PINGOs Forum

Eviction of Pastoralists from Kilombero and Rufiji Valleys, Tanzania
I owe a great debt of gratitude to Trevor Jones and Nick McWilliam for instantly sending me the original map, and above all, for kindly granting me permission to use their map in this report.
Table of Contents

1. Précis .................................................. 4
2. Key Moments in Recent History .................. 5
3. Main Findings of “Operation Save Kilombero Valley” 12
4. Unwanted nomads .................................. 23
5. Environment as a Fig-leaf to Justify Evictions 25
6. RUBADA .............................................. 31
7. SAGCOT .............................................. 33
8. Conclusion and Recommendations ............... 38

References .............................................. 41
1. Précis

We have, for instance, special zones for crops like cotton, coffee, tobacco and sisal but nothing like that for livestock keeping. We have even special areas for zebras (national parks) but livestock keepers are hanging.

-J.K. Nyerere, former Tanzanian President, August 1981

The History: This report explores the eviction of pastoralists from Kilombero Valley. Territories originally owned by small producers were now converted into private and State-owned wildlife preservation areas, ranches and agriculture as well as alienated to state organs like the army and prison services. The Government, for example, alienated about 100,000 acres of Barabaig pastoralists for the Tanzania-Canada Wheat Complex, in Hanang District (Lane, 1996). Introduction of cotton in Sukumaland during colonial era led to displacement of Sukuma pastoralists (Walsh, 2007).

The Present: Preservation organizations like WWF, FZS, AWF, WCS and others are pumping funds into wildlife preservation projects. Preservation is today the most ruthless appropriator of the rangelands. It should be noted that Tanzania has set aside nearly 40% of its territory for wildlife preservation in the form of series of national parks, game reserves, game controlled areas and one conservation area. There are also nearly 570 forest reserves and eight marine parks (MNRT, 1998; 1999 & ZG Design, 2008). By comparison, continental United States has set aside less than 4% of her land for wildlife conservation (Adams & McShane, 1996:103).

Transferring of land from small producers to large-scale mainly private investors for commercial ranches and plantations as well as expansion of old, if not creation of new, wildlife preservation areas is responsible for unlawful evictions. In 2006-8 pastoralists were evicted from Mbarali District for expansion of Ruaha National Park (Walsh, 2007). Anti-pastoralists propagandas led to the pauperization of pastoralists in Kilosa District in between 2008 and 2009 (Ndaskoi, 2009). Tourism is also responsible for the predicament of pastoralists in Serengeti-Maasai Mara ecosystem. Tragedy is hovering on the horizon considering the global initiatives to contain (1) climate change through REDD+ and (2) hunger.

The Need: This report springs from series of field visits.² Its aim was, among others, to examine further the extent of human rights violations suffered by pastoralists in Kilombero and Rufiji valley during the evictions. It additionally makes recommendations including the need for lobbying against the State’s contempt of court orders.

² The study was undertaken in January, March, October and November 2012 and February 2013. The methods used have been straight. I read books and articles. I wrote letters and emails. I browsed the internet and talked to people.
2. **Key Moments in Recent History**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Key Events</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>21 Dec. 2005</td>
<td>President Elect, Jakaya Mrisho Kikwete, is sworn in as the President of the United Republic of Tanzania. Holding the Holly Quran, Kikwete vowed to protect the Constitution of the United Republic of Tanzania.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30 Dec. 2005</td>
<td>Inaugurating the new Parliament, in his most celebrated address to the Tanzanian people, loosely translated below from Kiswahili to English by the author, the President set on his attitude toward pastoralism:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mr. Speaker, we must modernize animal husbandry. We will have no alternative. We must abandon nomadic pastoralism which makes the whole country pastureland...The cattle are bony and the pastoralists are sacks of skeletons. We cannot move forward with this type of pastoralism in the twenty first century <em>(Hansard, December 30, 2005)</em>.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Mar. 2006</td>
<td>Kikwete once again stressed that he cared less about the anger of a few nomads and their sacks of bones. He said:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>I am committed to taking unpopular steps in order to protect the environment for the benefit of the nation and future generations <em>(Guardian [Dar es Salaam] March 2, 2006)</em>.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Apr. 2006</td>
<td>The Vice President, Dr. Ali Mohamed Shein, issues a “Government Statement on Urgent Measures Aimed at Environmental Conservation and Preservation of Water Sources in the Country” reiterating the main points of the national <em>Strategy</em> and directing that “People who settled in Usangu and Kilombero valleys should leave immediately. This directive also applies livestock keepers and farmers who feed their animals and cultivate land in national parks and in Ilhefu and Kilombero wetlands protected under the UN Ramsar Convention and other similar areas. Regional and district commissioners of the respective areas should ensure that there will be no encroachment on these areas in future” <em>(Guardian [Dar es Salaam] April 4, 2006 &amp; The Citizen [Dar es Salaam] April 6, 2006)</em>.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18 May 2006</td>
<td>The Government violently evicted pastoralists from Usangu Game</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>“A heavily armed combined contingent of regular police, anti-poaching unit and game wardens has cleared the Ilhefu Wetland of hundreds of pastoralists with over 300,000 head of cattle” <em>(Guardian [Dar es Salaam] June 26, 2006 for details of the eviction see Walsh, 2007)</em>.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23 Mar. 2007</td>
<td>The Udzungwa stakeholders workshop was held as final forum to present, discuss and recommend upon results of CEPF report and other studies conducted (this is one of the clandestine meetings leading to eviction).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20 Apr. 2007</td>
<td>Prime Minister, Edward Lowassa, announced that the Government had formed a Commission of Enquiry into the Eviction of pastoralists from</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Mbarali District, to be chaired by Judge Othman Chande. The Commission was to make recommendations immediately.

6 June 2007 Chande handed over the report of its finding to the President. To this day the Government is still covering the report despite repeated, growing and publicly-expressed calls for it to be made public.

15 Dec. 2007 President Jakaya Kikwete under his hand and the public Seal signed in Dar es Salaam GN No.28/2008 to implicitly annex the entire Mbarali District to Ruaha National Park; making the conservation lobby triumphant.

27 Oct. 2008 In Mambegwa Village, a confrontation between a peasant and a herder left a pastoralist dead (Sunday Observer [Dar es Salaam] November 16, 2008). The killing escalated into a full scale fight leaving reportedly 7 peasants dead. On the same date the Councilors of Kilosa District Council, all of them without exception sons and daughters of peasants, met and resolved, among others, that pastoralists must be moved out of Kilosa District [added emphasis] (minutes of the meeting proceedings signed by the Kilosa District Executive Director, Ephraim Kalimalwendo).

18 Nov. 2008 The Kilosa District Executive Director, Ephraim Kalimalwendo, issued a notice that no livestock should enter Kilosa District.

7 Dec. 2008 President Jakaya Kikwete held a meeting in Morogoro Hotel. The President insisted reportedly that the livestock question must be dealt with seriously because they are destroying the environment.

18 Dec. 2008 Kilosa District Council listed Kilangali, Kiduhi, Mbamba, Kivungu, Ulaya Kibaoni, Chanzuru, Ilonga, Ihombwe, Lumango, Rudewa, Msowero, Mvumi and Mambegwa as well as pastoral villages since “there are illegal pastoralists in these villages.” These were priority areas from which the forceful eviction operation was to start (Ndaskoi, 2009).

29 Jan. 2009 Rampage of villages started. Vile officials in Kilosa District including the District Commissioner, District Executive Director, policemen, militiamen and Village Executive Officers embarked on an inhuman treatment of bankrupting pastoralists. Livestock were confiscated from pastoral villages and were taken to confinements erected for that reason and sold. These confinements were at Kimamba, Kivungu, Dumila and Msowero.

5 Feb. 2009 John Cheyo, a radical opposition MP for Bariadi East, demanded a clear explanation from the Tanzanian Prime Minister as to why the Government is persecuting pastoralists in Kilosa District (Hansard February 2, 2009)? The Prime Minister, Peter Pinda, answered delicately:

If you ask me where will pastoralists go I will ask you where did they come from (Hansard February 5, 2009)?
30 Apr. 2009 The Government finally saw the writings on the wall. In the shape of the Minister of State in the Prime Minister’s Office responsible for Regional Administration and Local Governments, Celina Kombani, on behalf of the Prime Minister, it officially admitted that pastoralists were evicted violently and there were massive human rights violations; a fact the Government covered up for a long time particularly meticulously. The minister then announced that the Government was now going to suspend the evictions of pastoralists from across the country (Hansard, April 30, 2009). The Government bowed to pressures. Like the Kilosa eviction, the Kilombero and Ulanga evictions which have started were also stopped.

4 July 2009 The eviction of pastoralists in Loliondo was launched by the Tanzanian State on the Eastern fringes of Serengeti National Park. The eviction and its associated public outcry continued to the first half of 2010.

March 2010 The Government and “the village authorities agreed on points where the beacons should be put” (Guardian [Dar es Salaam] November 11, 2012). Remarkably there was a deafening silence throughout the year 2010. No letter, order, or threat whatsoever to evict the pastoralists in the valley was issued. Pastoralists were left alone in peace. The general elections were set to take place in that year. Obviously CCM needed votes. Annoying pastoralists might have made them vote against the ruling party.

29 Mar. 2011 President Kikwete visited the Ministry of Natural Resources and Tourism. He ordered the withdrawal of the Eastern Arc Mountains (some of them are within Kilombero Valley catchment area) from the UNESCO’s World Heritage Sites list. Kikwete was disillusioned. He now could see that a world heritage site is practically communities-no go site. A bitter President observed that “even women will be barred from hewing firewood from a World Heritage Site.” He got it right, of course. His Government has been pushing for construction of highway through Serengeti National Park. The wildlife preservation lobby is vehemently opposing, for years and almost with no end in sight, the highway project on the ground that, inter alia, Serengeti is a World Heritage Site.

3 Aug. 2011 Kilombero District Commissioner, Eng. Evarist Ndikiro, gave pastoralists in Mofu Village a 7-day ultimatum to vacate the village and farmers properties (Rai [Dar es Salaam] September 1, 2011).

August 2011 A team of journalists from Journalists Environmental Association of Tanzania (JET), accompanied by the Kilombero District Natural Resources Officer, toured Kilombero District for the second time in less than a year. “to look at the conservation of the environment” [emphasis added] (Daily News [Dar es Salaam] September 20, 2011). As a result of

---

3 The mountains are Pare, Usambara, Uluguru, Nguu, Nguru, Ukaguru, Mahenge Rubeho, Kipengere, Livingstone, and Udzungwa in Tanzania and Taita Hills in Kenya.
this visit they wrote series of anti-pastoralism articles in their respective outlets. Notably the journalists were Johnson Mbwambo of Raia Mwema, Deodatus Mfugale of Daily News and Chrysostom Rweyemamu of Rai.

Stereotyping and Scapegoating Sukuma Livestock Keepers in Kilombero Valley: an example from the national press in August 2011. The headline loosely translated from Swahili to English into reads “[Sukuma] pastoralists are like armyworms.”

The crackpot journalists interviewed a cross-section of Kilombero District authorities. They also interviewed as many farmers and fishermen as they wished. However, and for the most unconvincing reasons, the journalists interviewed only one young Sukuma pastoralist [emphasis added] (Raia Mwema [Dar es Salaam] September 14, 2011). Johnson Mbwambo then tried to convince the Government to start a national eviction in the style of the Ihefu eviction (Raia Mwema [Dar es Salaam] September 7, 2011 & Raia Mwema [Dar es Salaam] November 24, 2011). Likewise, Rweyemamu wrote a stimulating story with a caption suggesting that pastoralists are “threatening” the Government including President Kikwete himself (Rai [Dar es Salaam] September 1, 2012).

