A History of Peasant Tobacco Production in Ruvuma Region, Southern Tanzania, c.1930-2016

by

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Declaration

By submitting this thesis electronically, I declare that the entirety of the work contained therein is my own, original work, that I am authorship owner thereof (unless to the extent explicitly otherwise stated) and that I have not previously in its entirety or in part submitted it for obtaining any qualification.

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Abstract

This thesis is a contribution to the broader East African historiography of environmental and agrarian change and more specifically the tobacco industry in Tanzania. This thesis joins an existing academic conversation between historians (and, more inter-disciplinarily, others like agro-economists and ecologists) on the conceptualisation of African peasants, the rise of peasant protests, the tension and accommodations between state and peasants, the marketing of peasant commodities and the ecological impact of one crop-'flue-cured tobacco' farming in both central and western Tanzania. This thesis focuses on the establishment, control, and resultant socio-environmental and political impacts of 'fire-cured tobacco' peasant production in the Ungoni and Undendeuli areas of Ruvuma in southern Tanzania. It examines the rise of a peasantry tied to tobacco production in three phases. First, it examines the role of the state in the establishment and control of African commercial tobacco production between the 1930s and 1950s. Secondly, it traces the changing fortunes of local peasant cooperatives in the control of tobacco production between the mid-1950s and the early 1970s. Finally, it assesses the post-colonial socio-economic and environmental impact of tobacco production in Ruvuma between the 1970s and the mid-2010s. This study draws on archival materials, oral testimonies, and geographic information systems (GIS) to provide an historical analysis of the complex relationships among the key tobacco actors including the state, cooperatives, tobacco companies and the local tobacco-growing peasants. It demonstrates that tobacco production was started in Ruvuma during the 1930s 'Plant More Crops' campaign as an attempt to rehabilitate the British economy and to improve rural livelihoods after the Great Depression. Over time, the tobacco industry became an important source of permanent cash income for the Wangoni and Wandendeuli men and women of Ruvuma – as well as a means of generating state revenue and of profit accumulation by the tobacco companies. The thesis extends James Scott's 'weapons of the weak' and Elinor Ostrom's 'governing the commons' approaches to demonstrate that this apparently short-lived 'success story' of peasant tobacco production towards the mid-2010s came at a terrible cost: the impoverishment of rural peasants, a decline in the tobacco industry, and deforestation in parts of southern Tanzania.

Keywords: Tanzania, Tanganyika, environmental history, rural, agrarian, state, tobacco, African peasants, 'plant more crops', cooperatives, villagisation, contract farming.

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Opsomming

Hierdie proefskrif lewer `n bydrae tot die breër Oos-Afrikaanse geskiedskrywing van omgewings- en landbouverandering en, meer spesifiek, die tabakbedryf in Tanzanië. Die proefskrif sluit aan by ʼn bestaande akademiese gesprek tussen historici (en, op `n interdissiplinêre vlak, ander soos landbou-ekonome, geograwe, en ekoloë) oor die konseptualisering van kleinboere in Afrika, die opkoms van kleinboere-protes, die spanning en aanpassings tussen die staat en die kleinboere, die bemarking van boerdery kommoditeite, en die ekologiese impak van enkel oes "oondgedroogde tabak boerdery" in beide sentrale en westelike Tanzanië. Hierdie proefskrif fokus op die vestiging, beheer en gevolglike sosio-omgewings en politieke impak van vuurgedroogde tabakproduksie deur kleinboere in die Ungoni en Undendeuli gebiede van die Ruvuma streek in die suide van Tanzanië. Dit bestudeer die opkoms van kleinboere wie gekoppel is aan die produksie van tabak, in drie fases. Eerstens, word die rol van die staat in die vestiging van en beheer oor kommersiële tabakproduksie deur Afrikane tussen die 1930's en 1950's ondersoek. Tweedens, word die veranderende lotgevalle van boere-koöperasies tussen die middel-1950's en die vroeg 1970's nagespeur. Laastens evalueer dit die postkoloniale sosio-ekonomiese- en omgewings impakte van tabakproduksie in Ruvuma tussen die 1970's en middel-2010's. Hierdie studie maak gebruik van argiefmateriaal, mondelinge bronne en geografiese inligtingstelsels (GIS) om `n historiese analise van die komplekse verhoudings tussen die belangrikste spelers in die tabakbedryf, insluitend die staat, koöperasies, tabakmaatskappye, en die plaaslike tabakboere, te verskaf. Dit demonstreer dat kommersiële tabakproduksie in Ruvuma tydens die veldtog vir die aanplant van meer gewasse (bekend as die "*Plant More Crops*' veldtog) van die 1930's begin het as `n poging om die Britse ekonomie te herstel en om die landelike lewensbestaan te verbeter, na die Groot Depressie. Met verloop van tyd, het die tabakbedryf `n belangrike bron van permanente kontantinkomste vir die Wangoni en Wandendeuli mans en vroue van Ravuma geword – asook `n manier om staatsinkomste te genereer en om winste vir die multinasionale tabakmaatskappye te lewer. Die tesis brei uit op James Scott se 'wapens van die swakkes' en Elinor Ostrom se 'bestuur van die burgery' benaderings, om aan te toon dat dié oënskynlik kortstondige suksesverhaal van kleinboer tabakproduksie teen die middel-2010's teen `n prys gekom het: die verarming van landelike kleinboere, `n afname in die tabakbedryf, en ontbossing in dele van die suide van Tanzanië.

Sleutelwoorde: Tanzanië, Tanganjika, omgewingsgeskiedenis, landelik, landbou, staat, tabak, Afrika-boere, "plant more crops", koöperasies, dorpswording, kontrakboerdery.

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and Undendeuli areas of the Ruvuma in southern Tanzania. In this regard, I also extend my appreciation to all my interviewees and my focus group discussants for their time, memories, experiences and further connections to other helpful informants. This thesis would not have been possible without their voices.

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Dedication

To my lovely wife Eva, my son Mark and my little daughter Katriel, for their endurance and unconditional love.

To my beloved parents as well for their prayers and consistent gentle reminders that education is the key to life.

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List of Abbreviations

AATC	Anglo-African Tobacco Company
ATTT	Association of Tanzania Tobacco Traders
AOTTL	Alliance One Tobacco Tanzania Limited
ASDS	Agricultural Sector Development Strategy
BAT	British American Tobacco
BCU	Bugufi Coffee Cooperative Union
CCM	Chama Cha Mapinduzi
CPRs	Common Pool Resources
DFC	Dark Fire-Cured Tobacco
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
EATC	East Africa Tobacco Company
FAO	Food and Agricultural Organisation
FCV	Flue-Cured Tobacco
GIS	Geographical Information System
IATC	International Association of Tobacco Company
IDA	International Development Agency
KNCU	Kilimanjaro Native Cooperative Union
MBICU	Mbinga Cooperative Union
NITC	Nile Industrial Tobacco Company
NGOMAT	Ngoni Matengo Cooperative Marketing Union
PADEP	Participatory Agricultural Development & Environmental Programmes
RDA	Ruvuma Development Association
RCU	Ruvuma Cooperative Union

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SAPs	Structural Adjustment Programmes
SAMCU	Songea Agricultural Marketing Cooperative Union
SONAMCU	Songea Namtumbo Agricultural Marketing Cooperative Union
SONTOB	Songea Native Tobacco Board
SONTOP	Songea Tobacco Processing Company
TAT	Tobacco Authority of Tanzania
TANU	Tanganyika African National Union
TTB	Tanzania Tobacco Board
TCCA	Tanzania Tobacco Cooperative Apex Limited
TTPL	Tanzania Tobacco Processing Company
TTPMB	Tanzania Tobacco Processing and Marketing Board
TLTC	Tanzania Leaf Tobacco Company
TORITA	Tobacco Research Institute of Tanzania
TUCU	Tunduru Cooperative Union
TRDB	Tanzania Rural Development Bank
WHO FCTC	World Health Organisation Framework Convention on Tobacco Control
WWI	World War One
WWII	World War Two

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CHAPTER ONE

Introduction, Literature Review and Methodology

Introduction

In the last two decades the tobacco industry has been a highly politicised enterprise – but this thesis will show that it has always been political. Indeed, notwithstanding its substantial economic contributions, the tobacco industry has been linked with adverse socio-economic and environmental effects – perhaps more than any other agricultural enterprises. Government and international organisations have been arguing over the control of the global political economy of the tobacco industry over the last four decades.[1] In its recent message on World No Tobacco Day on 31 May 2017 the United Nation's World Health Organisation (WHO) estimated that tobacco consumption accounts for over 7 million deaths every year and, if not controlled, the global annual death toll for tobacco consumption will rise to over 8 million by 2030. The organisation also reported that tobacco production accounts for deforestation of over 4.3 million hectares of land, which is equivalent to 2-4% of total global deforestation every year. The health agency also noted that tobacco processing and manufacturing account for over 2 million tonnes of solid waste in the world.[2] The Minister for Health in Tanzania, Ummy Mwalimu, also reported on World No Tobacco Day that the tobacco industry is becoming a threat not just in terms of the costs of human health, but also at the cost of the

[1] See, for instance, the global tobacco statistics and facts, available on www.ash.org/programms/tobacco-statistics-facts, and Tanzania Tobacco Control Forum (TTCF), Implementation of the WHO Framework Convention on Tobacco Control in Tanzania, 2007-2012, A Shadow Report, 4-6. Also see a conference paper by Babere, Kerata Chacha, 'From Pastoralists to Tobacco Peasants: British American Tobacco (B.A.T) and social ecological change in Kuria District Kenya, 1969-1999', Egerton University, Njoro , Kenya, and a chapter on 'the political economy of tobacco taxation', available on www.who.int/tobacco/pubications/en/pdf/, accessed on 06 June 2017; Frank J. Chaloupka and Kenneth Warner, 'The Economics of Smoking', in Anthon J. Culyer and Joseph P. Newhouse (eds), *Handbook of Health Economics*, available on https://books.google.co.za/books, accessed on 06 June 2017; Helmut J. Geist et al., 'Tobacco growers at Crossroads: Towards a comparison of diversification and ecosystem impacts', *Land Use Policy*, 26, 4, (2009), 1066-1079; Jesse B. Bump and Michael R. Reich, 'Political economy analysis for tobacco control in low- and middle-income countries', *Health Policy and Planning*, 28, (2013), 123-133; Natacha Lecours et al., 'Environmental health impacts of tobacco farming: a review of the literature', *Tobacco Control*, 21, (2012), 191-196, available on http://.tobaccocontrol.bmj.com, accessed on 30 April 2017; Simon Chapman et al., 'All Africa Conference on Tobacco Control', *BMJ: British Medical Journal,* 308, 6922, (1994), 189-191; and Shelley D. Golden et al., 'Economic and Political Influence on Tobacco Taxes: A Nationwide Analysis of 31 Year of State Data', *AMJ Public Health*, 104, 2, (2014), 350-357.

[2] See 'World No Tobacco Day', 31 May 2017, available on WHO global health days, www.who.int/campaigns/no-tobacco-day/event/en, accessed on 07 June 2017. Also see Helmut J. Geist, 'Global assessment of deforestation related to tobacco farming', *Tobacco Control*, 8, 1, (1999), 18-28; and Simon Chapman, 'Tobacco and Deforestation in the Developing World', *Tobacco Control*, 3, 3, (1994), 191-193.

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sustainable development in the country. She further asserted that available records show that over 32% of the cancer cases reported to the Muhimbili National Hospital (MNH) and the Ocean Road Cancer Institute (ORCI) in Tanzania are connected to tobacco smoking.[3] The Minister also commented that the data from a study carried out in Tanzania by the National Institute of Medical Research (NIMR) in collaboration with the WHO in 2013 showed that about 17.5% of people who do not actively smoke are still exposed to tobacco substances by other smokers in the household, while 24.9% are exposed to tobacco substances in the work place. The Minister therefore appealed to the community to engage in fighting tobacco smoking in an attempt to control tobacco-related diseases, easily preventable deaths and to contribute to the achievement of the Sustainable Development Goals in the country.[4] See Figure 1 for an illustration for the campaign to control the global tobacco industry on World No Tobacco Day.

Figure 1: WHO FCTC message on World No Tobacco Day in 2017.[5]

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[3] See an online article by Syriacus Buguzi, 'Ummy Mwalimu calls on community engagement in ending tobacco related deaths', *The Citizen News*, available on www.mobile.thecitizen.co.tz, on 31 May 2017. For more information on the impact of tobacco consumption in Tanzania, see Tanzania Tobacco Control Forum (TTCF), Implementation of the WHO Framework Convention on Tobacco Control in Tanzania, 2007-2012, A Shadow Report; and Stephen E.D. Nsimba and Steve Sussman, 'Tobacco Advertisements and Promotion Industry on Smoking in Tanzania: a Review of Negative Public Health Implications for Current and Future Generations', *Tobacco Induced Diseases*, 3, 2, (2006), 41-43.

[4] See #worldnotobaccoday#, Ummy Mwalimu, Twitter official account @UMwalimu, 31 May 2017.

[5] World No Tobacco Day, 31 May 2017, available on WHO global health days, www.who.int/campaigns/no-tobacco-day/event/en, accessed on 07 June 2017.

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A closer look at the figures and at the discussion above demonstrates that, despite its significant contribution to the economy of the developing countries, the tobacco industry is largely viewed (by the WHO and its supporters) as a threat to socio-economic development, environmental conservation and sustainable development globally, because of the links between the tobacco industry and health problems, the impoverishment of tobacco growers, environmental degradation and global climate change. For instance, the United Nations WHO Framework Convention on Tobacco Control (FCTC)[6] report in 2008 stated that:

> Tobacco growing entails a number of irreversible costs to farmers, which not only seriously damage their living standards but also erode their long-term prospects. Health risks, working conditions, contractual arrangements, the use of children in tobacco growing, and the environmental practices of tobacco growing have negative impacts on human capital and land, the two crucial assets in rural livelihoods.[7]

Thus the FCTC called for a reduction in the area under tobacco cultivation and in its supply through the development of substitute crops and alternative livelihoods. In Kenya, for example, the establishment of the "Tobacco to Bamboo Project" in 2006 showed that the growers were willing to shift from tobacco farming. Michael Eriksen et al also reported that a tobacco substitute pilot project among 450 families in the Yunnan Province in China increased the families' annual income by 110% in 2008 by growing alternative crops to tobacco.[8] This study noted, however, that – notwithstanding the current debate on global tobacco production in the past four decades (and particularly after the adoption of the WHO FCTC treaty in 2005) – tobacco production has now shifted from high- to low- and middle-income countries. In fact, China is the leading tobacco producer (producing over 3.2 million

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[6] The Framework Convention on Tobacco Control (FCTC) is an international health treaty (adopted by the WHO member countries) providing a guideline on the fight against tobacco epidemics in the world. It was negotiated under the influence of the World Health Organisation, and was adopted unanimously by all 192 member countries during the 56th WHO Assembly on 21 May 2003 and the treaty came into force on 27 February 2005. Today the treaty has been ratified by 180 Parties (179 countries and the European Union. See the WHO FCTC, available on http://www.who.int/fctc/en, accessed 31 May 2017; Edward Brenya, 'An Overview of a Regional Approach to Tobacco Control in Africa', *Africa Development*, 38, 1-2, (2013), 107-132; Geist et al., 'Tobacco growers at Crossroads'; Lecours et al., 'Environmental health impacts of tobacco farming: a review of the literature', 191; and Dd international, *The role of tobacco growing in rural livelihoods*, 2

[7] See Paragraph 18 of the study summary on economically sustainable alternatives to tobacco growing by WHO FCTC Working Group, (4 September 2008), 4.

[8] See Michael Eriksen et al., 'International organisations and national governments must help tobacco farmers to ease the transition to alternative crops beyond tobacco', The Tobacco Atlas, available on www.tobaccoatlas.org/topic/growing-tobacco, accessed on 10 June 2017.

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tonnes in 2012) and consumer globally.[9] Recent studies show that annual tobacco production increased from 6.3 million tonnes in 2003 to 7.5 million in 2012. This means that the annual global tobacco production grew at the rate of 1.4% from 7.3% in 2003 to 8.7% in 2012. In the same period African countries increased their annual tobacco production from 440,000 tonnes to 650,000 tonnes and the area under tobacco cultivation in Africa increased by 66% with tobacco production increasing by 48%. In contrast, in Europe the area under tobacco cultivation decreased by 40.4% and tobacco production decreased by 43%. In the United States of America during this period tobacco production decreased by 5% and the area under tobacco cultivation decreased by 18%.[10] Many studies have reported that during this period and especially after the liberalisation of agricultural marketing in Africa (between the mid-1980s and the present), tobacco production has significantly increased in Africa and currently there are over 20 African countries producing the crop. Unsurprisingly, government reports regard the tobacco industry in Africa as important cash crop not just for state revenues and foreign exchange reserves, but also as a primary source of income for the growers and a means of fighting poverty in many tobacco-growing areas – particularly in Malawi, Tanzania, Zambia, Zimbabwe and Mozambique.[11]

Like many other Sub-Saharan African countries', Tanzania's economy is largely dependent on the agricultural sector, which has remained the biggest contributor to the national GDP and employs over 70% of the people living in rural areas in the country. In 2014, for example, the performance of the agricultural sector in Tanzania grew by 3.4% from 3.2% in 2013, an increase that contributed to about 28.9% of the national GDP and 67% of the total employment

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[9] Eriksen et al., 'International organisations and national governments must help tobacco farmers to ease the transition to alternative crops beyond tobacco'; and Teh-wei Hu and Anita H. Lee, 'Tobacco Control and Tobacco Farming in African countries', *Journal of Public Health Policy*, 36, 1, (2015), 41-51.
[10] Hu and Lee, 'Tobacco Control and Tobacco Farming in African countries', 41-42.
[11] Ademola Babolola, 'BAT and the Penetration of Capital into Oyo State', *Review of African Political Economy*, 53, The African Jigsaw, (1992), 96-101; E. Anne Lown et al., 'Tobacco is Our Industry and We Must support it": Exploring the Potential Implications of Zimbabwe's Accession to the Framework Convention on Tobacco Control', *Globalisation and Health*, 12, 2, (2016), 1-11; Martin Prowse, 'A history of tobacco production and marketing in Malawi, 1890-2010', *Journal of Eastern African Studies*, 7, 4, (2013), 691-712; Martin Prowse and Jasan Moyer-lee, 'A Comparative Value Chain Analysis of Small Holder Burley Tobacco Production in Malawi 2003/4 and 209/10', *The Journal of Agrarian Change,* 14, 3, (2014), 323-346; Jan Kees van Donge, 'Disordering the Market: The Liberalisation of Burley Tobacco in Malawi in the 1990s', *Journal of Southern African Studies,* 28, 1, (2002), 89-115 ; and Winford H. Masanjala 'Cash Crop Liberalisation in Africa: evidence from Malawi', *Agricultural Economics,* 35, (2006), 231-240.

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in the country.[12] According to the World Bank's Crop Production Index,[13] between 2008 and 2013, the rate of crop production in Tanzania increased by 44%, beating an average growth rate of 18% for crop production in Sub-Saharan Africa in the same period.[14]

Government reports show that over the last five years the agriculture sector has also continued to be the main source of the country's agricultural raw materials and export earnings in the country. During this period tobacco, together with other traditional cash crops – coffee, sisal, tea and cashew nuts – have remained the major important export crops for economic development in Tanzania. Over 90% of the tobacco grown in Tanzania is mainly for foreign markets: Belgium, the Netherlands, Portugal, Great Britain, France, South Africa, USA, Russia, German and China, while the remaining 10% was for the domestic market, purchased by Tanzania Cigarette Company (TCC) and Mastermind Cigarette Company, both located in Dar es Salaam.[15] Tobacco production is mainly carried out by the rural peasants in various parts of the county. Chapter Six of this thesis noted that between the mid-2000s and the present there were three types of tobacco grown in Tanzania. These included Virginia flue-cured

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[12] URT, Bank of Tanzania Annual Report 2014/15, January 2016, 8-9; Bank of Tanzania Annual Report 2015/2016, (January 2017), 8; and also see Asela Miho, 'Comparing Production Efficiency of Annual Crops among Smallholder Farmers in Tabora and Ruvuma Regions of Tanzania: A case of Maize, Groundnuts and Tobacco Frontier Production Approach', MSc (Economics), University of Dar es Salaam, (2014), 1; and Andrew A. Mwanselle, 'Economic Analysis of Contract Farming for Small-scale Tobacco Producers in Songea District, Ruvuma Region', MSc (Agricultural Economics), Sokoine University of Agriculture, (2010), 1.

[13] The World Bank's Crop Production Index (WB CPI) refers to the database which indicates a country's agricultural production each year in comparison to other countries in the world. This index includes both food and cash crops, except folder crops. The WB CPI is based on the Food and Agricultural Organisation (FAO) production analysis, which is calculated on the basis of international values of the crop in a specific period of time. For more information on the WB CPI see, www.data.worldbank.org.indicator/AG.PRD.CROP.XD; http://www.arcgis.com/home/item.htm; and www.theglobaleconomy.com/rankings/crop_production_index, accessed on 30 June 2017.

[14] See the WB report quoted in 'Tanzania Agriculture', available on www.tanzaniainvest.com/agriculture, accessed on 13 June 2017.

[15] See TTB, 'Tanzania Tobacco Sector performance Analysis Report for 2001/2005', 2006; and 'Tanzania Agriculture', available on www.tanzaniainvest.com/agriculture, accessed on 13 June 2017.

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tobacco (VFC),[16] dark fire-cured tobacco (DFC)[17] and burley cured tobacco.[18] VFC accounted for over 80% of the total tobacco grown in the country, and is mainly produced in Tabora, Iringa, Shinyanga, Ruvuma and Mbeya. DFC accounted for 15% of the crop and was mainly grown in Ruvuma, Mara and Kagera, with 99% coming from Ruvuma. Burley tobacco was grown in various parts of the country, including Ruvuma, and its national production level is quite small.[19] This study also noted that between 2010 and 2016 tobacco production increased from 94,200 tonnes to 105,900 tonnes. In 2011/12 the tobacco industry in Tanzania recorded its peak production since it was introduced in the early 1930s by producing 126,600 tonnes.[20] Despite an erratic production trend in the past five years, tobacco remained the leading export crop, bringing in about Tshs 325,140.1 million in 2010 an amount which increased to Tshs 568,812.1 million in 2015, followed by cashew nuts which brought in about Tshs 138,171.1 million in 2010 and Tshs 430,022.9 in 2015.[21] In 2012, for example, Tanzania was ranked as Africa's second largest producer of tobacco after Malawi, and it was ranked 8th in the world, while Malawi ranked 6th, Zimbabwe 9th, Zambia 16th and Mozambique 17th of the top 20 tobacco-growing countries in the world.[22] Studies on the tobacco industry in Africa have noted that tobacco has been used as an important cash crop not just for the state, but as a means of fighting poverty in many tobacco-growing areas particularly in Malawi, Tanzania, Zambia,

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[16] Virginia flue-cured tobacco (VFC) refers to the variety of tobacco cured by steam or flue technology. It is widely known as 'Virginia', or 'bright' or light tobacco mainly used for cigarette blends and a few heavy leaves are also used for pipe smoking. During the colonial era VFC was only grown by Europeans, because the colonial state argued that it was labour and capital intensive and it was too technical for African growers. It accounts for over 80% of tobacco grown in Tanzania. See TTB, 'Types of Tobacco', in http://www.tobaccoboard.go.tz, accessed on 31 May 2017; Prowse, 'A history of tobacco production and marketing in Malawi, 1890-2010', 693-694; and A. Masudi et al., *International Programme on the Elimination of Child labour (IPEC), Tanzania, Child Labour in Commercial Agriculture-Tobacco: A Rapid Assessment*, (Geneva: ILO, 2011), 2.

[17] Dark fire-cured tobacco (DFC) refers to the type of tobacco cured by heating (firing) technology. It is also widely known as 'dark' or 'heavy', used mainly for snuff, chewing and pipe blends. During the colonial era it was regarded as 'dark tobacco' such as fire-cured tobacco for black Africans. It accounts for over 15% of tobacco grown in Tanzania. See Prowse, 'A history of tobacco production and marketing in Malawi, 1890-2010'; and Masudi et al., *Tanzania, Child Labour in Commercial Agriculture-Tobacco: A Rapid Assessment, 2.*

[18] Burley tobacco refers to the variety of tobacco cured by air- or sun-based technology. It account for less than 5% of tobacco grown in Tanzania. See Masudi et al., *Tanzania, Child Labour in Commercial Agriculture-Tobacco: A Rapid Assessment.*

[19] Interviews with TTB and TORITA officials in Ruvuma and Tabora Regions, March-May 2016. Also see Types of tobacco varieties in Tanzania, www.tobaccoboard.go.tz, accessed on 31 May 2017.

[20] URT, BOT Annual Report 2014/15, January 2016, 8.

[21] URT, BOT Annual Report 2015/16, January, 2017.

[22] Hu and Lee, 'Tobacco Control and Tobacco Farming in African countries', 2; V. Sumila, 'Report reviews status of tobacco production', *The Citizen*, 4 November 2013; and the TTB report on http://www.tobaccoboard.go.tz, accessed on 26 August 2014.

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Zimbabwe and Mozambique.[23] Several reviews of the tobacco industry in Tanzania have also acknowledged that the despite the challenges in the marketing system, peasant tobacco production has been important for the rural economy, government revenues and foreign exchange reserve in the country.[24] (See Figure 2 for the performance of traditional export crops in Tanzania between 2010 and 2015.) This thesis is aware of an ongoing debate over the control of the entire tobacco industry which has gained influence following the adoption of the FCTC, which fights for the reduction of the global supply and consumption of tobacco products.[25] This thesis, therefore, will contribute to the debate on tobacco control in Africa by broadening the understanding of the significance of the tobacco economy in the local context of Ruvuma. The thesis will both challenge and extend these studies on the importance of the tobacco economy by exploring the dynamic role of peasant tobacco production in the rural economy in southern Tanzania.

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[23] Ademola Babolola, 'BAT and the Penetration of Capital into Oyo State', *Review of African Political Economy*, 53, *The African Jigsaw*, (1992), 96-101; Lown et al., 'Tobacco is Our Industry and We Must support it'; Prowse, 'A history of tobacco production and marketing in Malawi, 1890-2010'; Donge, 'Disordering the Market: The Liberalisation of Burley Tobacco in Malawi in the 1990s'; Hu and Lee, 'Tobacco Control and Tobacco Farming in African Countries'; and Masanjala 'Cash Crop Liberalisation in Africa: evidence from Malawi'.

[24] Cooksey, 'Market Reform? The Rise and Fall of Agricultural Liberalisation in Tanzania'; Rweyemamu and Kimaro, *Assessing the Market Distortions Affecting Poverty Reduction Efforts on Smallholder Tobacco Production in Tanzania*; Mitchell and Baregu, 'The Tanzania Tobacco Sector: How Market Reforms Succeeded'; and Boesen and Mohele, *The "Success Story" of Peasant Tobacco Production in Tanzania*.

[25] Brenya, 'An Overview of a Regional Approach to Tobacco Control in Africa'.

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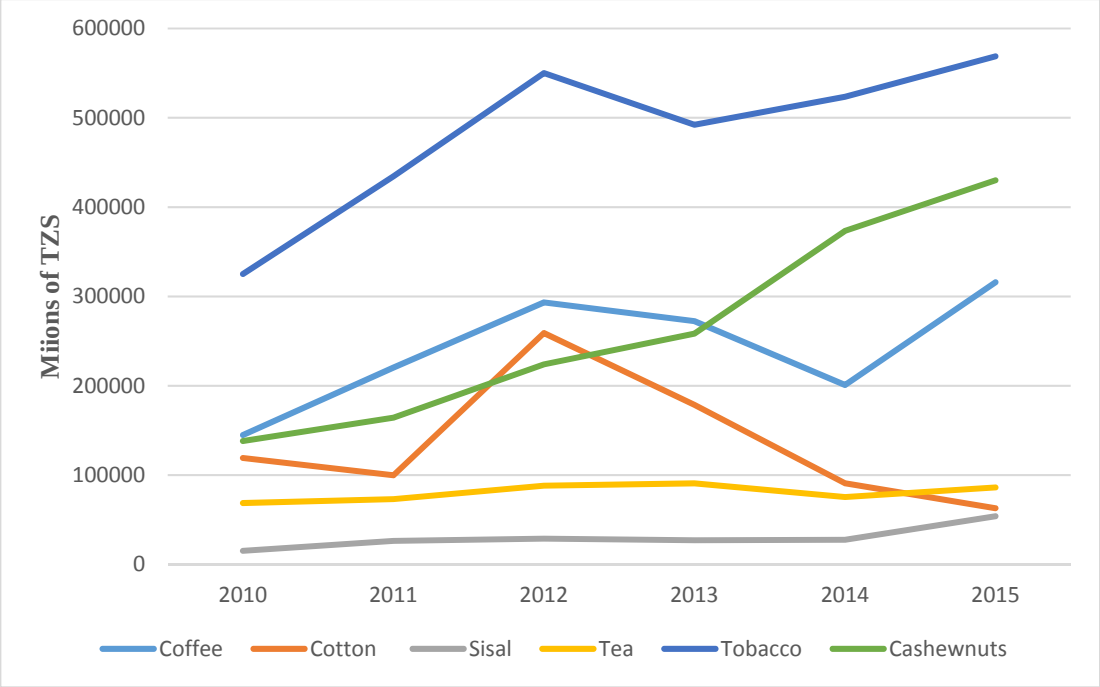

Figure 2: The Share of Traditional Export Crops in Tanzania, 2010-2015.[26]

The graph above shows that the tobacco industry has continued to thrive over recent years, despite the increasing campaign to reduce tobacco production. This apparent 'success story' of the tobacco industry is the result of favourable weather condition, and the growing influence of the multinational tobacco companies, particularly on the supply of tobacco farm inputs and extension services, as well as the gradual increase of crop price for the domestic and global market.[27] But it is also the result of history – a history that this thesis seeks to explore.

"*Tumbaku ni Mali*" – Tobacco is Wealth?

In Ruvuma region, in southern Tanzania, tobacco production has remained an important cash crop for over two generations from the early 1930s to the mid-2010s. Throughout the colonial and post-colonial periods, peasants in Ungoni and Undendeuli produced fire-cured tobacco

[26] Modified from URT, BOT Annual Report 2015/16.
[27] URT, BOT Annual Report 2014/15, January 2016, 8; Bank of Tanzania Annual Report 2015/2016, January 2017, 8; Veneranda Sumila, 'Report reviews status of tobacco production', *The Citizen*, Monday, 4 November, 2013; and Donald Mitchell and Mwombeki Baregu, 'The Tanzania Tobacco Sector: How Market Reforms Succeeded', in A.M. Akoy (eds), *African Agricultural Reforms: The Role of Consensus and Institutions*, (Washington: World Bank, 2012), 271-289 .

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for commercial purposes. As will be demonstrated by this thesis, commercial tobacco production in colonial Tanganyika was first introduced by the British colonial state in Ruvuma (during the "Plant More Crops" campaign between the late 1920s and the early 1930s, as Chapter Three will explain), and after WWII it became one of the major export crops in the territory, as Chapter Four will demonstrate. Tobacco production in Ruvuma grew from a paltry 100 tonnes in 1930 to over 1,000 tonnes in the late 1950s, and after independence it increased from 2,200 tonnes in 1972/73 to 9,190 tonnes in 1997/98. Then – as this thesis explains – between the early 2010s and the mid-2010s, the crop declined from 3,847 tonnes to less than 200 tonnes. On the national scale, out of the three types of tobacco grown in Tanzania, VFC has been increasing (as delineated above) but in Ruvuma DFC offered an anomalous story of success until the mid-2000s, then more recently abject failure. The success story of VFC which was started as a crop grown by whites in the 1940s in Iringa and later in Tabora in Western Tanzania, but in the 1950s there was a tremendous increase in African peasant tobacco producers, who were attracted to the favourable prices offered for the crop and a reliable supply of farm inputs and extension services during the colonial era and after independence.[28]

While VFC has been offering relatively attractive prices to both the few white-owned estates, white farmers and increasingly African peasants, erratic global DFC prices have meant unattractive prices for producers in Ruvuma and other parts of the country. As this thesis shows in the subsequent chapters, apart from offering less attractive price to peasants, DFC in Ruvuma experienced a number of predicaments which triggered the relative decline of the industry to the present time. Some of these predicaments include an unreliable supply of farm inputs and extension services, a poor marketing system, the closing down of the Songea tobacco factory, and over-appropriation of surplus production by the multinational tobacco companies, the state and peasant cooperatives. Ruvuma DFC has been subject to wide swings in production throughout its existence. Despite its erratic production, Ruvuma DFC has remained an important source of employment and primary cash income for the majority of the peasant households in Ruvuma. During the tobacco boom between the late 1970s and early

[28] See The World Bank Report, Tanzania Tobacco Handling Project Report, 24 April 1978, accessed on http://documents.worldbank.org, accessed on 17 October 2016: and J. Boesen and A.T. Mohela, *The Success story of peasant tobacco production in Tanzania: the political economy of a commodity producing peasantry*, (Uppsala: Scandinavian Institute of African Studies, 1979).

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1980s and the late 1990s and the mid-2000s, for example, a visitor in Ruvuma did not need a microscope to see the contribution of the tobacco industry on the improvement of economic livelihoods in the Ungoni and Undendeuli areas of Ruvuma. As demonstrated in later chapters, walking along the Songea-Namtumbo road and the Songea-Muhukuru as well as the Songea-Njombe road, a visitor could easily see some tobacco farmers' modern houses constructed with baked bricks and iron-sheet roofs. He would also see some posters and banners saying "*Tumbaku ni Mali*" (Tobacco is Wealth) in the shops, and on motor cycles and bicycles.[29] Again, attending the annual farmer's day on 7 July each year, "*Saba Saba*", he would hear speeches, songs and poems which stressed that "tobacco is wealth" and also the "driver of socio-economic development" in Ruvuma.[30] Notwithstanding this substantial role of the trade in the golden leaf[31] in Ruvuma (and in Tanzania), for decades now, very little is known about the history of fire-cured tobacco production in Ruvuma. The majority of the literature on the tobacco industry in Tanzania has largely focused on the analysis of the socio-economic and environmental impact of flue-cured tobacco grown in the western part of Tanzania.[32] This thesis tries to strike a balance in historical scholarship by examining the development of a completely different type of tobacco variety – fire-cured – and in a very different geographical area in the south, Ruvuma. The period chosen extends from the early 1930s, at the very beginnings of the tobacco industry, to the present.

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[29] Focus Group Discussions held by author at Namtumbo on 12 August 2016 and Namanguli village, 13 August 2016.

[30] Focus Group Discussion at Namanguli village, 13 August 2016.

[31] In this thesis 'trade in the golden leaf' refers to the whole process of cultivation, processing, marketing and export of tobacco. The supporters of the global tobacco industry claim that tobacco cultivation is the driver of economic development in the countries of the developing world. This trade is also considered as 'green gold' or 'gold leaf trade'. See UN Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD), *Economic Role of Tobacco Production and Export in Countries depending on Tobacco as a Major source of Income, Report* (Geneva, UNCTAD, 1995); and Helmut Geist et al., 'The Tobacco Industry in Malawi: A Globalised Driver of Local Land Change', *Journal of Land Change Modifications in the Developing World*, (2008), 251-268.

[32] A.E. Temu, 'A Comparative Economic Analysis of Tobacco and Groundnut Farming in Urambo District, Tabora Region, Tanzania', *Journal of Economics and Sustainable Development*, 4, 19, (2013), 104-111; Boesen and Mohela, *Success story of peasant Tobacco production in Tanzania*; John Waluye, 'Environmental impact of tobacco growing in Tabora/Urambo, Tanzania', *Tobacco Control*, 3, (1994), 252-254; Johannes Sauer and Jumanne M. Abdallah, 'Forest diversity, tobacco production and resource management in the Miombo woodlands in Tanzania', *Forest Policy and Economics*, 9, (2007), 421-439; Mwita M. Mangora, 'Ecological impact of tobacco farming in Miombo woodlands of Urambo District, Tanzania', *African Journal of Ecology*, 43, 4, (2005), 385-391; Mwita M. Mangora, 'Shifting Cultivation, Wood Use and Deforestation, Attributes of Tobacco Farming in Urambo District, Tanzania', *Journal of Social Science*, 4, 2, (2012), 135-140; and Z.P. Yanda, 'Impact of small-scale tobacco growing on the spatial and temporal distribution of miombo woodlands in Western Tanzania', *Journal of Ecology and Natural Environment*, 2, (2010), 10-16.

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Scope of the Study

Changing economic policies in Tanzania, and particularly agrarian reforms from Ujamaa in the mid-1960s through to the liberalised farming reforms of the mid-1980s up to the present, significantly affected the tobacco industry in Southern Tanzania. This study of tobacco farming in Ruvuma aims to develop a broader understanding of agrarian change, based on shifting political programmes, and its socio-economic and environmental impact. The evolution of fire-cured tobacco production in Ruvuma was largely influenced by colonial and post-colonial state interventions, especially the British colonial "Plant More Crops" campaign of the 1930s, the Ujamaa and villagisation campaign of the 1960s and 1970s, and the liberalisation policy of the 1980s.

As Chapter Three explains, the period under consideration commences in the 1930s, during the Great Depression which took place between 1929 and 1933. During this period British colonial Tanganyika introduced a "Plant More Crops" campaign as an attempt to promote peasant production in order to counter the economic impact of the depression, which saw prices for agricultural commodities drop worldwide and hence colonial government tax revenues declined sharply.[33] The campaign contributed to the emergence of commercial tobacco farming in the then Southern Province as the colonial government conducted cash-crop experiments in various parts of the province. Then, as demonstrated in the second and third chapters, the findings from these agricultural trials proved that tobacco could thrive in the Ungoni and Undendeuli areas of the old Songea district (see Figure 3: A Map of Ruvuma Region: Administrative and Tobacco Farming Areas). The Department of Agriculture, which pioneered these experiments up to 1928, became satisfied that the tobacco industry could grow in the area and they established several small tobacco schemes which proved successful. As Chapter Three explains, initially the colonial government planned that the European farmers would grow fire-cured tobacco for the European market and local Africans would grow tobacco for local markets. They made several attempts to invite European settlers to invest in the industry between 1928 and 1930, but with little success. The reason that the area received

[33] Catherine C. Fourshey, '"The Remedy for Hunger Is Bending the Back": Maize and British Agricultural Policy in Southwestern Tanzania 1920-1960', *The International Journal of African Historical Studies*, 41, 2 (2008), 223-261; John Iliffe, *A Modern History of Tanganyika* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1979); Martin Kaniki (ed.), *Tanzania under Colonial Rule* (London: Longman, 1981); and J. T. Gallagher, 'Islam and the Emergence of the Ndendeuli', PhD Thesis, Boston University (1971), 334-335.

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so little European investment lay is its remoteness. It was not readily accessible, so investors feared that it would be difficult for them to transport tobacco to seaports for shipment to Europe. Towards mid-1929 the colonial government decided that the local Africans could grow tobacco under close supervision of the Department of Agriculture in the old Songea District. By 1930 African farmers first successfully marketed tobacco in the Southern Province. Therefore, this study begins in the 1930s to mark the very beginnings of the embryonic tobacco industry in Ruvuma before it spread to other regions, including Iringa Province in 1940s and Tabora in the Western Province in the 1950s, and then to many other parts of the territory soon after the independence of Tanganyika in the early 1960s.

Moreover, this thesis will demonstrate that the story of the tobacco industry is indeed the history of Ruvuma. There are two reasons why Ruvuma is significant as the case explored here. As noted above (and explained at greater length in the second chapter), Ruvuma is a major producer of fire-cured tobacco (which is the central focus of this study) in Tanzania. Throughout the existence of tobacco production in Tanzania, peasants in Ruvuma have been producing over 90% of the fire-cured leaf in the country. Secondly, fire-cured tobacco production in the region has received little attention in scholarship in the country. Thus this thesis is an attempt to address this lacuna – especially filling in the missing gaps in the colonial and post-colonial historiography of the gold leaf trade in southern Tanzania.

The thesis takes its analysis to the mid-2010s for one major reason. During this period at the zenith of the liberalisation policy in the agrarian reforms that started from the mid-1980s, the golden leaf trade in Ruvuma (and Tanzania in general) was controlled by multinational tobacco companies such as DIMON, STABEX, Tanzania Leaf Tobacco Company Limited (TLTC) and Alliance One Tanzania Tobacco Company Limited (AOTTC).[34] As Chapter Six explains, through free market and contract farming strategies, multinational tobacco companies stimulated the expansion of tobacco production in the region. Yet, as the thesis will argue, they also implemented drastic changes which actually led to the collapse of tobacco production in

[34] Brian Cooksey, 'Market Reform? The Rise and Fall of Agricultural Liberalisation in Tanzania', *Development Policy Review*, 29, 1, (2011), 57-81; Dennis Rweyemamu and Monica Kimaro, *Assessing the Market Distortions Affecting Poverty Reduction Efforts on Small holder Tobacco Production in Tanzania*, Research Report on Poverty Alleviation (REPOA), 06.1, (Dar es Salaam: Mkuki na Nyota, 2006); and Stefano Ponte, 'Fast Crop, Fast Cash: Liberalisation and Rural Livelihoods in Songea and Morogoro Districts Tanzania', *Canadian Journal of African Studies*, 32, 2 (1998), 319-324.

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Ruvuma by the mid-2010s. As demonstrated in Chapter Six, with the establishment of the contract farming system in the mid-1990s, peasants were forced to sell their tobacco products to the transnational tobacco companies with which they had signed a contract prior to the beginning of the marketing season. Despite the rhetoric of providing a competitive tobacco market to the growers, the contract farming system limited the freedom of market choice available to the growers, because the tobacco growers were denied the possibility of selling their produce to another leaf dealer who might offer a better price than the contracted company. As a result, the poor tobacco marketing system led to the collapse of the golden leaf trade in Ruvuma, because of the accumulation of farm input debts among the peasants, the closing down of the Ruvuma tobacco processing plant in 2006 and, finally, even the abandonment of the tobacco farms in most parts of the Ungoni and Undendeuli areas of Ruvuma between the early and the mid-2010s.

Literature Review

Despite its socio-economic and cultural significance in southern Tanzania, the fire-cured tobacco industry has received little attention in historical scholarship in comparison to the flue-cured tobacco grown in the central and western parts of Tanzania. Many historians have been attracted to VFC for two main reasons. First, national tobacco production and acreage for VFC is greater than that of the DFC, partly because the crop is grown by both the white estate farmers and African peasants, while the DFC is grown only by African peasants. As pointed out above, the VFC accounts for over 80% of the annual tobacco production in the country, while DFC accounts for over 15%. Secondly, the notion that the VFC was and is primarily grown for the international market has attracted more scholarship than the DFC, which has for long been considered as produced for the local and informal market. Hence, the literature on agrarian change and especially tobacco production in Tanzania has focused on flue-cured tobacco grown in the central and western parts of the country, including Tabora and Shinyanga; consequently we know less about the fire-cured tobacco grown in Ruvuma. J. Boesen and A.T. Mohela's 1979 work on *The "Success Story" of Peasant Tobacco Production in Tanzania* still remains the most outstanding study on tobacco producing peasants in Tanzania. The study adopted a one-commodity approach to examine the political economy of Tanzania between the 1950s and the 1970s. Boesen and Mohela use flue-cured tobacco as a prism to examine the role of peasants in the development of the tobacco industry

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in western Tanzania during the last years of colonialism and the early post-colonial period, especially after the establishment of the 1970s villagisation policy.[35] Boesen and Mohela, however, stress the success story of the peasants in Tabora, who responded to the world market forces by adopting complicated agrarian and economic techniques in the production and marketing of the flue-cured tobacco. As a result the annual tobacco production increased rapidly to from 1,800 tons in 1957 and 8,000 tons in 1971 to over 13,700 tonnes in 1977.[36] The book is indeed important for this thesis as it provides some useful historical analysis of agrarian change and Tanzania's experience of socialist agricultural production in the context in which the rural peasants are not just pushed by the market forces to grow a highly labour-intensive and technical crop, but also are pushed backward by capitalist relations of production as well as the exploitation of the state capital and cooperatives. Despite its importance as a window into understanding both the tobacco producers specifically and agrarian change more generally in Tanzania, their study is nevertheless limited as its scope is confined only to one-crop flue-cured tobacco at the expense of any consideration of fire-cured tobacco grown in the southern parts of the country. Boesen and Mohela's work also lacks a longer historical timeline as it focuses only on the 1970s success story of the tobacco producing peasants. The book also does not undertake any critical analysis, especially regarding the comparison between the circumstances of tobacco producing peasants in Tabora and those of other peasants and estate tobacco producers elsewhere in the country and even outside the country. Hence, it lacks comprehensive historical analysis of peasant tobacco production and agrarian history in Tanzania. Given the scope of the work, it therefore does not cover the socio-economic and environment dynamics of peasant production during the more recent era of liberalisation from the 1980s. This study will be used to demonstrate commonalities and differences on flue-cured tobacco production and fire-cured tobacco producing peasants in southern Tanzania.

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[35] Boesen and Mohela, Success Story of Peasant Tobacco Production in Tanzania.

[36] The villagisation policy was the Tanzanian national policy from the 1970s which engineered the movement of all people from scattered areas into planned villages, often with 250 families or more families. Indeed this was mainly done for the purpose of increasing agricultural productivity in the country. It was planned and implemented through semi- and totally compulsory operations under the close supervision of the Presidential Planning Teams, which were sent to various regions between 1970 and 1976. By the end of 1976 about 13 million people were living in 7,684 villages. (For more details see Andrew Coulson, 'Agricultural Policies in Mainland Tanzania', Review of African Political Economy, 10, peasants, (1977), 74-100; and Boesen and Mohela, Success Story of Peasant Tobacco in Tanzania, 13-15.)

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This thesis also extends the work of two local historians on the political economy and colonial control of the marketing of peasant export crops in Ruvuma and Tanganyika in general. Patrick Redmond, writing in 1976, produced foundational research on agrarian change and the marketing of peasant production in Songea district. He specifically stressed the connections between the Ngoni Matengo Cooperative Union and tobacco production in Songea district between the mid-1930s and the early 1950s, the period in which the tobacco industry in the region reached an advanced stage.[37] Redmond's article is limited in time and geographical scope and it offers little account of the broader context on the establishment, control, dynamics and resultant socio-economic and ecological impact of peasant tobacco production in the colonial and post-colonial Ruvuma. Yet it remains important in explaining general institutional thinking about the function of African cooperatives. This thesis will examine the broader interactions between the state, cooperatives, multinational leaf dealers and local African peasants on the establishment, control and resultant impact on the development of peasant tobacco production in Ruvuma. G.P. Mpangala's 1977 MA thesis offered a political economic analysis of the general colonial situation in Songea District between 1897 and 1961. Mpangala adopted an 'underdevelopment' perspective to discuss the connections between the establishment of the colonial economy and the underdevelopment of the area as a labour reserve.[38] However, Mpangala puts little emphasis on the role tobacco production in Ruvuma. Notwithstanding this limitation, Mpangala's work is also important for this study because it illuminates the penetration of the colonial capital in the region in the 1890s, the impact of Majimaji war and the establishment of the migrant labour system, which, as discussed in Chapter Two of my thesis, formed the basis of the establishment of commercial tobacco production in southern Tanganyika during the early 1930s. Mpangala's doctoral thesis, produced a decade later in 1987, again provided a survey of agricultural market reforms in colonial Tanganyika from the 1890s to the 1960s. He demonstrated that prior to the 1930s the marketing of African peasant crops was done through the agency of the Indian traders and a few rich African traders. These Indian traders functioned as agents of the colonial state in the control of the marketing of peasant crops. However, the situation changed between the

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[37] Patrick M. Redmond, 'The NMCMU and Tobacco Production in Songea District', *Tanzania Notes and Records*, 79 & 80, (1976), 65-98.
[38] G.P. Mpangala, 'A History of Colonial Production in the Songea District, Tanzania, 1897-1961', MA Thesis, University of Dar es Salaam, 1977.

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1930s and the early 1950s.[39] During this period the state took deliberate measures to reorganise the marketing of peasant crops, including peasant tobacco production in Ruvuma. The market reforms aimed to eliminate the influence of Indian traders in the control of African peasant export crops as well as to ensure greater control and centralisation of the marketing of peasant export crops during the Great Depression of the early 1930s and the Second World War. In this regard, the state introduced state-controlled African cooperatives and marketing boards for the effective control and organisation of African export crops. Mpangala also demonstrated that the period between the 1950s and 1960s was dominated by the spread of peasant cooperatives as the main way of controlling peasant crops in various parts of Tanganyika.[40] Mpangala's doctoral thesis (like his MA thesis and Redmond's article) does not cover the post-colonial transformation of the marketing of peasant export crops. It also offers little on the dynamics and broader socio-economic impact of colonial market reforms in southern Tanganyika, particularly among the tobacco producers of Ruvuma. This study, however, will use this thesis to explore comparisons with these local tobacco market reform and the circumstances of other parts of Tanganyikan territory, including the African coffee growers of Kilimanjaro and Kagera as well as the cotton growers in the Lake province.

A review of Tanzanian agrarian historiography shows that there are no recent historical works devoted to fire-cured tobacco production. An MA thesis by Emmanuel Kihongo in 2011 focused on the impact of flue-cured tobacco production on the environment and food production in Iringa Region between 1940 and 2000.[41] Kihongo's thesis, however, does not cover the socio-economic and ecological implications of fire-cured tobacco in Ruvuma. This study will use this thesis to compare the impact of the rise of commercial fire-cured tobacco farming in southern Tanzania. This study is also aware of the forthcoming MA (History) thesis by Simon Kagema, which covers the impact of tobacco production on the peasant household economy in the post-colonial Songea district. Kagema's thesis places special emphasis on the role of tobacco production in the improvement of peasants' household economy between the

[39] G.P. Mpangala, 'The Impact of Colonial Trading Capital or the Transformation of Peasant Agriculture in Tanganyika, 1885-1961', PhD thesis, Karl Marx University , Leipzig, 1987.
[40] Mpangala, 'The Impact of Colonial Trading Capital'.
[41] Emmanuel Kihongo, 'Tobacco Production and its implications for the Environment and Food Production, A Case of Iringa Rural District, 1940-2000', MA (History) Thesis, University of Dar es Salaam, 2011.

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1960s and early 1980s.[42] Given its limited scope, Kagema's thesis does not offer a detailed account of the evolution and the resultant socio-economic and environmental impact of tobacco production in Ruvuma. This study will use this thesis to demonstrate some examples of the important role of tobacco farming in the improvement of the rural economy in southern Tanzania.

Many historical works, however, have focused on the debate about the relationship between the state and peasants, the role of peasants as drivers of economic development in the country and the conception of African peasantry. This focus was driven by the need to understand the meaning and the role of African rural peasants in colonial and post-colonial Tanzania. Writing in 1980, Goran Hyden adopted the concept of the 'economy of affection' to reject the Marxist paradigm that had contended that Africa remains underdeveloped because of its forced integration into the global capitalist system. Instead, he insisted that the underdevelopment of African economies is not just the product of capitalist operations, but rather also because of local barriers such as top-down and coercive agrarian policies, over-taxation of peasant crops, labour constraints and the kinds of poor farming practices that hinder the development of peasant agriculture throughout the continent.[43] This thesis is aware of the weaknesses in Hyden's work, especially the generalisation about the failures of the socialist policies in peasant agriculture and the fact that he takes for granted the negative impacts of rural capitalism on the development of peasant production. However, his book is important to this thesis, because it approaches the concept of African peasantry as an independent mode of production separate from capitalist and socialist modes of production. Like Boesen and Mohela's piece reviewed above, Hyden also uses Tanzania's experience of socialist agricultural production to explore the complexity of studying African peasantry by considering the local predicament of peasants and the need for the active participation of peasants in the implementation of development policies in the country.

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[42] Simon Kagema, 'Tobacco Production and its Impact on Peasant Household Economy in Songea District, 1960s-2000', Forthcoming MA (History) thesis, University of Dar es Salaam.

[43] Economic of affection refers to a model which stresses that economic actions are not influenced by individual profit but rather are influenced by a wide range of socio-political and economic considerations which are impossible in capitalism and socialism. Goran Hyden, *Beyond Ujamaa in Tanzania: Underdevelopment and an Uncaptured Peasantry*, (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1980), 18-24.

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Andrew Coulson's and Deborah Bryceson's articles similarly shed light on the relationship between state, peasants and peasant commodity production in Tanzania. Coulson's article (1975) used 'moral economic analysis' to explore the ambiguous role of the state in the development of socialist peasant production between 1968 and 1974. He explored the historical development of the rise and fall of Ujamaa and self-reliance in rural Tanzania. Coulson demonstrated that despite the intention of the state to promote rural development through people living and working together in the Ujamaa villages for the good of all, the use of a top-down coercive strategy in the implementation of the Ujamaa policy largely contributed to the failure of the villagisation programme as well as rural socialist peasant production in Tanzania. Coulson further noted that the use of force in promoting individual acreage and community production failed, because it never generated support among the peasants in rural areas as in the case of the Chinese and North Vietnamese peasants.[44] Bryceson views peasant production as an important sector which provides extractive value for the economy of the country. She sees peasant commodity production as a means through which the state appropriated the peasants' surplus production for national development. The state extract surplus peasant production in various ways, including price control over peasant food and cash crops, imposition of levies and cesses on peasant crops and the accumulation of foreign exchange reserves through exports of traditional peasant commodities.[45] Though Coulson's and Bryceson's articles largely ignore the peasants' response to the state control and appropriation of surplus peasant production, they are also important in this study because they does not just make a contribution to the historiography of peasant production and agrarian change in Tanzania, but also stress the fact that the relationship between the state and peasant producers is based on an unequal exchange system, the situation which makes peasants more dependent on the state and enables the state to easily appropriate surplus peasant production at the expense of the peasant producers. This thesis extends Coulson's and Bryceson's analysis to explore the socio-economic and ecological impacts of the relationship between the state and peasant tobacco producers in southern Tanzania. This thesis agrees with Coulson and Bryceson about the negative effects of the coercive policies on the development of post-colonial peasant production in Tanzania; however, it uses the Ruvuma Development

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[44] Andrew Coulson, 'Peasants and Bureaucrats', *Review of African Political Economy*, 3, (1975), 53-58.
[45] Deborah Fahy Bryceson, 'Peasant Commodity Production in Post-Colonial Tanzania', *African Affairs*, 81, 325 (1982), 547-567.

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Association (RDA) case in Ruvuma to demonstrate that the Ujamaa and villagisation policy also played an instrumental role in the development of fire-cured tobacco and rural peasant production among the Wangoni and Wandendeuli people of southern Tanzania. Unlike many other villages across the country formed by the state, the RDA emerged as a grassroots socialist organization, which coordinated more than 17 villages and groups of tobacco farmers up until the late 1960s. This thesis expands on my 2014 MA thesis on the RDA and Ujamaa in Songea District to demonstrate that the RDA peasants engaged in the production of various crops including tobacco.[46] That thesis suggested that the Ujamaa and villagisation policies had a wide-ranging impact on the establishment and development of peasant production in southern Tanzania. The establishment of Ujamaa and villagisation policies offered room for the emergence of some groups of cooperative tobacco farmers in the region.

Other historians of the debate on the state and peasant production in East and Central Africa demonstrated that the state played a contradictory role in promoting the development of white estate agriculture and peasant production. B.J. Berman and J.M. Lonsdale writing in 1980 on the relationship between state, estate agriculture and peasant production in colonial Kenya rejected the argument that the colonial state was simply an agent of metropolitan capital, because it underestimated the role of the colonial administration in the development of the colonial economy. They instead advanced the argument that the state was also an institution for ensuring the production and accumulation of capital in the colony.[47] Berman and Lonsdale highlighted the point that the state supported complex production relations, which ensured a constant supply of African labourers in white settler production, but also the effective extraction of capital from Africans through peasant production by squatters on settler estates, African taxation and the creation of labour reserves in the colony. Though Berman and Lonsdale's article focused its political economic analysis in the context of the settler colony of Kenya, this work is important for this thesis as a comparative analysis on the broader discussion on the contradictory and ambiguous role of the state in the establishment, control and accumulation of surplus production of the African tobacco producing peasantry in colonial southern Tanganyika. In line with that, John McCracken, in writing on the debate on

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[46] Herbert H. Ndomba, 'The RDA and Ujamaa in Songea District, 1960s-1990s', MA Thesis, University of Dar es Salaam, 2014.
[47] B.J. Berman and J.M. Lonsdale, 'Crisis of Accumulation, Coercion and the Colonial State: the Development of labour Control System in Kenya', *Canadian Journal of African Studies*, 14, 1, (1980), 55-81.

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the relationship between state and peasant production, similarly demonstrated that the colonial administration played an ambiguous role in controlling and appropriating surplus production from African peasant tobacco producers in colonial Nyasaland during the 1920s and the 1930s. He demonstrated that state created the Native Tobacco Board in the 1920s, through which the white tobacco planters, in alliance with the state, controlled and dominated African peasant production by limiting the number and market for African tobacco growers. McCracken (like Berman and Lonsdale) demonstrated that the state was not just an agent of capital, but it also maintained production relations that protected the interest of the white farmers at the cost of African tobacco farmers and accumulated capital from African peasants through taxation and controlling the prices of African produce.[48] Though this article was written on the Nyasaland political economy of the relationship between state, planters and African peasants, this thesis will use McCracken's article for comparison of the complexities of the role of the state in the control of peasant tobacco production in the colonial Tanganyika and the Nyasaland.

There are also other studies by agricultural economists, geographers and ecologists that provide useful insights into peasant tobacco production in Tanzania. This thesis draws from agricultural economists and geographers such as W.H. Masanjala, Martin M. Prowse and J. Mayer-lee to explore the socio-economic impacts of the 1980s agricultural liberalisation policy on the dynamics of peasant tobacco production in Tanzania and Africa in general. Masanjala, writing in 2006, used the case of burley tobacco production in Malawi to analyse the efficacy of cash-crop liberalisation in the improvement of rural livelihoods in Sub-Saharan Africa. The study argues that cash crop-liberalisation provides an opportunity for farm households to increase their income by producing high-income cash crops.[49] The study points out that between the 1960s and the 1970s the Tobacco and Special Crops Act (in Malawi) prohibited smallholders from growing burley tobacco through customary land rights and the question of labour intensive. This was left in the hands of estate sector large-scale tobacco producers. However, with liberalisation and especially the 1990s democratisation, Malawi adopted poverty reduction as key to its development agenda. Within this framework, the

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[48] John McCracken, 'Planters, Peasants and the Colonial State: The Impact of the Native Tobacco Board in Central Province of Malawi', *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 9, 2, (1983), 172-192.
[49] W.H. Masanjala, 'Cash Crop Liberalisation and Poverty Alleviation in Africa: evidence from Malawi', *Agricultural Economics*, 35, (2006), 231-240.

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Malawian government developed two major strategies to improve rural livelihoods. These included the Green Revolution for improved food security as well as burley tobacco liberalisation as an instrument for poverty alleviation.[50] In the view of Masanjala, the liberalisation of burley tobacco production for the small holder sector up to the late 1990s greatly increased the average household income of the growers over the non-cash-crop producers.[51] In supporting this argument, Prowse and Mayer-lee article's explored the role of liberalisation in the shift of the burley tobacco industry from the estate to the smallholder sector, and its dynamics in the annual production value chain in Malawi. They argue that the liberalisation of burley tobacco production largely resulted in significant changes in a value chain for the smallholder sector from seed to export.[52] They use a comparative analysis approach to highlight changes in institutional framework, smallholder's profit, and increased government efficiency in handling burley tobacco production in the country. In their view, for example, the smallholder profit in 2003/2004 season was limited by the monopoly of tobacco leaf dealers at auction floors and an efficient marketing arrangement; however, by the 2009/2010 season state intervention improved the market arrangements and competition on the auction floors, a situation which increased smallholder's profits. They reveal that during President Mutharika's rule in Malawi the state intervened in the marketing of burley tobacco production by setting minimum prices and encouraging new buyers on the market floors. Consequently, the export share of Malawian burley tobacco production increased from 49% in 2004 to about 67% in 2008.[53] The two studies by Masanjala and by Prowse and Moyer-lee provide a mirror for understanding the connection, dynamics and impact of cash-crop liberalisation on the improvement of rural livelihoods in Africa. These studies, however, are limited in scope. They focus on burley cured tobacco in Malawi at the expense of fire-cured tobacco grown in southern Tanzania. This thesis draws from Masanjala, Prowse and Moyer-lee to note comparisons and differences in the role of market liberalisation and contract farming in the dynamics and subsequent decline of fire-cured tobacco in Ruvuma between the 1990s and the 2010s.

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[50] Masanjala, 'Cash Crop Liberalisation and Poverty Alleviation in Africa'.
[51] Masanjala, 'Cash Crop Liberalisation and Poverty Alleviation in Africa'.
[52] M. Prowse and J. Moyer-lee, 'A Comparative Value Chain Analysis of Smallholder Burley Tobacco Production in Malawi,2003/4 and 2009/10', *The Journal of Agrarian Change*, 14, 3, 2014, 323-346
[53] Prowse and Moyer-lee, 'A Comparative Value Chain Analysis of Smallholder Burley Tobacco Production'.

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Studies on the origin and expansion of global commercial tobacco production show that tobacco cultivation for commercial purposes probably started in the British American colonies during the 15th century before it spread to some other parts of the world, including Europe and Africa between the 17th and 19th centuries.[54] These studies, however, reveal that the discussion on the origin of tobacco use for religious and royal political purposes is still debatable and complex. A study by Clements and Harben on Rhodesian tobacco cite Herodotus as recording that tobacco smoking probably started in the 5th century BC by the Mongol peoples from Central Asia,[55] while other scholars argue that it started in America even before the British settlement in the 15th century,[56] while Baud and Koonings argue that it originated in America before it spread to Europe and other parts of the world. Brenya, Clement and Harben argued that tobacco use in Africa had started before European colonisation in the last quarter of 19th century.[57] Though Baud and Koonings' study was written to trace the origin and economic contributions of tobacco farming in Bahia of Brazil, while Clements and Harben focused on the historical development of the tobacco industry in southern Rhodesia, and Brenya emphasised the challenges of tobacco control in Africa, they all agree that the origins of tobacco use is complex. Notwithstanding this question, this thesis will expand on these studies to explore the emergence and expansion of commercial peasant tobacco production in southern Tanzania.

As noted at the start of the chapter, scholarship on the environmental costs of tobacco production insists that, notwithstanding its contribution to the country's gross domestic product (GDP), tobacco is the most destructive crops in terms of land use and ecological change.[58] Ecologists H.J. Geist, M.M. Mongora, J. Waluye and S. Chapman have explored the influence of tobacco farming on Tanzania's ecologies. Geist and Chapman's studies link

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[54] Baud and Koonings, 'A Lavoura dos Pobres: Tobacco Farming and the Development of Commercial Agriculture in Bahia, 1870-1930'; Brenya, 'An Overview of a Regional Approach to Tobacco Control in Africa; Clements and Harben, *Leaf of Gold The Story of Rhodesian Tobacco*, 28; and Jason Young, 'The History of Tobacco and its Growth throughout the World', available on http://web.stanford.ed/trade_environment/tobacco.html accessed on 6 June 2017.

[55] Clements and Harben, Leaf of Gold. The Story of Rhodesian Tobacco, 28.

[56] See Baud and Koonings, 'A Lavoura dos Pobres: Tobacco Farming and the Development of Commercial Agriculture in Bahia'; and Young, 'The History of Tobacco and its Growth throughout the World'.

[57] Baud and Koonings, 'A Lavoura dos Pobres: Tobacco Farming and the Development of Commercial Agriculture in Bahia'; Brenya, 'An Overview of a Regional Approach to Tobacco Control in Africa; and Clements and Harben, *Leaf of Gold. The Story of Rhodesian Tobacco,* 28.

[58] Simon Chapman, 'Tobacco and Deforestation in the Developing World'; S. Chapman et al., 'All Africa Conference on Tobacco Control'; and Geist, 'Global assessment of Deforestation', (1999), 18-28.

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tobacco farming to deforestation and destructive environmental change. Their major argument is that tobacco farming in Tanzania (and in most developing countries) depends heavily on extensive virgin lands to support shifting cultivation as well as large quantities of wood drawn from the forests for curing the crop during the harvest season. For example, Waluye argues that for many years tobacco farmers in Tanzania acquired their virgin lands and firewood simply by felling the trees readily available in the natural forest in the miombo woodlands. However, as the time went, on these trees were depleted and farmers were forced to travel greater distances in search of ever-needed virgin land and firewood.[59] Over-exploitation of natural resources in the course of tobacco farming accelerated various forms of ecological change such as deforestation, decline of biodiversity, recurrent droughts and famines, and unpredictable rainfall patterns in the country. In this context, this thesis will proceed from the supposition that, although the majority of the scholars agree on the environmental costs of tobacco production in Tanzania,[60] most of them (like those who have analysed agrarian change) have concentrated on the flue-cured tobacco grown in Tabora at the expense of fire-cured tobacco produced in the southern part of the country. This study therefore draws on Geist, Mongora and Waluye's research to reconstruct the history of peasant fire-cured tobacco and the land use change in Southern Tanzania.

Tobacco offers ways to rethink the periodization of Tanzania's agrarian past. Conventionally, Tanzanian agrarian historiography has been delineated into four periods. The first is colonial history, which extends from the 1930s to the 1950s. This was the zenith of colonialism and the concomitant colonial ideology in Tanganyika. The central focus of these scholars was a highly racialized understanding of the complexity of African cultures and tribes, local languages and subsistence production.[61] C. Seligman's and R. Coupland's studies on East Africa and Africa buttressed white superiority over Africans, denying the active participation and agency of Africans in shaping their own pasts.[62] Coupland (writing in the 1930s and pre-empting Hugh Trevor-Roper's infamous outburst) argued that there *was* no African history in

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[59] Chapman, 'Tobacco and deforestation', 191-193; and Waluye, 'Environmental Impact of Tobacco', 252.
[60] Scholars writing on the environmental costs of tobacco agree that it has contributed to deforestation, land cover change, recurrent droughts, land degradation, decline of biodiversity and unpredictable rainfall patterns.
[61] Isaacman, 'Peasants and Rural Social Protest in Africa'.
[62] Charles Seligman, *Races of Africa*, (London: Harry Johnston, 1902), and Reginald Coupland, *East Africa and its Invaders: From Earliest Times to the Dearth of Seyyid Said in 1856*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1938).

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East Africa; what existed was "European history in Africa".[63] Such colonial historiography had far-reaching consequences for the study of agrarian change and peasant societies. Despite its denial of the very existence of African history, it was instrumental in stimulating the study of the African past as it raised the central debate against which the nationalist historiography reacted between the late 1950s and the 1960s. Unlike the colonial historiography, whose denial of African agency essentially rendered peasants studies invisible (indeed, impossible), nationalist historiography transformed peasants into progressive capitalist farmers to meet colonial demands in the late 1950s and the early 1960s.[64] This period witnessed the rise of mass nationalist movements in Africa generally and Tanganyika specifically. Africanist scholars, writing to oppose the colonial propositions, shaped the understanding of this time and the dominant theme was thus the political development and glorification of African past initiatives and agency. I.N. Kimambo, A. Temu and S. Feierman celebrated the African past through studies on pre-colonial state formation, long-distance trade, and the emergence of rural capitalist farmers, peasant protests and the *Majimaji* war of the early 1900s.[65] However, their concentration on pre-colonial history meant that they ignored modern agrarian studies. Since the late 1970s Tanzania has witnessed a new paradigm as a response to the failure of the independent state to address economic problems and subsequent establishment of Tanzanian socialism (Ujamaa).

Materialist historiography manifested itself in the practice of 'underdevelopment' and Marxist theories of history writing in the country. W. Rodney, J. Kopennen, M.J. Kanniki and A. Sherif shifted their nationalist orientation to explore the roots of underdevelopment and class struggles between the exploiters and the exploited.[66] Rodney, writing in the 1970s, for example, emphasized that Africa's impoverishment was rooted in the world capitalist system, which extracted surplus profit through the unequal exchange with the periphery.[67] Materialist scholarship was arguably the turning point in peasant studies in Tanzania, as it conceptualised

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[63] Coupland, East Africa and Its Invaders.
[64] Isaacman, 'Peasants and Rural Social Protest in Africa'.
[65] I.N. Kimambo, and A. Temu, (eds), A History of Tanzania, (Nairobi: East African Publishing House, 1980). I.N. Kimambo, A Political History of the Pare, c. 1500-1900, (Nairobi: East African Publishing House), and Steven Feierman, The Shambaa Kingdom: A History, (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1974).
[66] Juhani Koponen, Development for Exploitation, (Hamburg: Helsinki, 1995), Walter Rodney, How Europe Underdeveloped Africa, (California: Howard University Press, 1974&1981), Martin J. Kaniki, Tanzania Under Colonial Rule, (London: Longman, 1980) and A. Sheriff and E. Ferguson, Zanzibar Under Colonial Rule, (Nairobi: East African Publishers, 1991).
[67] Rodney, How Europe Underdeveloped Africa.

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classes, labour relations and mode of production in agrarian society. Hyden, for example, pointed that the conception of African peasantry is new because it emerged only over the last 100 years, and it is unique because highlights both their autonomy and their dependence. He defined the African peasantry as an agricultural social class whose autonomy depends on direct access to land and family labour. The peasants produce for their subsistence and are at the same time integrated into a national economy in various forms, including payment of taxes and rents.[68] However, the conception of 'peasants' in Tanzania and Africa has attracted the attention of various scholars from various disciplines of study. Allen Isaacman, writing in 1990, viewed 'peasants' as an ambiguous social class, because it is difficult to draw real meaning from its definition.[69] He stressed that some anthropologists such as Kroeber in 1948 and Redfield in 1956 simply defined 'peasant' as a folk version of higher culture. Chayanov in 1966 regarded 'peasants' as the demographic cycle of peasant household exhibiting the natural pattern of growth and change. In 1973 Isaacman, citing Shanin, described the peasantry as a kind of arrangement of humanity in which their partial subordination to the state or appropriating class was their most salient characteristic.[70] In 1980 Klein (like Hyden) regarded peasants as agriculturalists who control the land they work for their subsistence and are controlled by other classes, who extract surplus either directly or through control of the state power.[71] Some political economists (like John Saul, writing in 1974) viewed 'peasants' as less like a 'sack of potatoes, divided and demoralised' social class. They considered them as a disadvantaged and exploited social class having no alternative but to revolt (in various ways) against an exploitative system.[72] The classical Marxist scholars regard 'peasants' as a revolutionary social class by virtue of their participation in the modern agricultural economy, and they remain the sole and indispensable guarantor of genuine revolution.[73]

Today, however, most scholars agree that the term 'peasants' is used to define the rural producers in Africa, although they differ in nuances of the peasantry's origin and its

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[68] Hyden, Beyond Ujamaa in Tanzania, 10-11.
[69] Allen Isaacman, 'Peasants and Rural Social Protest in Africa', African Studies Review, 33, 2, (1990), 1-120.
[70] Isaacman, 'Peasants and Rural Social Protest in Africa', 1-2
[71] Isaacman, 'Peasants and Rural Social Protest in Africa'.
[72] John S. Saul, 'African Peasants and Revolution', Review of African Political Economy, 1, (1974), 41-68.
[73] Saul, 'African Peasants and Revolution', 42.

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dynamics.[74] This study is aware of the complexity of conceptualizing the term 'peasants' in an African context. It therefore proceeds from Hyden's view, which sees peasants as small-scale agricultural producers in rural Africa. Notwithstanding the emerging debate on the meaning of peasants in Tanzania and across Africa, peasant studies within the country remained in a state of infancy. Materialist historiography did not survive long: from the 1980s it made way for the rise of "post-materialist historiography"[75] (in the Tanzanian context, sometimes referred as post-modern), which shaped the way of looking at African history.

Unlike the trend in the 1970s, which emphasized the political economy as the key driver of human history, the later post-colonial historiography combines socio-economics, politics and ecology in the study of African history.[76] This historiography encourages historians to use an interdisciplinary approach to the reconstruction of African history. It also emphases the writing of histories of previously marginalised themes and societies, including the environment, diseases, gender, agrarian crisis and peasantry.[77] There are certainly earlier works which focused largely on agrarian transformation and environmental change; for example, Helge Kjekshus's pioneering *Ecological Control and Economic Development in East Africa* (1977)[78] marked a turning point in the history of the environment in Tanzania by foregrounding the impact of humankind on nature and of nature on humankind. Kjekshus used ecological analysis to trace the changing ecological balance of pre-colonial and colonial societies in Tanganyika. He emphasized that the 'ecological control' of the local societies was satisfactory until it was disturbed by the epidemics of colonial times (including rinderpest, smallpox and sand fleas), and agrarian and resettlement policies. The colonial policies resulted in what he calls 'ecological collapse', which in turn led to several environmental problems including the spread of tsetse epidemics and of famine among the colonial societies in Tanganyika.[79] This work does not focus on the dynamics and socio-economic impact on

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[74] Hyden, *Beyond Ujamaa in Tanzania*, 11 Iliffe, *Modern History*, 273-274; Isaacman, 'Peasants and Rural Social Protest in Africa'; and Terrence Ranger, 'Growing from the Roots: Reflections on Peasant Research in Central and Southern Africa', *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 5, 1, (1978), 99-133.
[75] We use 'post-materialist historiography', because the modern historiography of Tanzania was preceded by the nationalist historiography of the 1960s and the materialist historiography of the 1970s.
[76] See Jan Vansina, 'UNESCO and African historiography', *History* in Africa, 20, (1999), 333-338, and A. Green and K. Troup, *The Houses of History A critical reader in the twentieth-century history and theory,* (New York: New York University Press, 1999).
[77] Isaacman, 'Peasants and Rural Social Protest in Africa'.
[78] Helge Kjekshus, Ecological Control and Development in East African History: The Case of Tanganyika 1850-1950, (London: James Currey, 1977 & 1996).
[79] Kjekshus, Ecological Control and Development in East African History.

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peasant production in Tanganyika, but it is important in this thesis because it describes the shift of the scholarly orientation in Tanzania from the nationalist and Marxist to the post-Marxist historiography. It also helps us to understand some coping mechanisms in addressing the environmental impacts of tobacco in southern Tanzania. Kimambo, Feierman and James Giblin, writing in the era of post-materialist historiography in the 1990s and 2000s, made breakthroughs in agrarian history and peasant studies in the country.[80] In the 1990s Kimambo and Feierman revived their historical writing with the aim of revisiting their early 1970s nationalist works among the Pare and Shambaa of North eastern Tanzania. Kimambo uses a social economic analysis to explore the unprecedented peasant struggles for survival against rural capitalist penetration among the Pare in the second half of 19th and the first half of 20th centuries. He argued that the local peasants among the Pare resisted the colonial penetration as a survival strategy against the capitalist exploitation and oppression. Kimambo used 1944's 'Mbiru' protest to demonstrate the rising mass peasant consciousness and protest against colonial exploitation.[81] Unlike the earlier protests, which were on a small scale, the Mbiru protest was the first mass protest which united the Pare people in fighting against colonialism in Tanganyika. Feierman, like Kimambo, adopted social political analysis to examine the Shambaa peasant political discourse from late pre-colonial, colonial to early independent Tanganyika. He uses the term 'peasant intellectuals' to demonstrate the political development of the Shambaa and build his major argument, which stresses that the local Shambaa peasants were active makers of political discourse and creators of history.[82] Kimambo's and Feierman's books have made a significant contribution to the historiography of agrarian change and the revival of the 'Dar es Salaam school' of history.[83] These two books, however,

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[80] See Isaria N. Kimambo, Penetration and Peasant Protest in Tanzania the Impact of the World Economy on the Pare, 1860-1960, (London: James Currey, 1991); James L. Giblin, A History of the Excluded the Making Family a Refuge from State in Twentieth-Century Tanzania, (Oxford: James Currey, Dar es Salaam: Mkuki na Nyota, Athens: Ohio University Press, 2005); Stefano Ponte, 'Fast Crops Fast Cash: Market Liberalisation and Rural Livelihoods in Songea and Morogoro Districts, Tanzania', Canadian Journal of African Studies, 32, 2 (1998), 316-348; and Steven Feierman, Peasant Intellectuals: Anthropology and History, (Madison: Wisconsin University Press, 1990).

[81] Kimambo, Penetration and Peasant Protest in Tanzania.

[82] Feierman, Peasant Intellectuals.

[83] The 'Dar es Salaam school' of history refers to a school of thought which was developed by the Africanist historians at the Department of History of the University of Dar es Salaam in Tanzania between the 1960s and 1970s. This school of history focused on writing about African initiatives such as pre-colonial African trade and centralised states, African resistance to colonialism, African nationalism, underdevelopment of Africans and African socialism. It developed as a critique to colonial historiography which ignored the role of African agency. Some famous Africanist historians who developed this historiography includes Terence Ranger, Isaria Kimambo, Walter Rodney, Ernest Wamba-dia-Wamba, and several others. Though it was criticized by Donald Denoon and Adam Kuper for glorifying the nationalist ideology at the cost of social history, the school played important role

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like many other works on agrarian history, focused social political analysis in the study of the societies in the northern part; any study of peasants in the southern part, including the Ruvuma peasant producers, remains completely undeveloped. This thesis will use these studies to explore contrasts and comparisons in the study of peasant tobacco production in Tanzania.

In 2005 James Giblin moved away from celebrating meta-narratives like nationalism or Marxism, and instead emphasised the marginalised peasant society of the 20th century. Giblin adopted a framework of social analysis to explore the context in which the Wabena rural peasant society of Njombe District in southern highlands was excluded through incorporation into colonial capital operations in Tanganyika. Giblin showed that, with the establishment of the colonial economy the Wabena, like the Wangoni of Ruvuma, became migrant labourers and started to supply food crops to the workers in the mines and settler estates in the territory.[84] Over time, the Wabena found themselves excluded from commercial agriculture, access to social services and all opportunities to escape from the impoverishment of the migrant system labour and food production in colonial Tanganyika.[85] Giblin's focus on social and cultural change largely ignored the aspect of economic change. However, this thesis will cover the aspect of economic change by bringing out the voices of the marginalised tobacco producing peasants in southern Tanzania.

This thesis also draws on Stefano Ponte's study on 'Market Liberalisation and Rural Livelihoods in Songea and Morogoro districts', which explored the impact of the 1980s economic reforms in the guise of "liberalisation" in the farming practices of both food and cash crops. He demonstrated the extent to which the new agrarian policy reforms diversified market opportunities for various crops in rural areas.[86] Ponte's article provides a generalised picture of the emergence of the agricultural marketing liberalisation policy in Songea and Morogoro Districts in Tanzania; however, there is no detailed account of the impact of the policy on tobacco industry. This thesis builds on this body of work in order to provide a

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in the development of the nationalist and materialist historiography of Tanzania and East Africa. See I.N. Kimambo, *Three Decades of Production of Historical Knowledge at Dar es Salaam*, (Dar es Salaam: Dar es Salaam University Press, 1993); and Terence Ranger, 'The New Historiography in Dar es Salaam', *African Affairs*, 70, 1, (1971), 50-61.

[84] Giblin, History of the Excluded.

[85] Giblin, History of the Excluded.

[86] Ponte, 'Fast Crops, Fast Cash'.

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broader understanding of the socio-economic and environmental impacts of peasant tobacco production.

Most of the existing scholarly works on agrarian change and tobacco production in Africa (and indeed globally) have focused on the transformation of the rural peasantry and on the land use costs of the tobacco industry. Writing in the 1970s, 1990s and 2000s, Henry Bernstein and Terence J. Byres, Terence Ranger and Steven C. Rubert produced significant research on the evolution of agrarian change and peasant studies in Africa.[87] Ranger's article on peasant research in central and southern Africa, and Bernstein and Byres' article, emphasized the shift from peasant studies to agrarian change and explored the evolution of agrarian studies globally and in Africa in particular. They agree on the changing conceptions of the term 'peasant' and on methodologies, themes and approaches to studying agrarian history from the 1970s to the present.[88] This study draws on this literature and extends it by offering a case study to explore the dynamics of peasant production in Southern Tanzania. Writing on *A Most Promising Weed* in 1998, Rubert adopted a 'moral economic analysis' to examine the tobacco field operations, the living conditions and socio-economic relationship of African labourers in the white flue-cured tobacco settler farms in Southern Rhodesia.[89] The study offers a detailed account of the structures and operations of the European-owned tobacco farms, the everyday worker's experiences of both men and women, and social relations that developed among the people in the farms.[90] Rubert's study is important for labour and agrarian historiography in southern Africa, but it ignores the question of African worker's struggle for improvement of wages in the settler tobacco farms in southern Rhodesia. Rubert also fails to explain the context within which the 'moral economy' approach fits in his study. He takes for granted the validity of a moral economic approach, as if the relationship between the estate owners, the state and workers was smooth and there were no struggles between workers and settlers. Moreover, Rubert dealt only with flue-cured tobacco at the expense of fire-cured crops and focused on estate production rather than the African peasantry. This thesis therefore

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[87] Henry Bernstein and Terence J. Beyres, 'From Peasant Studies to Agrarian Change', *Journal of Agrarian Change*, 1, 1, (2001), 1-56; Terence Ranger, 'Growing from the Roots: Reflections on Peasant Research in Central and Southern Africa', *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 5, 1 (1978); and Steven C. Rubert, *A Most promising Weed. A History of Tobacco Framing and Labour in Colonial Zimbabwe, 1890-1945,* (Athens: Ohio University Center for International Studies, 1998).
[88] Ranger, 'Growing from the Roots'; and Bernstein and Beyres, 'From Peasant Studies to Agrarian Change',
[89] Rubert, A Most Promising Weed.
[90] Rubert, A Most Promising Weed.

