

**LAND RIGHTS RESEARCH AND RESOURCES
INSTITUTE (LARRRI/HAKIARDHI)**

**THE STATE OF THE THEN NAFCO, NARCO AND
ABSENTEE LANDLORDS' FARMS/RANCHES IN
TANZANIA**

14 FEBRUARY 2009

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Table of Contents.....	ii
List of Acronyms.....	iii
Lists of Tables and Figures	vi
Acknowledgements.....	vii
Executive Summary.....	viii
1.0 Introduction.....	1
1.1 Research Objectives.....	5
1.2 Research Questions.....	5
1.3 Research Methodology.....	6
2.0 The State of the then NAFCO's Farms.....	8
2.1. The then Hanang What Complex (HWC)	12
2.1.1 The State of Warret Farm and Surrounding Areas.....	16
2.1.2 The State of Gawal Farm and Surrounding Areas.....	33
2.1.3 The State of Setchet, Murjanda and Gidagamowd Farms/Areas.....	42
2.1.4 The State of Mulbadaw Farm and Surrounding Areas.....	52
2.1.5 The State of Bassotu Farm and Surrounding Areas.....	57
2.2 The General State of Other Ex-NAFCO Farms/Areas.....	59
2.2.1 The General State of West Kilimanjaro Farms (WKF).....	59
2.2.2 The General State of Mbarali Rice Project	64
2.2.3 The General State of Kapunga Rice Project.....	69
2.2.4 The General State of Madibira Rice Farm.....	74
2.2.5 The General State of Mbozi Maize Farm.....	76
2.2.6 The General State of Kiberege Farm	78
3.0 The State of NARCO's Ranches.....	78
3.1 The State of Ownership in Ranches.....	81
3.2 The State of Dakawa Ranch	86
4.0 The State of Absentee Landlords' Farms.....	91
5.0 Conclusion.....	95
5.1 Recommendations.....	96
References.....	98

LIST OF ACRONYMS

ADF – African Development Fund
AIDC – Alternative Information and Development Centre
AMCOS – Agricultural and Marketing Cooperative Society
API – African Press International
ASDS – Agricultural Sector Development Strategy
ASDP – Agricultural Sector Development Program
BAMCOS – Bassotu Agricultural and Marketing Cooperative Society
BOT – Bank of Tanzania
BRELA – Business Registrations and Licensing Agency
CADEP – Comprehensive Africa Agriculture Development Programme
CAG – Controller and Auditor General
CCM – Chama cha Mapinduzi/The Revolutionary Party
CHADEMA – Chama Cha Demokrasia na Maendeleo/The Party for Democracy and Development
CHC – Consolidated Holding Corporation
CIDA – Canadian International Development Agency
CMI – Chr. Michelsen Institute
CMSC – Central Maintenance Services Company
CORDS – Community Research and Development Services
CSR – Corporate Social Responsibility
DC – District Commissioner
DED – District Executive Office
DLO – District Land Officer
EPA – External Payment Arrears
FAO – Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations
FGDs – Focus Group Discussions
GPS – Global Positioning System
GNs – Government Notices
HDC – Haydom Development Company

HLC – Haydom Lutheran Hospital
HPDF – Hanang Participatory Development Fund
HWC – Hanang Wheat Complex
IDA – International Development Association
IMF – International Monetary Fund
IPC – Investment Promotion Center
JBICI – Japan Bank for International Cooperation Institute
JET – Journalists Environmental Association of Tanzania
JOLIT – Joint Oxfam Livelihood Initiative for Tanzania
KRIP – Kapunga Rice Irrigation Project
KSWL – Kinyara Sugar Works Limited
LARRRI/HAKIARDHI – Lands Rights Research and Resources Institute
LART – Loans and Advances Realisation Trust
LIDA – Tanzania Livestock and Development Authority
LIMP – Liberalization, Marketization and Privatization
LUP – Land Use Plan
MAMCOS – Madibira Agricultural Marketing Cooperative Society
MCA-T – Millenium Challenge Account Tanzania (MCA-T)
MoU – Memorandum of Understanding
MDAs – Ministries, Departments and Agencies
MP – Member of Parliament
MPM – Mufindi Paper Mills Limited
MSADP – Madibira Smallholder Agricultural Development Project
MTTI – Ugandan Ministry of Tourism, Trade and Industry's
MSE – Mtibwa Sugar Estates
NAO – National Audit Office
NDC – National Development Cooperation
NAFCO – National Agriculture and Food Corporation
NACO – National Agricultural Company
NARCO – National Ranching Company Limited
NEPAD – New Economic Partnership for Africa's Development

PA&oBs – Public Authorities and Other Bodies
PBFP/MKURABITA – Property and Business Formalisation Program
PETS – Public Expenditure Tracking Surveys
PINGO’s Forum – Pastoralist Indigenous Non-Governmental Organisations Forum
PM – Primer Minister
POAC – Parliamentary Parastatal Organizations Accounts Committee
PSRC – Parastatal Sector Reform Commission
RBWO – Rufiji Water Basin Office
RC – Regional Commissioner
RUBADA – Rufiji Basin Development Authority
SACCOS – Savings and Credit Cooperative Societies
SAPs – Structural Adjustment Programs
SPM – Southern Paper Mills Limited
TAC – Tanganyika Agricultural Corporation
TBL – Tanzania Breweries Limited
TIC – Tanzania Investment Center
TNBC – Tanzania National Business Council
Tsh. – Tanzanian Shillings
URT – United Republic of Tanzania
UWABA – Ushirika wa Bassotu
VC – Vice President
VEO – Village Executive Officer
WEO – Ward Executive Officer
WKF – West Kilimanjaro Farms
WWF – World Wildlife Foundation

LIST OF TABLES AND FIGURES

TABLES

1: General Inventory of NAFCO Farms as at December 1984.....	9
2: NAFCO Entry in the Treasury Registrar’s Statement of Government Investments.....	11
3: General Inventory of Ex-NAFCO Farms as at January 2009.....	12
4. Estimates of the Population Trends in some Areas around HWC.....	15
5. Warret Entry in the Treasury Registrar’s Statement of Government Investments.....	17
6: Gawal Entry in the Treasury Registrar’s Statement of Government Investments.....	34
7: Setchet Entry in the Treasury Registrar’s Statement of Government Investments.....	42
8: Murjanda Entry in the T43reasury Registrar’s Statement of Government Investments.....	43
9: Gidagamowd Entry in the Treasury Registrar’s Statement of Government Investments.....	43
10: Mulbadaw Entry in the Treasury Registrar’s Statement of Government Investments.....	52
11: Bassotu Entry in the Treasury Registrar’s Statement of Government Investments.....	57
12: MIGA World Bank Group Advertisement Showing Privatization Opportunity of WKF.....	60
13. Paradoxical Discrepancy between PSRC’s and CHC’s Records on the Size of WKF.....	63
14. General Inventory of Ranches under NARCO Authority.....	81

FIGURES

Map: The State of then Hanang Wheat Complex and Adjacent Areas.....	13
Picture: The State of Buildings in Gawal Farm as at 10 November 2008.....	38

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Land is an institutional matter. As such researching such a matter requires an engagement with various institutions. In this regard the researchers¹ involved in this study owe their accomplishment to the support of the following institutions: The Land Rights Research and Resources Institute (LARRRI/HAKIARDHI) for funding the study under the auspices of the Joint Oxfam Livelihood Initiative for Tanzania (JOLIT); the National Ranching Company Limited (NARCO) for providing information about ranches; and the Parliamentary Parastatal Organizations Accounts Committee (POAC) for sharing updates on the state of privatized farms that were owned by the then National Agriculture and Food Corporation (NAFCO) .

The researchers are also grateful to the Pastoralist Indigenous Non-Governmental Organisations' (PINGOs) Forum and the Legal Human Rights Centre (LHRC) for providing relevant materials for documentary research. This gratitude is also extended to the Village, Ward and District Council's offices visited in Mvomero District in Morogoro and Hanang District in Manyara.

In the context of land rights, land is also an individual matter. In this regard it elicits varying interests among individuals. These interests have enabled the researchers to gain interesting insights on the state of farms and ranches under study. Thus the researchers acknowledge the insights garnered from the following individuals among others: Samuel Qawoga, Hon. Rose Kamili, Onesmo Kamili, Elisa Greco, Hon. Zitto Kabwe, Francis Stolla, Mayomba Duncan, Seif Mangwangi, Israel Dawi, Goma Mbisha, Simon Joel, Prof. Max Muya, Monica Sigalla, Mashaka Milonge and Mohammed Hassan.

Last but not least, the researchers extend the appreciation to the villagers who took time to share their experiences about their livelihoods in relation to the farms under study. Time and space have failed the researcher to mention all their names. However, the names of some of them – especially the ones who were ready to be quoted on such a sensitive matter – appear within the report. To these villagers, whom Mwalimu Julius Nyerere (1968) honourably addressed “TO THE PEOPLE” in his dedications, this report is dedicated.

¹ Chambi Chachage <chambi78@yahoo.com> is an independent researcher and policy analyst whereas Richard Mbunda <rmbunda@gmail.com> is a political scientist and assistant lecturer at the University of Dar-es-Salaam.

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The study sought to determine the state of farms that belonged to the then National Agricultural Corporation (NAFCO), ranches that belong to the National Ranching Company (NAFCO) and land belonging to absentee landlords. Since any state is dynamic, this research report, then, is a socio-historical account of what has been happening within/out more than 543,604 hectares of ranch/farmland in the wake of the fall of nationalization and rise of privatization.

In the course of the study, the researchers found that generally the process of privatizing farms and ranches has neither been timely nor cost-effective. Moreover, with a few exceptions, it has been marred by controversies that have elicited animosities between investors and small-scale producers on the one hand and between small-scale farmers and pastoralists on the other hand. In the case of the then Hanang Wheat Complex (HWC) and Dakawa Ranch where the field of this study was conducted, it was found that there is a dire need for land among the surrounding communities. However, the investors and political-cum-business elites who have acquired the largest chunk of the land that used to belong to NAFCO and NARCO are not utilizing it at the optimal level. Even in the case of HWC whereby two farms out of seven have been returned to wananchi, the process of redistribution remains incomplete four years since they were returned. Similarly, in the case of Dakawa ranch the land that was earmarked to be redistributed among wananchi has largely been allocated to ‘wananchi’ other than wananchi residing within the area.

The study also found out that the process of monitoring investors’ adherence to the contractual obligation as per privatization policy is not yet effective. In a number of significant cases the agency that is primarily responsible for this, that is, the Consolidated Holding Corporation (CHC), has not systematically assessed/monitored the farms since they were privatized and in the case where it has done so it has given lenient reprimand to investors who are not abiding to their contractual obligations. However, the Parliamentary Parastatal Organizations Accounts Committee (POAC) monitor these farms directly over and above its monitoring of CHC according to the authority invested in it. The effectiveness of this new initiative is yet to be seen.

On the basis of these findings, the researchers submit the following recommendations that could be implemented on a short-term, medium-term or/and long-term basis depending on the context of a particular area so as to address land matters at the root rather than at the surface:

Resurvey disputed farms: A systematic survey of all disputed farms **is** undertaken, government bodies responsible for land survey to take the lead and community organizations as well as communities/citizens to monitor and evaluate the process from its inception. In regard to its practicality, cost-effective measures such as the use of simple Global Positioning System (GPS) hand device as it has been the case in the ongoing property and business formalization initiative may be used.

Reform land governance: A public performance tracking survey **is** undertaken, community organizations responsible for local governance to take the lead as and the national assembly (parliamentarians) as well as district councils (councillors) and village assemblies (villagers) to regularly/daily monitor and evaluate the implementation of the decentralization by devolution (D-by-D) policy – and its associated governance laws – at the central and local levels. In regard to its feasibility, success stories may be adopted from the ongoing Public Expenditure Tracking Surveys (PETS)

Review investors' profiles: A participatory preview of the investors' profiles **is** undertaken, parliamentary committees responsible for sectoral investments to take the lead and the executive bodies responsible for investments as well as community organizations to independently and regularly monitor and evaluate investors' records in relation to their investment initiatives before, during and after their investment tenures. In regard to its reliability, systematic independent auditor may be commissioned.

Revolutionize information access: A mass movement to liberalize public information **is** undertaken, community organization responsible for mass media to take the lead and the legislature and judiciary to independently engage the executive to effect that change in its governance and legal regime. In regard to its practicality, the ongoing movement to enact the Right to Information Act the may be employed as a building block.

THE STATE OF THE THEN NAFCO, NARCO AND ABSENTEE LANDLORDS' FARMS/RANCHES IN TANZANIA

“Miluzi mingi humpoteza mbwa” – Jakaya Mrisho Kikwete²

1.0. INTRODUCTION

In one of his last great interviews, the first President of Tanzania, the late Mwalimu Julius Kambarage Nyerere³, admitted that one of the main mistakes he did as a Tanzanian leader was to nationalize the sisal plantations since he did not realize how difficult it would be for the state to manage and socialize agriculture. Nyerere (1968) primarily did that mistake in the wake of the proclamation of the *Arusha Declaration of 1967*. This manifesto aimed, among other things, to concentrate the commanding heights of the economy in the hands of the developmentalist state.

Under the banner of a loosely defined political-cum-legal term ‘public interest’, the state then alienated and confiscated landed properties through nationalization. This move involved the forceful acquisition of land that belonged to peasants/pastoralists as well plantations that were under settlers. The seized land was primarily put under the custodianship of the state through the parastatals. Thus the state became the main driver of development. To that end it established state-driven developmentalist projects in the name of the Arusha Declaration policy *Ujamaa*, a variant of African Socialism loosely translated as Familyhood, and *Kujitegemea*, a self-determinist non-alignment ideology of African Nationalism literally translated as Self-Reliance.

These statist projects included large-scale agricultural farms and livestock ranches. In the formative years of the implementation of the Arusha Declaration these projects were mainly run by the then National Agricultural Company Limited (NACO) which was a subsidiary company of the National Development Cooperation (NDC). However, to cater for the former, the then National Agriculture and Food Corporation (NAFCO) was established in 1969, just two years after the promulgation of the Arusha Declaration. In the case of the latter, the then National Ranching Corporation (NARCO) was quickly established in 1975 to take over from the then Tanzania Livestock and Development Authority (LIDA) that was established only a year earlier.

² The Kiswahili saying, ironically uttered by the President of Tanzania in Hanang in 2008 as a response to those who were complaining about investors in the then NAFCO farms, literally means ‘many ululations lose a dog’.

³ The interview was conducted by Ikaweba Bunting (1999) in December 1998 at Butiama Village in Tanzania.

As it is with other government interventions, specific policies and laws were enacted to legitimize these developmentalist initiatives. For instance, Tanzania enacted the *Villages and Ujamaa Villages Act of 1975*. According to Kemal Mustafa (1990), the Act resulted in the selection of larger villages as ranches than had been originally anticipated in World Bank's affiliated International Development Assistance (IDA) Phase II Livestock Development Project proposal on Ujamaa village ranching schemes. The Act was a logical outcome of the second 'post-Arusha' policy paper, Mwalimu Nyerere's (1967) *Socialism and Rural Development* that envisaged permanent settlement schemes for peasants/pastoralists. Commenting on rural development policies formulated in the context of the Arusha Declaration, a land rights lawyer-activist noted that "they revolved around two poles – large-scale agriculture and ranching under parastatals and small-scale agriculture under villagization" (Issa G. Shivji 1998: 9).

It is now well documented – by the likes of Kemal Mustafa (1990), URT's (1994a) Presidential Commission of Inquiry into Land Matters, Charles Lane (1996), Issa G. Shivji (1998), Dorothy L. Hodgson (2001) and Sifuni E. Mchome (2001) – that land alienation that accompanied the establishment of statist projects was one of the major sources of conflicts between and in-between peasants/pastoralists and the state/parastatals. The former used various forms of passive/active resistance. These ranged from sitting at the negotiation table to standing in the court chamber. Petitions were signed. Parastatals got raided. People marched in protest.

It would seem that Mwalimu Nyerere's (1999) admission of his leadership mistake came at an opportune time for these peasants/pastoralists given the fact that it was supplemented by the revelation that he tried to tell his government "that what was traditionally the family's in the village social organization should be left with the family, while what was new could be communalized at the village level" because "the land issue and family holdings were very sensitive." However, the admission came at a time when Tanzania was shifting its policy focus from nationalization to privatization of its parastatals and farms. The main target of privatization was not the 'family' or the 'village' but, rather, it was foreign investors and their local allies.

As early as 1991, in the wake of what Mwalimu Nyerere (1999) called the global floundering of socialism, Tanzania abandoned the basic tenets of the Arusha Declaration as prescribed in the then *Mwongozo*, that is, the Leadership Code, and the policy of *Ujamaa na Kujitegemea*, as it

adopted what came to be known as the Zanzibar Resolution. The ‘Zanzibar Declaration’ under the guise of a “clarification” of the Arusha Declaration and an “adaptation to new social and economic condition,” stated that “a party member could draw more than one salary, rent out houses in order to pay back the mortgage, and acquire shares in a private company” (Aili M. Tripp 1997: 187). Thus it paved the way for more open-door policies on private investments.

What followed was a series of legal and institutional reforms geared toward further opening of the economy which, in line with the ‘LIMP’ dogmatic strategy of ‘Liberalization, Marketization and Privatization’ championed by World Bank and IMF, had been subjected to Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAPs) in the so-called Africa’s ‘Lost Decade’ of the 1980s. One such reform occurred just one year after the Zanzibar Resolution. It is thus captured eloquently:

The legal and institutional framework for privatization in Tanzania was put in place in the early 1990s, ten years after implementation of SAPs – home grown and IMF/World Bank engineered – and seven years after signing the IMF Accord. In this way, the Presidential Public Sector Reform Commission (PSRC) was established in 1992. Its powers were defined in the Public Corporations (Amendment) Act of 1993. This Act gave the PSRC the mandate to implement government policies, programmes and reforms on the parastatal sector and develop the operating policies, procedures, guidelines and details of how to restructure the parastatals. PSRC’s mandate was to reduce the large number of non-performing parastatal enterprises and eliminate the budgetary support being extended to them. It was also supposed to encourage investment with the view to stimulate economic growth, encourage efficient allocation and utilization of resources, develop broader ownership, create jobs and relieve the government from financial burdens. The process involved the sale of public enterprises and the privatization or liquidation of the non-viable enterprises (Chachage S. L. Chachage 2007:1).

Another such reform, a follow-up one, occurred in 1996 when Tanzania adopted a new *National Investment Promotion Policy*. According to *Tanzania Investment Report (2001)*, this policy was a modification of the *National Investment Promotion Policy of 1990* and its investment code known as the *National Investment (Promotion and Protection) Act of 1990*. This Act, noted an astute researcher, “offered safeguards against nationalization without compensation, a package of investment incentives, including custom-duty exemptions, and it established an Investment Promotion Center [IPC]” (Aili M. Tripp 1997: 88-89). This became what is now the Tanzania Investment Center (TIC) when the *Tanzania Investment Act Number 26 of 1999* was enacted.

According to Chachage (2007), TIC was not only given the responsibility of identifying investment sites, estates or land together with associated facilities for the sake of investors, but it was also given responsibility for all lands determined to be suitable for investment as determined by the Ministry responsible for Land under the *Land Act Number 4 of 1999*. This provision, he further noted, allowed TIC to attract investors for specific plots of land already acquired by the government for investment purposes. As URT's (2008) *Property and Business Formalization Programme (PBF/MKURABITA)* reform packages notes, the Act was enacted in such a way that it could override some of provisions of the *Village Land Act of 1999* as well as other laws.

This was the legal and political-economic context in which many state-owned farms and parastatals collapsed due to underperformance, mismanagement, bankruptcy and sabotage among other things. NAFCO was one of those parastatals. It collapsed in 1996. NARCO, however, did not collapse. Yet for the sake of efficiency and productivity it had to forfeit some of it acquired ranches. Thus NAFCO's and NARCO's forfeited properties had to be divested either by being transferred to other state bodies, liquidated to pay debts or privatized to investors.

Rather than reversing that mistake done during nationalization in regard to land seized from peasants/pastoralists, privatization reverted to the same mistake. As a result the land previously owned by NAFCO and NARCO has been observed – at least by the Land Rights Research and Resources Institute (LARRRI/HAKIARDHI) – to be at the centre of major conflicts in Tanzania. However, due to the sheer size of that land and other factors such as the change of authorities responsible for monitoring privatization, no systematic study of the state of all these farms have been done since the privatization process became intensive during the third phase government (1995 – 2005). This situation is particularly disturbing given the fact that the privatization process has stalled for many years in many areas, resulting in the waste of time, space and energy that could have otherwise been used productively by primary producers in the country.

In an attempt to address that land information/database deficit this study, then, provide a socio-historical account of the state of the then NAFCO farms, NARCO's ranches as well as absentee landlords' farms in Tanzania. It particularly looks what is the actual size and product of these farms/ranches, who are the key actors and beneficiaries in these farms/ranches, which kind of

activities and conflicts are prevalent in these farms/ranches, how is land used and governed in these farms/ranches, and why or whether these farms/ranches are economically viable or not.

1.1. RESEARCH OBJECTIVES

This study is primarily guided by the Terms of References (ToRs) provided by the Land Rights Research and Resources Institute (LARRRI/HAKIARDHI). As per these ToRs, the core objective of the study is to establish the status of land that was previously under NAFCO and NARCO as well as land belonging to absentee landlords so as to use that database/information for advocacy purposes aimed at influencing policy and practice in favour of small (primary) producers. Logically, the following specific objectives stems out of this core objective:

- I. To enhance a fair, socially just and equitable distribution of land taking into account the interests of local communities.
- II. To increase the understanding and information on the status of some of the land that belonged to NARCO, NAFCO and absentee landlords.
- III. To enhance local communities understanding of their rights to land and promote their participation on land matters.
- IV. To contribute in finding lasting solutions for land conflicts by promoting access to and ownership for land villagers.

In tandem all these objectives aim to achieve the following outcomes:

- (1) Reduced land conflicts
- (2) Increased ownership of land by local communities
- (3) Reduced land scarcity
- (4) Increased participation in land use and governance

1.2. RESEARCH QUESTIONS

Due to the vast scope of the area of study, the researchers made use of specific set of questions to narrow the already broad focus. Thus, as per ToRs, the research methods used in this study were informed by the research questions below.

- **Who are the Key Actors?**

1. What are the profiles of key actors/owners/users in the then NAFCO's farms, NARCO's ranches and absentee landlords' farms?
2. What are the ongoing activities in the farms/ranches and the status of these areas?

- **What is the State of Land?**

1. What is estimate of how much arable land which was under NAFCO/NARCO/Absentee landlords and how much is under utilization or undeveloped?
2. What are the needs for land among the communities leaving adjacent to the farms/ranches
3. What is the size of the population versus land available in the area and what livelihood activities, including alternative livelihood mechanisms, are taking place in the areas?

- **Which types of Conflicts exist?**

1. What are the differences and similarities between communities around various farms/ranches and those leaving adjacent to the farms owned by absentee landlords - which one is more prone to conflicts and why?
2. What is the relationship between the investors in the farms/ranches and the neighbouring communities in the villages around the farms/ranches?
3. What is the nature of the conflicts – trespassing, expansion of the boundary by the investor or villagers, dissatisfaction on the part of villagers regarding privatization measures, and/or arrogance of the investors?
4. What are the mechanism(s) in place to resolve such conflicts, who are the actors in conflict resolution and what is the relationship between those mechanisms and the formal adjudication system provided in the laws of the land?

- **How is the Land Governed?**

1. What ways were used to involve resident communities in decisions to privatize the farms/ranches – Did they participate in the decision-making?
2. What forms of institutions for people's participation in decisions regarding land matters are in place and what is their effectiveness in terms of inclusion and responsiveness?
3. What are the informal/non formal mechanisms people use to deal with and resolve their land matters?

- **Is there Economic Viability?**

1. What are the economic justification(s) used for privatization – are they viable or not in the Tanzanian context?
2. What is the economic value, potential and impact of privatized farms/ranches to the communities and the nation at large?

1.3. RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

This study was mainly a qualitative research. As such its methodology focused on collecting descriptive data and its ensuing analysis based on interpreting the data using a socio-historical analytical approach. In some cases, however, the study used basic quantitative research methods.

- **Methods of Observation and Data-collection**

The study was primarily based on fieldwork and documentary research. The former involved visiting one ex-NAFCO farm complex, the then Hanang Wheat Complex (HWC) in the Hanang District of Manyara region and one NARCO ranch, the Dakawa ranch in the Mvomero District of Morogoro region. In the case of the latter, the researcher mainly consulted media report, official local/central government records, parastatals/companies' documentations and other research reports/books on various farms/ranches.

This research employed a mix of research methods/techniques. These included participant observation, semi-structured interviews and Focus Group Discussions (FGDs) with peasants/pastoralists, investors, village leaders, ward councillors, land rights activists, researchers, academicians, journalists and local/central government officials.

Those consulted were chosen according a purposive sampling technique. The main criteria used included having a role in the farms/ranches, parastatals/companies and the village/ward; having a stake in the farm/ranches by the virtue of residing, farming, pasturing and/or working as an employee within and/or around it; and being a part of local events organized by villagers/leaders to deal with issues regarding these farms/ranches which the researchers attended as participants observers. A total of 70 people were consulted.

- **Data Analysis and Theoretical Framework**

Since this is a multi-disciplinary research, its analysis therefore relies heavily on a number of theories and perspectives from the following disciplines/sub-disciplines: Sociology, Political Economy, Law and History. It employs a methodology that seeks to freely make use of useful tools and theories from various approaches such as Discourse analysis and Marxist Analysis without being confined to any of their respective strict hegemonic assumptions and/or limitations. It therefore employs what can be referred to as a 'Critical Standpoint Social-historical Analysis' methodological approach. This approach, which is based on a methodological rationale of informing citizen agency by unmasking oppressive relations and obscured agenda, allows one to take a standpoint/position while engaging in a close reading of the relevant documents and observing the case at hand. It presumes that objectivity is subjective.

This approach fits into those approaches that Gill Eagle, Grahame Hayes & Thabani Sibanda (1999) refers to as “Standpoint Methodologies” i.e. those approaches such as Marxist, feminist and black scholarship perspective which researchers may embrace in conducting research and whereby the researcher takes a critical stance which is made explicit and defended throughout the research process. The following quote sums up the nature of this kind of analytical approach:

Three central premises place standpoint methodologies apart from other social science research approaches. First, such approaches seek to uncover hidden or disguised relationships, ideas and concepts, and in this sense aim to conduct research at a deep rather than surface level. Second, such understanding is directed toward change in an emancipatory or liberatory direction. Third, such research is generally focused on neglected, disempowered or ‘voiceless’ populations or issues. Standpoint research is thus directed towards challenging vested power interests, and becomes a moral and political endeavour. Research is viewed as a tool through which to effect change (Eagle, Hayes & Sibanda 1999: 439 - 440).

2.0. THE STATE OF THE THEN NAFCO’S FARMS

The National Agriculture and Food Corporation (NAFCO) was a parastatal that was established in 1969 under the Ministry responsible for Agriculture. It was thus put “in charge of agricultural development and large scale food production” (Han Bantje 1984: 1). But it collapsed in 1996. As a statutory corporation established by an Act of Parliament under the *Corporations Act Number 17 of 1969*, the parastatal fully and/or partially owned a number of farms. However, the status of operation and ownership of a number of these farms varied over the years. Altogether 34 farms were once partially/fully owned by NAFCO during its existence.⁴

This inventory list of 34 farms does not include enterprises known as the National Agricultural Company, Northern Diaries, Coastal Diaries, Kilombero Sugar, Mtibwa Sugar Company, Bukoba Tea Company and Mwananchi Products which, according to Han Bantje (1984), NAFCO acted as a holding company for (them) in 1969 – 1974 before they were transferred to newly created holding companies in their respective fields by 1975. It also does not include Kwamtili Estates and Mafia Coconuts Limited which became associated companies.

Thus Table 1 provides a general inventory of the 34 farms that belonged to NAFCO at a certain point in time and their changing status in terms of their origin, the start/end of their NAFCO’S ownership and operation, and their location during and/or after NAFCO’S official existence.

⁴ This study mainly focus on ex-NAFCO’S farms therefore for a detailed analysis of the organization of NAFCO and reasons for its collapse see Han Bantje (1984), Issa G. Shivji (1998) and other relevant literatures cited in this report.

TABLE 1: GENERAL INVENTORY OF NAFCO FARMS AS AT DECEMBER 1984

	FARM	REGION	ORIGIN	START	END	SIZE ⁵	SIZE ⁶
1	Arusha Plantations Ltd	Arusha	TAC		1983	270	
2	Tanzania Navy Beans Co. Ltd	Arusha					
3	Oljoro Farms Ltd	Arusha		1973	1984	4,070	
4	Ruvu Rice Farms Ltd	Coast				720	1,214
5	Bagamoyo Farms Ltd	Coast		1973		1,684	601
6	Kigamboni Poultry Farm Ltd	Dar es Salaam		1972		275	
7	Dabaga Farm	Iringa				1,000	
8	Itufiro Maize Farm	Iringa					
9	Kibanda Wheat Farm	Kagera					
10	Kahe Estate	Kilimanjaro		1975		1,500	
11	West Kilimanjaro Farms Ltd	Kilimanjaro	Private Farms	1972	1984	12,165	
12	Nachingwea Oil Seed Farm	Lindi	MOA/Kilimo			1,000	
13	Nachingwea Soya Beans Farm	Lindi				500	
14	Hanang Estate	Manyara					
15	Kiru Valley Dev. Co. Ltd	Manyara ⁷	Hanang Estate	1971	1984		
16	Warret Wheat Project	Manyara		1979		4,000	
17	Gawal Wheat Farm	Manyara		1979		4,000	
18	Mulbadaw Wheat Project	Manyara		1979		4,000	
19	Setchet Wheat Companies Ltd	Manyara				5,000	
20	Murjanda Wheat Scheme	Manyara		1979		4,000	
21	Gidagamowd Wheat Project	Manyara		1979		4,000	
22	Basotu Plantations Ltd	Manyara				4,000	
23	Mbarali Rice Farm	Mbeya		1975		2,700	
24	Madibira Rice Farm	Mbeya		1972		2,000	
25	Kapunga Rice Project	Mbeya ⁸					7,456
26	Mbozi Coffee Farms	Mbeya	Private Farms			333	
27	Mbozi Maize Farms Ltd	Mbeya		1977		2,066	
28	Kiberege Maize Farm	Morogoro					
29	Dakawa Oil Seed Farm	Morogoro	GAPEX	1981		2,000	
30	Dakawa Rice Farms Ltd	Morogoro				2,000	
31	Lime Products Dev. Co. Ltd	Mtwara					
32	Milundikwa Wheat Project	Rukwa					
33	Namtumbo Maize Project	Ruvuma				4,000	5,832
34	Maramba Cocoa Estate Ltd	Tanga				2,718	
						TOTAL	70,001

After NAFCO collapsed its remaining farms were either advertised for sale or transferred to the then Parastatal Sector Reform Commission (PSRC). The latter was tasked with the responsibility of completing the privatization or divestiture of these farms. However, a number of farms were

⁵ These figures are in hectares and, unless stated otherwise, they are based on data compiled by Han Bantje in 1984.