Deo Mfugale wrote a 2-parts story in the State-owned Daily News captioned “Death’ of Kilombero Valley is coming.” He wrote, “The Acting Kilombero District Executive Director, Freddy Eliasaph puts ten years as the minimum remaining life of Kilombero Valley.” District
Wildlife Officer, Madaraka Amani, “thinks there are only five years left for the unique natural resources which are endemic to the district to disappear.” He further wrote that their team “concluded that it will take just about three years before almost all unique natural resources disappear [in the Kilombero Valley].” Mfugale then cleared his chest making a slip of tongue when he wrote, “It doesn’t matter whether these predictions are correct or not” (Daily News [Dar es Salaam] September 20, 2011).

3 Oct. 2011  Acting DED for Ulanga District, Wilbard Kisembo, wrote a note with reference No. UDC/AL/L/1/39 to authorities in all villages where pastoralists reside. He declared that all unregistered livestock must leave the district otherwise they will be forcefully evicted.

21 Dec. 2011  Morogoro Regional Commissioner, Joel Bendera, toured Ulanga District for two consecutive days and ordered that all pastoralists who are living illegally within the Kilombero Game Controlled Area which is also partly overlapping with the Kilombero Valley Ramsar Site to leave immediately.

30 Dec. 2011  Francis Miti, the District Commissioner for Ulanga District (also Acting District Commission for Kilombero District) wrote a letter with Ref. No MA.106/113/01/20 to all pastoralists in the two districts. The order applied to (1) pastoralists living illegally in the two districts and (2) those with more livestock than approved. He ordered these two categories of pastoralists to vacate protected areas and the Kilombero Valley Ramsar Site. He warned that those who will not obey the order will face the full wrath of law starting on January 14, 2012. Regrettably, the letter was copied to, among others, the residence magistrates of the two districts.

13 Jan. 2012  The Minister for Natural Resources and Tourism, Ezekiel Maige, and the Minister for State in the Vice-President’s Office (Environment), Dr. Tereza Huvisa, made a joint two-day tour of Ulanga District in a follow-up of the implementation of the 2006 order of the Vice President. They reported the findings to the Vice President, Dr. Gharib Bilal. The Minister for Health, Dr. Haji Mponda, who is MP for Ulanga West accompanied his counterparts (Daily News [Dar es Salaam] January 23, 2012).

20 Jan. 2012  The Minister for State in the Office of the Vice President (Environment), Dr. Tereza Huvisa Luoga, announced that all pastoralists within the Kilombero Valley Ramsar Site should leave by August 30, 2012.

27 Jan. 2012  UWAKAMA wrote the Speaker of the National Assembly praying her to send the Parliamentary Committee on Land, Housing and Environment to Ulanga District to hear the voices of pastoralists following the ongoing threats from the Government to evict them in the name of Ramsar Site.

3 Feb. 2012  Chama cha Ushirika cha Wafugaji Asilia Rufiji (CHUWAARU) wrote a letter to the Speaker of the National Assembly praying her to send the
Parliamentary Committee on Land, Housing and Environment to Rufiji District to hear the voices of pastoralists following the ongoing threats from the Government to evict them from the district.

17 Mar. 2012 Taking cover of the operation looming in the horizon, and with full knowledge of the Ulanga District Commissioner, militiamen and two soldiers invaded Kiwale Village. The invaders opened fire on pastoralists in broad daylight killing five and badly wounding three (TALA, 2012).

22 May 2012 DED of Ulanga District wrote a letter with reference No. UDC/NRT/W/8/86 to the VEO of all villages in which pastoralists resides in the district. He reminded them that the deadline, August 30, 2012, for all pastoralists to vacate prohibited areas is closing up. He stressed citing the April 2006 order issued by the then Vice President of the United Republic of Tanzania, Dr. Ally Mohamed Shein, to evict pastoralists from catchment areas in Ilhefu and Kilombero Valley Ramsar Site.

30 June 2012 Kiwale Village office wrote a letter to the Ulanga District Executive Director regarding the unresolved boundary of Lupemenda sub-Village.

14 Aug. 2012 The decision to evict pastoralists and farmers was reached during a meeting held in Ifakara. A statement by the Ministry of Natural Resources and Tourism signed by its spokesman, George Matiko, said that the “meeting brought together Ulanga and Kilombero district leaders and the Permanent Secretary of in the Ministry of Natural Resources and Tourism, Ms Maimuna Tarisi” (Citizen [Dar es Salaam] August 20, 2012).


25 Sep. 2012 Four people, including Government employees, are arrested in Kilombero District following reports from pastoralists that they are illegally branding livestock in order to get money from pastoralists. They admitted to have charged TSh12,000 per head of cattle and that they marked 78 cattle. They are Emmanuel Sanga, Joseph Maulo, Emmanuel Budoya and Thobias Maching’wa (Tanzania Daima [Dar es Salaam] October 6, 2012).
16 Oct. 2012  Chita villagers ambushed five soldiers belonging to battalion number 837 KJ Chita National Service Military Base in Kilombero District. They injured Sergeant Aloyce Kidunye and putting four soldiers to flight. Kidunye is admitted at St. Francis Hospital in Ifakara. Commanding Officer of battalion 837 KJ, Major Msabaha Yamawe, regretted the attack and said 45 villagers have so far been arrested following the incidence. Councilor for Chita Ward, Hasan Kibapa, said that the villagers and the soldiers have a bitter row regarding ownership of land forcefully invaded by the army (Mwananchi [Dar es Salaam] October 22, 2012).4

27 Oct. 2012  The Government is set to evict pastoralists in both Kilombero and Ulanga Districts. The District Commissioners confirmed this (Video Footage).

30 Oct. 2012  Acting Morogoro Regional Commissioner who is also the Dar Es Salaam Regional Commissioner, Said Meck Sadick, officiated the launching of the forceful eviction dubbed “Operation Save Kilombero Valley.” A 120-member squad from the Tanzania police force, game rangers and militiamen under guidance from members of the Morogoro Regional Defense and Security Committee was divided into two equal groups. One group remained in Ulanga District. The other crossed over to Kilombero District (ITV [Dar es Salaam] October 31, 2012; Citizen [Dar es Salaam] November 5, 2012 & Nipashe [Dar es Salaam] November 6, 2012).

Some pastoralists attempting to vacate the valley before eviction

4 There unconfirmed reports that the soldiers retaliated by attacking the villagers. That several people are missing and believed to have been killed while others are still hospitalized in Lugalo Military Hospital.
5 President Kikwete appointed Meck Sadick Acting Morogoro Regional Commissioner since RC for Morogoro, Joel Bendera, was travelling in North Korea (phone, Joel Bendera, December 1, 2012).
3. **Main Findings of “Operation Save Kilombero Valley”**

By July 2012 it was already obvious to pastoralists that the eviction hovering on the horizon was inevitable. In effect unknown number of pastoralists started to vacate the valley, fearing their dear lives and property, even before the launching of the eviction. The mass media, both print and electronic, published grim stories and images depicting pastoralists moving out of the valley (See for example *Mwananchi* [Dar es Salaam] September 12, 2012; *Citizen* [Dar es Salaam] September 13, 2012; *Mwananchi* [Dar es Salaam] September 13, 2012 & *Mwananchi* [Dar es Salaam] September 14, 2012).

i. **Killing with impunity**

On October 30, 2012 the eviction started. Random killings and injury of pastoralists and unbridled lawlessness soon followed while a ruthless police state maintained order. The number of police, game rangers and militiamen involved in the operation has been increasing from 120 to 400. Cruel state security organs, armed with weapons of tyranny, were unleashed to attack pastoralists. Pastoralists struggled to hold on their livestock; no easy task with the Government and even the mass media against them. Homes were set ablaze. Morogoro Regional Commissioner witnessed, “The operation is also involving demolition of structures put up in the valley.” He added that the operation was scheduled to last six days beginning October 31, 2012, but it will be extended “because the valley floodplain is a very large area” (*Citizen* [Dar es Salaam] November 5, 2012).

The Government claimed that the operation has been carried out peacefully. In reality though, it used excessive force including intimidation and violence. In Kilombero District, Utengule Village specifically, the Government bunt houses belonging to Sahani Simbaluhaya and Machungwa Mahugila (*Habari Leo* [Dar es Salaam] November 10, 2012 & *Nipashe* [Dar es Salaam] November 12, 2012). Kilombero and Rufiji Rivers were literally overflowing with blood of pastoralists. On November 10, 2012 tragedy befell the family of Lutaligula Hima of Chita Village in Mlimba Ward of Mlimba Division Kilombero District. The blood-thirsty police deliberately shot his three unarmed sons killing Dasu Lutaligula aged 25 on the spot. Luhende Lutaligula and Daase Lutaligula were seriously wounded (pers.comm, Lutaligula Hima, November 12, 2012). The police force said that the victims were fighting policemen so they had no option but to shoot them; with live ammunition (*Mwananchi* [Dar es Salaam] November 12, 2012).
Extra-judicial killings such as this are not isolated incidents. They are a rule. On January 26, 2013 the police shot and killed on the spot twenty-year-old Baya Katambi of Ipera Asilia Village in Ulanga District. According to eye witnesses the unprovoked policeman deliberately gunned down Baya Katambi from a distance of 83 meters. The bullet went through the mouth and ripped off a huge frightening hole above the scalp. The same killer policemen took the body of the deceased to Mahenge; Ulanga District Headquarters. The deceased, according to his family, had with him TSh10 million. The family refused categorically to pick up the body for burial until the Government met three conditions. The Government met all conditions; (1) it returned the body to the village at its own cost, (2) The police return to the family of the deceased the TSh10 million which the police took illegally when he fell down dead and (3) the Government explain in no uncertain terms that Baya Katambi was killed by the police.

The death of Baya Katambi brought the number of people killed by the police in the valley to eight between March 2012 and January 2013. It should be born in mind that on March 17, 2012 and taking cover of the operation looming in the horizon, and with full knowledge of the Ulanga District Commissioner, the militia invaded Sukuma pastoralists of Kiwale Village to enrich themselves by harassing pastoralists. Those who were involved in the invasion were Warrant Officer I Job Edward Matonya and his assistant Corporal Paulo Laurent, 9 Militia and 5 Village Game Scouts and a driver named Omary Mtawa who was driving a pickup with registration number STK 4784 Toyota Hilux. Matonya and his assistant Laurent were identified as Advisors to the Militias in Ulanga District. Using a gun with serial number SMG 1975SW 02962, Corporal Paulo Laurent mowed down Sanyiwa Ndahya (28), Ng’erebende Lukeresha (26), Kashinje Msheshiwa (35), Kulwa Luhende (48) and Lutala Ndahya (45). He badly wounded Zina Msheshiwa (29) and Msheshiwa Ndahya (53) while Khama Tiga (30) sustained injuries but was not hospitalized (TALA, 2012). The police force confirmed that the killer soldier was also involved in the eviction of pastoralists from Kilosa District in 2009 (Ndaskoi, 2009).

ii. Dispossession in the name of the environment

Losses inflicted on pastoralists could probably be in the region of billions of shillings. With passage of time, deliberately refusing to issue receipts and pastoralists running away to unknown destinations, the exact amount of the losses they suffered may never be known. That said an indicative figure is not hard to arrive at. The Government reaped, without sawing, nearly TSh213 million from pastoralist in Kilombero District alone.
Kilombero District Commissioner, Hasan Masala, said that the money was collected from marking 52,780 cattle. Branding started from August 21, 2012 and ended on September 30, 2012. Each head of cattle was charged TSh1,000 making a total of TSh53 million. He added that 2,428 pastoralists who owned 9,248 heads of cattle were fined differently depending on the nature of their offences earning the Government roughly TSh153 million. Masala further said that owners of 3,482 heads of cattle were fined to pay and paid TSh10,000 per head of cattle, owners of 5,379 heads of cattle were fined to pay and paid TSh20,000 per head of cattle and owners of 264 heads of cattle were fined TSh40,000 per head of cattle (Mwananchi [Dar es Salaam] November 29, 2012).

