

Towards Demography, Labor Force and Migration in Colonial Ruanda-Urundi

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Rwanda and Burundi (colonial Ruanda-Urundi) became German colonies in 1885 during the Scramble for Africa but only a limited attention had been paid to the development of these remote areas as German East Africa (later Tanganyika) or Cameroon were valued more for their access to the sea and further economic potential. Such lack of German interest in landlocked countries in Equatorial Africa can be well documented on the example of Heinrich Schnee's (former German Governor) influential book published in 1926, where almost no space is given to Ruanda-Urundi.¹ During the World War I, Germany lost its colonies which were then divided among the Allied Powers on the basis of the Treaty of Versailles in 1919. Since the very first battles in East Africa, a question of partitioning and administering the German colonies became acute. From the very beginning, Great Britain and Belgium were the only countries to take control of the German East African territories. Since 1916 until 1919, Great Britain still tried to find a way to overtake both Tanganyika and Ruanda-Urundi, as the British proposed a creation of a unified administrative system in former German East African colonies which would directly lead to the British colonial rule.²

Finally, the Belgian mandate over territories of Rwanda and Burundi came out of the Article 119 of the Treaty of Versailles, signed on 28 June 1919, on whose basis Germany gave up any claims and demands on

1) Heinrich SCHNEE, *German Colonization. Past and Future - The Truth About the German Colonies*. New York, 1926.

2) Cecile BOONET, *Le Ruanda-Urundi: Naissance et Organisation d'un Territoire à Mandat*, Dissertation, Groupe: Histoire, Faculté de Philosophie et Lettres, Université Libre de Bruxelles, 1977, p. 106.

former colonies for the benefit of the Allied Powers. On 18 April 1923, Belgium signed the Charter of the League of Nations by which Brussels confirmed the mandate and responsibility over the territory. On 20 October 1924, Ruanda-Urundi was proclaimed a mandate of Class C, meaning no opportunity for gaining any kind of autonomy. The Mandates underwent occasional inspection by the League officials to ensure that the territory is governed with humanitarian approach. The administration of Ruanda-Urundi was thus completely in the hands of Belgium which had to rule the country in concordance with interests of other members of the League of Nations, and with respect and on behalf of the local populations.³ In 1925 Ruanda-Urundi was administratively attached to the Belgian Congo and the Royal decree from 11 January 1926 clarified the special regime of rule over Ruanda-Urundi. In this study, I will focus particularly on specific issues of demography, migration and labor force which the Belgians had to solve since the early 1920s until 1950s. For these purposes I use statistical data found in Belgian Archives or literature to demonstrate the studied issue.

Demography and Labor Force in Ruanda-Urundi

Colony of Ruanda-Urundi was inhabited mainly by agriculturalists Bahutu, pastoralists Batutsi, and hunters-gatherers Batwa. Bahutu formed a vast majority of people (85%), while Batutsi (14%) and Batwa (1%) were minorities.⁴ These groups had to be governed by indirect rule, as proclaimed and defended by Pierre Ryckmans, Urundi's resident and later Congo governor at the early 1920s.⁵ Since the 1920s Belgians in Ruanda-Urundi were confronted with significant troubles and problems including famine caused by the war. Official Belgian reports from 1928 and 1929 spoke about potential food crisis in several localities, namely Kasenda and Musenyi, as well as Kasongwe. This was nothing new as early reports on Rwanda included mentions concerning potential famine caused by long-lasting drought which periodically broke out in the following decades, as witnessed by Belgian officials in 1921-1922 and 1926. With

3) Patrick MANNING, *Francophone Sub-Saharan Africa 1880-1995*. Cambridge, 1995, p. 66.

4) José CLÉMENT, *Le Ruanda-Urundi et la Tutelle belge*, in: Gérard JACQUES et al., eds., *La colonisation belge. Une grande aventure*, Nivelles, 2006, p. 335.