⁶ The hectares are conversion of CHC (2009) acres for comparison. 1 hectare = 2.471 acres = 10,000 square metres.

⁷ This is a relatively new region. It used to be part of the Arusha region in the 1980s. The change occurred in 2002.

⁸ That farm became a part of Mbeya region after its original district of Mafinga in Iringa region was re-structured.

later transferred to the then Loans and Advances Realisation Trust (LART) for liquidation through a divestiture method that the URT's (2005) Ministry of Finance termed "receivership".

In order to perform its activities efficiently, notes CHC (2008), PSRC was directed to institute transparent procedures in all the processes of privatization, establish basic guidelines for reaching consensus/agreements between various stakeholders, and to enable the government to get good results out of the privatization process for the sake of the development of the country.

According to the URT (2005) report, by 30th June 2005, the transferred farms included Kigamboni Poultry Farm Limited which was divested in 1999; Bagamoyo Farms Limited-Pimbini, Bagamoyo Farms Limited-Kitopeni and Bagamoyo Farms Limited-Kidagoni, which were all divested in 1999⁹; Basuto Wheat Farm Company Ltd, Gidagamowd Wheat Farm Company Ltd, Murjanda Wheat Farm Company Ltd and Mulbadaw Wheat Farm Company Ltd which were divested in 2003/4. The Central Maintenance Services Company (CMSC) Ltd., which used to service the then NAFCO farms in Hanang, was also divested to LART in 2003/4.

NAO's (2008) latest *Report of the Controller and Auditor General On the Financial Statements of Public Authorities and Other Bodies for the Financial Year ended 30th June, 2007* shows that by the end of the financial year 2006/2007 Basuto Farm, Gidagamowd, Mulbadaw Farm, Murjanda Farm and Setchet Company were still under 100% government ownership with the same government. However, according to URT (2007), CAG audit examination of the Treasury Registrar's Statement of Government Investments revealed that some PA&oBs, including these farms, were undergoing liquidation process.

The CAG report noted that these were those PA&oBs that cannot settle their short and long term liabilities without selling their non current assets. Moreover, it noted that a total potential paid up share capital and other Government investment in these PA&oBs was TSh.10, 691, 261,115. Out of this total, a quick calculation of CAG figures reveals, the amount attributed to the five ex-NAFCO farms was Tsh 3,259,389,915 which is approximately equivalent to 30 % of the total. As it shall be seen shortly, this information is of particular interest because one of the rationales

⁹ According to CHC (2009) the Kitopeni and Kidagoni ones were liquidated in 2003 and the Pimbini one in 2003.

for the rallying calls to sell/privatize the farms has been the issue of settling debts that NAFCO incurred and arrears it had to settle with its then employees.

TABLE 2: NAFCO ENTRY IN THE TREASURY REGISTRAR'S STATEMENT OF GOVERNMENT INVESTMENTS AND PUBLIC INTERESTS AS AT 30 JUNE 2007

S.NO	NAME OF THE PARASTATAL	AUDITED ACCOUNTS DATE	SHARE CAPITAL/CAPITAL FUND	PAID UP SHARES TSHS	OTHER INVESTMENT TSHS	TOTAL TSHS	%	REMARKS
69	National Agricultural Food Co. (NAFCO)	30. 06. 1996	-	10,000,000	269,888,449	279,888,449	100	To be wound up. All subsidiary companies divested under PSRC

In January 2008 the Consolidated Holding Corporation (CHC) came into the picture. According to its Director General, Mrs. Edwina A. Lupembe (2008), as interviewed by The Guardian in 2008, one of the Corporation's key functions is the divestiture of parastatals transferred to CHC when PSRC's legal tenure expired on 31 December, 2007 and the remaining activities of the then LART, which, according to URT (2007), ceased to exist legally on 30 June 2006, and got transferred to CHC in May, 2007.

These new roles of CHS, the Director General notes, include divestiture of NAFCO farms and others. According to CHC (2009), another activity that was transferred to CHC is that of monitoring/evaluating the performance of all parastatals/companies privatized through CHC according to *'The National Bank of Commerce (Reorganization and Vesting of Assets and Liabilities) Amendment) (No. 2) Act, 2007'*.

Table 3, considerably adapted from CHC (2009), provides a general inventory of 29 ex-NAFCO farms which include their states of ownership, current location and, in the case of the sold/privatized ones, their cost. A comparison between this table and Table 1, especially on the issue of size, shows that most of these farms increased their size over the years. As it shall be discussed in subsequent sections this apparent acquisition of extra land by NAFCO has been one of the major complaints raised by people residing adjacent to a number of those farms.

TABLE 3: GENERAL INVENTORY OF EX-NAFCO FARMS AS AT JANUARY 2009

	FARM	REGION	OWNER	COST ¹⁰	SIZE ¹¹
1	Bagamoyo Farms-Pimbini	Coast	Vulfrida Grace Mahalu ¹²	0.043	566
2	Bagamoyo Farms-Kitopeni	Coast	Fresh Farms Ltd		354
3	Bagamoyo Farms-Kidagoni	Coast	Fresh Farms Ltd	0.73	566
4	Mbegani Farm Limited	Coast	Tan Consult Ltd.	0.225	90
5	Ruvu Rice Farm	Coast	Small-scale Farmers	0	3,000
6	West Kilimanjaro Farms-Journeys End	Kilimanjaro	Not privatized		1,768
7	West Kilimanjaro Farms-Fosters	Kilimanjaro	Not privatized		727
8	West Kilimanjaro Farms-Matadi	Kilimanjaro	Not privatized		298.34
9	West Kilimanjaro Farms-Harlington	Kilimanjaro	H. H. Moshu	0.252	1,237
10	West Kilimanjaro Farms-Kanamondo	Kilimanjaro	Not privatized		2,203
11	Basotu Plantation Co. Ltd	Manyara	Privatization underway	0	10,000
12	Gidagamowd Wheat Farm	Manyara	RAI Group	1.15	10,000
13	Setchet What Farm	Manyara	RAI Group	1.15	10,000
14	Murjanda Wheat Farm	Manyara	RAI Group	1.15	10,000
15	Mulbadaw Wheat Farm	Manyara	Haydom Lutheran Church	1.09	10,000
16	Gawal Wheat Farm	Manyara	Farmers/Pastoralists ¹³	0	10,000
17	Warret Wheat Farm	Manyara	Farmers/Pastoralists	0	10,000
18	Mbozi Maize Farm	Mbeya	Not privatized ¹⁴	0	12,000
19	Mbozi Coffee Farms – Ruanda	Mbeya	Mbozi District Council		51
20	Mbozi Coffee Farms - Ng'amba	Mbeya	Mbozi District Council		156
21	Mbozi Coffee Farms – Shiwanda	Mbeya	Mbozi District Council	0.0646	157
22	Mbozi Coffee Farms – Ihanda	Mbeya	Mbozi District Council		120
23	Mbozi Coffee Farms – Ndugu	Mbeya	Mbozi District Council		140
24	Mbozi Coffee Farms – Tukumbi	Mbeya	Mbozi District Council		132
25	Mbozi Coffee Farms – Ishera	Mbeya	Mbozi District Council	0.1115	88
26	Kapunga Rice Farm	Mbeya	Export Trading Co. Ltd	2.311	18,425
27	Mbarali Rice Farm	Mbeya	Highlands Estate Ltd	3.5	14,437
28	Dakawa Rice Farm	Morogoro	Cooperative Society	0	6,000
29	Namtumbo Maize Farm	Ruvuma	Not yet privatized ¹⁵		14,410
			TOTAL	11.771	146,925. 34

2.1 THE THEN HANANG WHEAT COMPLEX (HWC)

In 1970 the Tanzanian and Canadian governments agreed to jointly develop a state wheat scheme in Tanzania. According to NAFCO, the URT's (1994b) *Presidential Commission of Inquiry into Land Matters Volume II: Selected Land Disputes and Recommendations* reports, the former government in collaboration with the latter government decided to survey the entire country of

¹⁰ This entry is in Billions Tanzanian Shillings (Tsh.). 1 USD = Tsh. 1, 293 (BOT rates as at 13 February 2008)

¹¹ This entry is in acres and, unless stated otherwise, they are based on the data compiled by CHC in early 2009.

¹² This entry – and her husband – has been discussed in the parliament in connection to grand corruption dealings

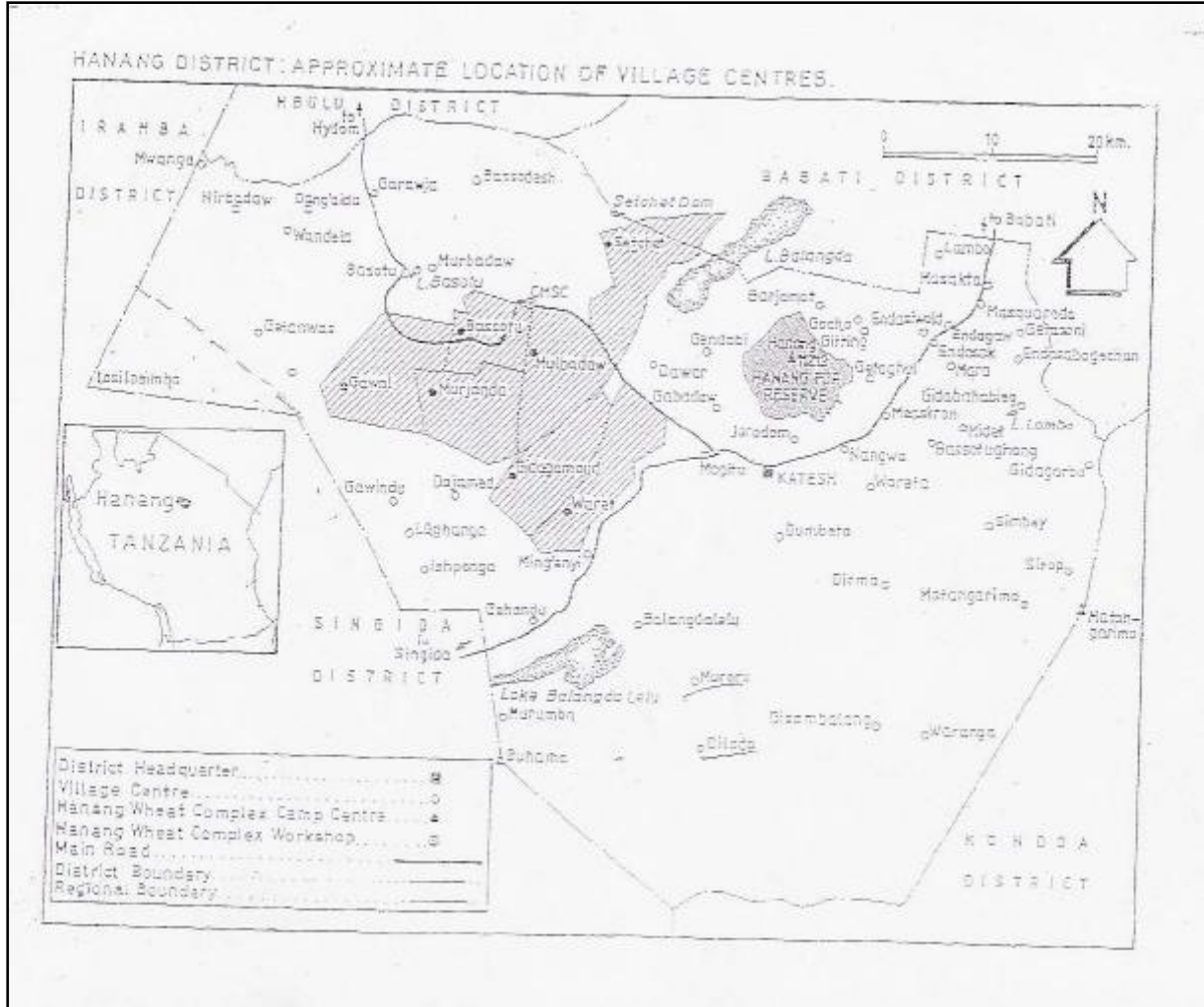
¹³ According to CHC (2009), the farm(s) have been given to small farmers but section 2.1.1 shows that it is not so.

¹⁴ According to CHC (2009), entries with 'not yet privatized' signifies that CHC is awaiting government approval.

¹⁵ According to CHC (2009), the farm was advertised/tendered but didn't get a buyer-no other explanation is given.

Tanzania with the view of locating a place which would be good for wheat production and they, subsequently, located Hanang in the then Arusha region for that purpose.

MAP: THE STATE OF THE THEN HANANG WHEAT COMPLEX AND ADJACENT AREAS



The main rationale for the move to establish HWC remains contentious. On the one hand, there is a claim put forward by Charles Lane in a memorandum submitted to the *Presidential Commission of Inquiry into Land Matters* that the move was in response to increasing demands for wheat. This claim is further supported by Jwani Mwaikusa (1993) who asserts that by early 1968 the growing demand for wheat in Tanzania already far exceeded supply.

On the other hand, there is a claim, furthered by Bantje (1984), that the wheat sector was then threatened with collapse following the nationalisation of private farms therefore the Tanzania government asked the Canadian government for support. This claim is backed up by Finn

Kjaerby's (1986) analysis of *The Development of Agriculture Mechanisation in Tanzania*. He notes that in the immediate aftermath of the independence of Tanganyika, for that is what Tanzania mainland was called before it joined Zanzibar to form URT, the rapid growth in the marketed output of wheat originated from African farmers who spontaneously adopted tractor mechanisation. This emergent class of African capitalist farmers, then encouraged by the newly independent government which, according to Chachage (1986), sought to create 'progressive individuals' who will be role models of applying 'modern agricultural techniques' for the peasants', "proved to highly competitive with their settler counterparts in the case of wheat farming in Arusha" (Kjaerby' 1986: 175).

Thus these farmers are the ones who supplied the bulk of marketed wheat toward the late 1960s before Mwalimu Nyerere's (1999) self-proclaimed leadership mistake frustrated their entrepreneurship innovations. In fact, as Chachage (1986) notes, the government abandoned the 'transformation/innovative approach' of improving agriculture a year before the Arusha Declaration after failing to create that class of rural elites with progressive farming attitudes per its First Five Year Development Plan. This policy change and its associated flight of settler capital even prior to the Arusha Declaration diminished large-scale agriculture. As Kjaerby (1986) notes, those African capitalist farmers started to fill the pressure against them in the years after the Arusha Declaration, that is, after 1967. Some of them even opted out of farming voluntarily because of that pressure. Upon villagization, he further notes, commercial production of wheat in Mbulu and Hanang virtually collapsed. That is when/how NAFCO's HWC came in.

Yet there is another claim that could be inferred from Paul T. Zeleza's (1997) notion of 'cultivating hunger' that underscore how global agribusiness influenced various African countries to invest in export crops in the 1970s. In the case of Nigeria, the country was pushed into a 'wheat trap' which was "sustained by the congruence of interests of transnational wheat companies and the Nigerian state, in which indigenous agrarian interests were under-represented and those of the commercial bourgeoisie over-represented, and which had to satisfy the demand of the urban masses for whom the bread had advantages of convenience, social attraction, relatively availability, and low price" (Zeleza 1997: 262).

This last claim is unwittingly supported by Charles Lane’s assertion – in his submission to the *Presidential Commission of Inquiry into Land Matters* – that HWC started as a response to an expected increase in demand for wheat. Ironically, it is also supported by Kjaerby’s (1986) observation that wheat was mainly consumed by high-income groups in urban areas while the underprivileged peasant sector fed 85% of the population.

Currently, Hanang District is located in the relatively new region of Manyara in the northern part of Tanzania. It still contains the largest portion of HWC compared to Babati District, the headquarters of the region. The latest URT’s (2002) *2002 Population and Housing Census* estimated that Hanang District had a population of 204, 640 people.

TABLE 4: ESTIMATES OF THE POPULATION TRENDS IN SOME AREAS AROUND HWC¹⁶

	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010
Tanzania-Country	34,443,603	35,442,467	36,470,299	37,527,938	38,616,248	39,736,119	40,888,467	42,074,232	43,294,385
Manyara Region	1,040,461	1,079,999	1,121,038	1,163,638	1,207,856	1,253,755	1,301,397	1,350,850	1,402,183
Hanang District	204,640	212,416	220,488	228,867	237,564	246,591	255,962	265,688	275,784
Mogitu Ward	16,746	17,382	18,043	18,729	19,440	20,179	20,946	21,742	22,568
Mogitu Village	5,471	5,679	5,895	6,119	6,351	6,593	6,843	7,103	7,373
Gabadaw Village	3,545	3,680	3,820	3,965	4,115	4,272	4,434	4,603	4,777
Gehandul Ward	11,548	11,987	12,442	12,915	13,406	13,915	14,444	14,993	15,563
Gehandul Village	4,525	4,697	4,875	5,061	5,253	5,453	5,660	5,875	6,098
Ming'enyi Village	2,608	2,707	2,810	2,917	3,028	3,143	3,262	3,386	3,515
Ishponga Village	4,415	4,583	4,757	4,938	5,125	5,320	5,522	5,732	5,950
Bassotu Ward	18,909	19,628	20,373	21,148	21,951	22,785	23,651	24,550	25,483
Bassotu Village	5,265	5,465	5,673	5,888	6,112	6,344	6,585	6,836	7,095
Mulbadaw Village	7,481	7,765	8,060	8,367	8,685	9,015	9,357	9,713	10,082
Laghanga Ward	9,506	9,867	10,242	10,631	11,035	11,455	11,890	12,342	12,811
Laghanga Village	3,218	3,340	3,467	3,599	3,736	3,878	4,025	4,178	4,337
Gawidu Village	3,484	3,616	3,754	3,896	4,045	4,198	4,358	4,523	4,695
Dajameda Village	2,804	2,911	3,021	3,136	3,255	3,379	3,507	3,640	3,779
Getanuwas Ward	10,870	11,283	11,712	12,157	12,619	13,098	13,596	14,113	14,649
Gidika Village	3,733	3,875	4,022	4,175	4,334	4,498	4,669	4,847	5,031
Bassodesh Ward	11,975	12,430	12,902	13,393	13,902	14,430	14,978	15,547	16,138
Bassodesh Village	6,453	6,698	6,953	7,217	7,491	7,776	8,071	8,378	8,696

The 2002 Census estimates the District’s population size with an almost equal sex (male-female) ratio that is reflected in all of its villages dealt with in this study: it had over 104, 185 male and 100, 455 female i.e. a ratio of 106 male for 100 female. Its population is quite young, with a

¹⁶ On the basis the 2002 Census data, all estimates have been calculated using the 3.8 growth rate for Manyara except the ones for the whole Tanzanian population which are based on the national (average) growth rate of 2.9.

median age of 15. 7 years old, a trend that is also more or less reflected within the villages around the farms.

Between 1988 and 2002 the average population growth rate in Manyara region had been 3.8, which is higher than the national average rate of 2.9, and the average household size had been 5.2. Its population density had been 23 people per square kilometre of land.¹⁷ According to Manyara Business Council's (2006) *Regional Social Economic Profile*, Hanang District has a total area of 3, 814 square kilometres out of which 274, 000 hectares (2,740 square kilometres) is arable land. HWC constitute nearly 10% of that land.

2.1.1 THE STATE OF WARRET FARM AND SURROUNDING AREAS

Warret farm is one of the former seven NAFCO farms that constituted the then Hanang Wheat Complex (HWC). According to CHC's (2009) most recent evaluation of the farm, its size is 10, 000 acres. This is convertible to 4, 000 hectares, the same figure that was noted by Han Bantje (1984) 25 years ago. However, as the discussion below shows, its actual size remains a bone of contention, with another official government source noting that it is 12, 000 acres.

Currently, Warret is located roughly within two Hanang rural wards known as Mogitu and Gehandu. In the south-west it is bordered by Ming'enyi village – with over 2,608 villagers – in Gehandu ward. The farm is surrounded by Mogitu village – with over 5, 471 villagers – in Mogitu ward. It shares a border with Gidagamowd farm on the west. In the north the crucial Katesh – Hydom road separate it with Dawar village – with over 3, 889 villagers – in Gendabi rural ward and Gabadaw village – with 4, 518 villagers – in Mogitu ward. Another crucial road, the Babati – Singida 'highway', pass through Mogitu and Ming'enyi near the farm's southern and eastern borders. Hanang district in general and these wards/villages in particular are mainly comprised of the Barabaig and Iraqw communities. The former is generally seen as, primarily, a pastoralist community while the latter is conventionally seen as, mainly, an agricultural community. These ethicised distinctions, however, remain contentious vis-à-vis land distribution.

After the collapse of NAFCO, Warret was transferred to the then Presidential Parastatal Sector Reform Commission (PSRC) for divestiture. Table 3 below shows that up to the end of the financial year 2004/5, the method of divestiture agreed upon was that of privatizing the farm

¹⁷ Unless otherwise specified, all population data in this report are from the *2002 Housing and Population Census*.

under PSRC. However, according to PSRC's (2007) *Annual Review 2006/2007 and Action Plan 2007/2008*, the divestiture method used in the case of this farm, and that of Gawal, was to transfer them to the 'wananchi', that is, the citizens. Interestingly, the year of divestiture is recorded as 2004/5 with an affirmative remark that the two farms have been handed to wananchi.

TABLE 5: WARRET ENTRY IN THE TREASURY REGISTRAR'S STATEMENT OF GOVERNMENT INVESTMENT AND PUBLIC INTEREST AS AT 30 JUNE 2005

S.N O	NAME OF THE PARAS TATAL	AUDITED ACCOUNTS DATE	SHARE CAPITAL/ CAPITAL FUND	PAID UP SHARES TSHS	OTHER INVESTME NT TSHS	TOTAL TSHS	%	REMARKS
138	Warret Farm	30.09.1998	Share Capital	10,000,000	587,046,163	597,046,163	100	To be Privatised under PSRC

• **IN SEARCH OF PASTURES LOST**

Curiously, the process of handing the farm to - and its ensuing redistribution among – wananchi has taken longer than expected. This is due to the historical, legal and political dynamics that predates the government's decision to hand it back to wananchi. These dynamics are currently interplayed from different vantage points. To get a holistic picture of why the process remain incomplete four years since the said date of divestiture it is important to trace how the process was kick-started in the first place, the path it took and the competing accounts of that path.

The quest for the transfer/return of Warret farm to wananchi dates back to 1979 when NAFCO started expanding in Hanang by acquiring five more farms on top of two farms it had already acquired in the early 1970s. Various ways - ranging from sitting at the negotiation table to standing at the court chamber - of how wananchi have attempted to reclaim the(ir) land up to the time NAFCO collapsed in 1996 are well documented by Mwaikusa (1993), URT (1994b) and Lane (1996) among others. However, there is a particular move that occurred near the end of 1996, just before NAFCO fully collapsed, that can be taken as a watershed or a turning point in the way Hanang citizens engage the state in matters pertaining to these farms.

On 30th September 1996 Wananchi of Hanang submitted their formal complaints to their then Member of Parliament (MP) and the then new Prime Minister of the United Republic of Tanzania (URT), Hon. Frederick. Tluway Sumaye. At last their very own MP had become the Premier and as such this opened the possibility of the state offering a more listening ear to their quest for the farms. Accordingly, the first item of complaint listed was the lack of pastures.

Wananchi of Hanang first expressed how surprised and saddened they were to note that there was no plan to help them get areas for grazing their livestock. Then they raised a concern, which is still echoed today, that there were significant discrepancies between the official statistics of the size of the then NAFCO's farms. They noted that even though the government had not then issued a law governing the farms yet it had then recommended that each farm should not exceed 10,000 acres or 4,000 hectares.

However, they noted that another government source dated 1984 had records that showed that all the farms had exceeded that limit¹⁸. In the case of Warret, they observed, the excess was 2,000 acres. After expressing their worries that from 1984 to 1996 NAFCO must have expanded further even though they admitted they didn't have the actual statistics, the people of Hanang lodged the following petitions to the then Premier:

- I. To survey again NAFCO's farms so as to ensure that every farm remain with the officially allocated size of 4,000 hectares.
- II. All excess areas to be returned to wananchi so they might use as it is the case in other villages in our country.
- III. Otherwise the government to issue a clear formal statement on the fate of indigenous villagers of the area so as to avoid the plight of being arrested frequently, being beaten and abused in various ways, including women being captured¹⁹, arraigned in court and convicted because of not knowing the court procedures, to be accused of stealing wheat and being threatened through state apparatus and the state, for example, through/by the District Commissioner, Ward Executive Officer, Police, National Security Officer etc.²⁰

Wananchi of Hanang also requested the government to issue a formal directive on the agreeable size of paths that could be used within the then NAFCO's farms for livestock to pass through in order to access water and pastures. They insisted this was important given that pastoralists were being abused and their livestock were being seized when they pass through their traditional paths on their way to access pastures plus salt and water sources. This concern has outlived NAFCO.

Alternatively, they suggested, the government could dig special water reservoirs and institute a mechanism for livestock to get access to salt without having to pass through the then NAFCO's

¹⁸ They noted that the report didn't include records on the size of Gidamowd and Mulbadaw farms but they asserted that the two farms also exceeded the original 10,000 acres/4,000 hectares limit (i.e. due to NAFCO's encroachment).

¹⁹ The Kiswahili word used, i.e. *kubakwa*, may have been used to mean that women were sexually harassed/abused.

²⁰ This, as well as all other extracts from official Kiswahili documents, has been translated by authors of this report.

farm. In this regard wananchi finally noted that often they are told that these issues should be discussed and resolved through advisory land committees but, for them, it had been difficult to do so because there was no law to enforce the decision of the committees and sometimes the then owner(s) of the farms made decisions on their own and in their own terms.

- **TOWARD RECLAIMING THE LAND**

The collapse of NAFCO in 1996 did not change drastically the key concerns of wananchi of Hanang regarding Warret and other farms. However, it dramatically shifted their focus of who to engage or battle with. NAFCO, in its official sense, was no longer there. The immediate undertaker, the then PSRC, took over to privatize the farm and as such it was not an entity they could directly battle with in the quest to reclaim the(ir) land. As a result, wananchi of Hanang concentrated their effort on engaging the government, first and foremost, through their then representative who held a high position in the government, that of a Prime Minister between 1995 and 2005. The mantle was then passed to their current representative, Dr. Mary Michael Nagu, who has also been holding high positions in the government, that of Minister responsible for Justice between 2006 and 2008 and, currently, that of Minister responsible for Industry. In fact, as she publicly reminisced in the Ming'enyi Village Assembly of 12 November 2008, the promise of lobbying for the return of the farms was one of her rallying calls for the 2005 national election campaigns for the Hanang parliamentary seat.

In the wake of catastrophic El Nino rains that flooded areas around Lake Bassotu in 1997/1998, nature added another twist to the battle for reclaiming the farms. This development is the subject of the first part of section 2.12 of this report. Here it suffices to say that the push from wananchi of Hanang, including some of the then immediate ex-NAFCO employees who had opted to reside in villages around the farms with the hope that someday they will be returned to wananchi, played a significant role in influencing the government's decision to shift the method of divestiture from that of privatizing the farm to that of returning it to wananchi. The interpretation and implementation of this decision, though, has been – and remains – a contested terrain. The rest of this section deals with the ramifications of this contestation with regard to Warret farm.

The key document that is often referred to when interpreting the decision of the government to hand back Warret and Gawal farms to wananchi is a letter with reference number

CAE/426/449/01 dated 14 January 2004. According to the then URT's (2004) Ministry of Food and Agriculture, the Ministry wrote this letter to the Hanang District Council to inform the council about the decision(s) of the Cabinet's Fast Track Committee meeting number 8/2003 that was held in Dodoma on 10 November 2003. One of the decisions taken by the Cabinet in that meeting, this URT's (2004) follow-up letter with reference number GC.118/426/01 dated 22 July 2004 reaffirms, is to distribute Warret and Gawal wheat farms to wananchi surrounding the farms for agriculture and pastoralism.

In order to proceed with the implementation of the decisions of the Cabinet, the follow-up letter continued, the then Ministry of Food and Agriculture was advising that it hand the two farms to the leadership of the Manyara region and especially (that of) Hanang District on Tuesday 27 July 2004. After advising on how to distribute/dispense the assets belonging to the farms, the follow-up letter concluded by stating that a team of experts from PSRC, the Ministry of Food and Agriculture, and NAFCO that will arrive in Katesh will assess/valuate the assets therein before the farm is handed to the leadership of Hanang District.

What followed was a series of contentious deliberations which stalled the process. Anticipating "unnecessary complaints" in the course of redistributing the farms, the District Commissioner (DC) of Hanang, Retired Captain Geoffrey Ngatumi, wrote a letter to the Hanang District Executive Director (DED), Goody Pamba, regarding the request of the District Council's meeting of 24 August 2007 for the official government document regarding the decision to redistribute the farm. The letter, with reference number DC/HAN/CS/S. 18/26 dated 18 September 2007, directed that the farms should be redistributed by October 2007 so that those who get the farms could prepare them for the then next cultivation season.

The letter emphasized that the process should be carried out in "a very open way" to avoid unnecessary complaints, that is, according to all the following 6 decisions, as outlined in what it attached and referred to as the "Extract" from the memorandum of the Cabinet Meeting's deliberation on the Document Number 2/2007 of the Fast Track Committee, which the President approved after being advised by the then Prime Minister to do so:

- 2.1. Gawal and Warret farms to be distributed to wananchi of Hanang District neighbouring those farms without selling

- 2.2. Immovable properties to be handed to the District Council for activities related to the welfare of the society such as schools etc
- 2.3. All movable properties to be sold by PSRC and the money got to be submitted to the government
- 2.4. All business debts of those farms estimated at Tsh. 1.101 billion (Gawal Tsh. 480 million and Warret Tsh. 621 million) to be taken up and paid by the government
- 2.5. The government to write-off government debts estimated at Tsh. 300 million (Gawal Tsh. 121 million and Warret Tsh. 179 million)
- 2.6. Because Hanang District Council does not have the capacity to pay the salaries of those who were watching over the farms (caretaker team) of Gawal and Warret (which include the whole period that those farms have been in its hand), the government through PSRC to pay the salaries up to the time when they will be distributed to wananchi and the movable properties are sold

By the time the cultivation season started the farms were not yet redistributed. The process was not ‘very open’ enough. As a result ‘unnecessary complaints’ were raised. The condition was thus set for open conflicts in the turn of the year. Ironically, according to a “*Press Release*”: *Chimbuko la Mashamba ya Warret na Gawal Yaliyokabidhiwa na Serikali kwa Wananchi Wa Hanang 22/07/2004*²¹ signed by the Regional Commissioner (RC) of Manyara, Henry D. Shekifu, on 27 March 2008, in the wake of conflicts over the distribution of Warret farm, the following consultative meetings on how to distribute the farms were held just after the two farms were returned ‘in the district in 2004 as per wananchi’s request’:

1. Stakeholders meeting regarding opinions and recommendations on how to distribute Warret and Gawal farms held on 16 October 2004.
2. Recommendations/Resolution of the Economic, Construction and Environment Committee held on 29 October 2004.
3. District Council meetings held on 3 December 2004, 22 May 2007, 24 August 2007 and 23 October 2007.