Ulanga District Livestock Officer, Fredrick Sagamiko, said the operation “so far cost TSh396.7 million” (Guardian [Dar es Salaam] January 30, 2013). He revealed that the Government harvested TSh489.2 million from fines levied on seized 35,205 cattle and 3,150 small stock for various offences (Mwananchi [Dar es Salaam] January 28, 2013). Ulanga District Council had a bumper harvest. It now found itself capable of paying a debt it could not afford to pay for years. According to Chairman of Ulanga District Council, Furaha Lilongeri, the council is finalizing payment of TSh40 million to Lugala Hospital as payment for treating women and children for the past five years. The money was collected internally [read fines] (Mwananchi [Dar es Salaam] January 7, 2013). It is the classic case of robbing Peter (pastoralists) to pay Paul (peasants).

Yet figures from the Government leaders do not capture the high level corruption during the eviction. A morass of graft, cronyism and corrosive culture of self-enrichment was lively in the holding grounds. Pastoralists claimed that corruption surrounded branding of livestock. They also said the Government did not issuing them with receipts even when they demanded. That fee charged for branding the animals is not uniform; they are charged differently and haphazardly and of course frightened pastoralists complied. Chairman of UWAKAMA in Ulanga District, Ng’asha Luhende, said that while it was previously said that the cost of branding one head of cattle if TSh1,000 in reality pastoralists were forced to pay between TSh3,000 and TSh10,000 per head of cattle (Mwananchi [Dar es Salaam] October 21, 2012). The Government is fining pastoralists between TSh10,000 and TSh40,000 (Habari Leo [Dar es Salaam] November 10, 2012 & Nipashe [Dar es Salaam] November 12, 2012). Many other pastoralists interviewed by the team in both Ulanga and Kilombero Districts alleged that they were forced to pay TSh50,000 per head of cattle during the branding of livestock which enriched corrupt officials. Ulanga District Livestock and Fisheries Officer, Fredrick Sagamiko, admitted quite frankly that they have been issuing only one receipt per village since they have no budget with which to print receipts (Mwananchi [Dar es Salaam] October 12, 2012).

The Morogoro Regional Commissioner, who claims that the Government is using Livestock Traceability Act No.10 of 2010 to evict pastoralists, revealed that the money collected from various fines is used to pay for the daily upkeep and associated costs of 400 policemen involved in the operation (telephone December 1, 2012).

---

6 This is the typical case of plaintiff being police, prosecutor and judge of his own case.
Acting Morogoro Regional Commissioner, Said Meck Sadick, cared to tell the public that the Government set aside auctioning markets in Kilombero and Ulanga Districts (Nipashe [Dar es Salaam] November 6, 2012). Such auctioning camps were at Malinyi and Mtimbira in Ulanga District. In Kilombero District holding camps were set at Mchombe and Michenga near Ifakara. Seized livestock were auctioned at throw away prices and then loaded onto tracks. A cow which in normal times could fetch TSh800,000 was now fetching as low as TSh100,000 at the holding camps. In normal times a head of cattle will fetch between TSh500,000 and TSh1,000,000. Due to the high supply of cattle caused by the eviction, however, prices crashed to between TSh20,000 and TSh200,000 for the same animals (Baba Letayo, Parakuyo Maasai, pers.comm, November 12, 2012). Ifakara town was literally littered by tracks including semi-trailers ferrying livestock.

In effect the Government collected huge sums of money from pastoralists by marking livestock. It initially promised that branded animals will remain in the villages. That only unmarked livestock will be evicted. It is in records, however, that the Government seized livestock indiscriminately including marked ones above all in villages that have set aside grazing areas for livestock (Mwananchi [Dar es Salaam] November 16, 2012). In Mkangawalo Village of Kilombero District, for example, “pastoralists were shocked to see the Government seizing even branded cattle” (Guardian November 11, 2012).

The mission witnessed 20 semi-trailer loaded with cattle impounded in both Kilombero and Ulanga Districts on November 12, 2012. Fleeing pastoralists claimed that it costs between TSh5 million and TSh2 million to hire a semi-trailer to transport livestock from the Kilombero Valley to Lindi and Coastal Regions respectively. Some of the lorries witnessed on that day passing through Ifakara town carrying tightly packed cattle had the following license numbers; T808 AWK, T838 APZ, T602 BCC, T154 AQD, T391 BCZ and many more. Paulo Masesa, the owner of some of the impounded animals, hired for TSh3 million the lorry with plate numbers T808 AWK to carry 80 heads of cattle to Ruvu in Coastal Region. He also alleged that most of the livestock in the holding camp that day were impounded outside the preserved area (pers.comm, November 12, 2012).

Emmanuel Maloni, owner of the cattle-loading stand at Mikumi, said normally cattle auctioning is 8, 18 and 28 of every month in Kilombero District. In August through September 2012 he loaded between 7 and 15 tracks per day each with a capacity of between 70 and 80 heads of cattle. He added that livestock started to arrive in holding camps on November 2, 2012. By the next day the place overflowed with livestock. In a
day they loaded between 16 and 20 tracks per day. The man from Kahama District in Shinyanga Region charges TSh10,000 to load a lorry (pers.comm, November 12, 2012).

As a result of the eviction cattle supply at Pugu livestock market went up pushing the prices downwards. “Those [pastoralists] in Kilombero Valley have been under pressure to cut down the number of cattle they own,” said Mr John Chassama, an Economist from the Ministry of Industry and Trade (Citizen [Dar es Salaam] September 27, 2012). By February 2013, according to Chassama, the Pugu market was literally overflowing with livestock. “Government’s decision to evict herders from Kilombero Valley towards the end of November exerted pressure on herders to sell their livestock and that explains why we had many livestock for sale” (Citizen [Dar es Salaam] February 5, 2013).

iii. Anti-pastoralists propaganda

There is an English idiom which says, “Give the dog a bad name and hang him.” The Tanzanian Government is good at that. Morogoro Regional Commissioner in his efforts to paint a negative image of pastoralists as recent invaders is quoted as saying tens of hundreds of invaders from pastoral communities in Tabora, Shinyanga and Mwanza Regions ventured into Kilombero in 2003 with thousands of cattle, in the wake of which the ecosystem and available habitat for wildlife was destroyed (Citizen [Dar es Salaam] November 5, 2012). It is in records, however, that pastoralists have been in the valley for decades. They entered into Kilombero Valley in the 1970s and 1980s (JMT, undated: 22). Pastoralists in the valley include the Sukuma, the Maasai and the Barabaig in that order.

The anti-pastoralism stigma is so widespread; it is shocking. Deodatus Mfugale of JET wrote that “the indigenous farmers and fishers who have always cared for the environment continue to suffer from humiliation and loss of livelihoods” (Daily News [Dar es Salaam] September 21, 2011). Johnson Mbwambo, Chairman of JET, achieved notoriety in anti-pastoralists propaganda. In his outright tribal discriminatory article against the Sukuma pastoralists he serious alleged that Sukuma pastoralists hate the environment. He further asserted that pastoralists are arch enemies of private hunting firms like Kilombero North Safaris, fishermen and even crop cultivators. The journalist went as far as likening Sukuma pastoralists to armyworms. He wrote that he is at a loss as to when will this enemy be destroyed; through eviction (Raia Mwema [Dar es Salaam] September 14, 2011 & Rai [Dar es Salaam] November 10, 2011). Mbwambo wrote that Sukuma pastoralists flocked into Morogoro Region when Peter Mashishanga, a Sukuma, was the Regional Commissioner (Rai [Dar es Salaam] November 10, 2011).

Mbwambo is not alone in downgrading pastoralists to junk status. The Acting Kilombero District Executive Director, Freddy Eliasaph, said quite delicately that “pastoralists are a big problem that seems to be growing out of hand mainly due to politics.” Michael Sambalo added, “Whenever they [farmers] rise up against pastoralists they are bitten and they have nowhere to go and seek justice because the latter have financial power which they use to corrupt the cause of justice” (Daily News [Dar es Salaam] September 21, 2011). In effect, the eviction became an opportune moment to subdue pastoralists.
The Citizen [of Dar es Salaam] August 12, 2012 published a rousing article by Lucas Liganga. Liganga, in all seriousness, lamented that the directives from Kikwete and Shein to evict pastoralists from catchment areas “fell into deaf ears as nothing had been done to date, and pastoralists continue damaging the environment at will.” To which Acting Kilombero District Executive Director, Freddy Eliasaph, nodded, “Prime Minister, Mizengo Pinda, ordered that we stop the eviction of pastoralists from this area [Kilombero Valley]. The directive was further stressed by the then Minister for Regional Administration and Local Governments, Celina Kombani. These orders have not been lifted and we cannot defy them” (Daily News [Dar es Salaam] September 21, 2011). The Minister for State in the Vice-President’s Office (Environment), Dr. Tereza Huvisa, chipped in vowing that “this time there will be no mercy and that all livestock keepers who had invaded the valley must vacate” (Citizen [Dar es Salaam] November 5, 2012).

Huvisa, Liganga and Eliasaph are referring to an announcement in 2009 by the Government that it will suspend all evictions in the country following public outcry against gross human rights violations and grand corruption during the eviction in Mbarali District between 2006 and 2007 and in Kilosa in 2009 (See Hansard, April 30, 2009).

Three months later Liganga was still hanging on the necks of pastoralists. He wrote, “[Kilombero and Ulanga] district authorities have always found excuses to delay the eviction, including falsely declaring outbreaks of such diseases as foot-and-mouth, and Rift Valley Fever” (Citizen [of Dar es Salaam] November 12, 2012). It is a glaring standard fallacy to refute outbreaks of such diseases however. Presidential decree No.1 of 2002 barred movement of livestock without vaccination based on that irrefutable fact.

Kilombero ferry, the passage over the Kilombero River, was grounded for weeks in October 2012. Government leaders found yet another reasons to validate eviction of pastoralists. Ulanga District Commissioner, Francis Miti, blamed pastoralists for the siltation which grounded the ferry. The District Commissioner did not mention “maize farms and vegetable gardens [which] are only a few inches from the river’s watermark thus compounding siltation” (Daily News [Dar es Salaam] September 21, 2011).

iv. Tweaking figures

“Lies, damned lies and statistics” is a phrase describing the persuasive power of numbers, particularly the use of statistics to bolster weak arguments. Government officials resorted to tweaking figures of livestock to justify the forceful eviction. It should be born in mind that no livestock census took place in the two districts in question for decades. Records available at Kilombero District in September 2010 suggested that there were only 26,000 livestock in the district (Rai [Dar es Salaam] September 1, 2011). In order to paint a gleam picture, however, Johnson Mbwambo, Chairman of the notorious JET, exaggerated the numbers. He wrote that other sources, which he did not disclose because they do not exist, put the figure of livestock in Kilombero District alone above 400,000 [added emphasis] (Raia Mwema [Dar es Salaam] September 14, 2011). Where did he get the figures from is a mystery. Even the Government (after multiple double seizing and guess work) could not stretch the figure of livestock in both Kilombero and Ulanga Districts beyond 380,000 cattle [added emphasis] (Citizen [Dar es Salaam] December 28, 2012).
The population of the cattle roaming in the valley has not yet been established. Estimates indicate that the figure is between 55,000 and over 200,000 exceeding the carrying capacity of the area that spans 796,735 hectares (Citizen [Dar es Salaam] November 5, 2012). Ulanga District Livestock Officer, Fredrick Sagamiko, put the figure of livestock wanted out of the Kilombero Valley at 210,000 (Habari Leo [Dar es Salaam] November 8, 2012). Morogoro Regional Commissioner thinks that a higher figure will attract public sympathy. He claimed that there are 300,000 cattle living illegally in the Kilombero Valley floodplains (Citizen [Dar es Salaam] November 5, 2012 & Habari Leo [Dar es Salaam] December 1, 2012). He then went on to say that Kilombero and Ulanga Districts are supposed to have 53,000 and 49,000 heads of cattle respectively (Mwananchi [Dar es Salaam] December 4, 2012 & Habari Leo [Dar es Salaam] December 4, 2012). Most pastoralists told this author that their livestock were seized again and again and each time they paid fines. This seriously bloated the number of livestock in the valley.