5) Jean-Pierre CHRÉTIEN, *The Great Lakes of Africa. Two Thousand Years of History*. New York, 2003, p. 267.

the development of Belgian administration, diversification of cash crops evolved which had certain impact also on food security of Ruanda-Urundi. Among significant crops we may include potatoes which soon became the main competitor to the then dominant sorghum. Similarly, there was a remarkable development of production of rice, soya, and many other kinds of crops.⁶

In both Rwanda and Burundi, the Belgians had to gain sympathies and collaboration of local elites in order to develop the system of forced labor by which the colonies differed from Belgian Congo or neighboring the British Territories in East Africa. Political and administrative reforms were thus concerted actions with the Catholic Church playing an important role of a "civilizing mission". Many local chiefs were sympathetic and loyal to the Belgians while in some parts of the colony, occasional revolts occurred.⁷ Development of Belgian administration and the indirect rule, on the other hand, caused continual marginalization of the power of *mwami* (king) and local chiefs, and provoked ethnic categorization and fixation of ethnic identities (Hutu, Tutsi, Twa).⁸ Though *mwami* was traditionally perceived as a person responsible for the well-being of the state and its people and for redistribution of wealth, his position did not allow him to enrich himself. It was in 1903 when the beginning of destabilization of traditional political (as well as economic) structure took place. The Treaty of Kiganda, signed on 6 June 1903 between *mwami* Mwezi Gisabo and German representatives put so far unseen limitations to the power of the king in Burundi (similar treaties were signed also in Rwanda). Spread of the influence of White Fathers and elimination of royal symbols' importance prevailed until the Belgian mandated rule.⁹ Missions played a remarkable role not only in evangelization of the colonies but they had a significant economic impact, especially in Congo.¹⁰

One of the crucial aspects of economy that the Germans already had to face was the lack of infrastructure connecting Rwanda and Burundi

6) Firmin KINIGI, *Realisations économiques de la Belgique au Rwanda et au Burundi pendant les vingt premières années de son administration (1920-1940)*, Louvain, 1971, pp. 76-88.

7) Augustin NSANZE, *Un Domaine Royal au Burundi. Mbuye (env. 1850-1945)*. Bujumbura, 1980, pp. 61-66.

8) Augustin NSANZE, *Le Burundi Ancien. L'économie du Pouvoir de 1875 à 1920*. Paris, 2001, pp. 296-299.

9) Augustin NSANZE, *Le Burundi Contemporain. L'État-nation en question (1956-2002)*. Paris, 2003, pp. 10-20.

10) Jean STENGERS, *Congo mythes et réalités. 100 ans d'histoire*, Paris, 1989, pp. 191-193.

with important trade centers on the East African coast. Though we have certain knowledge about economic as well as political ties between Rwanda and Burundi and the Eastern parts of the Congo already in precolonial times,¹¹ trade routes between the two landlocked countries and the coastal areas especially in Tanzania existed with more or less dubious security. At the beginning of the 20th century, still under the German rule, several routes flourished while other suffered from changes in export of commodities. Bukoba, one of the main ports on the East African coast of that time, received huge quantities of goods, mainly skins, from both Rwanda and Burundi.¹² The Belgian rule, as we will see later, with the system of forced labor, introduced some new elements in commercial relations between Ruanda-Urundi and Tanganyika (former German East Africa), as besides agricultural products, thousands of Burundians and Rwandans left their homelands in order to search for and obtain better opportunities for their livelihood.

The Belgians, in order to fully develop their system of production of cash crops needed to have a detailed idea about the number of local population and especially the so-called HAV - *Hommes Adultes Valides* or able-bodied man. Until 1924 it was almost impossible to conduct a census due to the lack of skilled personnel and existence of other acute priorities. Since the beginning of 1925, the Belgian administration was able to propose more and more precise estimates as the most valid collected data came from the Christian communities where numbers of baptisms, deaths, and marriages formed the core of the register. Christianization of natives was one of the major components and central issues of the Belgian colonialism and the role of Catholic Church increased in the following decades.¹³ Despite such an improvement it was still not possible to make results applicable on the whole population of Ruanda-Urundi. For instance, a report from 1926 stated that in the mountains, number of births was very high; population census in Rugori (Ngozi) showed 288 living children in the age from three years on 202 women. Birthrate was 47 children on 100 women. Death rate was low and could be compared to the European average. The Vicar Apostolic of Urundi mentioned a death rate he had witnessed at around 8% in the first year of life. Death rate at later age was significantly high