From the spacing of these dates especially the yawning gap between 2004 and 2007, and given the fact that up to the end of 2008 the distribution process was incomplete, it is quite clear that for the past four years the process lacked an implementable consensus. However, the Press Release asserted that what was currently being implemented at the time when the Press Release

²¹ This Kiswahili title of the Press Release can be literarily translated into English as ‘The Origin of Warret and Gawal Farms that were handed to Hanang Citizens by the Government on 22/07/2004’.

came out in March 2008 was what was recommended in all those consultative meetings. In regard to Warret, these recommendations were:

(a) Both farms to be used for agriculture and pastoralism in equal measures as follows: -

... Warret: It has an area of 12,000 acres

- 6,000 acres to be allocated for agriculture
- Pastoralism to be allocated 6,000 acres for pastures
- Land bank for the District Council to be allocated 500 acres
- The building in the farm to be used as the District Jail

The priorities for distributing 6,000 acres for agriculture: - To be distributed to families affected by the expansion of Mount Hanang conservation area and 50 youths from every village surrounding the farm and every family to get 4 acres for farming and settlement.

6,000 acres for pastoralism/pastures...

To be handed to villages bordering the farm including Gehandu, Ming'enyi, Mogitu and Gidagamowd.

The Press Release went on to assert that prior to their distribution to wananchi the two farms are properties of the government and not of any villages. It is after being distributed by the District Council into village blocks, it further asserted, that the *Village Land Law Number 5 of 1999* will start being implemented and not otherwise. Consequently, the Press Release elaborated, the village will take on the responsibility of distributing 4 acres to the people as per the law which requires the villages to oversee the distribution of land that already belongs to those villages.

This Press Release also asserted that all consultative meetings concluded that people who have entered those farms sneakily on the farms are invaders and recommended that they should be evicted forcefully before the distribution starts. Following these recommendations, it conclusively asserted that these 'invaders' had been removed and the distribution of the land to the targeted group was proceeding. In line with all these assertions, the Press Release finally claimed that some of the problems that came up in the course of distributing the farm were:

1. Leaders and wananchi of Mogitu misunderstands the limits of the *Village Land Act Number 5 of 1999*. They think the farms belong to the village of Mogitu but these farms belong to the government, therefore they do not have authority to stop those who are distributing the Warret farm.

2. Pastoralists viewing themselves as having more right over that land than farmers.
3. Some wananchi arguing that the farms belonged to them before the government (NAFCO) took them. Hence because they have been returned they should be handed back to them. This complaint is not valid because the government compensated them when the farms were taken (the statistics are in the office).

These purported problems are precisely the primary issues that stalled the distribution process. A close reading of the way they are presented reveals that the Press Release was a response to the reservations of some wananchi of Hanang on the way the leadership of the district was handling the distribution process. Moreover, it was a response to what the district authorities perceived as the reasons behind the then escalating conflicts over the distribution of land in Warret farm.

Regardless of its importance, it is quite clear that the issue of addressing the environmental-cum-land issue of Mount Hanang was not in the mind of the Cabinet's Fast Track Committee in 2004 when it decided to return the farms to wananchi. One of the earliest markers of how and when this issue entered the government's imagination²² is the parliamentary session on the budget estimates of the then Ministry of Planning, Economy and Empowerment for the financial year 2006/2007. Commenting on that budget's speech on 14 August 2006, the MP of Hanang, Dr. Mary Michael Nagu, by way of reiteration quoted the speech as affirming the government's decision of deciding to return Warret and Gawal farms to wananchi through the Hanang District Council instead of privatizing them. She then commended the said Ministry for that decision, affirming that the decision had benefitted wananchi of Hanang who were faced with severe land scarcity. Due to that scarcity, she asserted, "watu walio karibu na Mlima Hanang wamekosa eneo la kulimia baada ya mazingira ya Mlima Hanang kukumbwa na uharibifu mkubwa", that is, 'the people near Mount Hanang couldn't get an area for farming after severe environmental degradation of in the mountain.' The question of local governance still lingers: How participatory was the decision to also redistribute Warret farm to the people in Mount Hanang?

According to interviews and discussions that the co-researcher had with some of those wananchi and their leaders who had serious reservations about the way district authorities were handling

²² CHC (2009) epitomize this imaginaire when, in reference to Gawal and Warret farms it states that "mashamba haya...yaliwekwa chini ya usimamizi wa Halmashauri ya Wilaya ya Hanang... kwa ajili ya kugawiwa kwa wananchi wanaoishi karibu na vyanzo vya maji katika Mlima Hanang pamoja na wananchi wanaoishi karibu na mashamba hayo", that is, 'these farms...were put under the supervision of Hanang District Council...so that they are distributed to people residing near water sources in Mount Hanang and those residing near the farms'.

the redistribution process, one of the main 'bones of contention' was the decision to also allocate the farmland to people residing around Mount Hanang for the sake of conserving that main source of the already diminishing water in the district. The protesting response to this decision has been twofold: a 'confrontational resistance' and a 'compromised resistance'. Even though these types of response have not been mutually exclusive, the former was more pronounced when conflicts escalated in the dawn of 2008 and the latter is, currently as in 2009, still ongoing.

When the district authorities moved the mountain dwellers in March 2008, the villagers of Mogitu and Ming'enyi initially resisted without compromise. The key argument was that the land initially belonged to them before it was taken by NAFCO and therefore, logically, it was to be returned to them and not to the mountain dwellers given that the latter were not affected by NAFCO's appropriation. The clear resistance led to the arrest and lockup of Mogitu and Ming'enyi villages' chairmen, Israel Dawi and Goma Mbisha respectively, by the district authorities in March. This happened after wananchi from their villages marched in protest and chased away the people from the mountains when they were being bussed in.

The main reason given for their arrest, the chairpersons of these villages told the co-researcher, was that they were 'wachochezi', that is, 'instigators'. It was reported in the print and electronic media that violence escalated to the extent that some houses were burnt. The picture painted by Valentine Marc Nkwame in/on a leading newspaper in Arusha/Manyara was thus gloomy:

At least three houses have been burnt down and others demolished in a simmering land conflict in Hanang' district which is pitting local residents of Katesh area against each other... "My family and I were sleeping at night when our houses erupted in flames, we managed to escape with minor injuries but my new bicycles, furniture and bags of maize in the rear room were destroyed," lamented Daniel Magagn a peasant of Mogitu. Petro Gechame also suffered the same misfortune, "I have sent my family to live with my parents far away from here," he said, while Maria Gambadai whose house got demolished by an irate mob said she was being put up by relatives. The discord according to the area inhabitants is due to the argument on who should occupy the farms formerly owned by the National Agriculture and Food Corporation located at the foot of Mount Hanang' in Manyara region (Arusha Times 1 - 7 March 2008).

A fact-finding mission team was dispatched by the Legal and Human Rights Centre (LHRC) on 3 April 2008 after receiving information about the land disputes from the Councillor of Bassotu ward, Rose Kamil Sukkum. The LHRC (2008a) team found out that the main cause of the

dispute was the misunderstanding and conflict of interest between the villagers and the Hanang District Council regarding the distribution of the farms. In the case of the latter, they noted that it has been reluctant to follow the instructions and directives from the Cabinet resolution and the Ministry responsible for Agriculture. They also noted that the council had neglected the use of grassroots approach in making arrangements for the land distribution and that it was focusing on attracting investors, as it was in the case of prioritizing the land, even though there were no opportunities for such investors. In tandem with this, it was also found that the villagers had not been educated enough and consulted to address their concerns on the issues regarding the farm. It was also found out that proper procedures and laws, such as the *Local Government Act*, had not been followed in moving the villagers from Mount Hanang to the Mogitu ward.

Out of these findings, LHRC (2008b) wrote a letter entitled *Recommendations to the Hanang Land Case*, dated 30 June 2008 with reference LHRC/HRM/VOL.XIV/..., to the DED of Hanang and copied it to a number of key government actors. Due to the informative nature of these recommendations the authors of this report takes the liberty to reproduce them as follows:

1. The farms of Gawal and Warret should be restored to the farmers surrounding them. This is with respect to Ministers' Cabinet Resolution **No 8/2003** and **No 2/2007**, and the Ministry of Agriculture and Food Security **Ref No GC. 118/426/01**.
2. The letter of 29.08.2006 to the minister with ref. no; HANDC/A/2/VOL.II/168, paragraph 3(i), is misleading because the words “**yagawiwe kwa wananchi mbalimbali**” which is not the equivalent meaning of the letter of ref. no GC/118/426/01. The letter clearly specifies that “**Maamuzi yaliyofanyika ni kuyagawa mashamba ya Ngano ya Warret na Gawal...kwa wananchi wanayoyazunguka...**” We feel that the Council deliberately adopted use of broad words to include those who were not initially included into the allocation of plots in the said farms. This is lack of transparency which the District Commissioner had warned in his letter of 18/09/2007 with ref. no DC/HAN/CS/S.18/26 to the District Executive Director. He said in paragraph 1(3) of the second sentence that “Utekelezaji wa zoezi hili ufanywe kwa **UWAZI MKUBWA** ili kuepuka malalamiko yasiyokuwa na msingi.
3. The issue of people living around Mount Hanang was never been [sic] raised up anywhere, neither [by] the Ministers' Cabinet nor the Ministry of Agriculture. The District Council should find some other ways/alternatives to sort it otherwise the conflict will not end.

4. The majority of [the] people surrounding the farms should fully be represented [sic] the committee responsible with allocation of farms to enhance transparency in the whole process. The exercise of allocating plots that is exclusively executed by the District Council itself needs to be reviewed to include more stakeholders.
5. The manner in which the District Council applies the criteria to distribute land is questionable; it lack participation of the farmers/elders who live around the farms. The village leaders surrounding the farms are not informed of the newcomers who are assigned to occupy the land.
6. The committee is not impartial as it favours and gives the first priority to the people living around Hanang Mountain, leaving those who have been demanding for the restoration of their land in various forms, through challenging in courts and forming associations and writing letters even to the President. It is in the mind of any reasonable person and the interest of the government that those living around the farms should be given priority.
7. The District Council should not use force in the whole process of distributing the two farms, otherwise, the problems and misunderstanding between the majority and their leaders will not end. The use of force is violating human rights which is intolerable.
8. Even if those living around the Hanang Mountain are to be removed, they should be fairly compensated as provided for by the Land Act and Village Act No. 4 and 5 of the laws of Tanzania. The council should not take advantage of the majorities' ignorance to [sic] right of compensation.
9. Education is very important before any exercise to allocate the farms. The District Council should provide for enough time and find other independent facilitators so that the majority can build confidence and fully understand the essence of including nine villages that surround Mount Hanang to allocate them with plots into [sic] Warret farms. The District Council should not be involved in the training in any manner.
10. The District Council should get the opinion of the people to see whether some of its activities are priority to the villagers, like the issues of the land bank. There can not be a land bank when most residents are landless, such a reservation is meaningless.
11. The issue of selecting and allocating plots to 50 young men from each village surrounding the farms is also discriminatory and therefore, questionable. It lacks proper justifications, criteria for selections and its accuracy. This means that parents without young men will not be given pieces of land

This advocacy strategy did not yield much fruit. The 11 recommendations were not fully implemented. Those farms remained undistributed. Thus the land disputes remained unresolved.

However, the confrontational resistance took a different twist in June 2008 when a delegation of 6 villagers travelled all the way from Katesh, Hanang to the State House with the aim of lodging their complaints to President Kikwete. Even though they didn't see the President they caught the attention of the government not least because the President was scheduled to visit Hanang in August 2008. As a result, in a letter directed to the Regional Administrative Secretary and copied to the 6 villagers of Hanang with reference number CEA. 110/319/iv/01 and dated 11 June 2008, the Permanent Secretary-State House noted that she had discovered that the delegation had not met and talked with the RC office therefore she agreed with the RC of Manyara that he would hold and chair a meeting with the delegation and resolve the issue on the table given that these wananchi were complaining that their 'tribe' of Barabaig was being despised so much by the government. The letter also noted that the delegation was of the opinion that the 'pastoralists' from Mount Hanang did not deserve to be allotted the farms because when the land was being alienated the delegation's communities and nationalized, they faced a great calamity while those residing in Mount Hanang were laughing and despising them. According to the letter, the delegation also complained that the distribution of the farms was not transparent hence there were speculative sentiments that the whole process was marred by leaders' shady dealings.

In his response to that directive, note Valentine Marc Nkwame in the Arusha Times (2 - 8 August 2008), the RC called an extraordinary meeting at the Hanang District Council in Katesh in July 2008. It brought together representatives of pastoralists and farmers residing around Warret and Gawal farms as well as district officials, village chairpersons and ward councillors. According to Samuel Qawoga, a member of the delegation that went to the State House, it was in this meeting with the RC that they read a speech which asserts that they went to see the President to lodge their complaints especially after the RC and his delegation came with "silaha za moto", that is, "weapons of fire", when they queried about the proper procedures that should be followed in distributing the farms. It is in this speech that one finds the following attempt at a legal interpretation – which is by no means unprecedented – of the mandate of the *Village Land Act Number 5 of 1999* versus that of the *Land Act Number 4 of 1999* that was heavily criticized in the RC's Press Release cited above:

Kwa hiyo hatukubaliani na mgao wa Ardhi unaofanywa na Halmashauri ya Wilaya badala ya Serikali na Mikutano Mikuu ya vijiji husika kwani **sheria ya Ardhi ya vijiji Namba 5 ya mwaka 1999 sehemu ya 4 kifungu cha 9(1)** inasema Halmashauri ya Wilaya inatoa ushauri na mwongozo si vinginevyo. Aidha tunasikitika kwamba kulipotokea mvutano wa hayo tunayoeleza hapo juu, wewe Mkuu wa Mkoa ulipokuja hukutatua bali uliongeza tatizo kwani taarifa yako uliyotoa kupitia vyombo vya habari **tarehe 22/03/2008** [sic]. Ulipotosha Umma kwa kusema kuwa umemaliza migogoro kwa kutoa Elimu kwa jamii juu ya utaratibu mzima wa ugawaji wa mashamba jambo ambalo si kweli na ndio maana uko hapa leo. Baadhi ya sehemu ya taarifa yako inasema tunanukuu “kuwa Kipaumbele kwa Ardhi hiyo ni watu wanaotoka chini ya mlima Hanang [”] ukijua fika kuwa watu hao hawakuhusika na madhara yatokanayo na kuanzishwa mashamba hayo. [“] **Sheria ya Ardhi ya vijiji Na. 5 ya mwaka 1999** itatumika baada ya ugawaji kufanyika [”] hatujawahi kusikia sheria kuwekwa kando na baadaye kutumika, kwamba [“] Ardhi hiyo ni ya Serikali sio ya vijiji [”] **Serikali ni nani?**

At the risk of dilution this interpretation is thus directly translated:

Therefore we do not agree with the distribution of land that is done by the District Council instead of the relevant Village Assemblies because the **Village Land Act Number 5 of 1999 Section 4 Article 9(1)** says that the District Council provide advice and guidelines and not otherwise. Moreover, we are saddened that when a dispute arose regarding the issues that we have raised above, you, the Regional Commissioner, did not resolve it when you came but, rather, you increased the problem because [of] your press release dated 22/03/2008. You misinformed the public that you have resolved the disputes by educating the community about the whole process of distributing the farm, something which is not true that is why you are here today. Some parts of your press release say [and] we quote [“] that the priority in regard to that land is the people from the foot of Mount Hanang [”] knowing very well that those people were not affected by the process of starting those farm. [“]**Village Land Act Number 5 of 1999** will be used after the distribution is done [“] we have never heard of a law being put aside and then later being use, that [“] that land belong to the government and not the villages” **Who is the government?**

Interestingly, at the peak of the seven-hour long heated meeting, Valentine Marc Nkwame further notes, the RC stated that the assignment of allocating farm plots will be reverted to the village leadership. According to another media source, Mwananchi (25 July 2008) page 12, the RC said he had agreed with that stance and has passed it as a part of the seven resolution that were jointly agreed upon to end the dispute. The co-researcher could not ascertain whether – and how - these resolutions were binding. In his discussions with a senior ruling party official and villagers who attended that meeting, the co-researcher noted that the disputes that remained unresolved by the time he conducted his fieldwork in 2008 had to do with failure to adhere to

these resolutions. He also noted that the villages/villagers did not have any official documents, such as signed minutes, that could be used as a proof that they approved the resolutions and a tool to hold those who undermine the resolutions accountable.

Later on compromised resistance took shape. It started with the decision of the chairperson of Mogitu and his villagers to accept around 40 families from Mount Hanang; that being a small figure (14%) when compared to over 270 households earmarked for the move. Some observers assert that this was a strategic move to ensure that the village is exempted from receiving more households. Yet the distribution process didn't go very smoothly. In the course of conducting this research a number of Barabaig women protested by sleeping out and called for a separate meeting between them, the women, and the Mogitu ward Councillor on the following day.

Incidentally, the Barabaig men also requested a meeting on that same day, that is, 5 November 2008, and convinced the women to merge the two meetings. Ultimately, a compromised was reached and both men and women, numbered at around 212, attended the same meeting. Apparently the meeting also included Barabaigs from Ming'enyi villages given the fact that the area of concern was bordering the two villages and some of the attendees crisscross between the two villages. A co-author of this report attended that meeting as a participant observer.

Even though the Barabaig community was entirely not happy with the decision, the co-author observed, they seem to have resigned to the fate of sharing the farmland with the designated families from the mountain. In that meeting the key issues among the men was the lack of involvement of the elders in distributing land and demarcating borders. As a result, they claimed, some people were being allocated unsuitable land "*makorongoni*", that is, in the trenches. The issue of the elders' involvement was particular thorny given that they reckoned that the village government, through their hamlet leadership, had promised to involve them.

The gendered nature of the deliberations constrained the women from airing the grievances that they wanted to air directly to their councillor through their own meeting with him. After various attempts by the counsellor, two women, at last, spoke. Their testimonies underscore the presence of a gendered distribution of land. For instance, one single parent woman with two sons – one married and another unmarried – was initially allocated the required 4 acres. After complaining

that it is not enough because she has a son with a family and another grownup son and after her young tussled with the person in charge of distributing the land, that person, a VEO, upon consulting with the village chairperson and getting his directive, agreed to give an additional 4 acres to the family. However, the 4 acres was given to the married son on the assumption that the other son is staying with his mom and will thus share the 4 acres allocated to the mother.

The issue of participatory governance with respect to village and hamlet/neighbourhood meetings is also a concern. There were concerns about the attendance of Barabaig community members in the village meetings in which most of the binding decisions are made. This concern was raised in the context of the misunderstanding about how binding a decisions reached upon in hamlet meetings is vis-à-vis those reached in the village assembly.

A revealing, albeit stereotypical explanation of the lack of full participation in village governance and decision-making, was noted by Sengondo E. Mvungi (2007) in his discussions with community leaders and CSO officials in Katesh. The discussants alleged that pastoralists did not know that it was important to elect pastoralist leaders into elective decision making organs of state. Instead, it was further alleged, the pastoralists elected agriculturalists in order to relieve themselves of the hustle of attending endless meetings instead of taking care of their herds. That is why when official policy and administrative decisions were made, the discussants concluded, these came as hailstorm upon pastoralists who were absent all the way, but involved – by default – in accordance with law. The following case illustrates why the alleged abdication by the pastoralists need to be investigated further given that the co-researcher observed how they participate passionately in hamlet/village meeting that discuss issues that really concern them:

In Katesh, officials in the District Council told us that pastoral community leaders had accepted that three of the wheat farms which were subject to court litigation be sold to liquidate debts, and two be divided one to pastoralists (Gawal) and the other (Warret) to agriculturalist. The so-called pastoralists and agriculturalist who were to benefit from the re-distribution of land were not those that had gone to court. Later when we spoke to community leaders they told us a different story. They said that the community leaders were not consulted. The Officials of the District council handpicked individuals from the villages, 17 in all and only 7 were pastoralist. They were hand picked just a day before the meeting and had no time to consult. The community leaders we spoke to expressed fears that this was done in order to allow part of the land to be allocated to

some big fishes in the District Council. According to them they had to rise up in arms to prevent the parceling of the farms” (Sengondo E. Mvungi 2007: 21).²³

Another issue of concern pertaining to participatory governance and decision-making is that of conflating ‘political statements’ with ‘legal provisions’ or with ‘governance directives.’ The co-researcher observed that there were cases where political statements made in political rallies or political platforms that had no authority whatsoever on a given matter were literally adopted over and above binding legal provisions and/or governance directives on such a matter. In some cases, as it seemed to be the case when the MP of Hanang attending Ming’enyi Village Assembly on 12 November 2008, those statements are done in good faith as an attempt to prevent conflicts or fast-track the resolution of conflicts.

The MP was in an official tour of her constituent in 10-15 November 2008. According to the official schedule of the tour, that time around, she was meant to mainly concentrate on visiting the wards in the eastern part of Hanang, that is, the opposite side of Warret farm. However, upon hearing that there was a Ming’enyi Village Assembly called for in 12 November 2008 to address the land disputes in the farm, she adjusted her tour schedule. Flanked by a delegation that included the DC and DED, the MP attended the meeting. Even though she attempted to explain that it was a Village Assembly and that they had only come as visitors, the Assembly ultimately became a platform for airing grievances to - and seeking clarification from - the MP-cum-Minister about the farm. Expectedly, the issue that was raised first by the some villagers who seemed to be the key spokespersons of the Barabaig community was the painful history of being evicted from these farms by NAFCO that inform(ed) their reluctance to share the farm with villagers from Mountain Hanang. Then the deliberation shifted to the issue of who should be given priority in the distribution of the farm. To untie an apparent deadlock after a lengthy deliberation on who should be given first priority between the villagers of Ming’enyi and villagers from the Mount Hanang, the MP gave a ‘directive’ that the leadership of Ming’enyi should start redistributing the farm the next day to their villagers first.

²³ In the parliamentary session of 14 August 2006 the MP of Hanang, Dr. Mary Michael Nagu, lamented that the debt of approximately Tsh 1.5 Billion that the District had inherited from Warret and Gawal farms was a heavy burden. Therefore she requested the then Ministry responsible for Empowerment to take transferable properties so that it can sell them and use that money to repay the debt, asserting that the capacity of the Hanang District Council to oversee the sale of those properties was limited. She also proposed that the task be given to the liquidator who sold the properties of other farms. The co-researcher observed people moving properties they bought in Gawal farm.

Probably sensing that this political statement will affect the plans of the ‘District Committee Responsible for the Distribution of the Farms, a member of that committee known as Isidori who had earlier been requested to apologize for allegedly name-calling the villagers in the course of distributing the farm told the MP during the Village Assembly that if the chairperson of Ming’enyi will use the list that he has to redistribute the farm then the land that will be left won’t be enough for all the earmarked villagers from Mount Hanang. The politician in the MP promptly responded by saying that they, the District Authorities, will have to find out other alternatives for the those who will miss out even if that will entail distributing the 500 acres reserved for the Land Bank. Expectedly, the populism in the villagers hailed these political statements that went their way and went ahead with their ulterior motive of planning to ensure that they divide the farm as much as possible among themselves, that is, among Ming’enyi villagers.

The quick calculations conducted jointly in that Village Assembly revealed that 469 Ming’enyi villagers had been listed for the redistribution while 423 people from Mount Hanang had been earmarked to be moved to the farm. Since it was agreed that each person will get 4 acres out of 3,000 acres earmarked for agriculture, these figures implied that distributing it to Ming’enyi villagers first will take up to 1, 876 acres thus leaving only 1, 124 acres that could not be enough for the villagers of Mount Hanang who needed 1,692 acres. It is this deficit of 582 acres that the MP directed the district authorities to cover from the 500 acres of the Land Bank and/or from other sources they may deem fit.

Regardless of whether the outcomes of this political statement were positive or negative, its context raises some fundamental questions about the effectiveness the legal and governance regimes: What is should be the mandate of the Village Assembly vis-à-vis the National Assembly? What should be the mandate of *Village Land Act* vis-à-vis the *Land Act*? What should be the mandate of the Local Government Authorities vis-à-vis the Central Government?

This is where the explanation of the Hanang District Land Officer (DLO) comes in handy as an ‘analytical tool’ for making sense of land disputes. Commenting on this tendency to mix ‘platform politics’ and ‘professional expertise’ in an interview with the co-researcher, the DLO

aptly noted that what was then going on in regard to Warret and Gawal farms was an attempt at a political solution to the legal problem of land redistribution. If the legal provisions in laws of the land dealing with land were followed to the letter, he asserted, it wouldn't even be possible to redistribute the farm. In this regard, for instance, he noted that NAFCO had a lease of 99 years which by then had not yet been abrogated, that is, revoked formally/legally.²⁴ So, if the laws had to be followed dogmatically, then the villagers would have to wait until the lease is transferred to the villagers. Thus, the DLO summed up the state of land redistribution in Warret farm, as a transition period from *Land Act Number 4 of 1999* to *Village Land Act Number 5*.

It is not surprising then that the district authorities locked horns with the protesting villagers in regard to the application of two pieces of legislation in redistributing Warret farm. It is also not surprising then that the transition period has taken such a long time. By the time this report was being finalized, the news emanating from Hanang was that the villagers of Mogitu ward had redistributed the whole part of the farm earmarked for agriculture as well as the Land Bank and that an attempt – by the District Committee Responsible for the Distribution of the Farms – to distribute a part of the farm, that other half earmarked as pasture for villagers surrounding it, to villagers from Mount Hanang was confrontationally resisted. Hence the situation remains tense.

Such is the state of Warret farm and its surrounding areas. No wonder the latest CHC's (2009) evaluation of the farm in July 2008 also revealed that up to that time the redistribution process was not yet complete and that the farm was in a bad condition. Surprisingly, CHC (2009) affirms that it has the responsibility of monitoring/evaluating the distribution of that farm according to the guidelines provided by the government yet it admits it will do so in July 2009. Incidentally, that time will mark exactly 5 years since the government decided to return the farm to wananchi.

2.1.2 THE STATE OF GAWAL FARM AND SURROUNDING AREAS

Gawal farm is one of the two farms in the then HWC that have not been earmarked for privatization. The current size of the farm, according to CHC's (2009) most recent evaluation, is 10, 000 acres. This is equal to 4,000 hectares. As it was with Warret farm, this is the same figure that was noted by Han Bantje (1984) 25 years ago. However, as the discussion below shows, its

²⁴ LHRC(1998) notes that the government, through the then PSRC, made the transfer of the title from NAFCO to the Hanang District Council and as a result there was no revocation of the right of occupancy which could have resulted in that revocation being gazetted, that is, being published in the Government Gazette as Government Notices (GNs).

actual size also remains a bone of contention, with another official government source noting that it has 4, 610 additional acres, that is, it has a total of 14,610 acres rather than 10,000 acres.

The farm is currently located between Laghanga, Getanuwas and Bassotu wards in the Hanang District. On the northern side it is bordered by Lake Bassotu and Bassotu village - with over 5,265 villagers - and Mulbadaw villagers - with over 7, 481 villagers - in the urban Bassotu mixed ward. The farm is bordered in the south by Gawidu village - with over 3, 484 villagers – in Laghanga rural ward. On the eastern side it bordered by Gidika village – with over 3, 733 villagers - in the Getanuwas rural ward. And on the western side it is bordered by Murjanda farms and Bassotu plantation on the eastern side. It is also important to note that the vital Katesh-Haydom road pass through the farm on the northern side.

TABLE 6: GAWAL ENTRY IN THE TREASURY REGISTRAR'S STATEMENT OF GOVERNMENT INVESTMENT AND PUBLIC INTEREST AS AT 30 JUNE 2005

S.NO	NAME OF THE PARAS TATAL	AUDITED ACCOUNTS DATE	SHARE CAPITAL/ CAPITAL FUND	PAID UP SHARES TSHS	OTHER INVESTMENT TSHS	TOTAL TSHS	%	REMARKS
24	Gawal Farm	30. 09. 1998	Share Capital	26,000,000	623,901,180	649,901,180	100	Under Privatization

• **IN NEED OF SECURITY OF TENURE**

As far as the issue of post-NAFCO land redistribution is concerned, Lake Bassotu, like Mount Hanang in the case of Warret farm, has been at the heart of the quest for Gawal Farm.²⁵ In 1997/1998 catastrophic rainfalls known as El Nino flooded the area surrounding the lake. The already scarce land in the area became scarcer as villagers had to vacate the flooded areas.

With the support of Bassotu ward authorities, reminisced the Councillor of the ward, a number of villagers requested the then NAFCO manager of Gawal farm for temporary shelter within the farm. According to the Ward Executive Officer (WEO) of Bassotu, Omari Msuya, the manager granted them a temporary permit to reside in the area around Mount Gama. However, after the expiration of the permit these villagers, who are primarily members of the Barabaig community, stayed and kept increasing. NAFCO didn't bother to remove them as it had done in the past when

²⁵ This assertion is also supported by the fact that the government is planning to enforce a 'greenbelt' zone around the lake so as to protect it and its surrounding environment – a move that will affect a number of houses/farms since its limit is 200 metres from the lake, a 100 metre extension from the Hippo reserve limit. The chairperson of Bassotu village, Herman William Many, asserts that the zone covers almost 80% of the Bassotu 'town' and its 'main road'.

it was busy expanding its farming area. It should be noted that this was the time when NAFCO was in a transition toward liquidation so it no longer put much premium in eviction for the sake of utilizing the land. The next subsection shows how their security of tenure is now under threat.

As the previous section on Warret farm has hinted, Hanang citizens had sent a delegation to their then MP and PM of URT, Frederick Tluway Sumaye, to request for the farms to be returned to them. The El Nino flooding created another impetus to follow-up on this request. However, there are at least two contending versions of what transpired after floods. It is essential to weigh them.

One version goes like this: After the floods the villagers sent a delegation to Sumaye to request for a city plan which will also enable the people whose residences had been flooded to get new areas. The appeal, according to this version, was aired with the expectation that the city plan will include a survey of hilly, scarcely inhabited areas around Bassotu village and thus also provide residential areas to those who were flooded. Another version claims that the city plan was already underway, that is, it was independent of El Nino even though some victims of El Nino got plots out of this plan. However, those who got plots were those who could afford their costs.