It should be born in mind that no livestock census took place in the region. Asked where he got the 300,000 livestock figure from the Morogoro Regional Commissioner asserted that “experts from TAWIRI and the Ministry of Natural Resources and Tourism have been counting animals in the valley” (telephone December 1, 2012). Both TAWIRI and the Ministry of Natural Resources and Tourism are known to be interested in wildlife.

In Rufiji District too different politicians have been tweaking livestock figures to justify eviction of pastoralists. It is in records that on April 15, 2010 MP for Rufiji, Prof. Idris Mtulia, told the Parliament that “during the 2006 eviction only 50,000 cattle were supposed to move in Rufiji District but now there are 300,000.” Nothing can be further from the truth. The Deputy Minister for Livestock and Fisheries Development, Dr. James Wanyancha, responded that Rufiji District Council recently finished counting livestock in 25 villages with livestock in the district. Wanyancha, added for good measure, “the council found only 124,058 cattle, 17,279 goat, 12,479 sheep and 329 donkeys.”

v. Shifting boundaries

Another important observation is that the Government shifted the boundary arbitrarily. District authorities in Ulanga shifted the original boundary separating villages and Kilombero Game Controlled Area. In the process pastoralists were badly affected. Chrysostom Rweyemamu, citing Madaraka Amani who is Kilombero District Game Officer, wrote in Rai that there are 99 villages in Kilombero District; 54 of the villages are within Kilombero Game Controlled Area (Rai [Dar es Salaam] September 1, 2011).

“All villages in the valley were instructed to chase away pastoralists. The village authorities are voiceless in front of the central Government. There is simply no, peace” (Peter Dalala, pers.comm, November 14, 2012). Peasants on their part failed to come to grip with the reality of the unfolding eviction. They celebrated the foreseeable eviction of pastoralists believing that they will be spared. They were mistaken. Pastoralists were only the soft target; easy to start with before setting on everybody else including peasants.

On August 31, 2012, 184 farmers of Lukolongo Village wrote a letter to the Kilombero District Commissioner informing of the on-going haphazard eviction. The letter observed
that Lukolongo Village has conducted a village land use plan way back in 2008 which has been approved by the Commissioner of Lands. It added that on August 31, 2012 and in their total disbelief around mid day a team identifying itself as boundary demarcation from Kilombero armed with two guns entered the village and unilaterally planted beacon number B con–KGCA without involving villagers. It then wondered why the beacon is being planted in 2012 instead of 2008. The letter then revealed that farmers had understood that only pastoralists will be evicted but now they were shocked that even cultivators are being evicted following the unilateral shifting of the boundary.


A statement by the Ministry of Natural Resources and Tourism signed by its spokesman, George Matiko, announced that the ministry released TSh106.5 million for installation of beacons on 105 villages adjacent to the Kilombero wetlands (Citizen [Dar es Salaam] August 10, 2012). Morogoro Regional Commissioner revealed in a telephone interview that they made “a 350-kilometers boundary” (telephone December 1, 2012). Kilombero District Game Officer, Madaraka Amani, claimed that the eviction was supposed to be in 228 villages in both Kilombero and Ulanga Districts. Due to budget constraints, however, the operation only took place in 31 villages; 20 and 11 in Kilombero and Ulanga respectively (Mwananchi [Dar es Salaam] November 23, 2012). In truth though the eviction and violence as well as corruption that went with them, took place in all villages.

Pastoralists proved to be at a wrong end of the stick in the valley. Neither Dr. Haji Mponda (MP for Ulanga West) nor Abdul Mteketa (MP for Kilombero) ever uttered a word in defense of pastoralists. The mass media quoted Government officials at different levels uttering anti-pastoralists sentiments. Chairman of Mchombe Villager took advantage of the eviction to curse pastoralists (Mwananchi [Dar es Salaam] November 16, 2012). Utengule Village Chairman, Shukrani Mulala, Mchombe Ward Executive Officer, Mengi Mlangali and Mofu Ward Executive Officer, Alex Chawala, also spoke against pastoralists and commended the eviction (Citizen [Dar es Salaam] November 5, 2012). Government officials spearheading the eviction proudly attested, time and again, that cultivators and fishermen showed them hideouts of pastoralists in remote areas.

While some people, mostly Government official, commended the Government initiative, “large number of villagers described the operation as inhuman because it has violated an earlier agreement reached three years ago on exact points of the beacons [marking the boundary between the villages and the protected areas].” The Government and “the village authorities agreed on points where the beacons should be put.” However, Ikule Village Executive Officer, Ledgar Mnyenya, said that this year the Government shifted
the beacons and extended the area within the beacons further into farmers’ and pastoralists’ land without their knowledge. Many villagers in 31 villages earmarked for the first phase of the operation blamed “the Government for eviction without allocating alternative lands” [emphasis added] (Guardian [Dar es Salaam] November 11, 2012).

Kilombero District Game Officer, Madaraka Amani, and his gang just entered into the villages with his personnel pretending that the villages do not exist. He arbitrarily planted beacons putting villages’ land into Kilombero Game Controlled Area. Many people in several villages mentioned this as a serious problem (Mwananchi [Dar es Salaam] November 16, 2012). Kilombero District Commissioner, Hassan Masala, said he will nullify the boundary between Miwangani Village in Idete Ward in Kilombo District and the Kilombero Game Controlled Area despite the cost incurred during the setting the boundary in the first place if it is proved that it has indeed shifted the boundary (Nipashe [Dar es Salaam] November 5, 2012 & Majira [Dar es Salaam] November 5, 2012).

Masala said so in response of complains from villagers who were complaining that the boundary which was set arbitrarily and without their participation has chopped the huge part of the village and put it into the conservation area. Masala promise followed exchange of words between the Chairman of Miwangani Village, Abdul Mtilangondo, and land surveyors and officers from the Ministry of Natural Resources and Tourism. The later claimed that the boundary was correct since they used GPS. Mtilangondo refuted saying that the surveyors deliberately shifted the boundary against the village. Mtilangondo “noted that when he sought clarification from the Kilombero district authorities on the sudden shifting of the beacons, he was shocked to hear that the villagers had no right to use that land and that it was better they vacated” (Guardian [Dar es Salaam] November 11, 2012). Villagers further asserted bitterly that the new boundary has ultimately rendered them landless (Majira [Dar es Salaam] November 5, 2012). Other victims of the arbitrary shifting of boundaries in Kilombero District are Ngalimila Village and Kilimo Cha Yesu Company Ltd (Nipashe [Dar es Salaam] December 30, 2012).

The army also took the advantage of the eviction to stretch its territory in the valley. As a result bloodshed has taken place. Pastoralists of Chita Village ambushed five soldiers stationed at battalion number 837 KJ Chita National Service Military Base in Kilombero District. They injured Sergeant Aloyce Kidunye and forced four other solders to flight. Kidunye is admitted at St. Francis Hosptal in Ifakara. Commanding Officer of battalion 837 KJ, Major Msabaha Yamawe, regretted the attack and said 45 villagers have so far been arrested following the incidence. Councilor for Chita Ward, Hasan Kibapa, said that the villagers and the soldiers have an aging bitter row regarding ownership of the property (Mwananchi [Dar es Salaam] October 22, 2012). There are unconfirmed reports that the soldiers retaliated by attacking the villagers in their typical bullying manner. Several people are allegedly missing (believed to have been killed by the soldiers). Others still, with serious injuries, were admitted at the Lugalo Military Hospital in Dar es Salaam. The mass media did not report the retaliatory attack by bullying soldiers.

There many cases of the military using force to occupy territories belonging to local communities in Tanzania. There is, for example, a conflict between Nampemba and Mtepeche Villages in Nachingwea District of Lindi Region on one side and TPDF
battalion 41KJ on the other. The villages claim that the military invaded their ancestral land (Raia Mwema [Dar es Salaam] January 9, 2013). Similarly, cases of soldiers bulling the citizens they are supposed to protect are widespread and raising. Recently, for example, the police arrested about seven members of the Tanzania People’s Defense Force (TPDF) after allegedly assaulting a traffic police who was on duty at Ubungo traffic lights in the de facto capital Dar es Salaam (Sunday News [Dar es Salaam] October 21, 2012). About a month later, police arrested ten members of TPDF “who are stationed at 44KJ Mbalizi Military Base over the killing of a farmer [Petro Sanga] at Mbalizi in Mbeya Rural District.” Mbeya Regional Police Commander, Diwani Athumani, said that the suspects seriously injured other six people (Daily News [Dar es Salaam] November 22, 2012). Similarly three TPDF soldiers have been sentenced to death for murder. The High Court found the soldier guilty of the January 23, 2010 murder of Swetu Fundikira (Citizen [Dar es Salaam] November 21, 2012 & Guardian [Dar es Salaam] November 21, 2012). Irrespective of this, the District Commissioner for Kilombero, made it known that the National Service soldiers, from the battalion in question, offered to help the police force to evict pastoralists from the valley (Nipashe [Dar es Salaam] November 28, 2012).

In Ulanga District the arbitrary shifting of boundaries has not been kindly received by residents of the affected villages. It, for example, left a very serious tension in Ipera Village of Mtimbira Division. Bitter villagers demonstrated to protest the new boundary. The Chairman of UVCCM for Ulanga District, Aloyce Mkuku, confirmed that the arbitrary demarcation left a delicate conflict in Kalengakero, Ipera Asilia, Sofimajiji and Malinyi Villages (Mwananchi [Dar es Salaam] September 12, 2012).

vi. Court contempt

Pastoralists of 58 villages in both Kilombero and Ulanga Districts filed a case at the High Court of Tanzania, Land Division. On October 31, 2012 John Maselu, Godfrey Lwena, Zablon Mkwage and Elia Mtupila on behalf of over 2,000 others filed case No.212 of 2012 against the Government at the Land Division of the High Court of Tanzania. The first defendant is the Permanent Secretary of in the Ministry of Natural Resources and Tourism and the second is the Attorney General. The complaints, represented by Advocate Reginald Martin of Legal and Human Rights Center, prayed the court to order the defendants to stop the eviction. In November 2012 the court ordered the Government to stop the eviction until when the primary cases is heard. The Government leaders, in the classic contempt of court, ignored the injunctions issued at the end of November 2012. Some pastoralists in Kilombero District file case No.219 of 2012 at the High Court of Tanzania, Land Division in Upanga Dar es Salaam. The court ordered the Government to stop the eviction of pastoralists. They kept on evicting pastoralists.

