

AFRICA RISK CONSULTING

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Tanzania Summary 10 September 2024

Opposition Chadema politician Ali Mohamed Kibao's body is found at a mortuary in Dar es Salaam on 8 September, two days after two armed men abducted him from a bus. The incident, alongside a crackdown on opposition, raises political tensions and concerns about a return to an oppressive environment. China, Zambia and Tanzania sign an agreement on 4 September to revamp the Tanzania-Zambia Railway Authority (TAZARA) railway that links Dar es Salaam to Zambia's Central Province. President Samia Suluhu Hassan (2021-present) shuffles her cabinet on 14 August, removing health minister Umyy Mwalimu and constitutional and legal affairs minister Pindi Chana.

Opposition politician found dead amid clampdown on opposition

Opposition party **Chadema** confirmed on 8 September that a body resembling opposition politician and Chadema secretariat member **Ali Mohamed Kibao** had been identified at a mortuary at **Mwananyamala Referral Hospital** in **Dar es Salaam**. The reports came after police confirmed on 7 September that authorities were investigating Kibao's abduction from a bus by two armed men.¹ A preliminary autopsy indicated Kibao died after being severely beaten and having acid poured on his face.

President **Samia Suluhu Hassan** (2021-present) condemned Kibao's killing in a post on **X** on 8 September, extending her condolences to his family and friends. She ordered investigative authorities to provide a report on the incident and similar cases to her as soon as possible.² The ruling **Chama Cha Mapinduzi (CCM)** also extended its condolences via a separate message.

Hassan has sought to distance herself from the oppressive tactics of late former president **John Magufuli** (2015-2021). In January 2023, she lifted a long-standing ban on political rallies and punted her 4Rs philosophy – reconciliation, resilience, reforms and rebuilding. The latest incident and other reports of clampdowns indicate that the repressive culture remains entrenched in Tanzania but has also cast doubt on the sincerity and credibility of Hassan's reform agenda. This could negatively impact her and the CCM in the run-up to the local elections, slated for 27 November.

On 12 August, police arrested several dozen Chadema supporters, including deputy chairman **Tundu Lissu**, chairman **Freedom Mbowe** and **Youth Council** leader **John Pambalu**, who had planned to commemorate **International Youth Day** nationwide.³ Notably, Mbowe and Pambalu were arrested at a regional airport, not at a gathering. Police had banned the gathering on 11 August, stating it was intended to cause violence. Police were likely concerned that a mass youth gathering could devolve into protests like those seen in **Kenya**. Chadema said its leaders were beaten and injured during the arrests and denied access to food and medicine during detention.⁴ Treatment of detainees remains an issue in Tanzania, with **Commission for Human Rights and Good Governance (CHRAGG)** chairman, retired judge **Mathew Mwaimu**, on 19 July announcing the findings of the CHRAGG's report covering 2022/2023 and 2023/2024, revealing that police stations exist where suspects are illegally

¹ The Citizen, 7 Sep 2024

² The Citizen, 8 Sep 2024

³ Daily Maverick, 12 Aug 2024

⁴ Daily Maverick, 12 Aug 2024

subject to torture and harsh interrogation techniques before legal arrest procedures are initiated (*see ARC Briefing Tanzania Aug 2024*).⁵

United Kingdom-headquartered **Amnesty International** condemned the arrests, noting that the mass arrests and arbitrary detention of opposition leaders and supporters are a “*deeply worrying sign*” in the run-up to the local government elections in November and the 2025 general election.⁶ Those arrested were released on bail on 13 August.

Adding to these concerns, international internet watchdog **NetBlocks** reported on 30 August that Tanzania’s internet service providers (ISPs) had blocked access to X. The restriction came after police issued a warning earlier that day that members of Chadema were planning to raid police stations and release political detainees.⁷ No such event happened but the disruption in access to X is also viewed as a clampdown on dissent.

Political tensions will remain high in the country ahead of the local elections and Hassan’s actions will be placed under increased scrutiny. Alongside her 4Rs philosophy, Hassan has portrayed Tanzania as “*open for business*” after a closed environment under Magufuli. However, democratic backsliding and events such as Kibao’s assassination could negatively impact investor confidence.