Curiously, funding for the city plan came from the Hanang Participatory Development Fund (HPDF). According to Peter J.Rogers (2004), the Canadian government decided to fund HPDF after being spurred by Justice Kisanga's Commission, which acknowledged the basic outline of the repression and violence which accompanied the expansion and creation of HWC, and CIDA did so with a special emphasis on the Barabaig due its previous support for HWC. The following comment on how the HPDF was hijacked at the expense of expected primary beneficiary, the Barabaig community, is still echoed today by a number of Hanang citizens who were consulted in the course of conducting this research:

Despite the rhetorical commitment of CIDA's HPDF to "participation," it has, to a great degree, been captured by the Tanzanian state and serves the existing pattern of top-down, expert-lead governance. Despite CIDA's initial emphasis on the Barabaig and the Kisanga Commission, it is by no means clear if the majority, or even a significant percentage, of the HPDF's funding will go to Barabaig communities because of how it is organized and operates. The HPDF's Project Development Committee has 20 members, only three of which are from the Barabaig community... The Fund's Board of Trustees, which provides oversight for the decisions of the Project Development Committee, includes one "influential member of the Tanzanian private sector," five

Tanzanian government officials, and three Canadians...The HPDF's "Development Vision 2025 for Hanang District" faithfully echoes the central government's call for "reduction of [the] livestock herd," the expansion of "zero grazing," and the introduction of "improved cattle breeds"... The Tanzanian state's "capture" of the HPDF and CIDA's willingness to go along with this process has been greatly facilitated by the fact that Tanzania's [then] current Prime Minister is Frederick Sumaye, a non-Barabaig from Hanang with a background in agricultural development (Peter J. Rogers 2004: 24 - 25).

Up to today there are complaints of how the HPDF funds have been used in terms of priority areas. Of particular interest to this report is the contention on whether this fund was supposed to be used to compensate those who lost their land to the city plan. This loss of land, and pending compensations, has created hope among those who lost their land that they might be given plots in the Gawal farm as a part of the compensation. Yet, as it will be shown shortly, the decision-making process on how to go about redistributing the farm remains a highly contentious terrain.

Yet there is another version which locates the timing of the visit to the then PM in 2002, way after the El Nino catastrophe. According to one variant of this version, it is the pastoralists who, cunningly, influenced fellow villagers to send a delegation to Sumaye with the aim of requesting the government to give them NAFCO's liquidated farms for pastures. All variants of these versions agree that it is the PM who, wary of being accused of nepotism, advised them to start a cooperative society of pastoralists which would be in a position to lodge an application to be granted the farms. The Councillor of Bassotu ward, Rose Kamil Sukkum, noted that the society could not be registered because – according to the district officer responsible for cooperatives – it did not have an area of operation. However, according to a letter of request for Gawal farm with reference number 01/UWABA/2004 dated 22 May 2004, the society formally started on 1 November 2002 with a membership of 180 with the aim of developing pastoralists.

On that day, according to the minutes of the society's assembly, the members agreed to start the entity known as Ushirika wa Wafugaji (UWABA) and the Officer responsible for Cooperatives in Hanang attended the meeting and promised to help them form a Constitution. A copy of that Constitution shows that the cooperative covers the "Area of Bassotu" and surrounding areas, that is "the villages of Bassotu, Mulbadaw, Gawidu, Dajameda and Gidika." Nevertheless UWABA was not given the farm and up to now it has not been registered. As it shall be shown in the subsequent section on the Bassotu plantation, there is another entity in the formation which

seems to be its successor with a slightly similar quest. Here it suffices to conclude that these varying versions of what happened in the wake of NAFCO's collapse in 1996 proves that there was a constellation of social movements that played a crucial role in ensuring that government agrees to return Gawal farm to wananchi surrounding the farm in 2004 instead of privatizing it.

- **IN THE NAME OF REDISTRIBUTIVE JUSTICE**

According to the signed minutes of Mulbadaw Village Assembly dated 14 March 2008, the villagers who attended – numbering 235 – agreed that all 14,000 acres of Gawal farm should be distributed among 4 villages surrounding the farm and that Dajameda village should not be included in the distribution. This decision, by implication, also excluded Ngalangala village, which used to be a part of Mulbadaw village prior to 2004, in the distribution.

The Village Assembly also agreed that the distribution should be based on old boundaries without interfering with the current village geographical position.²⁶ Moreover, they agreed that designated villagers will decide on the Land Use Plan (LUP) through their respective meetings. Finally, they agreed that the District Council and its expert should supervise the distribution process to avert disputes.

The chairperson of *Kamati ya Wilaya ya Ugawaji Mashamba*, that is, the 'District Committee Responsible for the Distribution of the Farms', Dr. Isaac Khama, is recorded in the minutes of Gawidu Village Assembly, dated 18 March 2008, as saying Gawal farm is the property of wananchi surrounding it. Their respective villages listed therein are Gawidu, Bassotu, Mulbadaw and Gidika.

Dr. Khama who was then educating villagers about the farm is also on record saying that its land title was issued in 1985 for 14,000 acres. According to the minutes, he said 7,000 acres will be for agriculture and the remaining 7,000 acres for pastoralism. He also informed them that in every village 50 youths will be given 4 acres each. Moreover, he said 500 acres will be for a district centre of agriculture and livestock that will use the buildings in the farm.

²⁶ This decision, as it would turn out after it was also adopted by the other 4 villages, made some villages get more land than others contrary to an earlier decision of dividing the farm equally among them-a decision that was seen as having a greater potential for courting land disputes due to the geographical position of the farm vis-à-vis villages.

PICTURE: THE STATE OF BUILDINGS IN GAWAL FARM AS AT 10 NOVEMBER 2008



Curiously, early in the same morning Dr. Khama gave a similar educative session to village leaders through a ‘Special Meeting of the Village Council’. In the accompanying minutes, also dated 18 March 2008, the village leaders are recorded as agreeing with what Dr. Khama said except on the issue of the 500 acres. Even though they did not entirely reject the decision to grant 4 acres to 50 youths, they requested the number to be raised to 250 Gawidu village youths. The village leaders agreed with Dr. Khama that the distribution should start after Easter and affirmed that the 1985 map was absolutely accurate.

However, according to the former minutes, the Village Assembly did not agree entirely with what Dr. Khama said or agreed with village leaders. On the basis of majority votes, villagers agreed that the part of Gawal farm that will be allocated to Gawidu village shall belong to pastoralists. Tellingly, they asserted that the 1985 map was not accurate; as such, they wanted two elders to be present when the farm is distributed to verify the boundaries. They also rejected the decision to allot the 500 acres to a district centre for agriculture and pastoralism, upholding the statement of their MP, Dr. Mary Nagu, that the area should be declared a secondary school.

The minutes of Bassotu Village Assembly dated 20 March 2008 shows that villagers agreed with decision to divide Gawal farm equally among those 4 villages. They also agreed to divide the 14,000 acres equally between agriculture and pastoralism. However, like Mulbadaw and Gawidu Village Assemblies, Bassotu Village Assembly rejected the decision to allocate the 500 acres to a district centre. Regarding this area, the Assembly recommended that it should be divided among the 4 villages.

Regardless of these reservations, on 27 March 2008 the Manyara RC, Henry D. Shekifu, went on to issue the “*Press Release*”: *Chimbuko la Mashamba ya Warret na Gawal Yaliyokabidhiwa na Serikali kwa Wananchi Wa Hanang 22/07/2004* which stated, among other things, that all the then preceding cited official consultative meetings recommended that:

(a) Both farms to be used for agriculture and pastoralism in equal measures as follows: -

... Gawal: It has an area of 14,610 acres

- 7,000 acres to be allocated for agriculture
- Pastoralism to be allocated 7,000 acres for pastures
- Land bank for the District Council to be allocated 500 acres
- The building in the farm to be used as the District Livestock Centre

These consultative meetings, the Press Release further stated, recommended that in the case of the 7,000 acres for agriculture priority be accorded to 50 youths from village surrounding the farm and those with scarce land in the whole District. And regarding the 7,000 acres for pastures, it was allegedly recommended that the land be distributed among the villages surrounding the farm, namely Bassotu, Gidika, Gawidu and Mulbadaw.

As it has been shown in section 2.1.1 of this report, the Press Release came out, first and foremost, as a response to the protests of a number of villagers about the then ongoing distribution of Warret farm. However, given the fact that these protests anticipated the reservations over the then ensuing distribution of Gawal farm, the Manyara and Hanang government authorities went on to address these issues simultaneously. In the process of doing so, the Press Release sidelined some recommendations – or rather reservations – raised in the minutes of the village assemblies cited above. Of particular interest here are the reservations about the 500 acres and the distribution (in terms of use) between agriculture/farms and pastoralism/pastures. Contrary to the consensuses on these concerns recorded in the then latest village assemblies’ minutes cited above, the authorities reported the following in their report of the status of distribution entitled *Taarifa ya Ugawaji wa Mashamba ya Warret na Gawal kuanzia 24 Oktoba 2007 hadi 10 April 2008*²⁷:

²⁷ A literal translation would read ‘The Report of the Distribution of Warret and Gawal Farms from 24 October 2007 to 10 April 2008’ or something to that effect.

- i) Up to now the major task that has been undertaken is to educate the citizens of the villages surrounding that farm, namely Bassotu, Gidika, Gawidu and Mulbadaw, about sustainable use of land and to collect views of Village Councils and Village Assemblies regarding the distribution of Gawal farm.
- ii) The views collected in the Village Councils and Village Assemblies
 - They have accepted the recommendations of the District Council on the equal distribution between agriculture and pastoralism.
 - Every village to be given its own area for farming and for pastures...

According to the report, the distribution of the farming and pastures areas in Gawal had been delayed because the District Committee Responsible for Distribution of the Farms was completing the remaining tasks in the Warret farm. That was April 2008 when tensions were mounting in Mogitu and Ming'enyi villages around Warret farm. But, as the minutes from a special meeting between the village councils of Bassotu, Gawidu, Mulbadaw, Gidika and the said District Committee dated 21 August 2008 shows, four months later the distribution process had not yet started not least because of a lack of consensus between the villages and the district authorities.

Curiously, the minutes of this special meeting shows that the meeting cited the decisions of the 4 village councils, without referring to any decisions made by their respective village assemblies, as a basis for the ensuing deliberations. Surprisingly, the minutes asserts that in their respective meetings, all 4 village councils agreed to give 500 acres out of Gawal farm to the district council whereby each village will contribute 125 acres.

By the end of 2008, however, the process of distributing Gawal farm to the 4 villages remained incomplete. One of the reasons for this state is the disputes over village boundaries vis-à-vis farm boundaries. For instance, in the course of conducting research in November, the co-author of this report witnessed yet another stalled attempt to resolve a border dispute between Gidika and Gawidu villages. Members of the two village councils could not resolve the dispute because the members of the District Committee Responsible for the Distribution of the Farms did not come to offer its expertise on surveying and laying beacons as promised, citing the bad rainy weather as the reason.

The co-researcher held Focus Group Discussions (FGDs) with 6 women who are members of these village councils. They claimed that the District Council allocated itself the 500 acres

without requesting or involving them in reaching that decision, that is, they were only informed about that decision, and it, as a village council. They also claimed that they were not involved in demarcating the 500 acres – they were only shown the beacons the next day. On the basis of this, they claimed that the District Council has allocated itself extra land over and above the 500 acres. Proving this assertion scientifically is beyond the scope of this study; however, given that there have been many complaints of this nature since the times of NAFCO, there is a need to systematically (re)survey the farms and establish accurate measures of who owns what and where.

Up to 14 February 2008, when this report was being finalized, the distribution of the farm among villagers surrounding the Gawal farm remained incomplete. In a telephone interview, the Bassotu ward Councillor affirmed that the distribution had only begun in one village, that of Mulbadaw. In the process of doing so, they evicted those people who outlived NAFCO's temporary permit to reside in Mount Gama during the 1997/1998 El Nino catastrophe. The Councillor laments that they gave them 5 days to vacate the place in the middle of the rainy season and when those days passed they locked up 20 people - including a schoolchild, two women with babies and three other women who were not the heads of families - on 27 November 2008 then on the following day they were arraigned in the Bassotu primary court where they were ordered to vacate the area within 14 days and pay a fine of Tsh. 50, 000 per household head. At the moment their case is pending after Advocate Francis Stolla, who has been handling a number of legal issues on behalf of Hanang communities at the behest of activists therein, aided them to lodge an appeal.

As one councillor from one of the wards in Hanang who wished to remain anonymous, the problems that were encountered in Warret farm in the course of redistributing it might be reproduced in the Gawal farm. Thus there is a need for a clear understanding of the social and political dynamics of the villages/villagers surrounding the farm so as to avert potential conflicts and prevent the festering of inter/intra-village hostilities that could erupt into open conflict in the future. Moreover, there is a need for a political will – rather than self-interest or misguided bureaucratic zeal – among those who are in charge of facilitating the redistribution process.

Thus the conclusion of the latest CHC (2009) evaluation of the farm, which state that up to July 2008 the distribution of the farm remained incomplete and hence it was in a bad condition, still

stands today. In the meantime the Parliamentary Committee responsible for Parastatals, chaired by Zitto Zuberi Kabwe (MP), is visiting the farm. It would be interesting to know what it finds out while citizens concerned with the state of Gawal farm awaits the next, albeit long overdue, CHC evaluation scheduled for July 2009.

2.1.3 THE STATE OF SETCHET, MURJANDA AND GIDAGAMOWD FARMS/AREAS

In this report the 3 farms of Setchet, Murjanda and Gidagamowd are only clustered together for analytical purposes. This is because at the moment they are under one owner, that is, an investor who, according to CHC (2009), bought them for Tsh. 3.45 Billion in 2005. As such they, supposedly, share some basic similarities in terms of their ownership and nature of operation.

Setchet farm is juxtaposed between the mixed ward of Bassotu and the rural ward of Bassodesh – with over 11, 975 villagers – in Hanang District and a ward in Babati District. In the eastern part it faces Lake Balangda. Setchet dam marks its northern border as well as the border between Hanang District and Babati District that cuts a relatively small portion of the farm, leaving most of the part in Hanang. The escarpment that separates it from Warret farm on the south-west makes the farm appear as far removed from villages and other farms, apart from Mulbadaw farm which is separated from it by the Katesh-Haydom road on its southern border.

TABLE 7: SETCHET ENTRY IN THE TREASURY REGISTRAR'S STATEMENT OF GOVERNMENT INVESTMENT AND PUBLIC INTEREST AS AT 30 JUNE 2007

S.NO	NAME OF THE PARASTATAL	AUDITED ACCOUNTS DATE	SHARE CAPITAL/CAPITAL FUND	PAID UP SHARES TSHS	OTHER INVESTMENT TSHS	TOTAL TSHS	%	REMARKS
106	Setchet Company	30.09.2000	Share Capital	5,600,000	1,004,976,396	1,010,576,396	100	Under Liquidation. The successor of LART(CHC) to take over the liquidation

The relatively new village of Ngalangala in the Bassotu ward borders Setchet farm on the south-west. Bassodesh village – with 6,453 villagers – in the Bassodesh ward is the village that is closest to the farm on its north-west border. On the other side of the escarpment is Gendabi village – with 4,518 villagers – and Dawar village – with 3,889 villagers – which are more closer to the Mount Hanang reserved area and the Setchet farm respectively.

Murjanda farm is surrounded by three other farms except on its southern part which borders Laghanga ward – with over 9, 506 villagers – in Hanang District. In that ward Dajameda village – with over 2, 804 villagers – is considered to be adjacent to the farm. However, there are two other nearby villages known as Laghanga – with over 3, 218 villagers – and Gawidu – with over 3, 484 villagers – which could build a case that they are also neighbouring/surrounding the farm.

TABLE 8: MURJANDA ENTRY THE TREASURY REGISTRAR'S STATEMENT OF GOVERNMENT INVESTMENT AND PUBLIC INTEREST AS AT 30 JUNE 2007

S.NO	NAME OF THE PARASTATAL	AUDITED ACCOUNTS DATE	SHARE CAPITAL/CAPITAL FUND	PAID UP SHARES TSHS	OTHER INVESTMENT TSHS	TOTAL TSHS	%	REMARKS
66	Murjanda Farm	30. 09. 1998	Share Capital	24,000,000	437,940,530	461,940,530	100	Under Liquidation. The successor of LART(CHC) to take over the liquidation

In the western part Murjanda farm is bordered by Gawal but there is a small portion of Gawal farm that borders it in north. Bassotu plantation borders it to the north. In the eastern part the farm is bordered by Mulbadaw farm. A relatively small portion within Laghanga ward separates it from Gidagamowd farm in its south-eastern tip. It is far removed from Katesh-Haydom and Babati-Singida roads which are the main outlet from HWC.

Gidagamowd farm is sandwiched by Mulbadaw farm on its north-western border and Warret farm on its eastern border. However, most of its southern part is bordered by Laghanga and Gehandu rural wards. It is far from Katesh-Haydom road but closer to Babati-Singida road.

TABLE 9: GIDAGAMOWD ENTRY IN THE TREASURY REGISTRAR'S STATEMENT OF GOVERNMENT INVESTMENT AND PUBLIC INTEREST AS AT 30 JUNE 2005

S.NO	NAME OF THE PARASTATAL	AUDITED ACCOUNTS DATE	SHARE CAPITAL/CAPITAL FUND	PAID UP SHARES TSHS	OTHER INVESTMENT TSHS	TOTAL TSHS	%	REMARKS
32	Gidagamowd	30. 09. 1998	Share Capital	35,000,000.	204,723,885	239,723,885	100	Under Liquidation. The successor of LART(CHC) to take over the liquidation

Dajamedia village – with over 1,457 male and 1, 347 female villagers – in the Laghanga ward is adjacent to the Gidagamowd farm in its south-western tip. Laghanga village – with over 1,577 male and 1, 641 female villagers – in Laghanga ward and Ishponga – with 2, 126 male and 2, 187 female villagers – in Gehandu ward could be regarded as villages neighbouring the farm.

- **AN ELUSIVE PROFILE OF INVESTORS**

It is common knowledge among the citizens of Hanang that the three farms are under an investor whom they often refers to as ‘Kalasinga’, a term that is used by Kiswahili speakers in Tanzania to refer to people of Asian/Indian/Punjabi origin who wear a turban signifying that they belong to the Sikh religion. However, only a handful of people know about the exact official company name of this investor. Two particular names came up: RAI Group Limited and Ngano Limited.

As a matter of fact the name, profile, ownership and dealings of this investor in Tanzania, as in Kenya and Uganda, have been a subject of scrutiny not least among the Tanzanian parliamentarians. In his submission to the National Assembly on 23 June 2008, the MP of Karatu and the Opposition Camp Spokesperson in the Parliament, Dr. Wilbroad Slaa, questioned the apparent discrepancies in the documentations of the privatization of the then Mgololo Southern Paper Mills (SPM) now known as Mufindi Paper Mills (MPM). Apparently, on 16 January 2004 SPM was sold to a private company known RAI Group Limited that is owned by two Kenyan nationals/brothers, Jaswant Singh Rai and Sarbjit Singh Rai.

According to Dr. Slaa, the Assets Sale Agreement between URT and the company which he accessed through the Office of the Speaker of the Parliament, showed that the two investors had a mere share of 0.0006% each out of the USD 26 million. The Opposition Camp thus queried the capacity of these investors to revive SPM given that their own investigation led them to conclude that the actual owner (investor) was not the RAI Brothers but, rather, it was the Angel Hurst Industries Limited from the UK that had the remaining 99.988% shares as registered at the Tanzania Investment Center (TIC). They also found that the amount of money mentioned in the Sale Agreement did not match - and was in fact an understatement of - the one submitted to TIC.

What followed on 12 August 2008 was a heated parliamentary debate between Dr. Slaa and the Minister for Industries, Trade and Marketing who also happens to be the MP of Hanang, Dr. Mary Nagu. As a part of her response, the Minister affirmed that Angel Hurst is an investor that

joined RAI Group in investing on SPM and that the documentations on that joint venture were available at the Business Registrations and Licensing Agency (BRELA). She also affirmed that RAI Group was not registered as RAI Group but, rather, as MPM because RAI Group could not have done business without registering MPM. On that note she concluded that MPM is known by BRELA and BRELA knows that in the investment of MPM there is RAI Group with that meagre shares – i.e. that 0.0006% per each of the RAI Brothers – and Angel Hurst.

A close reading of the parliamentary debate shows that, ironically, both the Ministry and the Opposition Camp had an uphill task in accessing information on both Angel Hurst and the RAI Group. Therefore the debate lacked evidence on the origin of RAI Group. A brief survey of media report on the RAI Brothers reveals that they have been involved in a number of ventures around East Africa some of which have been subject to controversies. According to East African Business Week (31 July 2006) and the Ugandan Ministry of Tourism, Trade and Industry's (MTTI) Press Review (August 2006), the group is a Kenyan and Mauritius based agro-forestry company. In 2006 it outbid other bidders for the 51% Ugandan government shares in Kinyara Sugar Works Limited (KSWL), located on over 15,000 hectares of land, by offering a bid price of USD 33.5 million.

Revealingly, in the wake of this bid, a Ugandan newspaper - The New Vision (1 October 2006) - published a story which noted that the company was started in the 1970s in Mountain Elgon in Kenya by a businessman of Asian origin, Mr. Rai, after Idi Amin, the then Dictator of Uganda, infamously kicked people of Asian descent out of Uganda. It started as Rai Timber according to another media source, the African Press International (31 July 2008). Then it moved to Eldoret in Kenya. There it teamed up with another businessman of Asian origin, Mr. Shabir, who was later to be murdered together with his wife under mysterious circumstances in 1993. According to the former media source, this led to the change of name from Rai Timber to Raiply. Immediately afterwards, the retired Kenyan president, Daniel Arap Moi, and his close associate who was then a cabinet minister, Nicholas Biwott, became shareholders. The influence of Moi, the media source notes, saw Raiply acquire over 20 acres by forcefully evicting those who had occupied plots adjacent to the company. In an attempt to profile the company an investigative journalist, had the following experience which underscores how elusive the true identity of this investor is:

It seems the purchase is a guarded secret between Rai's sons who are directors of the firm, which has branches in Nakuru, Nairobi and Jinja. After a three-week effort to get the company's profile from the management in Eldoret and Nairobi, sources within the firm managed to leak the reason behind the decision not to release it. All attempts to contact the Rai family proved futile. Getting the directors in any of the offices in Eldoret, Nakuru and Nairobi is like climbing Mountain Everest. Employees said none of the directors was always available because they preferred to operate from their homes. Rai has left running of the firm to his sons, while he shuttles between Nairobi and India in search of other ventures. He is usually available once or twice a year. His wife is based at the Eldoret plant, but has nothing to do with the running of the firm. Sources said there was a management deadlock between Rai's sons, Jaswant and Iqbal, battling for top ownership of the firm. Jaswant is the current director but Iqbal wants to take over, a feat that has seen the matter move to court. Rai senior is backing Jaswant for the top job...The firm came to a near collapse in the late 1990s when it was put under statutory management owing to the same management deadlock. It called for Moi's intervention to bring the firm back on its feet" (The New Vision 31 July 2006).

In the course of this research in the then HWC, the co-researcher visited the offices of the investors at the Murjanda farm but could not meet them. The researcher was told that they were supervising the farming of wheat in the three farms. However, these supervisors - who are also of Asian descent - are not the actual owners and thus not the spokesperson of the company; rather, they were there on behalf of the Rai brothers in Kenya. As it shall be clearly shown shortly, this emphasis on their 'descent' is employed in the report as an 'analytical term' because most of the perceptions of villagers around Hanang of these investors are historically – and nationally – coloured by racial overtones embodied in that term 'Kalasinga.'

Curiously, according to the New Vision media source cited above, the company specializes in wood manufacturing and has been primarily involved in producing veneer, plywood, chipboard, ceiling board and block boards among other related things. No wonder it was interested in acquiring SPM. What is surprising is why and how it became a winnable bidder in acquiring land/farms for producing food. In the case of its bid on KSWL, this media source reveals, Raiply structured a deal in such a way that it would contract technical support from Mauritius to bridge its lack of experience in running sugar plantation and, although the South Africa-based UK firm known as Booker International Agricultural Company was top in the technical evaluation, Raiply outbid it on price. This is how it came to be referred to as a 'Kenyan and Mauritius based agro-forestry company' by the reputable sources cited above. However, to other reputable

sources such as the African International Press (31 July 2008), it is a desert-making company that has been involved in decimating state forests in Kenya and beyond its borders.

In the light of all this paradoxical information it is not surprising then that the Minister responsible for Industry in Tanzania had a hard time to come up with solid information about the profiles of RAI Group and Angel Hurst in regard to SPM/MPM in her response to the Opposition Camp in the parliamentary debate. After asserting that three RAI brothers, rather than two as other suggestions affirms, allocated the 99% shares to Angel Hurst and that if the government had sold SPM for USD 26 million instead of USD 1 million the brothers would have an option to take its machines to Kenya, the Minister offered the following explanation which strongly suggests that the government – or at least a key government ministry – did/does not have enough information about the actual identity of these investors and their dealings:

Mheshimiwa Mwenyekiti, yule mtu aliyepewa *ninety nine point something shares*, wakati *RAI Group* inanunua[sic] *Angel* [sic] hazitakuwepo [sic], wamenunua baadaye katika kufufua wamepata mwenzao wa kuweza kufufua naye kiwanda. *Angel* taarifa zake zimepelekwa *BRELA* na amekuwa *allotted* zile *shares*; ni jambo la kawaida kwenye *business*. Zile *shares* 100 ambazo zilikuwa *RAI Group*, zimekuwa *allotted* kwa *Angel* na hilo linajulikana kwa *BRELA* na bahati nzuri tumehangaika kueleweshana, tumepiga simu *Registrar of Companies, British Virgin Island* na kuongea na Afisa anayeitwa Benedin Smith na kupata taarifa zifuatazo; wakati mimi niliporudi huku, Maafisa wangu walikuwa wanahangaika hiyo yote ni kujali na kutia umuhimu kwenye hoja ambazo mnatuletea. Mheshimiwa Mwenyekiti, wanayo kwenye rekodi zao kampuni inayoitwa *Angel Hurst Industries Limited*, yenye namba za usajili 395195, taarifa anazotoa ni jina na namba za usajili tu, ukitaka *anything more* ni lazima ufanye *official search* na kulipa dola 25. Kwa hiyo, tumejitahidi na katika kupata ukweli tutafanya wote, ukweli wa Watanzania wote (*Makofi*) (Mary Nagu quoted verbatim in the Parliamentary Hansard of 12 August 2008)

This explanation could thus be directly translated:

Honorable Chairperson, that person who has been given *ninety point something shares* while *RAI Group* was buying [sic] *Angel*[sic] they won't be there [sic], they bought later and in reviving [SPM/MPM] they found a partner who will revive the mill. The profile/information of *Angel* has been sent to *BRELA* and it has been *allotted* those shares, this is a normal thing in business. Those 100 shares that were in *RAI Group* have been allotted to *Angel* and that is known by *BRELA* and fortunately we struggled to make each other understand, we have called *Registrar of Companies, British Virgin Island* and talked to an Officer known as

Benedin Smith and got the ensuing information; while I was coming back, my Officers were busy and all that entail caring and giving priority to the submissions you direct to us. Honorable Chairperson, they have in their records a company called *Angel Hurst Industries Limited*, with registration number 395195, the information that he gives out is the name and the registration number only, if you want *anything more* one should do an *official search* and pay 25 dollars. So, we have made an effort and in getting at the truth we will all do it together, the truth for all Tanzanians (*Applause*)

Ultimately, the Minister agreed to form a ministerial probe committee. The findings from this committee might shed more light on the identity, integrity and capacity of this investor but, so far, there no public information about the status of probe. Nevertheless this parliamentary debate, as well as reports emanating from other countries, reveals that there is a need for further scrutiny of this investor. Of particular relevance to this study is a systematic scrutiny of why the investor tends to use different company names. Is this a question of having a subsidiary company with a different name or, as it seems to be in the case of Angel Hurst's bigger investment share in SPM/MPM, is it a case of putting a front face to disguise the identity of the actual investor? If the latter is the case, then: why such a disguise? Or as Dr. Slaa (MP) put it in his parliamentary submission in regard to the RAI Brothers dealing with Angel Hurst: 'Why such a big lie?'

- **A RACIALIZED PERCEPTION OF INVESTORS**

The investor running Setchet, Murjanda and Gidagamowd farms is a subject of intense complaints from wananchi consulted in this research. A complaint that was singled out was that of prohibiting villagers, schoolchildren and livestock to pass through the farms whereby those who they caught 'trespassing' are apprehended and/or heavily fined. Another complaint that was aired frequently, and which the co-researcher's observation of the farm affirmed, was that the investor did not use the whole farm while there were villagers who did not have enough land to farm. In fact CHC's (2009) evaluation of the farm in July 2008 revealed that up to that time the investor had cultivated 16, 000 hectares of wheat and efforts were being made to clear and farm the remaining area. A quick calculation shows that that cultivated area was slightly above the size of the whole farm complex under the investor, that is, approximately 53%.

In relation to these complaints, there was a complaint that the investor did not have 'ujirani mwema', that is, 'neighbourly relations', as it was in the case of NAFCO which – according to some villagers – supported and participated in villages activities. Implicit in this complaint is a

call for Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR). However, the co-researcher noted that there was an instance in which a government dispensary that is located within Murjanda farm solicited and acquired funds from this investor. The co-researcher also observed that one of the reasons why, almost by default, citizens around the farms have negative perceptions of this investor is because, naturally, they compare him with the investor in Mulbadaw farm who, in a very significant way, has been part and parcel of their community way before the privatization of these farms.

Interestingly, some of these complaints caught the attention of the President of URT, Jakaya Mrisho Kikwete, when he visited the areas surrounding the farms in September 2008. Uhuru (19 September 2008), the newspaper of the ruling party, quotes the President as telling the villagers that the government will not return the farms because Tanzanians failed to sustain/maintain them. Therefore what the villagers are ought to do, the President insisted, is to support the big investors therein to revive the farms and that, when that happen, they will create jobs for the citizens. A government daily newspaper quoted him thus: "I cannot repossess the farms and give them to you. They have already been divested...Let us stop lamenting and give the investors time to revamp wheat production. You had the opportunity when the farms were still government-owned but you failed to sustain them" (Daily News 18 September 2008). It was while on this official visit that the President uttered the following words that contains the ironic Kiswahili saying that appears in the epigraph of this report:

“Hilo la mashamba mimi siwezi kuwapatia, yale ni mashamba ya watu siwezi kuwagawia ninyi...Hayo mashamba ni sisi wenyewe tumeshindwa kuyaendesha, tumeamua kuwapatia wawekezaji ambao wameanza kuyafufua polepole, tutakachofanya sisi serikali ni kuwataka waongeze kasi ili na nyinyi muweze kupata ajira...Pale hakukuwa na meneja ambaye ni Mzungu au Mhindi. Ni sisi wenyewe Waswahili ndio ambao tumeyaua...Acheni maneno maneno, tusiwe mafundi wa kusema mameneja tulikuwa sisi wenyewe, miluzi mingi humpoteza mbwa [Translation] (Jakaya Kikwete quoted in HabariLeo 17 September 2008)

The President's remarks capture the complaining people's racialized sentiments against the investor. This racialization is based on stereotypes about people – and especially businesspeople - of Asian descent that have their historical roots in the colonial period. In colonial Tanganyika, race was the primary criterion for determining social, political and economic status. Before independence, as the author of *Who are Indigenous Tanzanians? Competing Conception of*

Tanzanian Citizenship in the Business Community, Bruce Hailman (1998), notes, Tanganyika was segregated into three distinct groups.