her than in Europe. In 1927, population census was conducted on eight selected hills, and to the number of 480 thousand inhabitants, a factor 4,435 was attached. Overall population estimate resulted in the number of 2,128,000 inhabitants.¹⁴ Population estimates in the 1920s were decreasing from year to year. While in 1924, Belgians estimated some three million of indigenous inhabitants, in 1927 and 1928 it was 2,128,000 and in 1930 only 1,732,355.¹⁵

Population censuses became more precise in the following decades and from 1940s and 1950s we have sufficient data concerning the indigenous populations. Following tables show structure of population in chefferies and outside chefferies.¹⁶

Table 1: Indigenous populations in Ruanda-Urundi

Ruanda: Population des chefferies (statistiques des Administrateurs de Territoire)					
Men	Women	Boys	Girls	Total	
501 070	584 229	637 977	636 957	2 360 233	

Urundi: Population des chefferies					
Men	Women	Boys	Girls	Total	
455 301	511 126	484 214	517 121	1 967 762	

Ruanda: Population non soumise au régime des chefferies					
Men	Women	Boys	Girls	Total	
5 419	3 733	3 815	3 558	16 525	

Urundi: Population non soumise au régime des chefferies					
Men	Women	Boys	Girls	Total	
16 900	14 137	10 792	10 642	52 471	

Total population of Ruanda-Urundi in 1955 was 4,396,991 (Ruanda: 2,376,758, Urundi: 2,020,233) which was a certain increase since in 1952 it was 4,035,123.

11) David NEWBURY, *Kings and Clans. Ijwi Island and the Lake Kivu Rift, 1780-1840*. Madison, 1991.

12) Jean-Pierre CHRÉTIEN, *The Great Lakes of Africa. Two Thousand Years of History*. New York, 2003, p. 257.

13) Fortunatus RUDAKEMWA, *L'évangélisation du Rwanda*. Paris, 2005.

14) Daniel NYAMBARIZA, A Demographic Approach to Colonial Burundi, from Administrative Documents, 1896-1960, in: Bruce FETTER, ed., *Demography from Scanty Evidence. Central Africa in the Colonial Era*, Boulder and London, 1990, p 101-103.

15) Ibidem, p. 106.

16) Archives Africaines/Affaires Indigènes (AA/AI), Archive of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Brussels. (4378), no 82, Structure de la Population par Territoire, Populace Ruanda-Urundi 1955.

Table 2: Estimate of percent representation of “races” in the colony, 1952/17

	Ruanda	Urundi	Ruanda-Urundi
Batutsi	17,5%	12,14%	14,95%
Bahutu	81,52%	86,16%	83,73%
Batwa	0,98%	1,70%	1,32%

Among the Belgian subjects in Equatorial Africa, Batutsi enjoyed the highest status as these “Nilotic” people were regarded “intelligent” and thus closer to “civilization” than the Bantu including Bahutu and all the Congolese people.¹⁸ Despite these “racial” prejudices, and despite the process of ethnic categorization which had begun at the early phase of the European colonization of Ruanda-Urundi, some Belgians admitted that both Bahutu and Batutsi enjoyed the same values including language, cultural traits, and habits, as written by former Governor of Ruanda-Urundi Jean-Paul Harroy.¹⁹ Although Rwanda and Burundi are landlocked countries and during colonial times they played only a minor role in Belgian colonialism, it attracted many foreigners not only from Asia (table 3) but also a significant number of Europeans (tables 4, 5 and 6) who worked as state administrators, advisors, teachers, missionaries, instructors or civil servants there.