China and US compete for critical minerals access

China, Zambia and Tanzania signed an agreement on 4 September to revamp the **Tanzania-Zambia Railway Authority (TAZARA)** railway linking Dar es Salaam to Zambia’s **Central Province**. Hassan, China’s President **Xi Jinping** (2013-present) and Zambia’s President **Hakainde Hichilema** (2021-present) signed the agreement during the **Forum on China-Africa Cooperation (FOCAC)** held in **Beijing** (China) from 4-9 September. In a **State House** press release, Hassan praised the agreement as a crucial step towards improving trade and transport infrastructure between Tanzania and Zambia. Hassan also called Tanzania’s relationship with China “*longstanding*” and “*historical*”, adding that they should continue to strengthen it.⁸

China built the TAZARA railway between 1970 and 1975 under an interest-free loan, offering Zambia an alternative export route via Dar es Salaam instead of **South Africa** and then **Rhodesia** (now **Zimbabwe**). The railway has deteriorated over the years and in December, it was announced that **China Civil Engineering Construction Corporation (CCECC)** had dispatched a team of experts to inspect the railway ahead of a revitalisation proposal submission.⁹ China proposed a \$1 billion rehabilitation project in February through a public-private partnership model.¹⁰

The signing of the agreement came shortly after the **United States (US)** government 28 August announcement that it plans to expand the **Lobito** railway project, which connects Zambia, the **Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC)** and **Angola**’s port of **Lobito** on the **Atlantic Ocean**, to the **Indian Ocean** via Tanzania.¹¹ Acting special coordinator for the **Partnership on Global Infrastructure Investment (PGI)** in the **US Department of State**, **Helaina Matza** said TAZARA would not necessarily compete with the Lobito railway and said that leveraging existing infrastructure is important:

“And if we are given the opportunity to find a way to create some compatibility and an open access connectivity between the work that we’re doing in Tazara and/or other existing rail lines, we’re certainly going to do everything we can to pursue that.”¹²

⁵ The Citizen, 20 Jul 2024

⁶ Amnesty International, 12 Aug 2024

⁷ TechPoint Africa, 30 Aug 2024

⁸ The Chanzo, 5 Sep 2024

⁹ Xinhau, 13 Dec 2023

¹⁰ Construction Briefing, 4 Sep 2024

¹¹ The Africa Report, 29 Aug 2024

¹² The Africa Report, 29 Aug 2024

The extension of the Lobito railway project would offer the US access to the **Kabanga Nickel Project**, which is being developed by **Isle of Man**-headquartered **Lifezone Metals**. Lifezone Metals has signed a retainer letter with the US **International Development Finance Corporation (DFC)** for political risk insurance coverage.¹³

Tanzania has kept positive relations with both the US and China and is currently not openly favouring either country. As both projects are pursued, Tanzania will be the winner, as its upgraded and expanded infrastructure will attract significant investment from both sides.

Hassan reshuffles cabinet again

President Hassan carried out another cabinet reshuffle on 14 August, removing health minister **Umyy Mwalimu** and constitutional and legal affairs minister **Pindi Chana**. Minister of state in the prime minister's office responsible for policy, parliament and coordination, **Jenista Mhagama** replaced Mwalimu, who was not reassigned. **Palamagamba Kabudi** replaced Chanda, who was reappointed as natural resources and tourism minister.¹⁴ **William Lukuvi** replaced Mhagama in the prime minister's office. In addition to these changes, Hassan appointed a new attorney general and deputy attorney general.

Notably, Kabudi previously served in the docket but was removed in January 2022 during a reshuffle. Both Kabudi and Lukuvi served under Magufuli and are viewed as allies of the late president.¹⁵ Lukuvi will become the chief whip in parliament and could help to ensure that CCM members of parliament (MPs) remain on Hassan's side.¹⁶ Kabudi's expertise and experience leading this portfolio under Magufuli also means he is well-versed in legal challenges that arise during election time and from the opposition, which could be the case following the perceived rise in repression of the opposition (see above).