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rejects Rubert's moral economy approach, as it undermines the role of workers' and peasants' struggles for the improvement of their working condition and livelihoods. Instead it will use the 'weapons of the weak' approach in the analysis to trace the previously hidden peasant struggles over tobacco production in southern Tanzania. This thesis extends Rubert's work on flue-cured tobacco in Southern Rhodesia to draw a comparison with the role of the colonial state in the establishment and development of fire-cured tobacco in southern Tanzania.

Studies on the land use costs of peasantry tobacco production have connected tobacco farming with current global environmental changes. Chapman's article on tobacco and deforestation in the Global South explores the worldwide concern over the increasing environmental and social consequences of tobacco production in Tanzania, Kenya and Uganda, to mention a few places that concern him. He links tobacco farming with the rising global concern about deforestation, desertification and the greenhouse effect. He points out that the total annual consumption of fuelwood by the tobacco industry in the 69 countries represents 0.7% of all fuelwood consumed for all purposes in the developed world. This is equivalent to 6.4 million square metres per annum.[91] In this context, tobacco-related deforestation poses a severe threat to biodiversity and has serious ecological consequences. Similarly, William M. Loker's article on tobacco and its environmental and social consequences in the Copan Valley in western Honduras also sheds light on how tobacco cultivation techniques, mechanisation and agrochemicals reinforced deforestation and land degradation in the Valley from the 1950s to the mid-1990s.[92] Chapman's and Loker's studies provide a general picture of the global ecological consequences of the tobacco industry; this thesis uses them to analyse and discuss the local environmental histories of the tobacco industry in southern Tanzania. This thesis draws on the history of the global environmental changes as a context, but narrows the analysis down to the national and, most importantly, the grassroots levels.

Research Questions and Analytical Framework

This thesis aims to reconstruct the history of the tobacco industry in what is now known as Ruvuma of Tanzania and, indeed, to trace the factors behind the rise of the commercial

[91] Chapman, 'Tobacco and Deforestation in the Developing World'.
[92] William M. Loker, 'The Rise and Fall of Flue-cured Tobacco in the Copan Valley and its Environmental and Social Consequences', *Human Ecology*, 33, 3, (2005), 299-327.

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tobacco industry and especially the role of the colonial state in the emergence of the tobacco industry. Secondly, it examines the role of Songea Native Tobacco Board (SNTB) in the expansion and development of fire-cured tobacco industry in the Ungoni and Undendeule areas of the region. Thirdly, the study grapples with the relationship between the post-colonial state policy of Ujamaa and its socio-economic impact on the tobacco industry in the region. Fourthly, it examines the link between that liberalisation policy, contract farming and the fall of the tobacco industry in Ruvuma. Finally, the study attempts to analyse the major socio-environmental implications of the tobacco industry in the region and its effect on environmental conservation.

For the sake of achieving the above objectives, this study is guided by five main questions. The first question has to do with the factors behind the emergence of commercial fire-cured tobacco and especially the role of the colonial state. The second question deals with the extent to which SNTB pioneered the spread of tobacco growing in Ruvuma. The third question is concerned with the extent to which Ujamaa affected the tobacco industry and the socio-economic livelihoods of the farmers. The fourth question evaluates the connection between liberalisation, tobacco contract farming and the decline of the tobacco industry in the region. The last question examines the environmental land use costs of tobacco farming and the experience of environmental conservation among the Ngoni and Undendeule people in Ruvuma.

As indicated above, this thesis is aware of the adverse impact of the dominance of ideological hegemonies (grand paradigms including the nationalist and Marxist) in the field of the humanities and social sciences. These paradigms have been responsible for three facets of studies on peasant production in Tanzania and Africa in general. The first is very little emphasis in the studies on African peasantry and agrarian change. The second is classification of African peasants as revolutionary or passive makers of history. The last is the limited emphasis on non-revolutionary forms of peasant struggles in the rural settings. This thesis diverges from the grand paradigms in the analysis of agrarian change and African peasantry; it draws instead on James C. Scott's 'weapons of the weak' and Elinor Ostrom's 'governing the commons' approaches to examine the continuities and ruptures of the socio-economic and environmental impacts of peasant tobacco production.

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Scott's 'weapons of the weak' approach focuses on the non-revolutionary forms of peasant struggles in response to capitalist exploitation and the changing agrarian relations of production in rural settings. This approach was first developed by Bourdieu in 1977 and further advanced by Scott in his famous book *Weapons of the Weak* (1986). This approach stresses the need for considering everyday forms of peasant struggles against the exploitative forms of capitalist relations between the poor peasants, the rich famers and the state in rural communities.[93] Insisting on the central value of the weapons of the weak, Scott argued that this model is important 'where direct coercion is impossible and where the indirect coercion of the capitalist market is insufficient to ensure appropriation by itself.'[94] This approach is significant in this thesis because it provides a framework for analysing the forces of agrarian change and it is a tool for exploring the marginalised forms of peasant struggles against the changing capitalist agrarian relations in colonial and post-colonial Tanzania. Scott's analysis, however, is limited by being grounded in a village model and hence it does not consider the broad structural context of the dynamics of the agrarian relations of production. Likewise, it ignores some other forces of change such as the environment, religion, education and historical relations in rural areas. This thesis recognises that the socio-economic and political context of Sedaka in Malaysia is different from that of Tanzania, but the basic principles advanced by Scott's analysis can apply to a wide range of peasant societies in the world, including the tobacco growers of southern Tanzania. The rationale for applying this approach is that it stresses the fact that the dynamics of agrarian change among African peasants is best understood when agrarian systems are connected to the wider economies of rural livelihoods. This approach is insufficient, however, as it focuses on the economic forces at the expense of socio-environmental forces in the study of agrarian change in Africa.

The study also draws on Ostrom's 'governing of the commons' model, which focuses on the creation of the new cooperative institution for the use and administration of the common pool of resources (CPRs).[95] This analysis was first propounded by Gareth Hardin in 1968 and

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[93] James C. Scott, *Weapons of the Weak: Every day Forms of Peasant Resistances*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1986),

[94] Scott, Weapons of the Weak, 303.

[95] 'Common pool resources' or 'common property resources' (CPRs) refers to public resources such as water, irrigation schemes, forests, air and fisheries that are open and unrestricted to all users. However, Gareth Hardin in 1968 defined such resources as 'tragedy of the commons', because they are vulnerable to misuse and over-exploitation as a result of the different economic motives of the individual users. See Elinor Ostrom, Governing

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advanced by Ostrom in 1990. The significance of Ostrom's analysis for this thesis lies in the fact that it goes beyond the solutions offered by the earlier models of the 'tragedy of the commons' and the notion of 'collective action', which ignored the participation of the common users and proposed strict state and or individual private control of the common pool resources.[96] It does not just allow room for a consideration of the strengths and weakness of the state and private control models, but also makes for consideration of local conditions, and active community participation in the use and management of the CPRs. Ostrom's model, however, is limited in its effectiveness in the African context – as this thesis will show – because it was designed to explore the human experiences of addressing what Gareth Hardin called 'the tragedy of the commons' (the problem of misuse and over-exploitation of the CPRs) in Europe and Asia.[97] However, key elements of Ostrom's model are still helpful as it emphasizes collective commitment and mutual administration in addressing the tragedy of the commons and, of course, the environmental impacts of tobacco farming in Ruvuma. This thesis draws from research produced by the two different approaches, because issues of agrarian change and land use change are complex, diverse and dynamic. Therefore no single universal theory can claim to offer a complete solution to environmental issues. However, this thesis attempts to interrogate the ideological biases of each approach and use the data critically.

Research Design and Methodology

This dissertation was based on archival sources and oral history, contextualised within the secondary literature. The qualitative research design is an approach that seeks an in-depth understanding of social phenomena within their natural settings. It pays attention to specific events and issues so as to gain a deeper understanding of their meaning and significance.[98] This study adopts a qualitative approach to provide greater insight and in-depth analysis of the local peoples' attitudes, ideologies, values and experiences on agrarian change, tobacco production and its land use costs in Ruvuma in Southern Tanzania. A closer look at this

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the Commons: The Evolution of Institutions for Collective Action, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990); and Garrett Hardin, 'The tragedy of the commons', Science, New Series, 162, 3859, (1968), 1243-1248.

[96] Hardin, 'The tragedy of the Commons'; and Ostrom, *Governing the Commons.*

[97] 'The tragedy of the commons' refers to the tendency to misuse and/or over-use the common property resources such as natural forestry. See Hardin, 'The tragedy of the Commons'; and Ostrom, *Governing the Commons.*

[98] See D. Silverman (Ed.), *Qualitative Research* (London: Sage Publication, 2011).

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method, however, reveals its shortfalls as it is considered subjective and time-consuming. This study employed pilot surveys, snowball sampling techniques and focus group discussions to address time constraints as well as to promote the objectivity of the study.[99]

This thesis adopted an interdisciplinary approach to understanding the establishment, dynamics and resultant impacts of peasant tobacco production in southern Tanzania. The study used archival records, oral historical narratives, direct observations, scientific evidence and secondary sources in gathering information on the historiography of the gold leaf trade in Ruvuma and elsewhere. These sources were used to provide a picture of the dynamics and the resultant socio-economic and environmental impacts of peasant tobacco production in Ungoni and Undendeuli areas of southern Tanzania between the early 1930s and the mid-2010s. The majority of secondary historical works – many discussed above – largely formed the starting point and focus of this study on agrarian change and analysis of the evolution of the tobacco industry in southern Tanzania and included published and unpublished books, dissertations, articles and papers.

The majority of the archival sources were gathered in two main phases. The first phase, which lasted from October 2015 to January 2016, covered archives such as the UDSM Library, and National Archives of Tanzania, in Dar es Salaam, and the Tanzania Tobacco Board Archives in Morogoro. The second phase took place between May and July 2016 and covered archives from the CCM Library and Archives in Dodoma, Songea District Archives in Ruvuma, Tobacco Research Institute of Tanzania in Tabora and revisiting the NAT in Dar es Salaam. Archival sources constituted the basis of this study. Most of the archival materials, which were gathered from the National Archives of Tanzania (NAT), included correspondence between government officials and tobacco farmers, minutes of the Ngoni-Matengo Cooperative Marketing Union Ltd (NGOMAT) and the Songea Native Tobacco Board (SNTB). These enabled me to understand the origin and development of the tobacco industry in colonial Tanzania. The minutes of the Songea Native Tobacco Board, an institute working under the Colonial Department of Agriculture in Southern Province, offered a significant body of information on the interaction between the government and the tobacco farmers in the area.

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[99] See M. Patton, *Qualitative Evaluation and Research Methods*, (Beverly: CA: SAGE, 1990); and D. Laxton, 'The Research Process' in D. Coldwell and F. J. Herbs (eds), *Business Research*, (Cape Town: JUTA Academic), 25-41.

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It also provided a wide range of information on the government initiatives to promote the tobacco industry by promulgating tobacco by-laws, and employing district agricultural officers and tobacco instructors. It also offered useful materials on the role of the state in the supervision of production, marketing and export of tobacco products, afforestation and environmental conservation programmes in the province. The minutes and reports from NGOMAT provided significant information on the role of cooperative unions and primary cooperative societies in the expansion of the tobacco industry from the Ungoni areas of Songea district to the Undendeuli areas of the present Namtumbo district. NGOMAT reports also provided detailed data on the establishment of the NGOMAT tobacco factory, which later came to be known as Songea Tobacco Processing Factory (SONTOP Ltd). From the UDSM Library I consulted newspapers, the Fosbrooke collection of documents and the Koponen collections from the Department of History. Newspapers such as the *Tanganyika Standard*, the *Daily Nation*, and *Ukulima was Kisasa* provided a lot of information on the colonial and post-colonial development of the tobacco industry in Ruvuma. The *Tanganyika Standard* provided information about the British 'Plant More Crops' campaign, the spread of the shortage of labour, transport constraints in Songea district, locust plagues and the establishment of 17 tobacco farms in Songea district during the 1950s. The author also used newspapers as one of the alternative sources of information on filling the gap left by archival sources especially on the post-colonial Tanzania and Ruvuma in particular. The newspaper *Ukulima wa Kisasa*, for example offered significant information on the role of Ujamaa to the spread of fire-cured tobacco in Ruvuma. *Uhuru* and the *Citizen* newspapers also provided useful information on the economic impacts of peasant tobacco production in Tanzania and Ruvuma, in particular, in more recent times. The Fosbrooke collection in the East Africana section of the UDSM offered interesting information on afforestation, the environmental implications of tobacco farming and environmental conservation programmes. I also managed to get some useful archival documents from the United Kingdom's National Archives.[100] These materials were equally significant in shaping this thesis, particularly regarding the ambiguous role of the government in the control of the development of the local African

[100] I thank my supervisor, Prof. Sandra Swart (from Stellenbosch University) and my friend Dr Maxmillian J. Chuhila (from Warwick University) for assisting in securing the archival material.

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cooperative societies and tobacco industry, as well as the establishment of European-grown Turkish tobacco in Iringa, and the 1950s afforestation programme in colonial Tanganyika.

However, one of the big challenge of these, archives especially from the National Archives and the CCM Archives in Dodoma, was the incompleteness of some files consulted. Some files were not in sequence and it was therefore hard to get a clear picture of a particular situation. The second challenge was the scarcity of data on the post-colonial history of tobacco production in Tanzania. This challenge forced me to visit Chama Cha Mapinduzi National Library and Archives, where I was in a position to fill the gaps regarding some of the missing information, especially on the role of *Ujamaa* in the transformation of the tobacco industry. The third challenge was the accessibility of the materials on tobacco and contract farming. This is one of the recent types of farming practice, so it was a bit difficult to get current materials in the archives. The author was lucky to get some material on tobacco and contract farming from Songea District and Tanzania Tobacco Board Ruvuma offices. From these two institutes the author collected the sample of materials on tobacco contract farming, the Tobacco Regulation Act 2007, which controls the industry in Tanzania, the production trends in Ruvuma, and many materials on the operations and challenges of the Songea Namtumbo Agricultural Marketing Co-operative Union and the closing of Songea Tobacco Processing Factory in 2006. The author can honestly say that some of the gaps in the materials on contract farming and the demise of the tobacco industry in Ruvuma were closed through individual oral interviews and focus group discussions with the peasants, tobacco leaf dealers, and co-operative and government officials.

Thirdly, accessing archival materials in private companies was an even more challenging experience, even with my research permit from the University of Dar es Salaam and Stellenbosch. When I visited Tanzania Tobacco Leaf Company in Morogoro in October 2015, they just told me to wait for a reply call from them. They did not call back up to the time I completed my field work in mid-August 2016. However, I was able to access the materials at the regional level in Ruvuma with the assistance of the Regional Administrative Officer, who issued a permit allowing me to talk to all tobacco stakeholders in the region. I received a warm welcome from TLTC workers in Ruvuma and they gave me every support and the materials I wanted from them. They offered me material on tobacco production and marketing procedures, reports on production trends, training on the improvement of the curing burns,

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and afforestation and environmental conservation programmes in the region. Another similar challenging experience arose when I visited Peramiho Missionary Archives in late November 2015. I did not succeed in getting the materials as they informed me that the person in charge of the archives had gone to college and they had yet to appoint someone to act in that capacity. When I called them in June 2016, their response was no different. So I used alternative means to secure the data as much of the material I wanted to get from them, on the origin and the spread of tobacco farming in the area, was acquired through oral narratives and from the staff at the National Archives of Tanzania.

Oral interviews and direct observations constituted the second core basis of this study. Oral sources were gathered in Ruvuma in southern Tanzania during the field work in three phases as well. The first phase lasted from mid-November to early December and the second phase lasted from February to April 2016, and the third phase was carried out between mid-July and mid-August 2016. During the first phase apart from circulating my research permit to various tobacco stakeholders in Ruvuma, I conducted a short pilot study 'preliminary survey' to identify my study area and some available potential informants. During the second phase I used the snowball sampling strategy to get informants; I would go to the village office or private tobacco company office to get at least one experienced informant and after an interview or a short conversation, he or she directed me to other useful informants about the tobacco industry in the area. I interviewed several individual current and former tobacco growers, private tobacco leaf traders, and co-operative union and government officials in Songea and Namtumbo districts in Ruvuma. Most of these informants were experienced people involved in tobacco farming, marketing, processing and exporting. They provided helpful information on both the colonial and post-colonial history of tobacco production in the region. They expressed their ideas, thoughts, feelings and experiences on the origin, farming practices, challenges, and achievements of the tobacco industry and primary cooperative societies in southern Tanzania.

During the third phase I visited and conducted individual interviews and focus group discussions at eight administrative wards in Ruvuma, four wards for each tobacco-growing district: Songea Rural and Namtumbo. I visited and conducted oral interviews at Ngahokola, Matimila and Magagula wards in Songea Rural District, and Namtumbo, Kitanda, Mgombasi, and Luchili wards in Namtumbo district. It is important to mention that this study also

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incorporates some few interviews which I collected during my Masters' field research between 2011 and 2012 particularly on the RDA, and *Ujamaa* in Songea district.

Together with individual interviews, focus group discussions were organised and conducted at Ngahokola, Nakahegwa, Namtumbo, Mgombasi and Namanguli villages. The rationale for these group discussions is that in most of these areas the peasants had already organised themselves and they wished to hear from the researcher in groups than as individuals. This decision was reached by the peasants and primary co-operative officials partly because of the current decline of the tobacco industry in the region and the people wanted the researcher to explain himself before them, as they were suspicious that he could be the government spy. After the general election in Tanzania in October 2015, the research was conducted during the transition period from the fourth phase (under President Jakaya Mrisho Kikwete) to the fifth phase (under the newly elected President Dr John Joseph Magufuli). During this period a number of local government officials were fired for irresponsibility and on corruption allegations. The farmers, village leaders and primary cooperative officials wanted to know whether I was sent by the government to spy on the question of tobacco crisis or not. Others wanted to know whether I was doing research to destroy or promote the tobacco industry which they loved. I had to take some time to explain the objectives and significance of my research (and repeatedly reassure them that I was not sent by the government). Nevertheless, I informed them that perhaps the research findings will help the government policy makers to draw ideas from the thesis in improving the industry. At last they were reassured and became encouraged: their anxiety and temper went away and we proceeded with the discussion. Focus group discussions were indeed helpful; they enabled the researcher to clearly understand the feelings, ideas, experiences, the origin, expansion, challenges and burning issues in the tobacco industry in the region from the participants' point of view. The majority of them expressed their dissatisfaction with the liberal tobacco market system, contract farming and the decline of the tobacco industry in the region. As Chapter Six shows, they recalled songs, sayings and statements they used during successful times and the tobacco boom, and they were of the opinion that the government should work hard to rescue the dying tobacco industry and to abolish contract farming for the wellbeing of the tobacco farmers and development of the region and nation at large.

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However, it must be mentioned that the study was conducted during the rainy season particularly during the second phase of my oral data collection which lasted from January to April 2016 as pointed out earlier, so alongside transport constraints, accessibility of the informants was challenging as they were busy with farming activities – planting, weeding, topping, curing and grading. Sometimes, I was supposed to walk around the tobacco fields to get them and see what was happening in the fields, to see the construction of local and modern tobacco curing burns and the farmer's response to the afforestation and environmental conservation programmes. With rainy and cloudy conditions, and the informants' scepticism in some cases, I opted for group discussion as a way of reaching many informants at a time.

Finally, this thesis noted that the analysis and description of human-environmental relations are indeed complex and difficult intellectual tasks.[101] In an attempt to analyse the changes in land cover in Ruvuma, I used computer-assisted GIS technology to complement other sources in identifying, interpreting and analysing tobacco-related environmental problems such as deforestation and land cover changes in the Ungoni and Undendeuli areas of southern Tanzania. Though it was expensive and time-limited to go beyond the 1970s, the GIS analysis of satellite images helped to provide a clear picture of the land cover changes between 1980 and the mid-2010s. The data from GIS and Landsat imagery were requested by the author and prepared with the assistance of a GIS laboratory expert from the Institute of Resource Assessment of the University of Dar es Salaam, Tanzania.

Structure and Layout

This thesis is thematically and chronologically organised in seven chapters. It is divided into three inter-connected parts. The first part provides the context in which the colonial state interventions in the establishment and control of commercial tobacco production (gold leaf trade) affected the social and economic livelihoods of the Wangoni and Wandendeuli people of Ruvuma in southern Tanzania between the early 1930s and the mid-1950s. The second part discusses the post-war influences of the African cooperative movement and its impact on the control of the gold leaf trade in Ruvuma from the mid-1950s to the early 1970s. In the last part it assesses the socio-economic and environmental impacts of the post-colonial peasant

[101] See J. Bennett, *Human Ecology as Human Behaviour*, (New Jersey, New Brunswick, 1993); Loker, 'The Rise and Fall of Flue-cured Tobacco in the Copan Valley'; and Merchant, *Ecological Revolutions.*

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tobacco production from the early 1970s and to the mid-2010s. Chapter One, as has been seen, provides the general statement, describes the methodological orientation and situates the study within broader discussions in the literature on Tanzania's agrarian history and the global tobacco industry within and outside the discipline. It is intended to offer a general introduction to subsequent chapters of this thesis.

The second chapter explores the study area in detail. It looks at the general development of the Ungoni and Undendeuli areas of Ruvuma in the 20th and the first two decades of the 21st century to lay a foundation for the broader discussion on the history of the tobacco industry in the region. It provides an overview of the settlement, and the socio-economic and geographical profile of the study area. This chapter covers the geography, population and political development of in Ruvuma. These historical geographical developments are important throwback for the following discussion in the subsequent chapters. This chapter therefore sets the benchmarks for understanding the factors and evolution of tobacco industry in Ruvuma. For instance, the geographical and historical overview discussed in Chapter Two forms the basis for the discussion on the local people's production activities, including the establishment, development and expansion of peasant tobacco production in Ungoni and Undendeuli areas, which is the central focus of this study.

Chapter Three traces the role of state intervention in the establishment and development of commercial fire-cured tobacco production in Ruvuma. It argues that the rise of fire-cured tobacco production in the Ungoni and Undendeuli areas in the early 1930s was largely influenced by the British 'Plant More Crops' campaign in an attempt to promote export crops for the rehabilitation of the British economy after the Great Depression. It further attests that apart from the 'Plant More Crops' campaign, commercial tobacco production in Ruvuma emerged because of a number of interrelated factors, including the geographical rationale and the local people's desire to establish a viable cash-crop economy to offset labour migration in the region. This chapter also demonstrates that the rise of commercial tobacco production in the Ungoni country in the 1930s shifted the traditional production chain from seasonal subsistence to an annual cash-crop economy, which locked the tobacco-growing peasants into working in the field almost throughout the year. Consequently, the new tobacco culture had a number of socio-economic and environmental impacts, including the emergence of the new labour patterns, the rise of the second African cooperative union (the Ngoni Matengo

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Marketing Cooperative Union Limited (NGOMAT) and the reforestation programme to control the tobacco-related deforestation in the region.

Chapters Four and Five both overlap and contrast with each other. They both explore the role of colonial state interventions in the creation of the tobacco board for the control of gold leaf trade in Ruvuma and the African response to and protests against the Board and the subsequent restoration of the NGOMAT's autonomy between the 1940s and the 1960s. Chapter Four examines the ambiguous role of the state and its impact in the control of peasant tobacco production in Ruvuma between 1940 and 1954. This chapter uses the Songea Native Tobacco Board (SONTOB) as a lens to explore the coercive power of the state in trying to wrest back the control of tobacco production from the burgeoning embryonic independent African peasants. It demonstrates that despite the rhetoric of protecting peasants from the exploitation of the middlemen traders, the tobacco board was a monopolistic instrument of the state in controlling the gold leaf trade in the region. It further insists that the board was in practice set curb not just the control of gold leaf trade, but also the growing influence of independent African cooperatives. This chapter therefore discusses the origin, organisational structure, strategies and resultant impacts in exploiting African peasant tobacco production in Ruvuma. Consequently, it escalated the rising conflicts and misunderstandings between the board and African peasants; it was responsible for the dismissal of an independent-minded European Union Manager Mr A.E. Twells and for the collapse of the board in the early 1950s. The detailed account of the context in which the board was disbanded and gave the way to the restoration of NGOMAT autonomy in 1954 is discussed in Chapter Five.

Chapter Five traces the dynamic role and impacts of the post-war African peasant cooperative movement in the control of the gold leaf trade in Ruvuma between the mid-1950s and the early 1970s. It argues that the growing influence of African cooperatives after WWII had substantial impacts on the control of peasant tobacco production and marketing in the Ungoni and Undendeuli areas of southern Tanzania. This chapter associates the rise of African cooperatives in Tanganyika and Ruvuma after WWII with the recommendations by first by the Fabian Colonial Bureau and later by the Campbell report on cooperatives in British East Africa. It further demonstrates that the growing African peasant protests against the tobacco board and the influence of the African cooperatives in Tanganyika after the war largely contributed to the restoration of the NGOMAT's autonomy in the control of the tobacco trade

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in Ruvuma in the mid-1950s. The restoration of the NGOMAT's autonomy led to the expansion of primary cooperative societies and tobacco farming from Ungoni to Undendeuli and some parts of the lower Umatengo areas between the 1950s and the early 1960s. The last section this chapter demonstrates that despite the limited success of the NGOMAT in controlling tobacco trade, it contributed to the decline of the tobacco industry in Ruvuma during the 1960s. The declining trend of the gold leaf trade in Ruvuma was linked to the incompetence, corruption and inefficiency of some African cooperative officials, who took over from white officers between the late colonial and the early post-colonial era.

Chapter Six is the last substantive part of this thesis. It diverges from the three chapters by assessing the socio-economic and environmental impacts of the peasant tobacco production in the post-colonial Ruvuma between the early 1970s and the mid-2010s. This chapter argues that a brief success of gold leaf trade in the aftermath of villagisation and the free market economy had substantial socio-economic and environmental impacts in the Ungoni and Undendeuli areas of Ruvuma. It demonstrates that even though the industry emerged to be a primary source of cash income and employment of the rural peasants in the Ungoni and Undendeuli areas, shortly after establishment of the tobacco free market economy in the 1990s, many peasant tobacco producers declined into deep poverty as a result of cumulative farm input debts to the multinational tobacco companies, unfair grading, and marketing system, corruption and inefficiency of some cooperative officials, the closing down of the Ruvuma tobacco plant in 2006 and the declining trend of tobacco production between the late 2000s and the mid-2010s. It also points out that the increase of tobacco production and heavy dependence of fuelwood for curing the crop between the late 1980s and the mid-2000s triggered some remarkable environmental problems, including deforestation of the miombo woodlands and land cover changes in the Ungoni and Undendeuli areas of southern Tanzania. In its last section this chapter explores the coping strategies adopted by the state, peasants and tobacco leaf dealers and the challenges they face in controlling tobacco-related environmental problems in Ruvuma.

In conclusion, Chapter Seven offers a closing to the thesis. It reflects on the key findings, reviews the major historical questions addressed, and reflects on the broader historiographical contribution made by this thesis. Finally, it offers further research recommendations for future projects based on the research developed in this study.

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CHAPTER TWO

Ruvuma: the Land and the People of Ungoni Country up to the 1930s.

Introduction

Environmental history is the study of human impact on the environment and vice versa, over time. Knowing the geographical basis for such interactions provides important clues for understanding the historical processes in a particular area.[1] Recent studies show that geography and history are both important in studying change and continuities of socio-economic and political activities for human survival and improvement of human livelihoods.[2] This chapter surveys the socio-geographical and historical development of the Ruvuma region. It uses historical geographical analysis to deepen understanding of the study area (the Ungoni and Undendeuli country) in order help develop a sense to the foregoing discussion in the subsequent chapters. This chapter describes some historical geographical milieus before the emergence of the African commercial peasant tobacco production in the Ungoni and Undendeuli country in the early 1930s. The chapter has three important themes. The first theme describes the location, climate, the people and the pre-colonial economy of the region. The second theme explores the context in which the Ngoni invasion occurred during the mid-19th century, disrupting the indigenous subsistence economy in the region. The third theme discusses the German occupation, the Majimaji war and the creation of a labour economy in Ungoni country during the late 19th and the first quarter of the 20th century. This chapter is important because it explores some geographical and historical factors that lay down the preconditions for the emergence of the African commercial peasant tobacco production in 1930s, the industry which is at the centre of this thesis.

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[1] Alan R.H. Baker, *Geography and History Bridging the Divide*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 1-3; A.L. Mabogonje, 'The land and peoples of West Africa', J.F.A. Ajayi and Michael Crowder, *History of West Africa, 1*, (London: Longman,1971), 1-32; A.L. Mabogunje and Paul Richards, 'The Land and peoples-models of spatial and ecological processes in West African history', J.F.A. Ajayi and Michal Crowder, *History of West Africa, 3rd Edition*, (New York: Longman, 1985), 5-47; and Maxmillian J. Chuhila, 'Coming Down the Mountain A History of Land use Change in Kilimanjaro, ca.1920-2000s', PhD Thesis, University of Warwick, (2016), 39-46.

[2] Baker, *Geography and History*; and Chuhila, 'Coming Down the Mountain'.

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The Location of Ruvuma Region

The Ruvuma region lies between the borders of the Republics of Mozambique and Malawi in the southern part of Tanzania. One of 30 administrative regions found in the country, the region is remote from the locus of power – being about 950 kilometres away from the Tanzania's administrative and commercial capital of Dar es Salaam along the East African coast. It extends between latitude 9˚35′ to 11˚45′ south of the Equator and longitude 34˚35′ to 38˚10′ Meridian East.[3] The region borders the Republic of Mozambique in the South, Lake Nyasa and the Republic of Malawi in the West, Njombe and Morogoro Regions in the North and Mtwara Region to the East.[4] The region used to be part of the former Southern Province with its headquarters at Lindi. Soon after the independence of Tanzania in 1961, the government created new administrative regions and Regional Commissioners in terms of State Circular No. 14 of 1962; however, Ruvuma remained part of the southern region. In 1963 the number of regions was increased to speed up the pace of development, and Ruvuma was made a full separate region with headquarters at Songea Urban.[5] The region covers an area of 66,477 km^2 of which 50,540 km^2 are arable land, 6,958 km^2 are forest reserves and 2,979 km^2 consist of water surface.[6] While the population of Tanzania increased from 12.3 million in 1967 to 44.9 million in 2012, the population of Ruvuma increased considerably from 267,000 in 1957 to 1,376,891 in 2012:[7] 395,408 in 1967; 564,113 in 1978; 783,327 in 1988; and 1,113, 715 in 2002.[8] While the national average growth rate was 2.7% in 2012, the region's average growth rate decreased to 2.1% between 2002 and 2012, from 3.4% between 1978 and 1988.[9] Today the region is divided into six administrative districts including: Tunduru, Mbinga, Songea

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[3] See University of Dar es Salaam (UDSM), Bureau of Resource Assessment and Land Use Planning, 'Economic Report of Ruvuma Region', Research Report 36, (1971), 1-2; The United Republic of Tanzania (URT), 'Ruvuma Region Socio-economic Profile', Dar es Salaam Planning Commission, 1997; P. B. Barie, 'Socio-economic Factors Affecting the Production of Fire-cured Tobacco in Ruvuma Region', MS Thesis, UDSM, 1979, 1-8; and Figure 4: The Map of Ruvuma Region: Administrative and Tobacco Farming Areas.
[4] See (URT), 'Ruvuma Region Agricultural Sample Census Report 2007/2008', VJ, September, 2012.
[5] See (UDSM), 'Economic Report of Ruvuma Region', Research Report 36, (1971), 1-2.
[6] See (URT), 'Ruvuma Region Socio-economic Profile', 1997; and (URT), 'Ruvuma Region Agriculture Census Report 2007/2008', 2012.
[7] See (URT), Tanzania in Figures 2012, (2013).
[8] (GVT), African Census Report 1957, Dar es Salaam, (1963); (UDSM-BRA), 'Economic Report of Ruvuma Region', (1971); (URT), 'Ruvuma Region Socio-economic Profile', 1997; and Tanzania in Figures 2012, (2013).
[9] (URT), 'Ruvuma Region Socio-economic Profile', 1997; and (URT), Tanzania in Figures 2012.

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Rural, Namtumbo, Nyasa and Songea urban.[10] See Figure 3 for the map of Ruvuma region: administration and tobacco growing areas.

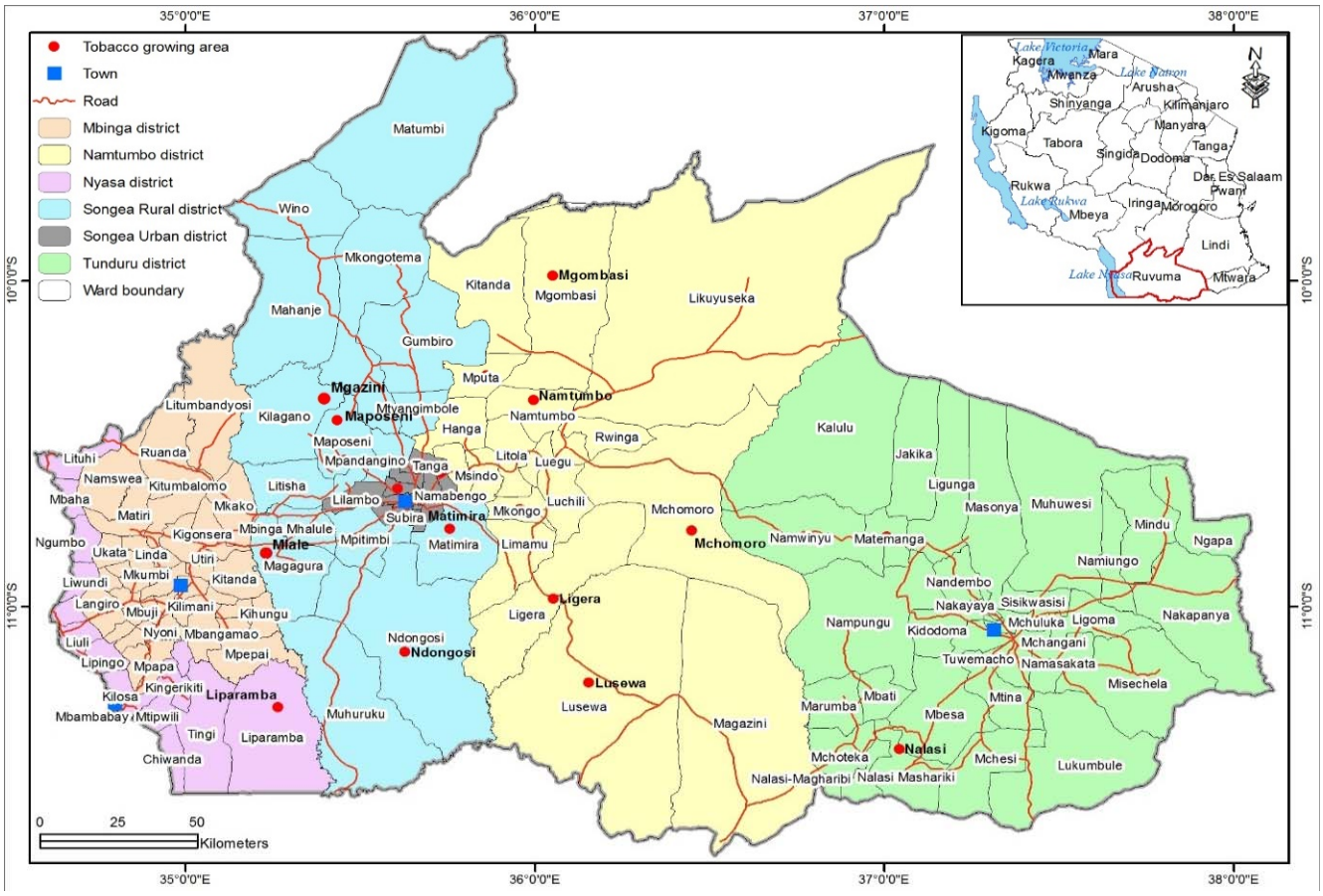

Figure 3: Ruvuma Region: Administrative and Tobacco Farming Area[11]

Topographically, there are tall, round-topped peaks in Tunduru district in the East, while the Songea Rural and Songea Urban districts occupy a plateau about 900 metres above sea level on average. However, there are highlands in Ubena and Ukinga, the area along the Lukumburu mountains which rise to about 2,000 metres above sea level. The lowlands in Songea district in the Eastern parts of the region rise to about 300 metres above sea level.[12] There are also boulders which look like granite and hills similar to those in Tunduru and Masasi districts. In

[10] (URT), 'Ruvuma Region Socio-economic Profile', 1997; and (URT), 'Ruvuma Region Agriculture Census Report 2007/2008'.
[11] (Geographical Information Systems – GIS), UDSM, 2015.
[12] See (UDSM), 'Economic Report of Ruvuma Region', 1971; and Chama cha Mapinduzi National Archives, (CCMNA), (CCM), *Historia ya Mapambano ya Kujikomboa Mkoa wa Ruvuma,* (Peramiho: Peramiho Printing Press, 1980), 9-30; and Barie, 'Socio-economic Factors Affecting the Production of Fire-cured Tobacco', 1-3.

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the western part of the region the Matengo highlands rise to about 2,000 metres above sea level in Mbinga district, and then there is a big drop towards Lake Nyasa. There is a short strip of land along the lake shore, which forms part of the Great East African Rift valley in Nyasa district.[13] With exception of Matogoro Mountains, the large part of the eastern region is covered by the lowland plateaus with significant river valleys including several tributaries which pour water into the Ruvuma River, the Ruhuhu River, which pours its water into Lake Nyasa, and the Luegu River which pours its water into the Rufiji basin.[14]

The region has a moderate to mild temperature averaging 23˚C – depending on the altitude and season. The months of June, July and August are chilly, with temperature drops up to 13˚C especially in the area around Matengo Highlands in Mbinga District, whereas October and November are the hottest months, with the temperature rising to an average of 30˚C particularly in lowland areas. The study found that the Ruvuma region has been experiencing adequate rainfall annually, except for exceptionally catastrophic years. This is possibly because Ruvuma has two main seasons. The first one extends from June to October and is referred to as the "dry season" or *Vuli* in Kiswahili and *Chilangasi* in Ngoni vernacular language. The second one extends from November to May, and is called the "wet season" or *Masika* in Kiswahili and *Chihuku* in Ngoni vernacular language. The rainfall average in the region is between 800 mm and 1,800 mm.[15] However, the amount of rainfall pattern varies from one district to another. The reports of the Ruvuma Agriculture Census of 2012 indicate that Mbinga district has the highest annual rainfall of about 1,225 millimetres, whereas Tunduru district has the lowest rainfall of less than 900 millimetres per year. This study noted that climatic and topographical variations in the region have influenced the nature and distribution of the agrarian economy from the colonial to the era of independence. Where the highland areas of Lukumburu in Songea and Matengo in Mbinga district produce coffee, the lowland plateau areas of Songea and Namtumbo districts are the main producers of tobacco and Tunduru district is the main producer of cashew nuts.

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[13] See (UDSM), 'Economic Report of Ruvuma Region', 1971.
[14] CCMNA, (CCM), Historia ya Mapambano ya Kujikomboa Mkoa wa Ruvuma.
[15] (URT), 'Ruvuma Region Agricultural Census Report' (2012); and Barie, 'Socio-economic Factors Affecting the Production of Fire-cured Tobacco', 1-3.

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This is one of the key reasons for the concentration of this study on Songea and Namtumbo districts rather than all the districts which form the region. This is because these two districts have remained the largest producers of tobacco in the history of the region. However, it should be pointed out that this does not mean that the remaining districts (Tunduru, Mbinga, and Nyasa) are not producing tobacco at all. They are still producing, but in very low quantities compared to the tobacco grown in Namtumbo and Songea districts. For example, the annual government report on crop production in Ruvuma in 2008 revealed that the area under tobacco cultivation decreased from 7,169 hectors in the 2002/2003 season to about 4,199 hectors in 2007/2008, of which Namtumbo district recorded the largest planted area of about 88%. It was followed by Songea Rural district, which planted about 6%, while the remaining 6% of tobacco planted area in the region was for four other districts.[16] See Table 1 for indication of tobacco planting in Ruvuma.

Table 1 : Tobacco Planting in Ruvuma Region between 2002 and 2008.[17]

District	**Area/ha for 2002**	**Percent (%)**	**Area/ha for 2008**	**Percent (%)**
Namtumbo	5,599	78.1	3,695	88
Songea Rural	630	9	252	6
Songea Urban	108	1.5	42	1
Tunduru	660	9.2	126	3
Mbinga	172	2.3	84	2
Total	**7,169**	**100**	**4,199**	**100**

Some decades ago a great part of the Ruvuma region, including Songea and Namtumbo districts, was largely covered by miombo woodland vegetation, except the areas around Matogoro Mountains, which were covered with planted pines and *Eucalyptus* trees. The miombo woodland vegetation found in the area consisted *Branchstegia*, *Julbernadia* and *Isoberlinia*.[18] However, available government records in the region reveal that such miombo woodland vegetation is under threat of extinction as a result of human activities such as

[16] (URT), 'Ruvuma Region Agriculture Census Report', 2012.
[17] (URT), 'Ruvuma Region Agriculture Census Report', 2012.
[18] CCMNA, PAM, 'Agro-economic Zones of Southern Tanzania', Research Report, 49, UDSM; (URT), 'Ruvuma Region Socio-Economic Profile', 1997; and A. Miho, 'Compering Production Efficiency of Annual Crops among the Small holder farmers in Tabora and Ruvuma Regions of Tanzania A Frontier Production Approach', MA Thesis, University of Dar es Salaam (2014).

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lumbering, firewood, tobacco farming and curing, charcoal and brick making.[19] As this thesis demonstrates in Chapter Six, the area covered by the miombo woodland in Ruvuma is currently in decline and there is a substantial increase of the areas covered by bushlands, thickets and grasslands in the lowland plateaus and the lower slopes.[20]

The Economic Sector of the Region

Throughout the post-colonial period from 1961 the Ruvuma region has been a significant agrarian site for both commercial 'cash crops' and subsistence 'food crops' in Tanzania. This is because more than 87% of the region's population live and engage in agricultural production in rural areas. The remaining 13% percent live in urban areas and engage in non-agricultural economic activities. The main economic activities in the region include crop cultivation, livestock keeping, lumbering, mining, fishing, trade and processing of crops.[21] However, agriculture has remained the leading productive economic sector for its important contribution to the region's gross domestic product (GDP) and per capita income. The data show that the regional annual GDP increased from Tshs 1,155 with per capita income of Tshs 1, 924 in 1980 to Tshs 18, 063 with per capita income of Tshs 21, 856 in 1990 to Tshs 1, 006,828 with per capita income of Tshs 772,504 in 2008. By 2007/2008 the region held the 11th position in Tanzania for its 4.6% contribution to the national GDP.[22] Agriculture has contributed a large share of the regional GDP in Ruvuma. By 1997, for example, it contributed about 75% of the

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[19] CCMNA, PAM, 'Agro-economic Zones of Southern Tanzania'; and (URT), 'Ruvuma Region Socio-Economic Profile', (1997).

[20] For more information on the depletion of miombo woodlands in Tanzania and Africa see A. Jasmyn et al., 'Socio-ecological aspects of Sustaining Ramsar Wetlands in three biodiverse developing countries', *Journal of CSRO: Marine and Freshwater Research*, 67, (2016), 850-868; Idris S. Kikula, *Policy Implications on Environment The case of Villagisation in Tanzania*, (Dar es Salaam: Dar es Salaam University Press, 1997); Mwita M. Mangora, 'Ecological impact of tobacco farming in Miombo woodlands of Urambo District, Tanzania', *African Journal of Ecology*, 43, 4, (2005), 385-391; J.M. Abdallah and G.G. Monera, 'Overview of Miombo Woodlands in Tanzania', *Working papers of the Finnish Forest Research Institute,* 50, (2007), 9-23; Salome B. Misana, 'Deforestation in Tanzania: A Development Crisis? The Experience of Kahama District', *Organisation for Social Science Research in Eastern and Southern Africa*, 13, (1996); and Salome Misana, et al., Miombo Woodlands in the Wider Context: Micro-Economic and Inter-Sectoral Influence, B. Campbell, (eds), *The Miombo in Transition Woodlands and welfare in Africa*, (Bogor: Centre for International Forest Research, 1996).

[21] Group Interviews in Nakahegwa, Namanguli, Namtumbo and Mgombasi, 9 -13 August 2016; and also see (URT), 'Ruvuma Region Socio-economic Profile', (1997); (UDSM), 'Economic Report of Ruvuma Region', No. 36, (November, 1971); (URT) 'Price Policy Recommendations for the Agricultural Price Review Annex 11 Tobacco', Dar es Salaam, (September, 1980); L.M. Gama, *Agizo la Mlale Ruvuma Baada ya Miaka Kumi, 1977-1987*, (Ruvuma: Peramiho Printing Press, 1987), 10; and P. M. Redmond, 'The NMCMU and Tobacco Production in Songea', *Tanzania Notes and Records, 79 & 80, (1976),* 65-98.

[22] (URT), 'Ruvuma Region Socio-economic Profile', (1997); and (URT), 'Ruvuma Region Agriculture Sample Census for 2007/2008', (2012).

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regional GDP, while the remaining 25% percent was contributed by trade, fishing, mining, industries and other sectors.[23] Agriculture in Ruvuma is largely undertaken by individual small-scale farmers. The major crops in the region include tobacco, coffee and cashew nuts, which are mainly grown for commercial purposes, while maize, cassava, sweet potatoes, paddy, sorghum and legumes are grown mainly for subsistence as well as for sale. Other minor crops includes soya beans, groundnuts, Simsim and finger millet.[24] Nevertheless, the significance of tobacco and maize production in Ruvuma is well recognised in Tanzania. Available evidence shows that the establishment of Mlale Resolution in the 1970s largely improved agricultural productivity for both food and cash crops.[25] H.H. Ndomba reported that the Mlale Resolution promoted food security in the region and its regional reputation as one of the national food granaries in Tanzania: "from the late 1970s onwards, the region's status in the nation rose particularly in terms of food production. It became a prominent member of the renowned Big Four group of the regions that had become the nation's food granaries, the others being Iringa, Mbeya and Rukwa.[26] In line with that, written accounts on the tobacco industry in Tanzania reveal that flue-cured-tobacco accounts for 70-80% of the total production in the country (mainly grown in Western Tanzania and Southern Highlands), while fire-cured tobacco accounts for 20-30%, of which 98% comes from Ruvuma.[27]

Today, people visiting the region and especially in the heart of Songea Municipality might be amazed to see a number of huge vehicles and trucks parked in a queue outside of the National Milling Go-down at Ruhuwiko, waiting to load the maize cargo, which is then transported to various parts of Tanzania and even exported outside the country. Maize production's reputation in Ruvuma is well supported by the recent government reports of 2007 and 2012 on cereal crop production, which show that the region recorded about 227,514 tonnes of annual cereal crops

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[23] (URT), 'Ruvuma Region Socio-economic Profile', (1997).
[24] Group Interviews with Nakahegwa, Mgombasi and Namanguli, 9 -13 August 2016; and (URT), 'Ruvuma Region Agriculture Sample Census for 2007/2008'.
[25] See Gama, *Agizo la Mlale Ruvuma Baada ya Miaka Kumi, 1977-1987*, 10; (URT), 'Ruvuma Region Socio-economic Profile', 1997; and Herbert H. Ndomba, 'The Ruvuma Development Association and Ujamaa in Songea District, 1960s-1990s', MA Thesis, UDSM, (2014), 83.
[26] Stefano Ponte, 'Fast Crops, Fast Cash: Market Liberalisation and Rural Livelihoods in Songea and Morogoro Districts, Tanzania', *Canadian Journal of African Studies*, 32, 2, (1998), 316-348; and Ndomba, 'The Ruvuma Development Association and Ujamaa in Songea District, 1960s-1990s', 83-84.
[27] See (TTB), 'Tobacco Authority of Tanzania Report for 1977', Morogoro; International Labour Organisation (ILO) 'International Programme on the Elimination of Child Labour (IPEC), Tanzania, Child Labour in Commercial Agriculture-Tobacco: A Rapid Assessment, Geneva, (2001); and Barie, 'Socio-economic Factors Affecting the Production of Fire-cured Tobacco', 14.

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in the 2002/2003 season; maize production was dominant with 179,312 tonnes equivalent to 79%, followed by paddy 17%, finger millet 2.66%, wheat 0.73%, sorghum 0.42% and barley 0.01%.[28] The 2012 agricultural report also indicated that the region recorded about 300,740 tonnes of cereal crops, of which maize was dominant as usual with 236,602 tonnes (78.9%), followed by paddy 55,675 (18.5%), finger millet 5,555 tonnes (1.8%), wheat 1,673 tonnes (0.6%) and sorghum 1,203 (0.4%).[29] These records indicate the dominance of maize in the production of food crops in the region and in Tanzania in general.

Today, people walking along Industrial Street in Songea Urban will find remnants of the old NGOMAT and the ruins of the Songea Tobacco Processing Factory. These buildings and the old abandoned tobacco plant are tangible reminders of the once-significant role of the tobacco industry in the regional economy during the tobacco boom. Visitors heading to Mahenge Street will find the colonial war memories preserved in the National Majimaji War Museum in Songea municipality, which attract thousands of tourists, historians and academics annually. Travelling between Mbinga, Songea, Namtumbo and Tunduru districts in Ruvuma, Masasi district in Mtwara region and Nachingwea and Lindi districts in Lindi region, the visitors will find a beautiful tourist site for the globally acknowledged protected forest reserve for biodiversity and wild life in the Selous Game Reserve. The Selous Game Reserve in Southern Tanzania and the Niassa Game Reserve in Northern Mozambique form the largest transboundary natural ecosystem covering about 154,000 square kilometres.[30] The two game reserves, which are located along the boundary between Tanzania and Mozambique, form the largest transboundary natural ecosystem in Africa (of which the Selous Game Reserve covers 47,000 km^2, making it the first largest protected area in Africa, followed by the Niassa Game Reserve, the second largest protected area covering 42,400 km^2).[31]

Anyone visiting large parts of the region's rural areas today will find it an agricultural landscape for peasant crops, pastures and tobacco-curing burn scattered in many villages, especially in the Songea and Namtumbo districts. One will also discover some cleared woodland for food crops, natural and artificial forests including the cashew nut trees in Tunduru

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[28] (URT), 'Ruvuma Region Agriculture Census Report 2002/2003', (December, 2007).
[29] (URT), 'Ruvuma Region Agricultural Census Report, 2007/2008'.
[30] Community Wild Life Management and Government of Tanzania, (CWLM & Gvt), 'Ruvuma Interface Study Institutional Report', Dar es Salaam, 2004.
[31] (CWLM & Gvt), 'Ruvuma Interface Study Institutional Report'.

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district and coffee groves in Mbinga district. The majority of the inhabitants of the region have increasingly and variously engaged in various economic activities ranging from agriculture, trade, tourism, migrant labour, fishing, and mining for their survival and sources of the income for the individuals, the region and the nation in general.[32] This study therefore associates these features with the dominance of peasant agriculture in the post-colonial Ruvuma Region.[33] Agro-economist A. Miho showed that agriculture has been the backbone of the regional economy in Ruvuma, because most of the peasant households derive their livelihoods from crop cultivation and animal keeping.[34] Similarly, the 1970s government review on agriculture and land use in Tanzania reported that each peasant in Ruvuma Region produced an average size of 1.6 hectares of both food and cash crops.[35] The ILO report also observed that tobacco production in Tanzania is mostly done on a small and medium farms in Ruvuma, Tabora, Shinyanga, Singida, Kagera and Rukwa. Most of the small-scale farmers in these regions are organised in primary co-operative societies – as a legacy of Tanzania's socialist experiment – but a few farmers, such as those in Iringa and Mbeya, grow on a large scale and have their own association (The Southern Highlands Tobacco Growers Association).[36] The then famous newspaper in Tanzania *Ukulima wa Kisasa* reported in 1972 that the small-scale farmers in Ruvuma Region received Tshs 5,490,604.25 for their annual fire-cured tobacco sales of 3,056,036 kgs of fire-cured tobacco. In the same year the farmers received about Tshs 1, 468,169 for their sales from subsistence crops.[37] Despite these achievements, rural peasants have been facing a number of predicaments in their daily farming activities throughout the post-colonial era. Such constraints among the peasants in the region often include inadequate state agricultural extension services, the decline in the price for their produce, poor marketing systems, inadequate labour supplies (mainly for continuous rural-urban migration), farm equipment and inputs, as well as heavy taxation.[38] All these have largely contributed to the unstable production trends for both food and cash crops. It could therefore be argued that

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[32] See CCMNA, 'Economic Report of Ruvuma Region 1971.
[33] See CCMNA, 'Agro-economic Zones of Southern Tanzania'.
[34] See Miho, 'Compering Production Efficiency of Annual Crops among the Small holder farmers', 4.
[35] J.R. Pitblado, Bureau of Resource Assessment and Land Use Planning, 'Agricultural Land Use and Land Tenure in Tanzania', Research Notes No. 7, (1970), 23.
[36] See (ILO), International Programme on the Elimination of Child Labour (IPEC), Tanzania, Child Labour in Commercial Agriculture-Tobacco: A Rapid Assessment, (Geneva: ILO, 2001).
[37] See *The Citizens Newspapers*, 178, (April, 1970), 201; and 'Mapato ya Tumbaku & Tumbaku Yaleta 5,000,000', *Ukulima wa Kisasa Tanzania*, (March, 1972).
[38] Nakahegwa and Namtumbo Group Interviews, 9-12 August, 2016; and Barie, 'Socio-economic Factors Affecting the Production of Fire-cured Tobacco', 43-49.

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peasant production has been largely characterised by the rise and fall economic cycle phenomenon throughout the colonial and post-colonial history of the Ruvuma Region. As pointed in Chapter One and further explored in Chapters Four and Six, peasant production trends in colonial and post-colonial Tanzania have been characterised as erratic because of periodic adverse weather conditions, unstable crop prices at the global market, inadequate extension services and poor marketing systems, which also allow exploitation of peasants by the state through taxation and by the local and multinational crop buyers through offering low prices, high-priced farm input loans, and unfair grading of the peasant crops in the market centres.

This chapter argues that the geographical outline of Ruvuma discussed above is important in understanding not just the history of fire-cured tobacco in the region but also the entire history of the Ungoni and Undendeuli of southern Tanganyika. As pointed out earlier, many studies have demonstrated that climate, water resources, population distribution, settlements, migration, transportation, boundaries, demographic change and agricultural ecology have a greater influence in determining socio-economic, political and cultural activities and the history of a particular human society. Historians in East, West and Central Africa have similarly pointed out that the geographical factors have greater influence in African history.[39] Mabogunje and Richard (1981), for example, using an environmental determinism approach, insisted that human activities especially in developing countries are largely controlled by geographical factors such as climate and soils.[40] Mabugenje's 1971 study pointed that the history of West Africa is the story of human movement, displacement, incursions, successions of people and various forms of social organisations. Quoting Peter Heylyn, Mabogunje commented that without such a geographical basis this story would be "like dead carcass having neither life nor motion at all."[41] Therefore, without a geographical basis the long story of the establishment, evolution and impact of the African commercial tobacco production discussed in the following

[39] Chuhila, 'Coming Down the Mountain'; Francis F. Onjany, 'The Geography of East Africa'; B.A. Ogot and J.A. Kieran (eds), *Zamani: A Survey of East African History*, (Nairobi: East African Publishing House, 1969), 22-47; Jan Vansina, 'The Peoples of the forest', in D. Birmingham and P.M. Martin (eds), *History of Central Africa*, 1, (London & New York: Longman, 1983), 75-117; and Mabogunje and Richards, 'The Land and peoples'.
[40] Mabogunje and Richards, 'The Land and peoples', 25.
[41] Mabogunje, 'The Land and peoples of West Africa', 1.

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chapters of this thesis would be incomplete, as would the history the industry itself and the people of the Ruvuma Region.

Peopling and the Pre-colonial Economy by the mid-1850s

Before the Ngoni invasion in the mid-19th century, there were probably no compact (big) tribes[42] such as those existing today in Ruvuma.[43] The indigenous inhabitants with whom the Wangoni come in contacts are said to be a small, scattered groups of Ndonde kinship clans such as Wanyanja, Wamatengo, Wandendeuli and Wanindi.[44] The majority of these clans were named after geographical features such as rivers, mountains and lakes. The Wanyanja, for example, are "the people of the lake" (that is, from the areas along Lake Nyasa), whereas the Wamatengo are "the people of the thick mountain forest" (found in the Matengo mountains to the East of Lake Nyasa). The Wandendeuli are said to be the original inhabitant of the area currently occupied by the Wangoni in Songea Rural and Urban districts, before they were pushed away by the Wangoni upon their arrival in the eastern and north-eastern part of Ruvuma, the present Namtumbo District. These are "the people of the country surrounded by mountains and rivers".[45] The Wandendeuli people are further divided into several groups derived from the names of their mountains and rivers. For example, the Wakihungu are the Ndendeuli found near the Kihungu Mountain, the Walukimwa are the Ndendeuli found along the Lukimwa River, and so on. However, in the view of Rev. Fr. E. Ebner, the name "Wandendeuli" was given much later by their neighbours because they often used to say: "Ndendeuli", which means "wondering" (what should I do?).[46] Similarly, The Wanindi take their name from the banks of the Nindi or Lunyere tributary, which flows into Ruvuma River.[47] P.H. Gulliver, in his 1969 study of the Ndendeuli of southern Tanzania, described them as Bantu-speaking people and shifting cultivators occupying uninhabited areas of dry woodlands

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[42] Although "tribe" can be a contentious term (especially if it conveys "timeless tradition"), it is the most useful collective noun in this context.
[43] Namanguli Group Interview, 13 August 2016; and See TNR-UDSM, S. T. Sijaona, 'Ngoni-Matengo Co-operative Union', Term paper, 1974, UDSM Library.
[44] Namanguli Group Interview, 13 August 2016.
[45] E. Ebner, *The History of the Wangoni, and their Origins in the South African Bantu Tribes*, (Peramiho: Benedictine Publications Ndanda-Peramho, 1989), 40-50.
[46] Ebner, History of the Wangoni.
[47] See Ebner, *History of the Wangoni,* and Doerr, L., *Peramiho 1898-1998,In the Service of the Missionary Church*, V. 1, (Ndanda-Peramiho: Benedictine Publications, 1998),

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in the eastern part of Ruvuma.[48] However, the majority of these indigenous societies were organised on the basis of a proto-Ujamaa mode of production. This was the first mode of production in the history of human society, which involved communal living and working along clanship or kinship lines.[49] Most of these pre-colonial African communal societies were characterised by a low level of technology, low population density, and there was little or no surplus produced.[50] Therefore, with limited technology, people worked together mainly for subsistence and what was produced was then said to be distributed almost equally by the clan leaders.

As will be discussed in Chapter Five, this idealised and romanticised view of pre-colonial relations was in line with the thinking of the first President of Tanzania, "National Father" J.K. Nyerere, whose teleological justification appears in *Ujamaa: Essays on Socialism,* which contended that pre-colonial African families had long lived according to the basic principles of Ujamaa – in order to justify its imposition by the state. His fundamental message was that these families had historically lived and worked together as a whole rather than as individuals.[51] He insisted that the principles of Ujamaa were based on "familyhood" buttressed by the ideology of mutual involvement and cooperation among African societies – socialism with an African face.[52] Historians Andrew Coulson and Gaudence Mpangala showed that, in the primitive Ujamaa mode, production relations were based on the communal use of land and communal work. Such relations emerged because of the dependence on a primitive technological base following the abundance of land which constrained the need for modern and intensive farming for the improvement of agricultural rural productivity.[53]

During the pre-colonial period (and especially before the Ngoni invasion), hunting, fishing and shifting cultivation were the major subsistence economic activities in Ruvuma. Hunting of wild

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[48] Bertram Mapunda, 'Iron Age Archaeology in the South-Eastern Lake Tanganyika Region, South Western Tanzania', *Nyame Akuma*, 43, (1995), 46-57; and P. H. Gulliver, 'Dispute Settlement without Courts: The Ndendeuli of Southern Tanzania', Nader, L., *Law in Culture and Society*, (Chicago: Aldine Publishing Company, 1969), 25-68.
[49] Andrew C. Coulson, 'A Simplified Political Economy of Tanzania', E.R.B. Paper 74.9 UDSM, (1974), 1-10.
[50] Coulson, 'A Simplified Political Economy of Tanzania'.
[51] J.K. Nyerere, *Ujamaa Essays on Socialism,* (Dar es Salaam: Oxford University Press, 1968a), 106.
[52] See J. K. Nyerere, Freedom and Socialism/Uhuru na Ujamaa A Selection from Writings and Speeches 1965-1967, (Dar es Salaam: Oxford University Press, 1968), 2-3.
[53] G.P. Mpangala, 'A History of Colonial Production in the Songea District, Tanzania, 1897-1961', MA Thesis, University of Dar es Salaam, 1974, 6-71.

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game was mainly performed collectively as part of a basic subsistence economy. It was made possible through the use of dogs, nets, bows, arrows and traps. Fishing also occurred along the rivers and lakes. Indigenous shifting cultivation performed by men and women supplemented hunting and fishing. As further demonstrated in Chapter Six, given the abundance of land, the pre- and post-colonial peoples who were scattered over the wide area practised shifting cultivation (the same as slash-and-burn farming) to meet their subsistence needs. Slash-and-burn farming was practised mainly by using small, simple hand hoes, pangas and axes.[54] By using this local technology, the people slashed, burned and tilled the existing miombo woodlands to make the reddish-brown fertile soils suitable for the production of subsistence food crops such as maize, millet, sorghum, sweet potatoes, beans and local tobacco. Local agriculture – even in the modern era – remains peasant-based, where the family is the basic unit of production. Family therefore has continued to be the basic unit of labour as in subsistence farming. However, communal work among different kinship groups has continued even after independence. There have always been communal activities among them, especially in planting and weeding, as well as in harvesting, hunting, building and the maintenance of defence and security of the community.[55]

By the first quarter of the 19th century transformation to feudal relations from a primitive communal mode of production[56] started to emerge among the societies in Ruvuma. The development of agricultural food production, population increase and a concomitant growing number of communal villages led to the emergence of a new class of rulers who appropriated surplus production. These communal villages were now under the control of *Wanahota*.[57] In this context, a group of villages, possibly under one clan, became subsumed under the control

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[54] See Sijaona, 'Ngoni-Matengo Co-operative Union'.
[55] Sijaona, 'Ngoni- Matengo Co-operative Union'.
[56] 'Primitive communal mode of production' refers to a lineage-based social formation in which the ownership of the means of production, control and distribution of social product is based on cooperative rather than exploitative relations. It was the first pre-capitalist mode of production, which involved hunting, crop cultivation, animal husbandry, food gathering and hand-craft working for community self-subsistence. This mode of social formation was characterised by communal ownership of the means of production and appropriation of social product, absence of exploitation, absence of class structures, no surplus production and limited levels of science and technology. It is also widely spread across Africa. It is also known as a tribal village system or lineage egalitarian system. For more information on this mode of production and historical development see Coulson, 'A Simplified Political Economy of Tanzania', 1-10; Robert Paul Resch, *Althusser and the Renewal of Marxist Social Theory*, (Berkeley, Los Angeles, Oxford: California University Press, 1992), 84-158; and Philip Bonner, 'Classes, The Mode of Production and the State in Pre-colonial Swaziland', African Studies unpublished seminar paper, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, (1976), 2-3.
[57] Modified from Mpangala, 'A History of Colonial Production'.

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of *Mkulungwa.* Both *Wanahota* and *Wakurungwa* performed two major functions. First, they settled political and social disputes; secondly, with the assistance of traditional Mbembela priests, they acted as religious leaders of the society. By virtue of being social and political leaders, they had important ideological and political powers, able to collect tributes from the villagers. The tribute was mainly in form of food crops which the villagers were supposed to pay to the rulers during the religious services associated with the blessing of the new crop during the harvest season.[58] Such developments not only led to the silent emergence of exploitative classes between the rulers and the ruled, but also formed the basis of contradictions and class struggles within the decaying primitive communal production relations. The appropriation of surplus by the *Wanahota* and *Wakurungwa* through payment of tributes led to the rise of the pre-feudal mode of production, which gained further impetus by the Ngoni invasion of the mid-19th century.

The coming of the Wangoni in East Africa and central Africa contributed to significant political and economic changes among the societies in western and southern Tanzania, including the Ruvuma Region. According to Rev. Fr. Ebner, the name "Wangoni" or "Angoni" is derived from the Aba-Nguni applied to all Zulu-speaking tribes and to the people of Zwangedaba of South Africa.[59] They left (what was to become modern) South Africa in the 19th century and migrated northwards, settling down in Central and Eastern Africa.[60] They consisted of various ethnic groups or tribes including the Swazi, the Ndwande, the Thonga, the Kalanga, the Senga and the Sukuma, whose history is closely linked with the history of Wangoni by origin, language, social institutions and customs of the Ngoni-speaking people. Hence the Ruvuma-Wangoni is part of this great movement and migration in Africa during the 19th century.

Historian P. H. Gulliver has traced the origin of the Wangoni migration from the early 19th century in the present KwaZulu-Natal province of South Africa, where Shaka/Chaka, triggered a chain reaction of migrations (*Mfecane*) with his imperial ambitions in establishing a powerful, militant and centralised Zulu state.[61] However, in the process of conquering neighbouring groups and establishing the Zulu Empire, not all Shaka's neighbouring independent Ngoni

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[58] Mpangala, 'A History of Colonial Production'.
[59] Ebner, History of the Wangoni.
[60] Ebner, History of the Wangoni.
[61] P.H. Gulliver, 'A History of the Songea Ngoni', *Tanganyika Notes and Records*, 41, (1955), 16-29.

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groups were conquered or destroyed, and some fled beyond the empire. One group of the Ngoni tribe led by Zongendaba or Zwangendaba, fled northwards between c.1810 and 1820.[62] On the way they raided lands and cattle, and gathered young men and women from the indigenous societies in east and central Africa. They also came into contact with the Matabele of Southern Rhodesia. In November 1835 they crossed the Zambezi River in their move northwards. The Ngoni eventually reached in Ufipa in south-western Tanganyika in the 1840s.[63] While in Ufipa, their original leader, Zongendaba, died in 1845, and his death led to a serious conflict over the leadership succession. Eventually, the original group split into several Ngoni sub-groups. Some Ngoni groups of Mpezene and Mbelwa settled in Malawi and Zambia, while others under Mpangala and Mtambalike crossed through Unyamwezi to Lake Victoria in Tanganyika.

A decade later, in the late 1850s, some groups of Mbonane and Maseko fled south across the Ruvuma River, and they pushed the Wandenduele and Wamatengo from the Songea central to the present Namtumbo and Mbinga districts. They established two independent kingdoms in modern Ruvuma region. These were the small Mshope Kingdom in the North and the large Njelu Kingdom in the south of the modern Songea Rural and Urban districts.[64] Both of these kingdoms were ruled by the chiefs: *nkosi* and sub-chiefs who were military leaders (induna). Njelu kingdom was under Nkosi Zulu Njelu and Mshope Kingdom was under Nkosi Mbonani Mshope. The initial capital of the Mshope kingdom was first established along Hanga River in or near Undendeule country, whereas the Njelu Kingdom established its capital at Ngalanga in the south-east of Songea. The Mshope Ngoni recruited most of the indigenous inhabitants into the kingdom; they raided eastwards and brought back captives from the Wayao, Wamakonde, Wandonde, Wanindi and Ndendeundeuli societies.[65] They also expanded northwards to Ubena country and subjugated the Wabena. The Njelu Kingdom in the north recruited most of its subjects to the west of Ruvuma, among the Wamatengo, and Wanyanja. The indigenous

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[62] Gulliver, 'History of the Songea Ngoni'; and Andrew Robert, 'Political Change in the Nineteenth Century', in I.N. Kimambo and A.J. Temu (eds), *A History of Tanzania,* (Nairobi: East African Publishing House, 1969), 68-69.
[63] Robert, 'Political Change in the Nineteenth Century', 68-70.
[64] Namtumbo Group Interview, 12 August 2016. See also Ebner, *History of the Wangoni*.
[65] P.H. Gulliver, Neighbours and Networks, The Idioms of the Kinship in Social Action among the Ndendeuli of Tanzania, (California city: University of California Press, 1971), 3-39.

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societies could not repel or resist the Ngoni invasion because of the military superiority of the invaders.[66]

Having defeated, suppressed and incorporated the indigenous societies, the two established Ngoni kingdoms faced a challenge in collecting revenues from their subordinates, because of the poor economic basis of the conquered indigenous societies, and indeed their communal productive forces were relatively little developed. Henceforth, the production activities in the Ngoni Kingdoms were largely labour intensive. Again, appropriation of wealth from the local people seemed to be impossible, because the indigenous societies were mostly mixed farmers and not pure farmers or pastoralists.[67] One solution was to wage continual raiding wars with the neighbouring societies to acquire wealth for running the two states.[68] Being few in number, but equipped with new weapons (muzzle loaders) and experienced in using Shaka's "bull's horn" military tactics, the Wangoni chiefs and sub-chiefs imposed autocratic centralised control to enforce political unity and extract tribute.[69] Similarly, the Ngoni kingdoms were built on the basis of frequent warfare in the areas around Ungoni and neighbouring societies in search of human captives and cattle. They preferred prisoners of a young age (below 30), whom they exploited as suitable for the army, agricultural production and for social production and reproduction. Young women played an important role not only in domestic labour but in agricultural production as well, tilling the land, planting grain, and weeding, harvesting and storing grain. They also fetched firewood and water for household use and in some cases they milked cows. Apart from their key role in the agricultural production among the Ngoni states, young women were considered important for social (and, of course, biological) reproduction – in maintain the socio-political order. Men used the wealth accumulated from labour to marry more women, because the majority of the young women captives were potential wives of the ruling class.[70] Therefore, apart from collecting tributes from the villagers in the kingdoms, they also made frequent raids to accumulate cattle and food crops from the societies in Ruvuma region and beyond the boundaries of the region.[71] In this context, therefore, the Ngoni invasion

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[66] Mpangala, 'A History of Colonial Production'.
[67] Mpangala, 'A History of Colonial Production'.
[68] P. H. Gulliver, 'An Administrative Survey of the Ngoni and Ndendeuli of Songea District', University of Dar es Salaam Library, 14.
[69] Gulliver, Neighbours and Networks.
[70] Mpangala, 'A History of Colonial Production', 17-18
[71] Gulliver, Neighbours and Networks.

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largely transformed societies into pre-colonial feudal societies, because the surplus produce which was accumulated from agriculture, pastoralism and raiding was appropriated by the Ngoni ruling class.

During the Ngoni feudal era, relations of production were mainly determined by the ownership and control of the major means of production in the kingdoms such as cattle, enforced labour and raiding. The ruling aristocracy controlled the labour power they used to accumulate wealth from serfs, who were locally known as Wasutu. They consisted of the conquered people of the area and the war captives, who composed an astonishing 85% of Ngoni society. The Wasutu, apart from paying tributes to Nkosi and indunas in the form of food, livestock and beer, were also obliged to offer military service. The Nkosi was the owner of all serfs in the kingdom.[72] Alongside the political and economic transformation, the Ngoni rulers introduced religion as an ideological instrument of control by the ruling aristocracy over the whole society in the kingdom. Among the indigenous societies, traditional worship was a clan or kinship concern, but now clan worship was maintained under one supreme female Ngoni Ancestor (Mama Nasere or Nyasele),[73] who was recognised and respected throughout the kingdom. She was believed to be a symbol of unity in the kingdom and she was worshiped in the specific house at the headquarters of the Nkosi. In honour of this female ancestor, every senior wife of the Nkosi was named Mama Nyasele. Religious leaders now assumed significant positions in the ruling class. They often performed their activities alongside medicine men on various occasions such as conducting *mahoka or matambiko* ceremonies, preparing for major wars and celebrating success in raiding wars, as well as incorporating war captives into the Ngoni society.[74] This religious apparatus therefore seems to have promoted the growth of the feudal mode of production in Ruvuma between the mid- and the late 19th century, because it consolidated feudal class structures and production relations between the ruling class and the Wasutu in the two Ngoni kingdoms in Southern Tanzania. See Figure 4 on the expansion of the two Wangoni kingdoms in the Ungoni country from the 1930s to the 1950s.

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[72] NAT, File No. 155/64/7, 1955, Annual Report Songea District, 1930, and J. Chale, 'Historia ya Wangoni wa Songea', Unpublished text, 1974, 80-129

[73] Mama Sere/Nyasere was a female ancestor from the descendants of the Jere clan in South Africa, from which the Zulu and Mbonane clans are believed to owe their origins. This is adopted from Mpangala, 'A History of the Colonial production Songea District'; and P.M. Redmond, 'A Political History of the Songea Ngoni, from the 19th century to the Rise of TANU', Unpublished PhD dissertation, University of London, (1972).

[74] Mpangala, 'A History of the Colonial Production'.

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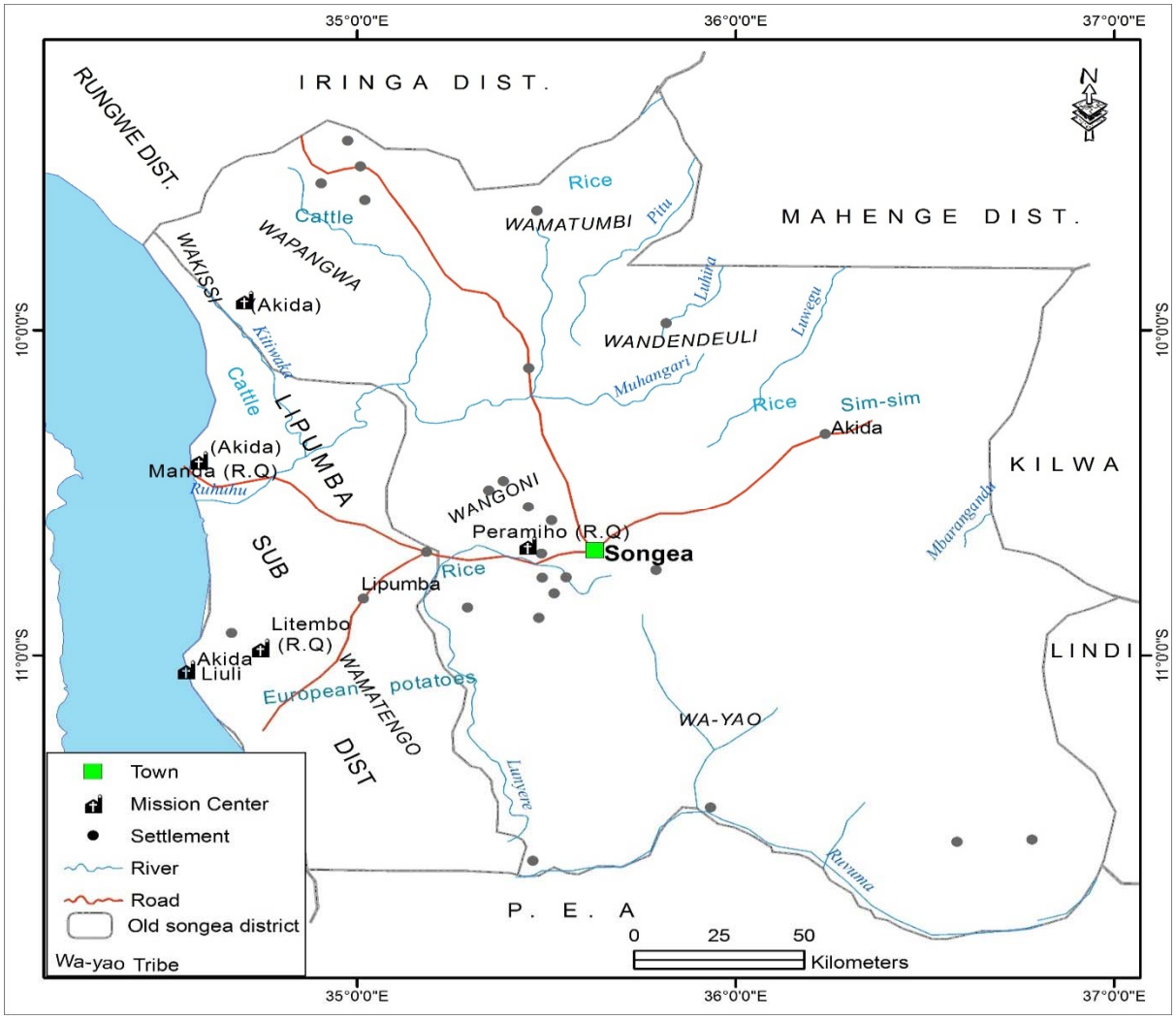

Figure 4: Sketch Map of Ungoni Country, 1930s -1950s.[75]

Available records reveal that the penetration of the Arab merchants along the East African Indian coast towards the last quarter of 19th century largely intensified the pre-colonial feudal relations among the societies in East Africa and Ruvuma region in particular. The shift of the Arab Oman Sultanate capital from Masqat to Zanzibar in 1840 not only affected the coastal societies in East Africa, but also the interior societies including the people of Ruvuma.[76] The relocation of the capital was followed by the massive influx of the Arab settlers and Asian money lenders in the coastal towns of Zanzibar, Bagamoyo, Pangani and Kilwa, and the subsequent establishment of clove and coconut plantations in Zanzibar. These plantations

[75] Modified from Atlas of Tanzania by GIS-UDSM, March 2017.
[76] Interview with John B. Mwingira, Matimila, 11 August 2016; and CCMNA, *Historia ya Mapambano ya Kujikomboa Mkoa wa Ruvuma, 30-31*

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needed an intensive labour supply, which seemed impossible to source along the coast, and as a result led to the development of the East African caravan slave trade. This was the trade which in fact connected the coast with the interior and it also fed Zanzibar with slave labourers, ivory and grains from the interior.[77] With the influence of Sultan Seyyid Said, and through the control and operations of the caravan slave trade, the Arab and Swahili traders penetrated to the hinterlands of East Africa via Wakamba in the northern route, Wanyamezi in the central and Wayao in the Southern route.[78] The Yao slave and ivory traders seem to have developed trade relations with the Ndendeuli people even before the Ngoni invasion. Oral accounts in Undendeule still remember *Makungana,* a powerful Yao trader between Kilwa and Songea.[79] One informant in Matimira village emphasised that:

> Prior to the beginning of the German colonialism, Matimira was an important slave trade route, the majority of slaves who were bought from the whole region crossed here before they proceeded their journey to Kilwa. My grandfather told us that both the Arab and Swahili slave hunters crossed here on their way to Nkosi and induna. They bought slaves and they crossed here back to Kilwa [*My translation*].[80]

This argument is also supported by Rev. Fr. Ebner, who noted that Arab traders had come into Ungoni in the early 1880s and the managed to establish close relations with the Ngoni rulers. By the 1890s they established a permanent Arab settlement at Mang'ua South East of Peramiho in Ungoni country and another settlement was built in Luanda along Lake Nyasa.[81] Ebner cited a report by Lieder, the early German traveller who visited at Mang'ua in 17 February 1894, which revealed that he saw the village consisted of about 150 huts. The huts had been founded by Rashid b. Masud in 1890. Some of the traders who lived there included Rashid bi Masud himself, Mohamed b. Said, Mohamed b. Ali, Helejid b. Hemed, Nasor b. Amur, Djelid b. Ali. The majority of them were Arab slavers and ivory hunters who had come all the way from Kilwa. They also brought in clothes, salt, pearls and ornaments in exchange for the ivory and

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[77] Edward A. Alpers, 'The Coast and the Development of the Caravan Trade', In I.N. Kimambo and A.J. Temu, *A History of Tanzania*, 35-56.
[78] Alpers, 'The Coast and the Development of Caravan Trade'.
[79] Interview with John B. Mwingira, Matimila village, 11August 2016.
[80] Interview with John B. Mwingira, Matimila village, 11 August 2016.
[81] Ebner, History of the Wangoni. 122-123.

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slaves they sent to Kilwa.[82] The Arab slavers are also said to have introduced rice, sugar cane and mango trees into Ungoni country.