The first group, which was primarily European, enjoyed full privileges of British citizenship. Most Asians comprised the second group and were treated as second-class citizens i.e. British-protected persons. The last group, the natives or Africans, were more subjects than citizens. Needless to say, this preferential treatment fermented resentment. In 1961 the division was so deep to the extent that the *Citizenship Bill* was considerably opposed in the legislature. The then Prime Minister, Mwalimu Julius Kambarage Nyerere, spoke emotionally against opponents who sought to base citizenship on colour rather than loyalty to our country. He warned that “because of the situation we have inherited in this country, where economic classes are also identical with race, that we live on dynamite, that it might explode any day, unless we do something about it” (Julius K. Nyerere 1966 : 129).

Even though something was done the dynamite tend to explode periodically, albeit partially. For instance, in 1993 it visibly exploded in some streets of Dar-es-Salaam. In his sociological analysis of *The Resurgence of Racial Tensions in Tanganyika 1991-1994: The Gabacholi Phenomenon*, Kajubi Mukajanga (1993) noted that it took one racially charged political/populist speech, by Reverend Christopher Mtikila, to spark the stoning of some cars. And one act of removing street vendors from Kariakoo ignited a rampage in which some shops were plundered. In both cases mobs targeted properties of people with stereotypical Asian features. The main rationale used in those fiery speech and acts of impunity was that the businesspeople of Asian origin were stealing/looting the resources of the indigenous/native African.

This discourse of the so-called ‘natives vis-à-vis settlers’ informs a lot of sentiments of people of African descent who feel exploited by people of Asian descent in Tanzania. But, as it is the case with many other stereotypes, the racialized stereotypes about people of Asian descent in Tanzania are also informed and reinforced by both real and perceived exploitative and inhumane acts. No wonder that some of the villagers consulted in the course of this research uttered these kinds of statements which attribute the treatment they received therein to the character supposedly inherent in the ‘descent’ of the investor: “makalasinga wanaweza kukuua [the kalasinga can kill you]” and “kalasinga is not a human being [kalasinga is not a human being].”

It is not surprising, then, that CHC's (2009) latest monitoring/evaluation of the farm found out the following shortcomings which, due to their sensitivity, are quoted in their original Kiswahili language - lest they lose their meaning - and thereafter translated into English:

- Idadi ya Wafanyakazi wa kudumu ilikuwa imepungua kutoka Wafanyakazi 150 wakati wa NAFCO hadi 46 [The number of permanent employees/workers has been reduced from 150 during the times of NAFCO to 46].
- Uhusiano kati wa wanakijiji (wafugaji) na mwekezaji ulikuwa mbaya hasa katika shamba la Gidagamowd ambapo mara nyingi kulikuwa na ugomvi kati ya Walinzi wa Mwekezaji na Wafugaji [The relationship between villagers (pastoralists) and the investors is bad especially in Gidagamowd farm whereby there are frequent disputes between the guards of the investors and the villagers.]
- Kumbukumbu za mahesabu ya kila shamba hazikuweza kupatikana, maelezo yaliyotolewa na Uongozi wa Shamba ni kwamba taarifa zote zilihifadhiwa katika Ofisi Kuu ya Mwekezaji iliyoko Nairobi [Financial documents of every farm could be acquired, the explanation given by the Authority of the Farm is that the documents are archived in the Main Office of the Investors in Nairobi [Kenya]].
- Katika msimu wa 2006/7 Mwekezaji alikuwa akikodisha sehemu ya mashamba kwa Wakulima wengine kwa kiwango cha Dola 10 za Marekani kwa kila ekari [In the 2006/7 season the investor was subleasing parts of the farms to other farmers at a rate of USD 10 [over Tsh. 10,000] per acres].

Surprisingly, the authority in charge of monitoring privatized parastatals simply took the following measures: “Baada ya tathmini hiyo CHC ilimwandikia Mwekezaji kumfahamisha juu ya mapungufu yaliyojitokeza kupitia barua kumbukumbu na CHC/PPME/08/06 ya tarehe 18 Julai 2008 na kumwagiza kurekebisha mapungufu yote kabla ya tathmini ambayo inatarajiwa kuwa mwezi July, 2009”, that is, after the evaluation CHC wrote a letter to the investor notifying him of those shortcomings through the letter with the cited reference and directed him to resolve fix/sort out all of them before the next evaluation expected to be conducted in July 2006. It is left to the subjective/objective judgement of the reader to determine how such an approach in the monitoring of the state of the farm is in line with following mandate as officially described by the Director General of CHC:

The Corporation's main functions are defined in sections 6 and 10 of the National Bank of Commerce (Re-organization and Vesting of Assets and Liabilities Act, Cap 404) as amended. Under this Act, CHC is legally empowered to undertake monitoring and evaluation of all privatised parastatals to determine their performance within the context of the divestiture agreements. For parastatals which have not performed since they were privatised (for your information these are very few) the Corporation will carefully study

their situation and make appropriate recommendations to the Government on the way forward. New investors will be sought if it is firmly/clearly established that the existing investors have completely failed to comply with the divestiture Agreements and their Business Plans (Edwina A. Lupembe as interviewed by The Guardian in 2008)

2.1. 4 THE STATE OF MULBADAW FARM AND SURROUNDING AREAS

In a way Mulbadaw farm is at the heart of HWC, not only because the then HWC's Central Maintenance Services Company (CMSC) is located within it, but also because it is situated between Bassotu plantation in its north-western border, Murjanda farm in its south-western border, Gidagamowd in its south-eastern border and separated from Setchet farm by the Katesh-Haydom road in its north-eastern border. However, in terms of human habitation, it is only bordered by Bassotu and Laghanga wards. On its sharp southern tip, which makes it appear as if it is only bordered the farms sandwiching it, it is bordered by Dajameda village in the latter ward. In its northern border it faces relatively new Ngalangala village – which the co-author of this report roughly estimate as having slightly over 2,000 villagers on the basis of the 2002 Census data of its mother/father village – right opposite to CMSC in Bassotu ward. The part of Mulbadaw village that borders Ngalangala could also be considered as neighbouring the farm.

TABLE 10: MULBADAW ENTRY IN THE TREASURY REGISTRAR'S STATEMENT OF GOVERNMENT INVESTMENT AND PUBLIC INTEREST AS AT 30 JUNE 2007

S.NO	NAME OF THE PARASTATAL	AUDITED ACCOUNTS DATE	SHARE CAPITAL/CAPITAL FUND	PAID UP SHARES TSHS	OTHER INVESTMENT TSHS	TOTAL TSHS	%	REMARKS
65	Mulbadaw Farm	30. 09. 1998	Share Capital	25,000,000	877,699,681	902,699,681	100	Under Liquidation. The successor of LART(CHC) to take over the liquidation

There are varying versions of the actual size of the farm, all of which depart significantly from Han Bantje's (1984) earlier record of 4,000 hectares. Ottar Mæstad and Eamonn Brehony's (2007) note that its total size is 5,390 hectares with 4,047 hectares suitable for wheat production. According to Thomas Ratsim – who cites the then General Manager of Haydom Development Company (HDC) extensively – in The Arusha Times (29 April – 05 May 2006), its size is 5,490

hectares. But another source claims that, together with CMSC, the farm covers an area of 10,000 hectares. As it shall be seen shortly, the issue of size remains a bone of contention in the then HWC. The Arusha Times (29 April - 05 May 2006) notes that HDC, a firm affiliated to Haydom Lutheran Hospital (HLH), paid Tsh. 1.094 Billion - raised by Friends of Haydom in Norway - to acquire the farm through outright purchase, a figure that is slightly affirmed by CHC's (2009) figure of Tsh 1.09 Billion. According to CHC (2009) it also bought CSMC for Tsh. 547 million which has been paid in full but the said other source claimed that it bought it for Tsh. 1.7 Billion.

- **A CHARITABLE PROFILING OF INVESTORS**

In the process of fully acquiring Mulbadaw farm in 2005 - 2006, the investor(s) got embroiled in a power struggle, a move that put the seemingly charitable move to acquire it on the spotlight. According to a loosely translated version of a Norwegian newspaper report by Reidun Gud in Stavanger Aftenblad (20 January 2007), when Tanzania changed its laws in 2004 to enable the private selling of land the Friends of Haydom saw it as an opportunity for the Haydom Lutheran Hospital to get a supporting hand to its mission. To that end HDC was established. It purchased the farm whereby the Friends of Haydom paid the first instalment, which was half the price.

Soon afterward a conflict arose on how to manage and organize the company with respect to Tanzania and Norway's corporate law regimes. Friends of Haydom wanted to buy shares in HDC so as to fulfil the requirements of their banking arrangements and have an insider's view on how the company is run. At the heart of this controversy was the then General Manager of HDC, Halvdan Jakobsen, who, according to another loosely translated news report in Stavanger Aftenblad (20 January 2007) which rely heavily on quotes from him, was concerned about HDC being the legal owner of the farm. Paradoxically, the former newspaper report notes that his brother, Oddvar Jakobsen, was invited to sit at the HDC board and bought ten shares.

However, according a review article written much later on, in 24 October 2007, and published in Lindesnes AS (26 October 2007) by the current head of HDC/HLC and thus the farm, Dr. Øystein Evjen Olsen, it was the vision of his late father, Ole Halgrim Evjen Olsen, to buy the farm for increasing the economic base in the area and preventing hunger as well as provide a surplus that should be part of the hospital sustenance. It was purchased by the funds provided by Haydom Lutheran Hospital and the Friends of Haydom.

According to Dr. Olsen, the two brothers, Halvdan and Oddvar Jakobsen, the then long-standing friends of Haydom, were asked to kickstart HDC and run the farm on behalf of Haydom Lutheran Hospital and the Friends of Haydom. However, he laments, they later on said they don't want to cooperate with the two entities. What followed were legal battles to settle the dispute. Even though the farm is now under the grip of Haydom Lutheran Hospital through HDC, it important to note that this conflict also caught the attention of the Tanzanian media and created an avenue for questioning the credibility of the apparently benevolent/charitable investor(s). It can be argued that it set the precedence for the ensuing ambivalent perceptions of HLC/HDC's management of Mulbadaw farm and CMSC.

Ironically, a celebratory *News from Haydom Development Company Ltd (HDC)*, written by the then General Manager of HDC, Halvdan Jakobsen (2006), asserted that by that year food for 75,000 people was being produced on the farm. This was not so, he claimed, in 2005 when HDC bought the farm. At that time, he further claims, half of the farm land was invaded by thorny bushes. This was so not least because none of 21 tractors and 6 combine harvesters that he noted in the inventory list could move. He thus summed the state of Mulbadaw farm in 2006:

This year, 10 of the 21 tractors are back again in the field. About 2 700ha out of the 4 000ha once cultivated at Mulbadaw is back in production. 2 200ha has been planted with wheat and 480ha with kartam [safflower]. Minor crops for experimental purposes and food (Sunflower, Calendula, green gram, maize etc) have been planted on a smaller area(50ha) Another 270ha of kartam is being planted at Wandela and Endagaw farms, also managed by Haydom Development Company Ltd., making it a total of 3 000ha in production this year. This brings back capacity to produce food for 75,000 people (Halvdan Jakobsen 2006).

In contrast to this highly celebratory publicity piece from a webpage made on behalf of Haydom Lutheran Hospital, Ottar Mæstad and Eamonn Brehony's (2007) Chr. Michelsen Institute (CMI) Report entitled *Review of Haydom Lutheran Hospital: External Review Contracted by the Royal Norwegian Embassy, Dar es Salaam* paints a modest picture. It noted that the food security project at Mulbadaw farm in 2006 supported 198 local families as well as local schools. Moreover, it observed that by 2006: "major incomes have been generated by the excavator while the farm has been running with a loss. The farm is, however, not yet operating at full scale" (Mæstad & Brehony 2007: v). When fully operating, the report noted, the farm is projected to raise an income of around Tsh 200 million for the Haydom Lutheran Hospital annually.

On the basis of an evaluation they conducted in July 2008, CHC (2009) reports that up to that time the investor had planted 6,000 acres of wheat and efforts were made to clear and cultivate the remaining area of 4, 000 acres. It is important to note, as the official website of the Haydom Lutheran Church notes, the farm still mainly produce wheat as it was the case in the heydays of NAFCO.

As it has been noted earlier, the issue of farms not operating at full scale emerged as one of the major concerns among the majority of the citizens consulted in the course of the fieldwork. At the heart of this concern was that the citizens felt they didn't have enough land for cultivation while a huge chunk of land remained underutilized by investors who, supposedly, had the capacity to fully exploit the land compared to small-scale farmers. Even though the co-researcher could not scientifically assess the size of the uncultivated land, he observed a large portion of land in Mulbadaw farm that appeared not to have been cultivated in the previous season let alone the (then) current season. Commenting on this underutilization in relation to reported incidences of subletting plots of land in the farm to people, Ngalangala village chairperson, Simon Joel, queried: "why are they letting – have they come to invest or to let?"

- **AN AMBIVALENT PERCEPTION OF INVESTORS**

According to Samuel Qawoga, villagers have no problem with the move to sell Mulbadaw farm to the investor because Haydom Lutheran Church Hospital is a part of their lives. In a way this point was reiterated by some other wananchi of Hanang. For instance, in spite of his reservations over the issue of water, the chairperson of Ngalangala village said that HDC/HLC is a better investor compared to RAI Group because he is humane. Another Ngalangala villager, Victoria Bunge, said that, unlike RAI, HDC/HLC is not problematic and went on to list the following CSR activities that it had undertaken thus far: giving aid and shelter to orphans; offering the services of their fuelled tractor to cultivate the school farm; allowing villagers to use their water. The Councillor of Bassotu ward also noted that the investor used to give 2 acres to women around the farm to cultivate wheat as a part of 'ujirani mwema.' The rationale for all this CSR – or PR as some might call it - is thus captured by the then Director of HDC/HLC:

This year we have spent time every Tuesday afternoon with our neighbours; - "we" is somebody from Haydom Development Company Ltd in search of solutions. Together with the leaders of the communities along the border a joint

venture has been established, - providing food security for the families that have opted for participation and providing much needed hands for the production on the 4000 ha farm (10 000acres). The solution was found in realizing a common interest in a good crop on the farm. We are “shareholders”; we are sharing the yield of wheat with the families that have shared their labour force with us in weeding and guarding the crops. A group of five families providing the value of 10 months work receives so much wheat that in average is harvested on 10ha. That should provide enough food for a whole year, and in addition income enough to keep the children in school. Perhaps even for a plough to put behind oxen? (Halvdan Jakobsen in Arusha Times 2006)

However, as it has been hinted in the previous sub-section, citizens’ perceptions of HDC are not entirely colorful. One particular reservation that came up often was that of HDC’s control of the three water tanks that used to supply water to the then NAFCO’s HWC and neighbouring villages. Even though up to the time of the fieldwork they were accessing water freely from HDC there were complaints that sometimes the company only allow the water to run in the night, giving the villagers a hard time to fetch it in dark hours.

There was also a concern about HDC’s announced plan to install a water meter and thus start selling water to the villagers – an announcement they claimed to have receive from Alphonse Munyaw, dubbed the ‘African leader of the farm’ in the HLC official website, who declined to be interviewed until the co-research consult Dr. Olsen first. Tied to this concern was a claim that HDC has cut a pipeline that used to direct supply water from the tanks to Ngalangala village.

Expectedly, CHC’s (2009) latest monitoring/evaluation report affirms that the farm is run well compared to other farms. It also notes commendably that the investor has good relations with wananchi given that he has designed a project to help them with food whereby every family works for 40 hours in the farm. The number of employees – and hence the rate of employment – in the farm, the report further notes, has increased from 50 employees during NAFCO’s times up to 63 during the time of the evaluation.

However, as a shortcoming, the report noted that the investor was running the farm at a loss. Its financial statements on earnings showed a loss of Tsh. 361 million and Tsh. 221 million in 2006 and 2007 respectively therefore CHC advised the investors to increase efficiency in productivity so that the farm can be run profitably. The lingering question is: How enforceable that advice is?

2.1.5 THE STATE OF BASSOTU FARM AND SORROUNDING AREAS

Bassotu farm, commonly known as the Bassotu Plantation, borders Bassotu ward in the north it faces two villages of Mulbadaw and Ngalangala. The Katesh-Haydom road slightly circumvent on that northern side. In its southern border there is Murjanda farm. It shares a border with Mulbadaw on its eastern side. In its western border it gives way to Mulbadaw farm while its farthest north-western tip face the Lake Bassotu valley. According to CHC (2009) the farm has a size of 10, 000 which is equivalent to the same size that was documented by Han Bantje (1984).

TABLE 11: BASSOTU ENTRY IN THE TREASURY REGISTRAR'S STATEMENT OF GOVERNMENT INVESTMENT AND PUBLIC INTEREST AS AT 30 JUNE 2007

S.NO	NAME OF THE PARASTATAL	AUDITED ACCOUNTS DATE	SHARE CAPITAL/ CAPITAL FUND	PAID UP SHARES TSHS	OTHER INVESTMENT TSHS	TOTAL TSHS	%	REMARKS
7	Basuto [sic] Farm	30. 09. 2002	Share Capital	8,220,000	636,229,423	644,449,423	100	Under Liquidation. The successor of LART(CHC) to take over the liquidation

- **A DELUSIVE SEARCH FOR ELUSIVE INVESTORS**

At the moment, the government is looking for an investor to invest in the Bassotu plantation. As it has been shown in the previous section, the government is adamant that it won't return any other farm of the then HWC to wananchi. However, from the way the process of privatizing Bassotu plantation has dragged on, it is quite clear that getting a reliable investor is as elusive as it is delusive. The above discussed experience of privatizing SPM in which, according to the Minister Responsible for Industry, a total of 12 years were spent looking for an investor underscores the reasons why reliable investors tend to buy time and/or shun bidding for such investment offers. It also highlights why in such a situation, ultimately, it is the government that tend to desperately end up wooing and getting wooed by investors with questionable profiles.

Interestingly, CHC's (2009) latest evaluation of the farm notes that the process of liquidating the farm was suspended by the government in 2005. However, it continued to be under the liquidator up to the end of 2008 when the government issued a directive for privatizing it through liquidation. The task of valuating it, the evaluation report further notes, has been completed and

the liquidator is in the process of advertising in the media so as to get an investor. Hence the quest for an investor remains unquenched.

- **AN ALTERNATIVE QUEST FOR LOCAL INVESTORS**

As a way to ensure that the farm does not fall into the hands of external/foreign investors, and especially given the fact that there some rumours that RAI Group/Ngano Limited has paid 10% in order to bid for it, some villagers of Bassotu ward have been organizing themselves to form a cooperative society which aim to bid for the tender as soon as the liquidator publicly announces it. The name chosen is Bassotu Agricultural and Marketing Cooperative Society (BAMCOS).

The agenda behind BAMCOS, however, is not wholly supported by villagers in the Bassotu ward. This is particularly the case in Ngalangala village, which during the quest for Gawal farm was not yet a village since it was part of Mulbadaw village. As such it participated in that quest and expected to get a share of the farm when it is finally returned to villagers in the surrounding areas. However, as the documents cited in the previous section on Gawal farm shows, it was decided that only 4 villages will get this share. That decision was reached at a time when Ngalangala had already been declared a separate village - for it was declared so in 2004 - hence it was not included in distribution arrangement because it appeared to be quite far from the farm.

This situation particularly elicit reservations because Ngalangala borders the three farms of Mulbadaw, Bassotu and Setchet yet it has not got any share of the returned farms of Warret and Gawal, and its attempt to get Bassotu has hit a number of snags. For instance, when President Jakaya Mrisho Kikwete visited the area in September 2008, villagers of Ngalangala asked him to return the farm but, according to villagers consulted in this study and the media reports on his most recent visit to Hanang cited above, he refused.

It is such a context that makes some villagers of Ngalangala question the attempt of villagers from villages that have already got Gawal farm to also get Bassotu plantation through BAMCOS as an investor for it appears that the driving force behind this society is Bassotu village. Isaak Abraham Peter, an ex-NAFCO employee who also happens to be a member of the Ngalangala village council, even asserts that this is a move by well-off villagers from the ward who want to secure the farm without involving their village. While all these dynamics are being interplayed in

the farm, as CHC (2009) noted in July 2008, remains in a bad state because it has not been used for a long time.

2.2 THE GENERAL STATE OF OTHER EX-NAFCO FARMS/AREAS

As it has been shown in section 2.0 of this report, NAFCO owned a vast area of land in various areas of Tanzania, totalling over 70,000 hectares. Due to this scope, the fieldwork of this study focused on HWC. In the course of conducting supplementary documentary research, however, the researchers collected some information - and conducted a literature review - on a number of other Ex-NAFCO farms. On the basis of this review, then, this section provides a brief overview of the state of these farms and their respective surrounding areas.

2.2.1 THE GENERAL STATE OF WEST KILIMANJARO FARMS (WKF)

The farms that constitutes the then NAFCO's West Kilimanjaro Farms Limited are mainly located in the Hai District on the lower western slope of Mount Kilimanjaro in the Kilimanjaro region. According Han Bantje (1984), this was a conglomerate of 17 formerly private farms that had a total size of 12,165 hectares. In 1975, just after the takeover by NAFCO, the farm was regrouped into 5 units. The main crops that were farmed therein are wheat, barley, and dairy.

These farms offer another case study of how and why the process of privatization farms has stalled in a number of cases. In his parliamentary response to the MP of Siha, Aggrey Deaisile Joshua Mwanri, on why such was the case as at 3 February 2004, the then Deputy Minister responsible for Agriculture, Professor Pius P. Mbawala, said that the process of privatizing West Kilimanjaro Farms was taking a long time because the government had decided to deal with all land disputes in those farms before advertising them for privatization. He noted that that up to that time the process had reached a stage whereby: Rosylin farm that had a size of 2,458 acres was earmarked to be sold to wananchi who had invaded the forest reserve of Mount Kilimanjaro; the government had decided to resurvey the farms with the aim of selling the areas that had been invaded and permanent residences built therein as well as privatize the remaining areas; Tanzania Breweries Limited (TBL) had given the Fresian farm, which has a size of 2,330 acres, to the District Council of Hai so that it can distribute it to wananchi of the district who were faced with the problem of land scarcity so that they could stop invading other TBL farms in Hai.

Two years later, in 2006, the United Republic of Tanzania, through the then PSRC, invited proposals from qualified investors to purchase the three farms in the area. The advertisement which can be cached from the now defunct PSRC website list the farms, with their total acreage in the brackets, as: Journeys End (1,768 acres), Fosters (643 acres) and Kanamondo (2, 166 acres). It also stated that all these farms had been re-surveyed and each had a Certificate of Title for 99 years from 2005. Tellingly, Table 12 below shows how the advertisement was summarily promoted in the FDI.net, a webpage provided by the Multilateral Investment Guarantee Agency (MIGA) World Bank Group.

TABLE 12: MIGA WORLD BANK GROUP ADVERTISEMENT SHOWING PRIVATIZATION OPPORTUNITY OF THE WEST KILIMANJARO FARMS

Title	Information Type	Source	Sector
Invitation for Outright Purchase of West Kilimanjaro Farms - Tanzania (Aug-02-2006)	Opportunities: Privatization	Presidential Parastatal Sector Reform Commission (PSRCTZ) – Tanzania	Property

Yet by the end of 2006 the farms had not been privatized. In a parliamentary session on 7 February 2007, the MP of West Arumeru, Elisa David Mollel, asked whether the government would consider it a wise decision to give the farms to citizens surrounding them - according to the then current procedures - given that they had not been used for a long time and that these citizens were faced with the problem of land scarcity.

The then Deputy Minister responsible for Agriculture, Food Security and Co-operatives, Christopher Kajoro Chiza gave the following elaborate response which deserve to be quoted extensively in its original form and then translated:

Mashamba ya West Kilimanjaro ikiwa ni pamoja na mashamba mengine ya NAFCO yako chini ya PSRC specified kwa ajili ya ubinafsishaji. Aidha, katika mchakato wa ubinafsishaji wa mashamba ya NAFCO Serikali inatumia njia mbalimbali ambazo zinatofautiana kwa kila shamba...Ili kuwezesha mashamba ya Kanamondo, Harlington, Fosters, Matadi na Journeys End kubinafsishwa, Serikali kupitia PSRC iliamua kuyapima kwa nia ya kuelewa ukubwa wake hasa ukizingatia kuwa yalikuwa yamevamiwa na baadhi ya watu kujenga makazi ya kudumu. Upimaji huo uliwezesha Serikali kujua ukubwa wa maeneo yaliyobaki kabla ya kutangaza ubinafsishaji. Aidha, shamba la Fresian liliondolewa katika utaratibu wa ubinafsishaji, kwa vile ni mali ya Kampuni ya Bia. Shamba la Rosylin lenye ukubwa wa ekari 2000 limegawanywa kwa baadhi ya wananchi waliokuwa wamevamia msitu wa Mlima Kilimanjaro. Shamba la Matadi kwa upande mwingine limepata mwekezaji, ambae amelipia nusu ya gharama

zinazotakiwa kulipwa...mchakato wa ubinafsishaji wa mashamba ya Kanamondo, Harlington, Fosters na Journeys yenye jumla ya ekari 5935 unaendelea. Kuhusu hoja ya kugawa mashamba haya kwa wananchi imedhihirika kuwa zoezi hilo haliwezekani hasa ukizingatia kwamba idadi ya watu wanaoishi ndani ya msitu wa Kilimanjaro wanaokadiriwa kuwa zaidi ya 12,000, hawataweza kutoshelezwa na ekari 5,935 zilizopo, kuwawezesha kujitegemea kiuchumi. Kwa vile kuna uhaba mkubwa wa ardhi katika eneo hilo. Dawa siyo kugawana ardhi kidogo kidogo, bali ni busara kwa wananchi wasiokuwa na ardhi katika maeneo hayo kutafuta ardhi katika sehemu nyingine ya nchini (Hansard)

A modest, direct translation is thus offered:

West Kilimanjaro Farms, including other NAFCO farms are under PSRC specified for privatization. Moreover, in the process of the privatization of NAFCO farms the government is employing various methods which differ from one farm to another...In order effect the privatization of Kanamondo, Harlington, Fosters, Matadi and Journeys End farms, the government, through PSRC, decided to survey them with the aim of ascertaining their size especially given that they had been invaded and some people had built permanent residences. That survey helped the government ascertain the size of the remaining are before advertising them for privatization. However, Fresian farm was removed in the privatization process because it is the property of the Beer Company. Rosylin farm, which has a size of 2,000 acres, has been divided to citizens who had invaded the forest of Mount Kilimanjaro. Matadi farm, on the other hand, has got an investor who has paid half of the cost due...the process of privatization the farms of Kanamondo, Harlington, Fosters and Journeys End that have a total of 5,935 acres is going on. Concerning the proposal of distributing the farm to citizens it has been realized that that undertaking is impossible given that the number of people living inside the forest of Kilimanjaro, who are estimated to be more than 12,000, could not be accommodated in the remaining 5,935 acres to enable them to sustain themselves economically. Since there is a severe land scarcity in that area the solution is not to distribute small pieces of land but it is wise for citizens who don't have land in that area to find land in other areas in the country.

Apparently the survey the Deputy Minister was referring to was done by Geomatics Engineering Consultants Limited between November–December 2002 on behalf of PSRC. According to the firm's official website, the consultancy involved resurveying and titling of six NAFCO farms at West Kilimanjaro totalling an area of 10,187 acres. It also involved the preparation of a town plan and drawing of 925 plots for resettlement schemes at West Kilimanjaro.

It is not surprising then that when PSRC (2007) was in the process of winding its operation in 2007 - as per *Public Corporations Act of 1991* as then amended in 1999 - and building what turned out to be an unsuccessful case for the extension of its legal mandate beyond 2007, it came

up with an Action Plan 2007/2008 which showed that the West Kilimanjaro Farms of Journeys End, Fosters, Harlington and Kanamondo will be among the NAFCO farms and properties that will be dealt with in the financial year 2007/2008. The Action Plan's accompanying Annual Review 2006/2007 showed that PSRC had only managed to privatize Matadi Farm whereby an Asset Sale Agreement for the sale of the assets of the farm was signed by the Government and Mr. H. H. Mosha on 20 June 2007. According to CHC (2009), this farm has a size of 298.34 acres and was sold for Tsh. 250 million, that is, for approximately Tsh. 837,970 per acre. Tellingly, PSRC's successor thus realized that the other farms were/are not 'privatizable':

Mashamba haya yalitangazwa kuuzwa kwa wawekezaji. Hata hivyo, wawekezaji waliojitokeza hawakufikia bei iliyokuwa inatakiwa. Mnamo mwaka 2007, Baraza la Mawaziri lilipitisha uamuzi wa kubadilisha mkakati wa kuendeleza kilimo cha biashara kwa mashamba haya na badala yake kutumia mashamba hayo kwa matumizi ya "Conservation and Tourism". Kwa kuwa suala hili limegusa wananchi wengi katika maeneo haya kuhusu matumizi ya ardhi hiyo, suala hili bado linajadiliwa katika ngazi za Serikali. CHC na Ofisi ya Mkuu wa Mkoa wa Kilimanjaro wanaendelea kufanya Majadiliano ili kujua ni mkakati upi unafaa kutekelezwa kwa manufaa ya pande zote. Hatua zinazochukuliwa hadi sasa: Kuweka mtaalamu kufanya uchambuzi na kutoa mapendekezo kuhusu mkakati unaofaa; kutayarisha taarifa kuhusu shamba hili baada ya kupokea taarifa kutoka kwa wataalamu na kuishauri Serikali ipasavyo [These farms were advertised to be sold to investors. However, the investors who bid did not meet the required cost. In 2007 the Cabinet of Ministers passed a decision to change the strategy of developing commercial agriculture in those farms and, instead, to use them for 'Conservation and Tourism'. Since this issue is of concern to many people in those areas in regard to the use of that land, the issue is still being discussed at the government level. CHC and the Office of the Regional Commissioner of Kilimanjaro are continuing with discussions in order to ascertain which best strategy could be implemented so as to benefit all sides. The steps that are being taken so far are: To bring an expert who will analyse and give recommendations about the best strategy; to prepare a report about that farm after receiving information from the experts and advising the government accordingly] (CHC 31 March 2008: 4)

Yet the entry of each of these farms in the latest CHC's (2009) report on ex-NAFCO farms reads "halijabinafsishwa", that is, 'it has not been privatized' and the explanation given is "CHC inangoja kibali cha Serikali", that is, 'CHC is awaiting the government's permission' Curiously, with the exception of Journeys End, the size of each of the other two farms provided therein differs with those listed in the PSRC tender in 2006. In CHC Fosters is listed as having 727 acres while in PSRC it is listed as having 643 acres, yielding an upward difference of 84 acres.