Hassan has reshuffled her cabinet several times since assuming power in 2021 –most recently on 21 July – in a bid to consolidate power ahead of the 2025 general election. Her cabinet reshuffles have attempted to balance reform while maintaining party support, which is also the likely motive behind her bringing Kabudi and Lukuvi back into the fold.

Planner

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| 11-12 Sep 2024 | Dar es Salaam (Tanzania) | Tanzania Energy Congress |
| 12-13 Sep 2024 | Dar es Salaam (Tanzania) | East African Investment Forum (EAIF) 2024 |
| 12-14 Sep 2024 | Dar es Salaam (Tanzania) | 8 th Minexpo Africa |
| 19 – 21 Nov 2024 | Dar es Salaam (Tanzania) | Tanzania Mining and Investment Forum |
| 27 Nov 2024 | (Tanzania) | Local elections; |
| 5-7 Mar 2025 | (Tanzania) | 11 th East African Petroleum Conference and Exhibition 2025 (EAPCE'25) |
| 2025 | (Tanzania) | General elections |
| 2025 | (Tanzania and Uganda) | Completion of East African Crude Oil Pipeline (EACOP) |

Chronology

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|------------|---------------------------------|--|
| 9 Sep 2024 | Dar es Salaam (Tanzania) | <i>Daily News</i> . A joint statement European Union delegation statement, in agreement with the British, Canadian, Norwegian, and Swiss diplomatic missions in Tanzania, expresses deep concern over recent reports of violence, disappearances, and deaths of political and human rights activists in the country; |
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¹³ The Africa Report, 29 Aug 2024

¹⁴ Anadolu Agency, 15 Aug 2024

¹⁵ Africa Confidential, 22 Aug 2024

¹⁶ Ujasusi, 15 Aug 2024

- 9 Sep 2024 **Dar es Salaam (Tanzania)** *The Citizen*. President **Samia Suluhu Hassan** orders investigative authorities to give her a report on the death of opposition politician **Mohamed Ali Kibao** who was abducted on Friday and found dead in Dar es Salaam over the weekend;
- 6 Sep 2024 **Windhoek (Namibia)** *Daily News*. Tanzania's deputy prime minister, **Doto Biteko**, holds private discussions with Namibia's vice president, **Netumbo Nandi-Ndaitwah**, during the **Global African Hydrogen Summit in Namibia**, to explore further cooperation between the two countries;
- 3 Sep 2024 **Dodoma (Tanzania)** *The Citizen*. The government says Tanzania could finally start mining uranium after the completion of a strategic environmental assessment (SEA);
- 31 Aug 2024 **Dar es Salaam (Tanzania)** *The Citizen*. Deputy energy minister **Judith Kapinga** tells parliament that the cost of electricity in Tanzania is cheaper compared to the rest of **East Africa** due to the government's subsidy on the costs incurred by customers;
- 28 Aug 2024 **Dar es Salaam (Tanzania)** *The Citizen*. Dar es Salaam registry of the **High Court of Tanzania** will today hear a case in which three individuals are challenging the authority of the ministry of state in the president's office (regional administration and local government) in overseeing the 2024 local government elections;
- 28 Aug 2024 **Dar es Salaam (Tanzania)** *The Citizen*. **World Health Organisation (WHO)** nominates former health minister **Faustine Ndugulile** to serve as WHO Africa regional director;
- 27 Aug 2024 **Dar es Salaam (Tanzania)** *The Citizen*. President **Samia Suluhu Hassan** is traveling to **Nairobi (Kenya)** today to join her Kenyan counterpart, **William Ruto**, in supporting veteran Kenyan opposition leader **Raila Odinga's** campaign for the **African Union (AU) Commission** chairmanship;
- 26 Aug 2024 **Addis Ababa (Ethiopia)** *Addis Insight*. **Ethiopian Electric Power** CEO **Ashebir Balcha** confirms that Ethiopia will begin electricity exports to **Tanzania** in September;
- 25 Aug 2024 **Tokyo (Japan)** *Daily News*. Tanzania and **Japan** agree to continue working closely to strengthen their existing relationship and cooperation for mutual benefit;
- 22 Aug 2024 **Dar es Salaam (Tanzania)** *The Citizen*. **Tanzania Petroleum Development Corporation (TPDC)** says it is ramping up natural gas production by 80 million cubic feet (cf) in 2025 to meet surging demand, with the **Ruvuma Ntorya** block (**Mtwara** region) producing 60 million cf and the **Mnazi Bay** site (Mtwara region) 20 million cf;
- 21 Aug 2024 **Dar es Salaam (Tanzania)** *The Citizen*. **United States Agency for International Development (USAID)** confirms it will invest \$8.3m in several Tanzanian companies to boost trade, improve food security and strengthen Tanzania's export competitiveness;
- 21 Aug 2024 **Dar es Salaam (Tanzania)** *IPP Media*. **Tanzania Ports Authority (TPA)** director general **Plasduce Mbossa** says the start of operations by **Dubai-based DP World** at Dar es Salaam port is projected to save Tanzania approximately \$600m by eliminating container demurrage charges, previously charged at a fee of \$1,000 for each container delayed;
- 19 Aug 2024 **Dar es Salaam (Tanzania)** *The Citizen*. **Tanzania Investment Centre (TIC)** data show the TIC has registered 409 investment projects between January and June worth \$3.09 billion, including 385 new ventures and 24 others flagged for expansion;
- 17 Aug 2024 **Dar es Salaam (Tanzania)** *SABC News*. Government announces that local elections will take place on 27 November;
- 17 Aug 2024 **Dodoma (Tanzania)** *Daily News*. **Energy and Water Utilities Regulatory Authority (EWURA)** reveals that natural gas supply in Tanzania reached 81,067.15 million standard cubic feet in 2022/2023, reflecting an 11.77% increase from the previous year;
- 16 Aug 2024 **Dar es Salaam (Tanzania)** *Daily News*. **Uganda** has begun importing petroleum products through Dar es Salaam Port, marking a significant shift in its fuel supply strategy, in

