

AFRICA RISK CONSULTING

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Tanzania Summary 19 November 2025

President Samia Suluhu Hassan (2021-present) unsurprisingly wins the 29 October election, with the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) declaring on 1 November that she had won 97.66% of the vote. Post-election violence breaks out in several cities across Tanzania, prompting authorities to install a night-time curfew, internet blackout and deploy the military. Humanitarian organisations have been unable to verify the death toll but place it in the hundreds. Hassan appoints former finance minister Mwigulu Nchemba as her new prime minister on 13 November and unveils her cabinet on 17 November. Digital rights organisations estimate that the six-day internet blackout cost the economy \$13.8m per day, while Hassan warns that the post-election violence has tainted Tanzania's reputation, which could impact funding.

Hassan wins election sparking protests

President **Samia Suluhu Hassan** (2021-present) unsurprisingly won the 29 October election, with the **Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC)** [declaring](#) on 1 November that she had won 97.66% of the vote. The INEC reported voter turnout was 87%, despite media reports and footage circulating online showing otherwise. **Africa Confidential** [reported](#) on 6 November that it had received leaked videos showing ruling **Chama Cha Mapinduzi (CCM)** members filling ballot boxes with fake ballots, with one ballot ticked for opposition candidate **Salum Mwalimu** for every 50 ticked for Hassan. The INEC has described any allegations of electoral fraud as propaganda. In **Zanzibar**, the **Zanzibar Electoral Commission** declared on 31 October that incumbent President **Hussein Ali Mwinyi** (2020-present) had won the election with 74.8% of the vote.

While Hassan's election victory was anticipated, the scale of the post-election violence that subsequently ensued after the election was not. The government's crackdown on the opposition ahead of the election included barring the largest opposition party, **Chadema**, and its leader, **Tundu Lissu**, from participating and enforced disappearances of opposition figures.

Widespread protests took place in several cities across the country, including **Dar es Salaam**, with protestors [demanding](#) that the army assume power. Authorities implemented a night-time curfew in Dar es Salaam the evening of the election which remained in place for six days, and implemented an internet shutdown from 29 October to 3 November. The government also [deployed](#) the military across various cities and asked civil servants to work from home to limit movement of people. Air traffic was also notably disrupted, with flights cancelled and reports that the road to **Julius Nyerere International Airport** was closed, impacting both domestic and international travellers.

The **African Union (AU)** election observers released their [report](#) on 5 November, noting that before, during and after the election, the environment was "not conducive to peaceful conduct and acceptance of electoral outcomes". The **Southern African Development Community (SADC)** released its election observers' report on 3 November, and in a rare occurrence, deemed the election as below SADC's standards, [stating](#) that "voters could not express their democratic will".

The death toll from the post-election violence has been difficult for organisations to confirm as the internet shutdown negatively impacted flow of information. The **Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights (OHCHR)** has [said](#) the information it has obtained points to hundreds of people killed. Chadema has [alleged](#) that 1,000 people were killed.

Internationally, several **European** embassies in Tanzania have called for a **United Nations (UN) [investigation](#)** while two **United States (US)** senators who sit on the foreign relations committee [called](#) for the US to reassess its relations with Tanzania considering its democratic backsliding.

Hassan was sworn in on 3 November. On 14 November, during the opening of the new parliament, she [said](#) the government would launch a probe into the post-election protests and violence. An eight-person team tasked with the investigation was [announced](#) on 18 November. Former chief justice **Mohamed Chande Othman** will chair the team. Included in the team is former defence minister **Stergomena Tax** (she was not re-appointed in Hassan's new cabinet; see below). Tax would have overseen the deployment of the military in the wake of the post-election unrest and violence, and her inclusion in the investigating team raises questions about impartiality and independence, as it is likely that her role should be investigated. It is unlikely that tangible action and true answers will come from the investigating team.

... Hassan announces new cabinet

Hassan on 13 November chose former finance minister **Mwigulu Nchemba** as her new prime minister. Parliament subsequently [voted](#), nearly unanimously, in favour of her decision. Nchemba has been a key member of Hassan's inner circle. She appointed him finance minister in 2021 and has never shuffled him out of his position or out of cabinet, despite several reshuffles since she assumed power. Nchemba holds a PhD in economics. Before joining politics, he worked for the **Bank of Tanzania** (central bank). Nchemba faced challenges in his political career under the late former president, **John Magufuli** (2015-2021), who appointed him agriculture, livestock and fisheries minister, a significant role in the Tanzanian cabinet in 2015. He was moved to the home affairs docket in 2016 until his sudden dismissal in a 2018 cabinet reshuffle. He was re-appointed to cabinet in May 2020 as constitutional and legal affairs minister, following the death of then-minister **Augustine Mahiga**.