This study argues that the growing trade relations between the Arab traders and the Ngoni feudal aristocracy impacted on the Ngoni society and the indigenous societies in southern Tanzania. First, it integrated the Ungoni economy into a broad network of capitalist relations which spread from one geographic region to another. The feudal aristocracy became agents of broad networks of capitalism by exchanging imported goods such as clothes, salt and ornaments for African slaves and ivory from Ruvuma. A missionary and a historian, Ebner explains the relationship between the Ngoni rulers and the Arab trade: "Mharule was well disposed towards foreigners. Formerly, it was the custom in East Africa for trading caravans passing through the country to pay 'hongo' (tribute) to the chief of the country. Muharule let the caravans pass through his country undisturbed and moreover he abolished the 'hongo'.[83] Secondly, the influx of Arab and Swahili merchants in Ungoni country affected the local consumption patterns. The Ngoni rulers increasingly become interested in imported luxury good which were exchanged for slaves and ivory found in the kingdom. So the rulers intensified the raiding wars against the Wabena, Wahehe and Wanindi to get human captives, who were exchanged with these luxury item from the Arab traders. Thirdly, slaves and ivory became the chief drivers of the Ngoni economy. It is from this period warfare raiding began to play multiple roles to get military reserve and labour power of the kingdom as well as human as commodity for exchange.[84] Therefore, Arab and Swahili trade contacts largely contributed to the development of the pre-colonial feudal mode of production, because now the ruling aristocracy in Ungoni not only used warfare as a means of capital accumulation, but slaves and ivory also assumed great importance in warfare. Eventually, the ruling class became more powerful and even wealthier than before the beginning of the Arab contact in the region.

Thus the Ngoni conquest, the rise of the Ngoni feudal mode of production and the penetration of the coastal Arab traders in the second half of the 19th century affected the socio-political lifestyles and economic livelihoods of the societies in Ruvuma in several ways. In the course

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[82] G.C.K. Gwassa, 'The German Intervention and African Resistance in Tanzania', in I.N. Kimambo, and A.J. Temu, *A History of Tanzania*, (Nairobi, East African Publishing House, 1969), 113-116.
[83] Ebner, *History of the Wangoni, 122-123;* and Gwassa, 'The German Intervention and African Resistance'.
[84] Gulliver, 'An Administrative Survey of the Ngoni and Ndendeuli of Songea District'.

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of consolidating the pre-colonial mode of production, the societies in Ungoni country were stratified into two classes, the original Ngoni, who consisted of the ruling class, most of whom had migrated into Ungoni country from South Africa, and the second class, the serfs (also known as Wasutu). The majority of these consisted of those who were conquered, captured and incorporated into the Ungoni society. They included Wandendeuli, Wabena, Wapangwa, Wayao, Wandonde and Wanindi, to mention a few.[85]

Secondly, given the growing trade relations, economic diversification and specialisation became evident in Ungoni country through subjugation of the indigenous societies, capturing and incorporating people from different ethnic groups and technological backgrounds. While the ruling class of the original Wangoni focused on the art of military warfare and political administration, the Wapangwa specialised in iron working and manufacturing iron tools. Besides their background as hunters and shifting farmers, the Wandendeuli largely developed the skills of making trading articles such as bark cloth and other items for domestic use. The Wayao, on the other hand, became specialised in making pottery and some war weapons such as muzzle loaders.[86] Therefore, the growing specialisation in Ungoni country in Ruvuma region largely improved the development of the forces of production and of both local and long distance trading relations. However, notwithstanding all these development initiatives in the self-sustaining economy in pre-colonial southern Tanzania, the occupation of the Ungoni country[87] by the Germans and the beginning of colonialism in East Africa towards the end of the 19th century saw the collapse of the local pace of development and the creation of a new colonial economy.

In line with this argument, K.I. Tambila observed that the process of colonising German East Africa transformed the pre-colonial political and economic system and created new structures that strengthened the integration of African societies into the global capitalist system.[88] Hence, the occupation of the Ungoni country and the conquest of German East Africa took place

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[85] Ebner, *History of the Wangoni. 122-123;* and Mpangala, 'A History of the Colonial Production', 26-31.
[86] Mpangala, 'A History of the Colonial Production', 26-31.
[87] The Ungoni country covers the whole area occupied by the Wangoni proper, Wandendeuli and some parts of Wayao, Wanindi and Wandonde in Ruvuma region.
[88] K.T. Tambila, 'The Great Depression and Peasant Societies in Tanganyika 1930-1937', *Die Waltwirtschaftskrise der dreibiger Jahre in der Dritten Welt; Sonderfall oder Einstieg in die Strukturse der Gegenwart?*, (Universität Hannover, Historisches Seminar, Lehrgebiet Aubereuropaische Geschite, 1990), 123-125.

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between 1880s and 1910s. It was first administered by the *Deutsch-Ostafrikanische Gesellschaft* (DOAG), and after that company failed between 1890 and 1895,[89] the German imperial state took over and completed the occupation process by 1912.[90]

Mapuluputwa[91]: The Occupation of Ungoni Country by the Germans 1880s-1910s

The period between the last decade of the 19th and the early 20th century marked the beginning of considerable changes in the history of Tanzania and Ruvuma in particular. This was the time of the colonial conquest and the introduction of colonial the state primarily through the use of force, treaty making, so-called "gunpowder diplomacy"[92] and collaboration from local groups and individuals. During the same period the colonial economy was being created at the expense of the pre-colonial economies in various parts of the country.[93] The situation largely affected the socio-political, economic and environmental spheres of life of various pre-colonial African societies, including the Wangoni of Ruvuma. The Ungoni country, like many other parts of German East Africa, was officially conquered by the German colonial authority in 1897.[94] Under the auspices of Governor Liebert, the Germans employed "gunpowder diplomacy" to occupy the Ungoni territory instead of collaboration, treaty-making or violence. The choice of this technique was determined by three main factors. The first was the prevailing material conditions of the Wangoni. By this time the Germans were aware of the political, economic and military strength of the two Ngoni kingdoms in Southern Tanzania.[95] They understood the power of the feudal Ngoni states through their frequent annual raiding expeditions into the interior of Lindi between the 1880s and 1890s. With such knowledge, the Germans decided to

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[89] The imperial company failed to administer the East African territories during the last quarter of 19th century mainly because of inadequate support from the metropolitan government in Europe, inadequate capital and income from custom revenues, inadequate human resources, an inadequate economic base and stiff competition from the rich Asian merchants along the coast of East Africa. See Nazifa Rashid, 'British Colonialism in East Africa during the nineteenth century', *IOSR Journal of Humanities and Social Sciences*, 19, 3, (2014), 8-11.
[90] Tambila, 'The Great Depression and Peasant Societies'.
[91] "Mapuluputwa" was a fictitious Ngoni name given to the early Europeans who settled in Ungoni country in southern Tanzania. The name "Mapuluputwa" was used to refer to butterflies with reference of the head flap worn by the Germans to protect their necks from sun. See Ebner, *History of the Wangoni*, 134.
[92] "Gunpowder diplomacy" was a method of conquest used by the Germans to suppress some dangerous (militarily strong) African societies through the demonstration of the superiority of the European weaponry. It involved displays of European military power by demonstrations of soldiers with machine guns and holding mock battles in the villages. See Gwassa, 'The German Intervention and African Resistances', 95-97; and. Mpangala, 'A History of the Colonial Production', 33.
[93] Gwassa, 'The German Intervention and African Resistances', 86-116
[94] Mpangala, 'A History of the Colonial Production', 32-45.
[95] Redmond, 'Political History of the Songea'.

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opt for an appropriate method for the occupation of Ungoni country. The second factor was that the Wangoni had become aware of the power of the Europeans, who had by then attacked and conquered the majority of the coastal societies. The Ngoni did not wish to quarrel with them.[96] The last factor was the question of diplomatic friendship. The Germans had previously tried to establish amicable relations with Wangoni by sending Von Wissman, a German envoy, in 1893. Another German envoy, Von Scheele, who was going to Uhehe country, crossed to Ungoni in 1894 and the Wangoni were very friendly to him. They were ready to establish a friendship with the Germans, but they were not ready to give up their raiding activities.[97] It would be a shameful act in front of the other tribes to surrender to Europeans.

Thus the Germans decided to occupy Ungoni country through gunpowder diplomacy, a calculated demonstration of the superiority of white military weapons over the Wangoni war shields. First, having arrived in Songea, the Germans established friendship with the Wangoni rulers; Nduna Songea welcomed the Germans at his capital at Msamala close to the present Songea town. Following this visit, the Germans were given a place to construct their strong wooden *boma*.[98] In the second phase the Germans decided to demonstrate their military power over Africans. They summoned the Wangoni chiefs to their newly constructed administrative fort (boma*)* at Msamala. The chiefs present included Mlamira, Mgendera, Fusi, Songea and Kapungu. Engelhard, the German officer, demanded submission from them, cessation of the annual raiding of other tribes and the surrender of the war captives captured on the Indian coast during the previous raids. The Wangoni rulers seemed to have agreed at first, but they later refused to surrender their captive slaves.[99] For them, relinquishing their war captives was unacceptable in the eyes of other tribes. Engelhardt also explained to them that fighting against him was useless, because their traditional shields could not protect them from the bullets of the rifles. He then ordered his solders (*askaris*) to shoot at the Wangoni war shields[100] and destroyed them completely. In this demonstration the Wangoni saw that their shields could not withstand the European guns. This event was followed by a more serious demonstration referred to as the boma massacre.[101] This time the German shot dead about five Wangoni war

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[96] Ebner, *History of the Wangoni. 109-123;* and Redmond, 'Political History of the Songea'.
[97] Ebner, History of the Wangoni, 109-123; and Doerr, Peramiho 1898-1998, 1-9.
[98] Mpangala, 'A History of the Colonial Production', 32-45.
[99] Ebner, *History of the Wangoni*, (1959), 155-157.
[100] The war shields of the Wangoni were a significant means of defence which protected them during fighting.
[101] Redmond, 'Political History of the Songea'; and Mpangala, 'A History of the Colonial Production', 32-45.

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generals who made an attempt to escape from the boma. In addition to this, there were several other shootings of the Wangoni rulers who were reluctant to either stop their annual raids or to release war captives captured during their previous raids.[102] It is in this way, the Germans managed to subdue the Wangoni political authority and establish their effective political and economic control in Ruvuma. See Figure 5 for an illustration of the German demonstration of the superiority of the European gun over the Wangoni war shields in Songea**.**

Figure 5*:* Capt. Engelhardt: the Power of Bullet in front of the Wangoni Chiefs in 1897.[103]

Having occupied the Ungoni country of southern Tanzania and many other parts of Tanganyika, the German colonial state created about 21 districts, including Songea of Ruvuma region, in the territory. By then each district was administered by the *Bezirksamtsmanner* (same as the British District Commissioner) '*DC*', who was responsible to the Governor of the territory. The DC was, among other things, responsible for ensuring peace and security, including suppressing African resistance against the colonial rule. The DCs established military

[102] Ebner, History of the Wangoni, 123-127.
[103] Modified from Ebner, (1987), 147.

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administrative machines such as the army, the police and prisons, which were instrumental in facilitating effective political and economic control of the Wangoni in Ruvuma. During this time the DC was in charge of supervising peace, production and collection of taxes from the Africans.[104] Following wide coverage of the district area, the colonial state appointed new local chiefs to replace the Wangoni political administration. These included sultans and *akidas*, who administered a division of villages, and *jumbes*, who became the village heads in each village in the district. These local chiefs were empowered to listen and judge cases in the local African courts. They also collected taxes in form of three rupees or cattle and grains.[105]

The Labour Economy in the aftermath of the Majimaji War in Ungoni Country

Up to the early 20th century most of the Wangoni seem to have accepted the German authority without armed resistance. In the view of Gulliver, the Wangoni accepted the Germans because they expected them to become useful allies just like the Arabs and the Swahilis. They were optimistic about using European assistance to strengthen their socio-economic and political success, as they had done before the colonial conquest. However, the Germans did not come as business partners in the slave trade but rather as colonisers.[106] They restructured the Wangoni political system through the appointment of sultans, *akidas* and *jumbes*. By 1897 the Wangoni chiefs Nkosi and Ndunas not only lost their political control, but also their economic gains from annual raids, tributes and profits generated from wild rubber, slaves and the ivory trade. In social life the traditional practices of the Wangoni were threatened with the new religions – Christianity brought by the Roman Catholic Church through the Benedictine missionaries of St. Ottilien, and Islam which was spreading through the influence of Arab traders from the coast.[107] All these triggered increasing confrontations between the Ngoni and the colonial state and eventually led to the eruption of the Majimaji war in Ungoni country. This was the people's greatest wars against the German colonial state in southern Tanzania between 1905 and 1907. It was the war which received inspiration from Kinjeketile – the Prophet in Umatumbi land at the time who claimed to possess the Hongo spirit from which the Maji maji got its milestone.

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[104] NAT, 1733/7, 'Songea District Annual Report 1920/21'; and CCMNA, *Historia ya Mapambano ya Kijikomboa Mkoa wa Ruvuma,* 30-41.
[105] CCMNA, Historia ya Mapambano ya Kijikomboa Mkoa wa Ruvuma, 30-41.
[106] Gulliver, 'A History of the Songea Ngoni', (1955), 16-29.
[107] P.M. Redmond, 'Majimaji in Ungoni: Reappraisal of Existing Historiography', Koponen Collection at the Department of History of the University of Dar es Salaam.

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From this spirit, Kinjeketile claimed that Africans were one and that his medicine – Maji-water – was stronger than European weapons. Majimaji was a compound of maize, sorghum seed and water which was supposed to give African fighters protection against European rifle fire.[108]

The Wangoni first adopted a policy of non-cooperation with the German colonial polices in Ruvuma. With the introduction of a hut tax, however, most of the Wangoni chiefs came out against it. Consequently, the Matengo chiefs who rebelled against hut tax was badly punished in 1901, for example, Nduna Fussi Gama of Maposeni hanged himself after several summonses for not paying tax because he had no money.[109] Apart from heavy taxation, establishment of the colonial state in Ungoni country went hand in hand with the use of coercive labour recruitment methods and corporal punishment among the people. Available sources both oral and written insist that the harsh treatment of the local Africans is the most remembered aspect of the colonial state in Ruvuma. The German colonial authority came to be named as the "the government of twenty-five strokes" (*serikali ya viboko hamsa ishirini*).[110] This was said to be a common occurrence even if the Africans committed a minor mistake. Harsh and corporal punishments of the colonial state largely escalated the outbreak of the Majimaji war as a result of the intensifying relationship of hatred between the Wangoni and the Germans. It was in the context of the harshness of German rule that the name "Mapuruputwa" or butterflies was often used to refer to these soldiers. The name owed its origin to the flap, the Germans used to cover their necks from the sun.[111]

An influential German missionary, Doerr, also observed that the Wangoni kings felt it increasingly difficult to integrate traditional beliefs with Christianity. The establishment of a Benedictine mission at Peramiho in 1897 increasingly endangered the relationship between the Germans and the Wangoni. The missionaries challenged the traditional beliefs of the Wangoni. In June 1903, for example, Fr. Franziskus Leuthner, the Superior of Peramiho mission, instructed and burned 'Ng'anda ya Nyasele" (Mahoka)[112] at the royal house of Maposeni. This

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[108] See Ebner, *History of the Wangoni*; and A. Skeffington, MP, *Tanganyika in Transition*, Fabian Research Series 2012, (London: Fabian Commonwealth Bureau, 1960).
[109] Redmond, 'Majimaji in Ungoni'; and Doerr, *Peramiho 1898-1998*, 35-83
[110] Interview with Wastoni L. Nganiwa, Ruvuma Regional Office, 14 February 2016; CCMNA, *Historia ya Mapambano ya Kijikomboa Mkoa wa Ruvuma*, 30-41; and T. Gallagher, 'Islam and the Emergence of the Ndendeuli', PhD Thesis, Boston University, (1971), 85-91.
[111] Gallagher, 'Islam and the Emergence of the Ndendeuli', 85-91.
[112] This was considered to be the spirit house of the senior wives (Nyasele) of the Wangoni chiefs. This was a significant hut for offering traditional sacrifices to the royal ancestors (Mahoka).

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event made the Wangoni furious over the Germans' attack on their dignity and authority. Nkosi Mputa himself the following day rushed to the German headquarters in Songea to complain about the destruction of the spirit hut. The German District Commissioner for Songea ordered Fr. Franziskus to pay 15 rupees to Mputa as compensation. Fr. Franziskus, however, refused to pay the money. In response to this Mputa withdrew his permission for the running of the Maposeni missionary school and parents also wanted the school be closed.[113] This in turn escalated the conflict between the Wangoni and the Germans. The German authority and the Benedictine missionaries were seeming to be going contrary to the Ngoni wishes and expectations.

During the outbreak of the Majimaji resistance in 1905, the Wangoni quickly joined the war against German rule in southern Tanzania. The war was welcomed by the Wangoni as an attempt to regain their past socio-political power and economic glories. It was also a significant attempt to reunite Wangoni society, which had been weakened by the German intervention and the missionary activities such as conversions and the destruction of the spirit huts of the Wangoni.[114] It seems that for the Wangoni, like many other societies in southern Tanzania, Majimaji was a delayed uprising, because notwithstanding the suppression of the Wangoni by the Germans, they did not resist from the time of the German occupation in 1897.[115] The Wangoni therefore took Majimaji as an opportunity to reclaim their past greatness. Basically, the Majimaji war did not start in the Ungoni country, but rather originated from the Wangindo and the Wamatumbi of the southern coast of Tanzania. As pointed earlier, the war received inspiration from Kinjeketile Ngwale-the Prophet of Umatumbi country who was believed to possess the Hongo spirit from which the Majimaji. It is from this spirit, Kinjeketile claimed, that Africans were one and that his magic medicine – Majimaji (Masimasi) or water – was stronger than European weapons.[116] The message was spread to various parts of southern Tanzania, including the Ungoni country. On 13 August, 1905 Omari Kinjala was dispatched to Ungoni country along with a message and magic medicine from Umatumbi country in Kilwa district. The medicine was believed to be able to protect the fighters against the German bullets.

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[113] Doerr, Peramiho 1898-1998, 27-28.
[114] Redmond, 'Political History of the Songea'.
[115] Illife, Modern History, 185
[116] Ebner, History of the Wangoni, 131-133

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The Wangoni rulers, Nkosi Chabruma of Mshope and Nkosi Mputa Gama of Njelu kingdoms, accepted the magic medicine and were determined to fight against the German conquest.[117]

Moreover, satisfied with the effectiveness of the medicine, the Wangoni chiefs summoned all the sub-chiefs and warriers to Nkosi Chabruma's residence at Usangira to decide and drink the medicine for the war. However, during the first battle field day, on 3 September, 1905, about 200 Wangoni soldiers were shot and killed. This was a proof that the medicine was not effective. But this event did not make them surrender to the Germans. Between 4 and 12 September the Wangoni warriors blocked the road connecting Peramiho and Songea town to prevent any kind of escape from the Europeans, and especially the missionaries from Peramiho mission. On 9 September the Wangoni fighters invaded and plundered Peramiho mission and burned it down.[118] The resistance continued in other parts, but the Wangoni worriers had little impact, as they first failed to take the German headquarters in Songea, and many of their fighters were killed. The German military forces with their modern weapons and many askaris summoned from Lake Tanganyika, Iringa and Kilwa defeated the Majimaji fighters. In January 1906 Nkosi Mputa Gama was captured after the attack on his residence by the German forces. Nkosi Chabruma escaped to Mozambique, where he died in 1907. With the capture of Mputa Gama and the escape of Chabruma, the guerrilla wars in Ungoni were nearly coming to an end. About 100 Wangoni chiefs and sub-chiefs were hanged and on 27 February the same year the largest group of 48 was executed by the Germans.[119]

The secondary literature clearly indicates that, apart from the first two months, the Majimaji uprising was a failed project among the Wangoni. They failed to expel the Germans from the Songea district. Moreover, the war devastated the well-populated villages in Ungoni country including planted crops and cattle.[120] As Skeffington noted: "Villages and crops were destroyed: cattle carried off: German askaris were allowed to rob, kill and enslave inhabitants. Casualties through famine and war were probably about 120,000."[121] By the end of the war

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[117] Redmond, 'Political History of the Songea'; and Doerr, *Peramiho 1898-1998,* 27-28.
[118] Doerr, Peramiho 1898-1998, 40-47.
[119] CCMNA, Historia ya Mapambano Mkoa wa Ruvuma, 30-41, and Doerr, Peramho 1898-1998, 48-49
[120] CCMNA, Historia ya Mapambano ya Kujikomboa Mkoa wa Ruvuma; Illife, Modern History; Redmond, 'Majimaji in Ungoni'; and Ebner, History of the Wangoni.
[121] Juhani Koponen, 'Population A Dependent Variable', in Giblin, J., (eds), *Custodians of the Land, Ecology and Culture in the History of Tanzania,* (London: James Currey, 1996), 26; and Skeffington,, *Tanganyika in Transition, 8.*

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German economic interests focused more on the north-eastern than the southern parts of Tanzania. Thus the majority of the Wangoni were forced to shift their economic orientation to migrant labour to sustain their livelihoods.[122]

In the aftermath of the Majimaji war, the colonised Africans in Tanganyika and Ungoni in particular were further oriented towards the production of export commodities needed by the German industries. The Germans had established sisal and rubber plantations in Usambara, Pangani and Mombo, the north-eastern coastal regions. They also introduced sisal and cotton schemes along the central railway line from Morogoro to Kilosa, and the areas around Lindi along the south-western coast. They also established European settler coffee farms in the areas around Usambara Mountain, and on the slopes of Kilimanjaro and Meru Mountains in the northern part of Tanganyika.[123] Apart from these plantations and settler farms, they also developed *arabica* and *robusta* coffee farms in Bukoba to the west of Lake Victoria. These settler farms, plantations and major contract projects required a massive supply of labourers from other parts of the territory, including the Wangoni of southern Tanzania.[124] Therefore, by 1914, excluding the few peasant producers, there were about 172,000 African wage earners working in the colonial economic sectors in the north-eastern coastal regions.[125]

In this situation the Germans made several attempts to address the labour question in German East Africa. First, through the local chiefs, they recruited some Africans and freed slaves around the plantations and settler farms for some remuneration. But these were not enough to meet the labour demand.[126] Secondly, through rural proletarianisation programmes, the local African peasants from upcountry areas were resettled at the coastal areas to address the labour shortage in the plantations. This was, however, also not successful as people became reluctant to work for European enterprises. Thirdly, an experiment to import foreign migrant labourers from south-west Asia in the 1890s proved failure because it was found that they were too

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[122] See Redmond, 'Majimaji in Ungoni'.
[123] See K.I. Tambila, 'Botanical Imperialism in Action German and Cotton in East Africa: 1886-1914', *Tanzania Zamani, A Journal of Historical Research and Writing,* 1. 4, 1996), 27-57; and Tambila, 'The Great Depression and Peasant Societies', 123-127.
[124] Tambila, 'The Great Depression and Peasant Societies', 123-127.
[125] K. R. Curtis, 'Cooperative and Cooptation: The Struggles for Market Control in Bukoba District of Colonial Tanganyika', *The International Journal of African Historical Studies*, 25, 3, (1992), 505-538.
[126] B. Egero, 'Population Movement and the Colonial Economy of Tanzania', Research Paper 35, CCM Library in Dodoma.

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expensive to transport and they demanded higher wages.[127] It had to be abandoned in ten years later. Land alienation as a method for securing labour power proved disastrous in densely populated areas of Kilimanjaro and many Africans escaped from the white settlements. Taxation and forced labour did not succeed in addressing the shortage of labour in the plantations and public works.[128] Most of these labour recruitment strategies led to African resistance, including the Majimaji war in southern Tanzania. Therefore, soon after the war the colonial state created labour reserve areas, including the Ungoni country of southern Tanzania to supply a labour force to the colonial production sectors along the north-eastern coast. It was in this context that a large part of the Wangoni were drawn into labour migration to produce the strategic raw materials needed by German industry.

There are three reasons for the integration of the Wangoni into the colonial labour economy. First, between 1906 and 1907 much of the Wangoni lay barren, desolated and desperate, because the Ungoni land was almost empty and completely deserted because of the protracted period of destruction of food, grains and cattle during the Majimaji war. This situation led to an enormous movement of people to escape the famine and poverty created by the war.[129] The colonial institution of taxation further integrated the Wangoni into the labour economy. Before the Majimaji war, the Wangoni traditionally did not involve themselves in crop cultivation; in most cases they used war captives for agricultural production. During the early colonial penetration, therefore, the Wangoni could pay taxes either from the crops grown by their war captives or in rupees (money) by engaging in porterage activities for colonialists. This was influenced by the growing need for porterage services recruited for trade between Songea and the Indian coast. Following the German conquest in Ungoni and the Majimaji war, the colonialists halted or disrupted the raiding economy and the political system. Hence the new economic conditions gave the Wangoni no choice but to engage in labour migration in the colonial plantations in the north-eastern part of Tanzania.[130] See Figure 6 for the movement of migrant labourers in colonial Tanganyika in the aftermath of the Majimaji war.

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[127] J. Koponen, Development for Exploitation German Colonial Policies in Mainland Tanzania, 1884-1914, (Hamburg: Helsinki, 1995), 321-338.
[128] Koponen, *Development for Exploitation*, 339-347; and Egero, 'Population Movement'.
[129] See Egero, 'Population Movement'.
[130] CCMNA, Historia ya Mapambano ya Kujikomboa Mkoa wa Ruvuma; and Egero, 'Population Movement'; and Koponen, Development for Exploitation, 366-414.

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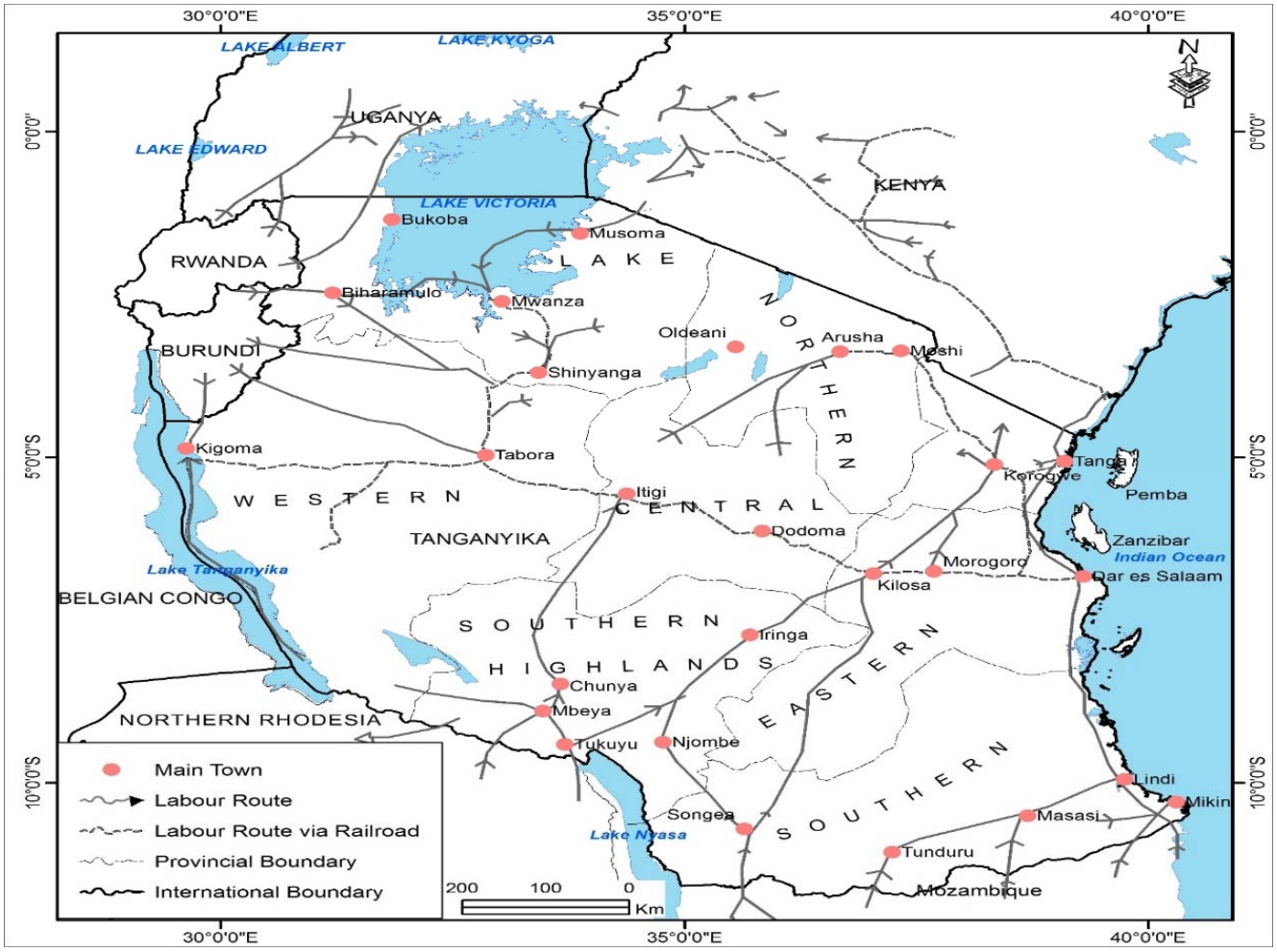

Figure 6: Colonial Labour Routes in Tanganyika.[131]

Lastly, the southern region of the Wangoni was disadvantaged by the pattern of the German colonial economic strategies created in Tanganyika. Between 1890 and 1907 German colonial policy primarily focused on the development of commercial cash-crop production in the north-eastern coastal regions, where they had introduced sisal and cotton plantations, which were connected to the railway network between the interior and the Indian coast. These plantations faced severe challenges of labour supply and food production.[132] In addressing the constraints on these plantations, the German colonial state developed two main economic patterns, including growth and non-growth zones. The growth zone comprised cash-crop production

[131] Modified from Egero, 'Population Movement and the Colonial Economy of Tanzania', Research Paper No. 35, UDSM, 1974.

[132] See Catherine C. Fourshey, 'The Remedy for Hunger Is Bending the Back": Maize and British Agricultural Policy in Southwestern Tanzania 1920-1960', *The International Journal of African Historical Studies*, 41, 2, (2008), 223-261.

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regions, while non-growth zone consisted of labour reserve and food crop production regions.[133] Notwithstanding its ideal climatic conditions and potential for agriculture, labour and Christian conversions (as reported by the early travellers and German missionaries), the Ungoni country was categorised as falling within the orbit of non-growth zone because of its inaccessibility in transport and communication networks and the European's punitive attitudes towards the Wangoni after the long Majimaji war.[134] Other areas which fell into this zone included the Unyamwezi country of Tabora and the Ujiji country of Kigoma in western Tanzania. Therefore, soon after the Majimaji war, the Wangoni of Ruvuma assumed the significant role of being a labour reserve. It supplied migrant labourers for the sisal, cotton and tea plantations in Morogoro and Tanga regions.

Majimaji, however, provided a significant lesson to the German colonial state that a coercive plantation economy was too complex to realise German industrial needs. It escalated widespread famines, social starvation, labour shortages and increased confrontations between the local Africans and European planters. Over the course of time German agrarian policy shifted to economic diversification from a plantation economy, as a rule because they learnt that coercive labour could no longer bear fruit after the Majimaji war.[135] Under the new economic model the colonial state adopted a diversified economic policy within which the plantation economy was to be carried alongside peasant crop production. Albrecht Freiherr von Rechenberg, the newly appointed German Governor to Tanganyika, in the midst of the Majimaji war, clearly stated that "the state would continue to use 'persuasion' to encourage Africans to pursue plans that the Germans saw as most promising in order to develop the country."[136] This statement by the governor illustrated the commitment of the colonial state to integrate peasant production into the colonial agricultural policy. By 1908, for example, the local peasants produced about 66% of all cotton grown in Tanganyika, and by 1912 the local peasant cotton growers had almost caught up with settler production. By 1914 the expansion of peasant production was striking; apart from peasant coffee production in Bukoba around Lake Victoria, it had spread to Shinyanga and Tabora, where the majority of the Wanyamwezi and Wasukuma were also growing groundnuts. Not only that, but there was also expansion of

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[133] Egero, 'Population Movement', 35.
[134] See Doerr, *Peramiho 1898-1998;* Fourshey, 'Remedy for Hunger'; and Egero, 'Population Movement'.
[135] Fourshey, 'Remedy for Hunger', 233-234.
[136] Fourshey, 'Remedy for Hunger', 233-234.

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rice, maize and millet peasant production in the south of Lake Victoria and southern Tanzania.[137] In Ruvuma, oral accounts insists that the Germans made relatively few attempts to establish peasant cash-crop production; instead the government continued to encourage the Wangoni to provide migrant wage labour to the sisal, tea and coffee plantations in the east coast regions.[138]

The colonial administration introduced various forms of taxes which were to be paid in cash or grains and/or cattle. For those who failed to pay tax were indirectly forced to work on plantations in Tanga and Morogoro.[139] It should also be noted that the colonial state used taxation as mechanism behind the development of the migrant labour economy. The local Africans in the labour reserve areas were left with almost no option but to become migrant labourers. The Wangoni and Wandendeuli people of Ruvuma, whose grains and cattle had been almost devastated during the war, were automatically forced to travel long distance on foot or by lorry (during the 1950s) to the north-east coast plantations for economic gains to improve their family livelihoods as well as to get money for the payment of taxes. The colonial district reports and census reveal that up to the mid-1920s about 20% of the Wangoni and Wandendeuli men (between 6,000 and 7,000 labour migrants) left the old Songea district per annum.[140] According to the African Census report of 1957, about 40% of the Wangoni male population between 17 and 50 were living and working outside the district during the 1940s.[141] Similarly, Gulliver's sample survey indicated that "By far the largest number of Ngoni migrants found their work in Kilosa area – up to 40% – in the north-east region (Tanga, Korogwe, and Pangani) as the other popular area." See Table 2 for simple survey figures on the destinations of migrant labourers in Tanganyika.

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[137] Tambila, 'The Great Depression and Peasant Societies', 123-127.
[138] Interview with Mzee Interview with Mzee John Mjombe, Mlale village, 9 August 2016; and Namanguli and Namtumbo Group Interviews, 12-13 August 2016.
[139] Interview with Mzee John Mjombe, Mlale, 9 August 2016; and John B. Mwingira, Matimila, 11 August 2016.
[140] NAT, 1733/9, Songea District Annual Report, 1924.
[141] (GvT), African Census report 1957, (Government Printer, Dar es Salaam, 1963).

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Table 2: Destination of Migrants in Tanganyika since 1925.[142]

S/N	DESTINATION	NO. MIGRANTS	PARCENTAGE (%)
1.	Kilosa	809	36.5
2.	Tanga	364	18
3.	Dar es Salaam	213	9.5
4.	Lindi	171	7
5.	Morogoro	92	4
6.	All others	553	25
		2,202	**100**

The colonial emphasis on labour migrants in the aftermath of the Majimaji war adversely affected the economy of the Ungoni country and the socio-economic livelihood of the local Africans in southern Tanzania. First, the continuous loss of annual labour manpower influenced the decline of agricultural productivity in Ruvuma. A large number of able-bodied men between 17 and 50 years who had an effective role to play in the improvement of agricultural productivity had left the region.

In the second section of this chapter we saw the extent to which the pre-colonial Wangoni men played a significant role in the preparation of the fields, especially felling the miombo trees in virgin land, and in cultivation and the construction of grain storage facilities. Because of the low-technology agricultural, the men's absence accelerated the decline of the rural economy in the region. Secondly, it created a kind of semi-proletarianised peasant economy in the region. The majority of the migrants left families behind and these now had to produce grain for their own survival as well as for the colonial market. The families separated from the father were forced to find food and other economic necessities for themselves.[143] Thirdly, the absence of the men perpetuated poverty and underdevelopment in the region. The majority of African labourers in Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland engaged in migrant labour because of the cash

[142] Modified from Gulliver, (1955), 7.
[143] Interview with Mzee Benedict A. Tembo, Retired SONAMCU officer, 10 February 2016; NAT, SEC/10388, 1/53 of 13.10.1927, Director of Agriculture, Memorandum on Survey-'Ungoni-Umatengo Basic Economic Survey'; and NAT, 504, 4/3, 1928-44 Fire-cured Tobacco General, Tobacco Report-1933 Season, Agricultural Officer-Songea to The Senior Agricultural Officer-Lindi, Ref. 22/337,17 October 1933.

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wages that could be earned.[144] This thesis however, noted that most of the migrant labourers in Tanganyika were paid low wages, which meant that capital accumulation was almost impossible. Eventually the migrant labour system perpetuated the annual absence of men who repeatedly travelled to the coast with little or no success. Lastly, it cultivated an inferiority complex among the local Africans because of the lack of a permanent cash-crop economy until much later, when the British introduced commercial coffee, cashew nuts and tobacco production between the 1920s and the 1930s.

However, as this thesis explores in detail in the subsequent chapters, the introduction of a viable cash-crop economy, especially the tobacco industry, came much later in the 1930s (over four decades after the introduction of colonialism in Tanganyika in the 1890s), because with the outbreak of the Majimaji war the Germans seem to have abandoned their early crop experimentation in various parts of the region. Prior to the war, the Germans conducted several crop experiments in growing coffee, tobacco and cotton in Tanga, Lindi and Mwanza regions from the late 19th to the early 20th centuries.[145] In Ruvuma the Germans and Benedictine missionaries made several attempt to explore the suitability of cash crops. Firstly, by 1900 the Germans launched a project to finance local agencies who could undertake coffee-growing experiments in Songea, Moshi and Kilosa.[146] In Songea a coffee experiment at Chikole settlement was conducted by the Arab traders around 1900, but unfortunately the crop could not bear fruit as it was destroyed during the Majimaji war. Secondly, between 1900 and 1909 the Peramiho Benedictine missionaries again undertook several cash-crop experiments at Kigonsera, Peramiho and Litembo missionary centres. Available records reveal that the missionaries made attempts to grow citrus fruit such as oranges as well as pineapples and bananas in various centres including Peramiho in Ungoni and Litembo in Umatengo. This experiment proved a failure because of remoteness of the area, which made it impossible to transport perishable goods to the coast.[147] Further experiment to grow sisal was conducted in Tunduru district and along the shores of Lake Nyasa. The experiment proved to be success, but

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[144] Frederick Cooper, *Decolonisation and African Society The Labour question in French and British Africa*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996); G.P. Mpangala, 'A History of Colonial Production in the Songea District, Tanzania, 1897-1961', MA Thesis, University of Dar es Salaam, 1977; and Steven C. Rubert, *A Most promising Weed A History of Tobacco Framing and Labour in Colonial Zimbabwe, 1890-1945,* (Athens: Ohio University Center for International Studies, 1998).
[145] NAT, 78/25, German East Africa Agricultural Report GEAAR), 1903/4 and 1904/5
[146] NAT, 33 'GEAAR', 1900/01.
[147] For all reports on crop experiments see Sijaona, 'Ngoni-Matengo Co-operative Union'.

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it had to be abandoned because the Germans believed that sisal production would be impossible without a railway connection to the coast. In 1905 an attempt was made to grow upland cotton for Ungoni, but it failed because of pests and lack of irrigation (a practice which was unknown to the local African farmers). Finally, much later between 1920 and 1930 coffee was experimented with again by the Benedictine missionaries at Peramiho, Kigonsera, Litembo Lipumba and Muyangayanga.

The results from these experiments proved that the crops could flourish and thrive at Litembo and Muyangayanga; in Lipumba the crop was attacked by borer beetles and in Peramiho the results were also a failure. The prosperity of coffee production experiments came to very little, as the German colonial state paid almost no attention to encourage or invest in these attempts in Ruvuma as they had developed a punitive attitude against the Wangoni of southern Tanzania.[148] Secondly, with the outbreak of the WWI, the crop almost died in the region as a result of negligence.[149] However, the experiments conducted by the British colonial Department of Agriculture between 1920s and 1930s proved that coffee could thrive in the Umatengo highlands, while fire-cured tobacco could be grown in Ungoni and Undendeuli areas of Ruvuma.[150] This was also supported by E. Reid, who observed that during the boom period of 1924-1929 the British government in Tanganyika under Sir Donald Cameron took deliberate measures to promote peasant agriculture in various parts of the territory.[151] With the completion of the central railway lines from Tabora to Mwanza, from Moshi to Arusha and from Manyoni to Iramba, the colonial state established intensive crop cultivation programmes. Cameron noted that: "European agriculture, notably sisal, coffee and maize, was actively developed. Cotton cultivation, chiefly under Greeks, made amazing strides along the Central Line, tea and *tobacco* were added to the other tropical products which the Territory has shown she can grow in quantities and of high quality"[152] (Emphasis mine). This thesis demonstrates in detail in Chapter Three that all these cash-crops experiments, like the geographical and historical factors

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[148] Sijaona, 'Ngoni-Matengo Cooperative Union'; and NAT, SEC/10388, 1/53 of 13.10.1927, Director of Agriculture, Memorandum on Survey – "Ungoni-Umatengo Basic Economic Survey".
[149] Sijaona, 'Ngoni-Matengo Co-operative Union'.
[150] NAT, 504, 4/3, 1928-44 Fire-cured Tobacco General, 'Report on tobacco growing at Ligoola, Tunduru', District Agricultural Officer-Songea, to The Hon. Director of Agriculture-Dar es Salaam, Ref. 23/2, 26th October, 1928, and Tobacco Report-1933 Season, Agricultural Officer-Songea to The Senior Agricultural Officer-Lindi, Ref. 22/337,17 October 1933.
[151] E. Reid, Tanganyika Without Prejudice A Balanced, Critical Review of the Territory and her Peoples, (London: East Africa, 1933), 38-39.
[152] Reid, Tanganyika Without Prejudice, 39.

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noted above, played an important role as pre-conditions for the establishment of African commercial peasant tobacco production during the early 1930s.

Conclusion

Socio-environmental (ecological, geographical and historical) factors such as climate, water resources, soil type and quality, population, migration, the Ngoni invasion, the Majimaji war and the creation of the labour reserve areas were important pre-conditions for the rise of African commercial peasant tobacco production the Ungoni and Undendeuli areas of Ruvuma in the early 1930s. This chapter has set up the chapters that follow by providing a geographical context and historical overview of the study area under review, particularly the location, the populations, the pre-colonial economy and the German occupation of the Ungoni country in Ruvuma, explaining the pre-colonial economy. It demonstrated that the indigenous subsistence economy was disrupted and replaced with the raiding economy following the Wangoni invasion and the subsequent emergence of the two powerful Wangoni states Njelu and Mshope during the mid-19th century. However, the Wangoni raiding and slave economy had not existed for long before it was overcome by the German occupation in the late 19th century. The chapter explained that the creation of the German economy in the Ungoni country resulted in the outbreak of the Majimaji war between the 1905 and 1907. The war almost ruined the Ungoni economy and as a result the area emerged as significant labour reserve for colonial Tanganyika. It was also noted that until as late as the 1920s, the British colonial state resumed the abandoned investigations into cash crops and the findings proved that coffee could thrive in the Umatengo highlands, cashew nuts in Tunduru district and – importantly for this thesis – tobacco could flourish in Ungoni country. This chapter has therefore provided the geographical and historical context for the long-term pre-conditions for the emergence of African peasant commercial tobacco production in the 1930s. The following chapter will explore in greater detail the role of state and the resultant impacts of the rise and development of the fire-cured tobacco industry in Ruvuma between 1930 and the 1940.

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CHAPTER THREE

The "Plant More Crops" Campaign and the Making of Peasant Tobacco Production, 1930-1940.

Introduction

Between the 1970s and the early 2000s the agrarian history of Africa revolved around a particularly important story: how to understand the peasantry. Many scholars insisted that the story of African peasantry was unique and that it could only be fully understood in a historical perspective – in its idiographic context.[1] Goran Hyden contended that the term "African peasantry" was a recent construction that only started to play a historical role at a time when peasants in other parts of the world were being pushed off the historical stage.[2] As discussed in Chapter One (after a long debate on the conceptions of African peasantry), today the term "peasant" is generally used to refer to the rural producers in Africa.[3] This chapter noted that since then the historiography of African peasantry in East Africa focused on the debate over the conception of the terms 'peasant' and 'peasantry'; the analysis of the relationship between state, estate and peasant production; African peasant protest; and the debate on the post-colonial state and peasant commodity production.[4] In the late 1970s, Henry Bernstein for example started thinking on writing about peasantry and capitalism, and indeed thereafter as one of the pioneering editor of the *Journal of Agrarian Change,* he began pushing on studies

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[1] Allen Isaacman, 'Peasants and Rural Social Protest in Africa', *African Studies Review*, 33, 2, (1990), 1-120; Claude E. Welch, Jr., Peasants as A focus in African studies, *African Studies Review*, 20, 3, (1977), 1-5; Goran Hyden, *Beyond Ujamaa in Tanzania: Underdevelopment and an Uncaptured Peasantry*, Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1980), 10; Isaria N. Kimambo, *Penetration and Protest in Tanzania: The impact of the world economy on the Pare, 1860-1960*, (London: James Currey, 1991); Steven Feierman, *Peasant Intellectuals: Anthropology and History*, (Madison Wisconsin: The Wisconsin University Press, 1990); and Terence Ranger, 'Growing from the Roots: Reflections on Peasant Research in Central and Southern Africa', *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 5, 1, (1978), 99-133.

[2] Hyden, Beyond Ujamaa in Tanzania, 10-11.

[3] Deborah Fahy Bryceson, 'Peasant Commodity Production in Post-colonial Tanzania', *African Affairs*, 81, 325, 1982), 547-567; Hayden, *Beyond Ujamaa in Tanzania*; and Ranger, 'Growing from the Roots: Reflections on Peasant Research in Central and Southern Africa',

[4] B.J. Berman and J.M. Lonsdale, 'Crisis of Accumulation, Coercion and Colonial State: the development of labour control System in Kenya, 1919-1929', *Canadian Journal of African Studies*, 14, 1, (1980), 55-81; Bryceson, 'Peasant Commodity Production in Post-colonial Tanzania'; Feierman, *Peasant Intellectuals:* John McCracken, 'Planters, Peasants and the Colonial State: The Impact of the Native Tobacco Board in the Central Province of Malawi', *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 9, 2, (1983), 172-192; Ranger, 'Growing from the Roots: Reflections on Peasant Research in Central and Southern Africa'; and R.M. Maxon, 'Up in Smoke: Peasants, Capital and the Colonial State in Tobacco Industry in Western Kenya, 1930-1939', *African Economic History*, 22, (1994), 111-139.

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related to agrarian change, and peasant struggles and class relations.[5] In the 1980s, Hyden challenged the Marxist and underdevelopment frameworks for dominating the study of African peasantry. He used a socio-political frame to analyse African peasantry as representing an independent mode of production separate from capitalism or socialism. He argued that African peasantry as a social class was created by the colonial powers over hundred years ago and the process of transforming rural African producers into peasants is still continuing.[6] B.J. Berman and J.M. Lonsdale (1980), R.M. Maxon (1994) and John McCracken (1983) in Kenya and Malawi stressed the dynamic and ambiguous role of the state in the development and control of estates and African peasant production.[7] Recently, Isaria Kimambo (1991) contended that rural peasant protest was a result of the penetration of colonial capital into region of the Pare of north-eastern Tanganyika[8], while Steven Feierman (1990) (who with Kimambo revisited the sites of their earlier works among the Pare and Shambaa),[9] stressed the role of African initiatives to capture the voices of African peasants during the times of colonial and post-colonial changes.[10] Similarly, G.R. Cunningham (1973), and Jannik Boesen and A.T. Mohele (1979) used a political economic analysis to capture the role of African peasantry in the development of flue-cured tobacco in colonial and post-colonial Tanzania.[11] Therefore, existing agrarian historiography in East Africa focussed the conception of African peasants, peasant protests, the post-colonial development of flue-cured peasant tobacco production and relationship between state, estate and African peasant production. As a result, the study of the commercial fire-cured tobacco grown by African peasants has been given little attention in scholarship. This chapter thus contributes to the historiography of African peasant production

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[5] See Henry Bernstein and Terence J. Byres, 'From Peasant Studies to Agrarian Change', *Journal of Agrarian Change*, 1, 1, (2001), 1-56; and Liam Campling and Jens Lerche, 'Introduction to the Special Issue The Political Economy of Agrarian Change: Essays in Appreciation of Henry Bernstein', *Journal of Agrarian Change*, 16, 13, (2016), 365-369.
[6] Hyden, Beyond Ujamaa in Tanzania.
[7] Berman and Lonsdale, 'Crisis of Accumulation, Coercion and Colonial State'; Maxon, 'Up in Smoke: Peasants, Capital and the Colonial State in Tobacco Industry in Western Kenya, 1930-1939'; and McCracken, 'Planters, Peasants and the Colonial State: The Impact of the Native Tobacco Board in the Central Province of Malawi'.
[8] Kimambo, Penetration and Protest in Tanzania.
[9] I.N. Kimambo, *A Political History of the Pare of Tanzania*, c. 1500-1900, (Nairobi: East African Publishing House, 1969); and Steven Feierman, *The Shambaa Kingdom: A History*, (Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1974).
[10] Feierman, Peasant Intellectuals.
[11] G.R. Cunningham, 'Peasants and Rural Development in Tanzania', Africa Today, 20, 4, (1973), 3-18; and Jannik Boesen and A.T. Mohela, The Success story of peasant Tobacco production in Tanzania: the political economy of a commodity producing peasantry, (Uppsala: Scandinavian Institute of African Studies, 1979).

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in East Africa by focusing on the debate over the colonial state and the development of African tobacco production in Tanganyika.

This chapter makes a critical examination on the role of the colonial administration in the rise and development of African commercial tobacco production in southern Tanganyika. It builds on the work of Berman and Lonsdale (1980), and McCracken (1983) in rejecting the notion that the colonial state was simply an instrument for supervising metropolitan capital. Indeed, as this chapter will argue, this view underplays the dynamic role of the state, which also established economic enterprises and accumulated capital from African peasant producers. This chapter therefore uses the British "Plant More Crops" campaign as a window to view the role of the state in the rise of peasant production of fire-cured tobacco and its resultant impacts in the Ungoni country of Ruvuma region between 1930 and 1940. It argues that the rise of commercial tobacco production in the Ungoni country was largely influenced by the top-down state policy of "Plant More Crops", which was widely imposed on peasant agriculture in Tanganyika by the colonial state during the 1930s. This strategy involved a considerable use of force to make African peasants produce more and more crops for export in order to meet the increased demand from the British metropolitan economy. Exploring the factors involved in the rise of African peasant commercial production, this chapter contends that the fire-cured tobacco industry in Ungoni country emerged as an alternative cash crop production sector to address the economic problems brought about by the Great Depression of the 1930s. The chapter also focuses on the motives behind the state's efforts to plant a "European tobacco culture" in the Ungoni country, and the impact of this, from its embryonic stage in 1930 to its advanced stage in 1940.

The WWI and The British Protectorate in Tanganyika up to the 1930

Over five decades now, the study of the World War I and its impacts in Africa has attracted attention of many historians across the world. A two days conference on "the Impact of World War I on Africa" held at a School of Oriental and African Studies in London in 1977 highlighted two main challenges of studying the history of Africa during the WWI. The first was the diversity of African continent and the people's experience of the war, and the second

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challenge was the idea that unlike the WWII[12], the WWI did not mark a turning point in African history.[13] Hence, in this conference, while some scholars viewed the war as imperialist war which could not be separated from the European imperialism and empires, some historians like Lloyd George viewed the WWI as a European war which certainly engaged other continents in the world between 1914 and 1918. Richard Rathbone writing in 1978 similarly stated that WWI was partly a smoke-screen which blinded the metropolitan critics of colonialism in Africa.[14] He insisted that the colonial authorities in Africa used the war in Europe as a smoke-screen to pursue their goals in the continent.[15] Again Ross Anderson writing in 2001 argued that as compared to the western imperialist powers, the WWI in East Africa was a wide campaign for conquering the colonial territories in the region with scant forces. The war was small in scale, unprepared and strategically unimportant.[16] Despite the diverse views on the understanding of the impact of WWI in Africa, this chapter extends the idea that the war was an imperialistic war which affected many African colonies including the Tanganyika territory. During the WWI, Tanganyika like other African colonies as a battle ground for the war, did not just experience some causalities but also witnessed some political and economic transformations (including the change of political power in the former Germany colonies and the rise of various campaign for improvement and intensification of African agricultural production and minerals) in order to meet the needs of the war and of the global capitalism. Consequently, the colonial states in Africa adopted various war time measures which affected the local Africans both directly and indirectly. Some of these measures which affected the local Africans included the recruitment of African soldiers, and labourers, as well as the intensification of agricultural production, over taxation and the continuous decline of price for African produce.[17] Therefore, with all these measures taken by the colonial authorities in Africa

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[12] The World War II was the second imperialist war fought between 1939 and 1945. The war in which there is wide consensus by many scholars that it was the turning point of social economic and political transformation in Africa. See for example, Ali A. Mazrui, 'Africa and the Legacy of WWII: Political. Economic and Cultural Aspects', In UNESCO, *Africa and the Second World War*, Report and Papers of the Symposium Organised by UNESCO at Benghazi, 10-13 November, 1980, (Paris: French University Press, 1985); Richard Rathbone, 'World War I and Africa: Introduction', *Journal of African History*, 19, 1, (1978), 1-9.

[13] Rathbone, 'World War I and Africa: Introduction'; and Ross Anderson, 'World War I in East Africa', PhD Thesis, University of Glasgow, (2001).

[14] Rathbone, 'World War I and Africa: Introduction', 1-4.

[15] Anderson, 'World War I in East Africa 1916-1918', 1-2

[16] Anderson, 'World War in East Africa', i.

[17] For the wider debate on the impacts of the WWI, see also Anderson, 'World War in East Africa'; Catherine C. Fourshey, 'The Remedy for Hunger Is Bending the Back": Maize and British Agricultural Policy in Southwestern Tanzania 1920-1960', *The International Journal of African Historical Studies*, 41, 2 (2008), 223-261; John Iliffe,

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during the war, it could be argued that the WWI certainly affected African agricultural production during and after the war in Tanganyika and other parts of the continent.

Most importantly following the defeat of the German during the war, the post WWI saw the transfer of the German colonial possession in East and West Africa. In German East Africa for example, this chapter noted that towards the end of the WWI, the Tanganyika territory, including the Ruvuma region, witnessed the transition of the imperial power from the German to the British colonial state. Following the turbulence of the war, the League of Nation, through the Peace Treaty of 1919 mandated Great Britain to administer the Tanganyika territory. About 25 years later the mandate status of Tanganyika changed to trusteeship territory following the United Nations' growing concern over the need to protect people's interests in the colonies.[18] E. Bevin, the then British Foreign Secretary of State, declared an official resolution to place Tanganyika under trusteeship on 17 January 1946, just after the UN meeting. Under the trusteeship system the British were expected to play an administrative role to stabilise Tanganyika's destroyed economy and rectify the weakness of the German colonial economic policy, which was seen to be harsh and coercive in nature.[19] In administering the Tanganyika territory between 1920s and 1960s, British colonial development policy was highly influenced by the following forces. The first was that the British did not start from *tabula rasa*. Britain had to learn from the weaknesses of the German colonial economic policies, especially the direct rule system and the coercive labour recruitment strategy, which both led to frequent African resistance movements. Secondly, the colonial policy was largely conditioned by Britain's declining economic hegemony and the emergence of America as the world superpower in the late 19th and the early 20th century.[20] Thirdly, the policy was partly triggered by the deepening economic crisis in Britain as a result of its direct involvement in WWI, the Great Depression of the early 1930s, WWII, and the independence of Britain's valuable

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Agricultural Change in Modern Tanganyika: An Outline History, (Nairobi: East African Publishing House, 1971); and Rathbone, 'World War I and Africa: Introduction',

[18] See A. Skeffington, MP, *Tanganyika in Transition*, Fabian Research Series 2012, (London: Fabian Commonwealth Bureau, 1960), 8; Harald Sippel, 'Customary family in colonial Tanganyika: a study of change and continuity', *The Comparative and International Law Journal of Southern Africa*, 31, 3, (1998), 373-383; and Walter Rodney, 'The Political Economy of the Colonial Tanganyika, 1890-1930', In M.H.Y. Kaniki (eds), *Tanzania under Colonial Rule*, (London: Longman,1979),128-163 .

[19] Fourshey, 'The Remedy for Hunger'; and Skeffington, *Tanganyika in Transition*.

[20] Fourshey, 'Remedy for Hunger'; and John Iliffe, *A Modern History of Tanganyika*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979).

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colonies of India and Ghana.[21] Considering all these forces behind the colonial policy, the British now treated Tanganyika not just as a mandate territory but rather as a suddenly important colony – indeed, a panacea for rehabilitating her own crippled economy. Hence the British development policy to a large extent was modelled to respond to the need to rehabilitate the British metropolitan economy.[22] Therefore, this chapter while highlighting some contribution of the WWI in the emergence of the British protectorate in 1919 and subsequent establishment of tobacco production in Tanganyika, it also (as demonstrated in chapter Two and Four) acknowledges the important and dynamic role of the Majimaji war of the 1900s, the Great Depression of the early 1930s and the WWII in the late establishment, control and dynamics of peasant tobacco production in the Ungoni and Undendeuli areas of southern Tanganyika during the 1930s.

Moreover, David Anderson (1984) noted that during the 1930s the British colonial state started to take an effective interest in the pattern and methods of African peasant production in the East African territories. British interests were influenced by the desire to increase African peasant production as attempt to offset the impact of the depression on the territories, which were at this time also facing the threat of demographic pressure, overproduction and soil erosion.[23] Henceforth, the colonial administration in East Africa came up with the so-called 'betterment campaigns' for the intensification of African peasant production, land utilisation schemes and rehabilitation projects, which in fact absorbed local and metropolitan capital between the 1930s and 1950s.[24]

In this context the colonial administration introduced a coercive "Plant More Crops" campaign[25] to promote peasant agriculture. The major object of this campaign was to force African peasant producers expand their area of production and increase their production output,

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[21] Iliffe, Modern History.
[22] David Anderson, 'Depression, Dust Bowl, Demography, and Drought: The Colonial State and Soil Conservation in East Africa during the 1930s', *African Affairs*, 83, 332, (1984), 321-343.
[23] Anderson, 'Depression, Dust Bowl, Demography, and Drought', 322.
[24] Anderson, 'Depression, Dust Bowl, Demography, and Drought'.
[25] The 'Plant More Crops 'or 'Grow More Crops' campaign was the British colonial strategy to increase agricultural production by encouraging African peasants and European planters to grow more crops for export. It was adopted in during the 1930s as an attempt to increase exportation of agricultural raw materials into Britain as well as to increase farmer's income and food security in the territory, following the economic impact of the Great Depression. NAT, 215/694/1, Lake Province-Increased production and development of the Naïve Crops. Also see Fourshey, 'Remedy for Hunger'; and Rodney, 'The Political Economy of the Colonial Tanganyika, 1890-1930', 150-151.

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despite low prices during the crisis.[26] Between 1930 and 1933, in implementing this campaign, the Governor made several speeches on the matter, the Chief Secretary issued numerous circulars, the District Officers held several conferences and the Directors of Agriculture issued propaganda at the provincial and district levels.[27] Despite the technical challenges observed shortly after the 'Plant More Crops' campaign had started (that it compromised quality for quantity and involved poor land use), the campaign induced permanent growth in the peasant sector in Tanganyika.[28] The Tanganyika Annual report in 1935 revealed a significant increase in peasant production for both food and export crops. African peasant production (cotton, coffee, groundnuts, beeswax, copra and cereals) was reported to have increased in Mwanza, in the Lake Province, Kilimanjaro and Tanga, in the Eastern Province, and the labour reserve areas of Lindi and Ruvuma in the Southern Province.[29] By the mid-1930s exports of coffee, cotton, grains and other products, including fire-cured tobacco from the Ruvuma region, largely reached record levels. By 1937, for instance, export production increased to 91 tons from 46 tons in 1929, 61 tons in 1932, and 81 tons in 1935.[30] Therefore, as a result of the 'Plant More Crops' campaign, cash crop peasant production expanded side by side with estate production in various parts of Tanganyika territory, including the establishment and expansion of peasant commercial fire-cured tobacco production in the Ungoni country of Southern Province during the early 1930s.

The Roots of the African Commercial Tobacco Production in the early 1930s

As a result of the British 'Plant More Crops' campaign, the early 1930s heralded a turning point in the history of peasant tobacco production in southern Tanganyika. The first chapter of this thesis pointed out the extent to which the majority of scholars have highlighted the timing of the tobacco industry in Ruvuma, which started around the 1930s. This chapter (Three) focuses on the context, motives and the dynamics of the production chain among the peasants during

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[26] Kapepwa I. Tambila, 'The Great Depression and Peasant Societies in Tanganyika 1930-1937', Die *Waltwirtschaftskrise der dreibiger Jahre in der Dritten Welt; Sonderfall oder Einstieg in die Strukturse der Gegenwart?*, (Universitat Hannover, Historisches Seminar, Lehrgebiet Aubereuropaische Geschite, 1990), 136-137.

[27] TNA, 215/694/1, Lake Province-Increased production and development of the Naïve Crops.

[28] Anderson, 'Depression, Dust Bowl, Demography, and Drought'; and Rodney, 'Political Economy of the Colonial Tanganyika', 151.

[29] NAT, 23217, Annual Report 1935; and NAT, 77/2/44, Iringa Agriculture-Cooperative Societies.

[30] Laurent Sago, 'A History of Labour Migration in Kasulu District, Tanzania, 1928-1960', M.A Thesis, University of Dar es Salaam, 1974; Rodney, 'Political Economy of the Colonial Tanganyika', 152-153; and Tambila, 'Great Depression and Peasant Societies', 136-139.

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the emergence of fire-cured tobacco production in the region. Towards the late 1920s the colonial state through the Department of Agriculture made an attempt to investigate the suitability and feasibility of cash crop production in the old Songea district, in the Ruvuma region. The Department of Agriculture recommended that tobacco could be produced as cash crop.[31] This chapter (Three) argues that while in Nyasaland (Malawi) and Southern Rhodesia (Zimbabwe), commercial tobacco production was started earlier during the colonial penetration (between the last quarter of 19th and the early 20th centuries), by the European planters (before they incorporated African peasant production after the mid-1920s),[32] in the Ruvuma region and Tanganyika in general production started four decades later as African peasant production during the early 1930s. As explained in the second chapter of this thesis, during the early colonial days in Tanganyika (first by the Germans and then by the British), the Ruvuma region was categorised as a labour reserve area. Henceforth little attempt was made to establish a permanent cash crop economy in the area. It was not until the 1930s that the colonial administration started to pioneer cash cropping in the area to address the consequences of the Great Depression of the early 1930s for the British metropolitan economy and to the rural livelihoods in the colony.[33]

Between the late 1920s and the early 1930s the colonial state took deliberate attempts to establish a viable cash crop economy by improving locally grown tobacco for export. This was mainly for two reasons. First, before the outbreak of the WWI there were some few unsuccessful experiments by the Germans to establish tobacco as a plantation crop in Usambara in the north eastern Tanganyika. These experiments were unsuccessful because the geography of the area was not favourable tobacco plantation.[34] Secondly, for many years the local Africans were growing indigenous tobacco for local and regional domestic consumption used for snuff, smoking and chewing. But this kind of local tobacco did not involve complicated technical

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[31] See CCMNA, (URT), 'The Cooperative Movement in Tanganyika'; and NAT, SEC/10388, 1/53, 13.10.1927, Director of Agriculture, Memorandum on Survey-'Ungoni-Umatengo Basic Economic Survey'.

[32] See Frank Clements and Edward Harben, *Leaf of Gold The Story of Rhodesian Tobacco,* (London: Methuen & Co Ltd, 1962); Martin Prowse, 'A history of tobacco production and marketing in Malawi, 1890-2010', *Journal of Eastern African Studies*, 7, 4, (2013), 691-712; McCracken, 'Planters, Peasants and the Colonial State'; and Steven C. Rubert, *A Most promising Weed A History of Tobacco Framing and Labour in Colonial Zimbabwe, 1890-1945,* (Athens: Ohio University Center for International Studies, 1998).

[33] Also see Illife, *Modern History*; Rodney, 'Political Economy of the Colonial Tanganyika'; and Tambila, 'Great Depression and Peasant Societies'.

[34] Juhani Koponen, *People and Production in Late Precolonial Tanzania History and Structures*, (Jyvaskyla: Gummerus Krjapaino Oy, 1988); and Juhani Koponen, Development for Exploitation: German Policies in Mainland Tanzania, 1884-1914, (Helsinki: University of Helsinki, 1994).

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processes, but rather depended on simple preparation methods.[35] The colonial government report on the tobacco experiment in Tunduru district noted that the cultivation of tobacco at Ligoola was not very good because of the local Africans' ignorance of European tobacco farming methods. They used crude farming methods in preparing seeds, harvesting and packing the crop. In preparing seeds, for example, they mixed Western tobacco seed distributed by the Department and their indigenous tobacco seeds harvested from the tobacco suckers of the previous season. Moreover, in harvesting they left too many leaves on the plant and the bottom leaves were not primed off, and as a result they got thin "lifeless" tobacco. In the local curing method, they just harvested the leaves when they judged them to be ripe and they cured them even without wilting and yellowing. Packing of local tobacco was messy; they just used local "Kamba from the backs of trees" (rope) to pack the cured leaves. All these methods affected the quality of the tobacco detrimentally.[36] This chapter therefore noted that African peasants in Ruvuma preferred to use local tobacco farming methods because they were familiar with the local methods and of course they were simple and less expensive as compared to improved (European) tobacco farming practices, which were complex and expensive.

The District Agricultural Officer, writing to the Director of Agriculture in Tanganyika in 1928, commented that it would be improper to develop the method practised in Nyasaland until the local peasants could undertake proper planting, curing and packing methods. He also emphasized that the local methods of curing and packing of tobacco was not suitable for European manufacturers, but was acceptable for local consumption by the local Africans in the region and the regional markets in Zanzibar and Dar es Salaam.[37] In this situation, the major challenge for the British administration was how to introduce European farming methods to the Africans to grow tobacco for sale to both domestic and global cigarette manufacturers.

At first the colonial state resolved that the tobacco for local African consumption would continue to be grown by the Africans, but tobacco for export would be produced by the European planters using African labourers. Much later, due to the remoteness of the region and

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[35] NAT, 504, 4/3, 1928-44 Fire-cured Tobacco General, 'Report on tobacco growing at Ligoola, Tunduru', District Agricultural Officer-Songea, to The Hon. Director of Agriculture-Dar es Salaam, Ref. 23/2, 26 October 1928.
[36] NAT, 504, 4/3, 1928-44 Fire-cured Tobacco General, 'Report on tobacco growing at Ligoola, Tunduru', District Agricultural Officer-Songea, to The Hon. Director of Agriculture-Dar es Salaam, Ref. 23/2, 26 October 1928.
[37] NAT, 504, 4/3, 1928-44 Fire-cured Tobacco General, 'Report on tobacco growing at Ligoola, Tunduru', District Agricultural Officer-Songea, to The Hon. Director of Agriculture-Dar es Salaam, Ref. 23/2, 26 October 1928.

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especially the lack of communication links with the coast, the expected new European planters were not attracted; it was therefore decided that as a matter of last resort local African peasants would now grow European tobacco for export. The colonial state took two important steps to establish fire-cured tobacco production in Ruvuma. First, in June, 1928, it appointed Mr A.S. Stenhouse[38] as Agricultural Officer for Songea District to establish the peasant commercial tobacco production in the labour reserve area of the Ungoni country in the southern Province. Secondly, it entered into a contract with Tanganyika Tobacco Company to purchase and transport the local African-grown tobacco from Ruvuma via Lindi to Dar es Salaam.[39]

Upon his arrival in the Ruvuma region, Stenhouse conducted several tobacco trials at Lipumba, Luhila and Ligoola. These early tobacco trials served many purposes, including testing the feasibility of the crop in the area, to train the local African tobacco instructors and to impart Western tobacco farming methods to African peasants. Based on archival records, this study notes that commercial peasant production in Ungoni country in the Ruvuma region evolved from these tobacco experiments introduced by the colonial state between the late 1920s and the early 1930s.

This chapter contends that the emergence of peasant fire-cured tobacco production can be better contextualised into four main phases. The first was tobacco planting in the 1928/29 season. This was a purely experimental period for training the African peasants and instructors who up to that time knew almost nothing about tobacco cultivation. This phase was strictly confined to a group of few selected local Africans who were to be trained in European tobacco farming methods, before they could go and spread the knowledge to the prospective tobacco-farming peasants in the villages.[40] Based on the Ligoola case study, the Department imported tobacco seeds from Nyasaland (and a colonial expert with experience in Nyasaland) and distributed them to local Africans, who had destroyed their local tobacco to avoid degeneration through cross-fertilization. The general result for this experiment revealed that the quality of tobacco grown was fair but it needed some improvement. The question of seed selection was also not

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[38] Mr. Stenhouse, was the first Agricultural Officer to Songea District appointed in 1928, to lay a foundation for tobacco industry. He was an experienced tobacco expert from Nyasaland.

[39] NAT, 504, 4/3, 1928-44 Fire-cured Tobacco General, Tobacco Report-1933 Season, Agricultural Officer-Songea to The Senior Agricultural Officer-Lindi, Ref. 22/337,17 October 1933; and NAT, SEC/10388, Director of Agriculture, 'Memorandum on Ungoni-Umatengo Basic Economic Survey'.

[40] NAT, 504, 4/3, 1928-44 Fire-cured Tobacco General, Tobacco Report-1933 Season, Agricultural Officer-Songea to The Senior Agricultural Officer-Lindi, Ref. 22/337,17 October 1933.

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so familiar to Africans, the situation which affected large number of the tobacco plants with mosaic and cabbaging disease.[41]

The second phase was tobacco planting in the 1929/30 season. This phase was aimed to introduce the African peasants to tobacco cultivation. With the assistance of the newly trained tobacco instructors, the European farming methods were induced to the few African peasant growers. Since most of the methods were not familiar to the local Africans, it was not easy for them to catch up and many of the peasants, including the instructors, became very sceptical about the crop itself. For example, the idea of preparing tobacco seedbeds before the rainy season was unknown to them. It seemed a farcical activity which they would rather not try. As a result, in this season the tobacco came in late and was of poor quality. During the first tobacco marketing period, mistakes in handling the tobacco marketing processes largely increased the African growers' suspicions about tobacco as a cash crop.

Thirdly, in 1930/31 season the Colonial Department of Agriculture took even more strenuous steps to force the local African peasants, both the old and the new, to grow tobacco because the majority of them were thoroughly disgusted with the whole business. Different from the previous season, peasant tobacco production doubled in this season due to the increased state efforts to promote the crop and encourage satisfactory handling of tobacco marketing. The market analysis for the 1930 tobacco season revealed that the total quantity of tobacco purchased increased to 1,860 kg, which was bought for the sum of Shs. 1097.00, average of 60 cents per kilogram. Of the 1,860 kg bought, about 1,186 kg were delivered to Dar es Salam for domestic manufacturers and export.[42]

Finally, in the 1932/33 season the Department decided to encourage a group of older and experienced African tobacco peasants to plant large fields and obtain good returns to promote the crop. In this season the indigenous farmers were strongly encouraged to ensure proper treatment of the crop in the field to produce good quality tobacco. After harvest, the farmers had to wilt and yellow the leaf before curing it for good quality tobacco.[43] This strategy proved

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[41] NAT, 504, 4/3, 1928-44 Fire-cured Tobacco General, 'Report on tobacco growing at Ligoola, Rovuma, Tunduru District', District Agricultural Office, Lipumba-Songea, to The Hon. Director of Agriculture-Dar es Salaam, Ref. 23/237, 10 September 1929.
[42] NAT, 504, 4/3, 1928-44 Fire-Cured Tobacco General, Analysis of 1930 Tobacco Marketing.
[43] NAT, 504, 4/3, 1928-44 Fire-cured Tobacco General, The Light Firing of Heavy Tobacco, District Agricultural Officer-Songea to the Ag. Director of Agriculture-Morogoro, Ref. 22/344, 5 April 1933.

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to be successful, as peasant tobacco production in Ruvuma increased from 1,860 kg in 1930/31 to 6,537 kg in 1932/33.[44] See Table 3 for the early tobacco production trends between 1929 and 1934.

Table 3: Statistics on the African Commercial Tobacco Trials, 1929-1933.[45]

Production Unit	**1929/30**	**1930/31**	**1931/32**	**1932/33**
Tobacco peasant production output (kg)	850	1860	3071.5	6537
Average Production per peasant (kg)	-	7	8	18
Average Amount receipt per peasant (Tshs)	-	2/56	3/40	8/65
Average Price per 100 Kgs (Tshs)	-	37/50	42/40	47/18

A closer look at these figures on suggests that there was steady increase in tobacco output from the peasant producers from 1,860 kg in 1930/31 to 6,537 kg in 1932/33. The increase in the total tobacco grown by the local peasants was partly due to improvements in the handling processes of the crop by the peasants, on the one hand, and the improvement of tobacco farming practice campaign by the government, on the other hand. By 1932/33 the peasants, for example, were becoming increasingly familiar with the crop and so they planted earlier compared to the first season. Eventually, they produced good-quality tobacco and secured good prices at the market. This is borne out by the tobacco report which revealed that tobacco farming peasants in the Liwula valley, for example, produced 300 kg in 1932, with the largest amount by an individual farmer being 26 kg, which was purchased for Tshs15/95. But in the following season the farmers in Liwula valley grew about 1,700 kg, and the largest amount by individual farmer was 159 kg, which earned him about Tshs 109/60.[46] Hence, the figures from the table 4, 5 and 6, provided a sufficient evidence to predict the future prosperity of the crop from its inception. However, it is important to insist that apart from the peasant initiatives and experiences, the cumulative increase in the tobacco peasant production was largely influenced by the colonial state through the Department of Agriculture which, among other things, campaigned for the

[44] NAT, 504, 4/3, 1928-44 Fire-cured Tobacco General, Tobacco Report-1933 Season, Agricultural Officer-Songea to The Senior Agricultural Officer-Lindi, Ref. 22/337, 17 October 1933.
[45] NAT, 504, 4/3, 1928-44 Fire-cured Tobacco General, Tobacco Report-1933 Season.
[46] NAT, 504, 4/3, 1928-44 Fire-cured Tobacco General, Tobacco Report-1933 Season, Agricultural Officer-Songea to The Senior Agricultural Officer-Lindi, Ref. 22/337, 17 October 1933.

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growth of the crop in Ungoni country. Through the "Plant More Crops" campaign, the Department supervised and monitored tobacco production, marketing and processing. For example, in the early commercial tobacco trials, the Department conducted extensive propaganda for early planting for good quality of the crop as opposed to late planting, which resulted into poor yield. It also campaigned for increased planting by both older experienced and new growers. Between 1934 and 1935 the colonial state introduced the local African tobacco administration school, demonstration and seed farms, which largely improved peasant production in the region.[47] See Table 4, 5 and 6 for the figures on the increased number of growers, production output and tobacco shipping during the mid-1930s.

[47] NAT, 504, 4/3, 1928-44 Fire-cured Tobacco General, 'Tobacco 1934 season', Agricultural Assistant-Songea to the Senior Agricultural Officer-Lindi, Ref. 22/c/25, November 1934; and 'Songea Tobacco', Agricultural Assistant-Songea to the Senior Agricultural Officer-Lindi, Ref. 22/c/24, 21 October 1935.

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Table 4: African Commercial Tobacco Production Trend, 1934-1935[48]

Production unit	1934	1935
Amount of tobacco produced by African growers		
(Including allowance for drying and loss)	32,549 Kilos	104,236 Kilos
Average production per grower	36.25 Kilos	32.31 Kilos
Average acreage per grower	¼ ac	¼ ac
Largest amount produced by individual grower	145Kilos	132Kilos
	Shs. Cts	Shs. Cts
Average price per 100 kilos	45.84	43.50
Average receipt per grower	16. 61	14.36
Largest amount of cash received by individual grower	177.40	237. 40
Number of growers	897	3,226
Number of bales packed	349	1,128

Average paid per kilo 43.5 cents

[48] NAT, 504, 4/3, 1928-44 Fire-cured Tobacco General, 'Tobacco 1934 season'.

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Table 5: African Commercial Tobacco Marketing in 1935[49]

Production Unit	Grade I Kgs.	Grade II Kgs.	Grade III Kgs.	Grade IV Kgs.	Costs Shs.
Luhila African Admin School	28	23	12	13	33.00
Luhila Seed Farm	42	55	15	-	57.15
Lipumba Seed Farm	61	25	18	-	57.55
African Growers (3226)	36,660	29,926	28,757	8,903	45,325.25
Total Kilos = (104,538)	**36,791**	**30,029**	**28,802**	**8,916**	**45,472.95**

Table 6: African Commercial Tobacco Shipments in 1935[50]

Tobacco shipments	Lbs	Kgs.
Total gross weight of 1128 bales	236,086	
Tare of 262 bales (double hessian) 1048 lbs		
Tare of 866 bales (single hessian) 1732 lbs		
Total tare 1128 bales 2780 lbs	2,780	
Actual Nett amount tobacco shipped	233,306	106,045
Allowance made for tobacco drying, parked in single hessians and to Losses on route to final markets		1,507
Actual buying weights from buying book		**104,538**

[49] NAT, 504, 4/3, 1928-44 Fire-cured Tobacco General, 'Tobacco 1935 season'.
[50] NAT, 504, 4/3, 1928-44 Fire-cured Tobacco General, Tobacco Report-1935 Season.

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A review of the figures above clearly shows that up to the 1935 the Ungoni country could without any doubt produce good marketable fire-cured tobacco. This was further consolidated by the market reports from England on the local produce, namely that it was satisfactory for the manufacturers, but it had to compete with Nyasaland leaf. The tobacco report for 1933 noted that "if light fired leaf is required in England, Nyasaland with all her organisation can produce it. ... Our marketing in England will therefore be in competition with Nyasaland leaf of probably more uniform and possibly better quality... The local market can absorb large quantities of Songea product at (comparatively) high prices to the producer…"[51] In a similar view, the report by Imperial Institute London on the samples of Songea tobacco in 1936 revealed that it contained an average of -14% of moisture, 4.5% of nicotine, 2.58% of nitrogen and 13.6% of ash. Hence, the commercial value of the crop possessed good-quality burning properties of tobacco leaf, which could find a market among the manufactures in the United Kingdom.[52]

From 1930 up to the mid-1930s, the Department of Agriculture was duly responsible for handling the industry. It supervised production, marketing and export of the crop. However, the profit generated from the industry was appropriated by the government, which in turn made relatively little effort to reinvest it for the wellbeing of the growers and the industry itself.[53] As a result of the increase in tobacco farmers and produce, the Department reached a stage where it could not adequately manage a large and mature tobacco industry. The Department experienced a number of challenges. First, the industry lacked special legislation to control production, marketing and export. For instance, in the absence of tobacco regulation in controlling pests and diseases, the Department opted to use simple uprooting and burning of tobacco stumps by giving notice to African peasants, but this had little effect because the Department could not force the farmers to do it. Secondly, the Department faced a critical shortage of skilled staff for supervision of all work, especially leaf conditioning, grading and

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[51] NAT, 504, 4/3, 1928-44 Fire-cured Tobacco General, Tobacco Report-1933 Season, Agricultural Officer-Songea to The Senior Agricultural Officer-Lindi, Ref. 22/337, 17 October 1933.
[52] NAT, 504, 4/3, 1928-44 Fire-cured Tobacco General, Report on Tobacco from Tanganyika by the Imperial Institute London, Ref. H. 318, 31 March 1936.
[53] NAT, 504, 4/3, 1928-44 Fire-cured Tobacco General, '*Habari Chache Juu ya Tumbaku ya Songea*', 31 March, 1952. Also see Patrick M. Redmond, 'The NMCMCU and Tobacco Production in Songea', *Tanzania Notes and Records*, 79 & 80, (1976), 65-98.

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packing. Thirdly, the administration did not create a policy for registering farmers and issuing permits to grow the crop. It also lacked proper buildings and tobacco plants for leaf processing. Above all, a critical shortage of capital largely threatened the future prosperity of peasant tobacco production in the Ruvuma region.[54]

This chapter therefore argues that, while the colonial administration claimed to have limited resources for the development of African commercial fire-cured tobacco industry in Ruvuma, the United Kingdom National Archives records show that the same government took sound and deliberate measures to establish European Turkish tobacco estates and support the white growers in Iringa in the Southern Highlands during the 1930s and the 1940s.[55] Furthermore, the same government strongly pioneered and supported the European flue-cured tobacco growers in the Western Province during the 1950s.[56] Similarly, studies by Frank Clements and Edward Harben, and Steven Rubert in Southern Rhodesia, and John MacCracken and Martin Prowse in Nyasaland explained that the colonial administration took deliberate measures to support not just the establishment and development of the European flue-cured tobacco industry, but also strongly supported the white tobacco growers at the expense of African fire-cured tobacco farming peasants.[57] Rubert, for instance, attested that through the white agricultural policy, the colonial administration (in cooperation with the British South African Company) established a specific estate department to assist white planters and promote the European tobacco industry. Between the late 1890s and the 1940s, the white tobacco planters in Mazoe and Lomangundi Districts in Southern Rhodesia received substantial assistance from the colonial administration. They received financial assistance for the establishment of tobacco

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[54] NAT, 504, 4/3, 1928-44 Fire-cured Tobacco General, Tobacco Report-1933 Season, Agricultural Officer-Songea to The Senior Agricultural Officer-Lindi, Ref. 22/337,17 October 1933.