On January 30, 2013, for example, The Guardian [of Dar es Salaam] reported, “Despite a High Court injunction, the operation continued clandestinely.” It should be remembered that Morogoro Regional Commissioner had vowed, “This is an ongoing operation. We will not stop until all livestock keepers and their animals are flushed out from their hiding” (Citizen [Dar es Salaam] November 5, 2012). Even the High Court cannot stop him. He told the author, “The eviction is going on. Today it is in its 29th day. We will not stop until all livestock keepers and their animals are flushed out from their hiding”
(telephone December 1, 2012). In a typical contempt of the court Bendera insisted that the pastoralists must leave the valley (Mwananchi [Dar es Salaam] December 4, 2012).

The Government opted to use a helicopter to rapidly evict pastoralists before the court starts hearing of the case. The Morogoro Regional Commissioner, Joel Bendera, hopped in the helicopter belonging to the police force to evict pastoralists. He thanked the Inspector General of Police, Saidi Mwema, for providing the regional authorities with the helicopter. Bendera extended the eviction operation for 14 days; until December 24, 2012. He then convened a meeting in Ifakara town to assess the success of the eviction. Francis Miti and Hassan Masala, District Commissioner for Ulanga and Kilombero respectively also attended the assessment and the dual praised the eviction. Morogoro Regional Game Officer, Joseph Chuwa, said the Government impounded 4,000 cattle in the Kilombero Valley between December 8, 2012 and December 10, 2012 (Habari Leo [Dar es Salaam] December 11, 2012 & Habari Leo [Dar es Salaam] December 12, 2012).

4. Unwanted nomads

In Ulanga District pastoralists were in villages recognized by the Village Land Act No.5 of 1999. This act protects village lands. These villages are registered as corporate bodies under the Local Government (District Authority) Act No.7 of 1982. The same is true about their counterparts in Kilombero Districts. Hoping to withstand possible evictions in the future pastoralists in Kilombero District went a step further. They established group ranches which are legally recognized. The following are group ranches with establishing tribe(s) in brackets; Lusa (Sukuma), Mikocheni (Sukuma), Uyangu (Sukuma), Melela (Sukuma), Kipingu, (Maasai, Barbaig and Sukuma) Mkangawalo (Maasai and Sukuma), Miwangawalo (Maasai) and Kiberege (Maasai and Sukuma). The Government did not spare livestock in these ranches; even if they are legal entities (pers.comm, Patrick Malisha, UWAKAMA Secretary for Kilombero District December 18, 2012).

Sahani Simbaluhaya is a Sukuma pastoralist. He was born in Kishapu District in Shinyanga Region. In 1973 he migrated into Singida Region and in 1983 he moved into Rukwa Region after the death of his father. He moved into Ulanga District in 1992. Utengule Village Assembly allowed him and several other pastoralists to move into the village with 3,500 head of cattle in 2003. They had a conflict with Miyombo Safaris Ltd. In 2007 his son, Shigela Sahani, disappeared and he was never seen again. It is alleged that Miyombo Safaris Ltd killed him and hid the body to conceal evidence. In 2009 the District Council surveyed 23,000 the area. Disappearance of pastoralists is continuing. On October 4, 2012 for example Miyombo Safaris Ltd arrested Hereni Machungwa aged 25, the son of his neighbor again, together with Sahani’s son. His surviving colleague made his way home and claimed that Miyombo Safaris arrested and tortured him and Hereni. He thought Hereni would not survive the torture with frightening scars on his body. Hereni was never seen again (pers.comm, Sahani Simbaluhaya, October 14, 2012).

In 2009 they registered an organization called Ngapemba Livestock Keepers Trust with RITA (RITA registers organizations after all proves that there is no conflict in the land in question). Miyombo and Kilombero North Safaris however have been teaming up with the village authorities to evict these pastoralists claiming that they are in the area illegally. They sued the pastoralists. Pastoralists won. The court ordered pastoralists to stay. Their opponent found yet another chance in the eviction. The Government bunt houses belonging to Sahani Simbaluhaya and Machungwa Mahugila (Habari Leo [Dar es Salaam] November 10, 2012 & Nipashe [Dar es Salaam] November 12, 2012). Like the unfortunate head of John the Baptist pastoralists proved unlucky.
Pastoralists were simply threatened, fined, dispossessed and ordered to leave. Evicted pastoralists included Sukuma, Maasai and Barabaig. These pastoralists were in legally existing villages in the two districts. They alleged that the Government just forced them out of the said registered villages claiming that they are invaders.

Pastoralists said they have no place to go to. Ulanga District Commissioner, Francis Miti, said there are seven villages which are ready to receive pastoralists and they should go there before the deadline (Mwananchi [Dar es Salaam] November 29, 2012). No such village existed. Pastoralists were evicted from all villages. In fact Miti, like his counterparts, is also in records saying recklessly that the pastoralists should go to where they came from (Mwananchi [Dar es Salaam] October 12, 2012). The Morogoro Regional Commissioner, Joel Bendera, nodded that most of evicted herders headed for their native regions of Shinyanga, Tabora, Mwanza and Singida while others opted to sell their animals at designated auctions (Citizen November 12, 2012). In truth, however, the eviction deeply rooted pastoralists in a vicious circle; moving into regions where they are unwanted like Coastal, Mbeya, Mtwara, Lindi, Ruvuma, Iringa and Rukwa.

Throughout Tanzania no district is warmly welcoming fleeing pastoralists. Councilor for Ubena Ward, Abeid Mrisho, asserted herders have illegally moved into the ward, which is in Bagamoyo District in Coastal Region, with 34,000 livestock. In the meantime, Councilor for Bwilingu Ward, Nassa Karama, warned pastoralists flocking into the district from Morogoro Region (Nipashe [Dar es Salaam] November 27, 2012). Reports from Ruvu South in Kisarawe District of Coast Region are similarly implying that pastoralists are moving into the district creating tension between herders and cultivators. A councilor for Vihingo Ward, Legeza Rashid, “said recently that the livestock keepers entered the ward from unknown places” (Guardian [Dar es Salaam] October 22, 2012). On February 17, 2013 Citizen reported that Zegero villagers in Kisarawe District, Coastal Region, are up in arms against livestock keepers, particularly from the Maasai and Barabaig tribes, “flocking to Zegero and nearby villages from Kilombero River Valley.”

The Minister in the Prime Minister’s Office-RALG, Hawa Ghasia, warned pastoralists who are invading Lindi and Mtwara Regions to stop feeding their livestock on crops (Nipashe [Dar es Salaam] August 6, 2012). The Deputy Minister in the Prime Minister’s Office-RALG, Kassim Majaliwa, told the National Assembly that pastoralists are responsible for drying up of Mbwemkuru and Marandu Rivers in Lindi and Mtwara respectively (Nipashe [Dar es Salaam] November 3, 2012). Tundu Ru District Commissioner, Chande Nalicho, said the district depends on crops cultivation by 98 percent and that it is the grain reserve for Lindi, Ruvuma and Mtwara Regions. He said pastoralists invading the district must be dealt with without delay. Tundu Ru District Council resolved that pastoralists should be hunted and evicted to save the environment. It was also alleged that pastoralists are threatening wildlife preserved areas like Muhuwesi, Nalika, Sasawala and Chingoli (Majira [Dar es Salaam] November 5, 2012).

Namtumbo District Commissioner, Said Lutavi, ordered leaders in the district to make sure that pastoralist are not allowed to resettle in the district in order to avoid conflicts between herders and cultivators (Nipashe [Dar es Salaam] November 6, 2012). Months
later Lutavi reiterated his position saying that Namtumbo is reserved for peasants only. He added that pastoralists are not allowed (Nipashe [Dar es Salaam] January 18, 2013).

The Government in Ruvuma Region has also forbidden entry of livestock in the region. Ruvuma Regional Commissioner, Said Rwambungo, said the land available in the region is for crops cultivation and not pastoralism. He ordered the police to escort livestock which are on transit to other regions and make sure that pastoralists and their animals do not settle in Ruvuma Region (Habari Leo [Dar es Salaam] October 25, 2012).

Councilor for Luhanga Ward in Mbarali District complained that pastoralists from Kilombero Valley are flocking in district (Habari Leo [Dar es Salaam] January 9, 2013). Likewise pastoralists are not welcome in Rukwa Region. Reports have it that bands of livestock evicted from Kilombero Valley have invaded Lake Rukwa wetland in Chunya District. Chunya District Executive Director, Maurice Sapanjo, said they are currently evicting the invading pastoralists (Habari Leo [Dar es Salaam] January 25, 2013). Esther Macha writing for Majira of January 15, 2013 said the police have arrested five Barabaig and Sukuma pastoralists who have invaded Mbangara Forest Reserve in Chunya District.

5. Environment as a Fig-leaf to Justify Evictions

Tanzania, like many other countries across the world, uses the environment as a fig-leaf to justify the eviction of indigenous peoples (Dowie, 2009). Of course a country will have some sorts of local and even global sympathy if it claims that it is forcefully evicting its subjects for the interest of protection of the environment (Hayter, 1989). The valley covers about 7,967 km² with a catchment area estimated to be 40,000 km². The area is rare and unique because it comprises a myriad of rivers, which make up the largest seasonally freshwater lowland floodplain in East Africa. It is also considered a water tower (Citizen November 12, 2012). Protection of the environment is the most spoken reason to justify the forceful eviction of pastoralists residing in the valley. The following are some environmental conservation arguments advanced in this case:

1. In 1984 the Government proposed to establish the Kilombero Game Controlled Area through the Wildlife Conservation Act No.12 of 1974. KGCA was finally established (See G.N. No. 459 of 1997). KGCA is 6,500 km²; 400,000 hectares divided into two equal hunting blocks both of which are utilized for tourist hunting. Kilombero North Safaris Ltd whose incorporation records are not available at BRELA has a hunting concession for Kilombero North. Kilombero North; Kilombero South is under Wild Footprints Ltd owned by Ryan Erick Shallom. Each company obtains a quota to hunt targeted species each year from the Wildlife Division. KGCA overlaps with many villages established during villagisation program of 1974. A total of 75 registered villages are located within or at the border of KGCA. Almost all these villages are registered as corporate bodies through the Local Government (District Authority) Act No.7 of 1982. The Village Land Act No.5 of 1999 protects the land of villages.

Deodatus Mfugale of JET writes, “According to the [anonymous] sources about 95 percent of the [Kilombero] District is a game controlled area in which no
human or consumptive activities should be undertaken, hence the need to evict the livestock from key areas” (*Daily News* [Dar es Salaam] September 21, 2011). Mfugale is misinterpreting the Wildlife Conservation Act No. 5 of 2009. The act instructs the Minister for Natural Resources and Tourism to ensure that “**no land falling under the village land is included in the game controlled areas**” [added emphasis] (Section 16(5)). The act, if implemented, relief village lands of game controlled areas like KGCA. The Government, with cash it gets from the hunting companies in mind, swiftly rushed to surreptitiously re-establish KGCA by cutting land belonging to numerous villages in the valley. The Government is already claiming that pastoralists degraded the valley to an extent that it lost $500,000 which it would have earned by selling concessions to hunting companies (*Nipashe* [Dar es Salaam] December 19, 2012). After subduing pastoralists the Wildlife Division set up an office to conduct patrols so as to prevent pastoralist from returning to the area (*Habari Leo* December 27, 2012). By so doing it breached the Land Act No. 5 of 1999 which protects village lands.