On 17 November, Hassan [unveiled](#) her new cabinet, comprising 27 ministers and 29 deputies. The cabinet includes some notable appointments and snubs. Most notably, Hassan did not retain deputy prime minister and energy minister **Doto Biteko** in her new cabinet. Biteko is an ambitious politician and there were talks of his aiming for a presidential term at some point. Achieving this would require him to already start building a power base within the CCM. Hassan has been known to sideline politicians whom she believes are being too open with their personal ambitions, and opts to contain influence and keep those aligned with her closer.

An unexpected appointment is that of **Khamis Mussa Omar** as finance minister. Omar previously served as Tanzania's ambassador to **China** and in senior roles in the Zanzibari government. While he is qualified for the position, politicians from Zanzibar do not often cross over to the mainland. However, Hassan herself is an example of this, and Omar [will](#) certainly be loyal to her.

Hassan also did not re-appoint defence minister Stergomena Tax or home affairs minister **Innocent Bashungwa** to her cabinet, two high-profile ministers who served in various positions under Hassan. These two [dockets](#) would have overseen the deployment of the police and defence forces during the post-election unrest.

Overall, Hassan's new cabinet is filled with loyalists – including family, health minister **Mohamed Mchengerwa** is her son-in-law - as well as less-experienced individuals who therefore hold less political power. The full cabinet is outlined below:

Role	Minister
Finance minister	Khamis Mussa Omar
Foreign affairs minister	Mahmoud Thabit Kombo
Home affairs minister	Boniface George Simbachawene

Role	Minister
Agriculture minister	Daniel Chongolo
Water minister	Jumaa Aweso
Defence minister	Dr Rhimo Nyansaho
Works minister	Abdallah Ulega
Transport minister	Professor Makame Mbarawa Mnyaa
Industry and trade minister	Judith Kapinga
ICT minister	Angellah Kairuki
Community development, gender and special groups minister	Dr Dorothy Gwajima
Health minister	Mohamed Mchengerwa
Education, science and technology minister	Professor Adolf Mkenda
Lands, housing and human settlements minister	Dr Leonard Akwilapo
Natural resources and tourism minister	Dr Ashatu Kijaji
Information, culture, arts and sports minister	Professor Palamagamba Kabudi
Livestock and fisheries minister	Dr Bashiru Ally Kakurwa
Minerals minister	Anthony Peter Mavunde
Energy minister	Deogratius Ndejemi
Constitutional and legal affairs minister	Juma Homera
President's Office (public service & good governance)	Ridhwani Kikwete
President's Office (planning and investment)	Professor Kitila Mkumbo
President's Office (youth development)	Joel Nanauka
Vice President's Office (union & environment)	Hamad Yusuf Masauni
Prime Minister's Office (policy, parliament, labour and people with disabilities)	William Lukuvi
Prime Minister's Office (labour, employment and relations)	Deus Sangu
Prime Minister's Office (regional administration and local government)	Professor Riziki Shemdoe

Economic impacts of post-election violence assessed

Digital rights non-profit organisation **Paradigm Initiative (PIN)** released a [report](#) on 5 November, estimating that the five-day internet shutdown during the post-election violence had cost the economy \$13.8m per day. PIN uses the **United Kingdom (UK)**-headquartered internet governance watchdog **NetBlocks' Cost of Shutdown Tool (COST)**, which draws on data from the **World Bank**, **International Telecommunication Union (ITU)** and **Eurostat**, using the **Brookings Institution** methodology to quantify the cost of internet shutdowns. The PIN highlighted that the internet shutdown violated rights, including freedom of expression and access to information, as enshrined in the **African Charter of Human and People's Rights** and the **International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights**.

Hassan herself has also recently highlighted the potential negative economic impacts of the post-election violence. On 18 November, Hassan [told](#) ministers during their swearing-in ceremony that the election unrest could undermine confidence among development partners:

“In the previous term, financing was readily available because there was trust. What happened in our country has tainted our image, and this is likely to reduce our resource base.”

She went on to direct the new ministers to increase efforts to secure financing. This election would have harmed Tanzania’s international reputation and democratic credentials which could negatively impact its economic relationships, as evidenced by the US calling for a review of its relations. Under Magufuli, the US [imposed](#) visa restrictions on officials response for or complicit in undermining the October 2020 general election, while partners such as the **European Union (EU)** [reviewed](#) financial support and the **World Bank** [froze](#) a \$300m loan in 2018 in response to the Magufuli administration’s conservative agenda (see *ARC Briefing Tanzania Nov 2018*).