Table 3: Foreigners in Ruanda-Urundi in 1956: Asians by sex

Nationality	Men	Women	Total
Arabs	591	544	1135
British (E. Africa and Zanzibar)	258	257	515
Pakistanis	249	191	440
Indians	179	136	315
Others	33	33	66
Total	1 310	1 161	2 471

17) AA/AI (4378), no 82, Note Relative au Document ST/SOA/SerA/15 Intitule „La population du Ruanda-Urundi“.

18) Isidore NDAYWEL É NZIEM, *Congo. De l'héritage ancien à la République Démocratique*, Paris, 1998, p. 471.

19) Jean-Paul HARROY, *Rwanda. De la Féodalité à la Démocratie 1955-1962*. Bruxelles, 1984, p. 31.

Table 4: Foreigners in Ruanda-Urundi in 1956: Europeans

Nationality	1952	1953	1954
Belgian	3 738	3 991	4 110
Greek	374	404	394
Italian	156	158	178
French	156	138	170
British	123	118	122
Dutch	102	94	110
American	108	133	100
Other	364	370	375
Total	5 121	5 406	5 559

Table 5: Total Population of Foreigners

Category	1952	1953	1954
Black population	4 101 841	4 144 000	4 260 933
European population	5 121	5 406	5 559
Asian population	1 997	2 145	2 471
Mulattos and mestizos	1 328	946	942
Total	4 110 287	4 152 497	4 269 905

Source: Bulletin de la Banque Centrale du Congo Belge et du Ruanda-Urundi 5 (1), janvier 1956.

As obvious from the tables above, Asiatic population in Ruanda-Urundi tended to grow from year to year. In 1945, 718 Hindus, 528 Arabs, 37 Baluchis and 20 Afghans lived there while only 49 Senegalese and 1 Habesha formed the tiny African non-indigenous minority. Asians had been traditionally present since the early 20th century in East and South Africa as merchants and entrepreneurs and Ruanda-Urundi was not different. Some 266 merchants and 79 commercial agents lived there in 1945. Among almost two thousand Asians, 60 worked in Usumbura and Kigali as clerks and 29 as chauffeurs. As in coastal areas of Kenya or South Africa, many Indians owned their private business companies and generally their role in colonial economy was important.²⁰ Because of their im-

20) AA/AI (4378), no 82. Service d'Information: Asiatiques et Musulmanes au Ruanda-Urundi, B/M No 416, 3. 5. 1945.

portance, their number grew continually through the 1950s. A significant number of Asian citizens was formed by women which leads us to a conclusion that the whole families moved from the Indian subcontinent to Equatorial Africa and thus it was a coherent movement, not a spontaneous one.

The role of the Asians was not limited only to commerce since according to Belgian official documents Asians were recommended for their loyalty, and intelligence as well as “civilization”. At the end of the World War II, almost five thousand Muslims lived in Ruanda while more than ten thousand in Urundi. Due to permanent settlement of Muslim communities, 24 Islamic schools with almost one thousand pupils existed in 1940s in major towns of the colony. Their organization was a matter of many disputes and critiques, but their existence was entirely a subject of local religious communities and which received no aid or assistance from the government.

Table 6: Foreigners in Ruanda-Urundi by number, 25 April 1946

Germans	26	Russians	14
Americans	42	Swedes	23
British	78	Swiss	19
Belgians	1 254	South Africans	11
Austrians	2	Turks	9
Canadians	1	Palestinians	2
Danish	12	Other Europeans	20
Frenchmen	65	Mulattos	202
Greek	127	Ethiopians	1
Dutch	47	Arabs	524
Hungarians	3	Afghans	17
Italians	57	Baluchis	36
Luxemburg	22	Hindus	759
Portuguese	39	Senegalese	61
Polish	8	Other	465

Source: La Population du Ruanda-Urundi, No 636/XXVI-3, le 25 avril 1946, AA/AI (4378), no 82