2. The Kilombero Valley Floodplain is said to be of global, national and local importance in terms of its biodiversity. In 1970s Tanzania transplanted the Puku antelope in the valley from Zambia (*Nipashe* [Dar es Salaam] December 11, 2012). Currently, it is said that the wetland depended Puku antelope is found in 18 countries only. In Tanzania the antelope is found only in the Kilombero Valley which contains almost 75 percent of the world’s population (John Makotta, Ulanga District Senior Wildlife Officer, pers.comm, November 14, 2012). Warthog, eland, and red colobus are said to be threatened in the area. The following table depicts the most threatened species in the valley.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Species</th>
<th>1991</th>
<th>2009</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Puku antelope</td>
<td>36,569</td>
<td>18,161</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>African buffalo</td>
<td>35,301</td>
<td>1,462</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kongoni</td>
<td>345</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hippo</td>
<td>5,413</td>
<td>514</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Source:** Ulanga District Senior Wildlife Officer

Wild Footprints Ltd and Kilombero North Safaris Ltd hunt wild animals including those whose populations are said to be collapsing. Yet Lucas Liganga wrote baselessly, “It is believe that the endemic Puku antelope, for example, has become a favourite of some pastoralists who have turned poachers per se to whom the animal’s meat is a delicacy” (*Citizen* [of Dar es Salaam] November 12, 2012). Pastoralists have their livestock and possibly less incentives to eat Puku antelope.

Another species is the Kihansi Spray Toad; said to be only endemic to the Kihansi Gorge. Wikipedia describes the amphibian as a yellowish dwarf toad. Unlike other toads which lay eggs that hatch into free-living tadpoles, the KST give birth to live, fully-formed young. The species was first discovered in 1996 living in a five acre micro-habitat created by the spray of nearby waterfalls in the Kihansi.
Gorge. In 1999, the World Bank-funded the construction of a hydroelectric dam in the gorge dramatically changed the habitat of the toad. Wildlife Conservation Society and the Tanzanian Government and with funding from the unrepentant World Bank collected an assurance colony of 499 Kihansi Spray Toads from the gorge. The toads were flowed to zoos in the United States. In 2009, the International Union for Conservation of Nature declared the toad to be extinct in the wild (Science Daily August 19, 2010). There are plans to transplant the KST.

Chameleons and two species of butterflies said to be endemic in the valley are also other reasons behind eviction of pastoralists from the area. Similarly, two species of fish found only in the valley are additional reasons (TAWIRI, 2009).

3. Ramsar Site is another reason why the pastoralists are being ironed out of Kilombero Valley. The Ramsar Convention on wetlands came into being in 1971 in the Iranian town named Ramsar. Tanzania waited for over three long decades to ratify the Ramsar Convention of Wetlands; in August 2000. On April 25, 2002 it designate the Kilombero Valley Floodplain a Ramsar Site and added to the Ramsar Convention’s list of wetlands of international importance. Since 2006 the Government of Belgium, through Belgian Technical Cooperation, has been pumping massive funds into the harebrained Kilombero Valley Floodplain Ramsar Site Project (Citizen [Dar es Salaam] August 12 & November 12, 2012). In effect, Belgium tax-payers’ money has been used to fix two fingers up the noses of pastoralists in Tanzania. The Belgium Technical Cooperation has been contracted to implement projects under the Tanzania-Belgium Cooperation Programme. The amounts involved in land-use planning under these projects are €140,000 the Kilombero Valley Ramsar Site Project in Ulanga and Kilombero Districts of Morogoro Region (Email to the author from Vincent Vercruys of Belgium Technical Cooperation, Dar es Salaam December 3, 2012). BTC signposts can be seen near St. Benedict Idete Prison and the Kilombero ferry.

4. Reduced Emissions from Deforestation and Degradation (REDD+) is another factor behind the eviction of pastoralists in the valley. REDD+ is being proclaimed as a new direction in forest conservation. This financial incentive-based climate change mitigation strategy proposed by the UNEP, World Bank, GEF and global environmental lobby groups seeks to integrate forests into carbon
sequestration schemes. Its proponents view REDD+ as part of an adaptive strategy to counter the effects of global climate change (See Beymer-Farris & Bassett, 2012). Norway, a country which has ratified the ILO Convention 169 and claims to “respects the rights of indigenous peoples,” is injecting poisonous cash into Tanzania. Within the Climate Change negotiations Norway actively supported the decisions made at COP 16 in Cancun on REDD+ and safeguards, including the full and active participation of indigenous peoples.

Tanzanian President, Jakaya Kikwete, and the Norwegian Prime Minister, Stoltenberg, signed a Letter of Intent in April 2008 where Norway committed itself to support Tanzania with about US$ 90 million over 5 years for climate change activities with a focus on REDD. Some of this money might have ended in the Kilombero Valley and mountains on its fringes. The aim is to mitigate the impact of climate change. In the end Tanzania, the treasury, will get money through carbon credit at the peril of pastoralists. Asked why Norway is pumping millions of dollars to support projects in Tanzania which lead to eviction Counsellor for Environment and Climate Change of the Norwegian Embassy, Inger G. Næss, replied, “Tanzania voted in favor of the UN declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples in 2007, but does not recognize the existence of indigenous peoples in the country. In the National REDD Strategy the Tanzanian Government does however affirm that the implementation of REDD+ activities will be in accordance with the safeguards in the Cancun Agreement.”

Næss added for good measure, “The National REDD Task Force has 5 working groups to elaborate on guidelines for implementation.” The National REDD Task Force is required to have a representative of indigenous peoples. Norway ignores this and consoles itself in the fact that, according to Næss, “[Tanzania] does not recognize the existence of indigenous peoples” (Email to the author from Inger Gerd Næss of the Norwegian Embassy in Dar es Salaam, December 2, 2012).

A bulk amount of the US$ 90 million from NORAD went into the Ministry of Natural Resources and Tourism. A statement by the Ministry of Natural Resources and Tourism signed by its spokesman, George Matiko, announced that the ministry released TSh106.5 million for installation of beacons on 105 villages adjacent to the Kilombero wetlands (Citizen [Dar es Salaam] August 10, 2012). Norwegian money is hurting Tanzanians elsewhere too. Injustices in villages on the fringes of Pugu and Kazimzumbwe forests in Kisarawe District are well documented (See Mchome, 2002). Norway invested massive funds in the forest project furthering the predicament of local communities in the area. In fact the Norwegian Government is like a watermelon; green outside and red inside. Why does it inject millions of dollars into an assassination dictatorship? Norway knows that by pumping cash into the cruel Ministry of Natural Resources and Tourism it is guaranteed to commit crimes against humanity like the eviction in question.

5. Wildlife migratory corridors are other reasons behind the eviction of pastoralists from the Kilombero Valley. These corridors are Nyamwage, Ruipa and Mngeta. TAWIRI and Wildlife Conservation Society are the major actors wishing
pastoralists away from the valley. In their joint-report they had some very unpalatable words, “An additional very recent threat is the settlement of Wasukuma immigrants along the western bank of the Kilombero River, with associated large herds of cattle and planting of crops” (TAWIRI, 2009:49).

6. World Wide Fund for Nature has a heavy presence in almost all parks in Eastern and Southern Tanzania. These parks look like its colonies. Its self-imposing sign posts, with the fluffy panda logo, stand in the valley for the whole world to see. WWF has a consistent track record of banding together, like poisonous worms, with tyrannical regimes across the world to evict people from their lands (Dowie, 2009). It was a brain behind the eviction of pastoralists from Mbarali District. Following the eviction Ruaha National Park increase its size from 10,300 km² to 20,226 km² (Walsh, 2007:11). With its cash and philosophy WWF is behind the worst disaster and largest capitulation of pastoralists in Tanzanian history.

7. Downstream, in the Rufiji Delta where the Rufiji River discharges into the Indian Ocean, WWF is inflicting irreparable damages to communities. It is estimated that the delta covers 12,000 km² including several villages. Through REDD+ initiative WWF is reportedly in the process of measuring and establishing how much carbon is stored in the mangrove forests in the delta. WWF confesses that it wants to see “reduction of rice production in the delta” (Daily News [Dar es Salaam] November 15, 2011). Of course it is the Government of Tanzania which is supposed to do exactly that; “phase out rice cultivation within five years” (Daily News [Dar es Salaam] January 26, 2013). In October 2011, the Mangrove Management Project backed by armed policemen torched over 3,000 rice farm huts and fell coconut trees in the delta affecting about 10,000 residents. The intensely anachronistic and brutal eviction threatened the reputation of WWF (See Beymer-Farris & Bassett, 2012). Its Country Director, Stephen Mariki, then tried in vain to distance WWF, “The recent evictions were carried out by Government agencies” (Daily News [Dar es Salaam] November 15, 2011). Draft statements such as this should not surprise anyone. The classic modus operandi, of agencies like WWF, is to conceal themselves under the shadow of brutal Governments.

The future of pastoralists in the delta is sad; like a funeral. The Coast Regional Commissioner, Mwantumu Mahiza, recently ordered pastoralists living in the Rufiji Delta to vacate (Mwananchi [Dar es Salaam] October 6, 2012).
Regrettably organizations like WWF traumatize poor people in countries like Tanzania and get away with it. In fact not even corruption reports can bring such organizations to their right senses. An audit by Ernst & Young has established that a total of US$1.3 million had disappeared from Norwegian funded WWF WWF local staff who forged hotel, taxi receipts and direct corruption. As a result of the audit report, eight employees have been terminated while six have resigned during the investigation or disciplinary process. In a statement, WWF International President Yolanda Kakabadse and Director General Jim Leape said that the lost money will be refunded to donors who include Norwegian and American Governments (Daily News [Dar es Salaam] May 29, 2012).

On the fringes of the Kilombero Valley where the Government is using environmental degradation claims to justify eviction of pastoralists the same Government outrageously permitted mining of uranium; of all minerals. Uranium mining has adverse health and environmental risks. The Japanese Ambassador to Tanzania, Masaki Okada, warned Tanzania against any attempt to mine and process uranium due to the excessive sophistication (which he believes Tanzania do not have) involved in managing such projects (Citizen [Dar es Salaam] July 14, 2012). Chairman of Uranium Network Organisation, Gunter Wippel, asked Tanzania to leave the poisonous minerals to rest in the rocks because mining them even in developed countries is dangerous. He explained that his country, which is another nuclear power with high-end technology and human resources spent US$ 7 billion to contain the effects of radiation but in vain (Mwananchi [Dar es Salaam] December 4, 2012; Habari Leo [Dar es Salaam] December 4, 2012).

The Government is, however, stubbornly embarking on this rewarding but high-risk project. The Government is not alone in this haphazard mission. UNESCO, of all the organizations, is whole heartedly supporting the project. Uranium One boasts on its website that at its 36th session in St. Petersburg from June 24 to July 6, 2012 the UNESCO World Heritage Committee permitted Tanzania to alter the boundaries of the Selous Game Reserve to allow extraction of the deadly uranium oxide from Mkuju River. Regrettably it took long years to discover a fraudulent contract apparently facilitating the illegal subletting of the hunting blocks contrary. “Game Frontier of Tanzania Ltd allegedly sub-leased Mbarang'andu Village in Namtumbo District benefiting some of US$6 million payable in two years. An additional US$250,000 was set to be paid upon commencement of actual mining activities.” The companies involved in the scam signed on March 23, 2007 are Uranium Resources PLC and Western Metals Ltd (Guardian [Dar es Salaam] July 12, 2012). The Minister for Natural Resources and Tourism, Khamisi Kagasheki, admitted in National Assembly that the deal is illegal (Habari Leo [Dar es Salaam] August 12, 2012). The deal breached the Wildlife Conservation Act of 1974. The Government did not detect the illegal deal from 2007 to 2012 when the opposition legislators exposed it. How can the same incompetent Government be expected to protect the public from dangerous nuclear poison that threatens even industrious Japan?

