-1972.

Ganwa—Princes of the royal Burundi blood lines; heads of the four dynastic clans descended from previous Burundi monarchs.

gross domestic product—The estimated value of all goods and services produced, including those used directly for subsistence, without adjustment or deductions for indirect taxes, balance of international payments, or depreciation of capital goods.

Imana—The creator spirit.

imana—The intangible life force of all things organic and inorganic.

kwashiorkor—Condition resulting from a shortage of protein in the diet.

Mwami—Title of the traditional Tutsi monarch. Plural: Bami. The rule of the monarchy, ended in November 1966.

nagana—Bovine sleeping sickness carried by the tsetse fly.

OCIBU—(L'Office des cultures industrielles du Burundi); Bureau of Commercial Agriculture of Burundi; an organization originally created under the name OCIRU, L'Office des cultures indigènes du Ruandi-Urundi, for the promotion and de-

velopment of trade outlets for agricultural products. Its primary function in 1969 was the qualitative analysis of coffee beans.

OSIRU—L'Office des cultures indigènes du Rwanda-Urundi; Bureau of Indigenous Agriculture of Ruanda-Urundi. See OCIBU.

paysannat—Planned agricultural settlements, designed to promote resettlement from the areas of high population pressure to the less densely populated areas.

PDC—Parti Démocrate Chrétien (Christian Democratic Party).

quincunx—Pattern or arrangement having five points or components, one at each corner and one in the center of a square or rectangle. Used in Burundi basketwork.

Ten Year Development Plan—Social and economic development plan launched under Belgian guidance during the Trusteeship, covering the period 1952–1961, financed mainly by interest-free loans from Belgium.

ubugabire—The Burundi system of clientship by which the Hutu indentured themselves to the Tutsi in a lord-vassal relationship in exchange for the use of Tutsi cattle.

UPRONA—(Unité et progrès national; National Unity and Progress Party). Political party formed in September 1959. Became the dominant party in 1961 and was made the only party after the proclamation of the Republic in November 1966.

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