[55] The United Kingdom National Archives, East African Department, 30013/A/31, Turkish Tobacco Scheme in Iringa Province, 1930s/1940s, Colonial Office, Memorandum on the Request of the Governor of Tanganyika for Assistance Towards the Establishment of a Turkish Tobacco in the Iringa Province; Memorandum for the Colonial Development Advisory Committee; Turkish Tobacco, Iringa Province, Cost of Production; Tanganyika Territory, Application for assistance from the Colonial Development Fund for the Tobacco production; Turkish Tobacco, a letter from the Colonial Office, London to the Director of Agriculture, Dar es Salaam, Ref. 4726/31, 26 May 1931; and a letter from the Governor of Tanganyika, Dar es Salaam to the Secretary of the State for the Colonies, London, Ref. 809, 22 August 1931. Also see Emmanuel Kihongo, 'Tobacco Production and its Implications for the Environmental and Food Crop Production in Iringa, A Case study of Iringa Rural District, 1940-2000', MA Thesis, University of Dar es Salaam, (2011).

[56] Boesen and Mohela, *Success Story of Peasant Tobacco Production in Tanzania*; and Kihongo, 'Tobacco Production and its Implications in Environmental and Food Production in Iringa'.

[57] Clements and Harben, *Leaf of Gold The Story of Rhodesian Tobacco*; Prowse, 'A history of tobacco production and marketing in Malawi'; McCracken, 'Planters, Peasants and the Colonial State'; and Rubert, *A Most promising Weed*, 21-23.

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estates. They also got tariff preferences, research funding, as well as marketing and agricultural extension support.[58] MacCracken and Prowse also noted that the Native Tobacco Board in Malawi was instituted in 1926 primarily for protecting the interests of the European tobacco planters against the influence of the burgeoning African fire-cured tobacco growers.[59] This chapter therefore, while documenting the role of the state in the establishment of the commercial fire-cured tobacco industry in the Ungoni country, also clearly contends that in comparison with the role of state in the development of white tobacco industry in other areas, the Ungoni crop was left to develop on its own.

Nevertheless, the colonial state in Tanganyika, claiming to have limited financial, human resources and perhaps limited political interest, resolved to establish a private institute to run the fire-cured tobacco industry in the southern province. Initially, the government wished to hand the industry to a private enterprise by offering it monopoly rights. Having invited private companies and individuals bid or apply for the business, it was observed that neither a company nor an individual was willing and capable of handling the industry in the Ruvuma region. That being the case, the colonial state made a decision to introduce a cooperative organisation to run the industry on its behalf. This decision was reached because the industry required sound capital investment to sustain and increase its productivity, but the state was not ready to provide the money. The state expected that a cooperative organisation could have an opportunity to get a loan from the Colonial Development Fund to run the industry. In 1936 a cooperative union, Ngoni-Matengo Co-operative Marketing Union Ltd., was established alongside three registered primary societies in the region. The central union emerged to control the tobacco industry, which had grown large enough to be administered by the Department of Agriculture. By 1936, when it had increased to about 120 tons from less than a ton in 1930 and reached its peak of 1,100 tons in 1950.[60] The union drew peasants to the crop and attracted them to join primary societies by giving them a large share in form of higher price allocations. It is important to note that, unlike the Department which accumulated profit generated from the industry at the expense of growers, NGOMAT tended to distribute part of the profit from tobacco

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[58] Rubert, A Most promising Weed.
[59] McCracken, 'Planters, Peasants and the Colonial State', 175-177; and Prowse, 'A history of tobacco production and marketing in Malawi', 695-697.
[60] See CCMNA, (URT), The Cooperative Movement in Tanganyika; and NAT, 504, 4/3, 1928-44 Fire-cured Tobacco General, '*Habari Chache Juu ya Tumbaku ya Songea*', 31 March 1952.

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marketing to the growers.[61] Mr J.W. Large, Assistant Register for cooperative societies in Songea, stated that: "As regards the growers, they are already receiving higher prices than, for example, Uganda and Nyasaland growers. This is entirely due to the demand by Tanganyika manufacturers. We have competition starting in Congo, and it is likely within a few years the Union will have to rely greatly on the London market, where charges are heavy and net payments lower."[62] See Figures 7 and 8 for illustrations of the remnants of one of the earliest registered affiliated primary cooperatives of the NGOMAT and the central union headquarters located in Songea Municipal constructed between 1947 and 1952.

[61] NAT, 504, Co-op/27/II, Annual Report for 1937/38, Ngoni-Matengo Cooperative Marketing Union, Ltd, J.W. Large, Assistant Register of Co-operative Societies-Songea. Also see Redmond, 'NMCMCU and Tobacco Production in Songea'.
[62] NAT, 504, Co-op/27/II, Annual Report for 1937/38, Ngoni-Matengo Cooperative Marketing Union, Ltd, by J.W. Large, Assistant Register of Co-operative Societies-Songea.

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TANGANYIKA TERRITORY

Certificate of Registration

No. 30.

I HEREBY CERTIFY THAT

THE NAMTUMBO

Co-operative Society, Limited, is this day registered under the provisions of section 9 of the Co-operative Societies Ordinance (Ordinance No. 7 of 1932).

This Certificate is issued subject to the following special conditions :—

NIL.

Given under my hand this Eighteenth day of January, one thousand nine hundred and thirty seven.

Registrar of Co-operative Societies

Figure 7: Remnant of the Certificate of Registration for Namtumbo Cooperative Society in 1937.[63]

[63] Photograph by the author in August 2016.

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Figure 8: The Ruins of the NGOMAT Headquarters in Songea Municipal.[64]

Factors Behind the Rise of Fire-cured Commercial Tobacco Industry

The emergence of the commercial tobacco industry in the Ungoni country of southern Tanzania during the 1930s did not occur abruptly. It was rather a gradual process which evolved through multiple forces. The first was the British "Plant More Crops" campaign. As pointed out earlier, the rise and subsequent development of the tobacco industry was largely attributed to the "Plant More Crops" campaign. Both archival and oral accounts insist that the campaign encouraged the local growers to increase production for food and export crops. Through this campaign, the Ungoni country, which had been without a viable cash economy for centuries, saw the emergence of fire-cured tobacco as a permanent peasant cash crop following a series of investigations launched between the late 1920s and the early 1930s. In the second chapter this thesis discussed how the Germans abandoned or made little effort to investigate viable cash crops in Ungoni in the aftermath of the Majimaji war, due to their punitive attitude towards the Wangoni and their desire to promote a migrant labour economy in the region. However, towards the end of 1920s the British took deliberate steps to investigate the feasibility of cash crops being grown by the local Africans. Having appointed the first Agricultural Officer, Mr

[64] The NGOMAT headquarters in Songea built between 1947 and 1952, photograph by the author in March 2017.

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Stenhouse, the colonial Department of Agriculture undertook vigorous experiments on coffee, cotton and tobacco planting.[65] From these experiments the colonial state recommended that fire-cured tobacco could thrive in the Ungoni country, while coffee would grow well in the Umatengo highlands and cashew nuts could be grown in the lowland parts of Tunduru district in the Ruvuma region. The majority of our informants similarly testified that tobacco started during the colonial time as a major cash crop among the Wangoni of the Ruvuma region. They insisted that commercial tobacco farming started with a very strong campaign to promote the crop and the colonial administration introduced tobacco regulation which required every able-bodied man to grow at least an acre of tobacco. Some informants further stated that the "Plant More Crops" campaign forced many peasants to grow the crop, because failure to do so meant they had to pay fines to the local chiefs and those failed to pay fines actually faced imprisonment at Songea for 3-6 months.[66]

Maxon similarly contended that the campaign to foster tobacco in Western Kenya was the government's response to the Great Depression. The colonial administration introduced tobacco to the local African peasants in the 1930s as a cash crop "primarily for import substitution",[67] unlike other export crops. The Department of Agriculture in Kenya, just like the Department of Agriculture in Tanganyika, issued a clear directive to all Agricultural Officers to promote greater involvement of the local Africans in peasant tobacco production in Nyanza, Coast and Central provinces.[68] The "Plant More Crops" campaign stimulated the spread of peasant tobacco production to different parts of the British East African territories, including the Ungoni country of Tanganyika, as attempt to reduce potential peasant discontent during the depression.

The second factor behind the rise of tobacco industry in Ungoni was the growing concern among local Africans to offset the labour migration economy. The basic economic survey in 1928 revealed that the Wangoni had requested the colonial state to investigate the possibility

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[65] NAT, 22/337, 17 October 1933, District Agricultural Officer – Songea, Tobacco Report-1933 Season; Salome T. Sijaona, 'Ngoni-Matengo Co-operative Union', BA (History) Dissertation, University of Dar es Salaam, 1974; Redmond, 'NMCMCU and Tobacco Production in Songea'; and Rodney, 'Political Economy of the Colonial Tanganyika'.
[66] Interview with Mzee John Mjombe, Mlale village, 9 August 2016; and Nakahegwa, Namanguli and Namtumbo group interviews, 11 -13 August 2016.
[67] Maxon, 'Up in Smoke: Peasants, Capita and the Colonial State', 112.
[68] Maxon, 'Up in Smoke: Peasants, Capital and the Colonial State'.

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of growing cash crops in the area as an attempt to do away with the migrant labour economy, which affected them adversely.[69] We saw in the second section that, among other things, labour migration escalated poverty, starvation, family disintegration, decline of agricultural productivity and rural underdevelopment due to a continuous loss of annual man power in the region. This study suggests that the increase in the colonial cash crop experimentations and the recommendation for fire-cured tobacco in Ruvuma during the 1930s did not just satisfy achieve British interests in increasing export production, but also responded to the African desire to promote the local economy. Again between 1930 and 1933 there was the Great Depression in Europe which resulted in the massive decline in demand for sisal. That meant that the majority of the plantation labourers in Tanzania, including the Wangoni and Wandendeuli from the Ruvuma region, were made redundant.[70] Hence, the study contends that the establishment of the tobacco industry was an attempt to provide employment to the majority of these redundant workers.

Moreover, the geographical rationale for tobacco farming played a significant role in the emergence of the industry in Ungoni country. The rise of tobacco farming in Ruvuma was due to the favourable climatic conditions for the crop. The data indicate that investigations conducted by Stenhouse in 1928 proved beyond reasonable doubt that the soil content, rainfall and the type of vegetation found in large parts of the region were favourable for tobacco cultivation. Thus it could be argued that the colonial state relied heavily on these findings to establish the fire-cured tobacco industry in the early 1930s.[71] In line with that, the research by the government in southern Tanzania categorized the Ruvuma region into 13 agro-economic zones, of which 9 zones were found to be favourable for fire-cured tobacco production.[72] See Table 7 for an indication of the geographical distribution of cash crops in Ruvuma region.

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[69] NAT, SEC/10388, 1/53 of 13.10.1927, Director of Agriculture, Memorandum on Survey-'Ungoni-Umatengo Basic Economic Survey'.
[70] Tambila, 'Great Depression and Peasant Societies'.
[71] NAT, 504, 4/3, 1928-44 Fire-cured Tobacco General, "*Habari Chache Juu ya Tumbaku ya Songea*", 31 March 1952
[72] See CCMNA, (UDSM-BRALUP), 'Agro-economic Zones of Southern Tanzania', Research Report, 49, UDSM.

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Table 7: Agro-economic Zones in the Ruvuma Region[73]

Agro-eco. Zones	Topography	Vegetation	Rainfall (mm)	Cash crops
Matengo Highlands	Hilly Highland	*Hyparrhenia-parinari*	1200-1400	Coffee & Tobacco
Lower Matengo	Hilly	*Brachystegia-Julbenardia*	1100-1300	Tobacco
Ruhuhu Valley	Very hilly	*Brachystegia-Julbenardia*	900-1100	Cashew-nuts
Lake Shore	Flatflood plain	*Hyparrhenia,* *Brachystegia-Julbenardia*	1000-1400+	Coconut & Palm oil
Mitomoni	Rolling	*Brachystegia-Julbenardia*	1100-1300	Tobacco & Cashew nuts
Ubena Highlands	Hilly highland	*Loudetia-Exotheca*	1100-1400	Coffee
Western Songea	Hilly	*Brachystegia-Julbenardia*	1000-1200	Tobacco
Central Songea	Less hilly	*Brachystegia-Julbernardia*	1000-1200	Tobacco
Undendeule	Very hilly	*Brachystegia-Julbenardia*	900-1100	Tobacco
Southern Songea	Rolling	*Brachystegia-Julbenardia*	1100-1300	Tobacco
Matemanga	Very hilly	*Brachystegia-Julbernardia*	900-1100	Tobacco
Southern Tunduru	Rolling	*Brachystegia-Julbenardia*	1000-1100	Cashew nuts
Nakapanya	Hilly	*Brachystegia-Julbernardia*	900-1100	Cashew-nuts & Tobacco

In a similar vein, one elderly informant in Namtumbo recalled that the tobacco industry emerged in the favourable geographic (environmental) conditions suitable for the crop in the region. He further explained that during colonial times a white man came from Malawi, having

[73] CCMNA, (UDSM-BRALUP), 'Agro-economic Zones of Southern Tanzania'.

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carefully observed *Uoto wa Asili* (the geography) of Songea. It looked similar to that of Malawi, where they were producing tobacco as a cash crop. He also saw the poor local Africans in Songea were starving despite the cultivation of food crops such as maize, sesame, millet, cassava and the collection of sera (honey). He then advised the colonial government to introduce tobacco as a cash crop for the local Africans.[74] This argument resembles that in the colonial government report by the District Agricultural Officer in 1928. Having visited the African tobacco industry and the growers at Ntonda estate of Blantyre and the East Africa Co., Ltd in Nyasaland, he reported on African tobacco culture in Nyasaland and the similarity of the geographical conditions in Nyasaland and a large part of the Ruvuma region.[75] Writing to the Hon. Director of Agriculture in Dar es Salaam, A.S. Stenhouse, the Songea District Agricultural Officer reported that: "While in Nyasaland, and with approval of The Hon. Director of Agriculture, Nyasaland, I confined my observations to one successful tobacco growing district, and within that district, to a few of the more experienced and successful planters. This was considered advisable, in order to avoid confusion due to differences of opinion. … With regards to the submission of a suggested plan for the development of a tobacco industry here in Songea, I had a conversation with the Provincial Commissioner, Mahenge, when he visited Songea."[76]

Furthermore, the tragedy of prolonged poverty and colonial taxation was another significant motive for the emergence of the fire-cured tobacco industry in the Ungoni country. Unlike Mahmood Mamdani, who viewed the state simply as an extended form of supervising colonial production,[77] this chapter demonstrates that the colonial state was not merely a political instrument for supervising colonial production, but it also accumulated capital from the

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[74] Interview with Mzee Nasoro M. Magoto, Namtumbo, 12 August 2016. For more information on the geographical rationale for the colonial and post-colonial tobacco farming are also available from: International Labour Organisation Programme, *Elimination of Child Labour (IPEC), Tanzania, Child Labour in Commercial Agriculture-Tobacco: A Rapid Assessment*, (Geneva: ILO, 2011), 1; Peter B. Barie, 'Social-Economic Factors Affecting the Fire-cured Tobacco in Ruvuma Region', M.Sc. Thesis, University of Dar es Salaam, (1979), 3-6; and Rubert, *A Most Promising Weed*, 42.

[75] NAT, 504, 4/3, 1928-44 Fire-cured Tobacco General, Report on investigations on tobacco growing in Nyasaland, A.S. Stenhouse, District Agricultural Officer-Songea to The Hon. Director of Agriculture-Dar es Salaam, Ref. 23/1, 07 July 1928.

[76] NAT, 504, 4/3, 1928-44 Fire-cured Tobacco General, Report on investigations on tobacco growing in Nyasaland, A.S. Stenhouse, District Agricultural Officer-Songea to The Hon. Director of Agriculture – Dar es Salaam, Ref. 23/1, 07 July 1928.

[77] Mahmood Mamdani, *Politics and Class Formation in Uganda*, (London: Heinemann, Education Books, 1976).

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colonies.[78] After the Great Depression the colonial state in East Africa faced difficulties in collecting revenues from the impoverished rural peasants in the colonies. During this period the collection of tax from the labour reserve areas of the Wangoni and Wandendeuli in southern Tanganyika was a complex and difficult business. D.M.P. McCarthy similarly argued that during the capitalist crisis, the colonial administration faced critical challenges in increasing revenues and promoting the colonial economy.[79] In this context the establishment of commercial tobacco production was an attempt by the government to ensure effective collection of both direct and indirect taxes from the rural peasants in southern Tanganyika. As explained in chapter two, the extent to which the local Africans in Ruvuma region were largely impoverished by the Majimaji war and the continuous labour migration in the aftermath of the war. As a result, for a long time the payment of the colonial tax was a heavy burden on the Wangoni and Wandendeuli in the region. The situation became worse during the global depression, because it adversely effected the socio-economic livelihoods of the indigenous population, since many of them were affected by the decline in prices for their grains, the fall of wages for labourers, and the redundancy of many labourers in the colonial plantations.[80] In fact, it could be argued that the emergence of the tobacco industry in Ungoni country during the early 1930s was not just an attempt to improve the peasant economy, but also an indirect way to improve the local Africans' ability to pay the colonial tax. The Annual Co-operative Development Report for 1948 quoted in "The Co-operative Movement in Tanganyika" pointed out that tobacco was introduced by the government in 1928 in order to improve economic conditions in a very poorly served district of Songea.[81] The majority of informants expressed a similar view that the tobacco industry was introduced as a colonial strategy for tax collection among the poor indigenous Africans. Through the local African tobacco payment strategy, the colonial administrators simply collected their tax by deducting it from the local Africans'

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[78] Also see Berman and Lonsdale, 'Crisis of Accumulation, Coercion and Colonial State'; D.M.P. McCarthy, 'Organising Underdevelopment from the Inside: The Bureaucratic Economy in Tanganyika, 1919-1940', *The International Journal of African Studies*, 10, 4, 573-599; and McCracken, 'Planters, Peasants and the Colonial State'.

[79] For expansion of colonial economy as a mechanism for easy accumulation of government revenues including Hut and Poll taxes as well as export crop levies and import duties. McCarthy, 'Organising Underdevelopment from the Inside', 584.

[80] See Iliffe, *Modern History*, and Tambila; 'Great Depression and Peasant Societies'; and Maxon, 'Up in Smoke: Peasants, Capital and the Colonial State', 112.

[81] See CCMNA, (URT), 'The Cooperative Movement in Tanganyika', the government report.

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revenue in the market centres.[82] There are other examples in cognate contexts: Berman and Lonsdale similarly point out that African taxation functioned as a major source of government revenues, a test for the efficiency of the local administration and a means for indirect coercion of African labour in peasant and estate production in Kenya.[83]

Finally, we cannot ignore the "man on the spot" – the role of the enthusiastic individual was another significant factor behind the emergence of fire-cured tobacco industry in Ungoni country. Both archival and oral accounts indicate that the tobacco industry was also established due to the enthusiastic role of some key individuals. It was revealed that some individuals such as Stenhouse and Twells played an important role in the initial setting up of the industry. This view is clearly expressed in some of the colonial reports, which must – of course – be read "against the grain", as they would inevitably focus on the efforts of their own officials. Yet, the undeniable commitment of Stenhouse was revealed through a number of tobacco trials between conducted in the Ruvuma region between 1928 and 1930. These trials tested the suitability of the crop and establishing European tobacco cultivation among the local black farmers in Ungoni country. For example, in his determination to establish this tobacco culture in Ungoni, he clearly stated that: "I will do all in my power to improve the native culture of tobacco among the few natives who are already growing tobacco and supplying the demand in Songea native market. I will do this by growing seeds for them, and giving them instruction on the proper methods of culture. These few natives will then form a useful nucleus from which to develop a large industry when it is considered good to do so."[84] This will be further demonstrated in Chapter Four and, of course, many informants insisted that Mr Twells (hardly a favourite of the colonial office, as will be explained) played a substantial role in the introduction and spreading of the industry in the Ungoni country. They further reported that he was very committed – almost fanatically so – to the development of fire-cured tobacco, to such an extent that his subordinates and especially some tobacco instructors used to beat many local peasants who failed to properly observe tobacco farming methods, especially in the preparation

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[82] Interview with Mzee John Mjombe, Mlale, 9 August 2016; Nakahegwa and Namtumbo Group Interviews, 11 - 13 August 2016.
[83] Berman and Lonsdale, 'Crisis of Accumulation, Coercion and Colonial State', 73.
[84] NAT, 504, 4/3, 1928-44 Fire-cured Tobacco General, Report on investigations on tobacco growing in Nyasaland, A.S. Stenhouse, District Agricultural Officer-Songea to The Hon. Director of Agriculture – Dar es Salaam, Ref. 23/1, 07 July 1928.

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of tobacco seeds, planting and curing processes.[85] It could therefore be argued that the role of some individuals should not be overlooked in the analysis of the emergence of the tobacco industry in the Ruvuma region.

Tobacco Culture? The Dynamics of Peasant Production Chain in the Ungoni Country by the mid-1930s

By the mid-1930s it was clear that the incipient tobacco industry could thrive in the Ruvuma region. The early tobacco trials had proved that tobacco could grow well and there was a promising market at both domestic and global levels. Again the economic crisis of the 1930s largely assured the tobacco industry had available a pool of peasant labourers following the redundancy of the majority of migrant workers, among whom were the Wangoni and Wandendeuli of the Ruvuma region as a result of the decline of the sisal trade. It was observed that stern measures were to be taken to cultivate the European tobacco industry among the local African peasants. A policy was established that every adult male should have an acre of tobacco and this acre was to be shown to the Agricultural Officer who visited the village unannounced. Anyone who failed to grow tobacco was either fined or imprisoned.[86] It was also noted that new tobacco cultivation methods were to be strongly stressed among the local Africans, who were used to the traditional tobacco practices. The Department of Agriculture pioneered the destruction of the traditional tobacco culture by introducing European culture to avoid degeneration in the emerging tobacco industry. It instructed the African peasants to adhere to the European farming practices throughout the production season.[87] However, it was noted that the introduction of the fire-cured tobacco production chain largely locked the local peasants into work for about ten months in a year.[88] This was contrary to the local Africans' subsistence production chain, which was carried out on seasonal basis for about five months of work and

[85] Interview with Watson L. Nganiwa, Songea, 14 February 2016; and the Namtumbo Group Interview, 12 August 2016.
[86] NAT, 504, 4/3, 1928-44 Fire-cured Tobacco General, Tobacco Report-1933 Season, Agricultural Officer-Songea to The Senior Agricultural Officer-Lindi, Ref. 22/337, 17 October 1933.
[87] NAT, 504, 4/3, 1928-44 Fire-cured Tobacco General, Tobacco Report-1933 Season, Agricultural Officer-Songea to The Senior Agricultural Officer-Lindi, Ref. 22/337, 17 October1933.
[88] Prowse, 'A history of tobacco production and marketing in Malawi, 1890-2010'; and McCracken, 'Planters, Peasants and the Colonial State'.

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almost seven months for other activities.[89] The changes in the production system were mainly due to the scientific tobacco production practices which operated almost throughout the year.

The European fire-cured tobacco cultivation involved a number of stages. The first was the preparation of nurseries. It was noted that tobacco seed beds were prepared towards the end of October before the beginning of the rain season. The local growers were instructed to select a suitable small portion of wetland for making seedbeds. The seedbeds were made 15 yards long by 1 yard wide, and one level teaspoon of the recommended seed for each bed. The number of seedbeds depended on the prospective size of the tobacco field; however, each grower was required to prepare 3 to 4 seedbeds. The seedbeds were prepared with farmyard manures and/or fertilizers and pesticides to protect seedlings from insects and bacteria. The sowing of the first seedbeds were to be followed by the second and the third in intervals of 7 to 10 days. The reasons for this interval were to cover the chance of poor seedlings and lack of rain when the first seedlings were ready for transplanting.[90] The seedlings were often watered in the morning and evening. However, in the short period before transplanting, seedlings were hardened by reducing water and clipping. Clipping was done by cutting the upper part of the seedlings for maintaining their uniformity, and stimulating fibre root penetration, air circulation and control of disease in the seedbeds. This was an important stage in the tobacco industry, because the productivity of the crop depended heavily on the good quality of the seedlings in the seedbeds.[91] See Figure 9 below for tobacco seedlings before the rain season.

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[89] Namtumbo Group Interview, 12 August 2016; and Sijaona, Ngoni-Matengo Co-operative Union.
[90] NAT, 504, ¾ 1928-44 Fire-cured Tobacco General, Fire-cured Tobacco, Agricultural Assistant-Songea, to The District Commissioner-Songea, Ref. 3/6/7, 6 December 1952; and NAT, 504, ¾, 1928-44 Fire-cured Tobacco General, Report on investigations on tobacco growing in Nyasaland, A.S. Stenhouse, District Agricultural Officer-Songea to The Hon. Director of Agriculture-Dar es Salaam, Ref. 23/1, 07 July 1928.
[91] Interview with Beatus A. Mtumwa, Tanzania Leaf Tobacco Company officer-Ruvuma, 14 April 2016; Barie, 'Social-Economic Factors Affecting the Fire-cured Tobacco in Ruvuma', 37-40; and Martin Prowse and Jasan Mayer-lee, 'A Comparative Value Chain Analysis of Small holder Burley Tobacco Production in Malawi 2003/4 and 2009/10', *The Journal of Agrarian Change*, 14,3, (20140, 323-246.

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Figure 9: Tobacco nurseries before the rainy season.[92]

The second stage was cultivation and planting of tobacco in the field. Cultivation was often done in early November, almost one month before the rainy season. The local farmers tilled the tobacco fields with a hand hoes to a depth of 5 to 6 inches and the fields were left to air until the end of November, when they prepared ridges and contours for planting. Transplanting was done in the mid-December, only once the soil was well watered with heavy rain. At this stage the farmers were instructed to select good seedlings for transplanting by leaving big and older seedlings. In planting the selected seedlings, the African peasants had to leave space on the ridges of about 3 feet between the seedlings and wide level at the top measured by a rope and a stick. During transplanting the farmers were to push the seedlings' roots deep into the soil to control plant death in the field.[93] The local farmers were instructed to practise early planting to take advantage of reliable rainfall, soil nutrients and high productivity, compared to late planting. The third stage was the continuous weeding of the tobacco field. The African farmers were instructed to weed the field usually ten days after planting the crop, and this was repeated every ten days until the topping time. The main reasons for continuous weeding in the

[92] AOTTL, *Mkulima wa Tumbaku*, 3, 11 October, 2015.
[93] Namanguli Group Interview, 13 August 2016; and Interview with Beatus A. Mtumwa, Tanzania Leaf Tobacco Company officer-Ruvuma, 14 April 2016.

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tobacco field was to clear the field as well as to soften soil particles for air circulation, root penetration and water infiltration.[94]

The fourth stage involved topping, priming (pruning) and suckering the tobacco field. Topping was done between February and March, almost 50 to 60 days after transplanting. It involved careful cutting of the upper part of the plant when 6 to 10 flowers on the seed head were open. It was done to avoid the danger of the tobacco leaf becoming too thick due to competition for food with the seed head. Topping was also done to control rust and frog-eye disease in the field. A few days after topping, priming was done in the field by removing all bottom leaves up to 8 inches above the ridge level. It was expected that soon after topping the bottom leaves would become discoloured and coated with earth. These leaves were then removed and the number of the leaves left on the plant ranged between 8 and 14, depending on the quality of the plant. A heavy plant carried more leaves compered to weak plant in the field. The bottom leaves were removed because they were the poorest leaves, though they often looked large and good in the field. These pruned leaves were used for local consumption.[95] About two weeks after priming, suckering was done to remove suckers that appeared in the joints of the leaf and stem. These were removed as quickly as possible at least once in a week. It was noted that suckering was done to improve the weight and quality of a leaf in the plant.[96]

The sixth stage was ripening and harvesting of the plant in the field. Tobacco leaves in the field did not ripen at once from the bottom to the top. The farmers were therefore instructed to use the "single leaf method", which emphasized that tobacco leaves were to be harvested only when they were ripe. Under this method, tobacco leaves in the field were harvested when they were well mottled with yellow spots and had a rough touch to the feel. Harvesting was done between April and May, about 30 to 40 days after topping. During the harvest the growers were required to pick the lower leaves first and then others were harvested as they ripened.[97] See Figure 10 for the directions of when to harvest a tobacco leaf.

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[94] Interview with Beatus A. Mtumwa, Tanzania Leaf Tobacco Company officer-Ruvuma, 14 April 2016.
[95] NAT, 504, ¾ 1928-44 Fire-cured Tobacco General, Fire-cured Tobacco, Agricultural Assistant-Songea, to The District Commissioner-Songea, Ref. 3/6/7, 6 December 1952.
[96] Interview with Beatus A. Mtumwa, Tanzania Leaf Tobacco Company officer-Ruvuma, 14 April 2016.
[97] NAT, 504, ¾, 1928-44 Fire-cured Tobacco General, Report on investigations on tobacco growing in Nyasaland, A.S. Stenhouse, District Agricultural Officer-Songea to The Hon. Director of Agriculture-Dar es Salaam, Ref. 23/1, 07 July 1928. Also see Barie, 'Social-Economic Factors Affecting the Fire-cured Tobacco in Ruvuma

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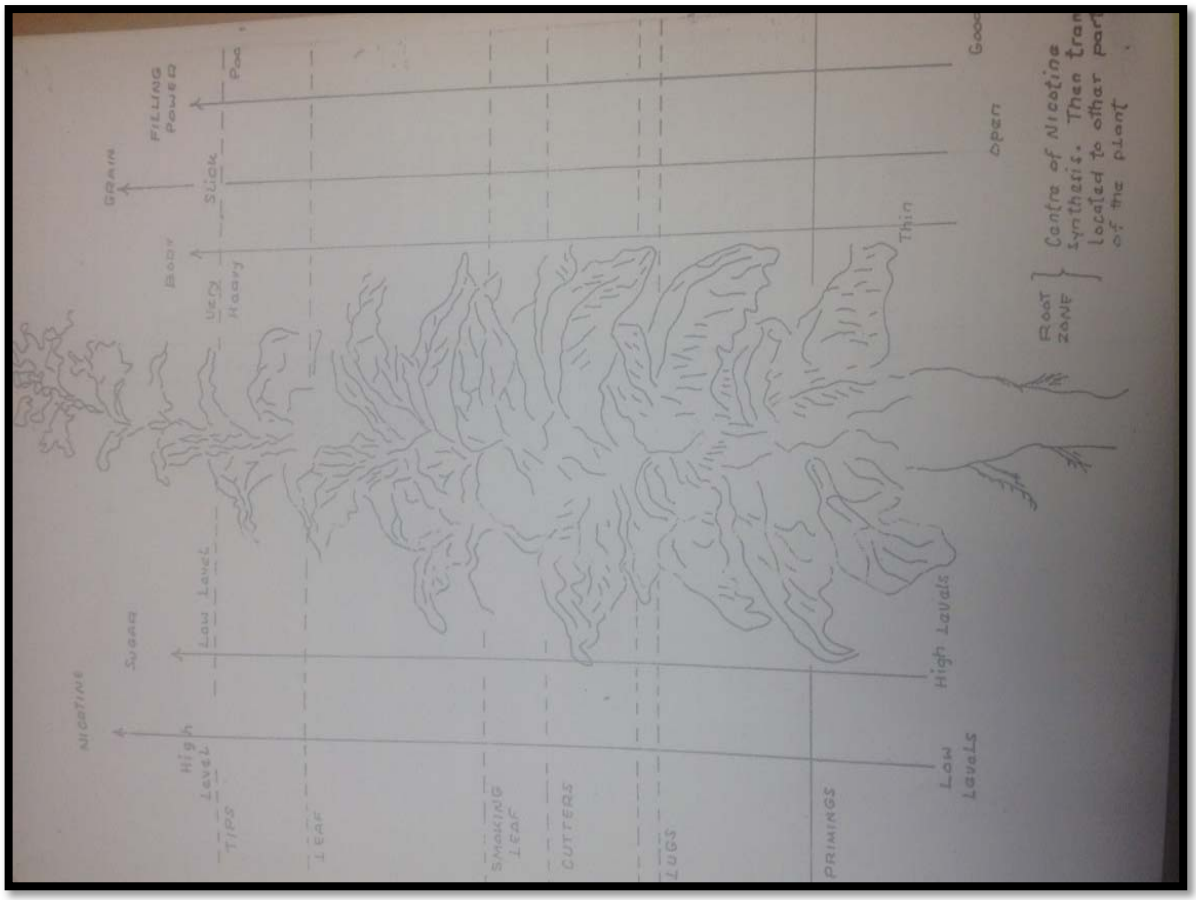

Figure 10: Hand drawing of a Tobacco leaf ready for harvest in the field.[98]

The seventh stage was curing and packing the tobacco leaves. Tobacco curing was done after harvesting, through three steps: wilting, yellowing and curing. Wilting was done by exposing the harvested tobacco leaves to the sun just as little as possible before they were taken to a yellowing hut. During yellowing, the leaves were tied into sticks which were about 3 feet long and they were hung in the hut until they were all yellow. After yellowing, the leaves were then taken to a curing sheds and hung with the tips of the leaves not less than 5 feet from the floor level. During the curing process, a small fire was set with as little smoke as possible; large fires were discouraged to prevent the leaves from drying out too quickly and the danger of burning

Region'; and Martin Prowse and Mayer-lee, 'A Comparative Value Chain Analysis of Small holder Burley Tobacco Production in Malawi', 327-328.

[98] The drawing by Association of Tanzania Tobacco Traders for training tobacco growers in Tanzania, found on SONAMCU office, April 2016.

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the curing sheds.[99] Indeed, the curing process was a slow one, which took up to a month or more to complete. It was done during the day, when the curing sheds were kept as airtight as possible to retain the moisture and prevent quick drying out of the leaves. During the night the doors were left open for the leaves to get moisture from the atmosphere. This was done because, for a good curing, tobacco leaves were required to be soft and moist throughout the curing period until only the midribs remained to be cured. Bulking was done when the leaves were almost chocolate dark brown in colour and the midribs were cured. It was done by conditioning the leaves through drawing the fire and leaving the doors open for two or three days and nights for the leaves to get enough moisture from the atmosphere. Tobacco leaves were left in bulking condition for some weeks until few days before the opening of the market.[100] The eighth stage was grading, packing and marketing the cured tobacco leaves. The cured leaves were roughly graded and tied in hands of about 20 leaves each. The hands were tied with a piece of maize and not with tobacco leaf. It was noted that grading was done by considering the colour, length, position and the stage of the ripeness of the leaves. Thereafter, similar graded tobacco leaves were compressed in a sack to make a bale for marketing.[101]

The last stage was marketing, processing and shipping the tobacco. Before 1936 the colonial Department of Agriculture administered tobacco production, marketing, processing and shipping in the Ruvuma region. However, with the introduction of NGOMAT Ltd in 1936, all tobacco farmers were required to sell their produce to a central cooperative union through the market centres in the affiliated primary societies in the villages in order to centralise and control the marketing of tobacco produce grown by African peasants. The farmers were instructed to register with their nearby primary society for marketing their produce. The good thing about the colonial tobacco marketing was that peasants sold their produce and received their cash from NGOMAT accountants the same day. This is in marked contrast to the current marketing practices, where the farmers sell their produce and get their cash after 3 or 6 months and

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[99] NAT, 504, ¾ Fire-cured Tobacco General, 'The Light Firing of Heavy Tobacco, District Agricultural Officer, Songea, to The Ag. Director of Agriculture, Morogoro, Ref. 22/344, 5 April 1933.
[100] NAT, 504, ¾ 1928-44 Fire-cured Tobacco General, Fire-cured Tobacco, Agricultural Assistant-Songea, to The District Commissioner-Songea, Ref. 3/6/7, 6 December 1952. Also see Barie, 'Social-Economic Factors Affecting the Fire-cured Tobacco in Ruvuma', 37-40; and Martin Prowse and Jasan Mayer-lee, 'Comparative Value Chain Analysis of Small holder Burley Tobacco Production'.
[101] NAT, 504, ¾, 1928-44 Fire-cured Tobacco General, Report on investigations on tobacco growing in Nyasaland, A.S. Stenhouse, District Agricultural Officer-Songea to The Hon. Director of Agriculture-Dar es Salaam, Ref. 23/1, 07 July 1928.

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sometimes they do get it after a number of years, or even (in some cases) do not get it at all.[102] Tobacco bales bought in the primary societies were transported to NGOMAT factory in Songea town, where the tobacco was processed in accordance with the demands of the domestic and global market. In the factory tobacco leaves were re-graded, conditioned, humidified and packed in response to the instructions given by the prospective customers.[103] Processed tobacco leaves, for example, were packed in a baling box of about 36 inches long by 24 inches wide and 18 to 20 inches deep. Therefore, inside it measured about 34 inches long by 23 inches wide and was about 50 inches deep, enough to hold the required weight of loose tobacco leaves.[104] In contrast to the local packing style, in the factory similar tobacco grades were compressed into a hessian sack with a layer of waterproof paper for the local market in Dar es Salaam and the global market in the United Kingdom, Holland and United Stated of America. From the NGOMAT factory, tobacco for domestic market was transported via Lindi to Dar es Salaam, while tobacco for the global market was transported via Lindi and/or Mbamba Bay-Beira for shipping to Europe and America. For local transport, storage and shipping, NGOMAT entered into agreements with various agencies including Tanganyika Transport Company Ltd in Tanganyika, Nyasaland Railway Company in Nyasaland, and Messrs Noakes Ltd in United Kingdom.[105] Between 1930 and 1940, the fire-cured tobacco industry in Ruvuma secured its market from various companies, including Tanganyika Tobacco Company Ltd, Anglo-African Tobacco Co. Ltd, East African Tobacco Co. Ltd, Nile Industrial Tobacco Co. Ltd, and Messrs M. and P. Michailidis Co. Ltd.[106] See Figure 11 for a simple analysis of the colonial tobacco industry in Ruvuma region.

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[102] Interview with Mzee Benedict A. Tembo, SONAMCU –Songea, 10 February 2016.
[103] See NAT, B/2, Songea District Native Tobacco Board Minutes, Report on Songea Native Grown Tobacco.
[104] NAT, 504, ¾, 1928-44 Fire-cured Tobacco General, Report on investigations on tobacco growing in Nyasaland, A.S. Stenhouse, District Agricultural Officer-Songea to The Hon. Director of Agriculture-Dar es Salaam, Ref. 23/1, 07 July 1928.
[105] NAT, 504, B/21, Shipping and Transport of Tobacco, Routing of Tobacco for United Kingdom, Executive Officer, Songea Native Tobacco Board, 25 January 1949; NAT, Co-op/27/II, NGOMAT, Ltd., "Notes on the Heads of Agreement for New Transport Contract, and NAT, 504, B/21, 1948-1952, Shipping and Transport of Tobacco, A Letter from Executive Officer, Songea District Native Tobacco Board to the Provincial Commissioner-Lindi, Ref. B/21/42, 21 July 1950.
[106] NAT, Co-op/27/133, Songea District Native Tobacco Board Minutes, The 8th Meeting of the Songea Native Tobacco Board, held at Songea, 11 May 1943.

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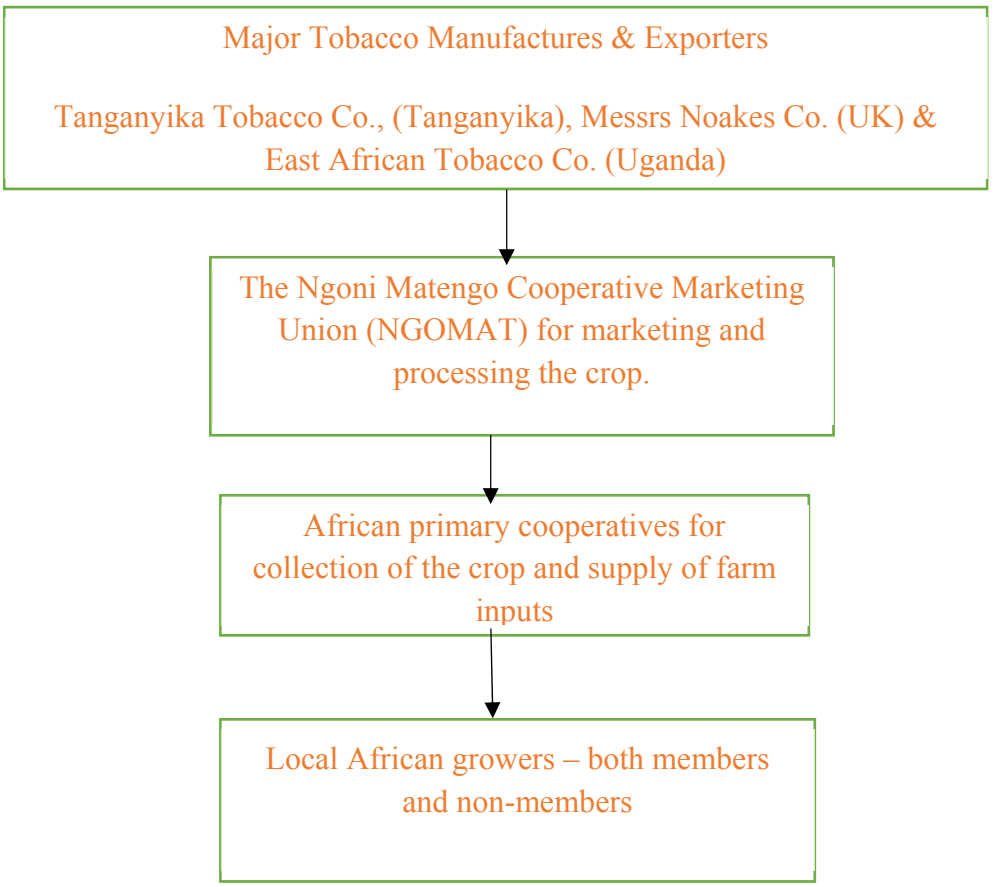

Figure 11: Simple Chain Analysis of the Tobacco Industry, 1935-1940.

The Impact of Tobacco Cultivation in Ungoni Country Towards 1940

The rise of peasant commercial tobacco production in the 1930s had a significantly impact on the socio-economic and ecological livelihoods of the Africans in the Ungoni country in southern Tanzania. The first of these impacts was the development of the new pattern of division of labour. Traditionally, the Wangoni were used to a seasonal subsistence production chain, in which women were the main producers of grain and men did some work in the field such as clearing the forest and constructing the grain reserves. The greater part of farming activities such as cultivation, weeding and harvesting of grain was done by women. Men engaged in activities such as fishing along Lake Nyasa and River Ruvuma, hunting wild animals, collecting honey and wild rubber for trapping birds and making drums.[107] In the

[107] Namtumbo Group Interview, 12 August 2016; Sijaona, 'Ngoni-Matengo Co-operative Union'; and Gaudence P. Mpangala, 'A History of Colonial Production in Songea District, Tanzania, 1897-1961', MA Thesis, University of Dar es Salaam, (1977).

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aftermath of the WWI, many men travelled far from home to work as porters and migrant labourers in the coastal region.

Another key change was that the emergence of tobacco cultivation changed the local African production chain from seasonal to annual permanent production. The men who used to travel for fishing, hunting and collection of wild rubber and honey were now forced to remain at home for tobacco production. Women and children, who were traditional the main producers of food crops in Ungoni country, were now required to perform a double role. They worked with the men in the tobacco field as well as continuing to engage in subsistence farming. Men engaged in the so-called heavy activities such as felling the miombo trees on the virgin land for the preparation of the tobacco field. They were involved in preparing tobacco nurseries, tilling and weeding the field, as well as grading and marketing the produce. They also engaged in topping, applying of pesticides and curing tobacco leaves after harvest. The women and children engaged in the so-called light work related to tobacco activities such as cultivation of the tobacco field, weeding, tying tobacco leaves and preparation of food for the family.[108] See Figure 12 for an illustration of women's involvement in the tobacco industry in Ruvuma region.

[108] Namtumbo Group Interview, 12 August 2016; Sijaona, 'Ngoni-Matengo Co-operative Union'; and Mpangala, 'History of Colonial Production'.

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Figure 12: Women Engaged in Fire-cured Tobacco Farming in Ruvuma in the 1940s.[109]

Secondly, tobacco cultivation influenced the rise of the local peasant primary cooperative societies in rural areas. The increasing influence of tobacco as a cash crop attracted the African peasants to the crop. Many of these formed or joined the local African primary cooperative societies in various parts of the region. Hence the number of primary cooperative societies dramatically increased to about 15 in 1939, from the 3 registered during the introduction of NGOMAT Ltd in 1936. These included Litola, Liula, Msindo, Gumbiro, Matogoro, Mbinga, Lumecha, Gumbiro, Namtumbo, Lipumba, Likuyu Fussi, Ndirima, Mlali, Mbangamao, Tingi, and Ngaka.[110] These peasant cooperative associations in turn contributed to a remarkable increase in the number of tobacco growers in the region. By 1940, for example, the number of tobacco growers had considerably increased from 3,421 in 1936/37 to 5,464 in 1937/38, 5,979 in 1938/39 and 7,980 in 1939/1940. The number of members of primary cooperative societies increased respectively from 1,543 in 1936/37 to 2,285 in 1937/38, 4,418 in 1938/39, and 6345

[109] Modified from Mpangala, 'History of Colonial Production', 1974:98.
[110] NAT, Co-op/27/II, NGOMAT Minutes, Honorarium Committee of Union of Union and affiliated Societies for Season 1938/39. Also see Gaudens P. Mpangala, 'The Impact of Colonial Trading Capital or the Transformation of Peasant Agriculture in Tanganyika, 19885-1961', PhD Thesis, Leipzig, Karl Marx University, (1987); and Redmond, 'NMCMU and Tobacco Production in Songea'.

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in 1939/40. Whereas the number of non-members declined to 1651 in 1939/40, from 3921 in 1936/37.[111] Eventually, the growing number of members of primary societies had largely increased the annual tobacco production by 50%, the crop yield per acre, and peasants received higher return due to the improved quality of the crop.[112] See Table 8 for an indication of the early primary societies, members and tobacco produce in Ruvuma region.

Table 8: Primary Societies, Members and Tobacco Production in 1937/38.[113]

S/N.	Primary Co-operative Society	Members	Production (Kgs.)	Amount (Shs.)
1.	Liula	438	36270	2,540.60
2.	Litola	377	28432.5	2,052.10
3.	Msindo	354	32461	2,164.00
4.	Matogoro	263	10414	675.35
5.	Mbinga	170	5200	370.40
6.	Lumetcha	163	12241.5	5,147.35
7.	Gumbiro	122	8178	531.40
8.	Lipumba	116	4347	281.90
9.	Ndirima	92	2974	185.95
10.	Likuyu	81	2633	168.85
11.	Namtumbo	65	5671	441.80
12.	Mlali	44	851	55.30
	Total	**2285**	**149673**	**10,266.10**

The review of the figures above indicates a remarkable increase in the members of cooperative societies and in tobacco productivity. This was largely influenced by the advancement of civil education among the local Africans on the significance of cooperative marketing, good tobacco

[111] NAT, 155, Co-op/27/1, NGOMAT, Report on Tobacco industry and Ngoni-Matengo Cooperative Union.
[112] NAT, 504, Co-op/27/II, Annual Report for 1937/38, Ngoni-Matengo Cooperative Marketing Union, Ltd, J.W. Large, Assistant Register of Co-operative Societies-Songea and Audited Report for NGOMAT 1937/1938, Standard Bank Chambers – Dar es Salaam, 29th July, 1938.
[113] NAT, 504, Co-op/27/II, Annual Report for 1937/38, Ngoni-Matengo Cooperative Marketing Union.

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returns among the growers, and the bonus payment given to the members affiliated to NGOMAT.[114]

Another significant impact was the introduction of the first dark fire-cured tobacco processing factory in Tanzania in 1936. The factory was established by NGOMAT as an attempt to respond to the growing demands of the tobacco industry in Ruvuma region. It was noted that the need for processing the crop emerged from the broader strategy of improving the value of the raw tobacco grown by African farmers. At first the union installed a manual processing plant at Mahenge in Songea town, which processed all tobacco grown in the Ruvuma region. However, the growing production by the African growers resulted in the need to build a modern technologically superior and larger plant. Consequently, the factory was relocated from Mahenge to its present position, the Songea industrial area. This was due to the need for a new and large plant house and installation of the new plant. The task was started in 1948 and completed in 1952. By that time, the plant not only managed to process all tobacco grown in the Ruvuma region, but also tobacco grown in other parts of Tanzania.[115] A retired tobacco factory officer reported that the plant was very important for the tobacco industry and the regional economy as well. It performed several activities in processing the crop. The workers received the tobacco bought from primary cooperative societies for regrading, styling, re-bulking, processing and packing. All processing stages including quality control, storage, packing and shipping, were carefully done in accordance with the instructions given by the tobacco leaf manufacturers in the country and outside the country. Throughout its operations, the factory employed between 2,000 and 3,000 labourers, both Africans and Europeans, men and women, but the majority of them were the women who were employed for re-grading and styling in the factory.[116] The tobacco factory therefore, did not just promote the value of the crop but also created a significant employment among the local Africans, and it ensured the future prosperity of the crop in the region.

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[114] NAT, 504, Co-op/27/II, NGOMAT Minutes, Annual Audited Report for NGOMAT 1937/1938, Standard Bank Chambers – Dar es Salaam, 29 July 1938.
[115] See Report on the Proposal for Rehabilitation of the Tobacco Processing Plant at Songea, September, 2012, SONAMCU-Songea. Also Mpangala, 'History of Colonial Production'; and Redmond, 'NMCMU and Tobacco Production in Songea'.
[116] Interview with Mzee Benedict A. Tembo, Retired SONAMCU officer, Songea, 10 February 2016.

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Moreover, the tobacco industry led to the growth of an environmental conservation programme among the Africans in the region. By the late 1930s the environmental consequences of tobacco farming started to be noticed by both the peasants and government in various parts of the region. This was triggered by the excessive clearance of the natural forests for tobacco cultivation and curing. This seem to have escalated what Garrett Hardin described as "the tragedy of the commons"[117] in 1968. Three decades later, Elinor Ostrom described this phenomenon as "the tragedy of the common pool resources"[118] such as the over-exploitation of natural forestry, fisheries and underground waters. Though Ostrom challenged Hardin for generalising the science of the common property resources, they both highlighted that such resources are often vulnerable to over-exploitation and misuse by the individuals in their own interests, because the resources are not just open to every person, but they are also not restricted. Hence the users do not bear the direct costs of their misuse of the resources.[119] As explained in the first chapter, Ostrom suggested the adoption of a "collective pool management approach" to address the threat of the tragedy of the commons.[120] This chapter uses this approach to explore the environmental impacts of tobacco production in southern Tanzania. Henceforth, in relation to "collective pool management approach" and as an attempt to conserve the affected areas, a re-afforestation programme was highly encouraged among the local African growers. Archival records indicate that re-afforestation was practised through planting of trees by the local growers and the Ngoni-Matengo Co-operative Marketing Union Ltd. By 1937 about 35 acres were re-afforested, of which 26 acres were planted by the union NGOMAT Ltd. Its Annual Report for 1937/38 reported that in afforestation campaigns the local Africans preferred to plant exotic trees rather than protecting the indigenous forest and that about 300 African growers were given "syringa" and "eucalyptus" seeds for planting.[121]

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[117] 'The tragedy of the commons' refers to the tendency to misuse and/or over use the common property resources such as natural forests. See Garrett Hardin, 'The tragedy of the Commons', *Science*, New Series, 162, 3859, (1968), 1243-1248.

[118] Elinor Ostrom, Governing the Commons. The Evolutions of Institutions for Collective Action, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990).

[119] See Hardin, 'The tragedy of the Commons'; and Ostrom, *Governing the Commons*.

[120] Ostrom, *Governing the Commons*.; Gene Wunderlich, 'Review Reviewed Work (s): Governing the Commons: The Evolution of Institution for Collective Action by Elinor Ostrom', *American Journal of Agricultural Economics*, 74, 1, (1992), 240-242; and Robert L. Bish, 'Review: Common Pool Administration Reviewed Work (s): Governing the Commons: The Evolution of Institution for Collective Action by Elinor Ostrom', *Public Administration Review*, 58, 5, (1992), 519-520.

[121] NAT, Co-op/27/II, NGOMAT Minutes, Annual Report for 1937/38, J. W. Large, Assistant Register of Co-operative Societies-Songea to The Register of Co-operative Societies-Dar es Salaam, 5 May, 1938.

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Notwithstanding the remarkable success in the introduction of the peasant cash economy, the growing tobacco industry had adversely affected the Ungoni country in two ways. Firstly, it posed a great threat to food security among the African growers. The growing tobacco industry led to increasingly inadequate food planting among the farmers in the region. It was noted that traditional subsistence farming was increasingly ignored by the local farmers due to the good returns from tobacco. This was because of the growing need of cash in Ungoni country. By the late 1930s the importance of cash could not be underestimated; the majority of the local Africans paid their taxes in cash. And most of the basic industrial goods like clothes, salt, utensils and soap were obtained for cash. Hence, many farmers attempted to get cash by growing tobacco.[122] This affected the annual food planting cycle and the general quantities foodstuff grown by Africans. The colonial state, however, took deliberate measures to promote food planting. By the early 1940s, for instance, the Songea District Native Tobacco Board, in addressing the question of food shortages, resolved to instruct all growers to ensure that tobacco planting would not adversely affect the planting of adequate quantities of foodstuff, which was the primary duty of all growers.[123]

Secondly, the colonial tobacco industry influenced the continued migrant labour economy in the region. In the third section it was explained that one of the major factors which contributed to the rise of commercial fire-cured tobacco production was the desire of the locals to offset labour migration. However, the creation of a cash crop economy did not abolish labour migration among the Africans in Ungoni country. Tobacco cultivation was strategically established to provide space for the Ungoni country to play a double role as cash crop grower and as a labour reserve region. The colonial Department of Agriculture indirectly perpetuated labour migration through brutal punishment of Africans who mishandled the crop or failed to show a tobacco farm. Africans who were found guilty were heavily beaten by the colonial agricultural instructors, and sometimes were fined and imprisoned for up to six months.[124] As a result many Africans opted to run away from these punishments by going to work in missionary centres or in urban areas, while others travelled to the north-east coastal regions to

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[122] Sijaona, 'Ngoni-Matengo Cooperative Union'.
[123] NAT, 155/B/2, Songea District Native Tobacco Board Minutes, The 7th Meeting of the SDNTB held at Songea in 14 November 1942. Also see Mpangala, 'History of Colonial Production'; and Redmond, 'NMCMU and Tobacco Production in Songea'.
[124] Interview with Watson L. Nganiwa, Ruvuma Regional Co-operative Officer-Songea, 14 February 2016.

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work as migrant labourers in the colonial plantations which were re-opened after the Great Depression.

The Department of Agriculture used a top-down, restrictive approach to control production and marketing of the tobacco before and after the introduction of NGOMAT in 1936. With the introduction of the union as the supervisor of the crop, the Department still created a very strong mechanism for a continuous monitoring of the union, as well as production and marketing of the crop. This was achieved, as Gallagher noted, by appointing its Agricultural Officers as union managers between 1936 and 1943, and by recruiting the majority of staff from the Department of Agriculture to work as the union's agricultural instructors.[125] Hence, they easily monitored the number of tobacco growers to allow for the continuation of the migrant labour economy. Mpangala, in supporting this argument, demonstrated that a cash economy was introduced as an alternative way of collecting tax from the local Africans, therefore commercial tobacco production could not replace labour migration economy because of the growing demand for labour after the revival of the plantation between 1930 and 1940.[126] Therefore, despite the introduction of tobacco commercial production, the Ungoni country of the Ruvuma region remained an important labour reserve for the growing colonial labour demands in Tanganyika.

Conclusion

The chapter has joined one of the great historiographical debates in twentieth century African history, providing a modest contribution to the broader historiography of African peasant production in East Africa. Existing historiography of African peasantry in East Africa focused on the debate over the understanding of peasants, peasant protest and the political economy of peasant commodity production. However, this chapter intervened and expanded the debate on the role of the state on the development of colonial production in East Africa by focusing on the establishment of African commercial tobacco production in the Ungoni country of southern Tanganyika. It used the British "Plant More Crops" campaign of the 1930s as a way of challenging the notion that the colonial state was simply a bureaucratic machine for the

[125] Gallagher, 'Islam and the Emergence of the Ndendeuli'; and Mpangala, 'The Impact of Colonial Trading Capital'.
[126] Mpangala, 'History of Colonial Production'.

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supervision of production in African colonies as argued by Mamdani. This chapter demonstrated that the colonial state not only supervised colonial production, but also established economic enterprises and accumulated capital from the African peasant producers. The chapter examined the role of the state and its resultant impacts on African peasant commercial tobacco production in the Ruvuma region between the early 1930s and the early 1940s. Exploring the motives for the rise of the cash economy, this chapter argued that commercial tobacco production emerged because of the British "Plant More Crops" campaign, the geographical rationale and, a previously neglected factor, the local Africans' desire to offset labour migration.

It explored the context in which the British "Plant More Crops" campaign influenced the rise of peasant fire-cured tobacco production in the labour reserve area of the Ungoni country. The colonial administration, through the Department of Agriculture, adopted various measures to establish European tobacco cultivation methods among the local Africans in the Ungoni country. Therefore, the new tobacco industry shifted the traditional production chain from seasonal subsistence to an annual cash crop production economy. Consequently, the chapter argued that the change of the production chain had a significantly impact on the socio-economic and ecological livelihoods of African growers in the Ungoni country, including the emergence of the new pattern of division of labour, the rise of the local African primary cooperative societies, and re-afforestation programmes. The chapter adopted Elinor Ostrom's 'governing the commons' analysis to explain the context in which African tobacco producers participated in the re-afforestation programme as attempt to control the environmental impact tobacco farming in Ruvuma. This chapter thus examined the role of the colonial administration in the establishment and control of African peasant tobacco production. The next chapter carries this discussion further to explore the ambiguous role of state in the control and monopoly of African peasant tobacco production in southern Tanganyika in the following decade, between 1940 and 1950

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CHAPTER FOUR

State Control and African Tobacco Production, 1940 – 1954.

Introduction

With the outbreak of the World War II (WWII) in 1939, the colonial state took deliberate measures to reform and control the marketing of all agricultural export commodities produced by African peasants in Tanganyika. The authorities imposed various agricultural marketing regulations in order to control the selling of peasant crops (like coffee, cotton, tobacco and tea) during the war.[1] Studies on the colonial agricultural marketing system of Tanzania concur that these market reforms were largely geared towards establishing effective state centralisation and control of the marketing system of African peasant crops.[2] These interventions were imposed as an attempt to promote the participation of European trading firms in the trading of peasant crops in the territory in place of wealthy (Asian and African) capitalists.[3] In 1940 the government created state-controlled marketing institutions (including the Coffee Control Board and the Songea Native Tobacco Board), which monopolised and supervised the

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[1] Under the Provision of the Export Restriction of orders of 1939, the control of all export commodities was placed in the hands of the Director of Agriculture. For more information see NAT, 1004/10, Report by His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland to the Council of the League of Nations on the Administration of Tanganyika for the Year 1940.

[2] See for instance John Iliffe, *A Modern History of Tanganyika*, (Cambridge University Press, 1979), 290-295; G.P. Mpangala, 'The Impact of Colonial Trading Capital or the Transformation of Peasant Agriculture in Tanganyika, 19885-1961', PhD Thesis, Leipzig, Karl Marx University, (1987), 90-91; and Kenneth R. Curtis, 'Cooperation and Cooptation: The Struggle for Market Control in the Bukoba District of Colonial Tanganyika', *The International Journal of African Historical Studies*, 25, 3, (1992), 505-538.

[3] The beginning of mercantile capitalism around 1500 AD saw the penetration of Asian merchants in East Africa for commercial relationships between South Asia and South-eastern African coast. At first, they took ivory from East Africa to India and then re-sold it to Europe in exchange of manufactured goods. In 1840 Sultan Sayyid Said shifted his capital from Muscat-Oman to Zanzibar in order to control the ivory, gold and slave trade along the Indian coast. With the industrial revolution well underway in Europe, ivory and slave trade in East African coast doubled between 1850 and 1890. The trade was largely financed by Asian merchants who were invited by the Sultan of Zanzibar, and in the course of time some merchants from Europe and America joined in the financing of ivory trade. By 1945 the East African coast, particularly Tanganyika and Zanzibar, was already integrated into the global capitalist system as importers of manufactured goods and suppliers of raw materials. Therefore, most successful Arab, Indian and Swahili traders during the last decade of mercantilism were licenced in the trading of African grown crops during the introduction of the colonial economy in Tanganyika and Zanzibar. However, most of these wealthy Asian and African traders became middlemen traders who accumulated profits by buying peasants crops cheaply and selling them at higher prices to the European firms. They also did not concern themselves with the improvement of peasant services or even the quality of peasant crops. As a result, they posed a threat to the sustainability of peasant production in Tanganyika. See Pedro Machado, *Ocean of Trade: South Asian Merchants, Africa and Indian Ocean, c 1750-1850* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014); Andrew Coulson, *Tanzania: A Political Economy* 2nd Edition, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013); Walter Rodney, *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa*, (Dar es Salaam: East African Publishing House, 1972); and Iliffe, *Modern History*.

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production, processing and marketing of export crops. As a result, all sales of export crops by African cooperatives like Kilimanjaro Native Cooperative Union Limited (KNCU) in Kilimanjaro, Ngoni-Matengo Cooperative Marketing Union Limited (NGOMAT) in Ruvuma and Bugufi Coffee Cooperative Union (BCU) in Kagera required approval from the state-appointed marketing boards.[4]

The existing agrarian historiography in Tanganyika helps to understand the debate on the dynamics of the colonial market reforms before and after the WWII, but it fails to explain the nature of the complex relationship between the colonial administration and African peasant producers. Historians like J. Iliffe, G.P. Mpangala and K.R Curtis attributed these market reforms to three major factors. The first was the desire of the government to abolish the exploitation of the peasantry by middlemen traders who (up to the late 1930s) were the major trading agents in the marketing of African peasant produce in the territory.[5] The government wished to eliminate these wealthy Asian and African traders in the marketing of African export crops, because they exploited African growers by buying their produce cheaply and selling it at a higher price to the European firms. This resulted in the decline of peasant production in the territory, especially during WWII, due to the drastic fall in the price of export crops. Secondly, through the establishment of the state-controlled marketing institutions, the government wanted to ensure effective control over specific strategic African-grown cash crops.[6] The state now wished to control and supervise the quality and quantity of export crops

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[4] The Ngoni-Matengo Cooperative Marketing Union Limited (NGOMAT) was the second oldest African peasant cooperative organisation in Tanganyika. It was set up by the government in 1936 in order to control tobacco peasant production in the Ruvuma region. The colonial government did not have enough capital and personnel to run the tobacco industry in the mid-1930s, and its attempt to attract private investors to run the industry failed as they did not show an interest due to the remoteness of the area. Hence, the government started the African peasant cooperative organisation to control tobacco industry in the region. The government believed that cooperative union could get capital to run the industry through membership fees, levies and loan from the colonial development fund. The first African-initiated peasant cooperative organisation was the Kilimanjaro Native Planters Association found in 1922 and reorganised in 1932 as the Kilimanjaro Native Cooperative Union (KNCU). Bugufi Coffee Cooperative Union Limited (BCU) was the third African cooperative association started by the government together with NGOMAT in 1936) in order to control coffee production in Ngara District and become a union in 1957 with five affiliated societies. See, for instance, Tanganyika Territory, The Cooperative Development Annual Report for Tanganyika in 1948; CCMNA, (URT), The Cooperative Movement in Tanganyika; and Patrick M. Redmond, 'The NMCMU and Tobacco Production in Songea', *Tanzania Notes and Records*, 79 & 80, (1976), 65.

[5] With 'The Traders Licensing (Amendment) Ordinance of 1932' the marketing of African produce was largely carried out by middlemen traders (including the Indian, Asian and few rich African traders) who were given license as agents of the government in the marketing of African cash crops. Also see, for instance, Iliffe, *Modern History*; and Mpangala, 'Impact of Colonial Trading Capital', (1987), 91.

[6] Mpangala, 'The Impact of Colonial Trading Capital', 91-93; and Curtis, 'Cooperation and Cooptation'.

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grown by Africans. As Curtis showed, the middlemen traders previously did nothing to supervise the quality of African produce. They were interested in the quantity rather than the quality of the agricultural produce in order to maximize their profit.[7] Consequently, the activities of these middlemen traders led to the decline of the quality of peasant cash crops in the international market. Thirdly, the market reforms aimed at curbing the operations of the pre-WWII African cooperative associations in control of the trading of peasant export crops. This chapter intervenes in this enduring historiographical debate and argues that, despite its good intention of rescuing African peasants from exploitation of middlemen traders, the creation of state-controlled marketing boards co-opted the power, responsibilities and tenuous freedoms of the few extant pre-war African cooperatives in the control of African peasant production.

There is little analysis of the colonial market reforms in the control of African tobacco peasant production in southern Tanganyika. Iliffe and Mpangala provide only a rather general analysis of the colonial marketing system in Tanganyika, which is useful for the discussion of this chapter. However, there is no detailed analysis of the market reforms particularly on the control of tobacco peasant production in Southern Tanzania. Similarly, Curtis's study ignored the dynamics of the control of marketing organisations among the tobacco growers in the southern province, as it entirely focused on the marketing reforms among the coffee growers in the Lake Province in Northern Tanganyika. This chapter, however, builds on Curtis to draw out comparisons and contrasts in the analysis of the market reforms in the control of tobacco peasant production in Ruvuma of southern Tanzania. This chapter therefore extends from, Iliffe, Mpangala and Curtis to trace and examine the colonial state's attempt to control the development of African peasant production in Southern Tanzania between 1940 and 1954. It therefore, extends the debate on the colonial market reforms in Tanganyika by focusing on the nature of the complex relationship between the state and African peasant tobacco producers. It explores the origin, organisation and functions of the state controlled African tobacco board and its resultant impact and challenges in centralisation and control of African fire-cured tobacco production in Ruvuma between 1940 and 1954.

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[7] See Curtis, 'Cooperation and Cooptation'.

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The chapter thus uses the creation of the Songea Native Tobacco Board (SONTOB) in 1940 as a lens to explore the coercive power of the state in trying to wrest control back from a burgeoning embryonic independent African peasantry. In essence, the chapter argues that the marketing board (SONTOB) was created to act as a monopolistic instrument of the state in the control of peasant tobacco production in the region. It specifically demonstrates that the state created SONTOB as an important government institution to curb the growing influence of the early African peasant's cooperative movement in the supervision of crop production, processing and the marketing of tobacco leaf in the Ruvuma region. The chapter is divided into three sections. The first section explores the origin and organisation of the Songea Native Tobacco Board during the 1940s. The second section discusses the role of the state through the Songea Native Tobacco Board in the control and monopoly of African peasant tobacco production, marketing, processing and exporting of the processed tobacco leaf. The last section explores the challenges and conflicts between the colonial state and African tobacco growers in the control of tobacco production in the region.

The Origin of the Songea District Native Tobacco Board, c. 1940

By the early 1940s peasant tobacco production in Ruvuma had already grown into a relatively large industry in colonial Tanganyika, compared to the early 1930s. Tobacco for export had increased remarkably due to the growing influence of the Ngoni-Matengo Cooperative Marketing Union Limited (NGOMAT).[8] The introduction of the NGOMAT tobacco factory in 1936 seems to have intensified the complexity of running the industry, particularly in managing and controlling its future prosperity for the interests of the colonial state.[9] As explained in Chapter Three, the NGOMAT union played a significant role in promoting the development of the fire-cured tobacco industry in the region. Through the formation of affiliated primary co-operative societies, the union not only promoted the participation of African peasants in the growth of the industry, but also stimulated the rapid increase of the annual tobacco production in the region. The NGOMAT records and of course

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[8] See for instance, Alan Hall, Wind of Change in Songea, Cooperative Tobacco Production, http://www.theBritishempire.co.uk, accessed on 17 October 2017; and G.M. Mpangala, 'A History of Colonial Production in Songea District, Tanzania, 1897-1961', MA Thesis, University of Dar es Salaam, (1977); and Redmond, 'The NMCMU and Tobacco Production in Songea', 65.

[9] See NAT, 504, 4/3, 1928-44 Fire-cured Tobacco General, 'Habari Chache Juu ya Tumbaku ya Songea', 31 March 1952; and SONAMCU office-Songea, Report on the Proposal for Rehabilitation of the Tobacco Processing Plant at Songea, September 2012.

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in the previous chapter (Three), it was therefore indicated that the annual tobacco production had significantly increased from 104,236 kg in 1935 to about 120,000 kg in 1936 and 435,000 kg in 1940. Likewise, the number of tobacco growers in Ruvuma region increased from 5,464 in 1936/37 to 7,980 in 1939/40, of which the number of primary co-operative members increased from 1,543 when the union started in 1936/37 to about 6,345 in 1939/40.[10]

The union's achievements were a result of the rapid spread of the co-operative movement among Africans in the Ungoni and Undendeule areas in the region. There was considerable enthusiasm for this based on the understanding of the idea of co-operation among Africans grew in the aftermath of the formation of the NGOMAT union.[11] Under the influence of A.E. Twells (the European Union manager at the time) and his union committee members, the central union worked hard to popularise the values, rights and responsibilities of the union to Africans through various meetings in the villages.[12] As a result, the majority of the union members developed significant interests in spreading the movement to African tobacco growers in different parts of the region including the Ungoni, Undendeule and Umatengo. By the early 1940s membership attendance in the general co-operative meetings increased from 80% to 90% in Ungoni and Undendeule, but in Umatengo it increased from 30% to 40%.[13] These figures illustrate that the African membership in unions in the development of the tobacco industry had increased significantly. This increase consolidated the union's autonomy in managing tobacco peasant production, especially in the supervision of crop production, the purchase of the tobacco produce from the growers through their affiliated primary cooperative societies, and processing the crop through its factory established in Songea town. The union

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[10] NAT, 155, Co-op/27/1, NGOMAT, Report on Tobacco industry and Ngoni-Matengo Cooperative Union; and Co-op/27/II, NGOMAT Minutes, Honorarium Committee of Union of Union and affiliated Societies for Season 1938/39.

[11] NAT, 155, Coop.27 Ngoni-Matengo Cooperative Marketing Union Limited 1939-40, A letter from Mr A.E. Twells-the Union Manager-Songea to the Register of Cooperative Societies, 30 September 1939.

[12] Mr A.E. Twells was the first unique and exceptional European NGOMAT Manager appointed by the government in 1936 in order to promote the cooperative movement among African peasants in the Ruvuma region. Twells together with A.H. Pike – the then Songea District officer and the union managing committee worked hard to cultivate and popularise the values, rights and responsibilities of a cooperative union among the African population. Unlike many European colonial officers, he was determined to develop not just cooperation in name, but a genuine African-based independent cooperative union in the region. He did not just provide awareness on cooperation among African population, but rather he established a double tobacco payment strategy to the members in 1937, and promoted active participation of Africans in the control of the union and the entire tobacco industry. See for example, NAT, 504, 4/3, 1928-44 Fire-cured Tobacco General, '*Habari Chache Juu ya Tumbaku ya Songea'*, 31 March 1952; and also See Redmond, 'NMCMU and Tobacco Production in Songea', 65-98.

[13] Redmond, 'NMCMU and Tobacco Production in Songea', 68.

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also supervised the marketing of the processed tobacco bales from the factory to Europe, and appropriated the surplus annual profit generated by the industry mainly after paying the farmers and deducting factory and administrative costs.[14]

Union autonomy in controlling the tobacco industry stimulated African participation in the development of the tobacco industry. Local Africans were further drawn into commercial tobacco production by the union's decision to offer double tobacco payments to its members – a strategy geared to return part of the annual profit to the growers. The union divided tobacco payments into two parts: the first half payment was given to the members before selling the crop, and the second half payment was given to the members after selling the crop.[15] Lastly, the union also offered bonus payments to its members. Through primary cooperative societies a bonus was given to the African members in relation to the individual annual production unit.[16] For example, an audited report for NGOMAT Ltd in 1937/38 revealed that a bonus of 4 cents per kilogram of tobacco sold by the members of affiliated societies to the union was credited to various primary societies in 1938. The union therefore paid from its annual profit a total bonus of Shs.8, 936.92/= for the 149,673 kilograms of tobacco sold by the members.[17] This was contrary to the marketing system prior to the formation of the growers' cooperative union, where the whole annual profit for the industry was controlled and appropriated by the state through the Department of Agriculture.

However, between 1938 and 1940, notwithstanding the achievements of NGOMAT, the union faced a serious confrontation from the state through the Department of Agriculture over the control of the tobacco industry in Ruvuma. During this period, based on the Department's desire to regain its lost autonomy on the control of the tobacco industry, and despite the union's desire to cooperate with the Department in supervising the industry in Ruvuma, the staff of the Department and the Director of Agriculture started to challenge the way in which the industry was managed by NGOMAT. Firstly, the union was accused of attempting to push tobacco

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[14] NAT, 504, 4/3, 1928-44 Fire-cured Tobacco General, 'Habari Chache Juu ya Tumbaku ya Songea', 31 March 1952.
[15] NAT, 504, 4/3, 1928-44 Fire-cured Tobacco General, 'Habari Chache Juu ya Tumbaku ya Songea', 31 March 1952; and Redmond, 'NMCMU and Tobacco Production in Songea', 68-83.
[16] NAT, 155/Co-op/27/II, NGOMAT Minutes, Audited Report for NGOMAT 1938, Chartered Accountants-Dar es Salaam to the Register of Co-operative Societies-Dar es Salaam, 29 July 1938.
[17] NAT, 155/Co-op/27/II, NGOMAT Minutes, Audited Report for NGOMAT 1938, Chartered Accountants – Dar es Salaam to the Register of Co-operative Societies-Dar es Salaam, 29 July 1938.

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expansion into the Undendeule and Umatengo areas. The Department complained to the government that the union decided to push peasant tobacco production into new areas in 1938 without its advice.[18] Archival data, however, disprove this accusation. An extract from Minute Book of NGOMAT stated that the union advised its members not to grow more tobacco during the war because of the market crisis.[19] Similarly, the Union Manager writing to the District Officer in 1939 reported that:

> The pushing of tobacco production in new areas such as Mchomolo, Jumbe, and Tingi, was done last year by the Agricultural Department themselves, against the advice of the Union. Mr J.W. Large was present at an interview in 1938 between the local Agricultural Officer and the Manager of the Union, and can confirm that the Manager of the Union was strongly against pushing tobacco production into new areas just yet. This is also confirmed in the Union's report on the Songea tobacco written at the request of Mr A.E. Kitching, Provincial Commissioner dated 20/6/39. …We may say in closing that we are getting a little tired of the various wild and unverified statements made from time to time by the Department of Agriculture in general, and would request that the Dept. may be asked to cooperate with the Union instead of making statements which are quite wrong and only lead to grave misunderstandings.[20]

The second challenge was of the NGOMAT was the critique raised by the Department of Agriculture on the programme of training the union members to grow a different type of tobacco. In 1939 the Department criticized the union's idea of training its members to grow air-cured tobacco as requested by the international manufactures and dealers. Tobacco dealers were of the opinion that air-cured tobacco was becoming more popular and actually in the future could replace fire-cured leaf in various brands on the European market.[21] However, the

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[18] A section of the telegram to the District officer in 1939 stated that: Collet reports that while he and political officials are advising planting some specific amount of tobacco as last season, the union Manager wishes distribute seed sufficient for 1500 tons and the Chama is pushing for increased production tobacco AAA Grateful you investigate and if above correct request Manager for reasons whereby he expects dispose of such large increase and evidence for soundness of his actions. See NAT, 155/Coop/27/27, Songea Native Tobacco, a letter from Provincial Commissioner-Lindi to the District Officer-Songea, 12 December 1939.

[19] NAT, 155/ Coop27/27, Ngoni Matengo Cooperative Marketing Union Limited 1939/40, extract from Minute Book of the Union dated 16 September 1939.

[20] NAT, 155/Coop27/27, Ngoni-Matengo Cooperative Marketing Union Limited 1939-40, letter to The District Officer-Songea from The Union Manager, 6 December 1939.

[21] The question of establishment of new tobacco varieties in order to meet the demands of the market particularly the European cigarette manufactures has been occurring throughout the existence of tobacco industry in the region. With the advice of the European manufactures, the NGOMAT experimented air cured (burley) leaf in1938/39, but, it did not thrive as it was strongly opposed by the Department of Agriculture. Again in the early 1950s, the department itself made a deliberate campaign to establish a European flue-cured tobacco scheme to be grown by White settlers at Mgwina area in the region, but, it failed due to poor communication net-work, shortage of labour and edaphic factor which revealed that the soil at Mgwina was too sandy for flue-cured tobacco to thrive. Moreover, as discussed in Chapter Six, both flue-cured and air cured leaf were re-established by the tobacco leaf dealers and were successfully grown by peasants between the mid-2000s and the mid-2010s. See for instance,

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Department expressed the view that it was against any form of tobacco production of sun-cured or air-cured.[22] The third challenge of NGOMAT was complaint over the management of tobacco seed farm in the region. The conflict emerged on grounds that the Department wished to take back the control of the union's seed farm, which it used to produce seeds for its members. Indirectly, the Department used the idea of improving the quality of seeds to get back the control of the NGOMAT seed farm, so that it could accumulate profits through selling seeds and seedlings to the African tobacco growers. The union, however, was strongly against the idea, because it could increase farming costs for its farmers.[23] The fourth complaint against NGOMAT was the threat of the growing African proto-nationalist movement. This concern came from the colonial African Authority, which become suspicious of the cooperative movement in the region. They argued that the movement was becoming potentially too troublesome to the colonial administration. Some staff of the colonial administration were against NGOMAT, because it threatened the prosperity of the tobacco industry by offering a forum for emerging articulate, increasingly affluent and concomitantly increasingly independent African peasants. Therefore, they wanted the union members and emerging wealthier large-scale African tobacco growers either be prevented from engaging in politics or be compelled to relinquish their growing economic status.[24] Lastly, the union was accused of poor supervision of the quality of the tobacco industry in the region. The Department used inferior samples of air-cured tobacco sent to the Imperial Institute of London, without the union being asked to see them or inspect the curing methods employed, although they had been promised by the Senior Agricultural Officer that the union's cooperation would be enlisted.[25] The Department used the inferior and over-dried samples of the union's large tobacco buyers,

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NAT, 155/Coop27/27, Ngoni-Matengo Cooperative Marketing Union Limited 1939-40, a letter from Union Manager-Songea to the Register of Cooperative Societies-Dar es Salaam, 30 September 1939; NAT, 155, 1/18/9 European Tobacco Development at Mgwina Area, a letter by Mr N. Vicars-Harris-The Member of Lands and Mines, The Secretariat, Dar es Salaam, Ref. No. Ls/4027/56, 1 June 1950; and NAT, 155, Memorandum of the Possibility of Growing Tobacco in Songea and Mgwina by Van Meghan and Maclaine-Dar es Salaam, 7 May 1951.

[22] NAT, 155/Coop27/27, Ngoni-Matengo Cooperative Marketing Union Limited 1939-40, a letter from the Union Manager to the District Officer-Songea, 6 December 1939; and a letter from the Union manager to the Register of Cooperative Societies-Dar es Salaam, 30 September 1939.

[23] NAT, 155/Coop27/27, Ngoni-Matengo Cooperative Marketing Union Limited 1939-40, a letter to The District Officer-Songea from Mr A. E. Twells, The Union Manager, 6 December 1939.

[24] See Patrick M. Redmond, 'A Political History of the Songea Ngoni form the 19th century to the Rise of the Tanganyika African National Union', PhD Thesis (Draft), University of London, (1972).

[25] NAT, 155/Coop27/27, Ngoni-Matengo Cooperative Marketing Union Limited 1939-40, a letter to The Provincial Commissioner-Lindi from The Union Manager, 25 March 1940 and a letter from the Agricultural Assistant-Songea to the Assistant Register of Cooperative Societies-Songea, Ref. No: 29/119, 12 August, 1940.