response to new restrictions imposed by **Kenya** on the volume of fuel Uganda can import through the **Kenya Pipeline Company (KPC)**;

15 Aug 2024 **Dar es Salaam (Tanzania)** *Daily News*. President **Samia Suluhu Hassan** travels to **Harare (Zimbabwe)** to attend the **44th Southern African Development Community (SADC)** summit of heads of state and governments, where she is expected to be elected chairperson of the organ on politics, defence and security cooperation;

13 Aug 2024 **Dar es Salaam (Tanzania)** *IPP Media*. **National Bureau of Statistics (NBS)** reports that the annual headline inflation rate for July eased by ten basis points (bps) to 3.0% from 3.1% recorded in June on lower food and non-food items index;

14 Aug 2024 **Geita (Tanzania)** *Daily News*. Deputy prime minister and energy minister **Doto Biteko** launches a new power substation at **Geita** gold mine;

10 Aug 2024 **Dar es Salaam (Tanzania)** *IPP Media*. Parliamentary standing committee on the national budget chairman **Oran Njeza** says the Tanzania government has fully contributed its capital share as a shareholder in the **East African Crude Oil Pipeline Project (EACOP)**, with the government contributing \$308m to date, equalling 15% of shareholding;

9 Aug 2024 **Dar es Salaam (Tanzania)** *The Citizen*. Solicitor general **Boni Luhede** says the government and **British Virgin Islands**-registered **Orca Energy Group Inc.** have six months to amicably resolve a Sh3.2 trillion (\$1.2 billion) claim that Orca filed against the government on 7 August, and that “*if not settled, arbitration proceedings will be instituted*”;

7 Aug 2024 **Dar es Salaam (Tanzania)** *The Citizen*. **British Virgin Islands**-registered **Orca Energy Group Inc.** files a Sh3.2 trillion (\$1.2 billion) claim against the government of Tanzania and the **Tanzania Petroleum Development Corporation (TPDC)**, for reported violations of the **Mauritius-Tanzania Bilateral Investment Treaty (BIT)**, the **PSA (Production Sharing Agreement)**, and the **GA (Gas Agreement)**;

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