Migration to and from Ruanda-Urundi

People from Ruanda-Urundi, and mainly from Urundi tended to leave the country to search for better paid job opportunities in neighboring Tanganyika or the Belgian Congo.²¹ Although officially Ruanda-Urundi was a mandated territory and not a “colony”, the Belgians sought to use the country as the source of income and agricultural production. In this sense, nothing had changed until 1959 when Ruanda-Urundi and Belgian Congo became controlled by a Minister of Belgian Congo and Ruanda-Urundi and both colonies were given certain liberation programs. Until the end of the 1950s, labor force was strictly controlled by the Belgians.²²

Table 7: Migration from Burundi to the Belgian Congo and the British Territories

Year	To Belgian Congo	To the British Territories
1949	3 379	16 543
1950	4 601	11 470
1951	4 470	10 182
1952	4 831	9 275
1953	610	13 298
1954	1 600	16 405
1955	1 086	28 113
1956	619	25 901

Source: Bulletin de la Banque Centrale du Congo Belge et du Ruanda-Urundi 5 (1), janvier 1956.

A remarkable number of the Asian workers settled not only in Ruanda-Urundi but especially in British colonies in East Africa. Though it was South Africa which hosted the majority of the population of India and Indonesia from the end of the 19th century due to both Dutch and British economic engage-

21) Daniel NYAMBARIZA, A Demographic Approach to Colonial Burundi, from Administrative Documents, 1896–1960, in: Bruce Fetter, ed., *Demography from Scanty Evidence. Central Africa in the Colonial Era*, p. 101–112. Boulder and London, 1990, p. 111.

22) Ch. Didier GONDOLA, *The History of Congo*, Westport, 2002, p. 109.

ment,²³ it was East Africa which had had the longest relations with the world of Islam and the longest experience with foreign Muslim populations. Historical contacts with Arab and Persian traders and recent early 20th century labor migration from South-East Africa are the main ways of spreading Islam not only in Tanzania, but in the Great Lakes region as well.²⁴

The flow of immigrants from Asia remained constant for decades and in official Belgian reports they were valued for their peacefulness and trading skills. As the number of Muslims among these immigrants grew, the first Muslim mosque was built in Usumbura in 1930s. Although the majority of Asians professed Islam, a number of Hinduists could be found in Usumbura as well. Importance of immigrants only increased during the Second World War.²⁵

Interestingly, the population of both Europe and Asia increased remarkably during the Second World War, number of Europeans almost doubled from 1940 to 1944 and so did the number of Asians including more than 700 Indians and more than 500 Arabs. Belgian statistical data also includes numbers of the so-called colored and mulatos.²⁶

As already mentioned, a significant number of migrants from Ruanda-Urundi sought for work in British territories or Belgian Congo and due to better work conditions, larger portion of Rwandese and Burundese migrants chose Tanganyika or Uganda as their final destinations. Migration to neighboring countries had to be seen in two ways, as a spontaneous migration, and as a directed migration.

Remarkable development of plantations in Tanganyika or Eastern Congo inspired thousands of inhabitants of Ruanda-Urundi to undergo a spontaneous migration in hope to find better paid jobs than in their countries of origin. Such a migration only increased with the beginning of the Second World War and there were several currents of immigrants, with the first heading to North Kivu and to a lesser extent to Katanga where the mining industry flourished from 1920s to 1940s and attracted attention of

many foreigners.²⁷ Another part of the migrants came directly to the border town of Bukavu which became known for its “cosmopolitan” and ethnically diverse atmosphere. During the Second World War years, some twelve thousand people from Ruanda-Urundi entered the town of Bukavu.