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Messrs Siemssen and Salzman, which tried to spoil the good name of the union and the entire tobacco industry.[26] Apart from these spurious accusations against the union, several statements were made from time to time which reflected the desire of the state (through the Department of Agriculture) to wrest control of the tobacco industry from the hands of African peasant associations. For instance, in 1938 the Director of Agriculture stated that "he could no longer continue spoon-feeding the industry".[27] His statement did not reflect an environment conducive to the development of African peasants' associations or the industry itself. Again, a year later in 1939, while the industry was making progress, as discussed above, the Director declared – contra all existing evidence – that "the industry was in precarious condition."[28]

The growing conflict between the Department and NGOMAT led to the emergence of two opposing groups over the question of the pre-WWII African cooperative movement in the late 1930s. The first group was composed of the majority of the government officers and Department of Agriculture staff opposed the idea that the cooperative movement was a better instrument for managing tobacco industry in the region. The second group, consisting of a few Europeans under the leadership of the then Union Manager Mr Twells, were strongly in support of the movement and the participation of Africans in the growth of the tobacco industry. This situation resulted in endless clashes between the Union Manager and the government officials. The officials often challenged the Union Manager and his cooperative committee for their strong determination to develop an independent-minded and pro-African co-operative agency for managing the industry.[29] By late 1939 the Department sent a report to the Governor of Tanganyika accusing the Union Manager of supporting the independent African cooperative association and the failure of the union to control the quality of tobacco industry.[30] The report on the union's mismanagement of the tobacco industry claimed that:

> In 1940, the government made an inquiry, headed by R. Northcote, into the tobacco industry in Songea, after various problems within it had come to a head. The most important were these frustrations by the members of the Agriculture Department at their

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[26] NAT, 155, Coop.27 NGOMAT, 1939-40, letter from the Union Manager to the Register of Cooperative Societies-Dar es Salaam, 25 March 1940.
[27] NAT, 155, Coop.27 NGOMAT, 1939-40, letter from the Union Manager to the Register of Cooperative Societies-Dar es Salaam, 25 March 1940
[28] NAT, 155, Coop.27 NGOMAT, 1939-40, letter from the Union Manager to the Register of Cooperative Societies-Dar es Salaam, 25 March 1940
[29] Redmond, 'Political History of the Songea'.
[30] See for instance NAT, 155/Coop27/27, Ngoni-Matengo Cooperative Marketing Union Limited 1939-40, the Minutes of the Meeting held at Union Office, 4 September 1940.

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> declining influence within the industry they built. This was being replaced by the independent minded Manager of the Union, A.E. Twells and his co-operative committee.[31]

The discussion above shows the context in which the Department deliberately damaged the reputation of NGOMAT in order to regain its lost control of the tobacco industry in the Ruvuma region. The records from the National Archives of Tanzania and United Kingdom show that as a result of this report the Governor of Tanganyika, in response to the subject of the Ruvuma tobacco, dismissed Mr Twells from the position of the Manager for the Songea Native Tobacco Union and called him up for military service in 1940. To replace him, the Governor in the same year appointed an Agricultural Assistant for Songea District, Mr J.H. McGregor, as a new Manager of the of NGOMAT.[32] The Departmental condemnation of the union coincided with the outbreak of the WWII in 1939. This led to the formation of the Songea Native Tobacco Board, which rendered the once-independent central union a mere puppet of the Department in the control of tobacco industry in the region.

The Formation of the Songea Native Tobacco Board

The outbreak of WWII in 1939 affected the marketing of African peasant crops in colonial Tanganyika. The war intensified various problems in the production and the marketing of African crops. As a result, some growers started to abandon their cash crops due to the increased exploitation of the agricultural produce through over-taxation and the deliberate reduction of the market price for export crops. In response to the war, the colonial state took deliberate measures to ensure that peasant agriculture continued to serve the fundamental interests of monopoly capital in the territory.[33] In the view of Mpangala, the ruthless centralized

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[31] Redmond, 'Political History of the Songea'.

[32] The minutes of the Union meeting revealed that Assistant Register of Cooperatives Societies in Songea District suddenly informed the meeting that the Manager Mr Twells was to be called up for military service and that Mr J.N. MacGregor – the then Agricultural Officer – was to take over the duties of the Union Manager. The Union President and all members requested to know if they could disagree with the order of the government, so that Mr Twells could ether remain or return to his position after the war. However, Assistant Register replied to them no answer could be given to their concern, but it was a matter for the government to decide. See, for instance, NAT, 155/Coop27/27, Ngoni-Matengo Cooperative Marketing Union Limited 1939-40, the Minutes of the Meeting held at Union Office, 4 September 1940; The United Kingdom National Archives, East African Department, 42117, Native Cooperative Societies; and a letter from the Governor of Tanganyika-Dar es Salaam to the Secretary of the State for the Colonies – London, Ref. No: 332, November 1940.

[33] Mpangala, 'The Impact of Colonial Trading Capital', 93; Gerald Albaum and Gilbert L. Rutman, 'The Cooperative-Based Marketing System in Tanganyika', *Journal of Marketing*, 31, 4, (1967), 54-58; and Somo M. L. Siemu, 'The Post-War Cooperative Development in Colonial Tanzania', *Report and Opinion*, 7, 11, (2015), 71-77.

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control measures on the marketing system of peasants' crops were influenced by successive capitalist crises: the Great depression and WWII. He argued that during the crises, the state introduced specific measures to ensure effective control of the marketing of all major export and food crops to meet their demands.[34] During the war, for example, state initiatives were geared towards promoting peasant production by stabilising and controlling the marketing systems of African crops. Similarly, Curtis argued that during the war, the colonial administration in Tanganyika emphasized strict regulations and control over African-grown crops. The government therefore established strictly supervised institutions as a strategy for controlling export crops produced by the African peasants.[35] In this context, the Bukoba Coffee Control Board (BCCB) was set in 1942 to supply coffee to British consumers – especially the military – at specific prices.[36] The board had a monopoly over the Bukoba coffee exports and it empowered to fix the price for the crop. As a result the Asian traders and exporters become mere agents of the Board.[37] However, two years before the formation of the BCCB in the Lake Province, the Songea Native Tobacco Board (SDNTB) had been established, in 1940, to take over the control of the tobacco industry in the Southern Province. Under the Native Tobacco (Control and Marketing) Ordinance No. 39 of 1940,[38] the Board was established to replace NGOMAT, with the duty of managing the tobacco industry during the war. The Ordinance similarly gave the state a monopoly power (against NGOMAT) over the control of tobacco industry in Ruvuma Region. Vested with legal power over the tobacco industry, the Board restricted the growing influence of NGOMAT in the supervision and marketing of the tobacco industry in the region. The Ordinance reduced the core function of NGOMAT into becoming a mere agency of the Board in collecting tobacco produce from primary societies, processing the crop and facilitating payment to the growers. A section of the Ordinance quoted in the Board meeting clearly stated that: "To the effect of (b) and (c). The Board should appoint the Ngoni-Matengo Co-operative Marketing Union Ltd as its agency under Section 6 of the

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[34] Mpangala, 'The Impact of Colonial Trading Capital'.
[35] Curtis, 'Cooperative and Cooptation', 514-515.
[36] The Board was established under the Provisions of the Defence (Coffee Control Board) Regulations of 1940. See NAT, 1004/10, Report on Tanganyika Territory for the year 1940.
[37] Curtis, 'Cooperative and Cooptation', 522.
[38] See NAT, 155, 1004/10, Report on Tanganyika Territory, 1940; and NAT, 155, B/2, Songea District Native Tobacco Board Minutes: The 3rd Meeting of the Board, held in Songea, 4 October 1941; and the 19th Meeting of the Board held in Songea held between 15 and 17 June 1948.

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Ordinance No. 39 of 1940."[39] In a similar vein, Redmond observed that the Board took effective measures to control the industry by discouraging the growing African interest in monopoly of the crop. These measure included: (a) to prohibit the Union Manager especially (Mr Twells) from promoting the participation of Africans in the industry; (b) to instruct all Union employees such as Secretary General to limit the spreading scope of the industry; (c) to prohibit all African officials from making decisions about the tobacco curing methods any longer; and (d) to limit the local Africans' participation in the board meetings.[40]

In line with the attempt to control African influence in the tobacco industry, M. Prowse's study of Malawi noted that the Malawian Native Tobacco Board (NTB) was created in 1926 to control the marketing of African tobacco produce as well as to protect the interests of the European tobacco planters. However, with the expansion of African tobacco growers in the late 1920s, the Board was used to limit the local Africans' influence over the control of the tobacco industry in the country. The NTB controlled the provision of customary lands to the African tobacco growers, restricted registration of the local growers and centralised African tobacco markets. Between 1929 and 1934 the NTB closed several market centres for the African growers, leaving only three, which were all concentrated in Lilongwe.[41] Therefore, it could be argued that the introduction of the Songea Native Tobacco Board was not distinct from the other colonial marketing institutes as – like them – it was intended to serve two purposes for the colonial economy. The first was to ensure effective control and monopoly of the tobacco marketing in the region, and the second was to prevent African peasant attempts to develop independent cooperative societies.

Organisation and Duties of the Songea Native Tobacco Board

By late 1941 the Board had developed a powerful organisational structure for controlling, regulating and monopolising the fire-cured tobacco industry. A large part of the organisational structure and duties of the Board were derived from the colonial state ordinances. Being a government instrument for marketing the African export crop, the Board drew its structure,

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[39] See NAT, 155, B/2, Songea District Native Tobacco Board Minutes: The 19th Meeting of the Board held in Songea held between 15 and 17 June 1948.
[40] Redmond, 'NMCMU and Tobacco Production in Songea', 69
[41] Martin Prowse, 'A History of Tobacco Production and Marketing in Malawi, 1890-2010', *Journal of Eastern African Studies,* 7, 4, (2013), 691-712.

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procedures and functions from the State Ordinance No. 26 of 1937 and Ordinance No. 39 of 1940.[42] State Ordinance No. 26 of 1937, for example, provided the Board with the composition and the general procedures of the Board meetings. It offered instructions on the notice and agenda of the meeting, the number of the members required for a quorum, the order of the meeting, and the power of the Chairman in the meeting.[43] Sections 14 and 17 of the rules of procedure stated that the question before the meeting was decided by the majority vote and that the Chairman of the meeting was given a casting and deliberation vote in making a final decision.[44] Africans being the minority in the Board had almost nothing to decide on: the rights, opinion and feelings of the "native peasants" in the development of tobacco industry were now entirely side-lined, whereas Ordinance No. 39 of 1940, which established the Board, articulated the power and structure of the board in executing its duties. It was observed that the structure of the Board in its initial stages, particularly during the WWII, was relatively simple. It was mainly composed of local district officials and Africans, including the District Commissioner, who was the Chairperson of the Board, the District Agricultural Officer, who was the Secretary of the Board, and four other members including the Senior Agricultural Officer – Southern Province, the NGOMAT Manager and the two African representatives, namely Nduna Laurent Fusse and Bwana Hassani Saidi.[45] The Board was empowered to centralise, control and stabilise the tobacco industry to meet the demands of the British metropolitan economy during the war. In an attempt to promote tobacco production among the peasants in the Ruvuma region, the 1940 Ordinance empowered the Board to perform the following duties: first, to oversee the development and progress of fire-cured tobacco industry; second, to produce and distribute the recommended tobacco seeds to the peasants; third, to collect tobacco produce from the growers through the agency of the central union; fourth, to process the crop through the agency of the central union; fifth, to market the processed tobacco leaf to the manufacturers;

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[42] See NAT, 155, B/2, Songea District Native Tobacco Board Minutes: The 3rd Meeting of the Board, held in Songea, 4 October 1941; the 19th Meeting of the Board held in Songea held between 15 and 17 June, 1948; and A letter to the Provincial Commissioner-Southern Province-Lindi from the District Commissioner-Songea, 444/90, 17 July 1948.

[43] NAT, 155, B/2, Songea District Native Tobacco Board Minutes: A letter to the Provincial Commissioner-Southern Province-Lindi from the District Commissioner-Songea, 444/90, 17 July 1948.

[44] NAT, 155, B/2, Songea District Native Tobacco Board Minutes: A letter to the Provincial Commissioner-Southern Province-Lindi from the District Commissioner-Songea, 444/90, 17 July 1948.

[45] See NAT, 155, B/2, Songea District Native Tobacco Board Minutes, the 7th Meeting held in Songea, 14 November 1942; the 8th Meeting held in Songea, 11 May 1943; the 10th Meeting held in Songea, 2 October 1943; and the 15th Meeting held in Songea, 2 November 1945.

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sixth, to enact tobacco farming instructions, rules and regulations.[46] Above all, the Board was established to be the legal agent of the NGOMAT Ltd for processing and marketing of the crop.[47]

Yet despite the strategies adopted by the Board to promote peasant tobacco production and improve the quality of the crop by issuing instructions to the growers in the early 1940s, its creation and operations – ironically – threatened the very fate of the industry in the region. The Board increased the burden of administrative costs to the African growers, who were already exploited by the existing managerial expenses from the NGOMAT, the Department of Agriculture and the Native Administration.[48] Apart from the union and statutory levies, the Board introduced "Cess fees"[49] for African growers to finance its duties in managing the industry. In 1941 the Board approved a cess fee of about Shs 2.50 per 100 kg sold by the NGOMAT[50] and in 1944 the Board increased the fee to Shs 20 shillings per 100 kg. The amount collected from the cess reserve fund covered minor expenses of the Board such as stationery, meeting and travel allowances as well as a payment of £100 to the Department of Agriculture for the management of seed farms.[51] In 1943, for example, the Board also provided a grant of £580 to the Songea Native Treasury for preparation of uniforms, wages and up-keep allowance for staff in the tobacco seed farms and the establishment of a diary for the re-afforestation programme.[52] Apart from cess payment, the Board deducted "Overage charges" from the African tobacco growers to compensate for the annual production loss caused by inadequate moisture content or leaf tare. The average overage percentage of a grower crop was estimated by the Union Manager during the tobacco marketing. Basically, the overage charges per each

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[46] NAT, 155/B/2, Songea District Native Tobacco Board Minutes: The 19th Meeting of the Board held in Songea held between 15 and 17 June 1948; and NAT, 504, 4/3, 1928-44 Fire-cured Tobacco General, '*Habari Chache Juu ya Tumbaku ya Songea*', 31 March 1952.
[47] NAT, 504, 4/3, 1928-44 Fire-cured Tobacco General, '*Habari Chache Juu ya Tumbaku ya Songea*', 31 March 1952.
[48] NAT, 155, B/2, Songea District Native Tobacco Board Minutes, the 7th Meeting of the Board held at Songea, 14 November 1942; the 8th Meeting of the Board held in Songea, 11 May 1943; and the 9th Meeting of the Board held in Songea, 10 August 1943; and the 10th Meeting of the Board held in Songea, 2 October 1943.
[49] "Cess fees" were charges imposed on peasant crops for covering the crop processing and administrative costs of the marketing institutions – including the Songea Native Tobacco Board.
[50] NAT, 155, B/2, Songea Native Tobacco Board Minutes; the 3rd Meeting of the Board held in Songea, 4 October 1941.
[51] Redmond, 'NMCMU and Tobacco Production in Songea', 81.
[52] NAT, 155, 1004/10, Report on Tanganyika Territory, 1940; and NAT, 155, B/2, Songea District Native Tobacco Board Minutes, the 10th Meeting of the Board held at Songea, 2 October 1943.

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grower increased regularly from 22% in 1941, to 25% in 1942, 30% in 1943, and 32% in 1945.[53]

Finally, the Board introduced a statutory reserve fund to support the British war effort. Under the Tanganyika War Fund of 1940, the Board was liable to pay tax to support British operations in WWII.[54] The Board introduced a statutory levy to the growers in order to get money for the purchase of war bonds. As a result, during 1942 the African growers received about £8,750 from £37,000 for their annual tobacco sales and in 1944 the growers received £4,483 from a total revenue of £16,976.[55] All these deductions affected the price of the crop to the growers and the buyers. The fall in the price for the crop increased complaints from the growers, the abandonment of the tobacco fields and the decline of the production trend of the crop towards the mid-1940s. See Figure 13 for the erratic production trend during the 1940s.

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[53] 'Cess payment' and 'Overage Charges' were the levies imposed to peasant produce (by the board) in order to cover the administrative and processing costs incurred by the board. See Redmond, 'The NMCMU and Tobacco Production in Songea', 78-80.

[54] During the war the government introduced various voluntary war contributions and revenue legislations including the Red Cross Fund of 1940, Ambulance Fund of 1940, Fighter Fund of 1940, the Tanganyika War Relief and Welfare Fund of 1940, the War Revenue (Income Tax) (Replacement) Ordinance No. 18 of 1940 (which replaced the 1939's income tax law No. 33 of 1939), and the War Revenue (Export Tax) Ordinance No. 26 of 1940 for export tax for certain commodities by executive order. See NAT, 155, 1004/10 Report for Tanganyika Territory, 1940; and NAT, 155, B/2, Songea District Native Tobacco Board Minutes, the 3rd Meeting of the board, Songea 4 October 1941.

[55] Redmond, 'NMCMU and Tobacco Production in Songea', 76.

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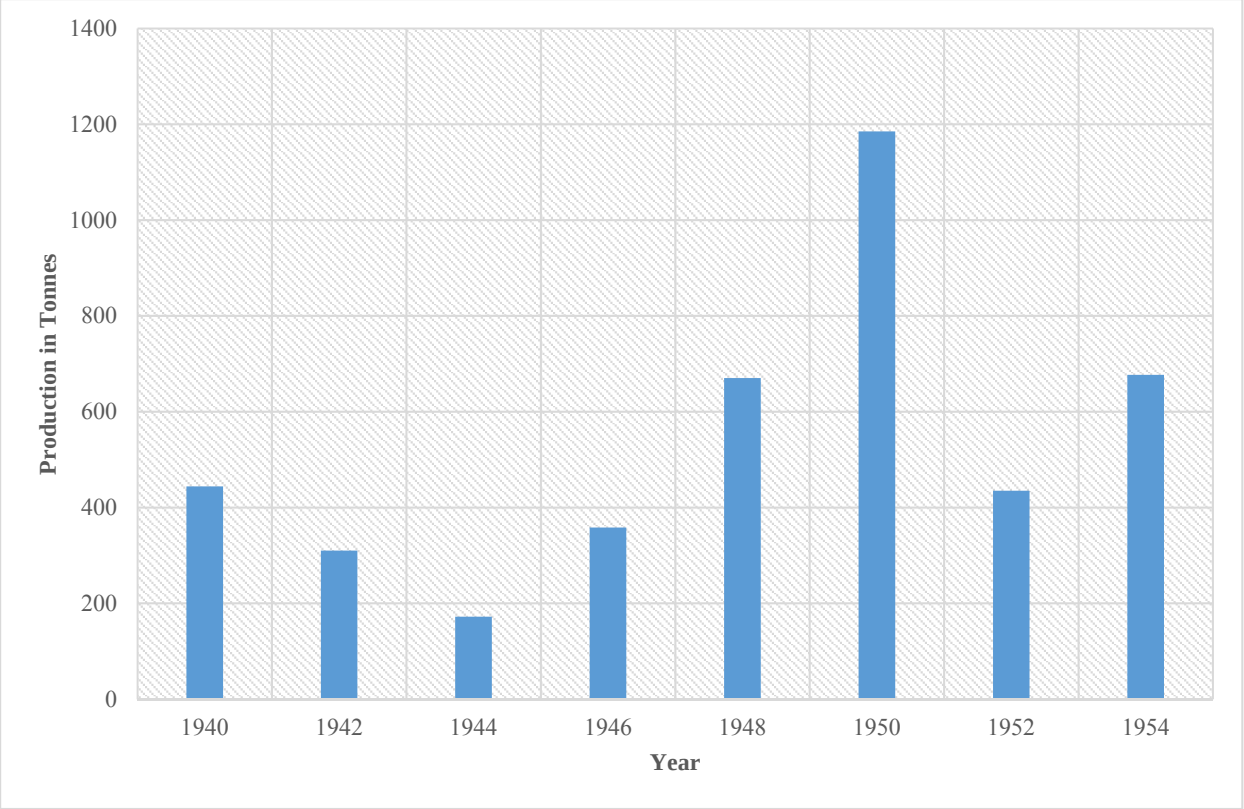

Figure 13: The Tobacco Production Trend in Ruvuma Region, 1940-1950.[56]

The declining trend in tobacco production during the war forced the state to reorganise the structure and duties of the Native Board in 1945 to rescue the industry. The new responsibilities of the board included (i) that it should assume responsibility for all factory and field work, and employ a manager to carry out the supervisory work; (ii) that the Director of Agriculture should be appointed as Executive Officer of the Board to coordinate and relate the duties of the Department of Agricultural and those of the NGOMAT Ltd; (iii) that the manager of the union should have sufficient personnel, including a factory assistant and bookkeeper.[57] The new responsibilities changed the structure of the tobacco marketing board to cover its territorial scope. As a result the new Board now consisted of: (a) The Chairperson of the Board, who was the Director of Agricultural Production – Dar es Salaam; (b) The Deputy Chairperson, who was the Provincial Commissioner for Southern Province – Lindi; (c) The Executive Officer of the Board, who was a tobacco expert and experienced European employee; (d) Nduna Laurent

[56] Modified from Redmond, 'NMCMU and Tobacco Production', 17.
[57] NAT, 155, 84/3, Memorandum, Songea Tobacco Industry and Redmond, 'NMCMU and Tobacco Production', (1976), 80-81.

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Fussi – the representative of the Wangoni chiefs; (e) Mr Hassani Saidi, who was the representative of the African tobacco growers; (f) members by invitation who included the Register of Cooperative Societies-Dar es Salaam, the Union Manager-NGOMAT Ltd, the Senior Agricultural Officer – Southern Province – Lindi and the Agricultural Officer – Songea.[58]

The restructuring of the SNTB during the mid-1940s enabled the Board to achieve three important steps in promoting peasant production in Ruvuma region. First, the Board managed to issue tobacco rules to the local African growers in the region. Under the Native Authority Ordinance, the Board issued five major tobacco rules to guide and promote tobacco industry in Ruvuma Region.[59] Secondly, it managed to recruit adequate personnel from Tanganyika and across the British Empire for the control of the tobacco industry. The board employed a wide range of tobacco expertise and experienced staff to supervise tobacco production, processing and marketing. By 1946 the Board employed the Executive Officer of the Board to oversee and coordinate its duties and responsibilities in the tobacco industry. It also seconded Mr William (Wm) Sibly-Warne to the position of the Union Manager from the office of the Agricultural Department. By 1947 the Board had recruited four important staff members to supervise the tobacco industry in the region. First, the Secretary of the Board, who was in charge of administrative matters including finances, accounting, marketing of the processed tobacco leaf and coordination of field work and factory operations. Second, the Factory Manager, who was in charge of the factory and all works related to it, especially close supervision of grading of the tobacco leaf and proper marketing procedures. The Factory Manager was also responsible for the day-to-day supervision of the seed farms and marketing of processed tobacco leaf under the guidance of the Secretary. Thirdly, the Field Assistant, who was put in charge of field works under the guidance of the Agricultural Officer and was also responsible for the supervision of tobacco marketing in the villages. Four, the Agricultural Assistant, who was a young

[58] See NAT, 155, B/2, Songea District Native Tobacco Board Minutes, the 16th Meeting of the board held in Lindi, 31 July 1946; the 18th Meeting of the Board held at Lindi, 22 August 1947; and the 19th Meeting of the board held in Songea, 15 and 17 June 1948; and NAT, 504, 4/3, 1928-44 Fire-cured Tobacco General, '*Habari Chache Juu ya Tumbaku ya Songea*', 31 March 1952.
[59] See Tobacco rules adopted by the Songea Native Tobacco Board in 1945.

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experienced tobacco expert seconded to the Department of Agriculture for district work on tobacco farming.[60]

Furthermore, the restructuring of the board also strengthened its capacity in supervising the tobacco industry, particularly production of seeds, farming and curing practices of the crop. The board was able to allocate adequate funds for demonstration stations and seed farms such as the Angoni tobacco station, Luhila and Lipumba seed farms.[61] The Board also controlled demonstration and seed farms in the region. These demonstration farms not only produced tobacco seeds for the growers, but also provided training on proper tobacco farming practices and experiments like crop fertilization, compost making, construction of curing burns, selection of tobacco seeds, types of tobacco and crop rotation.[62] Therefore, the knowledge and experiences acquired from these demonstration farms contributed to the improvement of the quality of the crop in the region.

However, the process of restructuring of the board negatively affected the tobacco industry in Ruvuma in two ways. First, the organisational structure of the new Board intensified the exploitation of African tobacco growers. The costs of the new Board increased tremendously by expanding the number and coverage of its members and employees. While the old Board was primarily made up of the District and few regional officials, the new board was made up of the territorial, regional and district officials. Again while the new board conducted its meetings on a rotational basis between Songea and Lindi towns, the old board meetings were permanently held in Songea town. While the old board had relatively few staff members, specifically the Executive Officer and a few clerks, the new board recruited many new staff members including Assistant Executive Officer, Factory Assistant, Field Assistant, Secretary and the crop instructors. Therefore, the running costs of the new board including salaries, allowances and development programmes increased considerably and regularly from the mid-1940s to the early 1950s, when it was restructured and taken over by NGOMAT. By 1946, for example, apart from the meeting expenses, the new Board authorised the use of a total amount

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[60] See NAT, 155, B/2/127, Songea District Native Tobacco Board Minutes, the 16th Meeting of the board held in Lindi on 31 July 1946; and 18th Meeting of the Board held at Lindi, 22 August 1947.
[61] See NAT, 155, B/2, SDNTB Minutes, Arising Out of the Minutes in 1947; the 16th Meeting of the Board, Songea, 31 July 1946; and the 19th Meeting of the board, Songea, 15 -17 June 1948.
[62] Interview with Mr Mohamed Waziri, District Agricultural Officer, Songea, 5 March 2016; Mzee Weston Nganiwa, Regional Cooperative Officer, Ruvuma, 14 February 2016; and also see NAT, 155, B/2, SDNTB Minutes: Arising Out of the Minutes in 1947.

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of £3,600 per annum just for salaries of and leave allowances for its new employees, of which £1,200 was for the Assistant Executive Officer and £800 for three other staff members, including Factory Assistant, Field Assistant and Secretary.[63] In the same year the Board also resolved to spend about £7,000, of which £2,500 was for seed farm operations, payment of instructors and contingencies for six months, and £4,500 for the construction of three houses at £1,500 each.[64] In order to cover these expenses, the Board adopted a policy of expanding its revenues by increasing cess fees to the growers. In 1946 the cess fee increased to Shs. 34 per 100 kg of tobacco sold, up from Shs. 20 per 100 kg in 1944.[65]

Secondly, the board charges affected the price of the Ruvuma tobacco: both the buyers and the growers were distressed. In the early 1950s the price offered by the London buyers for Ruvuma fire-cured tobacco dropped to Shs. 54.8 per lb, and the price paid for the African crop dropped to cover the Board's expenses. The average annual earnings by the African growers dropped considerably from Shs. 94 in 1950 to Shs. 70 in 1952 and Shs. 31.20 in 1956.[66] The Board's expenses increased protests among the peasants over the high cess fees, and for abolition of overage charges and higher payments for the crop. The climax of the growers' protests over the board was reached in the early 1950s, when it failed to function. The board was then disbanded and the duty of handling the tobacco industry was handed back to the NGOMAT Ltd again in 1954. The next chapter offers an analysis of the context in which the board was taken over by NGOMAT in the 1950s.

SONTOB: Tobacco Fields and African Peasants

By the 1940s the significance of colonial peasant production was evident – even colonial officials conceded that it affected a large part of the socio-economic livelihoods among the Africans in the Ruvuma region. Peasant tobacco production emerged as an important source of income, particularly among the Wangoni and Wandendeuli of the present Songea and Namtumbo Districts. Admittedly in the early 1930s the local Africans were not willing to grow heavy Western fire-cured tobacco as required by the state because they were simply not

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[63] See NAT, 155, B/2, SDNTB Minutes, the 16th Meeting of the board, Songea, 31 July 1946.
[64] NAT, 155, B/2, SDNTB Minutes: Arising Out of the Minutes in 1947.
[65] NAT, 155, B/2, SDNTB Minutes: Arising Out of the Minutes in 1947; and Redmond, 'NMCMU and Tobacco Production in Songea', 80-81.
[66] Redmond, 'NMCMU and Tobacco Production in Songea', 77.

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familiar with the methods for growing the crop and because of the risibly low returns paid by the Department of Agriculture. However, by the 1940s many Africans had come to prefer to grow the crop primarily for the cash income it provided.[67] Both written and oral accounts reflect that the tobacco industry was regarded as a crucial source of income for the needs that demanded cash payment.[68] Several scholars have argued that the need for cash in Ungoni and Undendeuli was primarily for the payment of tax.[69] Redmond noted that in Ruvuma the local Africans were required to pay "head tax", which amounted to Shs. 7 between 1930 and 1933, Shs. 5 between 1934 and 1944, Shs. 6 in 1945 and Shs. 20 in 1952.[70] Apart from the payment of tax, the local Africans also needed cash for European manufactured goods such as salt, clothes, utensils, ornaments and bicycles. In the shifting social milieu Africans also needed cash for the payment of bride-price, medicine and mission fees.[71] However, tobacco revenues were in high demand for payment of such industrial goods because they were expensive compared to the local goods. By 1950, for instance, the cost for one imported European bicycle in Ruvuma ranged between Shs. 250 and 300.[72] By comparing tobacco production and other economic activities like food production and labour migration, tobacco provided a more important means of getting such cash income locally for many Africans than other economic sectors. Therefore, many people (whether they preferred this or not) engaged in tobacco production in order to get cash to meet their basic, socio-economic needs as well as desire for luxury goods.

Up to the mid-1940s the African tobacco fields expanded to Undendeuli, Ungoni and some areas of Uyao and Umatengo in Ruvuma. As noted in the previous chapters, over two thirds of African tobacco fields were found in Ungoni and Undendeule of the old Songea District (the modern Songea and Namtumbo Districts). The ideal climatic conditions favoured the crop, which flourished more and more in the old Songea District than other districts (particularly

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[67] See G. P. Mpangala, 'A History of Colonial Production in Songea District, Tanzania, 1897-1961', MA Thesis, University of Dar es Salaam, 1977, 94-95; and Redmond, 'NMCMU and Tobacco Production in Songea', 74.
[68] Group Interviews, Namanguli and Namtumbo, 12 -13 August 2016; and Salome T. Sijaona, 'Ngoni-Matengo Co-operative Union', BA Dissertation, UDSM, 1974.
[69] Namanguli and Namtumbo Group Interviews, 12 August 2016; and also Mpangala, 'A History of Colonial Production, 94-95; P.H. Gulliver, 'A History of the Songea Ngoni', *Tanganyika Notes and Records*, 41, (1955), 16-29; and Redmond, 'NMCMU and Tobacco Production in Songea', 74.
[70] Redmond, 'NMCMU and Tobacco Production in Songea'.
[71] Gulliver, 'A History of the Songea Ngoni', 17-18.
[72] Mpangala, 'History of Colonial Production, 94-95

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Tunduru and Mbinga, which produced less than one third of the crop in the region).[73] The second chapter showed that the Ungoni and Undendeule areas are located between 300 and 2000 metres altitude, with miombo vegetation, and sandy and well-drained soils, and received an annual rainfall between 900 and 1,200 mm.[74] With these geographical characteristics, the experiments conducted by the Department of Agriculture between 1928 and 1930 revealed that the Ungoni and Undendeuli areas were ideal for tobacco production.[75]

The tobacco farms found in Ruvuma were all peasant-run. Chapter Three noted that up to the early 1950s more than 10,000 African farmers among the Wangoni and Wandendeuli engaged in peasant tobacco production for family cash income.[76] The data show that tobacco-producing peasants in the region increased considerably from 600[77] in 1930/31[78], 5454[79] in 1936/37 to 11, 500[80] in 1948/49. This thesis considered peasants among the Wandendeuli and Wangoni as groups of small-scale agricultural producers who farmed the land which they owned or controlled, and they depended heavily on family labour.[81] Sara Berry in 2002, argued that the majority of people in Africa are heavily dependent on peasant production (small-scale farming) mainly due to rapid population pressure, environmental degradation and slow pace of economic

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[73] Interview with Mzee Benedict Tembo, Retired SONAMCU Officer-Songea, 10 -11 February 2016.
[74] CCMNA, (UDSM-BRALUP), 'Agro-economic Zones of Southern Tanzania', Research Report, 49.
[75] Tobacco is widely referred to as a narcotic pant of the genus *Nicotiana* family, which thrives in temperate conditions as well as in tropical areas with attitudes ranging between 900 and 1,500 metres above the sea level. It also requires mostly red and or grey sand fertile soils and annual rainfall ranging between 625 and 1,000 mm, and temperatures ranging between 20 to 30˚C. Also see NAT, 22/337, Tobacco Report-1933 Season; Sijaona, 'Ngoni-Matengo Co-operative Union'; A. Masudi et al., *International Labour Organisation on the Elimination of Child Labour (IPEC), Tanzania, Child Labour in Commercial Agriculture-Tobacco: A Rapid Assessment*, (Geneva: ILO, 2011) 1; Frank Clements and Edward Harben, *Leaf of Gold: The Story of Rhodesian Tobacco*, London: Methuen & Co Ltd, 1962), 33-35; Helmut J. Geist et al., 'Tobacco growers at Cross roads: Towards a Comparison of diversification and ecosystem impacts', *Land use Policy*, 26, 4, (2009), 1066-1079; and Steven C. Rubert, *A Most Promising Weed A History of Tobacco Farming and Labour in Colonial Zimbabwe, 1890-1945*, (USA: Ohio University Centre for International Studies, 1998), 1-2.
[76] NAT, 155, B/2, Songea District Native Tobacco Board Minutes, Report on the Songea Native Grown Tobacco, September 1950.
[77] NAT, 155, Co-op/27/II, Ngoni-Matengo Cooperative Marketing Union, Native Tobacco production 1930/1931.
[78] A peasant is an individual who belong to a peasant society and that 'peasant society is a society most of whose members are peasants'. Peasants, therefore, are groups of small communities who farm the land they control and depend heavily on family labour for the production of agricultural produce for their own subsistence and for sale. See Goran Hyden, *Beyond Ujamaa in Tanzania: Underdevelopment and an Uncaptured Peasantry*, (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1980); and Illife, *Modern History*, 273.
[79] NAT, 155, Co-op/27/II, Ngoni-Matengo Cooperative Marketing Union, Tobacco Statistics for 1936/37.
[80] NAT, 504, 1928-52, Fire-cured Tobacco General, A Letter from Executive Officer to the Agricultural Assistant, Ref. No. 041/94, 29 December 1948.
[81] See CCMNA, (UDSM-Bureau of Resource Assessment and Land Planning), 'A Review of Agricultural Land use and Land Tenure in Tanzania' by J. Roger Pitblado, Research Notes, 7, (1970), 1-10; and Harald Sippel, 'Customary law in colonial Tanganyika: a study of change and continuity', *The Comparative and International Journal of Southern Africa,* 31, 3, (1998), 373-383.

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development. In Berry's view this context has transformed Africa from 20th century rural land abundance to the current increasing land scarcity in various parts of the continent.[82] However, this thesis noted that for the case of Ruvuma, the land is relatively abundant in rural areas especially in the Ungoni and Undendeuli areas.[83] Therefore, the local peasants in Ruvuma like many other African peasants were small-scale cultivators who produced to meet their subsistence needs as well as for the market to respond to the needs of colonial capital penetration in the region.[84] In this context, Liam Campling and Jens Lerche for instance, characterised African peasants in the Global South as 'petty commodity producers' in the capitalist relations of production and reproduction.[85] Similarly, this chapter noted that between 1920 and 1930 the colonial state transformed a large part of African societies in Tanganyika, including the Wangoni and Wandendeuli, to respond to the growing needs of global capitalism. The imposition of "peasantisation"[86] processes involved the introduction of colonial taxation, the coercion of people into the cash economy, and the importation of European manufactured goods, which transformed African production ontologically. The African societies now were not just producing to meet their subsistence needs, but for the colonial market in order to earn

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[82] Sara Berry, 'Debating the Land Question in Africa', *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 44, 4, (2002), 638-668.

[83] As pointed in Chapter Two, before the colonial period, the question of land use and ownership was managed according to traditional African customs and laws. Therefore, through the traditional land tenure system, local Africans acquired and owned their land in several ways. Some acquired it by allocation of the clan leaders, while others acquired it by inheritance from their grandparents and few others by agreement. Many of these traditional customary laws were maintained and continued during colonial times; however, the colonial state passed several new land ordinances to proclaim crown land and land in general for the colonial projects. Some of these included the Imperial Decree of 26 November 1895, the Land Ordinance of 1923 and the Land Regulation of 1948. These ordinances did largely affect the traditional land ownership system in rural Tanganyika. See CCMNA, 'A Review of Agricultural Land use and Land Tenure in Tanzania'; and Sippel, 'Customary law in colonial Tanganyika: a study of change and continuity'.

[84] See NAT, 155, Coop/27/II, The District Commissioner' s Report on Maposeni Nutrition Scheme in 1958 and Group Interviews, Namtumbo and Namanguli, 12 -13 August 2016.

[85] Liam Campling and Jens Lerche, 'Introduction to the Special Issue The Political Economy of Agrarian Change: Essays in Appreciation of Henry Bernstein', *Journal of Agrarian Change*, 16, 13, (2016), 365-369.

[86] As discussed in Chapter One, the concept of peasant is ambiguous and widely debated by cultural anthropologists, classical political (economists), Marxists and liberal Africanists. However, this chapter views 'peasantisation' as process which transformed and integrated local African subsistence economies into the global capitalist economic systems. It draws from Iliffe, who defined peasantisation as a once and for all process of incorporating peasant societies into the international capitalist relations in an attempt to respond to the needs of the global industrial powers in world history. Hyden, *Beyond Ujamaa in Tanzania: Underdevelopment and an Uncaptured Peasantry*, 18-24; and Illife, *A Modern History of Tanganyika*, 273. Also for debate on the conception and the dynamics of the term 'peasant', see Allen Isaacman, 'Peasants and Rural Social Protest in Africa', *African Studies Review*, 33, 2, (1990), 1-120; Henry Bernstein and Terence J. Byres, 'From Peasant Studies to Agrarian Change', *Journal of Agricultural Change*, 1, 1, (2001), 1-56; John S. Saul, 'African Peasants and Revolution', *Review of African Political Economy*, 1, (1974), 41-68 and Terence Ranger, 'Growing from the Roots: Reflections on Peasant Research in Central and Southern Africa', *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 5, 1, (1978), 99-133.

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a cash income.[87] As a result, with the emergence of tobacco peasant production in the 1930s, many peasants in Ruvuma grew tobacco as a major cash crop as well as food crops (such as maize, cassava, sorghum, millet and cassava) and livestock keeping mainly for subsistence as well as for sale.

The majority of the local African peasants in Undendeule and Ungoni planted an average of 2 acres of tobacco per year. While the successful peasants could grow up to 5 acres of tobacco, there were also some peasants who planted about half an acre of the crop in a year. Similar studies on tobacco farming in Africa have clearly demonstrated that tobacco production is a tedious and complex process which keeps the growers busy throughout the production season.[88] This study also observed that many African growers could hardly plant beyond two to three acres of tobacco because of its complex production processes. The first predicament was bureaucratic tobacco production requirements set by the Songea Native Tobacco Board. Vested with power by the Native Ordinance, the board issued strict tobacco production procedures, by-laws, instructions and rules for all African growers and the entire industry.[89] In line with that, upon the preparation of tobacco leaf for marketing, the board instructed the growers to tie twelve leaves per hand with a maize leaf, and the tied leaves were then baled in a hessian sack

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[87] Coulson, Tanzania: A Political Economy 2nd Edition; Rodney, How Europe Underdeveloped Africa, and Iliffe, A Modern History of Tanganyika, 273-287.

[88] A. Kandzuza, 'The Tobacco industry in Northern Rhodesia, 1912-1938', *The Journal of African Historical Studies*, 16, 2, (1983), 201-229, Rubert, *A Most Promising Weed*, 21-42; J. Boesen and A.T. Mohela, *The Success Story of Peasant Tobacco Production in Tanzania: the Political economy of a commodity producing peasantry*, (Uppsala, Scandinavian Institute of African Studies, 1979); W.H. Masanjala, 'Cash Crop Liberalisation and Poverty alleviation in Africa: Evidence from Malawi', *Agricultural Economics*, 35, (2006), 231-240; and M. Prowse and J. Moyer-lee, 'A Comparative Value Chain Analysis of Small holder Burley Tobacco Production in Malawi 2003/4 and 2009/10', *The Journal of Agrarian Change*, 14, 3, (2014), 323-346.

[89] The requirements stipulated several procedures to be adhered to and followed by all tobacco growers during the production season, particularly capital equipment, pre-seasonal crop preparations, management of seedbeds and the tobacco field. Some the instructions issued by the Board in 1943, for example, included (i) all tobacco grown was to be fire-cured, and no air- or sun-cured tobacco was to be grown in the region; ii) all growers were to use seeds grown and sold by the Songea Native Tobacco Board; (iii) tobacco seedbeds were to be sown as soon before the rain season and the Board had the power to prescribe dates on which the seedbeds could be sown; (iv) all tobacco residues were to be uprooted and burnt by the date laid down and no tobacco was to be sown prior to the date laid down; (v) all tobacco plants in the field were to be timely and carefully primed, topped and suckered in the field; (vi) tobacco were was to be planted in rotation with other crops and no crop were to be planted in the same land for a period exceeding two years without special permission from the field staff; and (vii) before harvest, the growers were instructed to erect sufficient buildings to deal with the whole crop. See NAT, 504, 3/8-3/6, Tobacco Reports and Figures from Chama 1928-50, Songea Native Tobacco Board Minute No. 182- Directions to Growers, and *Maelezo kwa Walimaji wa Tumbaku* by Sgs. T.H. Marshall, Bwana Shamba, Songea, 22 October 1943. Also see Tobacco Rules by Songea Native Tobacco Board, 1945; and the Notice on Tobacco for Songea District for 1948, a letter from Acting Director of Agriculture –Dar es Salaam to the Senior Agricultural Officer, Southern Province-Lindi, Ref. 547/3504, April 1948; and the Notice No. 116, 30 May 1947, Official Gazette No. 27 of1947.

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for market.[90] The study also noted that in coordination with the Department of Agriculture, the board recruited several field officers and instructors whose duties were mainly to supervise effective implementation of the tobacco directions and instructions by the growers in the villages. By the 1950s, for example, the Board had already recruited and distributed more than twenty instructors in various villages in the region. See Table 9 for the list of Tobacco Board instructors.

Table 9: List of Tobacco Board Instructors in Ruvuma Region during the 1950s[91]

No.	Name	Place	No.	Name	Place
1.	Uredi Issa	Nangero	13.	Portas Ngapinga	Litembo
2.	Saidi Rupia	Likuyu Saka	14.	Kanisius Fungameza	Mlali
3.	Benno Kulumanga	Ligera	15.	Nikolaus Laurent	Liparamba
4.	Hassani Salim	Mkongo	16.	Mohamed Bakari	Matogoro
5.	Yusuf Issa	Mtelamwahi	17.	Rashidi Yusuf	Ruanda
6.	Chrisostom Nahaya	Njuga	18.	Rangimbaya Zawaya	Njalila
7.	Florian Mayamba	Mkwera	19.	Amidu Juma	Liula
8.	Saidi Ramadhani	Msindo	20.	Mohammed Hussein	Lumetcha
9.	Hassani Abdala	Gumbiro	21.	Ali Kaungu	Mkurumusi
10.	Elisha Fusse	Lipumba	22.	Said Bakari	Kikunja
11.	Beatus daniel	Mbangamao	23.	Rashid Mtamila	Mbinga
12.	Hashimu Ngondo	Tindo			

Apart from close supervision of the instructors, in the mid-1940s the Board set stricter rules for the growers who failed to observe tobacco instructions. In its 1945 tobacco roles the Board clearly stated: "No native shall contravene the following orders and directions made by the Songea Native Tobacco Board, namely (a) All tobacco grown by the local Africans should be sold through the Ngoni-Matengo Co-operative Marketing Union Limited, Songea; (b) All

[90] NAT, 504, 3/8-3/6, Tobacco Reports and Figures from Chama 1928-50, Songea Native Tobacco Board Minute No. 182- Directions to Growers (*Maelezo kwa Walimaji wa Tumbaku)* by Sgs. T.H. Marshall, Bwana Shamba, Songea, 22 October 1943.
[91] NAT, 504, 4/3 1928-44 Fire-cured Tobacco General.

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tobacco shall be fire-cured; (c) Fire-curing tobacco in mud-roofed huts or pits is prohibited."[92] Therefore, such bureaucratically byzantine and expensive production requirements were adopted by the Board, particularly regarding capital equipment and pre-seasonal preparations for the crop. It was difficult for African growers to get the considerable amount of cash required for production costs in clearing tobacco fields and building curing barns and packing houses. Though some few requirements (particularly seeds, pesticides and fertilizers) were simply obtained via loan advance payments from the cooperative union, other requirements depended on the peasant family efforts and financial resources. Therefore, for a normal peasant family, it was hard to get the required capital for the cultivation of large tobacco acreage.

The second predicament was so-called 'primitive' farming methods and lack of technical expertise. Many informants argued that tobacco was, and indeed remains, a difficult crop to grow because it requires specific standards and procedures for production, processing and preparation for market. Many of the farmers were learning by doing to build up their existing experience and expertise on the proper methods of handling the crop. In line with that, many peasants used rudimentary and simple production equipment. Using simple production equipment such as axes, slashes and hand hoes for clearing the virgin forest lands, tiling, cultivating and weeding, they could hardly plant more tobacco acreage. Therefore, for many novice peasant growers, lack of expertise and no access to the necessary tools and technology became a limiting factor to planting anything beyond two acreage of the crop.[93] The inflation of the price of tobacco was another limiting factor for more acreage. Some local African peasants decided to continue to grow more food crops for subsistence – alongside tobacco. They argued that recurrent price fluctuation of tobacco made growers uncertain about the crop. Hence, the available family labour was used for tobacco as well as subsistence crop.

The last obstacle to more tobacco acreage was the shortage of labour. Most of the African growers depended on peasant family labour, which consisted of one nuclear family or a few

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[92] The Board also set a specific penalty for the growers who contravened the tobacco rules and ignored the instructors, that any person who failed to comply with any of the rules was liable on conviction to a fine of Shs.200 or up to three months imprisonment with hard labour. See NAT, 504, 3/8-3/6, Tobacco Reports and Figures from Chama 1928-50, Tobacco Rules, Songea Native Tobacco Board, 1945; and NAT, 155, B/25, Processing of Tobacco, A Letter from Assistant Executive-SONTOB to the Director of Agricultural Production, Dar es Salaam, Ref. No. DO4 /4, 18 April 1947.

[93] Interview with Mzee. Watson L. Nganiwa, Regional Cooperative Officer-Ruvuma, 14 February 2016.

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close kin.[94] Tobacco was a labour-intensive crop, which required about 9 months of intensive labour from October to June every year. The crop therefore required many labourers to work in the field throughout the production season for cultivation, curing and preparation for the market.[95] Hence, it was difficult for a normal peasant household of about three to five labourers to grow beyond two acres of tobacco together with their subsistence crops. See Table 10 for an estimate of the daily labour requirements needed for tobacco production.

Table 10: Labour Requirement for Fire-cured Tobacco Field Operations.[96]

Field Operations	Number of labourers up to 5 acres
Preparation of seedlings	15
Clearing of the tobacco fields	10
Tilling, ploughing and ridging	15
Transplanting seedlings	9
Weeding, fertilizer and pesticides	20
Construction of curing and grading sheds	15
Harvesting tobacco leaves	35
Curing of the crop	25
Grading of the cured leaves	20
Bailing of the tobacco leaves	20
Marketing of the crop	5

Many local African peasants in Ungoni and Undendeule acquired their family land for tobacco production through clan inheritance, settling in unoccupied virgin forest lands, and village settlement schemes.[97] Traditionally, one peasant family household often planted two acres of tobacco as a cash crop and an additional of two acres of food crops. In both fields, they used family labourers. Men usually engaged in the preparation of seedbeds and tobacco fields. They

[94] CCMNA, 'Cooperation and Environment', Conference Paper on Social Pre-requisites for Agricultural Cooperation, University of Sussex, (1969), 4.
[95] Interview with Mr Leonard K. Makumi, Crop Officer and Mohammedi Waziri, Agricultural Officer, Songea District, 5 - 07 March 2016.
[96] Designed by the author, October 2016.
[97] Group Interviews, Namtumbo, Mgombasi, and Ngahokola, 9 -13 August 2016.

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searched an ideal place for seedbeds and cleared the virgin forest land for preparation of the tobacco fields. They also tilled the field and prepared seedlings long before the beginning of the rain season.[98] During this period, while were men engaged in the construction of drying sheds and curing burns, the women were usually cutting grasses for the 'barns'. A month before the beginning of the rains, the men, women and children often cultivated the tobacco field and prepared the ridges for early planting between late November and December. During the beginning of the rainy season, they transplanted the seedlings to the tobacco field from the seedbeds. Men also engaged in priming, topping and suckering of the plants in the tobacco field.[99] Apart from that men, women and children worked together in harvesting of the tobacco leaves.[100] See Table 11 for the division of peasant family labour operations in the tobacco industry.

[98] See NAT, 155, Coop/27/II, The District Commissioner's Report on Maposeni Nutrition Scheme in 1958; and Interview with Mohammed Waziri, District Agricultural Officer, Songea, 7 March 2016.
[99] Group Interviews, Nakahegwa, Namanguli and Mgombasi, 9 -13 August 2016.
[100] Interview with Maria Soko, Magagula, 9 August 2016; and Group Interview, Namtumbo, 12 August 2016.

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Table 11: Division of Family Labour in the Tobacco Field[101]

Field Operations	Men	Women	Children
Preparation of seedbeds	√	×	×
Watering of seedlings	√	√	√
Clearing of virgin forests	√	×	×
Ploughing and ridging	√	√	×
Transplanting seedlings	√	√	√
Weeding of the field	√	√	√
Application of fertilizer	√	√	×
Application of pesticides	√	×	×
Priming, topping and suckering	√	×	×
Cutting grasses and food preparation	×	√	√
Construction of curing and grading sheds	√	×	×
Harvesting tobacco leaves	√	√	√
Fixing tobacco leaves	√	√	√
Curing of the tobacco leaves	√	×	×
Sorting and grading	√	√	×
Baling	√	√	×
Transport to the market centres	√	√	×
Selling the crop	√	√	×
Receiving the money	√	×	×
Planting of trees	√	√	√

Tobacco curing was primarily done by the men. It was considered too risky and dangerous to be carried by women, because it resulted in health problems among the growers in the region. It was noted that tobacco curing (before the introduction of the improved barns) posed a great challenge to the local African growers in Ruvuma. Many informants reported that the old curing sheds were poorly ventilated. They had small windows and were made by either digging

[101] Designed by the author, October 2016.

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an underground pit and covering it with a mud roof, or building a surface structure with ground mud walls with mud roof. They then used an in-firing system, which made it difficult for the growers to regulate the heating system while curing the crop. In such a primitive curing sheds, some peasants failed to control the heating system as they applied excessively heavy firing for quick curing of the crop.[102] Some group discussants at Namtumbo and Mgombasi reported that they had many tobacco curing injuries, and even a few cases of death in the district.[103] They stated that such cases occurred due to the fact that the old curing sheds had no thermometer for measuring heat in the barn. The study noted that pit and mud roofed barns not only cost the lives of African growers, but also affected the quality of the cured leaves due to inadequate moisture content, leaf tare and barning. As a result, the Songea Native Tobacco Board prohibited the use of mud-roofed and pit barns among the growers in the region. The Board also instructed the local Africans to used improved local fire-curing tobacco barns. Improved local barns, unlike the previous mud-roofed and pit-curing sheds, were made by either mud walls, windows and grass roof, or brick walls, windows or grass roof. Through the use of tobacco seed farms, the local growers were trained and instructed on the proper the use of the modern curing barns.[104]

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[102] The failure to monitor the heating system resulted in heavy smoke, burning of the shed, injuries, fainting, and even death of the growers. There were no government records found to illustrate the scope of the tobacco-related deaths; however, oral accounts insisted that before the introduction of the modern curing burns, at least every year there were two to three reported deaths in the region. The study informants remembered some few growers who died in a tobacco curing accident in the region. These were Mzee Christandus Ngonyani, Baltazari Nungu, and Damasi Nyoni from Kitanda village, and Ismail Ndendereko from Naikesi village.[102] Other informants in Magagula village pointed that Mzee Elterius Ndonde's leg was burned and badly injured while curing his tobacco. Interview with Assed A. Mpoyola, the Chairman of Kitanda Primary Society and Selapius Kilowoko, Kitanda Village, 8 January 2016 and Group Interview Mgombasi, 13 August 2016.

[103] Group Interviews, Namtumbo and Mgombasi, 12 -13 August 2016.

[104] NAT, 155, B/25, Processing of Tobacco, A Letter from Assistant Executive-SONTOB to the Director of Agricultural Production, Dar es Salaam, Ref. No. DO4/4, 18 April 1947. See more examples of improved traditional tobacco barns on the Development of Rocket Barn for Small holder Farmers in Malawi, found on www.aprovecho.org, accessed on 30 April 2017.

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Figure 14: Improved Local Barn at Likenangena Seed Farm.[105]

Figure 14 illustrates the improved fire-curing barn abandoned at Likenangena seed farm in Ruvuma, exemplifying two characteristics of the improved local barns. First, they provided good ventilation through the availability of large windows, and second, they facilitated adequate control of heating system by using an external fire starter. This also indicates the extent to which the tobacco industry was complex and tedious to be managed by a peasant family labour force.

With such a labour-intensive and complex crop, many peasants among the Wangoni and Wandendeuli adopted three labour recruitment strategies to support family labour operations in the tobacco fields. The first was the development of cooperative labour system. This was done by inviting a group of about 10, to 15 farmers in a village to work collectively on rotational basis. This informal and voluntary labour strategy was known as *Mkumi, Mgoho*, *Togwa* or *Chama*.[106] Through cooperative farming, a group peasants worked together in one tobacco field for the whole day, before they moved on to another tobacco field in the following days. In such cooperative farming, the local African peasants worked, ate, brewed local alcohol

[105] Photography taken by the author at Likenangena village in April 2016.
[106] Group Interviews, Nakahegwa and Namtumbo, 9 -12 August 2016.

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and sung communally to encourage each other.[107] Such cooperative work was done once or twice in a week so as to allow the group members to work on their individual farms. It was also done to assist the growers to finish their field operations on time. Many growers joined *Mgoho* to avoid late tobacco planting, because through collective work they were able to cultivate or weed more tobacco acreage. Informants in Mgombasi, Namtumbo, Nakahegwa, and Matimila insisted that *Mgoho* was mostly done to help each other in the cultivation, weeding, harvesting and construction of the curing barns.[108]

The second strategy was using a polygamous family labour system. The growing enthusiasm to plant more tobacco acreage influenced some rich growers to marry many wives. In this context, polygamy among the Wandendeuli men was viewed as a strategy for promoting family tobacco productivity. It was expected that each wife could grow an acre of tobacco and some acres for subsistence crops.[109] A study by Polly Hill on food farming in the Fante villages of West Africa similarly pointed there is symbiotic relationship between husbands and wives as cultivators. He further argued that husbands and wives are jointly concerned with producing crops for the family household consumption and for sale.[110] This chapter noted that in Ruvuma, husbands enjoyed the right to commandeer the full time labour from their wives. However, the wives in the Fante villages were not confined to complete command of their husbands in the family household production because their marriage contract allowed them to be free to devote their time on some other remunerative occupations.[111] The third strategy was the use of hired causal labour. By the 1950s there were some rich growers who started hiring casual labourers for tobacco field operations. The desire to generate more cash income among the rich growers influenced the recruitment of hired labourers in the tobacco industry.[112] Initially, casual hired labourers were recruited on a daily and seasonal basis. Most of casual labourers in Ungoni and Undendeule were paid Shs. 15 per Kipande after finishing the portion they were hired to work.[113] However, it was noted that hiring casual labourers was an expensive business;

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[107] Group Interview, Mgombasi, 13 August 2016.
[108] Interview with John B. Mwingira, Matimila, 11 August 2016; and Group Interviews, Mgombasi, Nakahegwa and Namtumbo, 9-13 August 2016.
[109] Group Interview, Namtumbo, 12 August 2016.
[110] Polly Hill, 'Food-Farming and Migration from Fante Villages', *Africa: Journal of International African Institute*, 48, 3, (1978), 220-230.
[111] Hill, 'Food-Farming and Migration from Fante Villages', 222.
[112] Group Interviews, Namanguli and Namtumbo, 12 -13 August 2016.
[113] NAT, B/2, Songea Native Tobacco Board Minutes,

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therefore, there were few emerging rich tobacco farmers who hired these labourers for tobacco field operations such as clearing of the virgin forest, ploughing, planting, weeding and harvesting.[114] Where else some other casual labourers were working in the seed farms and the Native Angoni Tobacco School.[115]

The use of casual labour in Tanzania was not limited to the Ruvuma tobacco industry. M.P. Collinson reported that flue-cured tobacco smallholder farmers in Tabora recruited hired labourers to work in the field operations particularly for picking and stringing. The majority of hired labourers were paid wages of about Shs. 3.73/=.[116] However, most of the casual labourers in Ruvuma exchanged their labour for food crops, while others received their cash income on daily basis.

The 'Native' Tobacco Board and the Marketing of Fire-cured Leaf

The establishment of the Songea Native Tobacco Board in the 1940s transformed the trading patterns of the tobacco industry in Ruvuma. The Board was set up as an instrument of state to control the African tobacco trade during WWII. Through the Provision Ordinance No. 39 of 1940, the government gave the Board a monopoly over the tobacco industry, particularly the production, processing and the marketing of the crop.[117] The ordinance also gave the Board the power to regulate and prevent the influence of the cooperative union in the marketing of African tobacco produce in the region. The act empowered the Board to control the management, registration, revenues and expenditure of the cooperative societies, as well as the legal power to appoint the NGOMAT as its marketing agent in the tobacco industry.[118] As a result, the marketing of the Ruvuma tobacco, which had previously been done by the Ngoni-Matengo Cooperative Marketing Union, started to be administered by the Songea Native Tobacco Board.

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[114] Group Interviews, Nakahegwa and Namanguli, 9- 13 August 2016.
[115] NAT, 155, B/2, Songea Native Tobacco Board Minutes,
[116] CCMNA, M.P. Collinson, 'The Comparative economics of growing Aromatic or Virginia tobacco on small family farms in Tabora area of Tanzania', Economic Research Bureau, 70.7, 26.
[117] NAT, 155, B/2, Songea District Native Tobacco Board Minutes: The 19th Meeting of the board held in Songea, 15 and 17 June 1948.
[118] NAT, 155, B/25, Processing of Tobacco, A Letter from Assistant Executive-SONTOB to the Director of Agricultural Production, Dar es Salaam, Ref. No. DO4/4, 18 April 1947; and NAT, B/2, Songea District Native Tobacco Board Minutes: The 19th Meeting of the Board held in Songea, 15 and 17 June 1948.

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The Board introduced four major strategies to ensure greater control and the monopoly on the marketing of the African peasant tobacco produce. First, it appointed NGOMAT to work as the agent of the Board in the marketing of the tobacco produce. Being an agent of the Board, the NGOMAT was responsible for administering the purchase of the crop from the growers from its affiliated societies scattered in various parts of the region. Under the close supervision of the Union and Factory Manager (who were appointed by the Board), it was also responsible for processing the crop in its factory at Songea town.[119] In organising the market, for example, the Board instructed the Union Manager to write to each primary society six weeks in advance to acquire information about the estimate of total crop, date for collection, names of the collection centres, estimate of tonnage per grading shed, condition of the roads and any other necessary information.[120]

Secondly, the board adopted a compulsory marketing strategy among the African growers in the Region. Under the power given by the 1940 Native Ordinance, all the African tobacco growers were ordered to sell their produce to the Board or through the agency appointed by the board (i.e. NGOMAT).[121] The decision to force the African growers to sell their crop to the union was intended to ensure effective monopoly of the crop as well as greater control of the marketing procedures set by the board. Through the primary societies' market centres, the Board wanted to ensure comprehensive supervision and efficiency in the weighing and grading of the produce, payment of cash to the growers, and economic use of transport and labour.[122] The Board also fixed prices for the local tobacco produce. The board was given power to discuss and decide on tobacco prices to the local growers. The approved figures were submitted to the Ngoni-Matengo Cooperative Marketing union for payment to the growers in the market centres.[123] In 1948, for example, the Board decided to retain the 1947 price, where growers were paid 60 cents for Grade I, 50 cents for Grade II, 25 cents for Grade II and 10 cents for

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[119] NAT, 504, 4/3, 1928-44 Fire-cured Tobacco General, '*Habari Chache Juu ya Tumbaku ya Songea*', 31 March 1952.
[120] NAT, 504, 3/8-3/6 Tobacco Report and Figures from Chama, 1928-50, Some Suggestions for Marketing Procedure, a letter from Cooperative Officer to the Executive Officer, Songea Native Tobacco Board, Ref. No. MAR/1/48, 30 June 1953.
[121] NAT, 155, B/2, Songea District Native Tobacco Board Minutes: The 3rd Meeting of the board held in Songea, 4 October 1941.
[122] NAT, 504, 3/8-3/6 Tobacco Report and Figures from Chama, 1928-50, Some Suggestions for Marketing Procedure, a letter from Cooperative Officer to the Executive Officer, Songea Native Tobacco Board, Ref. No. MAR/1/48, 30 June 1953.
NAT, B/2, Songea Native Tobacco Board Minutes, The 19 Meeting of the board, Songea, 15 -17 June 1948.

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Grade IV for the first payment, while for the second payment the growers received 70 cents for Grade I, 40 cents for Grade II, 25 cents for Grade III and 10 cents for Grade IV.[124]

As its third strategy to ensure its control and monopoly, the Board controlled the collection of tobacco produce from the market centres in the villages. The board was given the power to announce and approve the tender for collection of tobacco produce and transportation of other materials needed by the Ngoni-Matengo marketing Cooperative Union in Ruvuma. In 1950, for example, the Board opened and discussed tenders for tobacco transport with six companies including Messrs Tanganyika Road Ways of Dar es Salaam, African Tenders Society of Songea, Tanganyika Transport Company of Lindi, Hassanali Ladha Dinani of Songea, Alimohammed Osman of Songea and Gulamali Jadayi of Songea.[125] The 26th meeting of the board approved two of the companies from the six tenders to provide transport service for NGOMAT between 1951 and 1953. While Messrs Tanganyika Company was offered the task of transporting the baled tobacco leaf from the NGOMAT factory to the port of Lindi, Messrs Alimohammed Osman was approved to provide transport for collection of the peasant produce and leaf transport between Songea–Njombe and Songea Mbamba Bay.[126] The Board insisted on the availability of the Field Officer, the Resident Board Instructor, the Assistant Cooperative Inspector and Secretary of Society on the collection day for close supervision of grading scale, payment and bulking.[127] During the tobacco market day, each lorry was accompanied by the union committeeman on the way to the market centres for the purchase and collection of the crop. Lorries also transported some cash which was used to pay the growers during the market day.[128] After marketing every lorry collected tobacco bales travelled with three copies of check

[124] NAT, 155, B/2, Songea Native Tobacco Board Minutes, The 19 Meeting of the Board, Songea, 15 -17 June 1948.
[125] NAT, 155, B/2, Songea Native Tobacco Board Minutes, The 26 Special Meeting of the board, Songea, 21 March 1950.
[126] NAT, 155, B/2, Songea Native Tobacco Board Minutes, The 26 Special Meeting of the board, Songea, 21 March 1950.
[127] NAT, 155, B/2, Songea Native Tobacco Board Minutes, The 19 Meeting of the board, Songea, 15-17 June 1948.
[128] NAT, 504, 3/8-3/6 Tobacco Report and Figures from Chama, 1928-50, Some Suggestions for Marketing Procedure, a letter from Cooperative Officer to the Executive Officer, Songea Native Tobacco Board, Ref. No. MAR/1/48, 30 June 1953.

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grading card signed by a grader and the clerk. One copy remained in the factory and two other copies were given to the union.[129]

As its fourth strategy, through the agency of NGOMAT, the Board processed tobacco from the growers, and sold it to the buyers in Tanganyika, Africa, Europe and America. The Board instructed the union and Factory Manager to make inquiries, send samples to the international tobacco companies and to request their offers. The Board worked with East African Tobacco Co. Ltd and the British American Tobacco Co. Ltd for the domestic and East African as well as the American tobacco market. The Board also entered into a contract with Messrs Noakes Co. Ltd of Liverpool for shipping and marketing of the Ruvuma tobacco in the United Kingdom.[130] Again, the Board adopted a policy to keep close ties with the Nyasaland tobacco industry in order to get more offers from international companies. It was therefore able to secure market from several tobacco companies, including Messrs Noakes Co. Ltd of Liverpool, East African Tobacco Co. Ltd, the British American Tobacco Co. Ltd, and N. Jessa & Co. Ltd.[131] See Figure 15 for an illustration of the marketing of the 1952 crop.

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[129] NAT, 504, 3/8-3/6 Tobacco Report and Figures from Chama, 1928-50, Some Suggestions for Marketing Procedure, Ref. No. MAR/1/48, 30 June 1953.

[130] NAT, 155, B/25, Processing of Tobacco, A Letter from Assistant Executive-SONTOB to the Director of Agricultural Production, Dar es Salaam, Ref. No. DO4/4, 18 April 1947; and NAT, B/2, Songea Native Tobacco Board Minutes, The 19th Meeting of the Board, Songea, 15 -17 June 1948.

[131] NAT, 155, B/2, Songea Native Tobacco Board Minutes, Final Report For processing and Packing 1952 Crop, the 19 Meeting of the Board, Songea, 15 -17 June 1948; and NAT, 504, 4/3 1928-44 Fire-cured Tobacco General, A Letter from the Principal Imperial Institute London to the Director of Agricultural Production-Dar es Salaam, Ref. H. 318/3, 18 January 1946.

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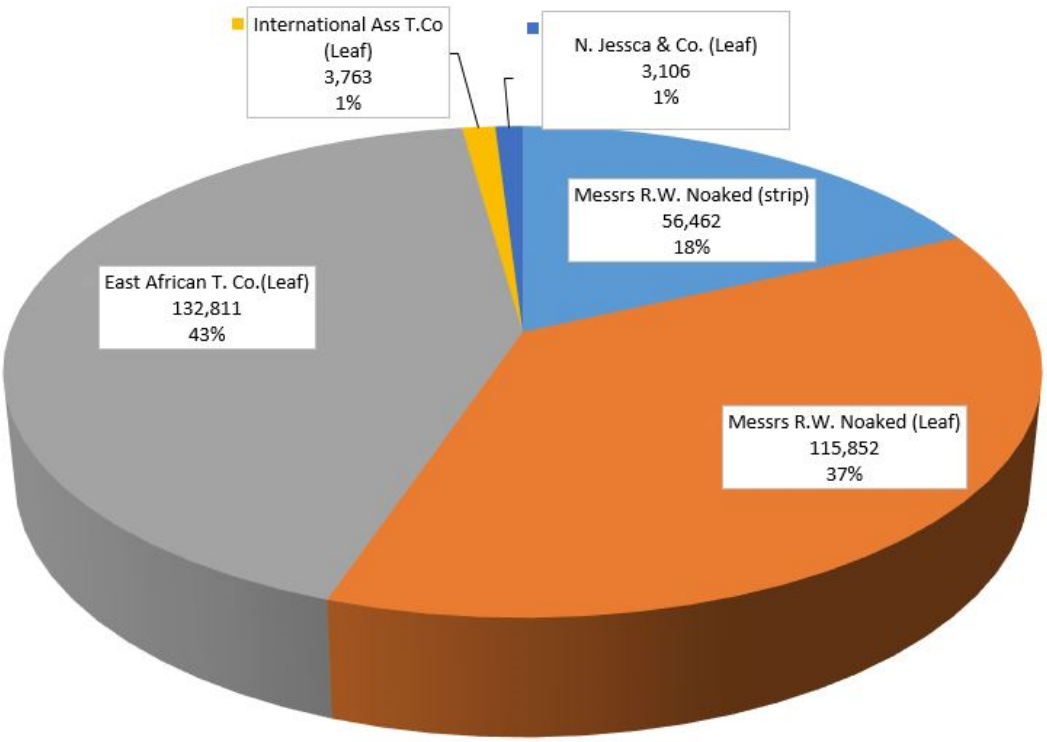

Figure 15: Allocation of Tobacco Sales (in Kilograms) to the Tobacco Leaf Buyers[132]

However, the task of organising and controlling the market for African tobacco produce in Ruvuma was both complex and challenging. The first reason for this was the poor condition and organisation of the tobacco market centres during the WWII. Most tobacco-buying stations were poorly built with either grass or mud or all grass. This situation was aggravated by the Union policy of suspending all building operations during the war. The report by the Agriculture Officer on the condition of tobacco buying-centres commented that: "The native built grass and mud or all grass buying shed. In Ndirima, the buying shed fell down during the rainy season. Peasants sold their produce under shady mango trees."[133] This affected the efficiency and quality of the crop bought from the growers. Furthermore, the loss of tobacco bales in the marketing operations posed a great challenge to the Board. There was a greater difference between the amount of tobacco bought from the growers and that received at the factory in the union headquarters.[134] Tobacco figures for 1948, for example, revealed that there

[132] Designed by the author in February 2017.
[133] NAT, 155, Co-op/27/II, NGOMAT, A letter from the Union Manager to the Agricultural Officer, Ref. A/1/1/54, 5 October 1945.
[134] NAT, 155, Co-op/27/II, NGOMAT, A letter from the Union Manager to the Agricultural Officer, Ref. A/1/1/54, 5 October 1945; and Tobacco Figures for 1948 crop.

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was a loss of 5,906 kg between the crop bought from the growers which amounted to 599,512 kg and that received at the factory which amounted to 593,606 kg.[135] Such an error was caused by carelessness weighing of the produce in the market centres and at the factory.

The second reason was the rise of misunderstandings on the quality of the crop purchased from the market centres. The union often accused the Instructors from the Department of Agriculture of endorsing the purchase of useless poor crop in the market centres. The Manger complained that "the Instructors accepted the crop, which had not even been graded by the growers themselves. As a result, poorly-graded and mixed leaf were received at the factory. Writing to the Agricultural Officer, the Manager insisted that "useless tobacco" was passed by the Instructors from the Department of Agriculture. For instance, I showed you some tobacco on the 27th August which was completely useless and your instructors replied that they had made a mistake."[136] Similarly, the Board report revealed the accusations made by the Department of Agriculture to the union that:

> A four-sided argument is here postulated – Mr Collett's side which claims that, with our primitive curing conditions, no other step will include the desired colour: my own, as a grower of fire-cured tobacco, that sweating is invariably disastrous: the side of the Chief Tobacco Officer, Department of Agriculture, Southern Rhodesia, who condemns it amongst European growers, and that of Mr Sibly-Warne, who has declared to me that at least 25% of the tobacco-crop of this district is destroyed annually by this practice.[137]

The third challenge was alcoholism or at least social drunkenness in the operation's tobacco market centres. Local alcohol (*pombe)* was brewed and sold near the tobacco market centres. Having visited the tobacco markets at Lipumba and Wallanzi on 18 September 1945, the Agricultural Officer reported that "the Lipumba market was quiet and orderly, but the market at Wallanzi was a riot of shouting and brawling drunken natives who were holding up the work of the classification and buying of the tobacco."[138] The shouting of the inebriated men negatively affected efficiency and concentration in grading, weighing and payment of the

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[135] NAT, 155, Co-op/27/II, NGOMAT, Tobacco figures for 1948 crop.
[136] NAT, 155, Co-op/27/II, NGOMAT, A letter from the Union Manager to the Agricultural Officer, Ref. A/1/1/54, 5 October 1945.
[137] NAT, 504, 4/3 1928-44 Fire-cured Tobacco General, Field Officer, SONTOB, VIS-À-VIS Agricultural Department, A Letter from Assistant Executive to the Chairman of the Songea Native Tobacco Board, Ref. No. A/6/184, 8 February 1947.
[138] NAT, 504, 4/3 1928-44 Fire-cured Tobacco General, A Letter from Agricultural Officer to District Commissioner-Songea, Ref. No. 3/8/164, 22 September 1945.

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growers. The situation forced the government officials to close the market centre until it "sobered up".[139]

The Board also faced the challenge of inefficiency in processing the crop at the old manual union factory. The report on the Songea African grown tobacco in 1950 revealed that the factory was working, but there was unnecessary breakage and wastage of the plant due to alternately excessively dry and wet conditions. It was also reported that baling facilities in the factory were too cumbersome, because the baling boxes were heavy and difficult to handle. Hence, most of the bales in the factory were not of uniform weight.[140] The Board also faced the challenge of damage to tobacco bales in transit, particularly those transported from the union factory to the ports of Lindi and Mbamba Bay. There were several cases of tobacco loss mostly damaged by water and kerosene. The damage was caused by poor road networks, the rain and poor storage at Lindi where it was housed.[141] In 1947 the Assistant Executive Officer, in writing to the Chairman of the Board, reported that the Board suffered a serious handicap through lack of all-weather roads connecting Songea, Lindi and Mbamba Bay. He reported that the immediate financial losses involved the damage of 38 tobacco bales on the route to Lindi and the whole consignment on the lorry on the route to Mbamba Bay.[142] It was also noted that in 1949 the Board lost about 58 bales of tobacco damaged by kerosene while loading in Lindi.[143] Therefore, all predicaments in handling the crop affected the quality, annual production and the market for the Ruvuma fire-cured tobacco produce.

Notwithstanding the above challenges, the state used its advantage of controlling the tobacco industry to accumulate profit generated from the crop. First, the Board appropriated its profits by maintaining low prices almost throughout its existence (from 1940 to 1954). The African growers were paid poorly for their crop, even at a time when the Ruvuma tobacco got a high

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[139] NAT, 504, 4/3 1928-44 Fire-cured Tobacco General, A Letter from Agricultural Officer to District Commissioner-Songea, Ref. No. 3/8/164, 22 September 1945.
[140] NAT, 155, B/2, Songea Native Tobacco Board Minutes, Report on Songea Native Grown Tobacco for 1950, A.R. Sang, The United Africa Company (Tanganyika) Limited; NAT, 504, B/21 1948-1952; and A letter from Executive Officer-Songea to the Chairman of the Board, Lindi, Ref. B/21/42, 21 July 1950.
[141] NAT, 504, B/21 1948-1952, Shipping and Transport of Tobacco, Losses to NGOMAT through Bad road, A letter from Assistant Executive to the Chairman of the Songea Native Tobacco Board, 15 January 1947; and A letter from Executive Officer-Songea to the Chairman of the Board, Lindi, Ref. B/21/42, 21 July 1950.
[142] NAT, 504, B/21 1948-1952, Shipping and Transport of Tobacco, Losses to NGOMAT through Bad road, A letter from Assistant Executive to the Chairman of the Songea Native Tobacco Board, 15 January 1947.
[143] See NAT, 155, B/2, Songea District Native Tobacco Board Minutes, the 34th Meeting of the board, Songea, 28 -30 May 1951.

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price from the buyers. The price paid to the growers dropped considerably from 1930 to the 1950s. While the Department of Agriculture paid the growers Grade I tobacco Shs. 1 per kg in 1930/31,[144] the Board reduced this figure to 70 cents in 1951/52. While the African growers were paid low prices in early 1950, for example, the Board sold the crop at a relatively high price. In the same year the East African buyers bought the Ruvuma tobacco at Shs. 5 for Grade I and Shs. 4.50 for Grade II, whereas the UK buyers purchased the Tanganyika and Rhodesian tobacco at Shs. 2.5 per kg.[145] Secondly, the Board appropriated profit through income and production levies as well as sales income from seed farms. It was noted that apart from increasing cess charges from Shs. 2.50 per 100 kg in 1940 to Shs. 34 per 100 kg in 1950, the Board also generated revenues by selling tobacco and diary produce from seed farms and the Native Angoni School. In 1951, for example, the Board accumulated about Shs.163,200.00/= for cess charges from the growers; Shs. 500.00 for tobacco produce from seed farm; Shs. 12,560.00 for selling tobacco seeds to the growers; Shs. 1,300.00 for selling diary produce; and more income from processing charges deducted from the growers income.[146]

Lastly, the Board accumulated profit by setting high statutory charges on the growers in order to pay high salaries to the European employees. It was noted that while African labourers on the seed farms were paid Shs. 15 per Kipande; the Board increased salaries and allowances for European employees in tobacco industry in the region. The 26th meeting of the board, increased European monthly salaries up to £930 for the Executive Officer, £900 for Factory, £624 for Field Officer. Apart from high monthly salaries, these European employees were entitled to Shs. 100 for car allowance, Shs.6 for subsistence allowance and 10 cents per 200 miles traveling costs.[147] All these charges intensified exploitation of the African growers in the region in the early 1950s. As a result, there were more complaints among the growers, abandonment of the tobacco fields and a drastic fall of production from 591,670 kg in 1951 to 407,313 kg in 1952.[148] Many of the peasants in Ungoni and Undendeuli who abandoned the tobacco fields

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[144] NAT, Co-op/27/II, NGOMAT, the Native Tobacco Production for 1930/31.
[145] NAT, 155, B/2, Songea District Native Tobacco Board Minutes, the 34 Meeting of the board, Songea, 28 -30 May 1951; and Annual Tobacco Report 31 March 1953.
[146] NAT, 155, B/2, Songea District Native Tobacco Board Minutes, the board Meeting, Songea, 6 November 1950.
[147] NAT,155, B/2, Songea District Native Tobacco Board Minutes, the 26 Meeting of the board, Songea, 1950 and the 34 Meeting of the Board, Songea, 28 -30 May 1951.
[148] NAT, 155, B/2, Songea District Native Tobacco Board Minutes, Annual Tobacco Report, 31 March 1953.

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during the late 1940s put more effort into subsistence farming, while others went for local and inter-regional migrant labour.

Conclusion

This chapter has explored the role of the colonial state in the control of marketing of African tobacco peasant production in southern Tanganyika between the early 1940s and the mid-1950s. It has contributed to the existing scholarship on the colonial agricultural market reforms during and after WWII in colonial Tanganyika. The chapter has added to the existing scholarship (particularly in the studies by Illife, Mpangala and Curtis), which failed to provide detailed historical accounts on the nature of complex relationship between the state and the control of peasant production, despite their significant contribution to the Tanzanian agrarian historiography and especially on the debate on the colonial market reforms after the WWII in Tanganyika.. It further extended this debate on the colonial agricultural market reforms in Tanganyika in attempt to provide detailed historical account on the complex relationship between the state and African peasant tobacco producers. This chapter has examined the origin, organisation and the functions of the state controlled tobacco marketing board after the WWII and its resultant impacts and challenges in the control and monopoly of the marketing of fire-cured peasant tobacco production in Ruvuma between 1940 and 1954. It used the Songea Native Tobacco board to analyse the influence of the state in the control of African export crops. It argued that, despite the rhetoric of protecting peasants from the exploitation of the middlemen traders, the SONTOB was crafted as an instrument of state control and monopoly of tobacco production in the region. Through its puppet-board, the state implemented various interventions to strictly control both the central union and the entire tobacco industry by supervising field operations and the marketing of African tobacco produce. Through the1940 Ordinance, the Board was given the legal power to control the African cooperative union and the entire tobacco industry. In supervising production, processing and marketing of the crop, the Board adopted various strategies to exploit the African peasants by setting low prices, high overage charges, statutory fees and creating a reserve fund during WWII. All these resulted in the decline of the price for the Ruvuma crop, the discouragement of peasants and the abandonment of the tobacco farms between the late 1940s and early 1950s. Finally, the chapter has demonstrated that all these grievances by the African tobacco peasants exacerbated the rise of continuous peasant protests against the Board on the control of tobacco industry in the

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region. The next chapter explores how the winds of change in the development of the African cooperative movement in Tanganyika after WWII restored the hegemony of the peasant association in the control of peasant tobacco production in the region and its broader impact after the independence of Tanzania in 1961.

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CHAPTER FIVE

Winds of Change or a Smoke Screen? The Cooperative Movement and the Dynamics of Peasant Tobacco Production, 1954-1970.