Kanamondo is documented as having 2,203 acres in CHC and 2,166 acres in PSRC, giving an upward difference of 37 acres.

This discrepancy is startlingly given that there are no other official public records of any other survey than that was done under PSRC and which were subsequently inherited by CHC. Interestingly, the 5,935 total acreage of the four farms cited above by the then Deputy Minister for Agriculture reveals that he was using the same data that has been used by CHC (2009) rather than the one that was submitted by PSRC in 2006. Table 11 below gives a graphical picture of this discrepancy which needs to be investigated further.

TABLE 13: PARADOXICAL DISCREPANCY BETWEEN PSRC’S (2006) AND CHC’S (2009) RECORDS ON THE SIZE(S) OF SOME WEST KILIMANJARO FARMS

FARM	PSRC (2006)	CHC (2009)	DIFFERENCE
Journeys End	1,768	1,768	0
Fosters	643	727	84
Kanamondo	2,166	2,203	37
Harlington	-	1,237	-
Total		5,935	121

It is not surprising then that when the Vice President (VC), Dr. Ali Mohammed Shein, visited the area in January 2008 he was quoted by the media as requesting for patience from the public as the government devises decisions on the future of these farms. According to The Guardian (26 January 2008), the VC said the government was working on the possibility of allotting the farms to people evicted from the West Kilimanjaro Forest Reserve as well as those who had no agricultural plots and permanent residences. However, not everyone supported such a move.

Lamenting on the collapse of large-scale wheat farming in The Guardian (23 September 2008), Theo Mushi observes that after a portion of the WKF had been subdivided into smaller plots and eventually given to villages, the villagers have in turn resorted to cultivation of alternative crops like Irish potatoes and finger millet. His sentiments, deliberately echoing the statement made by President Kikwete around that time in Hanang in support of large-scale agro-investors, epitomized the position of those who do not perceive pastoralists/peasants as primary food producers, that is, the actual meat/breadbasket. This position, which has been demystified by Finn Kjaerby (1986), Kemal Mustafa (1990), Paul T. Zeleza (1997) and Sam Moyo & Paris Yeros (2005) among others, is the driving force behind what one of the subsequent subsections of the report terms ‘A Delusive Search for Elusive Investors’ over and above primary producers.

2.2.2 THE GENERAL STATE OF MBARALI RICE FARM

Mbarali Rice Farm is located within Mbarali District in Mbeya region. It lies within the Usangu plain which is famously known as the ‘national rice basket’ because it used to yield up to 60% of the rice consumed in Tanzania. According to Han Bantje (1984), the farm had the size of 5,575 hectares when NAFCO took over in 1977 from a Chinese team, which had financed and managed it between 1964 -1977 after it had been started in 1958 under the Tanganyika Agricultural Corporation (TAC) with the assistance of the Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) of the United Nations. However, according to the latest documentations from CHC (2009), the farm’s current size is 14, 437 acres. This is approximately equivalent to 5,842 hectares, which indicate an increase of over 267 hectares from the 1984 figures.

The dramatic process of privatizing the farm stalled for a long time. In a parliamentary speech for the budget estimates of his ministry for the financial year 2003/2004, the then Minister for Agriculture, Charles N. Keenja, said that the government had decided that this farm, as well as the ex-NAFCO farms of Kapunga, Ruvu and Dakawa, will be privatized to small-scale farmers. He also noted that these farms were being evaluated and a procedure of how they will be sold to small-scale farmer who shall own them was being prepared. However, in a subsequent speech for the financial year 2004/2005, the then Minister responsible for Agriculture, who happened to still be Charles N. Keenja, said that the then PSRC was finalizing the procedures for advertising the Mbarali and Kapunga farms for sale. Yet in a subsequent speech for the financial year 2005/2006, he said that process of making a decision of privatizing the farms and issuing the outcome of that decision was in its final stage. This 3 years vicious cycle illustrates that stalling.

In her supplementary question on this process in a parliamentary session on 3 February 2004, the MP of Mbarali, Estherina Julio Kilasi, noted that this process of privatizing the farms in Mbarali had started in 2001 and that three years had elapsed then without wananchi being certain about the fate of the farm – whether it will be privatized or distributed to them. The then Deputy Minister for Agriculture, Professor Pius P. Mbawala, briefly responded by reiterating that because the farms did not belong to those wananchi legally, surely they were ‘wavamizi’, that Kiswahili term that is ubiquitous in official/conventional Tanzanian land discourse and which literally means ‘invaders’. He then insisted that the process of acquiring them was lengthy and it

will be implemented only if these wananchi will follow procedures as described in his earlier response. That is his response to a principal question on West Kilimanjaro Farms cited above.

Two years afterwards, in a parliamentary session of 27 June 2006, the MP of Mbarali reiterated the concerns of her constituency about the privatization of the two ex-NAFCO farms in Mbarali Districts. She asserted that the two farms were the only source of income to the citizens there since it served 30, 000 people and ten villages. The MP also noted that it did not only serve people of Mbarali, but also people from Iringa districts and other districts of Mbeya who were farming therein. After noting that some investors have won the tender to run the farms and that there were environmental concerns, she cautioned that giving the farm to one or two people will result into diverting the water – then used by adjacent farmers – into the two farms only thus making it impossible for these farmers to farm again.

To resolve this then impending predicament, she advised the government to move the small-scale farmers adjacent to the farms into the developed parts of the farms and provide each one of them a one hectare plots to ensure that they farm and secure a reliable income and that the water source outside the farms are not intruded again. The Mbarali MP queried why the big investors are not given the undeveloped areas/valleys in Mbarali if they really have the capacity to farm so that the developed parts can be retained by small-scale farmers so they can sustain themselves. On behalf of her constituency she then submitted the following request, backing it up with evidence which support the above-discussed notion that it is the primary producers who mainly feed the society/community/nation:

Kwa hiyo, nimwombe Waziri Mkuu kwamba, wakae tena waangalie kwa sababu hakuna kipato kingine Wilayani Mbarali. Ukizungumza kwamba, kuna chakula safari hii Mbeya, Mbarali uitoe kwa sababu haina mvua, inategemea kilimo cha umwagiliaji na tangu mwaka 1992 baada ya NAFCO kushindwa kulima. Wakulima wamekuwa wakikodi mle ndani ya mashamba, kwa zaidi ya miaka kumi sasa...Kwa sababu NAFCO ilipokuwepo hata wananchi wenyewe walikuwa wanaajiriwa mle ndani, hawakuweza kumudu maisha yao ya kila siku. Lakini baada ya kuambiwa sasa mtakodi yale mashamba na wamekuwa wakilipa shilingi 25,000 kwa hekta moja, vipato vimeongezeka. Mheshimiwa Waziri Mkuu ulifika miaka ya 1980, uliona sasa ni tofauti kabisa. Hali ya Mbarali watu walivyoendelea, walivyobadilika, mashule tumejenga kwa kutumia kipato cha kilimo cha mpunga si kitu kingine na kwa mfano tu ulio rahisi, katika hekta moja ya shamba, mkulima akilima pale anapata magunia 40 na akiuza anapata karibu shilingi milioni 1.8, ukitoa gharama inabaki shilingi 1,200,000 kwa

hekta moja. Sasa kwa mwaka mzima kwa hekta hizo 7,000 ambazo ziko kwenye shamba moja, kuna shilingi bilioni nane ambazo zinazalishwa pale kwenye ile Wilaya na hizo pesa zinabaki ndani wa Wilaya ya Mbarali. Sasa leo akipewa mtu mmoja, sielewi unamfanyaje huyu mwananchi aweze kumudu maisha yake ya kila siku, unampa wapi eneo lingine la kulima akitoka mle ndani ya mashamba?

The following is an attempt at a fair translation of the submission:

Therefore, I request the Prime Minister that they review because there is no other earning in Mbarali District. When we talk that there is food this time in Mbeya, omit Mbarali because it does not have rain, it depend on irrigated agriculture and since 1992 after NAFCO failed to farm. The farmers have been get leased to farm inside the farms for more than ten years now...because when NAFCO was there even the citizens themselves used to be employed therein, yet they couldn't sustain their daily lives. But after they were told now you can get leased in those farms and they have been paying Tsh. 25, 000 per one hectare the earnings have increased. Honorable Prime Minister you came there in the 1980s, you saw now things are totally different. The state of Mbarali, how people have developed, how they have changed; we have build schools using the earnings we got from farming paddy and nothing else and just one simple example, in one hectare of a farm, when the farmer farm therein s/he gets 40 sacks and when s/he sells s/he gets almost Tsh 1.8 million when you deduct the cost s/he is remained with Tsh 1,200,000 per one hectare. Now for the whole year with those 7,000 hectares that are under one farm there is Tsh 8 Billion that is produced there in that District and that money remains in Mbarali District. Today if one person is given that farm, I don't know what you will do to that mwananchi so that s/he can sustain her/his daily life, where do you give her/him an alternative place to farm when s/he gets out of those farms?

As the MP of East Mbozi, Godfrey Weston Zambi, noted one year later in a parliamentary session of 9 August 2007, the government went ahead to sell the farm to private investor regardless of that vocal petition lodged by the MP of Mbarali and only decided to talk to wananchi after the fact. Another MP, Zitto Kabwe, notes that this petition was ineffective not least because the Mbarali MP did not lodge a private motion in the parliament that could be supported and thus voted for by other parliamentarians. Thus, as PSRC (2007) documents, the divestiture of the farm was concluded on 18 August 2006, during which an agreement for the sale of its assets was signed by the government and a buyer known as Highland Estates Limited.

According to the buyer's official website, Highland Estates Limited started as family business in 1930s when the founder member of the company Mr. Abdulrahim Mulla introduced subsistence rice irrigation farming within Usangu in the southern highland region by constructing an 11 kilometres canal from Igawa to Rujewa in Mbeya. The business developed into a sole

proprietorship under Pirmohamed Mulla in 1960s whereby it traded in retail and wholesale business. It also acted as an agent for industrial processed products, cereals and distribution in the southern regions. In the 1970s, the official website further notes, the company further developed to include transport business dealing with transportation of liquid and dry cargo within the East and Central Africa.

Then in the 1990s the company entered into construction business. Accordingly, it was incorporated under CAP 212 on 1st July 1991 in the name Southern Highland Estates Limited bearing the certificate number 19602. However, it changed name to Highland Estates Limited on 2nd September 1997 under the same certificate number. Moreover, it is still running transportation business along with farming activities. The agricultural activities carried out, as listed in its official website, include sisal farming, irrigation farming, macadamia and wheat and maize plant; company uses mechanized farming, harvesting technology.

The current owner of the company, Nawab Mulla, happens to be the chairperson of the ruling party, that is, CCM, for Mbeya region and has at least once attempted to win a nomination to run for Mbarali's parliamentary seat. He also hails from the politically powerful Baluchi business community in Mbarali. This observation is particularly pertinent given the fact that the family has family ties with the then national treasurer of CCM and current Igunga MP, Rostam Aziz, who is currently a subject of a number of grand corruption scandals in Tanzania and conspiracy theories has it that he has a stake in the farm. Ironically, though, both of them bid for the farm.

It is not surprising then that the process of selling the farm was not without controversy. For instance, as Habari Tanzania (23 August 2006) notes, the then Minister responsible for Agriculture, Joseph Mungai who is also a CCM MP, had to respond to allegations reported in Tanzania Daima (20 August 2006) that he had an undue influence on the process smacking of nepotism and corruption. These allegations were also directed to the then PSRC which was accused of bowing down to the influence of the then Minister and colluding with him to change the Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) so that the investor, an alleged friend of him, would not fulfil the requirement of immediately paying the remaining 90% after winning the bid as it was the case with the investor in the Kapunga farm. Tellingly, in the parliamentary session on 29 January 2008 the subsequent Minister responsible for Agriculture, Stephen Masatu Wassira,

noted that the farm was handed to the investor on 14 September 2006 and by 29 January 2008 this investor had paid Tsh 2 Billion out of the required Tsh 3.5 Billion. He also noted that by up to that time the company had used Tsh. 2.72 Billion to renovate the farm and buy equipment.

Interestingly, when then Minister responsible for Agriculture visited the area together with the then Minister responsible for Planning, Juma Ngasongwa, to inform villagers about the process a reputable media source reported: “During the meeting the farmers carried placards written ‘Mungai you are killing us farmers’; ‘President save us’; ‘God Bring back the late Mwl. Nyerere,’ while others were heard singing songs against privatization. Other placards carried cartoons that read ‘Be quick my in-law’ (the investor telling the government official), you small scale farmers leave out your hoes and give them to this big farmer, while the small scale farmers responded ‘we wont accept’” (The Guardian 24 August 2006). A number of media articles from a newspaper that is widely seen as the mouthpiece of the CHADEMA opposition party then heavily criticized the then Minister and his CCM colleagues – some even carried headlines with such scathing attacks as directly translated by the co-author of this report: ‘The government has betrayed the people of Mbarali’ (Tanzania Daima 10 August 2006) and ‘Bigwigs imbibe bribes’ (Tanzania Daima 20 August 2006) and Interestingly, the then Minister was on record in the media asserting that the founder of CHADEMA, Edwin Mtei, was instigating people by calling for a march against the privatization process (The Guardian 4 August 2006).

The observation about the Baluchi connection is also important since it adds analytical nuances to the analysis of racialization in Tanzania. As the discussion sparked by Majjid Mjengwa’s (2007) photo of Mbarali farm posted in his blog hints at, that this Baluchi community, which is also of Asiatic descent, does not elicit a racialized perception in the Tanzanian community as much as the Indian community – especially in the case where its members are not Tanzanian citizens as it is the case with RAI Group Limited – involved in more or less similar investment. The former is seen as being more integrated into the wider community.

What, then, makes the difference especially in the case of Highlands Estates Limited in the Mbarali farm which is seen as a relatively humane and community orientated investor than Export Trading Company Limited in the Kapunga farm. Elisa Greco, a scholar researching the area, notes that the key difference is that the former investor is playing a fair game with local

people; he is local since his family has been living in the area for over a century; and he had no competition from the local people in the auction. Her first point is in line with a response by the Minister responsible for Agriculture, Stephen Masatu Wassira, in the parliamentary session on 29 January 2008 which cites the following ‘CSR’ activities as having been done by this investor by 31 December 2007: ‘A total of 2500 hectares subleased to cooperative groups of 884 small-scale farmers; Wananchi surrounding the farm have benefitted from water supplied to their households and livestock; 100 permanent employment posts and 200 temporary employment posts have been secured; Mbarali Primary School has been renovated, two classroom and a teacher’s office have been constructed by the investor whereby Tsh 8 million have been used.’

However, the general conclusion on positive perceptions of the investor in Mbarali farm relative to the one in Kapunga must be taken with a pinch of salt. This is particular pertinent since – as it has been noted in Rai Mwema (23 April 2008) among other sources – there have been reports of complaints about a costly minimum acreage they have been imposing when subleasing farming plots thus marginalizing some villagers. Thus in as much as comparative assessment is important yet the situation in one farm also needs to be assessed in its own right lest it becomes masked.

PSRC’s successor, CHC (2009), admits it has not done any evaluation of this farm since it was privatized in 2004. It is planning to do so in May 2009. Nevertheless, in the meantime POAC is visiting the farm to monitor/assess the implementation of the privatization policy therein.

2.2.3 THE GENERAL STATE OF KAPUNGA RICE PROJECT

Kapunga is one of the two most famous ex-NAFCO farms in Mbarali District in Mbeya Region, the other one being Mbarali Rice Farm. As section 2.2.2 of this report reveals, most of the times the two farms have been discussed together and official decisions regarding them have been reached jointly. This section, however, attempts to offer a brief description that specifically deal with the general state of the farm on the basis of documentary research.

According to CHC (2009), the farm has a size of 18,425 acres. In 2006 the farm was privatized, that is, sold to Export Trading Co. Ltd for Tsh. 2.311 Billion. CHC affirms that the investor has paid that amount in full. However, in the course of acquiring it there were a lot of reservations regarding the payment, with some media sources quoting citizens complaining that the farm was being sold at a low price that does not reflect its actual cost. These complaints continue to date.

The owner of Export Trading Co. Ltd, claimed ThisDay's (22 December 2008) editorial and a number of people consulted in this study, is none other than Jeetu Patel. This name, however, is a nickname/popular one as his real name is Jayantkumar Chandubhai Patel. Jeetu Patel, it should be noted, has been linked to a number of grand corruption scandals such as the one involving the embezzlement of the Bank of Tanzania's (BOT) External Payment Arrears (EPA) through a number of dubious companies that he owns and his case is now pending in a court of law in Tanzania. However, it is difficult to establish a direct official link to his alleged proprietorship of Export Trading Co. Ltd since the Board of Directors of the company at a time when it bid for the farm did not include his name but, rather, it included the following people who have a similar family name: Maheshkumar Raojibhai Patel, Kentakamur Vinubhai Patel and Sapremkumar Thakoribhai Patel. It also included one Michael Shile Kimaro. At that time Maheshkumar Raojibhai Patel was the chair of the Board and Antoneta Fialho was the secretary.

Nevertheless there have been a number of complaints about the way the Patels and their colleagues have been running Kapunga Rice Farm and relating with neighbouring villagers. For instance, Nipashe (28 January 2007) reported that over 680 students of Kapunga Primary School called for a presidential visit in the area in 2007 to see how 'ufisadi', that is, 'grand corruption' under the guise of investment has blinded district officials to the detriment of education provision. They lamented how the investor had evicted their teachers from their houses in 2006. These teachers had to then walk a long distance of 26 Km to reach the school and as a result most classes were not attended to. The students also claimed that the investor destroyed 12,000 bricks, valued at Tsh. 1.2 million, which their parents had made so as to build them classrooms.

Two months later, The Guardian (29 March 2007) reported, the government acted by instructing the investor to immediately allow ten teachers who were evicted, allegedly in order to pave the way for the renovation of the houses, to go back to their homes. The media source also noted that the Mbeya RC had not followed-up on the matter since January 2007 when he promised them to do so. This explains why the investor is viewed as being in collusion with government officials.

Unlike the RAI Group investor in Murjanda farm who has not directly interfered with the operation of a dispensary located within it, the Export Trading Co. Ltd investor in Kapunga farm closed the dispensary within it and, according to Raia Mwema (23 April 2008), transformed its buildings into houses for company workers. As a result villagers had to walk over 25 Km to

Chimala to get medical attention. Ironically, in the wake of the said controversy over the eviction of teachers, the then Acting Co-ordinator of the then PSRC, Joseph Mapunda, was quoted by The Guardian (29 March 2007) as saying that whether “to retain public services such as schools or hospital or any service remains in the hands of the investor” and that that PSRC had no law that restricted an investor from evicting the teachers, since an investor had legal authority to own the land including the properties within hence the investor could use his wisdom in making his decision while taking into account the importance of education or dialogue with the government.

What to farm has been another borne of contention. According to Johnson Mbwambo in Raia Mwema (23 April 2008), a third fact-finding mission trip to the area within six years by the Journalists Environmental Association of Tanzania (JET), observed that the District Authority was not happy with the fact that the investor had started farming a biofuel plant known as jatropha instead of focusing only on paddy. The then Acting Mbarali District Administrative Secretary (DAS), notes Mbwambo who was also a member of the JET delegation, notified the delegation that they had written a letter to the investor telling him that jatropha farming was in contravention to the contract that stipulated that the company should and would farm paddy only.

Similarly, Nipashe (11 May 2008) quoted the chairperson and vice chairperson of the Rufiji Water Basin Board at that time castigating the government for being responsible for deciding to sell Kapunga farm to the investor against their advice that it should give it to wananchi to farm paddy for food – a decision that had resulted into the move to farm jatropha. The media source also quoted Willie Mwaruvanda, the Water Officer at the Rufiji Basin Water Office (RBWO), as acknowledging that he had received the information about the move to farm jatropha and thus affirming that his office was not ready to issue an irrigation permit since the water was earmarked for irrigating paddy and not jatropha.

Interestingly, when President Jakaya Kikwete visited the area on 7 October 2008, as HabariLeo (10 October 2008) notes, he directed that the rice farm should not be converted into a jatropha farm and that if the investors wished to do so then they better return the farm to the government so that it can use it to produce staple food for national consumption. The President noted it is such a focus on biofuel production that has caused the then ongoing global food crisis. Yet according to this government media source, the Regional Commissioner, John Mwakipesile,

defended the investor by telling the President that the company said it was only doing trials on the capability of the soil taken from one area to another to yield jatropha.

Curiously, in 2008 media reports generally differed on reporting whether the investor was/is really engaged in farming jatropha or not. For instance, while official sources cited in Rai Mwema (23 April 2008) and Nipashe (11 May 2008) above affirmed the company was doing so, other newspapers such as Tanzania Daima (27 May 2008) carried stories that affirmed otherwise. The latter even quoted the manager of the farm at that time, John Beverley, as affirming that it is not planning to farm jatropha within Kapunga farm as some wananchi claim. Rather, it will do so in a special area of 5,000 hectares in Matebete Village in the Chimala Ward that they expected to acquire from that village. This media report also quotes him as saying that at that time the company had only planted 2,000 jatropha sprouts as a trial pending the acquisition of the expected area from the village. The company's project manager at that time, Sunil Tayil, was also quoted as saying that the company had started negotiating with the village authority.

More curiously, the person who was the village chairperson of Matebete village at that time, Terix Kurubai, was quoted by Veronica Mheta in HabariLeo (17 June 2008) telling a group of journalists who visited the farm in 2008 that the investor was not farming jatropha. He was also quoted as revealing that he had received a request for the 5,000 hectares lodged by the investor so that he can plant jatropha therein. Moreover, he was quoted as highlighting the benefits – such as the creation of over 3,000 jobs for youths and the provision of water for irrigation among other things – which the village got out of the company's investment in the farm.

The curious observations about such a stark variation in media reporting on the matter could partly be explained by the disillusionment of one of the media reporters who joined a bandwagon of this group of reporters only to realize later that they had gone to clear the investor who was a subject of criticisms on how he was running the farm. The reporter informed the co-author of the report that it was only after the trip that s/he discovered that the farm was owned by Jeetu Patel and thus realized s/he had been taken for a ride. No wonder, according to HabariLeo (17 June 2008), they visited the area to determine whether the company was farming paddy or jatropha.

Another complaint about the investor is about the minimum acreage for, and cost of, subleasing plots in the farm. For instance, Rai Mwema (23 April 2008), quoted villagers complaining that he had increased the cost of subleasing one plot from Tsh 375,000 up to Tsh. 1,000,000. As a result a number of villagers could not afford to get a place to farm and ended up being casual labourers in the farm. Nostalgically, they remembered the twilight of NAFCO whereby the cost of subleasing was affordable. This issue is particularly thorny because the investor was only farming a small portion of the farm. For instance, a case study conducted by Servecius B. Likwelile, Longinus Rutasitara and Joseph O. Haule (2008) that reviewed the then Kapunga Rice Irrigation Project (KRIP) among other projects, showed that the investor only farmed 6 hectares at that time. The issue of 'trespassing' is also another subject of complaint. Like the RAI Group investor in Gidagamowd farm, the investor in Kapunga farm is criticized for being strict about people and livestock using paths within the farm. The main complaints are about the abuse and lockups of people, and seizures of livestock, coupled with fines they charge.

Nevertheless, in his response to a question on how many small-scale farmers have benefitted since the investor took over posed during the parliamentary session on 29 January 2008, the Minister responsible for Agriculture, Stephen Masatu Wassira, noted that the farm was handed to the investor on 13 September 2006 and affirmed that in 2006/2007 and 2007/2008 a total of 573 hectares and 786 hectares of the farm were subleased to 39 groups and 59 groups of small-scale farmers respectively and that 174 hectares were expected to be subleased by July 2008. The Minister also reported that the investor has used Tsh 1.2 Billion to buy 14 new tractors, 2 power generating plants as well as agricultural equipment. As in the case of Mbarali Rice Farm investor, the Minister also affirmed the Kapunga Rice Project investor has renovated the roads and cleaned the water canals in the farm thus enabling a good flow of water for irrigation.

Such is the state of Kapunga Rice Project – a state characterized by contending versions of the relationship between the investor and the surrounding community in relation to who is really benefitting from the privatization initiative and whether the initiative is effective and sustainable.

As it is the case with Mbarali Rice Farm, CHC (2009) admits that it has not done any evaluation of Kapunga Rice Project farm since it was privatized. It is planning to do so in May 2009. In the meantime POAC is also visiting the farm to assess if it is adhering to the 'privatization policy'.

2.2.4 THE GENERAL STATE OF MADIBIRA RICE FARM

Madibira is also located in Mbarali District. In contrast to the other two most known ex-NAFCO farms in the district, this farm is famously known for irrigation projects. It has been under a couple of project phases. As such it has never been earmarked for large-scale privatization. According to Han Bantje (1984), it was identified as a suitable area for irrigation in 1960 by FAO Rufiji Basin Survey in 1960. However, it started operating in 1976 albeit on a small scale. After a feasibility study for a bigger farm and an engineering study was completed in the early and mid 1980s respectively, the government decided its development will be in two phases. The first phase was meant to include 1,630 hectares smallholder farms and 1,550 hectares large scale farm while the second phase was earmarked for 1,370 hectares smallholder farms and 3,450 hectares large scale farm. However, the African Development Fund, ADF's (2004) *Madibira Smallholder Agricultural Development Project: Project Completion Report* gives a slight different account as it talks of one phase and have the figures provided in phase 1 in reverse.

The Madibira Smallholder Agricultural Development Project (MSADP), as TANconsult Consulting Engineers' official website notes, involved the construction of 3,000 hectares of smallholder irrigated rice farm with associated infrastructure, rice mill and social amenities. TANconsult in association with a firm that conducted the feasibility study, that is, Halcrow, carried this project which also involved the design and supervision of housing scheme to accommodate the staff to work on the farm. Moreover, it included the provision of electricity and water supply from river and borehole sources. Using Bantje's dichotomy, this was the phase 1.

According to ADF (2004), due to the delay in its take-off the original five years project was extended to nine years, running from November 1993 to December 2002 even though it actually started on the ground after 31 July 1995 when ADF's disbursement became effective. The project completion report evaluated the overall performance of the project in terms of its physical achievements as satisfactory. It particularly noted that "the project made significant positive development changes in the project area in relation to provision of: (i) 3,000 ha irrigable land to 3,000 smallholder farmers, (ii) potable water to about 20,000 people, (iii) credit facilities, (iv) health facilities, (v) establishment of demand driven farmers' cooperative society, and (v) capacity building of the beneficiaries" (ADF 2004: i).

In terms of its impact on development, the report affirmed that MSADP's direct development benefits were a regular cash flow from sales of rice, (access to credit for farm inputs and other income-generating activities as well as access to safe drinking water that contributed to increased productivity of the beneficiaries. Other direct benefits were the project's injection of between Tsh 1-2 billion each year since 2001 into the local economy through sale of rice and provision of employment opportunities for more than 6,000 seasonal workers out of which 40% were women and the rehabilitation of 112 kilometres of feeder and access roads has enhanced marketing activities and general mobility in the area. FAO and NEPAD (2005) also affirms that the first phase of the Madibira project is considered a success, noting that the yield of paddy increased from 2.4 tonner per hectares to 5 tonnes per hectares whereby by 2005 Madibira was producing over 15,000 tons of paddy from an area of 3,000 hectares.

The case of Madibira is particularly important given that it provides a case study which, according to a number literature reviewed in this report, is a success story of how, if given a chance, small-scale holders can farm optimally and adequately sustain their livelihoods whilst significantly contributing to the economy of the country. Noting the importance of this irrigation scheme, in a parliamentary session of 12 June 2007 the MP of Mbarali, Estherina Julio Kilasi, queried the government about its promise to provide land within the farms for small-scale farmers in Mbarali who had lost out after the government privatized Mbarali and Kapunga rice farms to large-scale investors. She also queried the government's plan to ensure its sustainability.

In his response, the Deputy Minister responsible for Agriculture, Dr. David Mathayo (MP), affirmed as part of fulfilling that promises it had completed the design of irrigation infrastructure on a total area of 2, 700 hectares and that the work of construction had already started in two of the earmarked schemes and was expected to be completed within the financial year 2007/2008. He also noted that the construction of other schemes will continued in phases depending on the availability of funds. Moreover, the Deputy Minister informed the parliament that, in collaboration with the Ministry responsible for Water, his Ministry had completed a preliminary study on the construction of a dam in River Ndembera which would enable the development of 3,600 hectares during the second phase of the project. He also affirmed that the government was ensuring that the small-scale irrigation farming scheme in Madibira is sustainable and to that end it had already posted various experts in areas such as agricultural extension services and

maintenance of irrigation infrastructure who were collaborating with MAMCOS and Madibira SACCOS as well as other committees involved in the running of the Madibira scheme.

What the Deputy Minister was referring to is what FAO and NEPAD (2005) describes as a second phase of the project – known as Madibira Rural Development or Madibira Phase II – which is a continuation of MSDAP. It is projected to cover the areas in Mbarali and Mufindi Districts in Mbeya and Iringa respectively that falls within the Usangu plains. In line with the Agricultural Sector Development Strategy (ASDS) and Agricultural Sector Development Program (ASDP), the overall objective the project is to “contribute to the enhanced national food security and poverty reduction in the national economy through the development of an integrated rural development programme” (FAO and NEPAD 2005: 5). To that end the following 6 specific objectives are delineated: (1) To increase agricultural production and improve agricultural marketing in the Mbarali district and thereby increase farmers’ profitability and income (2) To improve rural infrastructure; (3) To increase access to health services; (4) To increase school enrolment, and (6) To improve natural resource management and environmental protection.

According to the official website of the Millenium Challenge Account Tanzania (MCA-T), Phase II was anticipated to be implemented for duration of 2 years. But, as it was the case with Phase I, it is lagging behind. It remains to be seen how more effective and sustainable it will be.

2.2.5 THE GENERAL STATE OF MBOZI MAIZE FARM

Mbozi Maize Farm (MMF) is situated at the edge of Mbozi plateau within Mbozi District in Mbeya Region. According to Han Bantje (1984), the farm was started in 1975 and by 1976 it had a cultivated area of 1,100 hectares and NAFCO was then planning to expand it rapidly to 4,000 hectares. However, by 1984 it had only expanded up to 2,066 hectares. CHC’s (2009) current data shows that it now has a size of 12, 000 acres which is approximately equivalent to 4,856 hectares, a figure that is way above the then earlier target of NAFCO. According to CHC (2009), the farm has not yet been privatized and thus CHC is awaiting a go ahead from the government.