Planner

18 – 21 Nov 2025 **Dar es Salaam (Tanzania)** 19th Annual Conference of the **African Cashew Alliance (ACA)**;

9 Dec 2025 **(Tanzania)** Demonstrations reportedly to take place on Independence Day;

Dec 2025 **(Tanzania)** **Labour Mobility Dialogue** between **African Union (AU)** and **Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC)**;

2025 **(Tanzania and Uganda)** Completion of **East African Crude Oil Pipeline (EACOP)**;

19 – 21 Nov 2026 **Dar es Salaam (Tanzania)** 7th **Tanzania Mining and Investment Conference**

Chronology

18 Nov 2025 **Dar es Salaam (Tanzania)** *The Citizen*. President **Samia Suluhu Hassan** establishes a commission to investigate post-election violence, focusing on the causes and circumstances behind the unrest;

17 Nov 2025 **Dar es Salaam (Tanzania)** *The Citizen*. President **Samia Suluhu Hassan** reshuffles her cabinet, dropping seven ministers, including the deputy prime minister and heads of energy, agriculture, home affairs, health, trade, tourism and legal affairs;

15 Nov 2025 **Dar es Salaam (Tanzania)** *The Citizen*. President **Samia Suluhu Hassan** outlines reforms to transform the country’s mineral sector during her new five-year term, aiming to boost investment, transparency and value addition;

13 Nov 2025 **Dar es Salaam (Tanzania)** *The Citizen*. **East African Community (EAC)** launches a regional instant payment network, starting with a trial between **Rwanda** and Tanzania, aiming to simplify cross-border transactions, lower transfer costs and promote financial inclusion within the bloc;

11 Nov 2025 **Dar es Salaam (Tanzania)** *Monitor*. Four senior leaders of main opposition party **Chadema** are released on bail after police arrested them for their alleged involvement in protests following last month’s general election;

10 Nov 2025 **Dar es Salaam (Tanzania)** *The Citizen*. President **Samia Suluhu Hassan** signals potential cabinet changes by nominating new members of parliament, a move seen as preparation for a broader government reshuffle;

9 Nov 2025 **Dar es Salaam (Tanzania)** *Monitor*. **Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC)** releases a list indicating 113 of the 115 members of parliament belong to the ruling **Chama Cha Mapinduzi (CCM)**, while two represent the **CHAUMMA** party, marking the second parliament to convene without an official opposition camp;

- 6 Nov 2025 **Dar es Salaam (Tanzania)** *The Citizen*. The **Southern African Development Community (SADC) Election Observation Mission (SEOM)** and other international observers release their preliminary reports on Tanzania's recent elections, identifying gaps in the electoral process and recommending reforms to strengthen transparency and credibility;
- 5 Nov 2025 **Dar es Salaam (Tanzania)** *The Citizen*. Dar es Salaam reopens after authorities lift the citywide curfew that had been imposed amid post-election unrest and security concerns;
- 4 Nov 2025 **Dar es Salaam (Tanzania)** *Reuters*. President **Samia Suluhu Hassan** is sworn in for another term after a disputed election, as authorities restore internet access but warn against sharing images or videos of post-election unrest, threatening legal action;
- 2 Nov 2025 **Dar es Salaam (Tanzania)** *Monitor*. The electoral commission declares that incumbent President **Samia Suluhu Hasan** won the 29 October election with nearly 98%, a result that opposition **Chadema** leader **Tundu Lissu** rejects, calling it fabricated;
- 30 Oct 2025 **Dar es Salaam (Tanzania)** *FT*. **United Kingdom**-headquartered **Amnesty International** reports that at least two people have died in post-election violence, but activists monitoring video footage suggest the death toll is much higher;
- 29 Oct 2025 **Dar es Salaam (Tanzania)** *Monitor*. Police declare a curfew in Dar es Salaam after protests break out during voting in the general election;
- 28 Oct 2025 **Dar es Salaam (Tanzania)** *The Citizen*. Trading on the **Dar es Salaam Stock Exchange (DSE)** slows as investors adopt a cautious, wait-and-see approach ahead of the 29 October general elections;
- 27 Oct 2025 **Dar es Salaam (Tanzania)** *Mail&Guardian*. Political parties, except the ruling **Chama Cha Mapinduzi (CCM)**, hold their final presidential campaign rallies ahead of the 29 October general election;
- 25 Oct 2025 **Dar es Salaam (Tanzania)** *The Citizen*. Tanzanian media leaders, including **TBC** director general **Ayub Rioba** and **ITV** CEO **Joyce Mhavill**, pledge neutrality and professionalism ahead of the general election on 29 October, emphasising their role in promoting peace and trust during a tense political period;
- 22 Oct 2025 **Dar es Salaam (Tanzania)** *The East African*. Police arrest opposition party **Chadema's** deputy chair, **John Heche**, and detain him for unknown reasons, as the crackdown on opposition figures continues in the build-up to the election;
- 20 Oct 2025 **Dar es Salaam (Tanzania)** *APA News*. **United Kingdom**-headquartered **Amnesty International** says Tanzanian authorities have intensified their repression of dissent in a deliberate strategy to instil fear ahead of the 29 October general election;
- 18 Oct 2025 **Dar es Salaam (Tanzania)** *The Citizen*. **Bank of Tanzania (BOT)** (central bank) governor **Emmanuel Tutuba** dismisses allegations that the BOT is printing money to fund upcoming elections;
- 14 Oct 2025 **Dar es Salaam (Tanzania)** *The Citizen*. Immigration department spokesperson, **SSI Paul J. Mselle** confirms Tanzania has expelled a **United States (US)** national and **German** national for breaching immigration rules;

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