Introduction

The decade after World War II (WWII) was an important phase in the development of the peasant economy in Tanganyika. It witnessed the rise of the cooperative movement in the marketing of peasant cash crops. With exception of the Kilimanjaro Native Cooperative Union (KNCU), the earliest cooperative unions were established by the government during the 1930s in order to ensure their effective exploitation of African peasant crops in the territory. By that time there had been few African cooperative unions – including the KNCU, the Bugufi Coffee Cooperative Union (BCU) and the Ngoni-Matengo Cooperative Marketing Union (NGOMAT) – but they were "peasant associations" in name only. In real terms they were controlled and highly restricted by the state.[1] The state created these marketing institutions ostensibly to promote African agriculture. Instead, they were instruments designed to restrict the freedom of peasant cooperative unions. They functioned by appointing (white, pro-state) union managers to administer African peasant cooperatives and by closely monitoring the finances and membership of the primary cooperative societies. By setting up the marketing boards during the early 1940s, as the previous chapter demonstrated, the state launched another coercive attempt to control African agricultural independence by controlling the peasant export crops.[2] All the key duties of the cooperative unions – including supervision of production, processing and marketing of the agricultural produce – were taken over by the marketing boards in 1940. In this context, the NGOMAT central union[3], which had laid down sound principles of

[1] See Alan Hall, 'Wind of Change in Songea, Cooperative Tobacco Production', Courtesy of OSPA, The British Empire, http://britishempire.co.uk/article/windofchangeinSongea.htm., 17 October 2016; CCMNA, (URT), The Cooperative Movement in Tanganyika; and Somo M.L. Siemu, 'The Post-War Cooperative Development in Colonial Tanzania', *Report and Opinion*, 7, 11, (2015), 71-77.
[2] Siemu, 'Post-War Cooperative Development'.
[3] The Ngoni-Matengo Cooperative Marketing Union Limited (NGOMAT) was the second oldest African peasant cooperative organisation in Tanganyika. It was set by the government in 1936 in order to control peasant tobacco production in Ruvuma Region. The colonial government did not have enough capital and personnel to run the tobacco industry in the mid-1930s, and its attempt to attract private investors to run the industry failed as they did not show interest partly because of the remoteness of the area. The first African-initiated peasant cooperative organisation was the Kilimanjaro Native Planters Association founded in 1922 and reorganised in 1932 as the Kilimanjaro Native Cooperative Union (KNCU). Bugufi Coffee Cooperative Union Limited (BCU) was the third African cooperative association started by the government together with NGOMAT in 1936) in order to control

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cooperation and management for the entire tobacco industry, with its strong financial position and increasingly progressive members of primary societies in the villages from the mid-1930s.[4] But with the establishment of the Songea Native Tobacco Board (SONTOB) in 1940, the union become a mere puppet of the Board in controlling peasant tobacco production, as shown in the previous chapter. All its key duties in supervising the production, processing and marketing of tobacco were taken over by the Board. However, the period after WWII, especially between the mid-1940s and the early 1950s, saw a significant shift in the development of the cooperative movement in Tanzania broadly and the Ruvuma region in particular.[5] However, the post-colonial historiography of cooperative movements in Tanzania has only focused on the rise and development of peasant cooperatives among the coffee growers in the northern part of the country.[6] Consequently for decades now, very little is known about the history of cooperatives among the peasant tobacco growers in the south. This chapter attempts to fill this historiographical gap by tracing the influence of the post-war cooperative movement on the restoration of the NGOMAT hegemony in the control and dynamics of peasant tobacco production in Ruvuma between 1954 and 1970. It argues that the rise of rise of the cooperative movement and subsequent restoration of the NGOMAT control was largely triggered by the Campbell Report in 1944 and the growing peasant protest against state-controlled marketing boards. This chapter also assesses the impact of NGOMAT hegemony after independence in 1961; it demonstrates that poor management of the African cooperative unions by the African cooperative leaders led to the decline of peasant tobacco production and subsequent collapse of the Ruvuma Development Association between the mid- and late 1960s. This chapter therefore analyses the rise of the post-WWII African cooperative movement in Tanganyika and its broader impact on the restoration of the NGOMAT hegemony in the control and dynamics of peasant tobacco production in the Ruvuma region between 1954 and 1970.

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coffee production in Ngara District and become a union 1957 with five affiliated societies. See, for instance, CCMNA, (URT), The Cooperative Movement in Tanganyika.

[4] NAT, 33017, Post War Reconstruction: Establishment of Cooperative Societies, Campbell Report on a Visit to Tanganyika, 29 July 1944, 3.

[5] See Siemu, 'Post-War Cooperative Development'; and Kenneth R. Curtis, 'Cooperation and Cooptation: The Struggle for Market Control in the Bukoba District of Colonial Tanganyika', *The International Journal of African Historical Studies*, 25, 3, (1992), 505-538.

[6] Curtis, 'Cooperation and Cooptation'; John Iliffe, *A Modern History of Tanganyika*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979); and Siemu, 'Post-War Cooperative Development'.

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The Rise of the Cooperative Movement in the aftermath of WWII

The post-war years witnessed a period of the "winds of change"[7] in both British domestic politics and in her colonies and dominions throughout the world. The landslide election victory of the Labour Party of 1945 (over the Conservative party) and the coming to power of Prime Minister Clement Attlee transformed British colonial policy generally and in Africa in particular.[8] As this chapter shows, his Labour government recognised the significance of African cooperatives in the development of peasant production in African colonies. A shift of policy towards the promotion of cooperative movement in the territory has been linked by historians to several forces. There are those who see that the shift was mainly linked to the growing economic demands of the British metropolitan economy after the WWII.[9] They argue that the British decision to promote the independent cooperative movement in Tanganyika was chiefly influenced by the pressure from Labour government in the United Kingdom. Hall and Siemu insisted that the publication of the report by the Fabian Colonial Bureau[10] towards the end of the war in 1945 promoted the rise of cooperative movement in many British colonies in

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[7] The turmoil – particularly, the growing peasant protests against the white state-controlled tobacco board; the sacking of the board's white staff; and the restoration of the NGOMAT hegemony in the control of tobacco industry – that took place in the Ruvuma region in the 1950s and the early 1960s reflected the prophetic speech made by British Prime Minister Harold Macmillan in the South African Parliament on 3 February 1960. In this speech Macmillan said: "The wind of change is blowing through this continent and whether we like it or not, this growth of national consciousness is a political fact. We must all accept it as a fact, and our national policies must take account of it. … As I see it, this second half of the twentieth century is whether the uncommitted peoples of Asia and Africa will swing to the East or to the West". See Harold Macmillan begins his "winds of change" tour of Africa, available on South African History online, http://wellthisiswhatithink.worpress.com accessed on 24 April 2017; and Hall, 'Wind of Change'.

[8] In the July 1945 general election the Labour Party secured 393 seats over 210 Conservative seats in the House of Commons. With 47.7% of the popular vote against 39.7% of the minority vote, the Labour Party for the first time since 1906 got a victory which allowed its government to test democratic socialism, which largely supported post-Cold War diplomacy, the independence of India, cooperation, welfare and development of the colonies. See http:www.bbc.co.uk/history/heroic_figures/Attlee_clement.shtml, accessed on 29 March 2017.

[9] See Iliffe, *Modern History*; and Siemu, 'Post-War Cooperative Development'.

[10] The Fabian Colonial Bureau was a special department of the Fabian research society which was formed in 1940 for collecting information and constructive ideas on colonial development policies. This department worked closely with the Labour Party as a think tank for supplying information to the members of Parliament. It was established to study and provide recommendations on socio-economic and political crises in the British colonies. It managed to publish a number of reports, including the Fabian colonial essays of 1945, cooperation in the colonies of 1944/45 and the local government and the colonies of 1950. Some of its key founding members included Arthur Creech Jones, Rita Hindan and Marjorie Nicholson. Many of the Fabian Colonial Bureau members become key figures in the Labour government in 1945. Jones, for example, become the Secretary of State in the Colonial Office, an opportunity which he used to promote cooperation in the colonies by establishing a special department and appointing cooperative advisors to promote cooperative movement. See Papers of the Fabian Colonial Bureau, Commonwealth and African studies, Bodleian Library of Oxford University, found in www.bodley.ox.au.uk/dept/scwmss/online/fabian-cb.html accessed on 28 March 2017, and A. Skeffington, *Tanganyika in Transition*, (London: Fabian Colonial Bureau, 1960), 18-19.

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Africa.[11] The report encouraged the colonial states to promote cooperative movements in order to reduce the cost of supervising production, abolish the monopoly of export trade by the large European firms and enhance the modernisation of African peasant agriculture.[12]

In line with the report, the members of the Colonial Bureau made several visits to Tanganyika to investigate the successes and challenges of the cooperative movement in the territory. In his long tour to East Africa during the mid-1950s the Secretary of the Fabian Colonial Bureau, Miss Marjorie Nicholson, visited the big Gezira Scheme in Sudan, and coffee cooperatives in Uganda, and also visited a number of cooperatives in Tanganyika including the Chagga coffee cooperative and a European tobacco farm in Iringa.[13] Being inspired with the desire to promote cooperatives for the development of the rural economy in Africa, Nicholson was highly motived to study the expansion of peasant cooperatives and the role of African women in the development of cooperatives in East and West Africa.[14]

The second factor for the rise of cooperative movement was the role of the 1944 W.K.H Campbell report. Archival records show that the decision to promote the cooperative movement in Tanganyika was influenced by the recommendation in the report by Campbell, who was at the time the Cooperative Society Advisor in East Africa, who visited Tanganyika in July 1944.[15] Reporting on his visit to Tanganyika, Campbell revealed that prior to WWII the government in Tanganyika did not take any active steps to stimulate independent cooperation for several reasons, including fear of African nationalism, shortage of staff, fear of troublesome reactions from nervous African cooperatives, and an inability of Africans to manage cooperatives.[16] However, he insisted that cooperatives were a fundamental factor in the

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[11] Hall, 'Wind of Change'; and Siemu, 'Post-War Cooperative Development', 72-73.
[12] See Papers of the Fabian Colonial Bureau, Commonwealth and African studies, Bodleian Library of Oxford University, A Report from a Special Committee to the Fabian Colonial Bureau: Colonial Cooperation in the Colonies, London, 1945. Also see Skeffington, *Tanganyika in Transition*, 18 and Siemu, 'Post-War Cooperative Development', 72-73.
[13] See 'Fabian Visiting Tanganyika' and 'Fabian Visiting both Highland Areas', *Tanganyika Standard*, Saturday, January, 9th 1954 and Thursday, January 14th, 1954.
[14] See 'Fabian Visiting both Highland Areas', *Tanganyika Standard*, Thursday, 14th 1954.
[15] Mr W.K.H Campbell was an experienced expert in cooperatives and a former Register of Cooperative Societies in Ceylon, and in 1944 he was appointed to advise the British East African colonial state on how the government could promote the development of the African cooperative movement in Tanganyika, Kenya and Uganda. See URT, The Cooperative Movement in Tanganyika; and NAT, 33017, Post-war Reconstruction; Establishment of Cooperative Societies.
[16] NAT, 33017, Post-war Reconstruction; Establishment of Cooperative Societies; and NAT, 35783, the W.K.H. Campbell's Report to Tanganyika, July, 1944.

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development of poor Africans through a practical education in economics. Therefore, he encouraged the government to promote a sense of spontaneous cooperation among the people in the territory.[17] Campbell stated that "cooperation ought to spring spontaneously from the people themselves and the government should have no need to help its propagation."[18] He further recommended that the government should establish cooperative unions in order to accommodate the former WWII soldiers who were returning from the battlefields in Asia and Ethiopia.[19]

The third factor in the cooperative movement was the role of the colonial central Development Committee. The colonial report on the central development committee took a similar view that the cooperative movement could be of great value in the development Tanganyika after the WWII.[20] They insisted that the movement has been used for the reconstruction of Europe and China and many other parts of the world. The committee also demonstrated that the spirit of cooperative movement resembled practically the communal spirit characteristic of many African societies.[21] Hence, it was time for the government to promote cooperatives as an instrument of fostering a prosperous African community.

As a result of three major colonial reports, the state amended its Cooperative Ordinance of 1932 to establish the Department of Cooperative Societies which was responsible for promotion of co-operative unions in Tanganyika. Under the Register of Co-operative Societies, the Department promoted, registered, and monitored the development of African cooperative societies" in various parts of Tanganyika, including the restoration of the NGOMAT hegemony over the control of the tobacco industry in the Ruvuma region.[22] K. Curtis's study of the coffee growers in Bukoba similarly observed that the growing influence of the cooperative movement after WWII led to the creation of the Cooperative Department in Tanganyika. This Department was set to reorganise the marketing of the peasant crops following the failure and increasing complaints of the growers over statutory marketing boards.[23] Under the Register of Cooperative

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[17] NAT, 33017, Report of the Central Development Committee, April, 1944; and NAT, 35783, the W.K.H. Campbell's Report to Tanganyika, July, 1944.
[18] NAT, 35783, W.K.H. Campbell's Report to Tanganyika, July, 1944.
[19] Siemu, 'Post-War Cooperative Development', 72.
[20] NAT, 33017, Report of the Central Development Committee, April, 1944.
[21] NAT, 33017, Report of the Central Development Committee, April, 1944.
[22] Hall, 'Wind of Change'.
[23] Curtis, 'Cooperation and Cooptation', 505-538.

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Societies, the Department promoted the growth and expansion of local independent cooperative societies in various parts of the territory. Moreover, the government passed the African Agricultural (Control and Marketing) Ordinance of 1949, which not only provided an opportunity to promote the development of independent cooperative societies, but also reduced the monopoly power of the marketing boards in the control of the African-produced export crops.[24] Through this ordinance, all the marketing boards were made to be an interim instrument for the formation of African cooperative societies in charge of promoting the cooperative movement in their respective areas.

Early 1953 proved to be the turning point in the development of the cooperative movement, because the British government enacted the Cooperative Development Act, which abolished strictly controlled cooperative unions and it opened up room for the rapid growth of independent cooperative societies in the marketing of African export crops in the territory.[25] With this act, the Department of Cooperative Development was further empowered to promote, coordinate and register the development of African cooperative societies in Tanganyika. The Cooperative Department was set up by the government to re-organise the marketing of African peasant crops following the failures and complaints of peasants against the state-controlled marketing boards.[26] In the case of the Ruvuma region, the Cooperative Department now worked with the state-constructed tobacco board in order to promote the expansion of the cooperative movement in the region and to restore the NGOMAT autonomy in the tobacco industry. Consequently, the board was disbanded in 1954 and an African cooperative union in the region (NGOMAT) had restored its previous responsibility for processing and selling African tobacco produce in the region. Therefore, the control and monopoly of tobacco industry was now restored and managed by the central African cooperative union as it had been done prior to the creation of the Board in 1940. This was because of post-war government initiatives to promote African cooperatives as the instrument of promoting the peasant economy and rural development in the territory.

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[24] Skeffington, *Tanganyika in Transition*; and Siemu, 'Post-War Cooperative Development', 72.
[25] Siemu, 'Post-War Cooperative Development', 76.
[26] Curtis, 'Cooperation and Cooptation', 526.

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African Peasant Protest and the Restoration of the NGOMAT Hegemony in 1954

By the early 1950s it was clear that the Songea tobacco board had failed to manage the tobacco industry in Southern Tanganyika. As the previous chapter showed, annual tobacco production declined drastically from 1,185 tons 1950, 542 tons in 1951 and 435 tons in 1952 to 242 tons in 1953.[27] Basically, the Ruvuma peasant tobacco production in this period was approaching disaster because many of African growers were discouraged from growing the crop by the tobacco board and some of them had abandoned their tobacco fields in protest at the low price paid by the Board for the crop. Poor management and supervision of the tobacco industry by the board resulted in poor production practices, poor processing of the tobacco leaf at the factory and poor organisation of the marketing system for the tobacco produced and the inevitable concomitant declining production trend of tobacco output and growing peasant protest.[28] This situation escalated regional discontent and complaints by African peasants against the Songea Native Tobacco Board. African peasants protested against the Board for several reasons. The first reason for peasant protest was the Board's decision to fix high charges for African tobacco produce brought to the market centres.[29] The data show that in 1951 the Board revised its levy from Shs. 34 per 100 kgs to Shs. 70 per 100 kgs[30]. The board constantly increased the levy imposed on African tobacco produce to cover processing costs at the NGOMAT factory and other administrative expenses.[31] The second reason for the protests was the board's decision to fix a low price for African tobacco produce. In the same year, the board revised its price for buying the crop from the growers by adding the tobacco grades from four to six grades on the basis of its colour – the light and heavy. Although board stated that the decision to tighten the grading in the market centres was intended to control poor leaf from the growers and to improve the quality of the crop to the buyers, in reality the board increased

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[27] Also see NAT, B/2, SONTOB Minutes, Annual Report for the Year ending 31 March 1953; and Patrick M. Redmond, 'The NMCMU and Tobacco Production in Songea', *Tanzania Notes and Records, 79 & 80, (1976),* 65-98.

[28] NAT, B/25, 1947-1956, Processing of Tobacco, Tobacco Monthly Report for NGOMAT, 1952 and also see Hall, 'Wind of Change'.

[29] NAT, 504, B/25 1947-1956, SONTOB Processing of Tobacco, A Letter from Agricultural Officer to Senior Agricultural Officer, Ref. No. 62/4/151 of 24/3/1947; and Redmond, 'NMCMU and Tobacco Production in Songea', 71.

[30] The words "not exceeding" enabled the Board to revise the levy up to Shs. 70 per kg without publication in the Government Notice. The new rate of levy was therefore, effective from the 1951 crop, of which Shs. 34 was for general revenue of the board and Shs. 36 for factory production expenses.

[31] NAT, B/2, SONTOB Minutes, the 34th Meeting of the Board, Songea, 28 -30 May, 1951.

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grading strategies as attempt to accumulate more profit through paying a lower price for the so-called low-grade leaf. Hence, the Board decided that Grade I and II light leaf were to be separated from Heavy leaf. The Board therefore approved the price for the 1951 crop as follows: 70 cents per kg for Grade I Heavy, 60 cents per kg for Grade I Light, Grade II Heavy and Grade II Light, 30 cents per kg for Grade III and 15 cents per kg for Grade IV.[32] The change in grading strategy affected the price for the crop to the growers in the *gulio* (market centres). The price for Grade I Light for example decreased from 85 cents per kg in 1950 to 60 cents per kg in 1951. Redmond expressed a similar view:

> the change caused much dissatisfaction and only compounded the problems which the fall in prices, increase in running costs and incompetent European management had created. Many growers stood to suffer considerable losses as a result of the change. A number of societies, accordingly, wrote to the manager of the factory condemning the move and saying that the industry would die if it were not rescinded. To the Ligera society that was one of the first to write, the manager replied the change would not be rescinded. Among other societies to protest were those of Liula and Lumecha. People then added this to the list of grievances in their 1951 letter to the Governor.[33]

The above quotation reveals that many peasants in the region protested and complained against the heavy exploitation of the board through overage charges and the consistently low price for their crop. The climax of African growers' protests against the Board was reached during the NGOMAT annual meeting in October 1953. The meeting resolved that the overage levy by the Board was a burden on the growers and it resolved to remain with the previous levy of Shs. 34 per kg. Consequently, the resolution reached in the NGOMAT annual meeting in 1953 contributed to the banning of the Board in April 1954 because with limited funds the Board was no longer able to perform the duties for which it was established in 1940 and restructured in 1945. As a result, during its meeting on 1 April 1954, the board was officially disbanded and its duties were handed over to the NGOMAT Ltd.

The third factor in the protest against the board was the rise of the Africanisation movement during the 1950s. Africanisation (in this colonial context) was the movement by Africans which focused on various strategies to empower Africans in order to replace the European staff – in

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[32] NAT, B/2, SONTOB Minutes, the 34th Meeting of the Board, Songea, 28 -30 May, 1951.
[33] See Redmond, 'NMCMU and Tobacco Production in Songea', 68-70

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this case, to gain control of the tobacco industry in the region.[34] The increasing peasant protests against the Board were also influenced by the nationalist struggles led by a few groups of traditional local chiefs, African elites and the emerging rich tobacco growers in the region. Illife similarly observed that the nationalist movement after WWII was complicated by an intrinsically racist approach in which most Africans struggled to defend African interests against the white staff in the political administration, crop marketing and education system.[35]

As a result many Africans, especially among tobacco growers in Ruvuma, campaigned to disband the state-controlled tobacco board mostly dominated by white staff as an attempt to restore the lost NGOMAT autonomy in gaining control of tobacco industry as well as for achieving their political ends. In fact, many African cooperative members campaigned to abolish the board in order to take up the leadership positions occupied by some European employees who were said to be harsh and incompetent in managing the industry.[36] They wanted to restore an independent union in which they could be free to choose their leaders who could promote the industry for the betterment of the African growers. Prior to the restoration of the autonomy of NGOMAT, members of cooperative societies were empowered by the 1932 Cooperative Ordinance to control their affairs, including holding general meetings that could elect their executive committee for administration of the society. These powers, however, were not exercised in the NGOMAT union. Under the leadership of the then state-appointed Union Manager and Executive Officer of the board, meetings were not held and the union committee officials were rather treated as labourers on the board and they had no power to administer union affairs.[37] After WWII the government deliberately appointed the retired military officer, Major S. Steven, as Union Manager and the Executive Officer of the tobacco board. As noted in Chapter Four, unlike the previous union Manager, Mr A. Twells, who promoted the development of an independent African peasant association, Major Steven did not promote the democratisation of the African peasant association in the control of tobacco industry in the

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[34] This study however, acknowledges that there is heated debate on the post-colonial Africa and the meaning of Africanisation. There are those who see it as a process to bring Africa under the control of Africans and away from the European control, and those who see it as an inclusive process that stresses the significance of affirming African cultures and identities in the world. See www. Dictionary.com/browser/Africanisation, accessed on 30 March 2017, and T. Letsekha, Revisiting the debate on Africanisation of higher education; an appeal for a conceptual shift", *Independent Journal of Teaching and Learning*, 8, (2013).
[35] Iliffe, *Modern History*, 483-484.
[36] Interview with Mzee John Mjombe, Mlale, 9 August 2016; and Namtumbo Group Interview, 12 August 2016.
[37] Hall, 'Wind of Change'.

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region. He took command over all activities of the union and those of the board; the question of independent and democratic cooperative movement was irrelevant to him and every effort was made to prevent local Africans from occupying high managerial posts in the board and the central union. During this period even the graders were usually imported from Nyasaland by the union rather than employing the local Africans.[38] Thus a letter to the Director of Agriculture in 1947 commented that:

> the native-owned and controlled cooperative society, employing and depending upon native servant, may despite European supervision, lose effective control of its staff i.e. by being obliged to choose between the ineffective and intractable, and, so, willy-nilly default against the act. The only remedy I can think of to deal with the falseness of the union's position lies in imbuing life and conscientiousness into an inanimate and usually supine managing committee; but I fear that this will prove as hard. I have been trying to do so noticeable success as a collective body of responsible native subordinates capable of really faithful and efficient servant.[39]

A closer look at the above discussion shows that the growing peasant protests against the board contributed to restoration of NGOMAT hegemony in the control of tobacco industry in the region. This was due to the fact that in the early 1950s, as a response to the growing regional discontent over the European officials, the government took a radical decision to sack all European staff and appoint the first African union manager to run NGOMAT.[40]

Therefore, by considering the three factors discussed above, it could be argued that the transition from SONTOB to NGOMAT autonomy in 1954 was not a sudden event, but rather it was the interplay of gradually developing socio-economic and political forces which took place between the late 1940s and the early 1950s. As a result, after intense discussion in the Board meeting in 1954, it was resolved that an alternative strategy was needed to take the industry forward.[41] Therefore, the colonial state, through the Board, decided that the tobacco industry was now to be managed by the cooperative union.[42] With this decision, the previous

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[38] NAT, 155/84/3, 1941-1951 Agricultural Songea District, Native Tobacco Board Correspondence and S.J. Sijaona, Ngoni-Matengo Cooperative Union, course paper, UDSM, 1974, and Hall, 'Wind of Change'.
[39] NAT, B/25 SONTOB Processing of Tobacco, A Letter from Assistant Executive Officer to the Hon. Director of Agricultural production, Ref. No: DO4/4, 18 April, 1947.
[40] Hall, 'Wind of Change',
[41] NAT, 504, 4/3, 1928-44 Fire-cured Tobacco General, '*Habari Chache Juu ya Tumbaku ya Songea*', 31 March 1952; and Redmond, 'NMCMU and Tobacco Production in Songea'.
[42] See Hall, 'Wind of Change'; and Redmond, 'NMCMU and Tobacco Production in Songea.

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autonomy of NGOMAT was restored in order to control and promote the entire tobacco industry in the region.

The Impact of the Restoration of NGOMAT Hegemony in the mid-1950s

The transition and subsequent restoration of the autonomy of the Ngoni-Matengo Cooperative Marketing Union had a considerable impact on the development of cooperative societies and the entire tobacco industry in the Ruvuma region during the 1950s. Firstly, it promoted active participation by the African peasants in the control of the central cooperative union and the entire tobacco industry in the region. The government campaign for the promotion of African cooperation stimulated the practice of applying democratic principles among African cooperatives societies. The newly Cooperative Development Department created after WWII encouraged African societies to abide by the by-laws of their co-operative societies, which provided an opportunity for members to conduct general meetings, and hold elections for the discussion of cooperative affairs and to elect their union leaders.[43] Hence, many Africans now come into power and actually started to control the central cooperative union and the entire tobacco industry. They were able to participate in the annual general meetings and elect their executive committees for the general administration of the society and the entire tobacco industry.[44] In stark contrast to the previous decades when the central union was largely controlled by the state, at least now Africans were free to exercise grassroots democracy in their co-operative societies. They were free to choose leaders to administer the union and they were also free to contest for various posts in the cooperative union. Consequently, the cooperative union in the region was not simply a movement for the marketing of African peasants export crops but also a forum for training political leaders in the region. Throughout the 1950s many of the cooperative leaders emerged as the leaders of the nationalist political party – the Tanganyika African National Union (TANU) – on the village, district and regional levels.

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[43] See for example, CCMNA, (URT), The Cooperative Movement in Tanganyika, 6-8; and NAT, 155, C2/8, Cooperative Societies- the Bye-Laws of Gumbiro Cooperative Society, Likuyu Fusse Cooperative Society, Lusewa Cooperative Society, Lumecha Cooperative Society and Lipumba Cooperative Society.

[44] NAT, 504, 4/3, 1928-44, Fire-cured Tobacco General, '*Habari Chache Juu ya Tumbaku ya Songea'*, 31 March 1952.

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Secondly, the transition to the NGOMAT hegemony facilitated the spread of primary cooperative societies in various parts of the region. The central union worked with the Department of Cooperative Development to promote the expansion of cooperative societies in various villages. The central union took deliberate measures to promote the registration of the new members and societies for the sake of improving the quality of the crop and the marketing of peasant tobacco produce in the region. The central union – in coordination with the Department of Cooperative Development – even travelled to various villages to provide education on the idea and advantages of cooperative societies.[45] Hence, many of the tobacco growers joined and formed primary cooperative societies in various parts of the Ungoni, Umatengo and Undendeuli areas. However, most of these societies were formed in the Undendeuli areas rather than the other parts of the region. The number of societies affiliated to the central union in the region increased considerably from three when it was founded in 1936 to more than twenty primary societies during the late 1950s. See Figure 16 for the map of the spread of primary cooperative societies in the Ruvuma region.

[45] Interview with Mzee Benedict A. Tembo, Retired SONAMCU officer-Songea, 10 February 2016; and NAT, 504, 4/3, 1928-44 Fire-cured Tobacco General, '*Habari Chache Juu ya Tumbaku ya Songea*', 31 March, 1952.

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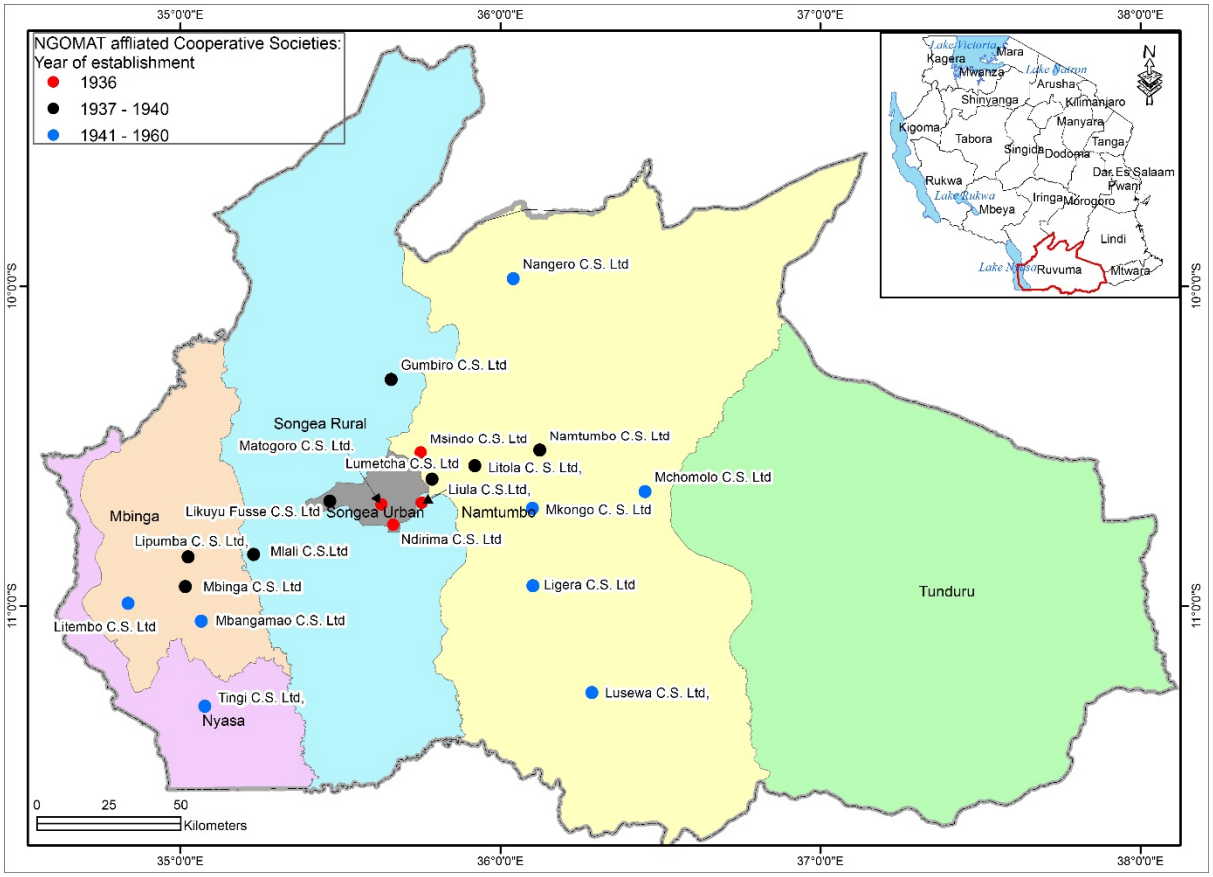

Figure 16: Ruvuma Region – Spread of Primary Cooperative Societies[46]

The figure above illustrates the context in which the central union influenced the spread of the primary cooperative societies and the entire tobacco industry in the region. It also reveals that, unlike the 1930s and the early 1940s, when tobacco production was concentrated in large parts of Ungoni areas, during the 1950s tobacco expanded rapidly in Undendeuli areas with the influence of cooperative societies. The growing economic strength of the Wandendeuli[47] tobacco growers influenced the rise of Ndendeuli nationalism in the region. The Wandendeuli demanded the establishment of an independent chiefdom from the Wangoni, who had subordinated them for about a century. The establishment of the Wandendeuli chiefdom was facilitated by government intervention, which assisted them to become free from the Wangoni

[46] Designed by the Author, February 2017.

[47] Wandendeuli refers to a stateless society and the indigenous inhabitants of the current place occupied by the Wangoni in Ruvuma Region – including the areas of Songea urban and rural district. They were conquered and incorporated into the Wangoni Chiefdom of Mshope (found in the present areas of Namtumbo District) in the mid-19th century. They emerged as key tobacco growers after WWII. See E. Ebner, OSB, *The History of Wangoni and their Origin in South African Bantu Tribes*, (Peramiho: Benedictine Publication, 1989), 40-50; and Iliffe, *Modern History*, 489.

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chiefdom in the early 1950s. Following the emergence of a succession conflict in the royal family of Mshope Ngoni chiefdom (between Ngoni and Wandendeuli soon after the death of the Ngoni Chief in 1950) at Likuyu in the present Namtumbo District. As a result, considering the success of the Wandendeuli in tobacco production in the 1940s and 1950s, the colonial state become sympathetic to them and awarded them their own independent administrative chiefdom. The Wandendeuli were awarded a chiefdom mainly because they emerged to be good tax payers to the colonial government following their success in peasant tobacco production in the region.[48] Therefore, in 1952 the Wandendeuli elected the then chairperson of Litola primary cooperative society as the Nduna of Ndendeuli chiefdom.[49]

It should be also noted that the question of the expansion of cooperative societies after WWII was not limited to the Ruvuma region *per se*, but it was rather a wave of change which influenced many of the African export crop growers in Tanganyika to join and establish marketing organisations. The coffee growers in Matengo highlands in Mbinga district formed the Matengo Native Cooperative Union in 1954 for marketing coffee. By 1960 it had over 16 registered primary societies. In the Northern Province about 22 registered primary societies joined to establish the Meru Cooperative Union for marketing of coffee in 1957. The union managed to increase its primary societies from 22 in 1957 to 34 in 1960.[50] In the Lake Province the Victoria Federation of Cooperative Unions Ltd emerged to be the biggest cooperative society in Tanzania by 1960. It was formed by 19 cooperative societies, which had a total of 360 registered primary societies for marketing cotton and coffee. While in the Eastern Province about 60 primary societies merged in 1960 to form the Rufiji Cooperative Union for marketing paddy and cotton, in the Southern Highlands the Tanganyika Coffee Growers Association was formed in 1945, with over 250 members and 60 limited companies.[51] Elsewhere some groups of estate planters in Iringa and Mbeya formed the Southern Highlands Tobacco Growers Association for marketing flue-cured tobacco in the country.[52] Consequently, the number of registered cooperative societies in Tanzania increased considerably from 41 societies in 1940

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[48] Iliffe, *Modern History*, 453.
[49] See Redmond, 'A Political History of the Songea Ngoni', Chapter 7; and Redmond, 'NMCMU and Tobacco Production in Songea', 96.
[50] CCMNA, (URT), Cooperative Movement in Tanganyika.
[51] CCMNA, (URT), Cooperative Movement in Tanganyika.
[52] A. Masudi et al., International Programme on the Elimination of Child Labour (IPEC), *Tanzania, Child Labour in Commercial Agriculture-Tobacco: A Rapid Assessment*, Geneva, ILO, (November, 2011).

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to more than 691 societies in 1960.[53] See Table 12 for the expansion of the cooperative movement in Tanganyika between 1949 and 1960.

Table 12: The Post War Expansion of Cooperative Movement in Tanganyika.[54]

Cooperative Societies/Years	1949	1957	1958	1959	1960
Registered Societies	79	474	576	617	691
Membership	60,445	304,786	318,900	324,994	326,211
Share Capital	£78,019	207,310	228,250	248,662	249,195
Reserves & Surpluses	£276,040	1,961,270	2,264,562	2,617,615	3,019,811

Moreover, the transition facilitated the construction of the new tobacco processing factory in the region. Following the expansion of peasant tobacco production and the desire to improve the quality of the crop to the market, the union built a modern tobacco processing factory to replace the first tobacco processing factory in Tanzania, which had been built in 1936. The old tobacco factory used manual technology; it had a small processing capacity and it was relatively poorly installed, particularly regarding the grading and recording the tobacco bales.[55] Reporting on the weaknesses of the old NGOMAT factory to the Director of Agriculture in Tanganyika, Hall stated that:

> primarily, it is quite impossible to expect first-class results from the factory which is equipped with primitive plant, badly laid-out, and whose scales have not been assayed and are known to be inaccurate. The system of factory recording has up to date been inadequate; much has had to be deduced, with the consequent opportunity for error, because the disorderly passage of tobacco through the factory, due to faulty lay-out, has been aggravated by involved book keeping. I have devised a set of buying and factory books which much should obviate this disorder; unfortunately I have not been able to find a printer to execute the order, which requires a number of special ruling and buildings.[56]

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[53] CCMNA, (URT), Cooperative Movement in Tanganyika.
[54] CCMNA, (URT), The Cooperative Movement in Tanganyika.
[55] NAT, B/25 SONTOB Processing of Tobacco, A Letter from A.V. Hall, Assistant Executive Officer to the Hon. Director of Agricultural production, Ref. No: DO4/4, 18 April 1947; and NAT, B/2 SONTOB Minutes, Report on Songea Native Grown Tobacco, September, 1950.
[56] NAT, B/25 SONTOB Processing of Tobacco, A Letter from A.V. Hall, Assistant Executive Officer to the Hon. Director of Agricultural production, Ref. No: DO4/4, 18 April 1947.

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All these weaknesses affected the quality of the crop to the market, a situation which led to complaints from the buyers and the decline of the price for the crop to the buyers and the growers. Therefore, in attempt to improve the quality of the crop and efficiency in the management of the tobacco industry in the Ruvuma region, the central union resolved to build a new technologically superior and larger tobacco factory and the union headquarters in the heart of Songea town. The data indicate that the preparation, building and installation of machinery in the new factory took place between 1940 and the early 1950s. In line with that, the report on the rehabilitation of the tobacco processing plant in 2012 specified that:

> Tobacco processing in Tanzania started in 1936 with the opening of the NGOMAT DFC tobacco small plant at Songea. In 1952, NGOMAT commissioned a new plant with the capacity of processing 2.5 tons of DFC per hour which was about 8,000 tons per season. In 1998 the Songea plant installed a new line increasing its capacity to 4 tons per hour attaining a capacity of about 16, 000 tons per season if operated on a 24 hours shift for six months.[57]

Thus the NGOMAT union was the first African peasant organisation to own and run a tobacco processing plant in Tanzania. It also show that the union constructed the modern factory in the early 1950s and it has kept on installing new technology to improve its efficiency and productivity throughout the history of the tobacco industry in the Ruvuma region. See Figure 17 for an illustration of the NGOMAT tobacco processing plant commissioned in 1952.

[57] See SONAMCU Archives, a letter from Moshi University College of Cooperative and Business Studies (MUCCoBS) to Songea Namtumbo Agricultural Marketing Cooperative Union (SONAMCU), the draft proposal for Rehabilitation of the Tobacco Processing Plant at Songea, 20 September 2012.

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Figure 17: NGOMAT Tobacco Processing Plant Abandoned in Songea Municipality.[58]

Finally, the transition enabled the central union to engage in some aspects of social corporate responsibility in the region. The union worked with its affiliated societies to build market centres in various villages. The use of these market centres (go-downs) were not restricted to tobacco marketing only, but they were also used for marketing the villagers' food crops, and most of them had some offices which were used for the union and village administrative affairs.[59] Apart from paying an income levy to the government, the central union contributed no less than 10% of its surplus profit for the social welfare of the region. The records shows that in the 1950s and the 1960s the central union used part of its revenue to support a short-course programme for secretarial services and offered Shs. 1,000 for the support of Red Cross services in Tanzania.[60]

Astonishingly, throughout its existence the union failed to support the development of the social welfare of the African tobacco growers by building any hospitals, schools or roads. Even the feeder roads which brought the tobacco produce from the villages to the union factory in

[58] Photograph taken by the author in March, 2016.
[59] Group Interviews, Namanguli and Namtumbo, 12 -13 August 2016.
[60] Salome T. Sijaona, 'Ngoni-Matengo Cooperative Union', B.A. History Dissertation, UDSM, (1974).

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Songea town were built by the peasants themselves on a voluntary basis. The union did, however, manage to build a hotel for Europeans who visited the region and a seed farm that acted as a demonstration farm.[61] This was mainly because the revenues collected from the hotel and seed farm was used for administrative activities, including payment of lucrative salaries and allowances to officials, while the African peasants continued to get low payment for their produce.

The Challenges of the Ngoni-Matengo Cooperative Marketing Union, 1955-1960

Notwithstanding the achievements of the Ngoni-Matengo Marketing Cooperative Union, the central union faced a number of challenges that affected the development of the tobacco industry between the mid-1950s and the early 1960s. The first predicament was an inadequate understanding of the principles of a cooperative union among the members. Notwithstanding the fact the union was considered as a convenient means of getting cash for agricultural produce, the majority of the union members had a notion that the union was the main leaf dealer. As a result a general meeting was in most cases taken as an opportunity to bargain for good prices for the produce, while some members considered it as a place to deal with incomprehensible matters and make fantastic suggestions, rather than discussing the course of practicable actions.[62] Most of the cooperative union leaders were also ignorant of the cooperative principles. Reporting to the Register of Cooperative Societies in Dar es Salaam, the Songea District Cooperative officer noted that there were some committee members of ability, but the best people were not always chosen; there were some incredibly useless committee members, who were just hanging onto the office and had no idea of their responsibilities or any desire to fulfil them. This was mainly because members had the idea that election to the office was an honour that should go to a nice chap, if possible a near relative, rather than a vigorous person with sense of responsibility. They mostly elected a 'safe' man whom they could control than one who might control them.[63]

The second predicament was lack of expertise in managing tobacco industry in the region. The union faced a critical shortage of skilled and experienced field officers to instruct and educate

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[61] Sijaona, 'Ngoni-Matengo Cooperative Union'.
[62] NAT 155/Co-op.27/XI Ngoni-Matengo Cooperative Marketing Union Ltd
[63] NAT 155/Co-op.27/XI Ngoni-Matengo Cooperative Marketing Union Ltd

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growers on proper tobacco farming methods. The few available field officers could not manage to visit all the scattered tobacco growers in the villages. This resulted in poorly timed planting, weeding, harvesting and poor grading of the tobacco leaf by the peasants. There were also several cases of mishandling of the tobacco produce in the marketing centre (*gulio*). Hence, some tobacco leaf arrived at the factory in a loose form, not properly packed in the bales. As a result much of the collected crop was of poor quality and sometimes mixed up, leading to loss and damage.[64]

Secondly, a poor transport network system posed another challenge to the union. Lack of adequate and accessible feeder roads affected timely transportation of the tobacco leaf from the primary societies scattered in various parts of the region to the union factory in Songea town. Lack of all-weather roads connecting the Ruvuma region and the harbours also affected timely transportation of the processed tobacco leaf to the buyers in Dar es Salaam, Europe and America. The challenge of inadequate transport also led to the delay in the supply of some basic tobacco farming inputs like fertilizers, as well as boxes and hessian cloth for packing the leaf at the factory. All these problems did not just affect the quality of the crop, but destroyed the reputation of the Ruvuma tobacco in the eyes of the buyers.[65]

Thirdly, a poor marketing system for the African tobacco produce in the region was another key challenge to the union. The buyers were too powerful in negotiating and setting prices that favoured them. The buyers often wished to buy the tobacco leaf cheaply from the union, so that they could if sell it a higher price to the manufactures in order to maximise profits. The buyers used the long experience and expertise and financial strength in the tobacco industry against the in experienced and some corrupt-minded African union officials to negotiate their desired price at the expense of the growers. As a result, the union continuously sold the leaf at a relatively low price to the buyers. The NGOMAT report stated that representatives of the foreign buyers were too powerful in dictating the price for the crop as well as in regulating the speed for grading, conditioning and packing of tobacco leaf at the union factory.[66] All these factors not only resulted in dauntingly low prices for African-grown tobacco growers in the region, but also led to a continuously declining trend during the late 1950s. A comprehensive

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[64] Sijaona, 'Ngoni-Matengo Cooperative Union'.
[65] See NAT, 155/Coop/27/1 Report on Tobacco Industry and Ngoni Matengo Cooperative Union.
[66] See NAT, 155/Coop/27/1 Report on Tobacco Industry and Ngoni Matengo Cooperative Union.

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review for trade, industries and agriculture in East Africa in 1957 reported that: "In the Songea District production of fire-cured tobacco declined still further but a more progressive policy involving improved farming methods and the construction of efficient curing burns has since been formulated and the outlook for the next crop is more encouraging."[67]

Another challenge was the growing influence of the flue-cured tobacco industry in Southern Highlands and Western Tanganyika. The rise of flue-cured tobacco production by European planters in the late 1940s and the early 1950s in the southern Highlands and Western Province created competition for the East African tobacco buyers. The Ruvuma crop, which had enjoyed the East African market prior to the rise of the flue-cured tobacco industry, had now to compete in the same market with the new crop. While Ruvuma peasant fire-cured tobacco production was going into a declining phase towards the late 1950s, the newly emerging flue-cured tobacco industry was gaining reputation in the East African tobacco market. The production of flue-cured tobacco in Tanganyika increased from 376,193 1b and 2,362,090 1b, respectively in 1955/1956 to 1,260,019 1b, of Virginia and 835,806 1b, for Ehlers in 1956/1957. In Southern Highlands, for example, there were about 91 licensed tobacco growers in 1957, yet elsewhere in Western Province the number of registered growers had reached 330 in 1956.[68] The development of the flue-cured tobacco industry in Tanganyika by the European planters increased tobacco market competition with African grown fire-cured tobacco in the country. Some of the key tobacco buyers in Tanganyika, particularly the East African Tobacco Co. Ltd, now devoted more attention to flue-cured tobacco than fire-cured tobacco. This was mainly due to the growing demand of flue-cured tobacco in the global market.[69]

The spread of fire-cured tobacco industry in other parts of Tanganyika posed another challenge of market competition for the Ruvuma crop. By the mid-1950s the fire-cured tobacco industry in Tanganyika had expanded from Ruvuma to Kibondo in Western Province, and Biharamulo and Ngara in the Lake Province. In 1957 the number of fire-cured tobacco growers in Biharamuro and Ngara had increased to 3,602, while the number of growers in Kibondo

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[67] CCMNA, East Africa Kenya, Uganda, Tanganyika and Zanzibar, A Comprehensive Review of Trade, Industry, Agriculture Commodities and General Trends, (London, East African London Office, 1957).
[68] CCMNA, East Africa, A Comprehensive Review of Trade, Industry, Agriculture Commodities and General Trends.
[69] CCMNA, East Africa, A Comprehensive Review of Trade, Industry, Agriculture Commodities and General Trends.

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District increased from 1,247 in 1956 to 7,077 growers in 1957.[70] The construction of the tobacco manufacturing industry in Tanganyika by the East African Tobacco Co. Ltd provided an opportunity for the rapid development of the tobacco industry in the country; however, Ruvuma fire-cured tobacco production was constrained by the poor quality of the crop in the market, a poor marketing system, inadequate transport network and a consistent decline in the price for the crop.[71] This situation discouraged most of the tobacco growers in the region in the late 1950s and the early 1960s. Therefore, many of them decided to abandon the tobacco fields until the mid-1960s, when the independent government of Tanzania introduced a tobacco growing campaign to promote the crop in the region. As a result, the annual tobacco production dropped from 657 tons in 1954 to 378 tons in 1960.[72] See Figure 18 for an indication of the declining trends of tobacco production between 1954 and 1960.

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[70] See CCMNA, East Africa 1957, A Comprehensive Review of Trade, Industry, Agriculture Commodities and General Trends: and D. Mitchell and M. Baregu, 'The Tanzania Tobacco Sector: How Market Reforms Succeeded', in Aksoy, (eds) M, *African Agricultural Reforms: The Role of Consensus and Institutions*, (Washington: The World Bank, 2012), 271-289.

[70] CCMNA, East Africa 1957, A Comprehensive Review of Trade, Industry, Agriculture Commodities and General Trends.

[71] P.B. Barie, 'Socio-Economic Factors Affecting the Production of Fire-cured Tobacco in Ruvuma Region', M.S. UDSM, (1979), iii.

[72] Modified from Redmond, 'NMCMU and Tobacco Production in Songea', 71.

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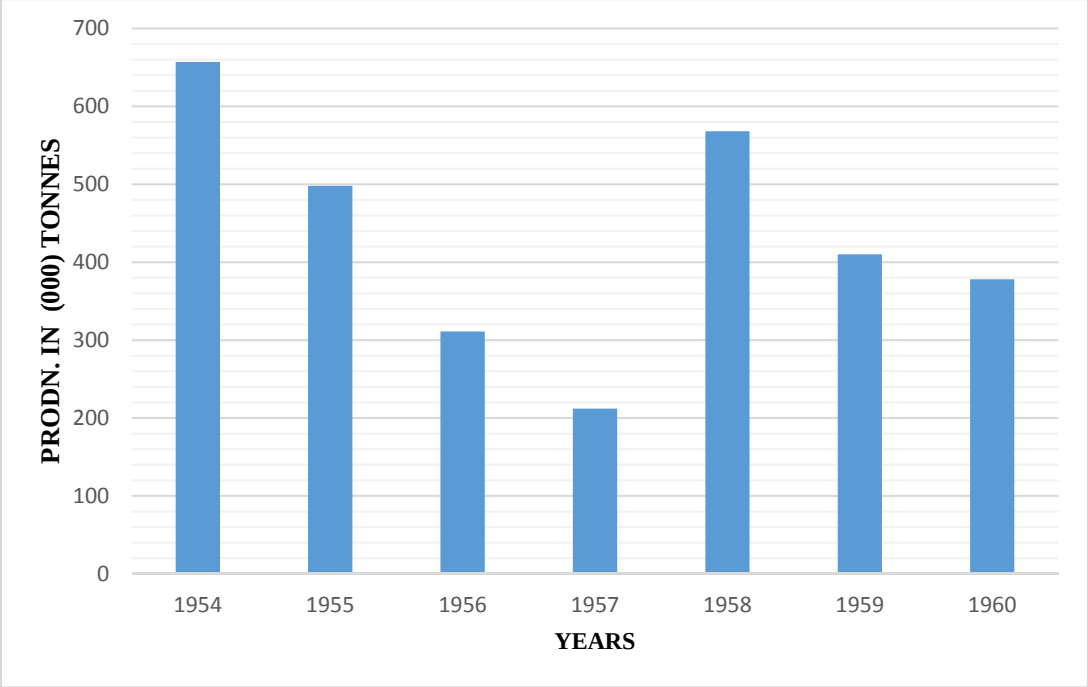

Figure 18: Tobacco Production Trend in Ruvuma, 1954-1960[73]

Ujamaa, Cooperatives and the Fall of Peasant Tobacco Production in the early 1960s

At independence in 1961 Tanzania inherited the economic structures left by the colonial state.[74] It had an economic system which was export-oriented in nature. Agriculture remained the major economic activity which integrated Tanzania into the global capitalist system.[75] So for a few years after independence, Tanzania did not affect fundamental social or economic changes, partly because of a continued heavy reliance on foreign aid – such as gifts, loans, private investment and technical assistance – much of which came late or came with difficult

[73] Redmond, 'NMCMU and Tobacco Production in Songea', 17.
[74] Tanganyika achieved her independence in 1961; four years later it acquired a new name "Tanzania" after the union of Tanganyika and Zanzibar on 26 April 1964. This led to the establishment of the United Republic of Tanzania.
[75] URT, First Year Progress Report on the Implementation of the Five Year Development Plan, 1st July, 1964 to 30th June, 1965, Dar es Salaam: Ministry of Economic Affairs and Development Planning; [TANU], The Arusha Declaration, Socialism and Self Reliance, adopted by the National Executive Committee of TANU in January 1967, and subsequently ratified by the Party's Annual Conference on 5 February 1967, reprinted on the occasion of the 2nd Julius Nyerere Intellectual Festival in 2010, by the Mwalimu Nyerere Professorial Chair in Pan African Studies, University of Dar es Salaam. Also see C. K. Omari, *Towards Rural Development in Tanzania*, (Dar es Salaam: Eastern Africa Publications, 1984), 8-31; and G.M. Fimbo, *Essays in Land Law Tanzania*, (Dar es Salaam: Dar es Salaam University Press, 1992).

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conditions.[76] Therefore Julius Nyerere, the first President of Tanzania, took deliberate initiatives to build a new nation on the basis of African socialism predicated on *Ujamaa na Kujitegemea* ("family hood" and "self-reliance").[77] He defined *Ujamaa* as an attitude of mind based on sharing, cooperation and respect for each other. In his book *Freedom and Unity* Nyerere stated that socialism was an attitude of mind, not rigid adherence to a standard political pattern of a particular society. He criticized the argument that without capitalism, socialism would not have emerged. He further contended that the basis of African socialism was indeed its extended family rather than capitalist operations.[78] For him, traditional African families had long deployed the principles of *Ujamaa* as they lived and worked together, and as a social group they owned the means of production jointly and they shared the fruits of their labour according to their needs. As a result, family members considered themselves as one society, which was united by language and cultural behaviours.[79] In this context – in Nyerere's view – this kind of true African socialism dated to the pre-colonial period in Africa.[80] The term *Ujamaa* is a Swahili word which came to define the Tanzanian socialist ideology. It was designed to express a sense of the indigenous "African-ness" of the political strategy adopted by the state during the 1960s by emphasising a sense of "family hood" or "brotherhood" based on mutual involvement and cooperation found in many traditional African families.[81] Oral accounts similarly insisted that *Ujamaa* in a Tanzanian context was indeed a nation-building strategy as a means to avoid continued dependence on the capitalist West. It was also intended to reduce the growing income gap between the rich and the poor as well as to reduce the uneven level of development between rural and urban societies.[82] As Cliffe and Ndomba observed, the *Ujamaa* policy was an alternative path of development adopted to transform early post-colonial

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[76] (URT), First Year Progress Report on the Implementation of the Five Year Development Plan, 1 July 1964 to 30 June 1965; (TANU), The Arusha Declaration, Socialism and Self Reliance; and Fimbo, *Essays in Land Law Tanzania.*

[77] See J.K. Nyerere, *Ujamaa Essay on Socialism*, (Dar es Salaam: Oxford University Press, 1968a); L. Cliffe and J.S. Saul (eds), *Socialism in Tanzania: An Interdisciplinary Reader*, (Nairobi: East African Publishing House, 1972); Ndomba, 'The RDA and Ujamaa in Songea District'; and R. Ibbott, *Ujamaa: The Hidden Story of Tanzania's Socialist Villages,* (London: Crossroads Books, 2014).

[78] J.K. Nyerere. *Freedom and Unity: A Selection of Writings and Speeches 1962-1965*. (Dar es Salaam: Oxford University Press, 1966), p. 162; and Ndomba, 'The RDA and Ujamaa in Songea District'.

[79] J. K. Nyerere, *Ujamaa Essays on Socialism*, (Dar es Salaam: Oxford University Press, 1968a), 106 and also see, Omari, *Towards Rural Development in Tanzania*, 8-9.

[80] J.K. Nyerere. *Freedom and Unity,* 162, and Ndomba, 'The RDA and Ujamaa in Songea District'.

[81] See J.K. Nyerere. *Freedom and Socialism/Uhuru na Ujamaa A Selection from Writings and Speeches 1965-1967*. (Dar es Salaam: Oxford University Press, 1968b), pp. 2-3; Ndomba, 'The RDA and Ujamaa in Songea District', 10; and Ibbott, *The Hidden Story of Tanzania's Socialist Villages*, 76.

[82] Interview with Menas Soko, Litowa, Mzee Lukas K. Mayemba, Matetereka, Mzee Rashid A. Tindwa, Suruti, and Mohamed Waziri, Songea, between 20 December, 2011 and 23 January, 2012.

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Tanzania from a semi-capitalist into a socialist society. It was a policy geared towards promoting the rural economy by building socialist communities where people lived and worked together for the good of all.[83] Omari, on the other hand, contended that *Ujamaa* only emphasized the agricultural economy in order to curb urbanisation.[84] The policy of *Ujamaa* was formally imposed with the Arusha Declaration, adopted by the National Executive Committee of TANU in January 1967 and it was officially promulgated on 5 February 1967.[85] It outlined four basic practical principles: communal living, communal working, collective ownership of the means of production, and the collective sharing of the production output.[86]

However, the development of *Ujamaa* (in relation to the establishment of so-called "Ujamaa villages" as centres of social economic unit and cooperative farming in the rural areas) had already implemented from the early 1960s. Nyerere required rural societies to establish *Ujamaa* settlement schemes. The headquarters of the nationalist party TANU responded to the call and instructed all its party branches in the country to stimulate the establishment of Ujamaa village schemes and various communal farming groups were set up in different parts of the country.[87] However, the Litowa settlement scheme was unique. Informants in the Ruvuma region insisted that in the early 1960s they heard the call from *Baba wa Taifa* "Father of the Nation" (President Nyerere) to establish socialist villages, but they had no idea of what it was all about: *Ujamaa* and what were these Ujamaa villages?

In the early 1960s John Ntimbanjayo Millinga, the then Secretary of TANU Youth League at Peramiho Branch and a group of 17 members, encouraged by the Agricultural Officer Mr Mchau and the Area Commissioner Mr Hinjuson, started a settlement scheme to be run on the basis of *Ujama*a principles.[88] The first experiment in 1960 failed due to rampant food shortages to sustain them to the next harvesting season. So Millinga went for short course at Kivukoni

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[83] See A. Mohiddin, 'Ujamaa na Kujitegemea', in Cliffe and Saul (eds), *Socialism in Tanzania*, 165; and Ibbott, *The Hidden Story of Tanzania's Socialist Villages*, 76.
[84] See Omari, Towards Rural Development in Tanzania, 8-9.
[85] See (TANU), 'The Arusha Declaration, Socialism and Self Reliance'.
[86] See 'Development of Ujamaa Villages', *The Standard*, Wednesday,4 June,1969; J.K. Nyerere, President's Report to the TANU Conference, September, 1973; and (TANU), The Arusha Declaration, Socialism and Self Reliance, and Omari, *Towards Rural Development in Tanzania*, 8-11
[87] CCMNA, (URT), *Madaraka Vijijini*, (Dar es Salaam: NUTA Press, 1975), 1-2.
[88] Interview with "Mzee Manjemu" Joseph P. Haule, Litowa, 21 December 2011; Mzee Kassian M. Ndiu, Liweta, 29 December 2011; and Mzee Lukasi K. Mayemba, Matetereka, 5 January 2012. Also see Ibbott, *The Hidden Story of Tanzania's Socialist Villages*.

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College in Dar es Salaam. In July 1961 Millinga and his colleagues returned to Litowa village to try once again. At this time they managed to establish a new settlement scheme built on the principles of communal living and working. Initially, the people at Litowa village lived in scattered houses and came to work together for two to three days every week. With communal farming, they cleared the virgin forest land to grow food as well as cash crops. They also worked together to cultivate and harvest the agricultural produce, which was then sold. The income generated was distributed among the members according to their need. The visiting government extension officers advised them on better farming practices while they worked together.[89] There were also training on rural development principles, including farmer training, youth education, craft and small-scale village industries. See Figure 19 for an example of the Ujamaa village spinning industry at Litowa village in the 1960s.

[89] Interview with Mzee Lukas K. Mayemba, Matetereka, 5 January 2012. Also see UDSM-BRALUP, Economic Report of Ruvuma Region, Research Report, 36, (1971); Ndomba, 'The RDA and Ujamaa in Songea District'; and M. Jennings, *Surrogates of the State, NGOs, Development and Ujamaa in Tanzania*, (USA: Kumarian Press, 2008).

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Figure 19: A Woman Spinning Wool at Litowa Ujamaa Village[90]

By 1963, being inspired by the spirit of collective living and working, two more villages in the Ruvuma region, Liweta and Njoomlole, wished to join the new Litowa settlement scheme, which was by then fully established. It had found enthusiastic and committed leaders who were ready to live and work with the farmers in the villages. It had also found its own educated adviser in land settlement schemes, Mr Ralph Ibbott, who arrived at Litowa in 1963 following his fund-raising trip for the scheme in Europe. In the same year a new constitution was drafted and registered to accommodate the establishment of the new Ruvuma region and its new districts Mbinga, Tunduru and Songea. With the new constitution adopted in September 1963, the association acquired a new name, the Ruvuma Development Association (RDA) to replace the old name, Songea Development Association. It also established the union management committee, which included the Regional Commissioner as the Chairperson, the member village representatives, and the regional party officials. Millinga was made a secretary of the association and Ibbott was the technical adviser. By mid-1964 the RDA expanded from three

[90] Extracted from *The Standard*, 4 June 1969. The Tanganyika's government newspaper The *Tanganyika Standard* adopted a new name *The Standard* after the union of Tanganyika and Zanzibar in 1964.

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to eight villages, including Njaramatata, Matetereka, Ligoma, Mtakanini and Kakongo. See Figure 20 for an illustration of Ujamaa farming in Songea district during the 1960s.

Figure 20: Cooperative Farming at Mtakanini Ujamaa Village in the 1960s[91]

In August 1964 the first federal meeting was held at Litowa at the headquarters of the association. It was attended by the representatives from all eight villages. However, the major challenge with the constitution was that it limited the freedom of the association, as all correspondence regarding the affairs of the scheme was channelled through the office of the regional commissioner. As a result, by the time Nyerere visited Songea for the first time since independence in 1965, the Litowa people expressed their desire for a new constitution, so that the association could be run independently by the people themselves. The President supported this and requested the members to develop *Ujamaa* in practical terms, so that people from other parts of the country could come to learn what *Ujamaa* meant. Hence, by late 1965 the third constitution was passed to at least reduce the significant influence of the state on the running of the RDA affairs.[92] It also outlined a framework within which the RDA operated until it was banned in 1969. The new constitution offered room for the creation of an independent

[91] Also see *The Standard*, 4 June 1969.
[92] Interview with *Mzee* Manjemu, Larigus Matupa and Joackim Menas Soko at Litowa, 21 December 2011.

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democratic leadership of the association. The new leadership was made up of four main organs. The first was the General Assembly, which was mainly responsible for policy and decision making for the affairs of the association. The second was the Executive Management Committee, which was responsible for supervision of the daily activities of the association. The third was the Social and Economic Revolutionary Army (SERA). It was responsible for total mobilisation and the propaganda machinery for various campaigns on recruitment and training of new members as well as provision of technical and managerial assistance to the association. Below it, in each village, there was the village leadership, which consisted of a democratically elected manager, an assistant manager, secretary, treasurer and assistant treasurer, extension officer "Bwana Shamba", store keeper and time keeper.[93]

By 1969, inspired by the new wave of African socialism and with strong support from *Baba wa Taifa*, the RDA had expanded to over seventeen villages across the Ruvuma region including Muhepai and Chimate in Mbinga District and Ligoma in Tunduru District and many more villages in Songea District. It had attained a national reputation and many government and party officials were attracted by the development of the association. Apart from Nyerere's visits to the RDA in 1965 and 1967, and his frequent encouragement to the members to develop the model of Ujamaa village in the country, he also donated about Tshs. 90,000/= for the purchase of the factory in Songea town. In 1964 Rashid M. Kawawa, the Vice-President and Prime Minister, also visited Litowa, Liweta and Ligera villages of the association: he expressed his admiration to the members and donated a gift of 50 chickens in support of the people of Litowa village. Similarly, Mr Makame, the Minister of State who accompanied the Kawawa, offered Tshs. 100 in support of the affairs of the association. Between 1965 and 1969 many more government and party leaders visited the association, including Mr D. Bryceson, the Minister for Agriculture, L. Sijaona, the Minister for Land Settlement and Water Development, F.V. Mponji, the Junior Minister for Finance, and O. Kambona, the Secretary General of TANU.[94] Ndomba and Jennings similarly observed that the RDA also gained significant financial and technical support from various international institutions and individual

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[93] Interview with Larigus Matupa and Joackim Menas Soko at Litowa, December 21, 2011, and also see Ndomba, 'The RDA and Ujamaa in Songea District', 30-32 and Ibbott, *The Hidden Story of Tanzania's Socialist Villages*, 100-102.

[94] Interview with Bruno Makukura, Litowa Village, 22 December 2011; and Abel Njalika, Matetereka Village, 05 January 2012. Also see TNR, The RDA Newsletter, March 1964 and Ndomba, 'The RDA and Ujamaa in Songea District', 37-38.

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volunteers. The African Development Bank and War on Want donated a car, a tractor, a plough and harrows to promote agricultural development in the RDA villages. A Swiss-based foundation (inspired by the growing spirit of collective working and living among the members) donated a grain milling machine in support of the development and expansion of the association as a model of rural development the country. An American non-governmental organisation, Voluntary Service Overseas, also offered another grain milling machine and many more volunteer teachers for the Litowa primary school and a home economics school at Matetereka village.[95]

Throughout the RDA's existence in the 1960s agricultural was the major economic activity among the *Wajamaa*. They grew both food as well as cash crops such as tobacco, maize, groundnuts, beans, cassava, sesame, sweet potatoes, soya and haricot. Food crops were grown on individual plots and in the communal village farm. Food crops grown on the individual farms were stored in the private granaries, while the food crops grown in village farm were stored in the village food store, and issued or sold as required by the members.[96] In case the crop was sold, cash income obtained was almost equally shared among the adult *Ujamaa* members in the village. The RDA was ahead of its time in that men and women got an equal share of any revenue generated by the members.

Fire-cured tobacco was the main cash crop grown by the *Wajamaa* in the RDA villages.[97] In 1965, for example, the RDA grew about 15 acres of tobacco from which they harvested about three tonnes. Most of this was first and second grade, and only 66 pounds were fourth grade. This was a consequence of good farming practices among the RDA villages, where all crops were grown in good ridges and followed contour lines. They also observed timely weeding and applied both artificial fertilizers and animal manure. Unlike many other growers in the region, the RDA tobacco growers cured their leaves in a brick constructed tobacco curing barns. With the better quality of the crop, the RDA for the first time sold its produce directly to the NGOMAT union instead of selling it through the primary societies. Commenting on the quality of the crop received at NGOMAT factory from the RDA villages, the union grading expert

[95] Ndomba, 'The RDA and Ujamaa in Songea District', 37-38 and Jennings, *Surrogates of the State.*
[96] Namtumbo and Namanguli group interviews, 12-13 August, 2016
[97] Interview with Menas Soko, Litowa village, 20 December, 2011.

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noted that "the crop was the best most of which come in good quality and well graded."[98] Given the good quality of the tobacco produce grown by the RDA villages, the association received advice (from Mr Myers) that it could be more profitable for the RDA to sell their crop directly to the British American Tobacco Company Limited (BAT) which was prepared to pay a better price than the price offered by NGOMAT to them.[99] This was mainly because throughout the 1960s the NGOMAT union was frequently condemned for paying low prices to the growers through primary societies in comparison to the price paid to tobacco growers in the Lake zone.

After independence the marketing of agricultural produce was effected through cooperative unions and the National Agricultural Products Boards. In the case of the Ruvuma region there was one cooperative union in each district: the NGOMAT for the old Songea District (the current Songea Rural, Urban and Namtumbo districts), Tunduru Cooperative Union for Tunduru District and Mbinga Cooperative Union for Mbinga District.[100] See Figure 21 for an illustration on the organisational structure of cooperatives in the Ruvuma region during the 1960s.

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[98] Litowa Village Group Interview, 20 December 2011; and Ibbott, *The Hidden Story of Tanzania's Socialist Villages*, 49.
[99] Ibbott, Ujamaa: The Hidden Story of Tanzania's Socialist Villages, 48.
[100] CCMNA, (URT), Cooperative Union of Tanganyika Ltd (CTU), Annual Report in 1972.

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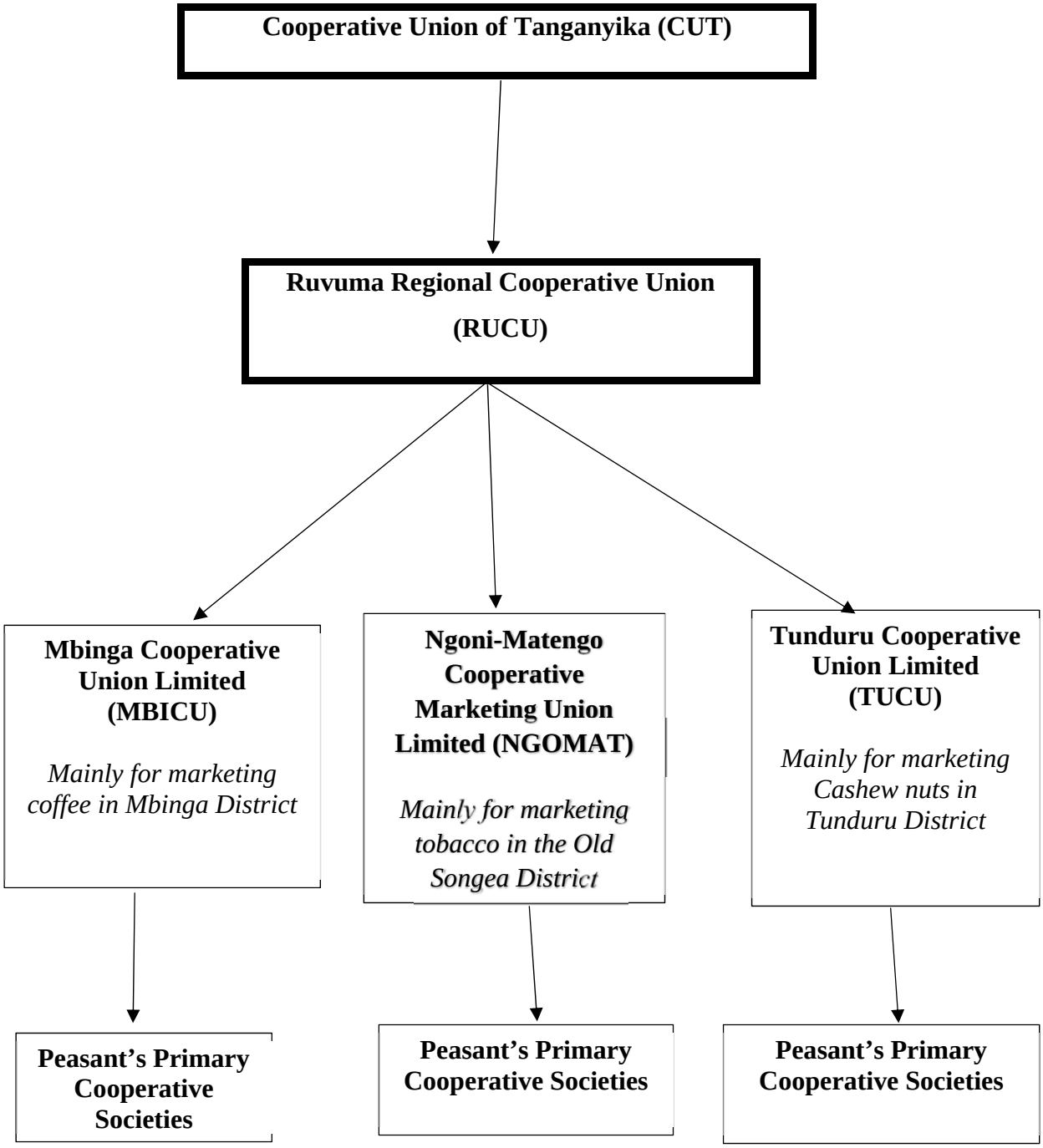

Figure 21: The Structure of Cooperative Societies in Ruvuma Region during 1960s

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During *Ujamaa*, the government viewed cooperatives as significant institutions for economic development, especially in promoting peasant agriculture, mainly because cooperatives were directly linked to the peasants in rural areas.[101] With the Cooperative Societies Act of 1968, cooperatives were made important tools for building African socialism and promoting peasant production. Therefore all cooperatives, including NGOMAT, were supposed to organise and control the marketing of peasant crops as an attempt by the government to protect growers from the danger of exploitation by middlemen traders.[102] In supporting cooperatives, the government clearly stated that:

> There is no other type of organisation which is suited to the problems and concept of rural development … it would be impossible for the government's administrative machinery to deal with individuals requiring government assistance and services including credit for raising production and productivity. Without the use of cooperatives numbers of people wanting government help will make dissemination of government services and assistance financially very expensive and administratively almost impossible.[103]

However, the increasingly inefficient operations of these cooperative unions not only triggered the decline of their economic and financial position, but limited their ability to purchase agricultural produce from the peasants. A closer look at the inefficiency of cooperative societies in the Ruvuma region reveals that it was exacerbated by a shortage of skilled and experienced personnel, corruption and mismanagement of co-operative union resources (like tractors).[104]

Therefore, a mounting debt crisis arose that resulted in the failure of the unions to pay their loans as well as making increasingly meagre and delayed payments to the peasant producers, and eventually the union failed to buy the whole of the agricultural produce grown by peasants. This demoralised the peasants and eroded their faith in the cooperative unions. As a result, cash

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[101] G. Albaum and G.L. Rutman, 'The Cooperative-Based Marketing System in Tanganyika', *Journal of Marketing,* 31, 4, (1967), 54-58.
[102] F.F. Lyimo, *Rural Cooperation: In the Cooperative Movement in Tanzania,* (Dar es Salaam: Mkuki na Nyota, 2012), 52-54.
[103] See (URT), Government of Tanzania Paper No. 4, 1967 cited by Lyimo, *Rural Cooperation: In the Cooperative Movement in Tanzania*, 53.
[104] See CCMNA, CCM, *Historia ya Mapambano ya Kujikomboa Mkoa wa Ruvuma*; and (UDSM-BRALUP), Economic Report of Ruvuma Region, Research Report, 36, (1971).

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crop production in the Ruvuma region – including tobacco, coffee and cashew nuts – declined. Hence, in Mbinga district, for example, most of the union's and primary societies' employees were fired on allegations of inefficiency and dishonesty, as they failed to pay the second coffee payment to the peasants amounting to Shs. 1.6 million during 1965/66 season. In Songea District the Minister of Agriculture and Cooperatives fired the management of NGOMAT and transferred its duties to the government. They appointed a civil servant as manager of the union over the allegation of mismanagement and the drastic decline of NGOMAT's financial position.[105] Similarly, in the same year, the Tanganyika Tobacco Board was formed to control the tobacco industry and started its operation two years later in 1967. Its main duties were to buy all tobacco grown in Songea, Tabora, Iringa and Biharamuro. Again by the time TTB was formed, it had a loss of Tshs. 4,000,000/=. Consequently, the NGOMAT paid Tshs. 1.5 lower than the average price to tobacco growers in the Ruvuma region.[106] Hence the firing of the NGOMAT management was inevitable because of its inherited colonial legacy. The union was in a transition period from the colonial to the new African management. Most of the managerial posts were now occupied by Africans, who inherited the structure left by the colonial regime. They continued to pay low prices for peasant's crops because of heavy charges and tax on their produce. For example, apart from other charges, they taxed the growers about 99 cents per kg for grading and regrading tobacco leaves at the NGOMAT factory. Secondly, most of these Africans lacked experience in managing the tobacco industry.[107] However, the major cause of losses was said to be maladministration, mismanagement, lack of proper accounting system and so on. The union therefore continued to operate at a loss from the early 1960s to the early 1970s, when the Tobacco Authority of Tanzania took over the management of NGOMAT and the entire tobacco industry. [108]

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[105] See Sijaona, 'The Ngoni-Matengo Cooperative Union'; and CCMNA, (UDSM-BRALUP), Economic Report of Ruvuma Region, Research Report, 36, (1971).
[106] See UDSM-BRALUP, 'Ruvuma Region Economic Report' (1971); and Sijaona, 'The Ngoni-Matengo Cooperative Union'.
[107] Sijaona, 'The Ngoni-Matengo Cooperative Union'.
[108] See Sijaona, 'The Ngoni-Matengo Cooperative Union': and CCMNA, (UDSM-BRALUP), Economic Report of Ruvuma Region, Research Report, (1971).

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The Compulsory Fire-cured Tobacco Campaign: Barongo vs the RDA 1965-1969

The appointment of Edward Barongo as the new Regional Commissioner for Ruvuma in 1965 was a turning point in the development of the agricultural sector in the region. He worked hard to promote peasant production in rural areas. Upon his arrival in the Ruvuma region, the old Songea District Council passed specific by-laws in order to promote agricultural production in the district.[109] The year 1965 saw the implementation of by-laws of the Songea District Council (Cultivation of Agricultural Land) which stated that "every resident who holds agricultural land in accordance with the local customary law relating to land tenure shall cultivate and maintain an acre of a cash crop or cash crops and a food crop or food crops."[110] With this new law, every resident in the district was compelled to grow at least an acre of cash crops like tobacco, cashew nuts, Simsim, pepper, ground nuts, coconuts and coffee, and an acre of food crops like maize, paddy, cassava, vegetable, potatoes and beans. Again By-Law No. 4 instructed all peasants to report immediately any infestation or infection of plants with insect, pest, or disease to authorised officer. Likewise, an authorised officer was permitted to enter any agricultural land for inspection and for ensuring peasant compliance with the provisions of the by-laws. Any peasant who failed to comply with the by-laws was liable to pay a fine not exceeding Tshs. 200/= or a sentence not exceeding two months, or both fine and imprisonment.[111]

Barongo travelled in various wards and districts to campaign for the intensification of compulsory peasant production. During his visit he inspected the number of food and cash crop acreage, the management of the farms, distribution of fertilizers and the marketing of agricultural produce by primary cooperative societies and the central cooperative union. Barongo had "zero tolerance" for those who failed to show a tobacco farm or mismanaged their tobacco fields. Those who were found guilt were punished severely according to the by-laws. Some informants noted that, following his commitment to the improvement of tobacco production in the Ruvuma region, some people tellingly started to nickname tobacco as "Barongo". Some people even fled the region to escape the intensive and coercive campaign of tobacco farming. There were also those who migrated to urban areas (to work in missionary

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[109] Nakahegwa, Mgombasi and Namtumbo Group Interviews, 12-13 August 2016.
[110] See Government Notice No. 263/65; and Fimbo, *Essays in Land Law Tanzania.*
[111] Fimbo, Essays in Land Law Tanzania and Ibbott, The Hidden Story of Tanzania's Socialist Villages.

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centres, porterage and construction works) and others who travelled to the eastern coastal regions to work as migrant labourers.[112]

In the beginning of the compulsory fire-cured tobacco campaign, the crop started to increase to a significant record in the region. Tobacco production in the region rose from 600 tons in 1962 to 3195 tons in 1967.[113] However, between the mid- and the late 1960s Barongo's campaign on tobacco production triggered misunderstanding between the regional government and the RDA. Barongo regarded the tobacco production campaign as one of his major tasks and a priority in his administration. Through enforcement of the tobacco by-laws in the region, he came into conflict with the RDA, which questioned the significance of growing a valueless crop in the region.[114] The conflict emerged mainly due to the fact that by the time the government took initiatives to promote tobacco as a main cash crop in the region, the RDA had already resolved to abstain from growing the crop, and instead put much effort into food crops in order to sustain its members in the villages as well as to maintain an available market for food crops.[115] Secondly, while the government insisted that all agricultural produce was to be marketed through cooperative unions, the RDA members adopted what James Scott theorised as the "weapons of the weak" in their quotidian struggles against the exploitation of the union.[116] As a result they requested to be exempted from selling its crops through a cooperative union, and instead be allowed to sell directly to the buyers-manufacturers and consumers, because the union NGOMAT which bought the crop in the region paid low prices to the growers. The RDA made the two decisions because they argued that fire-cured tobacco production was not profitable in the region. First, they complained that they were getting a low price for their crops that they sold through cooperative union, while at the same time the tobacco production process was expensive, tedious and required more labour power.

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[112] Namanguli and Nakahegwa group Interviews, 12 -13 August 2016.
[113] CCMNA, (UDSM-BRALUP), Economic Report of Ruvuma Region, (1971); and SONAMCU, Report on the Proposal for Rehabilitation for Songea Tobacco Processing Plant, September 2012.
[114] Many informants regarded tobacco as a valueless crop in the region because it entailed intensive family labour and incurred great costs for buying tobacco inputs like fertilizers, and pesticides, but when they brought their tobacco to the market centres in their primary societies, they either ended up a getting meagre payment or sometimes they did not get payment at all from the union. The union paid low price or sometimes failed to pay the growers mainly because of their indebtedness, corruption and poor management.
[115] Litowa Group Interview, 22 December 2011.
[116] The 'Weapons of the Weak approach' refers to a framework for studying peasant struggles which emphasises on every day forms of peasant resistances against exploitative systems. See James Scott, *Weapons of the Weak: Every day forms of Peasant Resistances,* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1986).