It is such a stalled process that prompted to the MP of Eastern Mbozi, Godfrey Weston Zambi, to passionately make a lengthy contribution to the parliamentary session on the budget estimates of the then Ministry of Planning, Economy and Empowerment for the financial year 2007/2008 on

9 September 2007. He started by describing the size of the farm, that is Farm 208, whereby he gave a figure of 12, 051 that is slightly higher – by 51 acres – than the current figure provided by CHC (2009) above. Then he lamented that the government started to look for an investor for the farm since 1996 even though since it ceased its function as a government farm in 1994, wananchi have been paying a certain amount of money to farm in it and that the MPs from that area have been requesting the government over and over again not to sell that farm to investors and, if possible, sell it to wananchi surrounding the farm given that there is scarcity of land among the people of Mbozi. But, he noted, government statements implied that there is no land scarcity in Mbozi and reminisced that in one of the parliamentary sessions the government even responded by asserting that the land pressure for Mbozi between 68% and 70%; a response that prompted him to assert that the statistics used might have been those of 10 years since they did not reflect at all the then current reality.

The MP went on to describe how he sent a letter to then Prime Minister on 4 July 2006 requesting the government to give wananchi that farm. He notes that the PM wrote to the Ministries responsible for Agriculture and Planning respectively on 24 July 2006 requesting for the status of the farm so that the government could make a decision. Up to the time of the parliamentary session of 9 September 2007, he further lamented, he had not yet received any response to his letter unless, maybe, the government's response was given through a parliamentary Hansard. Noting that it is wananchi of five villages surrounding the farm who had asked him officially to request the farm, he queried if privatization must only involve privatization from outside or that it could involve privatization from the inside, that is, involving wananchi of Mbarali who were ready for it. He also noted that in the previous year wananchi were not allowed to continue farming in subleased plots within the farm because the farm would be handed to an investor in August or September but yet no investor was found. Finally, he concluded by querying the government's tendency to act in the last minute as it was in the case of Mbarali farms whereby despite of Mbarali's MP rallying call against the privatization of the farms the government went ahead to privatize them and then consulted wananchi's concerns afterwards after realizing that it had not involved them earlier.

Since CHC (2009) affirms that it is still awaiting the government's go ahead in regard to the privatization of the farm, this query that posed by Eastern Mbozi MP in that parliamentary session is still as valid today: 'I request the government to tell wananchi of those area if that investor is out there when will the government get him/her? When will they give him/her the farm so that wananchi can give up about being given the farm instead of withholding the farm while that is investor is not known and the area remains the same for over 10 years now?' The parliamentary query aptly summarizes the state of Mbozi Maize farm.

2.2.6 THE GENERAL STATE OF KIBEREGE MAIZE FARM

The farm is located in Kilombero District in Morogoro. It shares a name with Kiberege village which is located nearby. According to Wetland International's report, it uses prisoners as labour to grow rice which is used for food in the Kiberege prison and to supply to other prisons. The author(s) of that report could not determine the exact size of the farm the prison did not disclose this information. However, it estimates the farm as covering several thousand hectares.

In their baseline study conducted two years ago in the district, Jackline Mgumia, Bashiru Ally and Emmanuel Mvula (2007) observed that there was a dispute involving a (central) government institution, the Kiberege Prison, and Kiberege village government. These researchers noted that this dispute started in the year 2000 when the prison was given the farm which used to belong to NAFCO even though there was another dispute between NAFCO and the village. They found out that this other, earlier, dispute was not intense because at that time NAFCO did not have a high level of production, a situation which enabled villagers to continue using its land.

The situation changed when the prison was given the area given that it decided to protect its borders and thus had to evict villagers forcefully. In 2007 these researchers observed the prison starting to resurvey the farm and, in the process, villagers complained that it took their land. By the time the researcher compiled their report in September 2007 the dispute remained unresolved. They concluded that this was so because the prison did not fully collaborate with the village even though the village attempted to seek a joint resolution.

3.0 THE STATE OF NARCO'S RANCHES

The National Ranching Company Limited (NARCO) is a parastatal company that deals with the production of beef cattle (mainly Boran breed) for both domestic and export markets. The

company was established in 1975 under the *Public Company Act 212*. Some of these ranches, however, were under different authorities before they finally came under NARCO. Historically, animal keeping started in 1947 when groundnuts producing farms, of Kongwa and Nachingwea, were introduced by the then Overseas Food Corporation. Livestock keeping was done so as to provide meat to workers of those farms. Unfortunately, groundnuts farming did not produce the best results as expected, but animal husbandry fared well. As such, groundnuts production was abandoned and farms that had livestock were transferred to the then Tanganyika Agricultural Corporation (TAC) in 1954.²⁸

Following the Arusha Declaration in 1967, deliberate efforts were undertaken to nationalize these ranches. The government of the United Republic of Tanzania (URT) incorporated these ranches into the Agricultural sector and thought to maximize production for both domestic use and export. Accordingly, the ranches were put under the supervision of the then National Agricultural Company (NACO) in 1968. However, in 1974 the government thought to establish a specific parastatal organization charged with the responsibility of overseeing livestock development in the country. The then Tanzania Livestock and Development Authority (LIDA) was, therefore, introduced. It had authority over the old and newly established ranches. However, only a year later, in 1975, NARCO was established to replace LIDA. NARCO still exists.

The government pronounced the parastatal reform policy in 1992, calling for privatization of public enterprises with the view to promote economic growth, and thus reduce poverty, through a strengthened private sector. It was seen that the government should only remain with its traditional roles of maintenance of law and order, provision of economic and social infrastructure, and ensuring a level playing field for efficient economic competition. In order to carry out the privatization policy, an agency body, the then Parastatal Sector Reform Commission (PSRC) was established. PSRC was established through the *Public Corporation (Amendment) Act of 1993*. The main objective of the PSRC was to improve the performance of public enterprises, assumingly by encouraging private ownership for both local and foreign investors (PSRC 1996: 8). PSRC saw the ‘only way’ to improve the performance of these

²⁸ This historical background is based on a company profile report produced by NARCO’s (2008) Secretariat. For a historical analysis of the ill-fated groundnut scheme see Chachage Seithy L. Chachage (1986) and John Illife (1979).

companies was to sell them off to private investors. As such, many public enterprises were examined, valued and later privatized.

NARCO was one of the public companies that were about to be privatized. According to NARCO's Planning Officer, Monica Sigalla, as interviewed by one of the researchers on 21 October 2008, PSRC presented its report in 2002 that spelt the proposed privatization arrangement of NARCO ranches. It was decided that Kongwa and Ruvu ranches should continue to operate under NARCO as disease free zone. Usangu ranch should be divided into 4,000 plots and be distributed to small livestock keepers. According to NARCO (2008), the remaining ranches i.e. Mkata, Dakawa, Mzeri, Kalambo, West Kilimanjaro, Missenyi, Kitengule, and Kikulula Ranching Complex should be subleased to private investors with 20,000 hectares retained in every ranch for NARCO's special ranch. These special ranches, notes Monica Sigalla, are intended to offer technical support to private livestock keepers within the ranches.

As it has been noted in previous sections, after the tenure PSRC came to an end in 2007 its remaining activities related to privatization of parastatals were transferred to CHC. However, this transfer did not include NARCO ranches. As for these, the General Director of CHC – Mrs. Edwina A. Lupembe (2008) – notes in her official interview with *The Guardian*, the Government has decided that they should be divested directly by the Ministry responsible for the sector, that is, the relatively new Ministry of Livestock Development and Fisheries.

Currently, NARCO (2008) has authority over 10 ranches. However, as NARCO official website implies, these can be collapsed to 8 because Kikulula Ranching Complex is comprised of former Kagoma ranch, Mabale ranch and Kikulula Heifer Breeding unit in Kagera and, as such, even NARCO (2008) regards it as one farm/ranch. Some of the ranches were inherited from the predecessor corporation, the Tanzania Livestock and Development Authority (LIDA), but NARCO introduced others to optimize production. Ranches inherited were Kongwa in Dodoma, Mkata in Morogoro, Ruvu in the Coast region, Uvinza in Kigoma, and Kitengule in Kagera. West Kilimanjaro and Manyara ranches were taken from private companies. New ranches that were introduced are Dakawa in Morogoro, Mzeri in Tanga, Usangu in Mbeya and Kalambo in Rukwa, Missenyi and the Kikulula Ranching Complex in Kagera.

Table 14 below shows the status of all ranches which, at a certain point in time, have been under the authority of NARCO. It delineates their date of establishment, and whether each particular ranch is still under NARCO ownership and/or subleased or handed over to the government.

TABLE 14: GENERAL INVENTORY OF FORMER AND CURRENT NARCO RANCHES²⁹

S/N	RANCH	DATE/ START	REGION	AREA (H)	HECTARES (H) SUBLEASED	NARCO SPECIAL RANCH
1	Manyara					*
2	Kongwa	1957	Dodoma	38,000	-	38,000
3	Missenyi	1969	Kagera	60,851	21 blocks: 118 – 14829	23,998
4	Kikulula Ranching Complex ³⁰	1976	Kagera	76,960	22 blocks 1,390 – 2,500	30,752
5	Kitengule		Kagera	41,700	9 blocks: 1,000 – 2,500	30,688**
6	Uvinza		Kigoma		21 blocks: 2,550 – 3,000	
7	West Kilimanjaro	1968	Kilimanjaro	30,364	-	30,364***
8	Usangu		Mbeya		16 blocks: 2,127– 4,165	
9	Mkata	1965	Morogoro	62,530	11 blocks : 3,000 – 4,000	19,466
10	Dakawa		Morogoro	49,981	2 blocks : 2,479	*****
11	Ruvu	1964	Pwani	48,383	-	48,383
12	Kalambo	1976	Rukwa	23,588		
13	Mzeri	1970	Tanga	41,246	9 blocks: 2,127 – 4,165	21,236
			TOTAL	473,603		

Notes on Table 14

- * This ranch is under World Wildlife Foundation (WWF)
- ** 30,688 hectares have been given to Kagera Sugar Company.
- *** According to NARCO’s Planning Officer, this ranch is waiting for private investors.
- **** 30,007 hectares have been given to Mtibwa Sugar Company; 1,997 hectares to Mvomero village, 5,000 hectares to small-scale farmers, 3,000 hectares given to Mvomero district, and 5,019 hectares to small-scale livestock keepers.

3.1. THE STATE OF OWNERSHIP IN RANCHES

Ranches ‘related’ to NARCO can be classified into four groups in terms of ‘ownership’. The first group is comprised of those ranches that are solely run by NARCO without some plots being privatized or subleased to private investors. There are two ranches in this category, which are Ruvu and Kongwa. As noted earlier, these ranches have been retained as disease free ranches

²⁹ With slight modification based on NARCO official website, this table is adopted from NARCO’s (2008) report.

that are supposed to exemplify how livestock keeping should be done. This is the reason why domestic animals in these ranches are separated from other breeds and animals.

The second typology of ranches includes those subleased to private investors but NARCO has retained a special block within the bigger ranch. However, NARCO retains just a small portion while the larger area has been subleased to different investors. There are six ranches of this nature, they are described below.

To begin with, Kikulula Complex (in Bukoba, Kagera) is one of the six ranches in which a large part of the area has been subleased, but NARCO maintains a special ranch intended to offer services to private investors. Out of 76,960 hectares of the total Kikulula area, 30,752 hectares are used as a special ranch, with a total carrying capacity of 12,300 cattle. The special ranch has a training facility for artificial insemination and it provides in-service courses for NARCO workers and local livestock keepers in Kagera region. These services are intended to help local livestock keepers improve their skills and produce quality cattle. The subleased blocks range from 1,390 to 2,500 hectares per block.

Misenyi is located in Bukoba town near Uganda border, contiguous to Kagera Sugar Farms and Kagera River. The total area of the ranch is 60,851 hectares. NARCO maintains 23,998 hectares as a special ranch and has subleased 21 blocks of the area ranging from 1,118 to 14,829 hectares per block. Mkata ranch, located in Morogoro, has a total area of 62,530 hectares. NARCO retains 19,446 hectares for a special ranch and subcontracts 11 blocks with an area ranging from 3,000 to 4,000 hectares per plot covering a total area of 43,084 hectares. Another ranch in this classification is Mzeri, which is located in Korogwe and Handeni districts in Tanga region. The ranch has an area of 41,246 hectares. NARCO retains 21,236 hectares of the area as a special ranch. Nine blocks (9) with an area of 20,010 hectares have been subcontracted to private livestock keepers.

West Kilimanjaro, as the name suggests, is located in Kilimanjaro region, north-west of Moshi town. The ranch covers a total area of 30,364 hectares. The ranch continues to operate under NARCO as no block has been subleased to private investors. In line with some responses submitted in the parliamentary session on WKF cited above, NARCO's Planning Officer hinted

that West Kilimanjaro is one of the ranches that have been often invaded. She further asserts that this is because the ranch was abandoned for sometime allowing former labourers and workers to occupy plots illegally. She said, however, that the ranch is waiting for potential investors to boost up production of livestock. The last ranch in this taxonomy is Kalambo. This ranch is located in Southern West of Sumbawanga town near Lake Tanganyika. It has a total area of 64,650 hectares of which 23,588 hectares are used for a special ranch and 13 blocks have been subleased. The subleased blocks have an area of between 2,106 to 3,966 hectares per block.

The third group is that of ranches which were formerly under NARCO authority but now are completely subleased to private companies, that is, without NARCO's core/special ranch. There are two ranches in this category. Usangu which is located in Mbeya is one among the two ranches; it has a total area of 43,727 hectares. This ranch has been divided into 16 blocks that range from 2,550 to 3,000 hectares per block and subleased. Uvinza (Kigoma region), on the other hand, has a total area of 56,175 hectares and is divided into 21 blocks that range from 2,550 to 3,000 hectares per block. These blocks are subleased to private companies.

The fourth and final typology of ranches includes those that NARCO has handed over to the government. These ranches have been given to district authorities, villages, reputable support organizations and companies, small-scale farmers and local livestock herders. In this category there are 3 ranches. Manyara ranch, for example, has been given to World Wildlife Foundation (WWF). A significant portion of Kitengule ranch has been given to Kagera Sugar Company. Dakawa ranch also falls in this category. It is explored in detail in subsequent sections. However, the co-researcher could not get data on the activities carried out by these private investors in the subleased blocks as NARCO officials said the information was still confidential.³¹

- **LEASING ARRANGEMENTS OF BLOCKS**

In the implementation of PSRC's recommendations which called for reduction of NARCO's extensive involvement in production (calling for state's withdrawal from business), NARCO divided its ranches into alleged manageable blocks and leased them to private investors. The lease agreement used is based on the *Land Act, Cap. 113 (No. 4 of 1999)*. According to NARCO's Marketing Officer, Mashaka Milonge, leasing is not conducted in a business manner.

³¹ In an interview with the co-author, NARCO's Planning Officer said that the document on the specific activities carried out by the lessees is not yet endorsed by the Minister Livestock Development and Fisheries for public use.

However, a sample of the Lease Agreement reveals that the lessees are expected to observe the following conditions among others.³²

1. To pay lease rent (for the granted right of occupancy registered under the law cited above) annually in advance in the manner stipulated in the lease agreement.
2. To use the demised property for livestock production only and, in particular for rearing cattle, goats, sheep and other meat and milk producing stock as the main business line. To this end the lessee shall submit a Business Plan (prior to commencement day of the lease) which shall form part of the lease agreement; and any deviation from the business line as contained in the plan may only be undertaken with the express written consent of the lessor.
3. To ensure that the development to the demised property is accomplished within five years from the commencement date of the lease or as stipulated in the submitted Business Plan.
4. To maintain the demised property as a unit block as further sub-division and subleasing is not allowed. To this end, not to sub-lease or transfer, mortgage, charge or otherwise part with the possession of the demised property or part thereof without the written consent of the lessor. In relation to this, the lessor shall submit in advance to the lessor impeccable particulars of his/its heirs, executors, assigns or successors in title.
5. To do everything possible to preserve and conserve demised property's natural habit. In tandem with this, not to build structures than necessary livestock facilities, farm buildings and personnel housing.
6. To make good at his/its own expense both material damage and labour cost for all damages caused to the demised property through his/own fault or neglect. In line with this, not to do or suffer to be done any damage to the demised property or any part thereof.
7. To give access and permit the lessor or its employees or other duly authorized representatives to enter upon the demised property and inspect the state and condition thereof.

NARCO officials reiterated that any breach of the lease agreement provisions will amount to termination of the lease, and the block (s) will be returned to NARCO. This includes ranches that have never been satisfactorily developed in five years after the lessee had entered into agreement with NARCO. It remains to be seen if NARCO will have that 'hard face' towards the lessees.

- **CONFLICTING CLAIMS OF OWNERSHIP**

It is interesting to observe how NARCO claims ownership of the ranches. NARCO claims ownership of a total of 566,207 hectares in the country, of which 231,396 hectares are directly

³² By way of elaboration and through paraphrasing, the authors of this report have taken the liberty to condense as well as amplify these terms of agreements on the basis of other provisions/terms of agreements in the sample.

controlled by the company with a total carrying capacity of 92,500 animals. NARCO (2008) reports officially that 259,000 hectares have been leased to private investors.

However, in an interview with the NARCO's Marketing Officer, Mashaka Milonge, he said that out of all the ranches under NARCO only 5 have title deeds. He listed the ranches with title deeds as Missenyi, Mkata, Kitengule, West Kilimanjaro and Mzeri. Milonge further said that some of the ranches have a long term offer, while in others like Ruvu they are preparing the maps ready to acquire a title deed. It is important to enquire whether the absence of title deeds have impacted on the relationship between NARCO and neighbouring citizens in terms of setting clear boundaries of the land owned by NARCO and the one owned by the local authorities and villagers. This may be another source of conflicts between NARCO and its lessees, on one hand, and subsistent farmers and (particularly) 'traditional' livestock keepers on the other hand.

NARCO's Planning Officer cited a few examples where villagers have been 'invading' land owned by the company. Ruvu ranch with an area of 44,012 hectares is one of them whereby people have even established settlements. In Bukoba a church and a mosque have been built within the ranch. Two general reasons can be advanced to explain this so-called invasion and the resultant conflicts. These are:

1. NARCO fails to understand the precise size of all the ranches as it has a complete understanding in some but not in others.
2. Lack of complete control of the area that entails putting demarcations around the area to prevent villagers from invading it. This also includes using the land effectively for the said purpose. To the contrary, however, as the Planning Officer admitted, in some ranches like Ruvu there is a vast land that has remained unused to attract invaders who are in a dire need of a piece of land for subsistence farming or for traditional livestock keeping.

Yet it is virtually illusory to talk about defunct farms under NARCO, as every ranch seems to be under a plan. For example, although Ruvu has a vast land that NARCO does not – and probably cannot – utilize wholly, it is used – or at least earmarked – as a disease free ranch. Therefore, according to NARCO's Planning Officer and Marketing Officer, traditional livestock keepers are not welcome near it because they can bring in unwanted cattle diseases.

As it was shown earlier, NARCO has full control over eight existing core ranches with a total area of 231,396 hectares. In these areas activities are carried out by both the company itself and the lessees. It remains unclear, however, if the ranches are used effectively given that they are located in potential areas for traditional livestock keepers, but also with a fertile land that is also being eyed by small-scale farmers. These so-called subsistent farmers and traditional livestock keepers remain ever hungry for land because of the growing population which was estimated as growing at a rate of 2.4.

There are three ranches, however, that are no longer under the authority of NARCO. These are Dakawa, Kitengule and Manyara ranches. Due to the vast scope of the research, this study focused on state of the one in Dakawa. It particularly looks at the way the ranch was divided into plots and allocated to private companies and indigenous people. The broad aim is to see whether the so-called indigenous small-scale farmers and traditional livestock keepers have access to the land in terms of ownership, activities currently taking place within the ranches, and the way the ranches have been a source of conflict in that particular area.

3.2 THE STATE OF DAKAWA RANCH

Dakawa ranch, which is officially known as Farm No. 299, is situated in Mvomero District, Morogoro region along Dodoma road. Data obtained from NARCO (2008) shows that the ranch has 49,981 hectares and two blocks, totaling 2,479 hectares, have been leased to private investors. According to the 'Notes on Table 14' above, 30,007 hectares have been given to Mtibwa Sugar Company. Out of these hectares, the Mvomero District Report on the privatization of the ranch documents, 10,000 hectares have been allocated to Mtibwa Sugar Estates (MSE) for sugarcane production and 20,000 hectares for livestock keeping. The 'Notes on Table 14' also shows that 1,997 hectares have been given to Mvomero Village. However, the District report shows that it is the Wami Luhindo village that has been given those approximate 2,000 hectares.

Moreover 5,000 hectares of the ranch have been given to small scale farmers, 3,000 hectares have been handed over to Mvomero District and 5,019 hectares have been distributed to 'traditional' livestock keepers. According to the district report cited above, the then PSRC advised that the remaining 5,000 hectares should be divided into 2 blocks of 2,500 hectares each

and leased to private livestock keepers to support ‘modern’ livestock keeping. It is also acknowledged in the NARCO (2008) report that the two blocks exist within the ranch.

- **CONTENTIOUS ALLOCATIONS OF LAND**

The study found out that there are complaints on the allocation of Dakawa ranch. Leaders and citizens of the Wami Luhindo village believe that the land allocated to Mtibwa Sugar Estates is larger than it is documented. Speaking with certainty in an interview conducted in 6 November, 2008 at Wamiluhindo village offices, Mohammed Hassan, the former NARCO agent who supervised subleasing of small blocks/ploys to small-scale farmers, said that the village authority did not participate in measuring the land required for allocation. “I understand clearly the size of the area because I have worked on this farm for a long time. I wonder if it was thoroughly surveyed or they just approximated”, he further asserted.

Mtibwa Sugar Company cultivates the land along the Wami River plains for sugarcane production. The larger block of land on the highlands has been left uncultivated. Traditional livestock keepers noted, however, that a few domestic animals, cattle in particular are raised within the Estate’s owned area. The Company has a title deed for the farm and they have clear boundaries and guards to protect the farm against trespassers and invaders.

Land allocated to Mvomero District, which is 3,000 hectares, is planned for building district offices, social service facilities and some plots are sold to people for urban settlement. However, the area seems not enough for an urban plan. As such, the district has issued orders to Wami Luhindo villagers residing within Sokoine hamlet to vacate the area. They were told they will be paid and given another land to build their settlement. However, Wami Luhindo Village Executive Officer (VEO), Mohammed Ally Mangole, informed the co-researcher that no further steps have been taken by the district officials to ensure that villagers residing at Sokoine hamlet are compensated and shown other places to build their houses. Up to this moment they are left stranded, unsure if they will vacate the area or not. The order to vacate the area is not very well welcomed by all residents in Sokoine hamlet as others are still protesting about vacating the area.

Controversies exist over the land, which is totaling 10,019 hectares, that both NARCO (2008) and the Mvomero District report says is allocated to small-scale farmers and traditional livestock keepers. To begin with, villagers of Wami Luhindo protest that the 5,000 hectares supposedly

allocated to them was/is not real. Former Wami Luhindo VEO, Hubert Mzigula, told the co-researcher that villagers were told to fill-in certain forms so that they can acquire plots in the allocated area.³³ But no one got the plot. This complaint was also echoed by all villagers interviewed by the co-researcher. For instance, Omari Ngola and Mohammed Hassan complained that apart from filling in the forms, which included sending their photographs in the 2002 - 2003, they didn't get the 5 hectare plots they were promised by the district land officials.

Villagers further claimed that when they recently enquired from the District Land Officer (DLO), Switbert Buyolushengo, he told them that there were no remaining plots. In an interview with the co-researcher in 5 November 2008 at his office in Morogoro town, the DLO confirmed that they are done with allocating plots to 'citizens' and they are preparing title deeds to ensure those citizens have legal occupancy of the plots. When asked about the size of the plots allocated to the citizens, he said it depended on their capacity, but it was from 5 hectares. This paradoxical answer from the DLO constrained the co-researcher to go back to villagers so as to enquire about the citizens who were referred to in that context. Villagers consulted listed the following names of people who are, as a matter of fact, not villagers of Wami Luhindo but – allegedly – have big plots in the Dakawa ranch; plots which were supposed to be allocated to villagers.

The former Secretary-General of Chama Cha Mapinduzi (CCM), Philip Mangula, tops the villagers' list of people who have acquired the said land. It is alleged that he possesses about 2,000 hectares of the land that is said to be allocated to Wami Luhindo villagers. John Malecela, a former Prime Minister in the 2nd phase government and former Vice-Chairperson of CCM, is also said to possess about 100 hectares. The villagers also said that Retired Brigadier Hassan Ngwilizi (MP), a former Minister responsible for Local Governance in the 3rd phase government, has been given about 100 hectares within the 5,000 hectares that are assumingly allocated to small-scale villagers.

A few other big names were mentioned as having occupied the said plots, amongst of which are Retired Colonel Isaack Mwisongo, a member of TIC Board of Directors, whom villagers estimated occupy about 100 hectares. Other occupants are not known/mentioned by their specific names, but, rather, by titles like '*Afisa Usalama Mstaafu*', that is, Retired National Security

³³ Mzigula was interviewed on 4 November, 2008 at Mvomero village offices. Currently, he is VEO of Mvomero.

Officer and *'Brigadier Mstaafu'* i.e. Brigadier General, who are said to possess not less than 100 hectares each. Villagers could not have specific names for these people. It remains undecipherable who owns the remaining land given that the DLO said that all the plots have been allotted and what was left are title deeds that will be given to villagers.

However, unlike many others, a few occupants of the supposedly Wami Luhindo villagers' land are said to have satisfactorily developed it. Philip Mangula is said to have developed a large part of his plot. A few others are trying but there is a vast area that remains underdeveloped. For example, the villagers said that Hassan Ngwilizi had not started farming the land. It is important to note however, that the farm that was allegedly given to Ngwilizi involved eviction of people formally residing within Sagayo hamlet. Both Wami Luhindo VEO and Mohammed Hassan told the co-researcher that when NARCO had first determined the actual size of its land, subsistence farmers who had lived in that hamlet for a long time were not affected by the boundary setting process. But when NARCO reset its boundaries during allocation of plots to individuals and private investors, these villagers were supposed to vacate the area. This area was then allegedly sold to the current MP of Mlalo, Retired Brigadier Hassan Ngwilizi. The Retired Brigadier faced a stiff resistance from Sagayo residents to vacate the area. They did not agree until he promised to compensate them. It remains unclear, however, if these citizens were compensated or not.

The so-called traditional livestock keepers also complained that they do not know that the 5,000 hectares supposedly belong to them. According to the former Wami Luhindo VEO, Hubert Mzigula, and former NARCO agent, Mohammed Hassan, there was land that was allocated to traditional livestock keepers, but up to this day the margins of that land is not known. Quiet often therefore, they find themselves within Mtibwa Sugar Estates and even worse, within farms cultivated by 'subsistent' farmers. One of the traditional livestock keepers, Paskali Mulda, said that they never had a meeting with the district officials who are dealing with land issues. Unlike small-scale farmers who even filled in some forms, Mulda says that it was never announced to 'traditional' livestock keepers. He also wonders whether the said area exists because they always stumble on owners of Mtibwa Sugar Estates and other people's farms and get fined informally.

Wami Luhindo's current VEO, Mohammed Ally Mangole, reiterated that he has received some complaints from small-scale farmers that traditional livestock keepers sometimes turn their crops

into pastures, or keep them within their small farms. He said, however, this could be avoided had the margins of the land allocated to traditional livestock keepers been identified.

At least two explanations can be advanced as to why the 10,000 hectares of Dakawa ranch that were supposed to be allocated to Wami Luhindo villagers were allegedly not allocated to them. First, legally speaking these villagers had no authority over the said plots. As the cases of handing ex-NAFCO farms of Gawal and Warret to wananchi discussed above illustrates, for these villagers to have control over the land it was legally essential to transfer the reserved land (former NARCO ranch) to the village land as per *Village Land Act Number 5 of 1999*. As such, villagers in their communities (small-scale farmers and traditional livestock keepers) did not have any legal power to question the way the land was allocated. Allocation of the plots was under the sole authority of the district land officials who might not have acted in good faith given the high demand of land by many other people apart from Wami Luhindo villagers.

It is important to note also that the influence of politicians and government officials who have allegedly acquired plots in the Dakawa ranch might have seriously made the allocation process lack transparency. Worse still, apart from those bigwigs who have allegedly acquired those Dakawa plots, former top leaders and politicians are said to have very big farms in the Mvomero District. Former President of the United Republic of Tanzania, Ali Hassan Mwinyi, is said to possess about 2,000 hectares. Most of that land, however, is undeveloped. His successor, former President Benjamin William Mkapa, is said to possess more than 1,000 hectares. This farm, however, is very well developed which makes Mkapa to be considered as one of the main individual sugarcane producers in the district.

The former Prime Minister, Fredrick Sumaye, is said to own about 500 hectares; not to speak about other politicians and government officials who have served or serve in different positions. Much as the acquisition of the named plots was largely not transparent. For example, the farm that is allegedly owned by Sumaye's raised some controversies regarding its acquisition process. Presumably, it is this lack of transparency that motivated other land grabbers who are outsiders while alienating the villagers. Thus this lack of transparency emanating from political influence is a second plausible explanation on why those hectares from Dakawa ranch were not, ultimately, allocated to villagers of Wami Luhindo village.

- **PROSPECTS OF LAND CONFLICTS**

The current state of Farm 299, that is, Dakawa Ranch, offers a potential breeding ground for future land conflicts because of at least two important factors. The first one is the psychological factor. This factor is deduced from the fact that Wami Luhindo villagers are aware of the contentious allocation as they do have the plot allocation report that assures them of the 10,019 hectares, for both farmers and livestock keepers. They also have in mind the bad memory of the drama of filling in forms and above all, paying 20,000 shillings, hoping that they would get 5 hectares plots, which was in vain. But, most importantly, the DLO is telling them there are no more plots for allotting while the land-hungry villagers still see vast land left idle.

These villagers still scramble for the 2,000 hectares of village land which the village is subleasing to them through very small plots. Psychologically, therefore, these villagers see land that 'belong' to people with big names as theirs only and that corrupt land officials at the district level do not want to allocate it to them. Speaking to the co-researcher, some villagers vowed to mobilize local support and invade the idle land. This, therefore, creates a prospect for future conflicts in the area.

The second factor is associated with a rapid population growth in Mvomero District and Wami Luhindo village in particular. In the 2002 Census, Wami Luhindo village had a population of 1,823 people. Five years later, according to Wami Luhindo Census conducted in 2007, the population grew to 2,136. This shows that the population has grown by about 17 % in 5 years, which is a threat to people who solely rely on land as a major means of survival. As such, the demand for land continues as the population continues to grow at an alarming rate. This, therefore, also presents a prospect for future conflicts over land.