Worse and worse still, the companies involved in the extraction of uranium in Mkuju River are not tax compliant. A special mining license to allow Russian firm, Uranium One start mining at Mkuju River will not be issued until Australian Mantra Resources

Operational and non-operational large-scale plantations are widespread in the Kilombero Valley. Kilombero Sugar Company Ltd has been in the valley for decades occupying 7,000 hectares. Records at BRELA reveal that Kilombero Valley Teak Company Limited owned by Commonwealth Development Corporation of Britain was established in 1993. The aim of establishing this company was to supply the global market with Tanzanian teak. KVTC has 28,000 hectares of land in the two districts. It already slashed 7,000 hectares of natural vegetation and replaced them with teak (Mwami & Kamata, 2009).

Another project, which is valuable but a serious environmental hazard is the planned construction of two hydroelectric dams in the area. The Director General of RUBADA stated that the Government is planning to tape 2,100 Megawatts and 700 Megawatts from Stiegler’s Gorge and Mnyera Falls respectively. The Government of Brazil is the main funder of the US$ 2 billion project. Quei roz Galvao Construction of Brazil will build the project at Mnyera Falls (Mwananchi [Dar es Salaam] November 29, 2012). Odebrecht International, yet another Brazilian construction company, will implement the Stiegler’s Gorge Power Project (Daily News [Dar es Salaam] October 25, 2012). The site of the dam is within Selous, the widest game reserve in the world, containing some 750,000 animals of numerous types (Guardian [Dar es Salaam] February 14, 2012). Stiegler’s Gorge will flood 1,200 km² submerging fauna and flora (See Hancock, 1989).

Ulanga District Senior Wildlife Officer, John Makotta, said that the dam depends on 66 percent water from the Kilombero Valley. If pastoralists and their livestock are left alone in the valley, Makotta believes, the project will be a scandalous failure.

6. **RUBADA**

The Rufiji River Basin is the largest river basin in the country covering an area of about 177,000 km². It extends some 700 kilometers from Mbeya Region to the Indian Ocean with land elevation ranging from 0 to 3,000 meters from sea level. The basin has an estimated 622,400 hectares suitable for irrigation agriculture. It is divided in four zones namely Kilombero Valley, Lower Rufiji Valley, Usangu Little Plains and Little Ruaha (Citizen [Dar es Salaam] February 20, 2012). Rufiji River, which is one of big rivers in
Tanzania, is made up of the following tributaries; Great Ruaha (15% with 84,000 km\(^2\) catchment area), Liweu (18% with 26,000 km\(^2\) catchment area), and Lower Rufiji (5% with 27,000 km\(^2\) catchment area) ([Guardian [Dar es Salaam] February 14, 2012]). Thus the Government eyes the area with the hope to turn it into a greenbelt of Tanzania.

It was for this particular reason that the Government established Rufiji Basin Development Authority (RUBADA). RUBADA is a public institution established by Act No.5 of 1975 through Government Gazette No.146 of July 1, 1975. It is within the Ministry of Agriculture, Food and Cooperatives. The law empowers RUBADA to promote, regulate and control development activities within the Rufiji Valley comprising Coast, Morogoro, Iringa, Mbeya and some parts of Ruvuma, Lindi, Dodoma and Singida Regions. Legally RUBADA is a multi-sectoral institution; it covers many sectors such as agriculture, forestry, energy, water, fishery, industries, tourism, minerals and environmental conservation (RUBADA, 2010:1). Pastoralism is not part of the project.

RUBADA has left daunting footprints in the valley. These include, but not limited, to:

i. It is the brain behind Segeni irrigation project funded by the Government of Iran.

ii. It also worked with the Government of North Korea to implement the Mngeta Irrigation Scheme on behalf of the Tanzanian Government. This corporation led to the establishment of the joint [South] Korea Tanzania Company (KOTACO). KOTACO phased out its activities. RUBADA took over the land which it leased to Kilombero Plantation Limited of Britain (Mwami & Kamata 2009).

iii. With support from the World Bank, FAO and JICA, RUBADA conducted researches which led to the establishment of the Mngeta Farm No. 411.

iv. RUBADA prepared the Hydropower Master Plan 1984 with funds from the Government of Norway. This project led to the construction of the Kidatu. With loads of money from the World Bank it constructed the Kihansi Dam.

v. RUBADA participated accordingly in the construction of Mkapa Bridge.

It is difficult to see projects such as these being environmentally sustainable in any way.

RUBADA has abdicated its functions as stipulated in the 1975 establishing Act. From the 2000s to this day RUBADA acts as an agent for mainly foreign land grabbers posing as investors (Mwami & Kamata 2009:19). On February 20, 2012 Citizen reported that the Government is planning to review the RUBADA Act to widen its mandate of facilitating land allocation in the country. The Permanent Secretary in the Ministry of Agriculture, Food Security and Cooperatives, said “After the review, Rubada will effectively become the land bank of the corridor.” The Permanent Secretary is talking about the current much vaunted Southern Agricultural Growth Corridor of Tanzania (SAGCOT).
7. SAGCOT

With passage of time the Morogoro Regional Commissioner came out of a closet. Explaining why the Government is evicting pastoralists from valley Joel Bendera cleared his chest, “We will not stop until all livestock keepers and their animals are flushed out from their hiding” (Citizen November 12, 2012). Otherwise, Bendera admitted in a moment of rare honesty, Morogoro will fail to attain its State-assigned goal of becoming the national grain reserve through SAGCOT initiative (Habari Leo December 1, 2012).

It is clear therefore that SAGCOT has a bearing in the discussion at hand. It is for this particular reason that SAGCOT will be treated in some details in this section.

President Jakaya Mrisho Kikwete launched SAGCOT initiative at the World Economic Forum (WEF) in Davos, Switzerland in 2010. SAGCOT is a public-private partnership that hopes to catalyze sustainable commercial agricultural development in the southern corridor of Tanzania. It has generated widespread interest and hope it will be a model for African agricultural development that can increase food supplies, reduce poverty, and stimulate economic development. The initiative has been featured prominently at major international forums including the UN Climate Change Convention Conference of the Parties, G8 Summit on Agriculture and regional WEF events (SAGCOT, 2012).

The SAGCOT stretches from the Indian Ocean East of Tanzania to the common borders with Malawi, Zambia and Democratic Republic of Congo. It encompasses nearly 300,000 square kilometers stretching along both sides of the infrastructure backbone that extends inland from Dar es Salaam (GoT, 2012). The corridor encompasses the massive 7.5 million hectares of arable land (Guardian [Dar es Salaam] March 7, 2013).

In one of it reports, SAGCOT boasts, “While the region has considerable agricultural potential, it currently suffers from low productivity, low levels of investment, and high rates of poverty. To unlock the region’s potential, the SAGCOT initiative seeks to attract more than US $3 billion of investment to dramatically increase food production, increase annual farming revenues by more than US $1.2 billion, benefit small-scale farmers and the rural poor, and establish Southern Tanzania as a regional food exporter” (GoT, 2012).

The partnership is the centerpiece of Tanzania’s high-level Kilimo Kwanza strategy for enhancing food security, poverty reduction and reducing vulnerability to climate change (SAGCOT, 2012). It aims to bring major benefits to domestic food supply, engage with smallholder farmers and local communities and strive to do so in an environmental sustainable way (Daily News [Dar es Salaam] December 1, 2012).

The World Bank Group’s Vice President for Poverty Reduction and Economic Management, Otiviano Canuto, says, “The world cannot afford to be complacent to this [high food prices] trend while 870 million people still live in hunger” (Citizen [Dar es Salaam] December 2, 2013). Thus the World Bank Group, taking cover of rapidly rising global food prices, is hell-bent to support harebrained projects that completely ignore the social and economic impact (Daily News [Dar es Salaam] October 11, 2012). “We disagree with Oxfam’s call for a moratorium on World Bank Group investments in land
intensive large-scale agricultural enterprises, especially during a time of rapidly rising global food prices,” the Bank Group stated in a rebuttal to a report by Oxfam.

The Government of Tanzania has requested support from the International Development Agency (IDA, part of the World Bank) to assist in implementation of SAGCOT concept. Major agribusiness corporations wield enormous power in SAGCOT initiative. Its founding partners include Unilever (UK), Monsanto (US), Diageo (UK), Syngenta (Switzerland), SABMiller (UK), Yara (Norway), AGRA (Kenya-based) and DuPont (US). Unilever is a key player in SAGCOT, a project that comes out of the DFID-funded Grow Africa and New Vision for agriculture initiatives. DFID joined with the EU and USAID in 2012 to earmark funding for an upgrade of road network in the corridor. Diane Corner, British High Commissioner to Tanzania brags that this is “the first component of a significant UK programme of support to SAGCOT” (War on Want, 2012:9).

The eight most industrialized countries have pledged US$897 million support to Tanzania to bolster agricultural and food security in Africa announced by President Barack Obama. President Jakaya Kikwete said that “the US made the largest single pledge of 315 million dollar” (Daily News [Dar es Salaam] December 6, 2012).

Map of Tanzania depicting 30 districts in SAGCOT

The initiative makes it possible for the Government to hand over vast tracks of land to investors. Director General Aloyce Masanja of RUBADA, that manages the 183,000 km² basin, issues water permits to both large-scale and small-holder farmers in the basin and mediate in conflicts, stated that “the Government largely depends on the private sector to make SAGCOT a success” (Guardian [London] December 21, 2012).
The Minister for Agriculture, Food Security and Cooperatives, Christopher Chiza, flanked by various investors addressed a group of irate residents of Kidunda, Mkurazi and Usanguru Villages in Gwata area of Kisorarwe District opposing allocation of 63,000-hectares to investors (Guardian [Dar es Salaam] November 30, 2012). Sugar importation will ease following plans for the construction of two sugar plants with a production capacity of 300,000 tonnes per year in the SAGCOT. SAGCOT Chief Executive Officer, Geoffrey Kirenga, told reporters that the plants will be built in Gwata Village in Kisorarwe District. Kirenga added that the projects will be jointly carried out by Tanzania Investment Center as investors while Tanzania Zambia Railway Authority will transport cargo (Daily News [Dar es Salaam] December 1, 2012). The notorious Tanzania Investment Centre “is running an intensive promotion of the Mkurazi area identified as the SAGCOT to local and international investors aimed at turning the area into a sugarcane and rice production hub” (Citizen [Dar es Salaam] November 30, 2012).

Of course rice is another star crop in the corridor. The amount of rice produced in the Kilombero and Rufiji Valleys is expected to triple from the current 500,000 tonnes to 1.5 million tonnes by 2015. Addressing investors in Dar es Salaam, the Coordinator for SAGCOT, Dr. Marry Shetto, said that “Tanzania had every required factor including favourable environment to lead in rice production in Eastern and Central Africa. Tanzania can surpass local consumption needs enabling Tanzania to be a notable exporter of the globally popular cereal” (Daily News [Dar es Salaam] December 5, 2012).

SAGCOT does not muse about pastoralism. Instead it encourages commercial ranching. Several investors from inside and outside Tanzania have shown interest in investing in the National Ranching Company (NARCO) Ltd in Ruvu, Coast Region (Citizen [Dar es Salaam] December 1, 2012). This was made public following the completion of an inspection two-day tour by 70 foreign prospective investors and over 40 local companies who visited the Ruvu ranch recently as “a culmination of the first ever Agribusiness Investment Showcase Event, organized by the Tanzania Investment Center (TIC) in collaboration with the Prime Minister’s Office and [SAGCOT]” (Daily News [Dar es Salaam] December 1, 2012 & Guardian on Sunday [Dar es Salaam] December 1, 2012).