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Ironically, the NGOMAT, which was given the monopoly of marketing agricultural produce to "save" the farmers from the danger of exploitation from private traders, not only paid low price to the farmers but also failed to purchase the whole of the crop brought to the market centres. Secondly, the farmers complained that fertilizers were very expensive and the land required the use of fertilizers in order to produce a sufficient harvest. For tobacco farming, for example, they used *Sulphate of Ammonia* (S/A) which was sold at 1Tshs. a kg and an acre of tobacco required 100 to 150 kg.[117] In a situation where the farmers received low payment for their cash and food crops from the market, it was not easy for them to afford to buy fertilizers for food as well as cash crops. Hence, they opted to grow food crops which could sustain their livelihoods and for the market in the missionary centres and urban areas. Thirdly, the young generation wanted to avoid growing fire-cured tobacco as they felt that it was a tedious task and an unrewarding crop. Many informants complained that the crop locked them into work almost throughout the year for nothing in return. In some villages like Litowa, Peramiho and Namanguli, the farmers argued that the crop was grown for so many years, the soil was no longer suitable for the crop. They ended up getting the lowest grade and few kilograms, unless they moved far from their villages to start a new farm in the virgin forest woodlands.[118] Furthermore, the government report showed that many farmers were discouraged from growing tobacco mainly because of the rising cost of processing and shipments between the cooperative unions particularly in the NGOMAT factory. It revealed that the increasing costs of sorting, grading and exporting by the cooperative union meant that the farmers ended up with getting a low return and sometimes nothing at all.[119] Lastly, some growers in Ruvuma, including the RDA members, were discouraged in dealing with tobacco diseases like tobacco mosaic (*Mangunguta* in Kingoni), spot leaf and virus bushy top diseases, which affected the quality of the crop.[120] The Litowa people, for example, in 1963/64 season grew their tobacco in the virgin soil and close to the dump, so a large part of their crop was affected by leaf spot disease and this affected the quality of the crop and the price.[121] Similarly, the government report revealed

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[117] See Ibbott, The Hidden Story of Tanzania's Socialist Villages, 103-104.
[118] Litowa Village Group Interview, 22 December 2011; and Nakahegwa and Namanguli Group Interviews, 11-13 August, 2016.
[119] See (URT), Price Policy Recommendations for the 1981-82 Agricultural Price Review, Annex 11 Tobacco, Dar es Salaam, 1980.
[120] Interview with Beatus A. Mtumwa, TLTC Extension Officer, Songea, 8 April 2016; and the World Bank Report on Tanzania Tobacco Handling Project 1978, found on http//:documents.worldbank.org accessed on 17 October 2016.
[121] Ibbott, Ujamaa: The Hidden Story of Tanzania's Socialist Villages, 103.

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that the Tanzanian tobacco industry was in serious danger of collapse and it was becoming less and less attractive to the farmers. This was due to the low quality of the crop and the price paid to the farmers compared to the quality and the price paid to Malawian farmers in the 1960s and 1970s.[122] Therefore, with all these forces, the RDA members not only decided to abstain from growing an unrewarding crop, but they also used their independent self-governance and democratic practices to question the regional government officials in public meetings on the significance of growing a valueless crop in the region. It was from this moment that the regional and area commissioners developed a hostile relationship with the Litowa people and the RDA in general. The Litowa people and the RDA were labelled as uncivilized, stubborn and a threat to the party and the government in the region. Hence, they prevented visitors from visiting the scheme any more, effective from 1964.

Between 1966 and 1967 Barongo repeatedly discredited the RDA leadership and called for a regional state of emergency in December 1967 in order to prevent people from visiting the association.[123] The growing hostility between the RDA and the local government contributed to the banning of the association in late 1969. Gradually, some local government officials started fearing and accusing the association for training its members to disrespect the government officials. By mid-1969 the fears about the RDA reached the national level. Some party leaders stressed the need to disband the association, because they considered it as threat to the party and state policy, as it was uncontrollable and unmanageable.[124] This animosity gained support from some national bureaucratic bourgeoisie and anti-socialist politicians led by Hon. Peter Kisumo, the then Minister of Local Government and Rural Development, who stressed the need to ban the RDA.[125] They made fairly nonsensical accusations against the RDA, insisting that it was not a socialist association, but rather a communist movement seeking to undermine the state. As a result, during the Central Executive Committee of TANU held in Dar es Salaam on 24 September 1969, the members discussed and resolved to ban the association after a decisive vote to ban the association in which 21 out of 24 members voted in favour of the banning of the RDA. With the banning of the association, the government

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[122] URT, Price Policy Recommendations for the 1981-82 Agricultural Price Review.
[123] Interview with Bruno Makukura, Litowa Village, 22 December 2011; and Mzee Lukas K. Mayemba, Matetereka Village, 5 January 2012.
[124] Interview with Lucas K. Mayemba, Mateteleka Village, 05 January 2012.
[125] Ndomba, 'The RDA and Ujamaa in Songea District', 44-47; and Edwards, 'Matetereka: the Last Ujamaa Village', 15.

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resolved to establish a new socialist policy under the control of the party.[126] Hence by the 1970s Villagisation was adopted as a new policy for rural development in the country. This study therefore contends that the villagisation policy had a significant impact on the development and expansion of peasant tobacco production in various Ujamaa villages in the Ruvuma region in the 1970s and the 1980s. The next chapter focuses on a historical analysis of post-colonial agricultural policies (particularly the 1970s villagisation and the 1990s contract farming strategies) on the intensification of the environmental impact of peasant tobacco production, and its adaptation by the state, peasants and leaf dealers in southern Tanzania.

Conclusion

This chapter has examined the context in which the "winds of change" in the development of cooperative movement in Tanzania influenced the shift in the control of peasant tobacco production in the Ruvuma region between the early 1950s and the early 1970s. It has attempted to bridge the knowledge gap left by the post-colonial historiography of cooperative movement in Tanzania which, paid attention to the rise of cooperatives among the Chagga and Haya coffee growers in Kilimanjaro and Kagera regions in northern Tanzania. Hence, over decades now the history of cooperatives by the tobacco growers in the south received little attention by the post-colonial historians. This chapter has contributed to the historiography of cooperatives in Tanzania by tracing the context in which the post-WWII influence of the cooperative movement in Tanganyika (and later in Tanzania) triggered the restoration of the NGOMAT hegemony and its resultant impact in the control and dynamics of peasant tobacco production among the Wangoni and Wandendeuli of Ruvuma in the southern part of Tanzania during the late colonial era and the early post-colonial era. It has argued that the rise of the cooperative movement and the subsequent restoration of NGOMAT autonomy in the control of tobacco industry in the Ruvuma region was mainly influenced by Campbell report, the recommendation made by the Fabian Colonial Committee and the growing protests against the colonial marketing board.

These changes in the African cooperative movement after WWII helped the peasants in the Ruvuma region to struggle and restore their autonomy in the control of tobacco industry in

[126] UDSM Library, (East African), 'TANU To RUN ALL UJAMAA VILLAGES', The Nationalist, 25 September 1969; and Ndomba, 'The RDA and Ujamaa in Songea District', 46

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1954 and they continued to control the industry even after independence of Tanganyika until the 1970s, when cooperatives were prohibited. It also demonstrated that the growing influence of African cooperatives after the WWII stimulated not just the expansion of peasant tobacco production from Ungoni to Undendeuli areas of the present Namtumbo district in the 1950s, but also contributed to the rise of the Ndendeuli independent chiefdom separate from the Wangoni who subordinated them from the mid-19th century. The growth of the cooperative movement after the war largely stimulated African peasant's struggles and subsequent restoration of their lost autonomy in the control of industry from the European state-controlled tobacco board in 1954.

In exploring the impact of NGOMAT's autonomy in the control of tobacco industry in the post-colonial Ruvuma region, this chapter demonstrated that the poor management of the central union (which was given the monopoly of marketing agricultural produce to save the peasants from the danger of exploitation by the middlemen private traders), not only paid low price to the peasants, but also failed to purchase the whole crop brought to the market centres in rural areas. The failure of the central union to control the tobacco industry did not just demoralise the tobacco growers and eroded their faith in cooperative societies, but also led to the decline of peasant tobacco production in the region.

The chapter has also documented that even the regional and compulsory tobacco growing campaign adopted in the mid- and the late 1960s faced a number of challenges, including the conflict between the RDA and the regional commissioner Barongo, as well as and the increased rural-urban migration to escape the tobacco campaign in the villages. Consequently, in the early 1970s the government formed a new tobacco authority (TAT) to revive and control the entire tobacco industry in the country. Therefore, based on these multifaceted impacts of NGOMAT autonomy in the control of tobacco industry in the Ruvuma region, this chapter questioned whether this was a "wind of change" or a "smokescreen"? Consequently, the failure of NGOMAT to control tobacco industry after the independence of Tanzania shows that the restoration was a mere smokescreen rather than the anticipated transformatory breeze. The next chapter explores the socio-economic and environmental impacts of the post-colonial peasant tobacco production in the Ruvuma region from the early 1970s to the mid-2010s.

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CHAPTER SIX

Leaf of Gold? Villagisation, Contract Farming and the Socio-environmental Impact of peasant tobacco production, 1970-2016.

Introduction

Four decades ago the global tobacco industry faced a great dilemma. Despite its contribution to the economy, tobacco was named as a most controversial crop globally.[1] As a result tobacco was increasingly viewed as a stumbling block in the attainment of the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs),[2] because it posed a major challenge not just to human health, but also to economic development programmes and environmental sustainability.[3] The World Health Organisation (WHO) identified tobacco as a leading cause of preventable death in the world and projected that it could cost an average of one billion human lives in the 21st century. The African Union (AU) also stated that tobacco kills more than five million people every year globally, of which Africa accounted for 3% of the mortality rate in the world.[4] In this context, by 2005 the WHO convention came up with the first global public health treaty, the Framework

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[1] See, for instance, Simon Chapman et al., 'All Africa Conference on Tobacco Control', *BMJ: British Medical Journal,* 308, 6922, (1994), 189-191; Salome Misana, et al, 'Miombo Woodlands in the Wider Context: Micro-Economic and Inter-Sectoral Influence', in B. Campbell, (eds), *The Miombo in Transition Woodlands and welfare in Africa*, (Bogor: Centre for International Forest Research, 1996); Helmut J. Geist, 'Global assessment of deforestation related to tobacco farming', *Tobacco Control*, 8, 1, (1999), 18-28; Johannes Sauer and Jumanne M. Abdallah, 'Forest diversity, tobacco production and resource management in the Miombo woodlands in Tanzania', *Forest Policy and Economics*, 9, (2007), 421-439; Helmut J. Geist, et all, 'Tobacco growers at Crossroads: Towards a comparison of diversification and ecosystem impacts', *Land Use Policy*, 26, 4, (2009), 1066-1079, African Union, 'The Impact of Tobacco Use on Health and Socio-Economic Development in Africa', A status Report, and E. Anne Lown, et al, '"Tobacco is Our Industry and We Must support it": Exploring the Potential Implications of Zimbabwe's accession to the Framework Convention on Tobacco Control', *Globalisation and Health*, 12, 2, (2016), 1-11.

[2] Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) refers to the United Nations' global partnership framework adopted in 2000 for promoting sustainable development in the world. It established specific goals to be achieved by 2015. The MDGs emphasized the redirection of global resources to programmes for poverty reduction, improvement of social services and sustainable environment use. In 2015 the UN adopted the Sustainable Development agenda, which also promotes environment sustainability and the global socio-economic development by 2030. See United Nations, *The Millennium Development Goals Report 2015*, (New York: UN, 2015); and UN, *Transforming our world: the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development*, (New York: UN, 2015).

[3] Chapman et al., 'All Africa Conference on Tobacco Control', 189; Geist, 'Global assessment of deforestation related to tobacco farming', Geist, et all, 'Tobacco growers at Crossroads'; Lown, et al, 'Tobacco is Our Industry and We Must support it'; and WHO-Tobacco Free Initiatives (TFI), 'Environmental Issues', www.who.int/tobacco/research/economic/rationale/environment, accessed on 30 April 2017.

[4] The AU report on the tobacco industry insisted that tobacco has been a world health issue because it kills more people than alcohol, HIV/AIDS, car crashes, illegal drugs, murders and suicides combined. The general health impacts of tobacco in Africa and everywhere in the world include lung cancer, cardiovascular disease, stroke, respiratory diseases and other related diseases. See African Union, 'The Impact of Tobacco Use on Health and Socio-Economic Development in Africa'.

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Convention on Tobacco Control (FCTC), in an attempt to alleviate the impact of tobacco – on both growers and users. The convention required global governments to establish comprehensive national tobacco control legislation, policies and programmes.[5] The treaty also included important articles for the provision of government support for economically viable alternative activities for tobacco growers and workers in the world. This convention, however, was not universally accepted by all countries in the world, mainly because it suggested more stringent strategies to control tobacco production, reduce the supply of tobacco products and protect the environment and the health of people in tobacco-growing areas. Consequently, by April 2008 the treaty had 168 signatories and 154 ratifying parties: including Tanzania in 2007. Yet some tobacco-growing countries like Zimbabwe became reluctant to ratify it until in 2015. Those who challenged the WHO FCTC convention argued that the treaty was unfair to the tobacco industry, because the crop remains a significant source of income for growers and a source of foreign currency for countries growing it in exportable quantities. Zimbabwe's President Robert Mugabe, for example, has been blaming the WHO for being unfair to tobacco growers. He asked rhetorically why they could not first ban alcohol, since alcoholism has also been killing a large number of people.[6] The multinational leaf dealers likewise challenged the convention and its report on the negative impacts of tobacco cultivation on the environment, human health and the economic livelihoods of the tobacco growers. They argued that the report was rather general and largely ignored the contribution of the tobacco industry to the improvement of the economy of the growers and the producing countries in the middle- and low-income countries in the world and Africa in particular.[7]

The debate on the socio-economic and environmental impact of the tobacco industry in Tanzania, Africa and the world at large has drawn the attention of many scholars across various academic disciplines from the natural sciences to the social sciences and the humanities.[8] Some

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[5] See Tanzania Tobacco Control Forum (TTCF), 'Implementation of the WHO Framework Convention on Tobacco Control in Tanzania, 2007-2012, A Shadow Report', 4-6; and African Union, 'The Impact of Tobacco Use on Health and Socio-Economic Development in Africa', 1.
[6] Lown et al., 'Tobacco is Our Industry and We Must support it'.
[7] See more challenges on the WHO FCTC convention and 2008 report on tobacco cultivation in the world. See a report by the British American Tobacco Multinational companies, DD International, *The role of tobacco growing in rural livelihoods: Rethinking the debate around tobacco supply reduction*, (London: Ernst and Young LLP, 2012).
[8] See Geist et al., 'Tobacco growers at Crossroads'; John Waluye, 'Environmental impact of tobacco growing in Tabora/Urambo, Tanzania', *Tobacco Control*, 3, (1994), 252-254; Natacha Lecours et al, 'Environmental health Impacts of tobacco farming: a review of the Literature', *Tobacco Control*, 21, (2012), 191-196; Teh-wei Hu and Anita H. Lee, 'Tobacco Control and Tobacco Farming in African countries', *J Public Health Policy*, 36, 1, (2015),

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scholars pointed out that tobacco production leads to the depletion of forests, soil degradation and a shortage of fuelwood in many tobacco-growing areas, particularly in middle- and low-income countries, including Tanzania.[9] Studies by ecologists like Helmut J. Geist, Johannes Sauer, Jumanne M. Abdallah, G.G. Monera, John Waluye, Mwita M. Mangora and Z.P. Yanda tend to focus on the influence of flue-cured tobacco production on ecological change, particularly the loss of biodiversity, and land degradation in the southern highlands and western Tanzania.[10] They generally provided quantitative analyses of the ecological impact of the tobacco industry in central and western Tanzania. This chapter will draw on these ecological analyses to examine the relationship between agricultural policies and environmental impact of the fire-cured tobacco production in southern Tanzania. Some geographers, like A. Jasmyn J. Lynch et al., Idris S. Kikula and Salome Misana focused on the environmental impacts of post-colonial agricultural policies on the miombo woodland.[11] They discussed the environmental implications of agricultural policies in the southern highlands and central Tanzania, neglecting the environmental impact of tobacco farming on the miombo woodland regions. This chapter strikes a balance in examining the relationship between agricultural policies and the environmental impact of the tobacco industry. The chapter draws on the work of environmental historians like James C. Scott and Yusuf Q. Lawi, who adopted political extremism to explore the failure of state-controlled agricultural development policies in various

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41-51; Mwita M. Mangora, 'Ecological impact of tobacco farming in Miombo woodlands of Urambo District, Tanzania', *African Journal of Ecology*, 43, 4, (2005), 385-391; Stephen E.D. Nsimba and Steve Sussman, 'Tobacco Advertisements and Promotion Industry on Smoking in Tanzania: a Review of Negative Public Health Implications for the current and future Generations', *Tobacco Induced Diseases*, 3, 2, (2006), 41-43; N.M. Kuboja and A.E. Temu, 'A Comparative Economic Analysis of Tobacco and Groundnut Farming in Urambo District, Tabora Region, Tanzania', *Journal of Economics and Sustainable Development*, 4, 19, (2013), 104-111; and Warren McLaren, 'Smoking: Environmental and Social Impacts', *Green Food*, (2007).

[9] Lecours, et al, 'Environmental health Impacts of tobacco farming: a review of the Literature', 191-192; Hu and Lee, 'Tobacco Control and Tobacco Farming in African countries', 3-4; Mangora, 'Ecological impact of tobacco farming in Miombo woodlands of Urambo District'; and Mclaren, 'Smoking: Environmental and Social Impacts'.

[10] See Geist, 'Global assessment of deforestation related to tobacco farming'; J.M. Abdallah and G.G. Monera, 'Overview of Miombo Woodlands in Tanzania', *Working papers of the Finnish Forest Research Institute,* 50, (2007), 9-23; Sauer and Abdallah, 'Forest diversity, tobacco production and resource management in the Miombo woodlands in Tanzania'; Waluye, 'Environmental impact of tobacco growing in Tabora'; Z.P. Yanda, 'Impact of Small Scale tobacco growing on the spatial and temporal distribution of miombo woodlands in Western Tanzania', *Journal of Ecology and Natural Environment*, 2, (2010), 10-16; and Mwita M. Mangora, 'Shifting Cultivation, Wood Use and Deforestation, Attributes of Tobacco Farming in Urambo District, Tanzania', *Journal of Social Science*, 4, 2, (2012), 135-140.

[11] Idris S. Kikula, *Policy Implications on Environment The case of Villagisation in Tanzania*, (Dar es Salaam: Dar es Salaam University Press, 1997); Salome B. Misana, 'Deforestation in Tanzania: A development Crisis? The Experience of Kahama District', *Organisation for Social Science Research in Eastern and Southern Africa*, 13, (1996), and Misana, et al, 'Miombo Woodlands in the Wider Context'; and A. Jasmyn J. Lynch et all, 'Socio-ecological aspects of Sustaining Ramsar Wetlands in three biodiverse developing countries', *Journal of CSRO: Marine and Freshwater Research*, 67, (2016), 850-868.

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parts of the world. Scott focused on the failure of state-controlled development schemes in Germany, the Soviet Union and Tanzania. Lawi emphasized the failure of villagisation in post-colonial Tanzania. Scott and Lawi demonstrated that state-directed agricultural policies and villagisation in particular failed because the state bureaucracy ignored the role of the local people in planning and implementing the policy for rural development.[12] Despite their political extremism, which directed them to focus on the failure of villagisation programme and ignore some of its successful elements, Scott's and Lawi's work are important for this thesis because they demonstrate the challenges of a top-down approach in the planning and implementation of rural development policies. They contend that the state bureaucracy planned and coercively implemented the villagisation programme without considering local conditions and the active participation of the rural people.[13] Hence, enforced villagisation met with resistance from peasants and ultimately led to the failure of the programme itself. This chapter accepts the challenges involved in implementing state-centred development policies; however, it will further explore both the success and challenges of villagisation particularly in relation to the development of peasant tobacco production in southern Tanzania. The chapter also draws on a recent local study by Clarence Hugo Nyoni which describes the relationship between population structure and the environmental consequences of tobacco farming in Songea district in the early 2000s.[14] Nyoni's study, however, is limited in its timeframe and geographical scope. It focused on a few Ungoni villages and ignored the whole of Undendeuli district in the region. This chapter, however, will draw comparisons between, and make contrasts with, various regions.

This chapter proceeds from the premise that the growth of peasant tobacco production in Ruvuma was undoubtedly a success story – at least at first and in purely economic terms. After all, the government records in Ruvuma report that, under the influence of *Ujamaa* and the villagisation strategy, peasant tobacco production increased from 2,200 tonnes in 1972/73

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[12] See James C. Scott, *Seeing Like a State: How Certain Schemes to Improve the Human Condition have failed*, New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 1998); and Yusuf Q. Lawi, 'Tanzania's Operation Vijiji and Local Ecological Consciousness: The Case of Eastern Iraqw-land, 1974-76', *The Journal of African History*, 48, 1, (2007), 69-93.
[13] Scott, *Seeing Like a State;* and Lawi, 'Tanzania's Operation Vijiji and Local Ecological Consciousness'.
[14] Clarence H. Nyoni, 'Assessment of the Environmental Impact of Dark Fire-Cured Tobacco Farming in Songea Rural District', M.SC. Thesis, Morogoro, Sokoine University of Agriculture, (2008).

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season to 4,522 tonnes in 1975/76 season and 5,718 tonnes in 1991/92 season.[15] This chapter, however, asks whether this purported success story came at a high environmental cost to both the Ungoni and Undendeule miombo woodland areas of Ruvuma. Thus this chapter examines the period between the villagisation of the 1970s and the contract framing agricultural policies of the 1990s to ascertain the environmental impact of the tobacco industry in Ruvuma. It explores the relationship between the villagisation strategy, contract farming and the broader socio-economic and environmental impact in southern Tanzania. Finally, the chapter examines the shifting strategies of the state, peasants and tobacco leaf dealers in attempts to control the environmental impact of the tobacco industry in the region. Therefore, diverging from current scholarship which focuses on the quantitative analysis of the ecological impact of flue-cured tobacco in central and western Tanzania, this chapter contributes a fresh knowledge to the agrarian and environmental history in Tanzania by providing a combined historiographical analysis of the socio-economic and environmental impact of the post-colonial peasant fire-cured tobacco production in the country. Hence, this chapter draws together the aspects of the social-economic and environmental impacts in studying peasant fire-cured tobacco production in Ruvuma between the early 1970s and the mid-2010s.

The Compulsory Villagisation Process of the early 1970s

The Tanzanian villagisation policy was one of the most wide-ranging human resettlement programmes in post-colonial Africa. The programs was launched a decade after the independence of Tanzania in 1961, the period during which many people were hoping for a better future. In the beginning of the 1970s the government launched a coercive agricultural modernisation programme that dramatically relocated the country's rural population into planned villages.[16] This programme was aimed at improving the lives of the rural majority.[17] During this period about 94% of Tanzania's population lived in rural areas, and of the economically active people, 90% engaged in agriculture, the majority of them in peasant

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[15] See SONAMCU Office, Songea, Fire-cured Tobacco Production and Processing in Ruvuma Region, 1971-1994; and Tanzania Tobacco Authority (TAT) Annual Report for 1977, modified from P.B. Barie, 'Social-Economic Factors Affecting the Production of Fire-Cured Tobacco in Ruvuma Region', M.Sc. Thesis, Dar es Salaam, University of Dar es Salaam, (1979), 16.

[16] See (URT), *Madaraka Vijijini*, (Dar es Salaam: NUTA Press, 1975), 1-4; (URT), *Sheria ya Kuandikisha Vijiji na Vijiji vya Ujamaa* (Ujamaa Villages and Villagisation Act, 1975); and Misana, et al, 'Miombo Woodlands in the Wider Context', 91, Kikula, *Policy Implications on Environment,* 19-25; and Lawi, 'Tanzania's Operation *Vijiji* and Local Ecological Consciousness', 69.

[17] See the Government Paper, Land Tenure Reform Proposal of 1962.

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production (defined in Chapter One). The pace of large-scale commercial agricultural production was slow and confined to a few private sisal estates and state farms for sugar, tea, coffee, rice, wheat and livestock.[18] The government anticipated that villagisation would facilitate the planned utilization of rural agricultural resources and enable it to provide socio-economic and political infrastructure more efficiently. The government hoped to reorganize the scattered rural population into collective production units for the improvement of their overall wellbeing. Above all, the state hoped that villagisation would promote self-reliance and collective production as the key to rural development.[19] The implementation of this programme in the country came to be widely known as "Operation *Vijiji*" ("Villagisation").

Since independence in 1961, the centralisation of scattered settlements into villages was one of the government's major strategies to promote rural development in the country.[20] The adoption of a coercive approach to the implementation of the villagisation programme in 1973 was influenced by three immediate factors, namely the banning of the Ruvuma Development Association (RDA) in the late 1960s, the successful resettlement attempt in the Rufiji basin in 1968, and the slow pace of voluntary villagisation in the 1960s and the early 1970s. The banning of the Ruvuma Development Association in 1969, which had acted as a model of voluntary *Ujamaa* villages in the country throughout the 1960s, marked the beginning of the new phase of coerced villagisation. As discussed in Chapter Five, at the meeting which disbanded the RDA in 1969 the ruling Party TANU (now CCM) also decided to abolish voluntary *Ujamaa* villages organised from the grassroots level in favour of *Ujamaa* villages controlled from above. With this decision, the ruling party now called for a new national approach to villagisation, which could be initiated and tightly controlled by the state and the party itself.[21] This decision, however, coincided with the success of Operation Rufiji in 1969.[22]

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[18] The World Bank Report, Tanzania Tobacco Handling Project, Regional Project Department, Eastern Africa Office, 24 April 1978, found on http//:documents.worldbank.org, accessed on 17 October 2016.

[19] See (URT), the Land Tenure (Village Settlements) Act, 1965 and the Rural Settlement Commission Act, 1965: (URT), Rural Lands Planning and Utilisation Act of 1973, CCM conference paper, 'Importance of Correct Ujamaa Theory', *Daily News*, 12 October, 1982; and Lawi, 'Tanzania's Operation *Vijiji* and Local Ecological Consciousness', 69.

[20] (URT), the Land Tenure (Village Settlements) Act, 1965 and the Rural Settlement Commission Act, 1956; and J. R. Pitblado, 'A Review of Agricultural Land Use and Land Tenure in Tanzania', *Research Notes*, 7 (1970), 18-19.

[21] Herbert H. Ndomba, 'The Ruvuma Development Association and *Ujamaa* in Songea District, 1960s-1990s', M.A. Thesis, Dar es Salaam, University of Dar es Salaam, (2014), 69-71; and P.F. Nursey-Bray, 'Tanzania: The Development Debate', *Africa Affairs,* 79, 314, (1980).

[22] In response to the recurrent flooding and famine around the Rufiji basin, the government pushed the dispersed Rufiji peasants from the lowland areas into planned highland villages for a short period of time. Andrew Coulson,

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As a result, the party wished to apply the "Rufiji model" to speed up the pace of villagisation in various parts of the country. Moreover, the slow overall progress of villagisation in the 1960s and the early 1970s prompted the government to adopt a coercive approach to villagisation in order to promote the rural economy. A study by Kikula reported that by the end of 1968 a total of 88,500 people (about 1.5% of the country's population) were settled in *Ujamaa* villages, and in 1969 about 300,000 people lived in 650 registered *Ujamaa* villages. Hence, by then only 2.5% of the country's population lived in villages.[23] In this context, the party resolved at their conference in September 1973 that all rural people were to live in planned villages by 1976.[24] This was enforced by a presidential circular in 1973, which stated that it was now compulsory for all people in rural areas to live in *Ujamaa* villages by the end of 1976.[25]

This chapter noted that the government implemented "Operation Vijiji" with aim of improving the livelihoods of the rural population and the entire economy of the country. Many studies have shown that, despite its good intention, the operation met with resistance across the country.[26] Studies by Paul Bjerk and Yusuf Lawi demonstrated how the top-down coercive approach failed, because the operation largely focused on shifting the rural population into new clustered villages without considering the broader environmental impact on the new areas.[27] In an attempt to speed up the pace of "Operation Vijiji", the state decentralised its administrative system and gave legal power to the local government authorities to supervise the planning and implementation of the programme in rural areas. In Ruvuma, particularly in the old Songea District, the compulsory villagisation campaign was also widely known as "Operation Senda" and sometimes "Operation Sogeza", meaning pushing rural people into new villages, because this involved the forced creation of government-planned villages and the reorganisation of the former RDA and missionary villages in the region. Between 1974 and 1976, under the close supervision of the Regional Commissioner, the Area Commissioner, the Division and Ward Executive Officers, almost the entire rural population was pushed into the

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'Agricultural Policies in Mainland Tanzania', *Review of African Political Economy*, 10, (1977), 91; and Jonathan Barker, 'The Debate in Rural Socialism', In B. Mwansasu, and C. Pratt, *Towards Socialism in Tanzania*, (UK: University of Toronto Press, 1979), 98-99.

[23] Kikula, Policy Implications on Environment, 2.

[24] See (URT), Kujenga Ujamaa Tanzania Miaka Kumi ya Kwanza: Matatizo, Mafunzo na Matazamio, 168; and Villages and Ujamaa Villages Act, 197.

[25] Kikula, Policy Implications on Environment, 22.

[26] Paul K. Bjerk, 'Sovereignty and Socialism in Tanzania: The Historiography of an African State', *History in Africa*, 37, (2010), 275-319; and Lawi, 'Tanzania's Operation Vijiji and Local Ecological Consciousness', 69-70.

[27] Bjerk, 'Sovereignty and Socialism in Tanzania', 294.

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new state-planned villages in the region. The dispersed rural population was compelled to move into the new villages, sometimes without any consultation with the local people and even without considering the broader economic and ecological potentialities for the sustainability of the villages. Those who were found to be reluctant were simply loaded onto military vehicles and forcibly deposited in the new villages. In some cases the state resorted to burning down the abandoned scattered settlements in an attempt to prevent people from returning to their former homes. Villagisation was conducted in a hurry as most of the local officials were determined to complete the operation before the deadline of the programme in order to gain approval from central government. As a result, within a very short period of time, the number of registered villages in the Ruvuma region increased from 120 in 1970 to 315 in 1975. See Figure 22 for the progressive expansion of villages in the region.

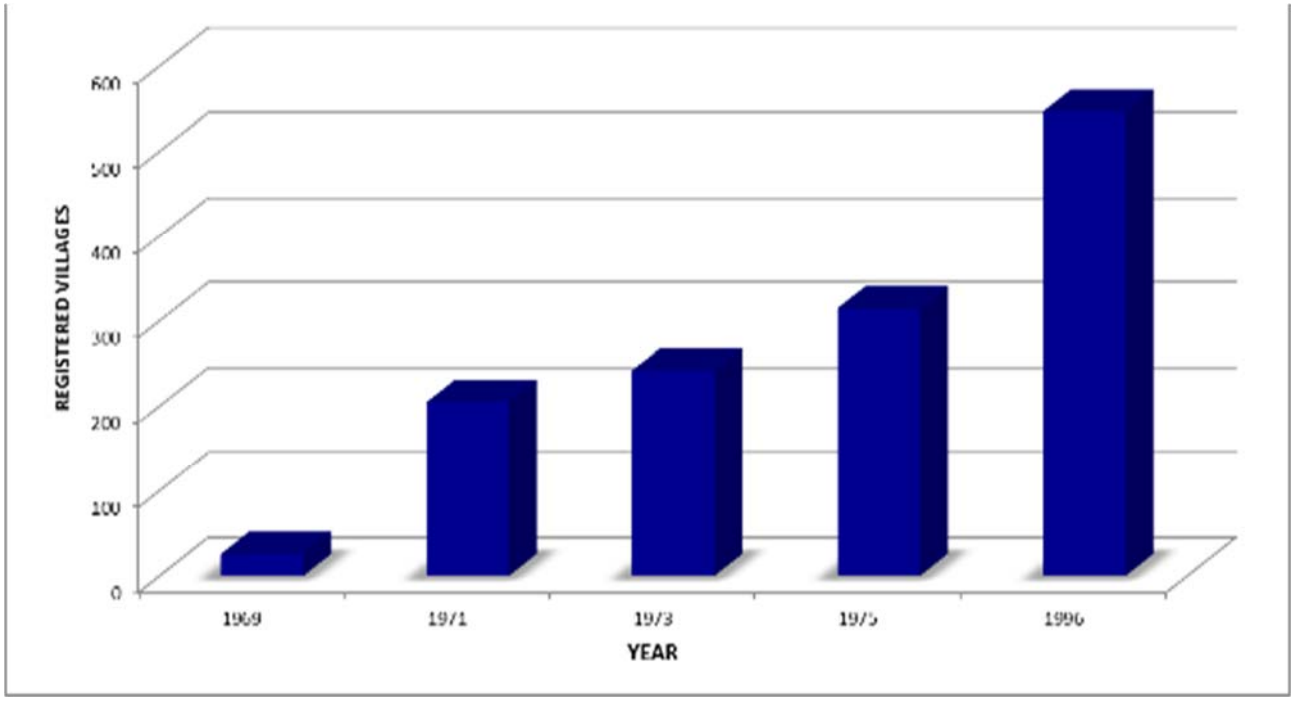

Figure 22: Registered villages for selected years in the Ruvuma region, 1969-1996[28]

Many villages were concentrated along the main and feeder roads, including the Songea-Namtumbo and Tunduru road, the Songea-Mbinga road, the Songea-Makambako road, and the

[28] Designed by the author in cooperation with Graham Walker, April 2017.

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Songea-Muhukuru and Mozambique road. At Ndongosi village, for example, between 1973 and 1974 many people were moved from scattered areas of Matalawe, Lihiga, and Njuga into a planned village area (Kusenda) located along Mpitimbi-Ndongosi and Nambendo feeder road. Despite the success in shifting the rural population into the planned villages, compulsory villagisation faced many challenges even after the removals had been completed. First, many villages were over populated, as per the requirement of the Villages and Ujamaa Villages Act of 1975. The Act limited a village population to up to 600 families; however, most of the new villages were above thousands of families – a situation that led to the further sub-division of some villages, particularly the former RDA and missionary villages like Peramiho, which was divided into Peramiho A and B; Mpitimbi which was divided into A and B; and Matetereka village which was divided into Matetereka A, B and C. Some of the RDA villages including Mtakanini, Liweta and Litola were pushed few kilometres away from their original locations. Even now, if one walks a few kilometres away from most of these modern villages created during "Operation Vijiji", one will find the old abandoned settlements (*Mang'ova*),[29] with remnants of mango trees, decaying buildings and the scars of farming upon the land.

The second obstacle to villagisation was poor planning in the implementation of the project in the region. The operation was put into action rapidly and coercively in order to meet the deadline for the completion of the programme by the end of 1976: the peasantry was both hurried and harried. The regional and district authorities did not have enough personnel to study the broader socio-economic and ecological problems the new villages might face before the forced removals took place. As a result, some villagers were moved into relatively dry areas and some did not have enough land to meet the diverse needs of the growing population. This was the general case observed shortly after the establishment of the village governments and distribution of the village land for human settlements, social services, village block farms and individual farms. Though many villagers were interested in the new village life for stimulating socio-cultural and political integration,[30] some villagers were increasingly frustrated with the limited village resources. They feared losing their traditional – now abandoned – land, as well as the environmental taboos and cultural principles that mediated their relationship with nature.

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[29] *Mang'ova* is a Ngoni word referring to old settlement.

[30] *Ujamaa* and *Ujamaa* villages bridged religious, political and cultural divides. Ignoring socialist orthodoxy, *Ujamaa* included religious discourse, producing a fertile popular discourse seeded with Nyerere's philosophy on African socialism. See Bjerk, 'Sovereignty and Socialism in Tanzania', 289.

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A few villagers slowly migrated back to their abandoned settlements, not just for subsistence crop farming, but also for traditional practices like *Mahoka*,[31]which mediated their relationship with their environment in case of unknown diseases and droughts. The village leaders summoned a respected group of village elders, who went to the forest, especially to the old settlements, to pray to their clan ancestors as a way of asking for rain in the case of severe drought and hunger, as well as to determine the cause of death of people in a particular village or clan.[32]

The last big difficulty faced by the villagisation process was the failure of the government to provide the promised material resources in the planned villages. With the enactment of the Villages and Ujamaa Villages Act of 1975, each registered village was intended to be a primary socio-economic institution of production supplied with all the necessary infrastructure for the development of rural society.[33] Despite the intention to provide social services in these villages, a shortage of funds and limited personnel constrained the state.[34] As a result, at the beginning many villages were not supplied with water systems, road networks and health facilities; however, with the government's and the villager's efforts to improve the socio-economic infrastructure, the situation did improve with time.[35]

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[31] *Mahoka* is a Ngoni word referring to the traditional religious practices among the Wangoni.

[32] Nakahegwa and Namanguli Group Interviews, August 2016. For more illustration on the influence of local cultural practices on human production and ecological change, see Lawi, 'Tanzania's Operation Vijiji and Local Ecological Consciousness'; Helge Kjekshus, *Ecological Control and Economic Development in East African History: The Case of Tanganyika, 1850-1950,* (London: James Currey, 1977 and 1996); James Giblin et al., (eds), *Custodians of the Land: Ecology and Culture in the History of Tanzania*, (Oxford: James Currey, 1996); Carolyn Merchant, 'The Theoretical Structures of Ecological Revolutions', *Environmental Review*, 11, 4, (1987); and Carolyn Merchant, *Ecological Revolutions: Nature, Gender and Science in New England*, (California: The University of North California Press, 1989).

[33] See the Villages and Ujamaa Village Act of 1975; and CCMNA, TANU, *Maisha ya Ujamaa* and Julius K. Nyerere, *Ujamaa Vijijini*, 10-18.

[34] CCMNA, (URT), Kujenga Ujamaa Tanzania Miaka Kumi ya Kwanza: Matatizo, Mafunzo na Matazamio.

[35] The World Bank Report for Tanzania Tobacco Handling Project in 1978; Julius K. Nyerere, *The Arusha Declaration Ten Years After*, (Dar es Salaam: Government Printers, 1977); Stefan Hedland and Mats Lundahl, *Ideology as a Determinant of Economic Systems: Nyerere and Ujamaa in Tanzania, Research report, 84*, (Uppsala: Scandinavian Institute of African Studies, 1989); and Leander Schneider, 'Developmentalism and Failings: Why Rural Development Went Wrong in the 1960s and 1970s Tanzania', PhD thesis, University of Michigan, (2003).

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The Tobacco-growing Peasantry in the Context of Villagisation in the mid-1970s

By the mid-1970s "Operation Vijiji" had resulted in a substantial expansion of *Ujamaa* villages in various parts of Tanzania, including the Ruvuma region. Despite its weaknesses, the operation resulted in the progressive expansion of villages as important institutions for rural development. Studies on rural development noted that most of the villages which were introduced before and after the Arusha Declaration emerged as important agricultural units of production among the peasants in rural areas.[36] Each registered village was governed by a village council elected through a village assembly. These village councils were given the power to allocate and control the use of village land.[37] They were also given the power to own heavy agricultural production equipment and capital goods. Many of the villages in Ruvuma – including Mgombasi, Suruti, Namatuhi, Kitanda, Kawawa Njoomlole and Matimila – managed to obtain their own village tractors, grain mill factories, lorries and shops, which they bought and managed after selling their village farm produce.[38] Above all, each village was legally empowered to borrow and establish a village capital fund, including a reserve fund and disposable fund.[39] All these were controlled by the village councils, administered by an elected village chairperson, the government-appointed village executive secretary and the members of the village committees for planning and finance. The councils also managed the production and marketing of peasant crops; education, culture and social services; security and defence; as well as construction and transportation.[40]

In the aftermath of villagisation, the progressive expansion of villages promoted peasant production including maize and tobacco farming in Ruvuma. With the villagisation Act of

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[36] The villages like Litowa, Kawawa Njoomlole, and Matetereka in Ruvuma Region and Jionee Mwenyewe in Tabora, and Kiwere, Isimani Tarafani and Karume in Iringa region emerged to be the best model of rural development between 1960s and 1980s. See for example A. Awit, 'The Development of Ujamaa Villages and the Peasant Question in Iringa District: A Study Outline', Economic Research Bureau of the University of Dar es Salaam, 71.17, (1973), 1-48; A.T. Mohele, 'The Isimani Maize Credit Programme', Economic Research Bureau of the University of Dar es Salaam, 75.2, (1975), 1-37; Boesen and Mohele, *Success Story of Peasant Tobacco Production*, 61-71; G.M. Fimbo, *Essay in Land Laws in Tanzania*, (Dar es Salaam: Dar es Salaam University Press, 1992); and Ndomba, 'The Ruvuma Development Association and *Ujamaa* in Songea District', 85.

[37] CCMNA, (URT), The Villages and Ujamaa Village Act of 1975; and (URT), *Madaraka Vijijini*, (Dar es Salaam: NUTA Press, 1975), 6-9

[38] Mgombasi, and Namtumbo Group Interviews, 12-13 August 2017.

[39] See the Villages and Ujamaa Village Act of 1975; and the World Bank report on Tobacco handling Project in 1978.

[40] CCMNA, Katiba ya Kijiji cha Kawawa Njoomlole-Ligera (the Constitution of Kawawa Njoomlole Village), 1-6; (URT), *Madaraka Vijijini*, 6-9 ; and Nyerere, *Ujamaa Vijijini*, 10-18.

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1975, peasants were involved in agricultural production individually and collectively under the by-laws, directives and orders from both central and local government authorities.[41] As a result, peasants in these villages – both men and women – participated in collective and individual farming. Each village had its own village block farm consisting of an average of 50 to 100 hectares.[42] The village government planned and supervised the field operations like the preparation of the farm, cultivation, planting, weeding, harvest, storage and selling of the produce from the village block farm. What was produced from the village block farm was mainly sold for village development programmes and a small part of the produce was reserved for consumption – particularly during the national annual peasants' festival day widely known as the farmer's day 'Saba Saba', now 'Nane Nane'.[43] Most villages used their tractors and lorries for some part of the field operations (like cultivation and the transportation of agricultural inputs and produce); however, a large part of the manual field operations was done by villagers using hand implements. The village government planned and supervised a monthly calendar for the field operations among the ten-cell leaders and their members in the villages.[44] Therefore, each ten-cell leader and its members arranged some specific days in a month for manual work in the village block farm. Apart from working in the village farm, each peasant family was also allocated private plots of land to produce both cash and food crops, particularly maize and tobacco, for their family income and daily diet.[45] With the establishment of "Education for Self-Reliance",[46] many primary and secondary schools also started to plant food

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[41] See, for instance, Fimbo, *Essay in Land Laws in Tanzania*.
[42] A block farm was a village farm owned and managed collectively by the villagers in rural areas.
[43] '*Saba Saba*' and '*Nane Nane*' are Kiswahili words referring to the peasants' day, formerly celebrated every 7 July but now celebrated every 8 August.
[44] 'Balozi' is a leader of the ruling party (TANU now CCM) in every group of ten household families in the village. He represents the grassroots (bottom) level of leadership in the ruling party.
[45] The average individual peasant family farm was 4 hectors of 1.5 to 2.0 hectares for tobacco production and 2 hectares for food production.
[46] "Education for Self-Reliance" was a Tanzanian socialist education policy adopted in 1967 for the purpose of imparting practical socialist attitudes, skills and values to young generations in schools and colleges in the country. Unlike the inherited colonial education policy, which focused on the theoretical bases in the preparation of the young generations for the white-collar jobs in urban areas, the *Ujamaa* education system through the policy of "Education for Self-Reliance" emphasized learning by doing, where pupils in schools and colleges, apart from their formal academic activities, also learned and practised socialist productive and social welfare activities like agriculture, home craft industries and animal husbandry. This system of integrating the education system with community life was first practised by the RDA school at Litowa village in Ruvuma from 1963 and, after the Arusha Declaration, the system was adopted as a national policy. This policy largely transformed the country's education system into useful tool not just for the building a socialist society, but also for the improvement of rural productivity and social welfare in the country. Hence, many schools and colleges during the *Ujamaa* period had remarkable success in productive social economic projects apart from the formal academic activities. See CCMNA, Dodoma, the original paper, Julius K. Nyerere, *Education for Self-Reliance*, (Dar es Salaam: The Government Printer, 1967). Also see Ibrahim N. Kaduma, 'Twenty Years of TANU Education', Gabriel

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crops and/or cash crops in their school farms in the rural areas. The government posted agricultural extension officers, who stayed in the villages to train the farmers on how to improve their farming practices in order to increase their yields.[47] The government also distributed fertilizer and improved seeds among the peasants in the villages. In this case, it subsidized the total cost of fertilizer 100% in the 1973/74 and 1974/75 production seasons, 75% in the 1975/76 season, and 50% in the 1976/77 and 1977/78 seasons.[48]

Through Tanzania's Rural Development Bank (TRDB), which was established in 1971, the government provided agricultural credit for the development of peasant production. The credit was given to various stakeholders for the development of peasant production, including peasant cooperative associations and the district development corporations. Moreover, in 1972 the government created a state-controlled tobacco marketing institution, the Tobacco Authority of Tanzania (TAT). With the Tobacco Industry Act of 1972, TAT took over the duties of the Tanganyika Tobacco Board and the Ministry of Agriculture in the promotion of tobacco production in Tanzania.[49] This decision was triggered by the failures and inefficiencies (maladministration, incompetence, and mismanagement) of peasant cooperatives and the TTB in controlling tobacco industry in the country.[50] TAT responsibilities in promoting the tobacco industry in the country involved research, development, production, processing and marketing of the crop. The TAT headquarters were situated in Morogoro region in the eastern part of Tanzania, and it had regional offices in Ruvuma and Kagera for the development of fire-cured tobacco. The authority also had regional offices in Iringa and Tabora for the control of flue-

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Ruhumbika (eds), *Towards Ujamaa Twenty Years of Tanu Leadership*, (Dar es Salaam: East African Literature Bureau, 1974), 224-226; Julius K. Nyerere, 'Education for Self-Reliance' , *The Ecumenical Review*, 19, 4, (1967), 382-403; Sheldon K. Weeks, 'Kujitegemea na Ujamaa in Tanzania', *Africa Today*, 1, (1970), 13-14.

[47] Interviews with Mohamed Waziri and Leonard K. Makumi, Agricultural officers in Songea District, 05-07 March 2016.

[48] The World Bank Report for Tanzania Tobacco Handling Project in 1978.

[49] The Tanganyika Tobacco Board (TTB), which was established under the Agricultural Products (Control and Marketing) Act of 1962, was responsible for the buying of tobacco from the growers, processing and marketing tobacco leaves, while the Ministry of Agriculture was responsible for the provision of agricultural extension services to the tobacco growers. See the Tobacco Industry Act of 1972.

[50] The marketing system controlled by the cooperative associations (including the NGOMAT in Ruvuma) and the Tanzania Tobacco Board was characterised by maladministration, lack of competence, high marketing costs, delays and low payments to the peasant producers. Hence, the government formed state-controlled marketing institutions to replace the previous institutions (peasant cooperatives) and public parastatals) which controlled and marketed peasant produce in the country. See URT, The Tobacco Industry Act of 1972; URT, Price Policy Recommendations for the 1981-82: Agricultural Price Review, Dar es Salaam, (1980); Salome T. Sijaona, Ngoni-Matengo Cooperative Union, BA Dissertation, UDSM, 1974; and Samuel M. Jonathan and Neema P. Kumburu, 'Lost Opportunity for Economic Empowerment: The Destruction of Cooperatives in Tanzania', *Africology: The Journal of Pan African Studies*, 9, 1, (2016), 159-166

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cured tobacco production. The TAT office in Dar es Salaam mainly controlled the export of tobacco from the country.[51] By 1977 the authority had about 6,500 employees, of which 200 were stationed at the headquarters in Morogoro, and about 1,500 stationed in Ruvuma at the fire-cured tobacco processing factory, 3,000 were stationed in Morogoro at the flue-cured tobacco factory and about 1,800 were posted to various regions for supervising production and marketing of the crop in the country.[52]

In Ruvuma TAT took effective measures to promote the tobacco industry in the rural villages. First, it provided tobacco seeds and seedlings free to the peasants in the villages. The authority also posted various agricultural officers including field officers and assistant field officers who worked with the peasants in the villages.[53] The authority worked closely with TRDB, which provided agricultural credit to the peasants for farm inputs in the region. Between 1972 and 1978 the value of loans disbursed to the tobacco peasants in the region increased from Tshs. 1,554,000 to 8,874,000. See Table 13 for an indication of the loan status of tobacco growers in Ruvuma.

Table 13: TRDB's Loan Status of Tobacco Peasants in Ruvuma[54]

Year	Villages	Tobacco Peasants (000)	Loan Tshs. (000)	Repayment Tshs (000)	Arrears Tshs. (000)
1971/72	17	34	1,554	N.A.	N.A.
1972/73	20	37	1,029	556	473
1973/74	20	41	5,071	2,404	2,667
1974/75	20	45	6,620	4,672	1,948
1975/76	20	56	8,269	4,385	3,884
1976/77	182	66	2,721	2,207	514
1977/78	158	77	8,874	N.A	N.A

[51] Peter B. Barie, 'Socio-Economic Factors Affecting the Production of Fire-cured Tobacco in Ruvuma', M.SC. Thesis, University of Dar es Salaam, (1979), 18.
[52] Barie, 'Socio-Economic Factors Affecting the Production of Fire-cured Tobacco in Ruvuma', 19.
[53] Sijaona, 'Ngoni-Matengo Cooperative Union'.
[54] Modified from TRDB report for Ruvuma by Barie, 1979:26.

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Secondly, the TAT authorities provided free transport services to the peasants in the villages. It had about 17 lorries, 12 land rovers, and four tractors, which were used for the transport of farm inputs and tobacco field officers from Songea town to the villages.[55] Thirdly, in controlling tobacco marketing and processing, TAT organised strategic marketing centres in the villages at which peasants sold their produce to the authority. Each tobacco bale from the peasant was purchased by the authority on the basis of weight and quality of the grade assigned by a TAT classifier. The price of tobacco produce in the market centres after villagisation was geared to attract the growers. The authority, acting on behalf of the government, determined the producer price by considering TAT sales prices minus TAT operating costs to the farmers in a particular season.[56] The authority also transported tobacco bales from the market centres from the villages to the processing factory in Songea town. Above all, the authority owned and operated the fire-cured tobacco processing factory in Songea and another factory in Morogoro for processing flue-cured tobacco. The operation of the Songea tobacco processing factory in Ruvuma became a major stimulant in the development of the tobacco industry and the economy of the region.[57] The factory had undergone several rehabilitation and expansion programmes in an attempt to improve its production capacity. By the time it was closed in 2006, it had the capacity to process 16,000 tonnes of tobacco per year. Throughout its existence, the factory processed all fire-cured tobacco grown in Ruvuma as well as other regions in Tanzania. The factory therefore provided multiple services to the growers and the economy of Ruvuma region. It provided thousands of direct employment opportunities for re-grading, stripping, baling and

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[55] Sijaona, 'Ngoni-Matengo Cooperative Union'.

[56] See (URT), Price Policy Recommendations for the 1981-82: Agricultural Price Review, 1980.

[57] The Songea tobacco processing factory is a tobacco plant which processes fire-cured tobacco leaf from the peasants in Tanzania. It was introduced by the Ngoni-Matengo Cooperative Marketing Union Limited in 1936. Since then, the plant was owned and operated by NGOMAT up to the 1960s. With the establishment of the Tanganyika Tobacco Board (TTB) in 1967, the duty of controlling the tobacco industry was handed to the crop board (TTB), which also operated the two tobacco factories in Tanzania – the one in Morogoro for flue-cured leaf and this one in Songea. After the Arusha Declaration in 1976, the plant was nationalised and taken over by the government crop authority TAT, which operated it up to 1985 when the factory was handed again to the region cooperative Union (RUCU). Following the split of the regional cooperative union in 1995 between Mbinga, Songea and Tunduru in 1995, the plant was left to the Songea Agricultural Marketing Cooperative Union (SAMCU 1995) limited. With the division of the old Songea District between Songea and Namtumbo in 2003 up to the current time, the plant has been owned and operated as a partnership of the two districts' cooperative unions: Songea Namtumbo Agricultural Marketing Cooperative Union (SONAMCU) Limited. See URT, Report of a Preliminary Survey of the NGOMAT tobacco plant at Songea, by the International Labour Organisation, (1971); and SONAMCU, Proposal for Rehabilitation of the Tobacco Processing Plant at Songea, by Moshi University College of Cooperative and Business Studies (MUCCoBS), (2012), 1-2.

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packing. Oral accounts pointed out that many of these workers at the factory were recruited from amongst the tobacco-farming peasants or their children from around the factory in Songea town. It also provided indirect employment to businessmen who depended on the factory operations at Songea town including transporters, housing agencies, hotels and food vending.[58] Therefore, all these benefits of the factory promoted tobacco acreage, productivity and the value of the fire-cure tobacco industry in southern Tanzania. As a result, peasant fire-cured tobacco production in Ruvuma increased substantially from 2,100 tons in 1969/70 to 4,500 tonnes 1975/76.[59] Tobacco production overall in Tanzania increased tremendously from 13,069 tonnes in 1972 to 19,144 tonnes in 1977. See Tables 14 and 15 for an indication of the expansion of fire-cured tobacco in Tanzania.

[58] See for instance SONAMCU, Proposal for Rehabilitation of the Tobacco Processing Plant at Songea, 6.
[59] See URT, Annual Report for The Tobacco Authority of Tanzania, 1977; and URT, Price Policy Recommendations for the 1981-82: Agricultural Price Review, 1980.

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Table 14: Fire-cured Tobacco Production in Ruvuma, 1968-1985.[60]

Year	Area per ha (000)	Prodn. per Tons (000)	Value in Tshs. (000,000)	Ave. Yield Kg. per ha
1967/68	N.A	2.1	3.8	N.A
1968/69	N.A	3.5	6.2	N.A
1969/70	N.A	2.1	3.6	N.A
1970/71	N.A	3.2	6.2	N.A
1971/72	N.A	3.6	8.5	N.A
1972/73	6.6	2.2	4.8	330
1973/74	7.1	2.9	6.9	410
1974/75	7.3	2.3	6.5	310
1975/76	7.0	4.5	20.3	640
1976/77	9.2	3.6	16.7	400
1977/78	7.2	2.6	15.3	360
1978/79	N.A	3.6	N.A	N.A
1979/80	N.A	3.1	N.A	N.A
1980/81	N.A	4.0	N.A	N.A
1981/82	N.A	3.8	N.A	N.A
1982/83	N.A	1.1	N.A	N.A
1983/84	N.A	2.6	N.A	N.A
1984/85	N.A	2.6	N.A	N.A

[60] These statistics were extracted from the TTB Office, Morogoro and SONAMCU office, Songea, 2016.

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Table 15: Tobacco Purchase (in tonnes Wet Leaf) in Tanzania, 1972-1980.[61]

Leaf/Region/Year	**1972/73**	**1973/74**	**1974/75**	**1975/76**	**1976/77**	**1977/78**	**1978/79**	**1978/80**
Flue-Cured Leaf								
Tabora	6,780	7,210	10,281	7,673	9,169	8,813	7,238	8,300
Iringa	2,901	3,081	4,346	3,438	4,148	4,266	3,352	2,400
Mbeya	877	493	333	500	838	1,222	1,931	1,830
Others	-	-	317	319	393	363	686	839
Sub-Total	**10,558**	**10,784**	**15,277**	**11,930**	**14,548**	**14,668**	**13,207**	**13,369**
Fire-Cured Leaf								
Ruvuma	2,504	1,855	2,980	2,259	4,522	3,592	4,028	3,500
Kigoma/Kagera	-	-	5	-	24	58	61	60
Sub-Total	**2,504**	**1,855**	**2,985**	**2,259**	**4,546**	**3,650**	**4,089**	**3,560**
Burley Leaf								
Tanga	-	-	11	21	39	35	23	35
Others	7	-	1	2	11	-	12	5
Sub-Total	**7**	**-**	**12**	**23**	**50**	**35**	**35**	**40**
Grand Total	**13,069**	**12,639**	**18,239**	**14,212**	**19,144**	**18,353**	**17,331**	**16,969**

A closer look at the tobacco production trends from the table above shows that the value of fire-cured tobacco (marketed through TAT) increased from Tshs. 6.2 million in 1972 to Tshs. 20 million in 1975/76. However, the increase was erratic, mainly because of a drought in 1974, poor organisation of the marketing system and unreliable supply of services and farm inputs. The inability to provide adequate supplies of inputs was attributed to the inaccessibility of the region for security reasons during the liberation struggles to the neighbouring country of Mozambique. Hence it was difficult for the authority to transport farm inputs and agricultural field officers to the villages in the region. Again, as a result of the Mozambican war operations

[61] Statistics were obtained from (URT), Price Recommendations for Tobacco 1980.

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which extended into southern Tanzania, the International Development Association (IDA),[62] which offers financial support to the farmers, did not provide support to the fire-cured tobacco peasants, as in the case of the flue-cured tobacco peasants in western Tanzania in the 1970s and early 1980s. All these factors largely influenced the continuously erratic tobacco production trends in Ruvuma.

Liberalisation and the Emergence of Tobacco Contract Farming, 1985-2005

Under the administration of Ali Hassani Mwinyi, who came into power in 1985, the government embarked on various strategies to revamp the weakening economy in the country. In August 1986 Tanzania signed an agreement with the IMF in order to get international support for the economic recovery programme.[63] By signing the agreement, the government accepted the IMF Structural Adjustment Programme that compelled the country to liberalise its economic policies from the *Ujamaa* trade restrictions, particularly on the traditional export crops. Many studies have shown that the adoption of the IMF Structural Adjustment Programme forced many African countries, including Tanzania, to liberalise the marketing of their agricultural produce between the mid-1980s and the early 2000s.[64] In line with this programme, the government of Tanzania initiated several economic reforms. One of these economic reforms which affected peasant production was the agricultural market liberalisation strategy of 1986/87. This reform abolished the direct involvement of the government in the production and marketing of peasant crops – instead the private sector become responsible for

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[62] 'IDA' refers to the World Bank credit association which provides financial support to the poorest countries in fighting poverty. It provides loans and grand to support farmers and the development of agricultural sector. See http//: ida.worldbank.org, accessed on 8 August 2017. Also see the World Bank, Tanzania Tobacco Handling Project, 1978.

[63] Coulson, *Tanzania: A Political Economy, 2nd Edition;* and Svendsen, 'Development Strategy and Crisis Management'.

[64] Brian Cooksey, 'Market Reform? The Rise and Fall of Agricultural Liberalisation in Tanzania', *Development Policy Review*, 29, 1, (2011), 57-81; Coulson, *Tanzania: A Political Economy, 2nd Edition;* Martin Prowse, 'A history of tobacco production and marketing in Malawi, 1890-2010', *Journal of Eastern African Studies*, 7, 4, (2013), 691-712; Martin Prowse and Jason Moyer-lee, 'A Comparative Value Chain Analysis of Small Holder Burley Tobacco Production in Malawi 2003/4 and 2009/10', *The Journal of Agrarian Change,* 14, 3, (2014), 323-346; Winford H. Masanjala 'Cash Crop Liberalisation in Africa: evidence from Malawi', *Agricultural Economics, 35, (2006), 231-240;* Donald Mitchell and Mwombeki Baregu, 'The Tanzania Tobacco Sector: How Market Reforms Succeeded' in A.M. Akoy (eds), *African Agricultural Reforms: The Role of Consensus and Institutions*, (New York: World Bank Publications, 2012); Stefano Ponte, 'Fast Crops, Fast Cash: Market Liberalisation and Rural Livelihoods in Songea and Morogoro Districts Tanzania', *Canadian Journal of African Studies*, 32, 2, (1998), 316-348.

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the supply of agricultural inputs and the marketing of peasant crops in the country.[65] In 1993 the government passed the Crop Board Act, which abolished almost all the remaining restrictions on the marketing of agricultural crops. The Act allowed the private sector to participate in price determination, procurement, processing and export of four traditional export crops: cotton, coffee, cashew nuts and, of course, tobacco.[66] With advice from the World Bank-financed Participatory Agricultural Development and Empowerment Programme (PADEP), the government passed the Tanzania Tobacco Act in 1993 and in 1994/94, officially liberalising the marketing of tobacco produce and privatising the country's two main tobacco processing factories in the Morogoro and Ruvuma regions. As a result, in 2001 the then Tanzania Tobacco Processing and Marketing Board (TTPMB) changed its name to the Tanzania Tobacco Board (TTB).[67]

Moreover, the emergence of a free market economy, "*Soko huria*", particularly the liberalisation of tobacco marketing, went in hand with the influx of the tobacco companies into Tanzania between the early 1990s and the mid-2000s. Some of these multinational tobacco companies included Tanzania Tobacco Processors Limited (TTPL), Tanzania Tobacco Leaf Company Limited (TLTC), Alliance One Tanzania Tobacco Limited (AOTTL), Premium Active Tanzania Limited (PATL) and DIMON Inc.[68] According to the Tanzania Tobacco Board, with the emergence of the free market economy and the influx of tobacco companies, the greater part of tobacco production in Tanzania was now done through contract farming arrangements between the growers and the tobacco buyers (through their multinational leaf

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[65] Jonathan and Kumburu, 'Lost Opportunity for Economic Empowerment'; and Ponte, 'Fast Crops, Fast Cash', 324.

[66] See (URT), the Crop Board Act of 1993. Also see Ndomba, 'The Ruvuma Development Association and Ujamaa in Songea District, 1960s-1990s', 105, and Ponte, 'Fast Crops, Fast Cash'; and URT, Contract Farming: Status and Prospect for Tanzania, (2006), 16.

[67] (URT), the Tobacco Industry Act of 2001 re-established the TTB and replaced the previous Tanzania Tobacco Processing and Marketing Board Act of 1984.

[68] TTPL and TLTC operate as subsidiary companies of the Universal Leaf Corporation based in Virginia USA. AOTL is a subsidiary company of Alliance One International Inc., based in Morrisville, in USA. Premium Active Tanzania operates as subsidiary company of the Premium Tobacco Group based in Brazil and DIMON Inc., as well operates as a subsidiary company of DIMON Inc., based in Virginia, USA. See www.aointl.com; and www.premiumbrazil.com.br, accessed on 8 August 2017. Also see (URT), Contract Farming: Status and Prospect for Tanzania, (2006), 1-16; Brian Cooksey, 'Market Reform? The Rise and Fall of Agricultural Liberalisation in Tanzania', *Development Policy Review*, 29, 1, (2011), 57-81 ; Grace L. Sambala, 'The Role of Multinational Business Corporations to Sustainable Development: The case of Tanzania Tobacco Processing Limited", MS (International Relations) thesis, Norwegian University of Life Science, (2016), 34; and Mitchell and Baregu, 'The Tanzania Tobacco Sector'; and Yanda, 'Impact of Small-scale tobacco growing on the spatial and temporal distribution of miombo woodlands', 10-16.

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companies).[69] The board defined "contract farming" as a farming system carried out on the basis of the agreement between the growers and the leaf buyers. Through the contract farming policy, the growers were expected to produce and sell the required crop to the contracted leaf buyers, and the leaf buyers were expected to provide agricultural inputs, extension services and competitive markets to tobacco growers in each production season.[70] N. Ajjan also defined "contract farming" as a farming strategy in which the farmers are contracted by private firms to produce the required crop. It is therefore an alternative farming strategy which involves the private sector in the development of the agricultural sector.[71] Similarly, the Food and Agriculture Organisation of the United Nations (FAO) viewed "contract farming" as a farming and marketing system carried out through agreement between the producers and the buyers. Through this farming strategy, the buyers support the production by providing agricultural inputs and extension services in the improvement of agricultural productivity. Hence, according to the FAO, "contract farming" is more advantageous as it does not just involve the role of the private sector in the improvement of agricultural productivity, but also it improves food security and the general livelihoods of rural poor people in the developing countries.[72]

Therefore, contract farming is an agricultural production strategy based on agreement between the tobacco farming peasants as producers and the leaf dealers. With contract farming arrangements, commercial leaf dealers provide production support to peasants such as seasonal agricultural inputs and extension services in the tobacco field operations. They are also expected to maintain competitive prices for the produce at the market. For the farmers, under the agreement they were expected to abide by the contract by producing and selling a specified commodity according to quantity and quality standards determined by the commercial

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[69] Tanzania Tobacco Board (TTB), '*Utaratibu wa Uzalishaji wa tumbaku nchini Tanzania*", www.tobaccoboard.go.tz/index/php.uzalishaji/utaratibu-wa-uzalishaji, accessed 30 April 2017. Also see (URT), The Tobacco Industry Act, 2001; (URT), Contract Farming: Status and Prospect for Tanzania; Tobacco Research Institute of Tanzania (TORITA), 'Tobacco Production Baseline Survey in Serengeti, Tarime and Rorya Districts, Mara Region', Final Revised Research Report, (2012); and Cooksey, 'Market Reform? The Rise and Fall of Agricultural Liberalisation in Tanzania', 64-65.

[70] Tanzania Tobacco Board (TTB), 'Utaratibu wa Uzalishaji wa tumbaku nchini Tanzania'.

[71] See N Ajjan, 'Contract Farming an option for creating a role of the private sector in agri-development and extension?',www.fao.org.fileadmin/userupload/contract_farming/presentation/contract_farming_in_Punjab_India, accessed on 25 May 2017.

[72] See UNIDROIT, FAO and IFAD, *UNINDOIT/FAO/IFAD Legal Guide on Contract Farming*, (Rome: UNIDROIT, FAO and IFAD, 2015), available on www.fao.org, accessed on 25 May 2017.

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company.[73] The proponents of this farming strategy see it as an ideal policy for the government in the ongoing reforms to promote the development of agriculture in the country. This is because as the government is disengaging from the direct provision of agricultural inputs, the private sector will need to fill the gap more efficiently. However, those who challenge the strategy hold the view that the policy, if not well controlled, offers room for the commercial companies to exploit the farmers in the country.[74]

With the emergence of tobacco contract farming policy in the mid-1990s, the TTB become a instrument for regulating the tobacco industry, particularly supervising the relationship between the private buyers and processors, peasants and their cooperatives. Its main duty was now to regulate the tobacco industry in the country, including supervision of the quality and quantity of the crop; control of farming contract models between peasants and leaf buyers; provision of licences to tobacco traders; and the promotion of tobacco research.[75] The Tobacco Industry Act of 2001 provided the legal basis for the implementation of contract farming policy for the development of the agricultural sector in the country. Through the Tanzania Tobacco Council (TTC), the Act provides a forum for key tobacco stakeholders to discuss and decide on seasonal contract farming arrangements in the country.[76] Hence, through the tobacco council, registered tobacco growers in Ruvuma and elsewhere in Tanzania come to an agreement with the commercial leaf buyers on: (i) provision of agricultural extension services; (b) the volume of produce; (c) supply of agricultural inputs; (d) price for inputs and tobacco produce; (d) credit disbursement and recovery to the peasants.[77]

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[73]See (URT), the Tobacco Industry Act of 2001; (URT), Contract Farming: Status and Prospect for Tanzania, (2006), 6; (TTB), '*Utaratibu wa Uzalishaji wa tumbaku nchini Tanzania*'; and UNIDROIT, FAO and IFAD, *UNINDOIT/FAO/IFAD Legal Guide on Contract Farming*.

[74] See research report by Dennis Rweyemamu and Monica Kimaro, *Assessing the Market Distortions Affecting Poverty Reduction Efforts on Small holder Tobacco Production in Tanzania*, Research Report on Poverty Alleviation (REPOA), 06.1, (Dar es Salaam: Mkuki na Nyota, 2006).

[75] Mitchell and Baregu, 'The Tanzania Tobacco Sector'.

[76] Tanzania Tobacco Council consists of representatives from the growers association, the commercial leaf buyers, Tanzania Tobacco Board, and the ministry of Agriculture, Trade and industries. They discuss on the model of contract, the price for input, and output for particular agricultural season. In this council, TTB and the Ministries of Agriculture, Trade and Industries participate as observers. The minimum indicative price for the tobacco produced agreed by the council for a particular season is then announced by the TTB shortly before the before the beginning of the tobacco marketing. See URT, Tanzania Tobacco Industry Act of 2001.

[77] See (URT), Tanzania Tobacco Industry Act of 2001; (URT), Performance Analysis of Agricultural Sector under the Third Phase Government Period, 1994-2005, (2006); and Andrew Adam Mwanselle, 'Economic Analysis of Contract Farming for Small Scale Tobacco Producers in Songea District, Ruvuma Region', M.Sc. Agro-Economics, Thesis, Sokoine University, Morogoro, (2010), 5.

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In Ruvuma, however, tobacco market liberalisation officially started in the 1996/1997 season. This period witnessed the influx of tobacco leaf dealers into various parts of the Undendeuli and Ungoni areas of southern Tanzania. Some of these tobacco leaf dealers included DIMON, Stancom, Intabex and TLTC.[78] Initially, most of them operated through peasants' cooperative societies and in a way they competed with the central cooperative union in the old Songea District (SAMCU).[79] These primary societies provided an important link between the peasants and the commercial leaf buyers. Each primary society entered into a contract with one commercial leaf dealer. Therefore, leaf dealers competed to attract and win the support of the primary societies to work with them by offering some amount of cash for the pre-season arrangement. The management of each society was paid by the leaf dealers for activities carried out on behalf of the company. Some of these activities included: the registration of tobacco growers and the projection of inputs for tobacco and maize required for the production season; distribution of inputs and record keeping for crop acreage for each member; making payments to the peasants and deducting the amount of the loan.[80] The influx of the leaf dealers in Ruvuma, however, threatened the prosperity of the local cooperative union (SAMCU), which also entered into contracts with peasants through its affiliated primary societies. Local government officials favoured the union as opposed to commercial companies.[81]

Eventually, in 1997/98 indebted peasants, through their societies, cancelled their agreements with commercial companies and sold their produce to SAMCU. The farmers cancelled the agreement because, through their central cooperative union, they accused the leaf dealers of trade misconduct, which led to an accumulation of input debts among the tobacco growers in the region. They particularly accused the leaf dealers of oversupplying agricultural inputs (such

[78] Some of these companies included DIMON, Tanzania Tobacco Leaf Company Limited (TLTC), Top Server, Intabex and Standard Commercial Tobacco Services. These companies at the beginning operated on individual bases, however in 1999, they started a joint association of leaf dealers in the country widely known as Association of Tanzania, Tobacco Traders (ATTT). URT, Contract Farming: Status and Prospect for Tanzania, (2006), 16.
[79] SAMCU was the central cooperative union mainly for marketing tobacco produce in the Ruvuma region.
[80] Interviews with Mzee Benedict A. Tembo and Watson L. Nganiwa, District and Regional Cooperative Officers, 10-14 February 2016.
[81] Ponte, 'Fast Crops, Fast Cash'.

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as fertilizers and pesticides) with high prices, which led to the peasants being unable to repay their loans after the tobacco marketing season.[82]

Unfortunately, the union fell into a financial crisis and performed badly in the 1998/99 season. Hence, the commercial companies were brought back from the 1999/2000 season to the present time, and from 2000/2001 the union no longer purchased the crop, but it just continued to provide the link between the leaf dealers and the peasants in the region.[83]

In 1999 the commercial leaf dealers came back with new strategy for reducing bad debts among the peasants by starting a powerful joint association called the Association of Tanzania Tobacco Traders (ATTT).[84] The association, apart from defending the interests of the leaf dealers, was given the duty by the tobacco buyers of coordinating joint extension services and contract farming arrangements between the peasants and the buyers in the region.[85] The leaf dealers also used this association to influence the final tobacco price during the annual tobacco council and it worked to ensure the destruction of the central cooperative union (SAMCU) so that they could purchase the crop directly from the growers.[86] Hence, as noted above, from the 2000/2001 season to date, the leaf dealers have been buying the crop directly from the tobacco farming peasants.

The growing influence of the liberalised tobacco market and the adoption of policies promoting contract farming in the region brought many changes to peasant tobacco production in the region. By the mid-2000s the commercial leaf dealers (through their joint association ATTT) promoted new varieties of the crop, including flue-cured and burley-cured tobacco leaf. The data show that both flue-cured and burley tobacco varieties started in 2006/2007 season. In this season about 2,254 peasants planted dark fire-cured tobacco leaf, while 151 peasants planted

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[82] Interview with the District and Regional cooperative officers, Songea and Namtumbo, 10 April-13 August 2017. Also see Kassian Homera, 'Kampuni zachangia Kuua Uzalishaji wa Tumbaku', *Uhuru*, 9 July 2015; and Cooksey, 'Market Reform? The Rise and Fall of Agricultural Liberalisation in Tanzania', 65.

[83] Rweyemamu and Kimaro, Assessing the Market Distortions Affecting Poverty Reduction Efforts on Small holder Tobacco Production in Tanzania.

[84] Association of Tanzania Tobacco Traders (ATTT) is a joint association of Tanzania tobacco processors which oversees tobacco extension services and contract farming arrangements with the growers. URT, Contract Farming: Status and Prospect for Tanzania.

[85] Interview with Mzee Nassoro M. Magoto, Retired Apex cooperative Officer, at Namtumbo, 12 August 2016. Also see SONAMCU, Association of Tanzania Tobacco Traders, *Utaratibu wa Masoko, Msimu wa 2011/2012;* ATTT, *Tumbaku Leo*, 15 December 2014-March, 2015; and ATTT, *Tumbaku Leo*, 16 April 2015-July, 2015.

[86] Interview with the District and Regional Cooperative Officers, Songea and Namtumbo, 10 April-13 August 2017.

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Virginia flue-cured leaf and 255 peasants planted burley leaf.[87] However, due to the lack of a market, burley leaf survived only for four seasons from 2006/07 to 2009/10, but elsewhere the other two varieties of tobacco have continued flourish.[88] ATTT, in order to improve tobacco productivity in the region, posted several tobacco extension officers to work with the peasants in the villages. The companies also supervised the marketing organisations in the villages including the rehabilitation and construction of tobacco go-downs in the villages and at Songea town.[89] Above all, they expanded tobacco classification from seven grades in 2007/08 to 21 grades in 2012/13 and currently there over 70 tobacco grades.[90] In the same season (2007/08) they changed the mode of payment to tobacco farmers from Tanzanian shillings to US dollar prices per every kilogram of the leaf purchased at the market centres in the villages.[91] All these changes after liberalisation largely contributed to the substantial growth of the value of peasant tobacco production in the region from Tshs. 1 billion in 2001 to 7.2 billion in 2008/09.[92] See Figure 23, 24 and 25 for the illustration on erratic tobacco production trends in Ruvuma.

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[87] TTB Ruvuma Regional Office, Tobacco Production Trend between 2004 and 2015; and Interview with Beatus A. Mtumwa, TLTC Extensional Officer, Songea, 14 April, 2016.
[88] TTB Regional Office-Ruvuma, Tobacco Production Trend between 2004 and 2015.
[89] Interview with Mzee Benedict A. Tembo and Mzee Nassoro M. Magoto, 10 February-12 August 2016.
[90] TTB Regional Office-Ruvuma, Tobacco Production Trend between 2004 and 2015.
[91] SONAMCU Office, Tobacco Prices between 2004 and 2013; and Tanzania Tobacco Cooperative Apex Limited (TTCA Ltd), Biashara ya Tumbaku kwa Kutumia Dola ya Ki-Marekani (US $) Kuanzia Msimu wa Kilimo 2006/07 (Mauzo 2007/08), Kikao cha Wadau wa Tumbaku, Tabora Student Centre, 23 November, 2006.
[92] SONAMCU Office, Executive Report for the Songea Tobacco processing Plant Limited in 2006; and TTB Regional Office, Tobacco production Trend between 2004 and 2015.

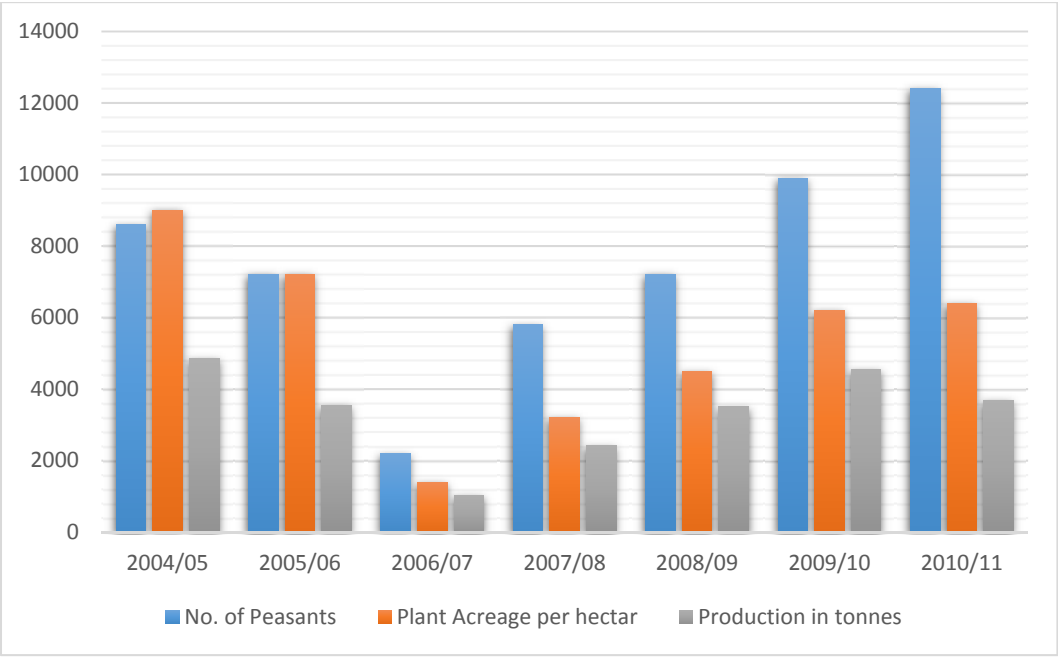

Figure 23: Fire-cure Tobacco Production Trends in Ruvuma after Liberalisation.[93]

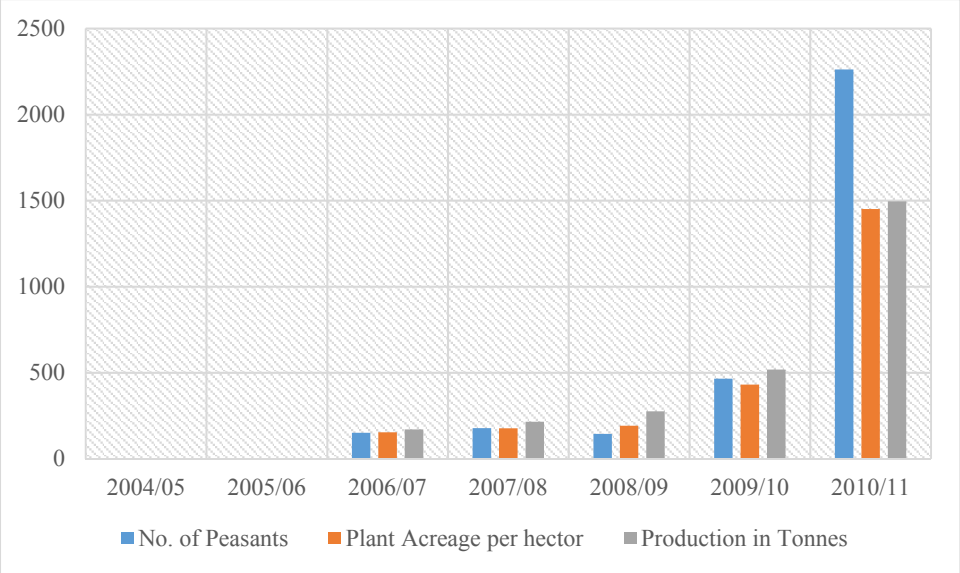

Figure 24: Flue-cured Tobacco Production Trends in Ruvuma after Liberalisation.[94]

[93] Designed by the author from TTB Regional Office-Ruvuma, 2016.
[94] Designed by the author from the data available from the TTB Regional Office-Ruvuma, 2016.

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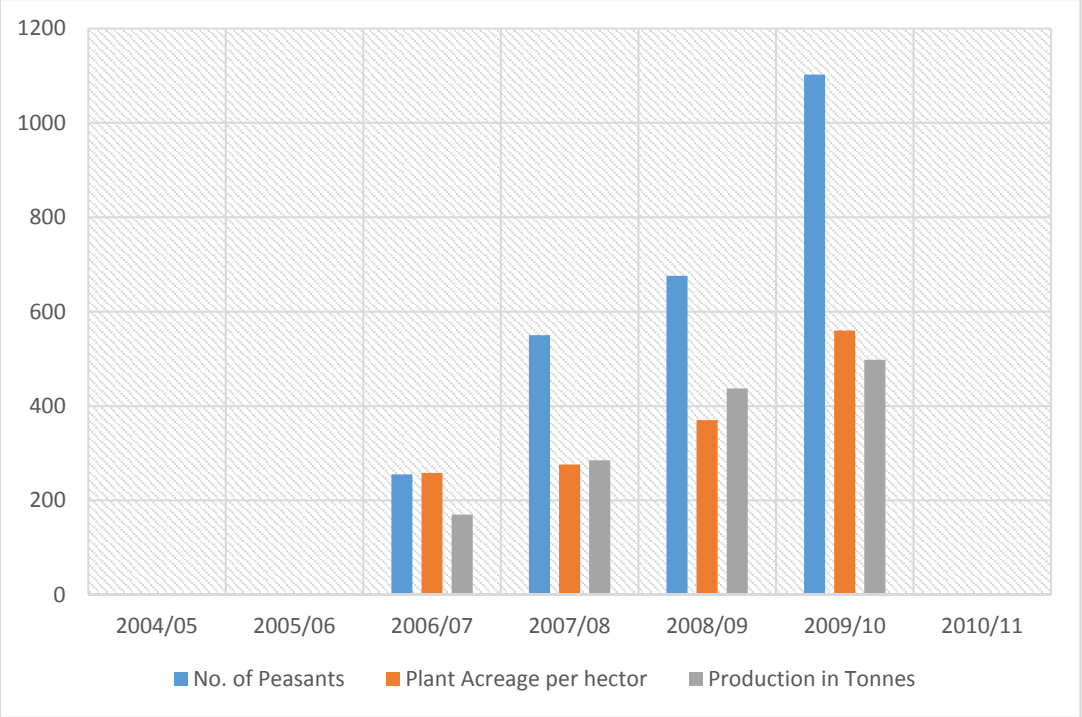

Figure 25: Burley Tobacco Production Trends in Ruvuma after Liberalisation.[95]

Socio-economic and Environmental Impact of Tobacco Farming, 2005-2010

The emergence and expansion of tobacco contract farming after economic liberalisation had a substantial socio-economic and ecological impact on the livelihoods of the Wangoni and Wandendeuli peasants of southern Tanzania. Tobacco production was regarded by both government officials and peasants in Ruvuma as the lifeblood of the regional economy. The crop provided employment opportunities and a reliable source of income to thousands of tobacco-growing peasants in Ruvuma. Many peasants also grew varieties of food and cash crops such as tobacco, maize, cassava, millet and ground nuts. However, tobacco provided their primary source of cash income and other crops played a secondary role in the provision of peasant family household income.[96] During villagisation, for example, while the number of tobacco-growing villages in Ruvuma increased from 17 in 1972 to 158 in 1978, the number of tobacco-growing peasants in the villages increased substantially from 34,000 in 1971/72 to

[95] Designed by the author from the data available from the TTB Regional Office-Ruvuma, 2016.
[96] Interviews with the District Agricultural Officers and the Regional Cooperative Officer, Ruvuma, April 2017; and Group Interviews with the current and former tobacco peasants at Nakahegwa, Mgombasi, Namtumbo and Namanguli, August 2017.