4.0 THE STATE OF ABSENTEE LANDLORDS' FARMS

The farms that belong to absentee landlords can be defined as those pieces of land that have title deeds or certificates of right of occupancy yet those whose names appear in those documents have either died or abandoned the farm without transferring their ownership to other entities or putting someone in charge on their behalf. The fieldwork conducted as a part of this study particularly looked at the state of absent landlords' farms in Mvomero District in Morogoro Region. However, on the basis of documentary research, the study also looks at the state of these kinds of farms in Kilosa District which has been described by its ToRs as a case in point "where

absentee landlords' farms have been the source of constant battles between pastoralists and peasants as well as among pastoralists themselves for almost two decades”.

- **ABSENTEE LANDLORDISM IN MVOMERO DISTRICT**

There is one known farm that has stayed idle for years at Msufini, Mvomero District. This farm is estimated to have about 100 to 150 hectares, owned by a landlord called Emilio Bag. Trees have been planted surrounding the farm but no any other activities are carried out within the farm. Speaking to the researcher, Abdalah Juma Madebe, chairperson of the Kipogoro hamlet said that because of the scarcity of land for cultivation, small-scale farmers are planning to invade the farm. When the co-researcher enquired the status of the farm from the DLO, Switbert Buyolushengo, he said that Emilio Bag, an Italian national is dead, but the farm is owned by his wife and the family. He admitted that since 2002 the farm has been idle which means that the required five years term to develop the farm is over. When it was further enquired what steps he is intending to take in handling the situation, the DLO said he has no plan about absentee landlords' farms at the moment. He also said that he needs to enquire on the status of other farms in the district before he can recommend the appropriate measures to be taken.

Another, related, controversial farm is owned by a Netherland/Holland/Dutch national, John van Zealand. It is located at Madizini village. According to Ally Kidanga and Omari Machaku, who are leaders of Madizini village, originally, the land was leased to one Mr. Hassanali who had wanted to grow rubber. Later on it was passed to Emilio Bag who then sold it to John Van Zealand. Van Zealand intended to cultivate sugarcane, but now the large part of the land is idle. However, one part of the land is within an area that is potentially expanding to become a sub-urban place. According to DLO, Switbert Buyolushengo, there is a plan to transform that area into an urban setting. In line with *Land Act Number 4 of 1999* as contrasted with *Village Land Act Number 5 of 1999* , this is requires reallocation of the land into plots in which people could build houses in a proper arrangement. However, the DLO admitted that the district land authority has not surveyed the area to make sure that the new buildings do not turn the area into a slum.

Nevertheless there are complaints from villagers that the son of John Van Zealand known as Jonas van Zealand is selling plots without even issuing title deeds but also without complying with the urban setting requirements. When the co-researcher enquired about the factuality of this

allegation from the DLO, he said that Jonas van Zealand has hired a surveyor from Mtibwa Sugar Company for the allocation of the plots. The DLO further asserted that the surveyor was endorsed by the district land authority. He also said that Van Zealand has the right to sell plots because the government cannot pay him off so that it can be able to reallocate the area for an urban plan. It was noted that Jonas Van Zealand sells 20×30 plots for Tsh. 600,000.

Several interrelated complaints have been advanced against Jonas. In the first place, even though he sells the plots without issuing title deeds yet sometimes he denies to have sold such plots, calling those who occupy such plots illegal invaders. For instance, the co-researcher was informed that Jonas had sold a plot to the village authority where Manyinga B Primary School was built. The school is in operation at the moment. But Jonas has recently sold a plot very close to the school to an investor who wants to build a petrol station. When asked about the validity of his actions in terms of the pupils' health and other possible hazards, he argues that he does not know who gave the plot to that school. What he knows is that they are invaders.

Moreover, Jonas' father had given 300 hectares to the village authority to build Lusanga Secondary School in 1987. For a long time since it was built, the school was very isolated. In 2007, the people of Lusanga village had a meeting with the school management and decided that in order to keep the school environment secure, some villagers should be given plots within the bushy areas surrounding the school. The decision was reached on the basis that the land belongs to Lusanga Secondary School, and they were instituting an important security measure.

However, when people started to build houses on the earmarked plots surrounding the school, Jonas ordered their arrest and Amandus, the CCM Secretary-General (Manyinga Village), was put in jail for two weeks. Now, the confusion is still mounting where all decisions made by Van Zealand the father are being nullified by Van Zealand the son. The latter's argument is that if people want to build houses in the mountainous area surrounding the school then they should buy plots from him not the school. According to Ally Kidanga and Omari Machaku, Jonas does not even recognize the secondary school owns the 300 hectares legitimately.

Two questions were, therefore, raised by villagers with regard to this land. Does Jonas van Zealand has the right to sell the plots while his lease tells him he should use that farm for

farming only? Secondly, much as the area is potentially growing to an urban area, why should he be left to dictate terms of selling the plots without following proper arrangements? For example, both Kidanga and Machaku lamented that there was an area that was formerly earmarked for building social service infrastructures like hospitals, but small plots are being allocated to individuals. This, therefore, creates a situation that may cause social havoc in the future. Unfortunately, Jonas was out of the country when this research was conducted. But the DLO admitted that such complaints exist and they are going to work on them. The villagers, however, were negative about the DLO, asserting he never help them when they complain to him.

- **ABSENTEE LANDLORDISM IN KILOSA DISTRICT**

In the wake of conflicts between pastoralists and farmers that resulted in the killing of at least seven people between October and November 2008, HakiArdhi (2008) sent a fact-finding mission team to Kilosa to enquire into the land related matter. One of the official documents that the team acquired there from district authorities, entitled *Taarifa Ya Mashamba Yasiyoendelezwa Wilaya ya Kilosa*, that is, ‘A Report of Undeveloped Farms in Kilosa District’, gives a glimpse at the state of absentee landlords’ farm in the district.

The report, which was compiled in 2007, lists 30 undeveloped farms with a total area of 9,0258.8 acres (36527.23 hectares). On the basis of the definition provided above, at least 50% of these farms can be considered absentee landlords. These farms include a 503 acreage farm with a lease of 33 years since 1988 and by then, that is 13 April 2007, owned by Sethiel Sifuel. The farm was/is described as a mere bush with not structure whatsoever. It is recommended therein that it should be given to another investor. One peculiar case is that of a farm with 525 acres which, as at 12 April 2007, was described as farm whose title has been revoked and that it should be given to wananchi for farming. As such, its section on ownership is documented as “HIS EXCELLNCY THE PRESIDENT (REVOKED)”.

Tellingly, five large farms – with 999 acres, 1005 acres, 12750 acres, 3,100 acres and 3,690 acres respectively – are described as having a presence of pastoralist settlements/residences even though they are not described as the owners. Ironically, the village in which the Kilosa killings first occurred in October 2008 – Mambegwa village – contains 10 out of the 30 undeveloped farms, with a total of 10,605 acres.

There are some cases which offer a conceptual/definitional problem. For instance, there is a 483 acreage farm that was described as being owned by Simon Mbilinyi, with a lease of 99 years which started in 1950. As at 12 April 2007 the farm was evaluated as having been largely a bush, with only 10 acreage of cultivated area. What about the remaining bushy 473 acres – could they be considered abandoned farm belonging to an absent landlord?

Interestingly, out of the 30 undeveloped farms, the compiler of that report recommended that 17 be given to wananchi to farm and/or villages. S/he recommended that the remaining 13 farms be transferred to another investor. It would be interesting to monitor and evaluate the changes that have occurred with respect to these states of these farms vis-à-vis these recommendations.

5.0. CONCLUSION

This report started with Mwalimu Nyerere's admission that the main mistake he did as a Tanzanian leader was to nationalize the sisal plantations since he did not realize how difficult it would be for the state to manage and socialize agriculture. The report thus ends with what he thought about that mistake in relation to land and resources rights of primary producers. After admitting that mistake, Mwalimu – The Teacher – went on to say:

I tried to tell my government that what was traditionally the family's in the village social organization should be left with the family, while what was new could be communalized at the village level. The land issue and family holdings were very sensitive I saw this intellectually but it was hard to translate it into policy implementation. But I still think that in the end Tanzania will return to the values and basic principles of the Arusha Declaration (Julius K. Nyerere in Ikaweba Bunting 1999)

It is this sensitive issue that this report has given a social-historical account of in regard to the farms/ranches that used to belong to the then NAFCO, NARCO and absentee landlords. The study has revealed that the state, at the central government level in collaboration with centralized appendages at the local governments' level, has continued to exert its statist arms in managing agriculture, albeit, through privatization rather than nationalization. In the process of doing so it has reverted to the same mistake of privileging large-scale agriculture over small-scale agriculture especially in regard to the redistribution of the farms that used to belong to NAFCO and NARCO. For instance, the report has noted that out of the 7 farms that constituted the then Hanang Wheat Complex only 2 have been returned to wananchi for pastoralism/agriculture while 4 have been privatized to investors and 1 is in the process of being privatized. Yet, not unlike

NAFCO in the twilight of its heyday, these investors have not been utilizing the farm at an optimum level – and in some cases they have actually been subleasing some portions of these farmlands to small-scale farmers who have been demanding for a return of these farms. In the case of Dakawa ranch, for instance, the report has also noted that it is the small-scale farmers and livestock keepers who undeservedly missed out in the allocation of the farms to big shots.

This tendency, the report thus concludes, is a recipe for ‘cultivating hunger’ given the fact that is these so-called traditional pastoralists and peasants who are the primary producers of food and as such, the actual meat/breadbasket of the nation. The tendency is also a breeder of prospective land conflicts given the fact that the national population is growing at a rate of 2.9% while more land is being allocated to investors and landlords/ladies even though some of them – as it is with the case of biofuel investors – do not have any interest or the capacity to use that land to produce food for the sake of the national granary.

It is imperative, therefore, to go back at least to one basic value of the Arusha Declaration, that is, the value of conceptualizing and privileging the family – and thus the family’s holdings – as the basic unit of development. In this regard, then, the emphasis of land redistribution – in what has turned out to be a lengthy and bumpy transition from nationalization to privatization – in Tanzania should be the household. To that end the report offers the following recommendations.

5.1. RECOMMENDATIONS

These recommendations are, in tandem, directed to the government’s Ministries, Departments and Agencies (MDAs) involved in agriculture, livestock development, land formalization and privatization of parastatals and other related matters as well as citizens and community organizations engaged in land and resources rights. The main thrust of the intertwined recommendations is the need to enforce public/citizens’ oversight of land ownership and land use through citizen agency in village assemblies, districts councils and the national assembly.

1. Resurvey disputed farms

A systematic survey of all disputed farms **is** undertaken, government bodies responsible for land survey to take the lead and community organizations as well as communities/citizens to monitor and evaluate the process from its inception. In regard to its practicality, cost-effective measures such as the use of simple Global

Positioning System (GPS) hand device as it has been the case in the ongoing property and business formalization initiative may be used.

2. Reform land governance

A public performance tracking survey **is** undertaken, community organizations responsible for local governance to take the lead as and the national assembly (parliamentarians) as well as district councils (councillors) and village assemblies (villagers) to regularly/daily monitor and evaluate the implementation of the decentralization by devolution (D-by-D) policy – and its associated governance laws – at the central and local levels. In regard to its feasibility, success stories may be adopted from the ongoing Public Expenditure Tracking Surveys (PETS)

3. Review investors' profiles

A participatory preview of the investors' profiles **is** undertaken, parliamentary committees responsible for sectoral investments to take the lead and the executive bodies responsible for investments as well as community organizations to independently and regularly monitor and evaluate investors' records in relation to their investment initiatives before, during and after their investment tenures. In regard to its reliability, systematic independent auditor may be commissioned.

4. Revolutionize information access

A mass movement to liberalize public information **is** undertaken, community organization responsible for mass media to take the lead and the legislature and judiciary to independently engage the executive to effect that change in its governance and legal regime. In regard to its practicality, the ongoing movement to enact the Right to Information Act the may be employed as a building block.

Thus all these recommendations point to the need to review the privatization policy within the context of overhauling the governance of public resources. They jointly call for an end to a delusive quest for elusive investors. The history of privatization in Tanzania has thus proved the validity of this 1997's prophetic admonition from the father of the nation: "You here in Tanzania don't dream, that if you privatise every blessed thing, including the prison, then foreign investors will come rushing. No! No! *Hawaji!* They won't come! You just try it" (Julius K. Nyerere 2000: 21). This is the reality that the Tanzanian government need to fully realize now after the fact.

REFERENCES

• Academic Books

Eagle, Gill; Hayes, Grahame & Sibanda, Thabani (1999). Standpoint Methodologies: Marxist, Feminist and Black Scholarship Perspective. In Martin T. Blanche & Kevin Durrheim (Eds.), *Research in Practice: Applied Methods for Social Science*, (pp. 438-461). Cape Town, Republic of South Africa: University of Cape Town Press.

Hodgson, Dorothy L. (2001). *Once Intrepid Warriors: Gender, Ethnicity, and the Cultural Politics of Maasai Development*. Indianapolis, USA: Indiana University Press.

Illife, John (1979). *A Modern History of Tanganyika*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Kjaerby, Finn (1986). The Development of Agricultural Mechanisation in Tanzania. In Jannik Boesen, Kjell J. Havnevik, Juhani Koponen & Rie Odgaard (Eds.), *Tanzania: Crisis and Struggle for Survival*, (pp.173-190). Uppsala, Sweden: Scandinavian Institute of African Studies.

Lane, Charles (1996). *Pastures Lost: Barabaig Economy, Resource Tenure, and the Alienation of their Land in Tanzania*. Nairobi, Kenya: Initiatives Publishers.

Mchome, Sifuni E. (2002). *Evictions and the Rights of People in Conservation Areas in Tanzania*. Dar-es-Salaam, Tanzania: Faculty of Law – University of Dar-es-Salaam.

Mustafa, Kemal (1990). The Pastoralist Question. In N. O'Neill & K. Mustafa, (Eds.), *Capitalism, socialism and the development crisis in Tanzania*, (pp. 101-124). Aldershot, UK: Avebury.

Ndagala, Daniel K. (1992). *Territory, Pastoralists, and Livestock: Resource Control among the Kisongo Maasai*. Uppsala, Sweden: Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis, Uppsala.

Nyerere, Julius K. (1966). *Freedom Unity*. Dar-es-Salaam, Tanzania: Oxford University Press.

Moyo, Sam & Yeros, Paris (2005). The Resurgence of Rural Movements Under Neoliberalism. In S. Moyo & P. Yeros (Eds.), *Reclaiming the Land: The Resurgence of Rural Movements in Africa, Asia and Latin America*, (pp. 8-64). London, UK: ZED Books.

Nyerere, Julius K. (2000). Reflections. In Haroub Othman (Ed.), *Reflections on Leadership in Africa: Forty Years of Independence*, (pp. 17-24). Brussels, Belgium: VUB University Press for the Institute of Development Studies, University of Dar-es-Salaam.

Rogers, Peter J. (2004), Saskatoon on the Savanna: Discursive Dependency, Canadian-guided Agricultural Development, and the Hanang Wheat Complex, Tanzania.
<http://www.allacademic.com/meta/p_mla_apa_research_citation/0/7/2/5/7/pages72572/p72572-26.php>

Shivji, Issa G. (1998). *Not Yet Democracy: Reforming Land Tenure in Tanzania*. Dar-es-Salaam, Tanzania: HAKIARDHI.

Shivji, Issa G. & Kapinga, Wilbert B. (1998). *Maasai Rights in Ngorongoro, Tanzania*. Dar-es-Salaam, Tanzania: HAKIARDHI

Shivji, Issa G. (2006). *Let the People Speak: Tanzania Down the Road to Neo-Liberalism*. Dakar, Senegal: CODESRIA.

Zezeza, Paul T. (1997) *Manufacturing African Studies and Crises*. Dakar, Senegal: CODESRIA

- **Policy Booklets**

Nyerere, Julius K. (1962) *Ujamaa – The Basis of African Socialism*. Government Printers, Dar-es-Salaam.

Nyerere, Julius K. (1968). The Arusha Declaration: 29 January 1967. In J. K. Nyerere's *Freedom and Socialism*, (pp. 231-250). Dar-es-Salaam, Tanzania: Oxford University Press.

Nyerere, J. K. (1967). *Socialism and Rural Development*. Government Printers, Dar-es-Salaam.

- **Journals Articles**

Heilman, Bruce (1998). Who are the indigenous Tanzanian? Competing conceptions of Tanzanian citizenship in the business community. *Africa Today*, **45**, 369 - 387.

Mwaikusa, Jwani T. (1993). Community Rights and Land Use Policies in Tanzania: The Case of Pastoral Communities. *Journal of African Law*. **37** (2): 144-163.

Shivji, Issa G. (1998). Contradictory Perspectives on Rights and Justice in the Context of Land Tenure. *Tanzania Zamani: A Journal of Historical Research & Writings*. **4** (1 &2): 57-96.

- **Research Reports**

Bantje, Han (1984). *Mechanised Food Production in Tanzania: A Portrait of the National Agriculture and Food Corporation*. Research Paper Number 6: Institute of Resource Assessment University of Dar-es-Salaam.

Chachage, Chachage S. L (2007). *The State, Parastatals and Privatisation*. Report for Alternative Information & Development Centre (AIDC).

Legal and Human Rights Centre, LHRC (2008a). *Fact Finding Report on Hanang Land Dispute Conducted in Hanang District from 03 – 11 April 2008*. Unpublished Report.

Legal and Human Rights Centre, LHRC (2008b). *Recommendations to the Hanang Land Case*. Letter, Reference: LHRC/HRM.VOL. XIV

Mangwangi, Seif Y., Ole Ngereza, C., & Nkwame, Valentine M. (2008). "Hanang Hills Have Eyes!" A Brief Report on Land-Based Conflicts among People Living around the Gawal and

Warret Farms of Katesh in Hanang District, Manyara Region. Unpublished Report for PINGO's Forum.

Mgumia, Jacqueline; Ally, Bashiru & Mvula, Emmanuel (2007). Ripoti ya Utafiti Kuhusu Utawala na Usimamizi wa Ardhi Vijijini: Wilaya za Rufiji na Kilombero. Unpublished HAKIARDHI Report.

Mvungi, Sengondo E. (2007). Study on Options for Pastoralists to secure their Livelihoods: Experiences in the Defence of Pastoralist Resource Rights in Tanzania: Lessons and Prospects Part A. (Report submitted to CORDS).

<http://www.tnrf.org/files/E-INFO-RLTF_VOL2-PART4_Mvungi-S_2008_Experiences_in_the_defence_of_pastoralist_rights_PART-B.pdf>

Wetlands International (2003). Ramsar Information Sheet Part IV: Kilombero Valley Floodplain.

<<http://www.wetlands.org/reports/ris/1TZ003end.pdf>>

Mæstad, Ottar & Brehony, Eamonn (2007). Review of Haydom Lutheran Hospital: External Review Contracted by the Royal Norwegian Embassy, Dar es Salaam. Chr. Michelsen Institute (CMI) Report. R 2007: 18.

<<http://www.cmi.no/publications/file/?2955=review-of-haydom-lutheran-hospital>>

Likwelile, Servecius B., Rutasitara, Longinus & Haule, Joseph O. (2008). Aid Effectiveness to Infrastructure: A Comparative Study of East Asia and Sub-Saharan Africa – Tanzania Case Study. JBICI Research Paper No. 36-3J.

<http://www.jica.go.jp/jica-ri/research/archives/jbic/pdf/rp36_e09.pdf>

Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations, FAO & New Partnership for Africa's Development, NEPAD (2005). Government of the United Republic of Tanzania: Support to NEPAD – Comprehensive Africa Agriculture Development Programme (CADEP): Volume II. Bankable Investment Profile: Phase II of Madibira Rural Development (Mainland)

<<ftp://ftp.fao.org/docrep/fao/008/ae725e/ae725e00.pdf>>

African Development Fund, ADF (2004). Madibira Smallholder Agricultural Development Project: Project Completion Report.

<<http://www.afdb.org/fileadmin/uploads/afdb/Documents/Project-and-Operations/ADF-BD-IF-2004-189-EN-TANZANIA-PCR-MADIBIRA-SMALLHOLDER-AGRICULTURAL-DEVELOPMENT-PROJECT.PDF>>

Tanzania National Business Council, TNBC (2006). Regional Social Economic Profile.

<http://www.tnbctz.com/index2.php?option=com_docman&task=doc_view&gid=16&Itemid=89>

- **Government Reports**

Consolidated Holding Corporation, CHC (2009). Taarifa ya Mashamba Yaliyokuwa Chini ya Shirika la Chakula na Kilimo (NAFCO) Yaliyoko Katika Wilaya za Hanang na Mbarali. Dar-es-Salaam Tanzania, United Republic of Tanzania.

Consolidated Holding Corporation, CHC (2008). Taarifa ya Consolidated Holding Corporation Kuhusu Ubinafishaji wa Mashirika ya Umma Nchini. Dar-es-Salaam Tanzania, United Republic of Tanzania.

<<http://www.chc.co.tz/Press%20Releases/Interview%20with%20the%20Director%20General%20of%20CHC.pdf>>

National Audit Office, NAO (2008). Report of the Controller and Auditor General On the Financial Statements of Public Authorities and Other Bodies for the Financial Year ended 30th June, 2007

<http://www.parliament.go.tz/bunge/Docs/NaO_PublicFinInstns.pdf>

National Ranching Company Limited, NARCO (2007). Profile ya Kampuni.

Presidential Parastatal Sector Reform Commission, PSRC (2007). Annual Review 2006/2007 and Action Plan 2007/2008.

United Republic of Tanzania, URT (1994a). *Report of the Presidential Commission of Inquiry into Land Matters – Volume I: Land Policy and Land Tenure Structures*. Dar-es-Salaam, Tanzania: Ministry of Lands, Housing and Urban Development.

United Republic of Tanzania, URT (1994b). *Report of the Presidential Commission of Inquiry into Land Matters – Volume II: Selected Land Disputes and Recommendations*. Dar-es-Salaam, Tanzania: Ministry of Lands, Housing and Urban Development.

United Republic of Tanzania, URT (2002) 2002 Population and Housing Census.

<<http://www.tanzania.go.tz/census/reports.htm>>

- **University Dissertations**

Chachage, Chachage.S.L. (1986). *Socialists Ideology and the Reality of Tanzania*. *Unpublished PhD, Glasgow University*

Mukajanga, Kajubi (1993). *The Resurgence of Racial Tensions in Tanganyika 1991-1994: The Gabacholi Phenomenon*. Unpublished BA Dissertation. University of Dar-es-Salaam

- **Legal Instruments**

Corporations Act Number 17 of 1969

Land Act Number 4 of 1999

National Investment (Promotion and Protection) Act of 1990

Jamhuri ya Muungano wa Tanzania (2005). *Katiba ya Jamhuri ya Muungano wa Tanzania ya Mwaka 1977*. Dar-es-Salaam, Tanzania: Ofisi ya Rais Kitengo cha Uratibu wa Utawala Bora.

Public Corporations (Amendment) Act of 1993

Public Company Act 212

Village Land Act Number 5 of 1999

Villages and Ujamaa Villages Act of 1975

Tanzania Investment Act Number 26 of 1999

The National Bank of Commerce Reorganization and Vesting of Assets and Liabilities (Amendment) Act Number 2 of 2007

- **Court Cases**

Ako Gembul & 10 Others v NAFCO & 4 others, High Court of Tanzania at Arusha, Civil Case No. 12 of 1989.

Mulbadaw Village Council v NAFCO [1984] Tanzania Law Records (TLR) 15.

NAFCO v Mulbadaw Village [1985] T.L.R 88.

Yoke Gwako & 5 Others v NAFCO & Another, High Court of Tanzania at Arusha, Civil Case No. 52 of 1988.

- **Parliamentary Documents**

Bunge la Tanzania (2008). Majadiliano ya Bunge: Mkutano wa Kumi na Mbili – Kikao cha Arobaini na Moja: Tarehe 7 Agosti 2008.

< <http://www.parliament.go.tz/Polis/PAMS/Docs/HS-12-41-2008.pdf> >

Hotuba ya Msemaji Mkuu wa Kambi ya Upinzani Dr. Willibrod Peter Slaa (MB) Kuhusu Makadirio ya Matumizi ya Fedha ya Ofisi ya Waziri Mkuu, Tawala za Mikoa na Serikali za Mitaa kwa Mwaka wa Fedha 2008/2009

< http://www.parliament.go.tz/bunge/docs/PMO_TAMISEMI_u08.pdf >

Hotuba ya Waziri wa Kilimo na Chakula Mheshimiwa Charles N. Keenja (MB) Kuhusu Makadirio ya Matumizi ya Fedha kwa Mwaka wa 2003/2004.

< <http://www.agriculture.go.tz/Budget%20Speeches/BSpeech%20Kilimo%202003-2004.pdf> >

- **Official Websites**

Haydom Lutheran Church, HLC

< <http://www.haydom.no> >

Highland Estates Limited

< <http://www.estatestz.com> >

Millenium Challenge Account Tanzania, MCA-T

< <http://www.mca-t.go.tz> >

National Ranching Company Limited, NARCO
< <http://narcotz.com> >

The Parliament of the United Republic of Tanzania
<<http://www.parliament.go.tz>>

- **Media Articles**

African Press International, API/Miriga, Judy (31 July 2008). Its public knowledge Uhuru represents the substantial Kenyatta family state at Timsales.
<<http://africanpress.wordpress.com/2008/07/31/it-is-public-knowledge-uhuru-represents-the-substantial-kenyatta-family-stake-at-timsales/>>

Bunting, Ikaweba (1999). The heart of Africa: Interview with Julius Nyerere on anti-colonialism. New Internationalist Magazine, Issue 309, January-February 1999
<<http://www.hartford-hwp.com/archives/30/049.html>>

Daily News/Sanga, Japhet (18 September 2008). Plans to boost wheat output.
< <http://dailynews.habarileo.co.tz/summit/index.php?id=7336> >

HabariLeo/Mheta, Veronica (17 June 2008). Wadau wazungumzia umuhimu wa shamba la Kapunga kuinua uchumi.
< <http://www.habarileo.co.tz/biasharaFedha/index.php?id=9754> >

HabariLeo/Sagati, Shadrack (17 September 2008). Rais agoma 'kupora' ardhi kuwapa wasionayo.
<<http://www.habarileo.co.tz/biasharaFedha/index.php?id=12237>>

HabariLeo/Kingoba, Mgaya (10 October 2008). Mashamba ya Mbarali kutolimwa mbono.
< <http://www.habarileo.co.tz/biasharaFedha/index.php?id=12830> >

Jakobsen, Halvdan (2006) News from Haydom Development Company Ltd (HDC).
< Cache: <http://www.haydom.no> >

Lindesnes AS/ Olsen, Øystein E. (26 October 2007) Striden på Haydom.
< http://www.lindesnes-avis.no/artikkel_print.asp?ArtID=161818&EmneID=Meninger >

Mjengwa, Majjid (7 May 2006) Mpunga ni Maji.
<<http://mjengwa.blogspot.com/2007/05/mpunga-ni-maji.html>>

Mwananchi/Juma, Mussa (25 July 2008). Mgogoro warejesha [sic] kwa serikali za vijiji.

Nipashe (28 January 2007). Kikwete tembelea kijiji cha Kapunga uone ufisadi.
<<http://www.ippmedia.com/ipp/nipashe/2007/01/28/83252.html>>

Nipashe/Mkumbata, Laurian (11 May 2008). Mashamba ya Kapunga na Mbarali sasa kuzalisha jetrofa badala ya mpunga
<<http://kurayangu.com/ipp/nipashe/2008/05/11/114160.html>>

Stavanger Aftenblad/Gud, Reidun (20 January 2007). Owner Strid Haydom on-farm.

< <http://web3.aftenbladet.no/lokalt/article400844.ece> >

Stavanger Aftenblad (20 January 2007). Tanzania er ingen norsk koloni.

< http://www.aftenbladet.no/lokalt/400845/-_Tanzania_er_ingen_norsk_koloni.html>

Tanzania Daima/Mwaiteleke, Tazani K. (10 August 2006). Serikali imewasaliti wananchi wa Mbarali.

<<http://www.freedia.co.tz/daima/2006/8/10/makala1.php>>

Tanzania Daima (20 August 2006). Vigogo wala rushwa.

<<http://www.freedia.co.tz/daima/2006/8/20/habari1.php>>

Tanzania Daima/Ngoromera, Hellen (23 August 2006) Mungai airuka rushwa Mbarali

< <http://www.freedia.co.tz/daima/2006/8/23/habari2.php>>

Tanzania Daima/Ngoromera, Hellen (27 May 2008) Export Trading yawatoa hofu wakulima Mbarali.

< <http://www.freedia.co.tz/daima/2008/5/27/print.php/8052731.php>>

The Arusha Times/Ratsim, Thomas (29 April – 05 May 2006). It's 'life after death' at Mulbadaw farm.

< http://www.arushatimes.co.tz/2006/17/features_1.htm >

The Arusha Times/Nkwame, Valentine M. (1 - 7 March 2008). Unrest as Hanang residents rush for abandoned farms.

<http://www.arushatimes.co.tz/2008/8/front_page_1.htm>

The Arusha Times/Nkwame, Valentine M. (2 - 8 August 2008). Bassotu farms controversy heats up: State House gives tall order.

<http://www.arushatimes.co.tz/2008/30/front_page_1.htm>

The Guardian (4 August 2006). Wito wa Mtei ni uchochezi – Mungai.

<<http://www.ippmedia.com/ipp/nipashe/2006/08/04/71743.html>>

The Guardian (29 August 2006). Mbarali, Kapunga farms sold at 3.5bn/-

<http://www.tanzania-info.com/news/news_show.php?id=1859>

The Guardian/Mwangosi, Christina (29 March 2007). Govt acts on Kapunga Farm teachers' plight

<<http://www.kurayangu.com/ipp/guardian/2007/03/29/87305.html>>

The Guardian/Lupembe, Edwina A. (2008). Press Release: Interview with the Director General of CHC.

<<http://www.chc.co.tz/Press%20Releases/Interview%20with%20the%20Director%20General%20of%20CHC.pdf> >

The Guardian/Kimambo, Jackson (26 January 2008). VP: Give us more time to allocate former estates for public use.

<<http://kurayangu.com/ipp/guardian/2008/01/26/107063.html>>

The New Vision/Olita, Reuben (1 October 2006). Uncertainty looms over Kinyara's take-over.

<<http://www.newvision.co.ug/D/8/220/524217>>

- **Miscellaneous Records**

Geomatics Engineering Consultants Limited (2007) Summary of Completed Projects.

<http://geomatics.co.tz/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=36&Itemid=50>

Multilateral Investment Guarantee Agency World Bank Group, MIGA FDI.net (2006) Opportunity.

<http://www.fdi.net/opportunities/infores_preview.cfm?parent_infid=100&infid=112&spid=8&srpg=15&countrynum=191&pvw=s>

TANconsult Consulting Engineers (2008). Projects.

<<http://www.tanconsult.org/projects.html>>

Ushirika wa Wafugaji Bassotu, UWABA (2002). Katiba ya Ushirika ya Wafugaji Bassotu (UWABA) ya Mwaka 2002.