The flow of migrants to British East Africa was even more dependent on spontaneity as dozens of thousands of Rwandese and Burundians, as shown in table 7, took the opportunity to find a sufficient seasonal work. Besides Belgian Congo and Tanganyika, there was a far less public but comparably important relationship between Ruanda-Urundi and Uganda, other British colony. It was especially the Second World War which highlighted “some discomforting characteristics of Uganda’s economic life.”²⁸ Uganda’s economy became heavily dependent on labor force from outside, especially Ruanda-Urundi and unlike Belgians in their territories, the British proved to be unable to control the mass movement of migrants. Such movements resulted in British refusal to guarantee public order in places of mass presence of foreign migrants. According to some contemporaries, annually approximately 100 thousand migrants came to Uganda, most of whom had their origin in Ruanda. These migrants sought to meet Belgian tax obligations as Uganda offered more work opportunities than Ruanda-Urundi.²⁹ Rwandan seasonal migrants worked under Indian or European employers, mainly in cotton and sugar industry. Similar labor exchange took place between Belgian Congo and Tanganyika in both directions.³⁰

In prewar period, a spontaneous migration to British East Africa was a dominant feature of migrant labor movements in Belgian colonies. Despite Belgian tendencies to document and control any labor force movements within Ruanda-Urundi, labor conditions and larger number of well-paid job opportunities forced seasonal workers to cross the borders to Tanganyika and other regions. The reason of increased economic migration could be seen also in the development and economic stabilization of agricul-

23) Robert C.-H. SHELL, *Islam in Southern Africa, 1652-1998*, in: Nehemia LEVTZION and Randall L. POUWELS, eds., *The History of Islam in Africa*, Oxford, 2000, pp. 327-348.

24) See e.g. Lawrence E. Y. MBOGONI, *The Cross vs. The Crescent. Religion and Politics in Tanzania. From the 1890s to the 1990s*. Dar es Salaam, 1998.

25) La Population non-indigene du Ruanda-Urundi pendant la guerre B/M No 626/XXVI, 23. 1. 1946.

26) Bulletin de la Banque Centrale du Congo Belge et du Ruanda-Urundi 5 (1), janvier 1956.

27) Jacques DEPELCHIN, *From the Congo Free State to Zaire (1885-1974). Towards a Demystification of Economic and Political History*, London, 1992, pp. 34-64.

28) Gardner THOMPSON, *Governing Uganda. British Colonial Rule and Its Legacy*. Kampala, 2003, p. 182.

29) *Ibid.*, p. 183.

30) Gérard JACQUES, *Lualaba. Histoires de l’Afrique profonde*. Bruxelles, 1995, pp. 138-139.

tural and industrial sectors of British colonies in prewar period and enormous growth of mining industry not only in Eastern Congo.³¹

Directed, or controlled, migration from Ruanda-Urundi was encouraged by concrete institution and permission to work outside one's homeland region was given individually to each person for temporary period, although a small number of migrants could gain long term permission as well. Temporary migration was directed primarily to Belgian Congo and in lesser extent to British East Africa as the Belgians needed to support their mining industry by cheap labor force on non-Congolese. Lack of labor force in Kivu and Katanga in prewar period still coincided with brutal genocidal rule of Leopold II under whose reign the number of Congolese population decreased from twenty million in 1878 to six million in 1908 and the loss of population seriously affected primarily these central and eastern regions of the Congo.³²

In Belgian Congo, the labor recruitment was effectively operated by Union Minière du Haut-Katanga on the basis of serious studies concerning not only the needs of their mining fields but also the acclimatization and psychology of indigenous populations of Ruanda-Urundi.³³ Another destination of workers within controlled migration was the region of Kivu in Eastern Congo where several Belgian companies sought to employ workers from Ruanda-Urundi in order to fill their staff. Migration towards Tanganyika and other territories in British East Africa was, as suggested, more a matter of spontaneous migration although small numbers of workers were sent there to build roads and infrastructure.³⁴ It can be said that the most prevalent trend especially in prewar period was the spontaneous migration from Ruanda-Urundi to British East Africa, as shown in table 8. Directed migration was largely used to promote the mining industry in Belgian Congo, while spontaneous migration was used by seasonal agricultural workers and less by employees in industry.

31) Bulletin de la Banque Centrale du Congo Belge et du Ruanda-Urundi 5 (1), janvier 1956, pp. 4-7.