Rufiji District is one of the areas which the Government allocated pastoralists evicted from Ihefu in 2007. The same Government is now evicting pastoralists once again from Rufiji to give room for investment under SAGCOT. Reports have it that pastoralists are vacating areas they have been occupying since 2007. Rufiji District Commissioner, Nurdin Babu, says the Government managed to remove pastoralists in areas they have been living in illegally. He further asserted that the Government set aside Tawi, Mbwara, Chumbi A, B and C for pastoralists. He acknowledged that some areas are inhabitable since they are dry and there is no water. However, he said the pastoralists must go first and then the efforts to find water for them and their livestock will follow (Mwananchi [Dar es Salaam] November 6, 2012). Why are pastoralists being evicted from the area?

Egyptian African Company (EAC) has partnered with a Tanzanian firm called Agro Forest Plantation Limited (AFP) to construct a sugar plant worth $200 million in Rufiji District. The project is scheduled for October 2014 (Business Times [Dar es Salaam] June 8, 2012). Agro Forest Plantation is giving 2kg of maize flour to each villager of Chumbi.
C Village Rufiji District in return of 2,300 acres in which the company wants to start a sugarcane plantation. Chairman of Chumbi C Village, Salum Mtimbuko, admitted accepting the flour but said it was the decision of all villagers. He therefore he should not be singled out (Mwananchi [Dar es Salaam] October 17, 2012). Agro Forest Plantation is distributing tractors in the villages that have agreed to give the village land for sugarcane plantation. These villages include those in Mbwar and Chumbi Wards (Mwananchi [Dar es Salaam] November 1, 2012). The Government is evicting pastoralists in same villages.

Tension between pastoralists and farmers is worsening in Rufiji District. On May 20, 2012, for example, one person died and several other were injured and properties worth millions of shillings destroyed when pastoralists locked horns with peasants at Ikwiriri (Citizen [Dar es Salaam] May 21, 2012). The highway linking Dar es Salaam to the Southern regions was closed for about six hours as police and district leaders tried to calm down the fighting groups (Guardian [Dar] May 27, 2012).

Tanzania’s sugar consumption stands at 480,000 tons per annum but the four factories namely Tanganyika Plantation Company, Kilombero Sugar Company Ltd, Mtibwa Sugar Estates and Kagera Sugar Ltd currently produce only 320,000 metric tons per year (Daily News [Dar es Salaam] December 6, 2012). To deal with deficit of the sweetener the Government is encouraging sugarcane cultivation. There are nine projects whose implementation will see the country tripling its annual sugar production to 910,000 metric tons by 2016. Rufiji Sugar Plant Ltd will invest an estimated US$120 million in the Rufiji River Basin in Rufiji District. Its Manager, Bharat Kabra, says that the project entails acquisition and registration of 12,000 hectares of land suitable for sugarcane farming in Phase One of the project (Daily News [Dar es Salaam] May 23, 2012). The project will affect Tawi, Utengu and Nyamwage Villages (Daily News [Dar es Salaam] May 23, 2012). Recently, the project acquired 12,000 hectares from RUBADA in Tawi, Utunge and Nyamwage Villages. More efforts are being made to acquire additional 15,000 hectares directly and also throughout-grower schemes and small scale famers in the neighborhood (Daily News [Dar es Salaam] May 22, 2012). Projects such as these are surely not good music in the ears of pastoralists who will be forced out.
Biofuel is yet another crop with far reaching implications on pastoralists in Tanzania. Oakland Institute reveals on its website that a major United States agribusiness corporation is engaging in land grabs in Tanzania. AgriSol Energy LLC, is taking over 800,000 acres of land in Rukwa Region. The US-based Iowa Citizens for Community Improvement says unequivocally that “the deal could see the eviction of 160,000 households who have been living on the land for over 40 years” (East African [Nairobi] July 2, 2012). The company is benefiting from the forcible eviction of more than 160,000 Burundian refugees, many of whom are subsistent farmers, and leasing the 800,000 acres from the Tanzanian Government for 25 cents per acre (Guardian [London] December 21, 2012). Other foreign companies are fixing two fingers up the noses of the poor in other parts of Tanzania. Residents of seven villages in Kilwa and Rufiji Districts are at loggerheads with their respective district authorities over the sale of land to foreign investors. The villages are Mavuji, Miheregere, Nainokwe, Liwiti Rungungu, Mangwi and Chumbi C. Five years ago, district officials forced village leaders to sign contracts with a Holland-based Bioshape through its branch in Tanzania called Bioshape Tanzania Limited to lease 160,000 hectares (Citizen [Dar es Salaam] December 13, 2012).
8. Conclusion and Recommendations

In a country like ours, in which Africans are poor and foreigners are rich, it is possible that if an African is permitted to sell land in the coming eighty or one hundred years all the land in Tanzania will be owned by foreigners and the citizens will be tenants. It will not be difficult to predict who, in fifty years time, will be the landlords and who the tenants. Rich foreigners and a few rich and clever Tanzanians will be the landlords.

-J.K. Nyerere, Tanzanian founding President, 1958

This report has fairly captured the series of evictions of pastoralists in Tanzania in general with a particular interest in the ongoing eviction in the Kilombero Valley.

In 2006 thousands of pastoralists were evicted from Mbarali in Southern Tanzania. Reports of massive corruption and gross human rights violations reached the public. The Government was forced to form a Commission of Enquiry into the Eviction. Judge Othman Chande, now Chief Justice of the United Republic of Tanzania, chaired the commission. The Commission was to make recommendations immediately. Chande handed over the report of its finding to the President. The Government is still covering the report despite repeated, growing and publicly-expressed calls for it to be made public.

The only revelation that the Tanzanian President Jakaya Kikwete made so far is that 460,000 cattle were evicted from Ilhefu wetland in Mbarali District in 2006 (Majira [Dar es Salaam] January 11, 2013, Habari Leo [Dar es Salaam] January 11, 2013).

Another violent eviction took place in Kilosa District in 2009. It was also marred by reports of violence and massive corruption. Pastoralists protested using facts. The Government finally saw the writings on the wall. The Government officially admitted that pastoralists were evicted violently and there were massive human rights violations; a fact the Government covered up for a long time particularly meticulously. It announced that it was now going to suspend the evictions of pastoralists from across the country (Hansard, April 30, 2009). The Government bowed to pressures. Like the Kilosa eviction, the Kilombero and Ulanga evictions which have started were also stopped.
By January 2012 it was obvious that the Government will evict pastoralists from Kilombero Valley. It evicted pastoralists in order to handover vast tracts of land to private investors and wildlife preservation projects. The Government had some incentives which included, but not limited to, (1) about US$ 90 million for climate change activities with a focus on REDD from Norway, (2) the Kilombero Ramsar Site Project financed by Belgium to the tune of €140,000, (3) RUBADA land grabbing for SAGCOT and (4) Securing Kilombero Game Controlled Area threatened by the Wildlife Act No. 5 of 2009. Donor funds and ideas are responsible for humanitarian and environmental crimes in the valley. The World Bank funded the Kihansi Dam which drove the Kihansi Spray Toad to extinction. Wildlife preservation agencies like WWF play blind to tourist hunting. Dams, plantations, uranium mining, tourist hunting and similar activities are environmental hazards. It is utterly unfair to evict pastoralists to pave way for such projects.

Pastoralists were evicted from villages they were residing in legally. The Government burnt houses and other properties. Cruel police assassinated many innocent pastoralists and injured others. No action has been taken against the culprits. If it was necessary to evict pastoralists then the Land Acquisition Act of 1967 laid down procedures; prompt and fair compensation and alternative land to the victims. Regrettably though the Government just evicted pastoralists without caring where they will go to. It did not compensate them. Instead it bankrupted many of them. Many pastoralists fled to other parts of the country; where it is proven that they are unwanted.

The eviction of pastoralists proved to be a money making machine. Government officials collected money from pastoralists in the villages when they were branding livestock. They therefore unfairly impounded and branded livestock. The Government also collected estimated billions of shillings from pastoralists in the shape of fines. Reports of serious graft allegations during the eviction are in public domain.
The eviction also exposed pastoralists to hunger. Chairman of UWAKAMA in Ulanga District said hunger and starvation is stalking more than 250 families in Kiwale Village of Ulanga. He asserted that the Government forced the families out of their homes in Maguba in Lupelemenda sub-Village on September 8, 2012. Ulanga District Commissioner, Francis Miti, confirmed that the families indeed left behind their homes and granaries during the operation (Mwananchi [Dar es Salaam] October 22, 2012). Miwangani Village Chairman, Abdul Mtilangondo, in Kilombero District, said that “hunger was looming due to removal of the villagers from the land on which they used to grow crops. Food security would be compromised because some of the oxen ploughs they used for agriculture were seized. Other villagers sympathized with evicted livestock keepers saying this would contribute to food shortage because of lack of milk and meat they used to get at cheap prices” (Guardian [Dar es Salaam] November 11, 2012).

Presidential decree No.1 of 2002 barred movement of livestock without vaccination to prevent transmission. So far no vaccination has taken place in Kilombero Valley.

Pastoralists filed case No.212 of 2012 against the Government at the High Court of Tanzania at Land Division to challenge the eviction. The court ordered the Government to stop the eviction until when the primary cases is heard. The Government leaders, in the classic contempt of the court, ignored the injunctions issued at the end of November 2012. They kept on evicting pastoralists. These leaders in question include, inter alia, the President of the United Republic of Tanzania, Jakaya Kikwete, the Morogoro Regional Commissioner, Joel Bendera, the Inspector General of Police, Saidi Mwema, Francis Miti and Hassan Masala, District Commissioners for Ulanga and Kilombero respectively.

So far this is the most challenging aspect of the eviction in question. Civil society organization should stand with the victims. Human rights organizations and their partners must stand up for the victims, whoever they might be, and against the aggressors, whoever they might be. Sadly though, local remedies of human rights violation cases, such as the ones described in this report, are scandalously failing to defend the victims.

Human rights organizations shall give this conflict its due priority in terms of time and financial resources. While the fate of the case filed by pastoralists remains to be seen legal aid to pastoralists in this case is absolutely necessary and long overdue.

It is also important to urgently track pastoralists in the areas they fled to and to assess the situation of those remaining. In the meantime, it is important to send a delegation to Parliament in Dodoma especially around the time the Minister for Natural Resources and Tourism is presenting the budget estimates of the ministry. Selected legislators from both sides of the House might still speak effectively against this tragedy. Considering the crucial role of the press journalists should be deployed into the valley.
References


JMT (Jamhuri ya Muungano wa Tanzania) (undated:). Rasimu ya Mpango wa Matumizi Bora ya Ardhi wa Kijji cha Lukolongo, Tarafa ya Mngeta, Wilaya ya Kilombero, Morogoro, Imefadhiliwa na Belgian Technical Cooperation Kilombero Valley Flood Plain Ramsar Site Project, Idara ya Wanyamapori.

----. (2000), Katiba ya Jamhuri ya Muungano wa Tanzania ya Mwaka 1977 [pamoja na mabadiliko yote yaliyofanywa hadi Aprili 30], Dar Es Salaam: Mpiga Chapa wa Serikali.


MLHSD, (2012), SAGCOT Investment Partnership Program Initiatives to ensure full community involvement and environmental safeguards while putting underutilised land to productive use, Presentation by Hon Minister for Lands, Housing and Human Settlements Development to the Tanzania Agribusiness Investment Sowcase Event, November 27, Dar es Salaam.


--------------(2009), Pastoralism on the Horns of Dilemma, PINGOs Forum report.


WANMM. (Wizara ya Ardhi, Nyumba na Maendeleo ya Makazi), (2010), Maelozo kwa Kamati ya Bunge ya Ardhi Maliasili na Mazingira Kuhusu Uhalali wa Vijiji na Hatimiliki Katika Pori Tengefu la Loliondo Dar es Salaam, Januari.