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77,000 in 1977/78[97] and, as noted above, the value of the crop in the region increased from Tshs. 3.6 million in 1969/70 to 20.2 million in 1975/76. Therefore, the crop offered a reliable source of income to the tobacco growers and a significant source of foreign exchange to the central government at the national level.[98] Oral accounts indicated that with the income generated from tobacco and maize farming, many peasant families managed to build modern and substantial houses made of burned bricks and corrugated iron sheets in the villages, which gradually replaced *tembe* houses (the traditional huts made of mud and/or mud-painted walls with grass roof). See Figures 26 and 27 for illustration of the *tembe* and modern houses in Ruvuma.

Figure 26: *Tembe* Hut by a Non-Tobacco Grower at Namtumbo Village[99]

[97] See, for instance, (URT), Ruvuma Region Socio-economic Profile, (1997), 25-26; Barie, 'Socio-Economic Factors Affecting the Production of Fire-cured Tobacco in Ruvuma', 16-26 and (URT), *Taarifa ya Mafanikio ya Miaka 50 ya Uhuru Mkoani Ruvuma*, (2011), 8; and (URT), Tobacco Research Institute of Tanzania (TORITA), 'Tobacco Production Baseline Survey in Mara Region', Final Revised Research Repot, Tabora, (2012), 1-2.
[98] Barie, 'Socio-Economic Factors Affecting the Production of Fire-cured Tobacco in Ruvuma', 16-26; and URT, Price Policy Recommendations for the 1981-82: Agricultural Price Review, 1980.
[99] Taken by the author, at Namtumbo village, August 2016.

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Figure 27: Modern House by a Former Successful Tobacco Grower at Namanguli Village.[100]

Moreover, with the rise of the contract farming system in the 1990s and 2000s, tobacco production continued to provide an important source of income to the tobacco producers and the government in the region.[101] In oral interviews many peasants insisted that at the beginning of contract farming it was relatively simple for them to earn a cash income from their tobacco production. They managed to get a minimum average cash income of Tshs. 200,000 and 500,000, per season, moderately successful peasants earned between Tshs. 2 and 5 million and the most successful peasants in Undendeuli division, particularly at Mgombasi, managed to get up to Tshs. 10 and 12 million per season.[102] The income generated from tobacco was used to pay for social service bills such as education and health care, or to purchase family bicycles

[100] Taken by the author at Namanguli village, August 2016.
[101] TTB Regional Office-Ruvuma, Tobacco Production Trend between 2004 and 2015; TTB, Ten Years Tobacco Industry Improvement Programme, 2002-2011, (2001); Tanzania Tobacco Control Forum (TTCF), Implementation of the WHO Framework Convention on Tobacco Control in Tanzania, 2007-2012, A Shadow Report, 32. Also see Mitchell and Baregu, 'The Tanzania Tobacco Sector'.
[102] Interview with Watson L. Nganiwa, Regional Cooperative Officer-Ruvuma, 14 February 2016; and Mgombasi and Namtumbo Group Interviews, 12-13 August, 2016.

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and motor cycles, and even as capital for the establishment of food vending centres, grain mill factories, shops and the purchase of business lorries.[103]

The second impact of contract farming arrangements was that it promoted food security in the region. With contract farming tobacco the peasants received agricultural inputs for food crops too – particularly maize production. Through crop rotation between tobacco and food crops, the peasants improved their food productivity by planting maize on a field which was previously planted with tobacco. In this *shamba* they grew food crops and harvested more yield with little or no application of expensive artificial fertilizers.[104] They generally got a yield of between 10 to 15 bags of maize per acre by growing it on the fallow tobacco fields. By growing maize in the same field continuously, they harvested with little or no application of fertilizer, getting poor yields of up to five bags per hectare. Consequently, maize production in Ruvuma increased substantially from 158,000 to 236,000 tonnes between 1997/98 and 2007/08, and its acreage productivity increased from1.3 to 2 tonnes per hector between 2003 and 2008.[105]

The third impact of contract farming was that tobacco farmers also benefited from the corporate social responsibility programmes of the tobacco leaf companies in the region. Some of these companies supported the building of crop warehouses in the villages, including the Namanguli village go-down, and during the government campaign to improve secondary education in the country, some companies like TLTC and Alliance One supported the construction of classrooms and provided student desks in Songea and Namtumbo districts.[106] A recent study by Grace Sambala on corporate social responsibility in Tanzania similarly pointed out that tobacco companies have played a significant role in promoting sustainable development in various parts of the country, including Ruvuma, Tabora, Singida, Mbeya and Morogoro. Through their corporate social responsibility programmes, these multinational tobacco companies have planned and implemented numerous programmes for the wellbeing of the tobacco-growing communities, including the provision of simple loans and farmers training, supporting the education sector through the construction of classrooms, provision of learning

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[103] Group Interviews at Ngahokola, Namanguli and Mgombasi, 11-13 August 2016.
[104] Namtumbo Group Interview, 12 August 2016.
[105] See (URT), National Sample Census of Agriculture 2007/08, Ruvuma Region, (2012), 28.
[106] Namanguli and Namtumbo Group Interviews, 12-13 August 2016; and TTCA Ltd, Kikao cha Wadau wa Tumbaku, Tabora Student Centre, 23 November 2006; and Alliance One Tobacco Tanzania Limited, *Mkulima wa Tumbaku*, 3, 11 October 2015.

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materials, and provision of desks to schools. They also supported the improvement of the health sector by constructing wards, and providing hospital beds, bed sheets and medicines, as well as promoting environmental sustainability by growing tree seedlings, planting trees and promoting afforestation campaigns in the tobacco-growing areas in the country.[107]

Notwithstanding its success in the improvement of rural livelihoods, the tobacco contract farming arrangement has also negatively escalated various socio-economic and ecological effects in the region. The first was a debt crisis among tobacco-growing peasants in the region. Many farmers were heavily indebted to the commercial leaf companies in the region. Most of the peasants accumulated input debts because they failed to re-pay their loans to the leaf dealers.[108] The study observed that many peasants failed to re-pay their input loans for several reasons, including consistently low prices for their crop, poor harvests, unfair tobacco grading at the market centres and mismanagement of cooperatives. The records shows that an average tobacco price in the region was increasing and falling erratically from Tshs 734 in 2004/05, Tshs. 682 in 2005/06, Tshs. 811 in 2006/07 and Tshs. 1,025 in 2007/08, US $1.34 in 2009/2010 and US $1.10 in 2010/11 per every grade one kilogram of tobacco.[109] Such variability in the annual price did not match the production costs incurred by the peasants. Again, peasants complained that they had little influence in the grading of their produce at the market centres. They accused authorised TTB tobacco classifiers of favouring leaf dealers by giving their desired final grade and downgrading the peasants' suggested grade in the market centres.[110] As a result, some of peasants ended up getting low returns for their crops, which did not cover their production expenses including the loan from the leaf dealers. Therefore by 2001/02

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[107] Some of these multinational tobacco companies currently operating in Ruvuma and Tanzania in general includes the TTPL, the TLTC, the AOTTL and the PATL. See Sambala, 'The Role of Multinational Business Corporations to Sustainable Development', 34-58.

[108] See (TTB), Ten Years Tobacco Industry Improvement Programme, 2002-2011, (2001); and research report by (TORITA), 'Tobacco Production Baseline Survey in Serengeti, Tarime and Rorya Districts, Mara Region'.

[109] TTB Regional Office-Ruvuma, Tobacco Production Trend between 2004 and 2015.

[110] This was a common complaint from almost all tobacco-growing peasants interviewed on the marketing of tobacco produce in the region. They complained that the leaf dealers increased the number of tobacco grades from 7 to over 70 at the present time and unfair tobacco classification in the market centres. They explained that the classifiers downgraded their leaf in front their representative, knowing that the farmers were not knowledgeable enough on the criteria for tobacco grading. However, the TTB Officials insisted that they have been doing fair grading to maintain the standard of the crop despite the accusations from the peasants. Group interviews at Nakahegwa, Namanguli, Mgombasi and Namtumbo, 8-13 August, 2016 and Interview with Mr Mussa A. Mussa, the Regional TTB Tobacco Officer-Ruvuma, 08 April 2016. Also see (TTB), Ten Years Tobacco Industry Improvement Programme, 2002-2011; Cooksey, 'Market Reform? The Rise and Fall of Agricultural Liberalisation in Tanzania', 64-65; and Rweyemamu and Kimaro, *Assessing the Market Distortions Affecting Poverty Reduction Efforts on Small holder Tobacco Production,* 12-13.

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peasants had accumulated total input debts of US$3,000,000, of which TLTC was owed US$1,300,000, DIMON was owed US$750,000 and STANCOM owed about US$950,000.[111] This was common among many peasants in the region; in Lusonga village, for example, by 2006/07 the peasants grew about 10.9 tonnes for which they got about Tshs. 11 million after paying the peasants. Of course after deducting the input loan, they remained with a debt of Tshs. 268,905.[112] Therefore, the debt crisis left some farmers impoverished.[113]

Moreover, contract farming contributed to the closing down of the Songea tobacco processing factory in the region. The fire-cured tobacco processing plant which operated in the region from 1936 was closed down in 2006 after the decision of the commercial leaf dealers to transfer the crop for processing from Songea to Morogoro. Before the mid-2000s the tobacco leaf dealers purchased the processed leaf from the factory and not directly from the peasants. However, by 2006 the commercial leaf dealers, who competed with the central cooperative union, bribed peasant associations in the villages so that they could buy the wet leaf directly from the peasants by promising them timely payments, good prices and improved extension services as opposed to those services offered by SAMCU, which purchased the crop from peasants and processed it at its own factory in Songea town.[114] In the attempt to win over the rural peasants, the leaf dealers delayed payment to SAMCU in the previous season (2005) so that the union had to further delay payments to the peasants in the villages. Consequently, during the cooperative general meeting held at Songea town in 2005, in support of the leaf dealers, the peasants turned against the union and they resolved to enter into contracts which could allow the leaf dealers to buy the crop directly from them and SAMCU was left with the duty of supervising production and providing the link between dealers and peasants.[115] Many peasants regret that they took this decision in haste and without reading the details of their

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[111] Rweyemamu and Kimaro, Assessing the Market Distortions Affecting Poverty Reduction Efforts on Small holder Tobacco Production, 14.
[112] NJOKA AMCOS Office, Nakahegwa Village, Report on the Tobacco Marketing for Lusonga Branch, 2006/07.
[113] Many peasants were affected by the high-priced input credits for fertilizers, pesticides and seeds from the leaf dealers. They took the loan in the hope of repaying it after selling their crop. However, at the market they ended up getting low grades, low prices and low payments, which meant they could not afford to cover their debts. As a result some peasants in the region auctioned their property such as motor cycles, corrugated iron sheets, grain fill factory and so on. Hence they sank into deep poverty. See TTCF, Implementation of the WHO Framework Convention on Tobacco Control in Tanzania, 2007-2012, 32.
[114] Interviews with the District and Regional Cooperative officers, Songea, March-April 2016; and Homera, '*Kampuni zachangia Kuua Uzalishaji wa Tumbaku*'.
[115] Interview with Cooperative Officers in Ruvuma, April 2016. Also see Homera, '*Kampuni zachangia Kuua Tumbaku'*.

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contracts with the leaf dealers. As a result, the leaf dealers presented contracts which did not bind them to processing the crop at the regional factory. Hence, from 2006/07 to the present the leaf dealers purchased the crop from the peasants in the villages, collected it at their go-down at Songea town and thereafter transported it for processing at their own factory in Morogoro.[116] Since then, the factory has lost its main source of raw material and ceased operations. The factory has been abandoned for about a decade now and this has led to the decline of the production trend of the crop and a loss of direct employment for more than 2,500 workers as well as many more indirect employment opportunities which went in hand in hand with the operation of the factory. Worse than this, it has discouraged peasants and their relatives who had secured employment after the production season. Today, there are many calls for and attempts by some government officials, the cooperative union and peasants to resume the operations of the factory to revive the declining tobacco industry in the region.[117] See Figure 28 for an illustration of the abandoned tobacco factory at Songea Municipal in Ruvuma.

[116] Interview with the Tobacco Leaf Officials in Ruvuma, April 2016.

[117] The Prime Minister Kassim Majaliwa, who visited the factory in 2016, commented that the government of Tanzania under the leadership of President John Magufuli is determined to revive dormant industries in the country, including the Songea Tobacco processing factory. During the same visit he also fired and placed in custody some of the SONAMCU officials who were accused of corruption and embezzlement of union funds amounting to 800 million Tshs between 2011 and 2014. The case is in the courts. Before the PM's visit to Ruvuma, the former National Executive Committee Spokesman of CCM, Nape Moses Nauye, who visited the region prior to the 2015 general election, called on the government to revive the factory for the wellbeing of the tobacco industry and the economy of the region. See Issack Gerald, 'Viongozi wa Chama cha Ushirika cha SONAMCU Mkoani Ruvuma Wasimamishwa kazi na Waziri Mkuu', found on www.p5tanzania.blogspot.co.za/2016/01/viongozi-wa-chama-cha-ushirika, accessed on 29 March 2017 and Stephano Mango, 'Nape acharuka kuhamishwa kiwanda cha Tumbaku Songea', found on http://www.jamiiforums.com/threads/nape-acharuka-uhamishwaji-wa-kiwanda-cha-tumbaku-songea accessed on 29 March 2017.

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Figure 28: Songea Tobacco Processing Factory.[118]

The expansion of tobacco farming after the introduction of the free market economy contributed to the increased rate of tobacco health-related problems in the region. Many peasants were increasingly affected by tobacco-related ailments and the smoke from raw tobacco in the fields.[119] Some aged peasants commented that tobacco farming is a hard and challenging activity. Apart from regular contamination from tobacco nicotine in the field, they were affected by smoke from the curing barns. Over the course of time, some peasants suffered from tobacco-related diseases like asthma, tuberculosis, skin allergic reactions and body pains.[120] However, the majority of the affected peasants did not go to the hospital or clinics, because they were unable to afford the health service bills.

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[118] Taken by the author at Songea Municipal, April 2016.
[119] Tanzania Tobacco Control Forum (TTCF), Implementation of the WHO Framework Convention on Tobacco Control in Tanzania, 2007-2012, A Shadow Report, 34.
[120] Interviews with tobacco-growing peasants at Kitanda, Magagula and Namtumbo Villages, 8 April and 12 August 2016; and Interviews with Agricultural Officers in Ruvuma, April 2016. Similarly, many recent studies have pointed out that regular contamination with tobacco nicotine and improper use of some toxicity tobacco agro-chemicals and pesticides leads tobacco health-related problems such as headache, nausea, vomiting, dizziness, breathing difficulty, diarrhoea, weakness, and abdominal cramps, fluctuations in heat and blood

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The curing of dark fire tobacco leaf was very challenging and dangerous in the tobacco fields. Some peasants were reported to have lost their lives during the curing of the crop mainly because of the accumulation of carbon dioxide in the curing barns. Between 1995 and 2011 a few peasants were reported to have been injured and died in the curing process in some villages including Magagula, Kitanda and Namtumbo. Agricultural officers in Ruvuma estimated that during the tobacco boom an average of three people were dying per year in the tobacco curing process in the region.[121] One of the latest cases was the death of Mr Ally Mohammed Hussein, who died in 2011 after suffocating from heavy smoke inhalation in the barn while curing the crop at Namtumbo village.[122] However, currently the incidence of death in the curing barns has been reduced because of modern curing barns, including standard and rocket barns, which have replaced the traditional underground and mud-roofed barns.

Furthermore, this chapter contributes to the debate on the post-colonial historical transformation of African landscapes in the course of promoting environmental sustainability in the continent. William Beinart and Joan McGregor in 2003 pointed that the recent African past has been characterised by several environmental problems including the desiccation of forest and water resources, land degradation and loss of biodiversity.[123] This chapter therefore draws from these environmental historians to explore the context in which tobacco farming affected the Ungoni and Undendeuli landscapes in Ruvuma region. It therefore, observed that the expansion of tobacco production in the mid- and late 2000s also escalated exploitation of the miombo woodlands in the region. Many tobacco-growing peasants cleared more virgin forest for the expansion of tobacco acreage and fuel wood for curing the crop. Between 2007/08 and 2009/10, for example the area under cultivation of fire-cured, flue-cured and burley leaf increased from 3,678 to 6,685 hectares. Consequently, with the increased tobacco productivity from 2,635 tonnes to 5,070 tonnes, the rate of fuel wood consumption among the peasants increased from 79,064 to 152,120m³ for the same period.[124] The intensification of the rate of

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pressure and skin cancer. See Lecours et al., 'Environmental health Impacts of tobacco farming', 192-193; Lee, 'Tobacco Control and Tobacco Farming in African countries', 4; and McLaren, 'Smoking: Environmental and Social Impacts'.

[121] Interview with Tobacco Peasants at Kitanda, Magagula and Namtumbo Villages, 8 April and 12 August 2016.

[122] (TTCF), Implementation of the WHO Framework Convention on Tobacco Control in Tanzania, 2007-2012.

[123] William Beinart and Joan McGregor, 'Introduction', In W. Beinart and J. McGregor, *Social History and African Environments*, (Oxford: James Currey, Athens: Ohio University Press, Cape Town: David Philip, 2003), 1-24.

[124] See TTB Regional Office-Ruvuma, Tobacco Production Trend between 2004 and 2015 and also see Boesen and Mohele, *Success Story of Peasant Tobacco Production*, 92; Misana, 'Deforestation A Development Crisis?';

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deforestation has also led to the shortage of fuel wood and a substantial loss of biodiversity, including wild animals, birds, traditional medicinal trees, fruits and mushrooms. This increasing rate of deforestation has created a burden for most of the rural women and hunters, who are now forced to travel over 20 kilometres away from their villages for collection of mushrooms, firewood and hunting of game. Five decades ago most of these domestic resources were found and collected less than 5 to 10 kilometres away from the villages.[125] Commenting on the relationship between nature and humans, in her chapter on natural history and the politics of Afrikaner identity in South Africa, Sandra Swart argued that "landscapes are the symbolic environment created by human act of conferring on nature and the environment".[126] Therefore, this chapter holds the view that human activities including fire-cured tobacco farming have continuously been responsible in shaping the landscape of the Ungoni and Undendeuli land of Ruvuma. Hence, expressing a similar view, the TTCF report on tobacco control in Tanzania between 2007 and 2012 clearly documented that "increased tree felling has resulted in decreased rainfall and water sources. Women have had to travel long distance throughout the night in search of water, risking attack by wild animals and some being raped."[127]

Finally, intensification of tobacco farming in the free market economy posed a great threat of land degradation in the tobacco-growing areas of Ruvuma. Tobacco peasants were required to apply many chemical fertilizers and pesticides in order to get quality leaf with the desired amount of nicotine required by the manufacturers. The improper application of tobacco inputs has contributed to the destruction of agricultural productivity in the region.[128] As a result, the

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Temu, *Fuel Wood Scarcity and other Problems associated with Tobacco;* and Wahid, *Technical Package of Practices to Improve the Efficiency of Fuelwood Use in the Tobacco Industry in Tanzania.*

[125] Namtumbo Group Interview, 12 August 2016. The impact of tobacco farming on deforestation, loss of biodiversity, the decline of fuel wood and land cover change is not limited to fire-cured tobacco production in Ruvuma. There are also many studies which have demonstrated the impact of flue-cured tobacco farming on deforestation, decline of fuel wood and land cover change in Central and Western Tanzania. See Geist, 'Global assessment of deforestation related to tobacco farming'; Sauer and Abdallah, 'Forest diversity, tobacco production and resource management in the Miombo woodlands in Tanzania'; Mangora, 'Ecological impact of tobacco farming in Miombo woodlands of Urambo'; Waluye, 'Environmental impact of tobacco growing in Tabora'; and Mangora, 'Shifting Cultivation, Wood Use and Deforestation, Attributes of Tobacco Farming in Urambo District'.

[126] Sandra Swart, 'The Ant of the White Soul Popular Natural History, the Politics of Afrikaner Identity and the Entomological Writings of Eugen Marais', In W. Beinart and J. McGregor, *Social History and African Environments*, (Oxford; James Currey, Athens: Ohio University Press, Cape Town: David Philip, 2003), 219-239.

[127] See TTCF, Implementation of the WHO Framework Convention on Tobacco Control in Tanzania, 2007-2012, 32.

[128] Tobacco is a unique plant which absorbs more nutrients from the soil than many other crops grown in the Ruvuma region including maize, cassava and coffee. Studies by A.J. Goodland et al. and Nyoni stated that tobacco is a potassium-hungry crop which absorbs more nutrients than other crops. Therefore, excessive use of chemical fertilizers and pesticides largely depleted soil productivity in many tobacco-growing areas. Again, increased loss

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decline of soil productivity again became a major stimulant to persistent shifting cultivation, bush fires and depletion of the miombo woodland in the search for productive virgin soil in the villages. Recent scientific investigations by the Tobacco Research Institute of Tanzania (TORITA) and Sokoine University of Agriculture revealed that some tobacco-growing areas, including Likenangena, have high level of acidic content in the soil with low levels of nitrogen, potassium and calcium.[129] Therefore, if not properly controlled, tobacco farming will result in widespread land degradation, a decline of agricultural productivity, food insecurity and an increased rate of poverty in the region. See Table 16 for an indication of soil analysis for Likenangena in Namtumbo District.

Table 16: Soil analysis for Likenangena in Namtumbo District by 2011/12.[130]

Parameters	pH	N (%)	P (mg/kg)	K(mg/kg)	Ca(mg/kg)	C.E.C.(me/100g)
Results	4.8	0.08	16.09	0.13	0.33	6.8
Rating	Acidic	Very Low	Medium	Low	Very Low	Low

A closer look at the environmental consequences of tobacco farming in the aftermath of villagisation and the introduction of the free market economy shows that the crop made a substantial contribution to the depletion of the miombo woodlands as well as to land cover changes in Ruvuma, particularly in the tobacco-growing areas of Songea and Namtumbo Districts. As discussed above, the impact of tobacco farming on land cover change was largely the result of poor farming practices, the growing need for wood consumption for curing the crop, and the over-exploitation of miombo woodlands for peasant household fuel wood energy, building materials, wood carvings, as well as hunting of wild animals and traditional collection of honey.[131] Consequently, all these peasant household activities resulted in significant land

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of soil nutrients in the tobacco fields forced many farmers, particularly those who could not afford the cost of chemical fertilizers, to opt for shifting cultivation in order to control diseases and avoid the cost of the fertilizers and pesticides. SONAMCU Office, Fertilizer Analysis Data Sheet by Sokoine University of Agriculture, 8 December 2011.

[129] See TORITA, Annual Report, 2011/12 Crop Season, 19-21.

[130] TORITA, Annual Report 2011/12 Crop Season.

[131] Also see Abdallah and Monela, 'Overview of Miombo Woodlands in Tanzania', 12-13; Syampungani et al., 'The Miombo woodlands at the crossroads: Potential threats, sustainable livelihoods, policy gaps and challenges',

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cover changes, particularly the increase of bush lands (from 24% to 39%) and the decline of miombo forest lands (from 59% to 50%) in Songea and Namtumbo Districts between the 1980 and 2016.[132] See Figures 29, 30 and 32 for an indication of the land cover changes in Songea and Namtumbo Districts.

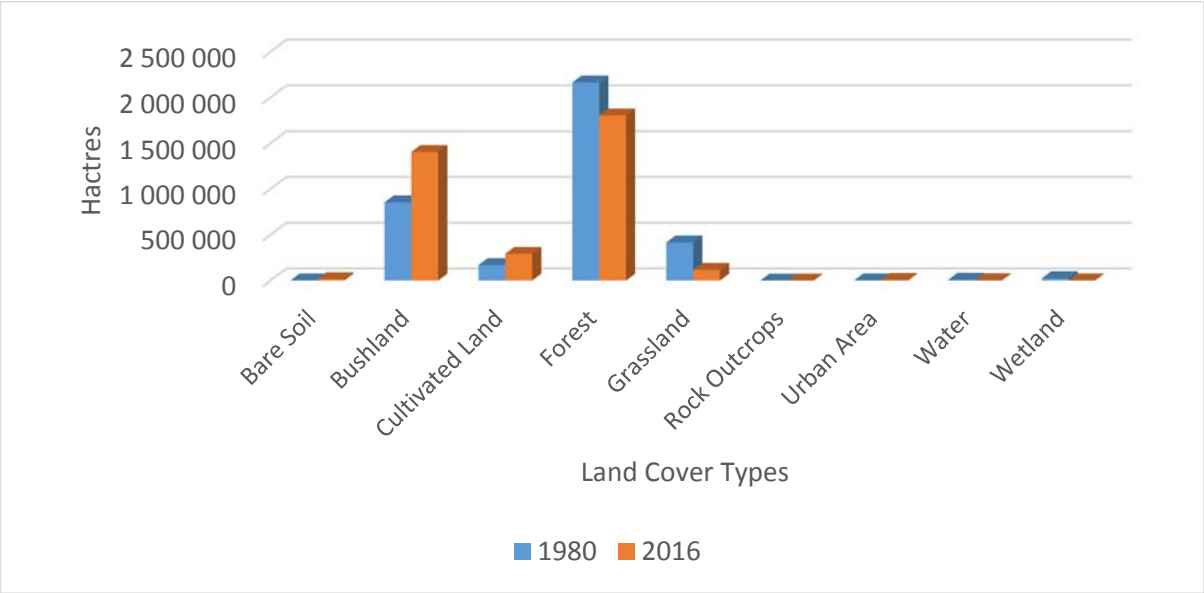

Figure 29: Land Cover Change Songea and Namtumbo Districts, 1980-2016.[133]

150; Lynch et al, 'Socio-ecological aspects of sustaining Ramsar wetlands', 850-853; and Misana, 'Deforestation in Tanzania: A development Crisis?'.

[132] Also see Appendix 1: Land Cover Change by Cross Tabulation in Songea and Namtumbo, 1980-2016.

[133] Requested by the author from GIS UDSM, May, 2017.

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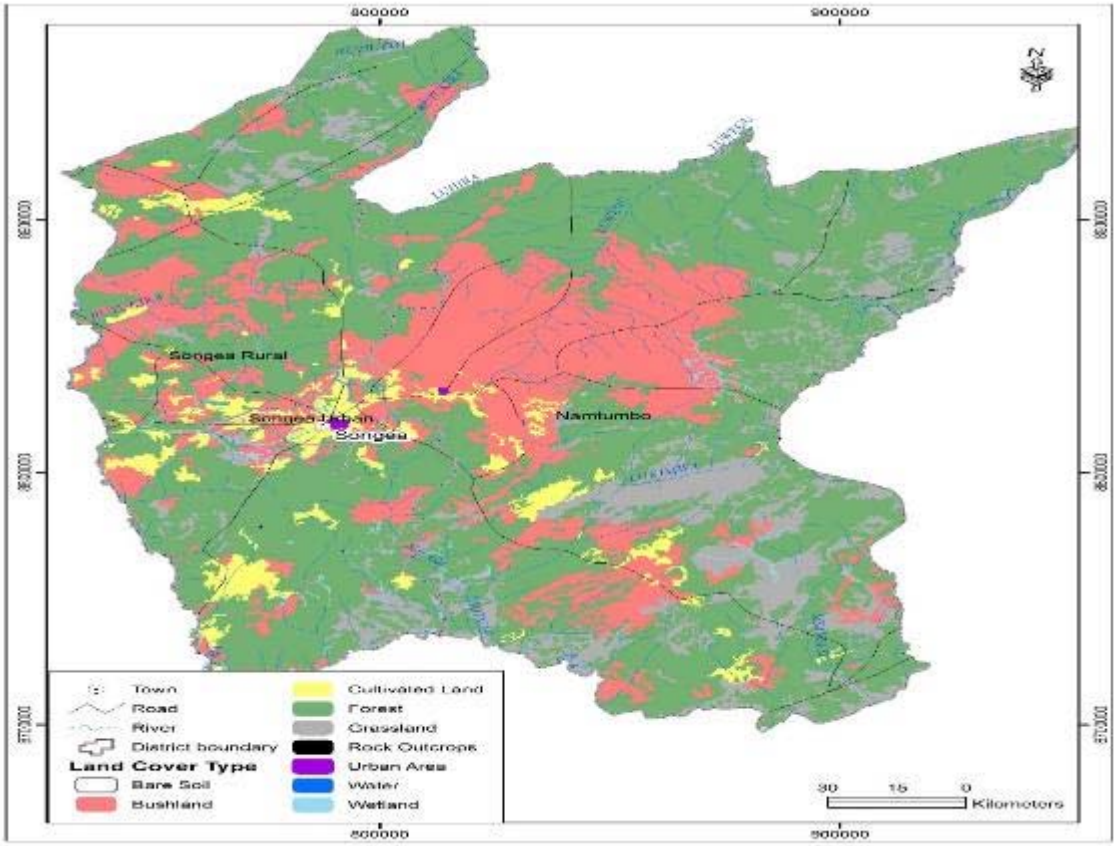

Figure 30: Land Cover Change in Songea and Namtumbo Districts in 1980.[134]

[134] Requested by the author from GIS-UDSM, 2017

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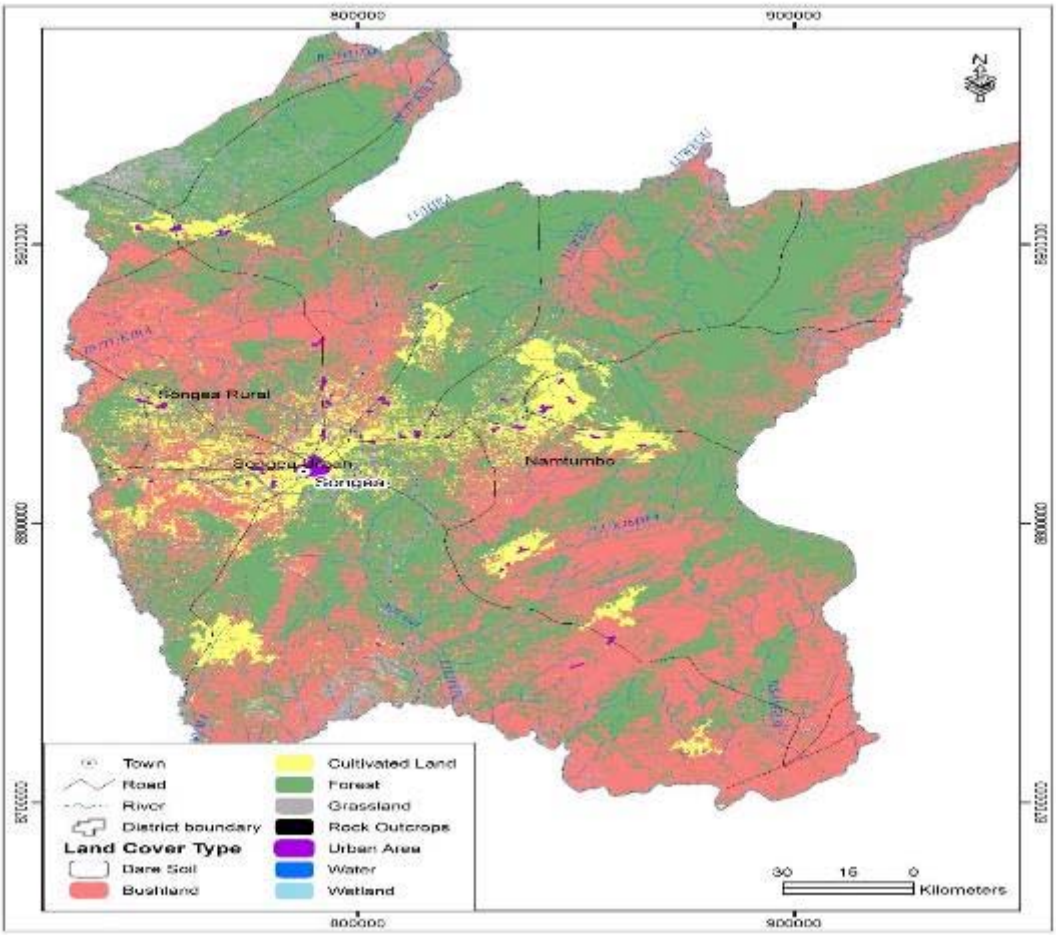

Figure 31: Land Cover Change in Songea and Namtumbo District in 2016.[135]

The era of the free market economy for tobacco did not just influence land cover, but also resulted in the impoverishment of some rural peasants and contributed to the decline of the entire tobacco industry in the region between the late 2000s and the mid-2010s. The government records show that tobacco production drastically declined from 4,217 tonnes in 2008/09 to 785 tonnes in 2014/15 and an estimate of 200 tonnes in 2015/16. The area under tobacco cultivation decreased from over 5,078 hectares in 2008/09 to 535 hectares in 2015/16, while the number of tobacco peasants proportionally declined from 8,034 to 999 in the same period.[136] This drastic decline of tobacco industry is mainly triggered by what is known as the

[135] Requested by the Author from GIS-UDSM, May 2017.
[136] TTB Regional Office-Ruvuma, Tobacco Production Trend between 2004 and 2015 and TTB, *Taarifa ya Tathmini ya Zao la Tumbaku (Crop Survey &Leaf Count) 2014/15 Mkoa wa Ruvuma*, 2 April 2015.

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'weapons of the weak', where many tobacco producing peasants have resisted the exploitative production relations of the tobacco companies by abandoning their tobacco farms in various villages in the region.[137] Available records at Namtumbo Agricultural Marketing Cooperative Society (Namtumbo AMCOS) similarly reveal that tobacco production at Namtumbo primary society declined drastically from 115.4 tonnes in 2011/12, 84.2 tonnes in 2012/13, 1.09 tonnes in 2013/14 to zero production in 2014/15 and 2015/16.[138] By the 2016/17 production season the majority of the peasants had abandoned their tobacco farms in Songea and Namtumbo districts. However, because of a lack of viable alternative economic activity, there were few peasants who cultivated for commercial purposes and some of them continued to grow in small plots for local domestic use in the region.[139]

Coping with the Environmental Impact of Tobacco Production, 2010-2016

The increasing environmental impact of peasant tobacco production in Tanzania has contributed to the emergence of several strategies to counter the problem in various parts of the country, including the Ruvuma region. The first is the intensification of afforestation programmes in tobacco-growing areas in the region. The afforestation programme among the tobacco peasants in Ruvuma is not new as it started in colonial times.[140] However, after independence it was given a new impetus with the establishment of the village afforestation

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[137] Namtumbo, Namanguli and Nakahegwa Focus Group Discussions, August 2016. For detailed information on the weapons of the weak as everyday form of peasant struggles see James Scott, *Weapons of the Weak: Every day form of peasant Resistances,* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1986).

[138] See Tobacco production statistics at Namtumbo AMCOS Office, August 2016, which also show that the value of the crop at Namtumbo AMCOS, declined respectively from US$190,913 in 2011/12, US$143,767 in 2012/13, US$1,067 in 2013/14 and zero cash income between 2015 and 2016.

[139] There were many tobacco peasants who had abandoned their tobacco fields at Kitanda, Namtumbo, Matimila, Namanguli and many other villages. A few villages like Mgombasi, Namabengo and Litola continued to grow the crop for commercial purposes and some villages like Magagula, Nakahegwa and others grew the crop for domestic use at the village.

[140] Re-afforestation-(the plantings of Eucalypt and Syringe) by the African peasant association were increased from 15 acres in 1936/37 to 35 acres in 1937/38 and 50 acres in 1938/39. A programme was launched to encourage tobacco growers in the region to plant more trees for the considerable amount of firewood required for curing the crop. See NAT, 155, Co-op/27/, Ngoni-Matengo Cooperative Marketing Union Limited, Annual Report for 1937/38; NAT, 155, Co-op/27/, The NGOMAT balance sheet dated 31 March 1939: and for the five year intensive afforestation programme in Tanganyika, 1955-1960, see the United Kingdom National Archives (UKNA), East African Department (EAF), 191/205/01, C.D & W. Scheme for Five Year Forestry Programme in Tanganyika. For the current afforestation programme, see TTB Regional Office, Ruvuma, TTB, Minutes of the Tobacco Stakeholders Emergence Meeting held at TTB office in Ruvuma, 20 January 2011.

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programme in the 1970s and the so-called "cut a tree, plant a tree" campaign in the mid-1980s. Again, it was further intensified after the introduction of contract farming in the mid-2000s.[141]

However, most of the trees planted on the village blocks and those planted by farmers during the "cut a tree, plant a tree" campaign did not survive because of lack of care: some of them were destroyed by fire, some were destroyed by animals and some just dried out.[142] The growing scarcity and the need for wood fuel for curing tobacco in the country in the 1990s and 2010s forced the government to establish tobacco farming rules, which required all registered peasant tobacco producers to plant family woodlots for the curing the crop. In terms of the provisions of the Tanzania Tobacco Industry Act of 2001, the TTB has the full responsibility for registering tobacco producers and inspecting their woodlots before it approves their registration for the next production season in the region. The tobacco leaf dealers are also required by the Act to supply tobacco seedlings to the growers in the region. As a result, all the key tobacco buyers in the region have established their own demonstration tree farms and have been supplying seedlings to the growers annually.[143] TLTC, for example, has about three demonstration woodlots at Likenangena, Naikesi and Namtumbo villages. These farms are used for training tobacco growers and growing tree seedling for the tobacco growers.

Likewise, many peasants have abided by the law and planted their woodlots under the close supervision of the TTB and tobacco leaf dealers. However, many of these peasant woodlots are often destroyed by fire because of lack of care and hence they remain not weeded. Many peasants weed their woodlots during the inspection carried by extension and TTB officers for annual registration. Commenting on the afforestation programme in the stakeholders meeting in Ruvuma in 2010, the ATTT officer stated that over years now the leaf dealers have been providing significant support for the afforestation programme by preparing seedlings and distributing the to the peasant associations and other tobacco stakeholders, but laziness in nursing these planted trees has led to these trees dying periodically. Elsewhere a representative admitted the challenges of managing the planted trees among the peasants and he promised to

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[141] Fosbrooke Collection, East African-UDSM Library, FoS U51.T5, (URT), 'The Threat of Desertification in Central Tanzania' (1977), 8 and SONAMCU Office-Songea, Minutes of the Tobacco Stakeholders Meeting held at SONTOP office in Songea, 9 January 2012.

[142] Group Interviews at Nakahegwa, Namanguli and Namtumbo Villages, August 2016. Also see Waluye, 'Environmental impacts of tobacco growing in Tabora', 253.

[143] See Tanzania Tobacco Industry Act of 2001; and SONAMCU Office, Songea, Minutes of the Tobacco Stakeholders Meeting held at SONTOP office, Songea, 5 November, 2010.

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take deliberate measures to ensure that every year the peasants in each village should plant and manage properly a minimum of 5 acres of trees for curing the crop and the general environmental conservation in the region.[144] Therefore, close supervision and civic education on the management and significance of planted forest are urgently needed for the sustainability of tobacco industry in the region. See Figure 32 for an illustration of a bush like peasant woodlot at Namabengo village.

Figure 32: Peasant woodlot which turned a bush because of failure to weed on time at Namabengo village in 2016.[145]

The second strategy for coping with the environmental impact of tobacco production is the traditional practice of rotational cropping. Peasants in Ungoni and Undendeuli have been doing rotational cropping for improvement of soil nutrients, controlling pests and generating more crop yields in the tobacco fields.[146] Crop rotation is one of the oldest management practices in

[144] SONAMCU Office, Songea, Minutes of the Tobacco Stakeholders Meeting held at SONTOP office, Songea, 5 November, 2010.
[145] A photograph of a woodlot taken by the author at Namabengo Village, April 2016.
[146] Interview with Beatus A. Mtumwa, TLTC Extensional Officer, Ruvuma, 14 April 2016; and Namanguli, Mgombasi and Namtumbo Group Interviews, 12-13 August 2016.

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agricultural production.[147] Both written and oral accounts show that peasants in Songea and Namtumbo from the colonial era planted their crops on ridges (between 1.5 and 2 yards wide and 9 to 15 inches height from trough to the crest) on the basis of four to six courses of rotational cropping plans depending on the geography of the area. The peasants, particularly tobacco growers, often practised rotational cropping for the four main crops: tobacco, maize, beans and groundnuts. Other crops included cassava, pigeon peas and sorghum. Therefore, many of them planted tobacco for the first course (year) when the land was still virgin; then in the second course they planted maize, beans in the third course and cassava or groundnuts in the fourth course, before they could again plant tobacco in the same piece of land.[148] A study by Amosu on a similar case contended that peasants have been applying rotational cropping knowingly and unknowingly for centuries to combat plant diseases, improve of soil fertility, control diseases and regenerate the miombo vegetation in the tobacco-growing areas.[149]

The third strategy for coping with environmental impact of tobacco production is the adoption of a natural forest preservation strategy, which was another attempt to counter the shortage of fuel wood in the region. The extension officers from the leaf dealers instructed and encouraged the growers regarding the proper utilization of the natural vegetation by prohibiting the farmers from cutting down whole trees in the field, and instead they are now using branches of trees for curing their crop.[150] Some peasants planted tobacco alongside natural forest trees in order to conserve and maintain sustainable use of natural vegetation.

Finally in coping with environmental impact of tobacco production, the government also has been stimulating the development and use of alternative sources of energy for curing the crop in various parts of the country. Apart from encouraging the afforestation campaign in the country, the government and the tobacco leaf dealers have been continuously providing

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[147] Fosbrooke Collection, Amosu, 'Effect of Cropping Systems on the Population Densities of Plant-Parasitic Nematodes'.
[148] Interviews with the government Agricultural Officers, and TLTC extensional officers, Songea, March-April 2016 as well as group interviews with the retired and the current tobacco growers at Nakahegwa, Namanguli, and Mgombasi, August 2016. Also see, NAT, 155, Coop/27/II, NGOMAT, the report by the District Commissioner-Songea (Mr C.A. Carpenter) on the District Team Approach to Malnutrition-Maposeni Nutrition Scheme in 1958.
[149] See also UDSM Library, Fosbrooke Collection, Amosu, 'Effect of Cropping Systems on the Population Densities of Plant-Parasitic Nematodes'.
[150] Peasants have been trained to use braches of trees for tobacco curing than the load of trees to promote proper utilisation of the natural forest. Field observation at Namabengo village, and Interview with the TLTC tobacco leaf extension officers in Ruvuma, 14-27 April 2016.

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education to the growers on the advantages and the use of improved tobacco-curing barns such as the improved local barns, standard barns and rocket barns, which are said to consume a smaller amount of firewood and have little negative impact on the grower's health.[151] In line with that, the government (through the TTB and TORITA) has also conducted several scientific experiments to develop alternative sources of energy to address the threat of deforestation and the increasing shortage of wood fuel for curing the crop in the country. Initially, the government conducted coal experiments for curing tobacco in Iringa region. The findings revealed that coal energy could replace the use of fuel wood for curing the crop in the country, but coal energy was too expensive to be used by the poor rural peasants.[152] Again in 2015/16 production season, the government undertook another experiment using special grass for curing tobacco in Mbeya region. According to the Ministry of Agriculture, the findings for this experiment were successful and the government reported to Parliament in April 2017 that the use of special grass (elephant grass) for curing the crop will promote environmental sustainability and protect the health of the tobacco growers; it will also reduce peasant production costs because it is cheaper compared to the use of wood fuel and coal. Following the success of the Mbeya experiment, the government, through the TTB, has instructed all tobacco growers in the country, including those of Ruvuma, to start using the grass for curing the crop effectively from the 2017/18 production season.[153] This chapter therefore suggests that the effective use of the novel alternative source of energy, namely elephant grass for curing tobacco, together with other coping mechanisms discussed above, will probably address the growing threat of tobacco-related deforestation, extinction of the miombo woodlands, and land cover changes in the region and the country at large.

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[151] Interviews with both the government Agricultural Officers and the Leaf Dealers Extensional officers, Ruvuma, 05-27 April 2016 as well as interview with Mr Hugo Mapunda, TORITA Research Officer, Tabora, 28 May 2016. For more illustration on strategies to deal with deforestation, see Waluye, 'Environmental impact of tobacco growing in Tabora', 253-254; Misana, 'Deforestation in Tanzania: A Development Crisis?', 56-59; DD International, *The role of tobacco growing in rural livelihoods;* and Sauer and Abdallah, 'Forest diversity, tobacco production and resource management in the Miombo woodlands in Tanzania'.

[152] See the Minister's response to Hon. Hawa Bananga's question on when the government of Tanzania would help the tobacco growers in the country to get an alternative source of energy for curing the crop. The Parliament of the United Republic of Tanzania, the 11th Parliamentary Session, 7th Meeting, Questions and Answers, Dodoma, Monday, 24 April 2017.

[153] Hon. Tate William Ole Nasha, the Deputy Minister of Agriculture's response on the government efforts to develop alternative source of energy for tobacco growers in Tanzania. See The Parliament of the United Republic of Tanzania, the 11th Parliamentary Session, 7th Meeting, Questions and Answers, Dodoma, Monday, 24 April 2017; and also see http://www.youtube.com/watch?=b2Live: *Fuatilia yanayojiri Bungeni Dodoma Leo*, 24 April 2017, Global TV Online, accessed on 25 April 2017.

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Conclusion

This chapter has examined the socio-economic and environmental impacts of peasant tobacco production in Ruvuma in southern Tanzania from the 1970s to the mid-2010s. This chapter offers a fresh contribution to the agrarian and environmental historiography by focusing on the historical analysis of the socio-economic and environmental impact of fire-cured tobacco production in Ungoni and Undendeuli areas of southern Tanzania. It attempted to bridge the historiographical knowledge gap left by the Tanzanian agrarian and environmental historians in the understanding of the broader impact of tobacco production in the country. The chapter brought together the aspects of the socio-economic and environmental impacts of the tobacco industry in the country. This chapter argued that the success story of tobacco production in the aftermath of the compulsory villagisation programme of the 1970s and the free market economy, between the mid-1980s and 2010s, had substantial socio-economic and environmental impacts on rural livelihoods in southern Tanzania. It demonstrated that initially, the intensification of tobacco production provided diverse employment opportunities and was a primary source of household income (than other crops) to the majority of the rural peasants in the Ungoni and Undendeuli areas of Ruvuma. However, a decade after the establishment of the free market economy and the rise of contract farming in the mid-1990s, many peasants are left in poverty and starvation because of the increasing agricultural input debts, unfair tobacco grading and marketing system, the corruption and inefficiencies of the cooperatives, the closing down of the Songea tobacco processing factory in 2006, and the subsequent decline of the entire tobacco industry in the region during the mid-2010s. The chapter also noted that the increase in tobacco production had a substantial impact on the deforestation of the miombo woodlands, soil degradation and land cover changes in the region. The chapter finally explored the coping strategies to address the environmental impact of tobacco farming in the region. It specifically stressed that the state, peasants and the leaf dealers should work to ensure the effectiveness of the afforestation programme, the conservation of natural forests and the use of alternative sources of energy to promote the sustainability of the environment and the entire tobacco industry in the development of the rural economy in the country. The next chapter offers some conclusions for this thesis. It also offers an account of the current decline of the tobacco industry in Ruvuma and raises questions for further research stemming from this study.

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CHAPTER SEVEN

Conclusion

This thesis has cast new light on the agrarian and socio-environmental history of colonial and post-colonial peasant tobacco production in the Ungoni and Undendeuli areas of the Ruvuma region in southern Tanzania. It has examined the establishment, early dynamics, maturation and the resultant socio-economic and environmental impacts of peasant tobacco production in the development of the rural economy in the region from the early 1930s to the mid-2010s. It has focused fundamentally on three key periods. In the first place, it has traced the role of state interventions in the establishment, development and coercive control of peasant fire-cured tobacco production in the region from its embryonic to an advanced stage in the 1950s. Secondly, it has explored the post-WWII influence of African cooperative movements and their broader impacts in the control of tobacco marketing in the region, particularly from the mid-1950s to the early post-colonial period in the 1970s. Finally, it has assessed the socio-economic and environmental impact of tobacco production on the rural livelihoods of the Ungoni and Undendeuli areas in the region between the 1970s and the mid-2010s.

The thesis has also engaged with three historiographical themes. While exploring facets of socio-economic change, this study has been located in the historiography of agrarian change and ongoing historiographical conversations about African environmental history. This study has attempted to fill a deep existing lacuna in agrarian studies of the tobacco industry in Tanzania which, to date, have only looked at the conception and role of African peasantry, the debate over the state's relationship with peasants, the colonial marketing of peasant crops, the political economy and the ecological impacts of flue-cured tobacco grown in the western and central parts of the country[1] at the expense of fire-cured tobacco largely grown in the Ungoni

[1] A.E. Temu, 'A Comparative Economic Analysis of Tobacco and Groundnut Farming in Urambo District, Tabora Region, Tanzania', *Journal of Economics and Sustainable Development*, 4, 19, (2013), 104-111; Andrew Coulson, 'Peasants and Bureaucrats', *Review of African Political Economy*, 3, (1975), 53-58; Deborah Fahy Bryceson, 'Peasant Commodity Production in Post-Colonial Tanzania', *African Affairs*, 81, 325 (1982), 547-567; Goran Hyden, *Beyond Ujamaa in Tanzania: Underdevelopment and an Uncaptured Peasantry*, (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1980), 18-24; Isaria N. Kimambo, *Penetration and Peasant Protest in Tanzania the Impact of the World Economy on the Pare, 1860-1960*, (London: James Currey, 1991); J. Boesen and A.T. Mohela, *The Success story of peasant Tobacco production in Tanzania: the political economy of a commodity producing peasantry*, (Uppsala: Scandinavian Institute of African Studies, 1979); John Waluye, 'Environmental impact of tobacco growing in Tabora/Urambo, Tanzania', *Tobacco Control*, 3, (1994), 252-254; Johannes Sauer and Jumanne M. Abdallah, 'Forest diversity, tobacco production and resource management in the miombo woodlands in Tanzania', *Forest Policy and Economics*, 9, (2007), 421-439; Patrick M. Redmond, 'The

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and Undendeuli areas of Ruvuma in southern Tanzania. In telling the 'gold leaf [2]story', this thesis has also engaged in the debate on the colonial and post-colonial agrarian history of Tanzania. Unlike the existing scholarship, which largely focused on the post-colonial ecological impacts of the flue-cured tobacco industry in the country, this thesis has delineated the historical continuity and integrated the aspects of socio-economic and environmental analysis in the study of the colonial and post-colonial tobacco peasant production in Tanzania. It has argued that state interventions, particularly the 'Plant More Crops' campaign of the 1930s, the establishment of the state-controlled African tobacco board of 1940, the restoration of the autonomy of NGOMAT in 1954, the post-colonial *Ujamaa* and villagisation policy of the 1960s and 1970s as well as the recent policy of a free market economy and the contract farming strategy of the 1990s have all largely influenced the dynamics and the resultant socio-economic and environmental impacts of colonial and post-colonial peasant fire-cured tobacco production in southern Tanzania.

The story of the gold leaf industry is the story of the Ungoni and Undendeuli areas of the Ruvuma region in southern Tanzania. As shown by this thesis, the historiography of Ruvuma Region would be incomplete without including the story of peasant fire-cured commercial tobacco production, which has existed for over eight decades now since it was introduced by the British colonialists in Tanganyika in the early 1930s. Admittedly, throughout its existence, the gold leaf trade has been part of the lifeblood of the regional economy and the socio-economic livelihoods of the rural peasants in the Ungoni and Undendeuli areas of southern

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NMCMU and Tobacco Production in Songea District', *Tanzania Notes and Records*, 79 & 80, (1976), 65-98; G.P. Mpangala, 'A History of Colonial Production in the Songea District, Tanzania, 1897-1961', M.A. Thesis, University of Dar es Salaam, 1977; G.P. Mpangala, 'The Impact of Colonial Trading Capital or the Transformation of Peasant Agriculture in Tanganyika, 1885-1961', PhD thesis, Karl Marx University , Leipzig, 1987; Mwita M. Mangora, 'Ecological impact of tobacco farming in Miombo woodlands of Urambo District, Tanzania', *African Journal of Ecology*, 43, 4, (2005), 385-391; Mwita M. Mangora, 'Shifting Cultivation, Wood Use and Deforestation, Attributes of Tobacco Farming in Urambo District, Tanzania', *Journal of Social Science*, 4, 2, (2012), 135-140; Steven Feierman, *Peasant Intellectuals: Anthropology and History,* (Madison: Wisconsin University Press, 1990); and Z.P. Yanda, 'Impact of Small Scale tobacco growing on the spatial and temporal distribution of miombo woodlands in Western Tanzania', *Journal of Ecology and Natural Environment*, 2, (2010), 10-16.

[2] In this thesis 'gold leaf trade' refers to the whole process of cultivation, processing, marketing and export of tobacco. The supporters of tobacco industry claim that tobacco production is the driver of economic development in the countries of the developing world. This trade is also considered as 'green gold' or 'gold leaf trade'. See UN Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD), *Economic Role of Tobacco Production and Export in Countries depending on Tobacco as a Major source of Income, Report* (Geneva, UNCTAD, 1995); and Helmut Geist et al., 'The Tobacco Industry in Malawi: A Globalised Driver of Local Land Change', *Journal of Land Change Modifications in the Developing World*, (2008), 251-268.

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Tanzania. Despite the socio-economic and environmental challenges highlighted in Chapters Four, Five and Six, the Ruvuma gold leaf trade has not only been inextricably linked with the diverse sources of employment opportunities and being the primary source of cash income and improvement of food security for the majority of the rural peasant household societies, but it has also been acknowledged as a sound contributor to the regional and national GDP, and a significant source of forex reserves in Tanzania.

In tracing the role of state in the establishment and development of the Ruvuma gold leaf industry, this thesis demonstrated that the introduction of commercial fire-cured tobacco production in the region in the early 1930s by the British colonists in Tanganyika was an attempt to rehabilitate its crippled metropolitan economy after WWI and the global depression of the early 1930s. It was partly an attempt by the state to respond to the need to improve the socio-economic livelihoods of the rural peasants in the labour reserve areas of southern Tanganyika. As discussed in Chapters Two and Three, this thesis showed that the establishment of commercial peasant tobacco production in the region took place very late – about four decades later after the colonisation of Tanganyika and many other parts of Africa during the last quarter of the 19th century. It was demonstrated that throughout the early days of colonialism in Tanganyika – first by the Germans and the by the British after WWI – Ruvuma was considered as a labour reserve area for the colonial economic project in the north-eastern parts of Tanganyika and therefore very little attempt was made to establish commercial agriculture except for food production to feed labourers in various parts of the colony. Despite its attractive geographical position (particularly reliable rainfall, sparse population and the availability of the miombo woodlands), poor transportation network, the memory of the *Majimaji* war of 1905 and 1907, and the need for reserve labour areas largely became the major predicaments for the establishment of commercial agriculture in the early days of colonial Tanganyika.

However, as shown in Chapter Three, this situation changed with the worsening economic conditions in the colony after WWI and the Great Depression of the 1930s. The British colonial state in East Africa launched a "Plant More Crops" campaign during the late 1920s and the early 1930s, which was geared towards promoting the quality and quantity of agricultural export production (from both white settlers, planters and African peasant producers) to rehabilitate the British economy during and after the depression. Through the "Plant More

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Crops" campaign, the colonial department of agricultural conducted research and experiments to promote and establish export crops in various parts of the colony, including southern Tanganyika. In the southern province the Department of Agriculture carried out several export crop experiments to promote coffee, tobacco, sisal and rubber production. The findings from the Department of Agriculture proved that coffee could thrive in Umatengo in the present Mbinga district, tobacco could thrive in Ungoni and Undendeuli areas of the present Songea and Namtumbo district, and cashew nuts could be grown in Tunduru districts. This thesis showed that the research findings produced by the Department of Agriculture in the southern province conflicted with the worsening socio-economic conditions of African peasants during the economic depression, and particularly the for the suddenly redundant labourers of the sisal plantation migrant labourers including the Wangoni and Wandendeuli, who had no other alternative economic activities to turn to. Hence they requested the colonial state to establish viable peasant commercial African tobacco production in order to improve the economic livelihoods of the rural peasants in the labour reserve regions of southern Tanganyika.

It was demonstrated that during the trial period between 1930 and 1935, the fire-cured tobacco industry in the region, particularly in Ungoni, was controlled by the Department of Agriculture. This department was given the duty of controlling the whole of the tobacco industry in the region, including the induction of the European tobacco culture among the indigenous people in the region as well controlling the quantity and the quality of tobacco production, and the marketing, processing and exportation of the Ruvuma tobacco leaf. This thesis has shown, however, that by 1935 the tobacco industry (despite little challenges) had grown into a large industry, following the increase of annual tobacco production and the growing number of African tobacco growers in the region. The industry could now no longer be managed by the Department, which faced the problem of shortages of human personnel and capital for more investment and greater development of the entire industry.

Hence, it was shown that at first the government made attempts to invite European tobacco planters and private investors to run the entire tobacco industry on behalf of the government. The investors did not show much interest in this, mainly because of the poor transport and communication network in the Ruvuma region. As a result, in 1936 the government started the NGOMAT as the second African peasant cooperative union in Tanganyika to control the entire tobacco industry in the region. This decision was taken by the government because, despite the

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shortage of human personnel, the new tobacco industry needed heavy investment especially for the purchase and installation of a tobacco processing plant. The government probably did not have enough funds and it was not ready to take the trouble to invest in the remote region, which in any case was a labour reserve. From the mid-1930s the NGOMAT replaced the Department of Agriculture in controlling the tobacco industry. Between the mid-1930s and the early 1940s, under the enthusiastic leadership of Mr A.E. Twells, the Union Manager, the central union promoted the active participation of the indigenous people in the control of the union and the entire tobacco industry in the region. Consequently, peasant tobacco production expanded further from the Ungoni areas in the current Songea district to the Undendeuli areas of the present Namtumbo district and some parts of Umatengo lowlands in Mbinga district.

This thesis has also demonstrated that tobacco production was a labour-intensive industry due to its complex production processes from the preparation of the farm, management of seedlings, cultivation, planting, transplanting, weeding, application of fertilizers and pesticides, harvesting, curing and marketing. Though the local peasants in Ruvuma adopted various labour methods, including family labour, cooperative labour and hired labour, as discussed in Chapter Four, the majority of them depended heavily on a family labour force. A study of food-farming the Fante Villages of West Africa by Polly Hill also observed that men were "attached" to the land, as they owned and cleared it while women were "attached" to food, they cultivated it, processed, cooked and sold it.[3] This thesis, however, noted that in Ruvuma particularly on peasant tobacco production, men primarily engaged in the so-called risky tobacco field operations such as felling of the trees in the field, application of chemical pesticides and curing of the crop. Other operations such as cultivating the field, watering of seedlings, weeding, priming, suckering, harvesting and fixing the tobacco leaves were carried out by both men and women. Women, on the other hand, were in charge of food crops and the so-called "light" tobacco jobs such as preparation of food, watering of seedlings and cutting grasses for the curing barns.

However, as noted in Chapter Four, the growing influence of NGOMAT in the control of the fire-cured tobacco industry in the Ruvuma region over the course of time escalated the conflict

[3] Polly Hill, 'Food-Farming and Migration from Fante Villages', *Africa: Journal of the International African Institute*, 48, 3, (1978), 220-230.

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between the Department of Agriculture and the central union. The central union and the union manager, Mr Twells, were increasingly accused of poor management of the tobacco industry. These false accusations were aimed at taking back control of the tobacco industry from the union. Hence, Mr Twells was dismissed from his position as union manager in September 1940 and in the same year the government formed a state-controlled tobacco board to control the entire tobacco industry, including the supervision of production, marketing, processing and exporting of the Ruvuma leaf. With the formation of the board, the NGOMAT became a mere puppet of the board in the control of tobacco industry in the region.

Moreover, this thesis has shown that the growing influence of the African cooperative movement after the WWII largely contributed to the restoration of the autonomy of NGOMAT in the control of tobacco industry in the region. As demonstrated in Chapter Five, the formation of the Songea Native Tobacco Board intensified the exploitation of the peasant crop as a result of the increased expenses of the board. The board's administrative and tobacco processing costs were paid from the peasant produce through tobacco marketing in the villages. This coincided with WWII, when the board introduced another charge in support of British war operations. Therefore, in the market centres the peasants were now supposed to pay the government levy, the union levy, the board levy, the war levy and the processing charges. All this left the tobacco peasants with a meagre income from the market centres. Instead of promoting the crop, the board became an unbearable burden on the peasants in the region, and many peasants were increasingly disappointed with the returns from their crop and some of them started to abandon their tobacco fields between the late 1940s and the early 1950s.

All this led not just to the gradual decline of the tobacco industry, but also to increasing peasant protests against the tobacco board. The climax of the peasant protest against the board was reached in 1954, when the peasants under the growing influence of the African cooperative movement after WWII managed to restore their autonomy in the control of the tobacco industry in the region. With the influence of the NGOMAT, peasant tobacco production during the 1950s expanded deep in the Undendeuli areas and largely contributed to the rise of the Ndendeuli chiefdom, which had been subjugated by and eventually incorporated into the Wangoni chiefdom in the mid-19th century. This thesis also showed that the restoration of NGOMAT autonomy not only made a contribution to the spread of tobacco industry in various parts of the Ungoni, Undendeuli and some parts of the lower Umatengo areas, but also partly

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contributed to the decline of tobacco production in the region during the early years of Tanganyika's independence. This decline was associated with the fact that most of the African cooperative officials who inherited their posts from the European officials between the late 1950s and the early 1960s were incompetent and corrupt-minded people. Hence, from the 1970s, in an attempt to promote peasant production, the post-independence government disbanded the cooperatives including the NGOMAT. The task of controlling peasant tobacco production was given to a government-controlled institution – the Tobacco Authority of Tanzania (TAT).

Finally, in exploring the socio-economic and environmental impacts of the post-colonial tobacco peasant production, this thesis demonstrated that the success story of fire-cured tobacco production in the aftermath of the compulsory villagisation process of the 1970s and the free market economy between the 2000s and 2010s had substantial socio-economic and environmental impacts on rural livelihoods in the Ungoni and Undendeuli areas of southern Tanzania. This study makes a significant contribution (particularly in Chapter Six) to the current debate on the WHO Framework Convention on Tobacco Control (FCTC) treaty on the control of tobacco production and supply, and its related socio-economic and environmental impacts in the world, in Africa, Tanzania and the Ruvuma region in particular.[4] It was shown that the intensification of tobacco production provided diverse employment opportunities, and was a primary source of household income for the majority of the rural peasants in the region. However, shortly after the establishment of the free market economy and the rise of contract farming in the mid-1990s, left many peasants plunged into poverty and starvation as a result of the increasing agricultural input debts, an unfair tobacco grading and marketing system, the corruption and inefficiencies of cooperatives, the closing down of the Songea tobacco processing factory in 2006, and the decline of the entire tobacco industry in the region during

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[4] African Union, 'The Impact of Tobacco Use on Health and Socio-Economic Development in Africa', A status Report; DD International, *The role of tobacco growing in rural livelihoods: Rethinking the debate around tobacco supply reduction*, (London: Ernst and Young LLP, 2012); E. Anne Lown et al., '"Tobacco is Our Industry and We Must support it": Exploring the Potential Implications of Zimbabwe's accession to the Framework Convention on Tobacco Control', *Globalisation and Health*, 12, 2, (2016), 1-11; Natacha Lecours et al., 'Environmental health Impacts of tobacco farming: a review of the Literature', *Tobacco Control*, 21, (2012), 191-196; Teh-wei Hu and Anita H. Lee, 'Tobacco Control and Tobacco Farming in African countries', *J Public Health Policy*, 36, 1, (2015), 41-51; Tanzania Tobacco Control Forum (TTCF), 'Implementation of the WHO Framework Convention on Tobacco Control in Tanzania, 2007-2012', A Shadow Report, 4-6; and Simon Chapman, et all, 'All Africa Conference on Tobacco Control', *BMJ: British Medical Journal,* 308, 6922, (1994), 189-191; WHO Framework Convention on Tobacco Control (FCTC)', available on www.who.int/fctc/en, accessed on 31 May 2017.

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the mid-2010s. The drastic decline of tobacco production was influenced by both domestic factors and external factors. Firstly, this thesis demonstrated that fluctuation of the global tobacco price affected the price paid to the tobacco growers in rural areas. Unpredictable and low prices paid to the peasants understandably affected the growers' enthusiasm and commitment to increased tobacco farming in the villages. Secondly, poor organisation and an exploitative marketing system under contract farming contributed to the decline of tobacco industry in Ruvuma. As demonstrated in Chapter Six, with the adoption of free tobacco marketing in the 1990s, the rural peasant expected to obtain access to a competitive marketing system and a good price for their crop. Instead, through contract farming, marketing in the rural areas became tightly controlled by the few tobacco companies operating in the region. Between the early and the mid-2010s, there were two major tobacco companies operating in Ruvuma including the TLTC and the AOLTC. Therefore contract tobacco farming in the region did not provide a wide range of competition for peasant tobacco producers. During this period, this thesis noted that while in Ruvuma, there were only two contracting tobacco companies, the tobacco growing district of Mazoe in Zimbabwe, through auction marketing system, attracted over 16 contracting companies including Boost Africa, Leaf trade Company, Chidziva Tobacco Processors for local players and for international players included Tribac, a subsidiary company of Japan, Tian Ze and Midriver Enterprises subsidiaries of Chinese tobacco companies, Northern Tobacco of British American Tobacco and Mashonaland Tobacco Company and ZIM leaf Holdings subsidiary of US company.[5] Therefore, while tobacco contract producers in Zimbabwe enjoyed a wide range of competition in the auction marketing centres, the peasant tobacco producers in Ruvuma had limited choice of market for their tobacco leaf. Consequently, the two companies operating in Ruvuma have a greater influence in deciding the price for farm inputs like fertilizers and pesticides and even the decision on the final price paid to tobacco growers in the marketing centres. In many cases the tobacco peasants in Ruvuma and other tobacco growing areas were given highly priced farm input loans, which the majority of them failed to repay after selling their tobacco, because of unfair tobacco grading and the low prices offered by the companies at the market centres.

[5] Ian Scoones, et al., 'Tobacco, contract farming and agrarian change in Zimbabwe', *Journal of Agrarian Change*, (2016), 1-21.

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Thirdly, as pointed out in Chapter Six, the closing down of the Songea tobacco processing factory in 2006 contributed to the decline of peasant tobacco production in the region. The processing factory had provided multiple benefits to the peasants in the region including employment opportunities, improvement in regional money circulation and a relatively good price to the peasants. The peasants used to get the first payment after selling their green tobacco, and after the central union had sold their processed tobacco to the multinational companies the peasants were assured of getting a second payment. The double payment acted as a stimulant to many peasant tobacco producers in the region. So when the factory closed, all associated benefits were no longer realised as a consequence of the decision of the multinational companies to shift the processing factory from Ruvuma to Morogoro.

Multiple taxes on tobacco producers also played a role in the decline of tobacco production. During the marketing season the peasants were required to pay a union levy, the local government levy and the Apex levy, apart from the reduction of their farm input loans. Consequently, some peasants – even after selling their crop – were left with very little cash and sometimes with nothing at all. Hence, the majority of peasants were increasingly indebted to the tobacco companies, because they failed to pay their high-priced farm input loans. This led to the further impoverishment of some growers, discouragement of many growers, abandonment of tobacco field and the continuous decline of the annual tobacco production in the region towards the mid-2010s.

This thesis has also shown that the increase in the volume of tobacco production between 1970s and 2000s aggravated several negative environmental impacts, including the depletion of the miombo woodlands, loss of biodiversity, soil degradation and land cover changes in the region. This thesis noted that land clearance for tobacco cultivation, energy wood consumption, population growth and other human activities have affected the ecological relations and the climate of the Ungoni and Undendeuli areas in Ruvuma. Many informants reported including tobacco growers and agricultural extension officers reported that today they experience unpredictable pattern of rain and some short dry periods during the rainy season.[6] For a long

[6] Interviews with Beatus A. Mtumwa, TLTC Extension Officer, 14 April 2016; Waziri Mohamed, Agricultural Officer-Songea, 05 March 2016; Mzee Leonard Makumi, Crop Officer-Songea, 7 March 2016; and Namanguli Group Interview, 13 August 2016. Also see C.H. Nyoni, 'Assessment of Environmental Impact of Dark Fire Tobacco in Songea Rural District', M.Sc. Thesis, Sokoine University of Agriculture, (2008).

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period of time, Ruvuma used to get enough annual rainfall (around 800-120mm) from November to April, however, currently, the rainy season in the region often starts very late (after November) and ends much earlier (before April). This was not the case over five decades ago. Some informants also reported that due to climate and land cover change, the villagers are experiencing critical shortage of some traditional wild plant and animal spices which were found in the forest near the villages. For example mushrooms (*Uyoga* and o*r Ulelema*) which were collected in the forest around the villages have been reported to be scarce. Some traditional local healers as well reported that today they are supposed to walk over 20-50 km in search of traditional medicinal plants like (*Mwarobaini*).[7] Similarly, William Loker noted that the intensification of flue-cured tobacco production in Western Honduras in the second half of the 20th century resulted in severe depletion of the forest and acute shortage of fuelwood for small-scale tobacco growers in the Copán Valley. He observed that during the boom period (between 1955 and 1985) under the influence of the British American Tobacco (BAT), the area under tobacco cultivation ranged between 210 and 420 hectares per year in the valley. This increased the rate of forest consumption which ranged between 3,780 and 7560 m³ per year respectively.[8] Consequently, the intensive exploitation of the forestry for tobacco farming contributed to extensive deforestation, loss of biodiversity and ecological change in both Ruvuma and in the Copan Valley. In tracing the coping mechanisms of local Africans in trying to remain resilient in the face of the environmental impact of tobacco production in Ruvuma, this thesis documented the strategies adopted by the state, peasants and the leaf dealers in addressing the question of land cover changes. This thesis stressed that the effective planning and implementation of the afforestation programme, conservation of natural forests, crop rotation and the use of alternative sources of energy promote the sustainability of the tobacco industry as well as the surrounding environment in the development of rural economy in the country.

This thesis adopted a long term approach as a framework of analysing the colonial and post-colonial history of peasant tobacco production in southern Tanzania. However, it also opens up new areas which warrant further independent research projects in the future. The first area is the question of indigenous tobacco. This thesis dealt with the transition from the 'native'

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[7] Namtumbo and Namanguli Group Interviews, 12-13 August, 2017.
[8] William M. Loker, "The Rise and Fall of Flue-cured Tobacco in the Copan Valley and its Environmental and Social Consequences", *Human Ecology*, 33, 3, (2005), 299-327.

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tobacco (indigenous tobacco) to improved colonial tobacco during the 1930s. However, very little is known about the origin and development of indigenous tobacco practices during the precolonial and colonial period. The second area is the question of the rise and the subsequent collapse of European flue-cured tobacco in Songea district during the early 1950s. In this period, this thesis focused on the role of African cooperative movement in the control of fire-cured tobacco production in Ruvuma. Hence, a new research project will be required to explore the factors for the rise and collapse of the European flue-cured tobacco scheme at Mgwina areas in Ruvuma region. The third area is the question of the impact of tobacco use in Tanzania. This thesis noted that up to date there is no any historical work solely devoted to the impact of tobacco smoking on human health in the country. This thesis therefore raises three important research questions which warrant further historical investigation in the future. Firstly, what were factors for the origin and the development of the indigenous tobacco in the pre-colonial Tanzania? Secondly, what were factors involved in the rise and collapse of the European flue-cured tobacco scheme in Songea district during the 1950s? Thirdly, what have been the socio-economic impacts of tobacco smoking in Tanzania?

Furthermore, this study acknowledged the deliberate attempts made by the tobacco stakeholders in coping with the environmental consequences of tobacco farming in the Ruvuma region and in Tanzania in general. However, these key stakeholders have done little to reorganize the tobacco market reforms for the sustainable development of the rural economy in Ruvuma region. As demonstrated in Chapter Six, the adoption of the free tobacco market system in the mid-1990s was aimed to provide competitive tobacco markets to the growers. However, in practice, the contract farming arrangements has been limiting the freedom of the tobacco growers to choose where and at which price to sell their tobacco produce. The current market system tends to favour most the leaf buyers at the expense of the tobacco growers. The buyers have a great influence in deciding the price for agricultural inputs. They also have a significant influence in tobacco grading and even the final decision for the price for the crop in the market centres in rural areas. Astonishingly, the current marketing system does not provide an opportunity for a long tobacco marketing season, where a farmer is free to sell his crop on his preferable day and at his price, because all peasants in a primary cooperative society are required to sell their tobacco produce to the contracted leaf dealer at the price offered by the leaf dealer and the marketing is carried out only once or twice per year. As demonstrated in Chapter Six, with the current market system the peasants in the Ungoni and Undendeuli areas,

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and elsewhere in the country, have ended up getting relatively low prices offered by the leaf dealers, and they experience an accumulation of agricultural input debts, demoralisation of tobacco growers and abandonment of tobacco fields, the closure of Songea tobacco factory in 2006 as well as the decline of the entire tobacco industry in the region between the early and the mid-2010s.

As an attempt to revive and promote the tobacco industry for the sake of rural livelihoods and the regional economy in the region and the country in general, this study recommends to the policy makers and the government of Tanzania the adoption of the 'tobacco auction marketing system'; in this system tobacco marketing is carried out at the district level in well-constructed and operated auction centres, which provide international standards for weighing, grading, storage and competitive prices to the growers from various transnational tobacco companies.[9] In this system the marketing is operated throughout the marketing season and not just for one or a few specific days a year, as in the case of Ruvuma and other tobacco growing areas including Iringa, Mbeya and Tabora. This thesis is optimistic that through the tobacco auction marketing system the peasant tobacco producers in Tanzania will have access to the practical free market and competitive prices for their produce. This will improve the income of the tobacco growers and of the country, and will stimulate the production and the development of the rural economy among the peasant tobacco growers in Tanzania. Notwithstanding the expensive and complex organisational structure of the tobacco auction marketing system, studies on the tobacco industry in Africa show that it has been implemented with success from the colonial to the postcolonial era in neighbouring countries such as Malawi and Zimbabwe.[10] Therefore, it is time for the government of Tanzania to adopt this marketing system in an attempt to promote the tobacco industry not just for the rural peasants of the Ruvuma region but also for the entire country.

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[9] (TTB), 'Ten Years Tobacco Industry Improvement Programme, 2002-2011' (2001); Helmut. J. Geist et al, 'The Tobacco Industry in Malawi: A Globalised Driver of Local Land Change', *Journal of Land Change Modifications in the Developing World*, (2008), 251-268; and Martin Prowse, 'A history of tobacco production and marketing in Malawi, 1890-2010', *Journal of Eastern African Studies*, 7, 4, (2013), 691-712.

[10] See (TTB), 'Ten Years Tobacco Industry Improvement Programme, 2002-2011' (2001); Prowse, 'A history of tobacco production and marketing in Malawi, 1890-2010'; Martin Prowse and Jasan Moyer-lee, 'A Comparative Value Chain Analysis of Small Holder Burley Tobacco Production in Malawi 2003/4 and 209/10', *The Journal of Agrarian Change,* 14, 3, (2014), 323-346; and Winford H. Masanjala 'Cash Crop Liberalisation in Africa: evidence from Malawi', *Agricultural Economics,* 35, (2006), 231-240.

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This thesis, therefore, has reconstructed and re-examined the colonial and post-colonial historical evolution of tobacco peasant production in southern Tanzania. It has demonstrated the context in which the role of the state has been a key factor in the shifting contours of peasant tobacco production in the country. The state, through the marketing tobacco board, has had a great influence on the production, marketing, processing and exportation of the peasant-grown leaf from the colonial to the early post-colonial era. However, the influence of the state (and of the peasants through their cooperatives) in controlling the tobacco industry was highly reduced from the mid-1980s, following the adoption of free market economic policies and contract farming policy from the mid-1990s. As demonstrated in Chapter Six, notwithstanding its significant contribution to the expansion of tobacco industry and improvement of rural livelihoods in Ruvuma between the late 1990s and the mid-2000, the liberalisation of the tobacco market and particularly contract tobacco farming have been a tragedy for the peasants because of a poor and uncompetitive market system, unfair tobacco classification and the closure of the Songea tobacco factory during the 2000s.

Today, in the liberalised tobacco market system and contract farming, the state (through the tobacco board) has just been playing an intermediary role in regulating the entire tobacco industry, especially supervising the relationship between the growers and the multinational leaf companies. As a result, recently tobacco production has been carried out with greater influence from the multinational tobacco leaf dealers. These dealers have a great influence in the production, marketing, processing and exporting of the leaf grown in the country. Hence, the voice of the growers, particularly their desire to have competitive tobacco marketing, fair participation in the final decision on the price for agricultural inputs, the price for the leaf and the grading system in the market centres has been almost completely excluded. This thesis has argued that the uncompetitive nature and poor organisation of the tobacco marketing system between the 2000s and the mid-2010s in the case of the Ruvuma region has resulted in the accumulation of the input debts of the growers, with very real effects of local poverty and even starvation for some families. Understandably, this has led to the abandonment of the tobacco fields by the growers and the decline of the annual tobacco production between the early and the mid-2010. This declining trend and abandonment of the tobacco fields has forced the old tobacco growers to shift their efforts to subsistence crops such as maize, paddy, simsim, sunflower and soya beans. However, the majority of them still complain that the cash income generated from these subsistence crops is low (compared to that obtained from tobacco) and

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insufficient to sustain their livelihoods. Thus some peasants continue to grow the crop for the informal markets in the region and few peasants grow the crop for the formal market. The majority of the peasants insisted that they are willing to return to tobacco farming for the improvement of their livelihoods but they appealed to the government to take initiatives to reform the marketing of peasant tobacco production and revive the operations of the Songea tobacco industry for the sustainability of the industry in the region.

Since the author will deposit copies of this thesis in the Songea District, the Namtumbo District and the University of Dar es Salaam libraries, in Tanzania and the author will engage with policy makers, peasants and tobacco companies, this study therefore hopes that the knowledge generated by this thesis will help policy makers, the government, the leaf dealers and even the peasants themselves to take deliberate measures to reorganise the marketing system as suggested above and promote the active participation of all tobacco stakeholders in the development of the tobacco industry and the improvement of the rural economy in southern Tanzania.

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Appendix

	Year:1980										
Year: 2016	Bare Soil	Bush land	Cultivated Land	Forest	Grassland	Rock Outcrops	Urban Area	Water	Wetland	**Total in year 2016**	**Gross gain [Total - unchanged]**
Bare Soil	243	2,106	2,916	5,751	2,916	81	0	648	405	**15066**	14823
Bushland	567	339,147	40,662	802,872	231,174	0	0	4,536	12,879	**1431837**	1092690
Cultivated Land	0	139,320	105,219	39,204	4,293	0	243	0	3,726	**292005**	186786
Forest	0	352,836	17,415	1,253,961	153,009	0	162	1,215	7,209	**1785807**	531846
Grassland	324	19,440	1,134	64,233	22,842	0	0	567	324	**108864**	86022
Rock Outcrops	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	**0**	0
Urban Area	0	1,458	2,511	243	0	0	1,863	0	0	**6075**	4212
Water	0	324	0	1,539	486	0	0	648	162	**3159**	2511
Wetland	0	324	0	972	405	0	0	243	162	**2106**	1944
Total in year 1995	**1134**	**854955**	**169857**	**2168775**	**415125**	**81**	**2268**	**7857**	**24867**	**3644919**	
Gross loss	891	515808	64638	914814	392283	81	405	7209	24705		