32) For more information on Leopold's Congo, see Adam HOCHSCHILD, *King Leopold's Ghost. A Story of Greed, Terror, and Heroism in Colonial Africa*. Boston, 1999, and/or Georges NZONGOLA-NTALAJA, *The Congo from Leopold to Kabila. A People's History*. London and New York, 2003.

33) Bulletin de la Banque Centrale du Congo Belge et du Ruanda-Urundi 5 (1), janvier 1956.

34) Ibidem..

Table 8: Migration from Ruanda-Urundi in 1950s

Country of migration	1953			1954		
	Ruanda	Urundi	Total	Ruanda	Urundi	Total
Belgian Congo	3 851	610	4 461	3 020	1 600	4 620
British East Africa	16 181	13 298	29 479	17 548	16 405	33 953
Total	20 032	13 908	33 940	20 568	18 005	38 573

Already since 1927, the Belgian authorities studied any possibilities of the best utilization of labor force and its economic effects on both sides of Congo/Ruanda-Urundi border. Creation of common administrative shelter for both colonies was principally a step toward easier migration of labor force from one country to another. In May 1927, the governmental commission studied possibilities of migration of the Rwandese to Lake Mokoto in Nord Kivu and Burundians to Itombwe in South Kivu. In 1929, Ruanda-Urundi encouraged migrants by launching a program which guaranteed medical preparation to voluntary workers.

In 1939, the government of Kivu tried to implement another project concerning the support of migrants from Ruanda-Urundi which had to be placed at Fizi at the Lake Tanganyika but this program was not successful. In 1936, to the contrary, it is documented that 600 families from Rwanda settled at Gishari in North-Kivu which was followed by Rwandese *mwami* who, accompanied by local chiefs, sought for better conditions for these labor migrants. Finally, at the end of 1938, almost 500 men, 267 women and 560 children found permanent homes at Gishari where they cultivated free land. At the end of 1954, 15,424 families lived there, including more than 60 thousand individuals from Rwanda in Belgian Congo where the majority of these new settlers cultivated and tilled the land and formed the basis for further migration of both Hutu and Tutsi.³⁵

As shown in the text, despite a strong regulations and control over labor force, the inhabitants of Ruanda-Urundi, facing the fact of forced labor and high taxes in their homelands, used many opportunities to find sufficient employments in neighboring countries. For colonial administration, labor migration was on one hand a necessity (especially in the case of Asian traders coming from India and labor workers coming from Ruanda-Urundi to mining fields in Kivu and Katanga), on the other

35) Ibidem, pp. 4-7.

hand, Belgians sought to create limits for these workers in order to prevent mass and uncontrolled migration which could threaten their own colonial economy.

Andropov's "Perestroika" and Soviet-Czechoslovak relations in 1982-1984

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There are countless studies of the economic history of the Soviet Union and its empire in scientific journals, papers, and books. Most of them are dedicated to the foundational period, the demise of the Eastern Bloc, or the revolutionary events in individual countries. However, the period with which the reader will become acquainted in this document is one of the less studied.

In most of the works, the so-called transitional period between Brezhnev and Gorbachev is very often merely mentioned; but after a closer study of the period between 1982 and 1984, it is necessary to say that there were many important facts and trends. The personality of new General Secretary was very complicated; the contradictions in his ideological, foreign and economic policy are even more interesting to study. Jury Andropov personifies the image of the Soviet political figure, the Soviet Union, and the Soviet bloc, for the external observer; it is as if nothing has changed from time Winston Churchill's quote about the Soviet Union, stating "*It is a riddle, wrapped in a mystery, inside an enigma*".¹

In the second part of the paper, as part of the analysis of Andropov's domestic and foreign policies, we will examine the influence that the new Soviet strategy had on Czechoslovak-Soviet relations, including its different aspects of economic and scientific-technological cooperation.

First, it is necessary to briefly evaluate the legacy of Brezhnev's era, which Andropov had to face.

1) In: <http://www.phrases.org.uk/meanings/31000.html>, [cit. 12.April 2011].