

Court of Appeal File No. COA-25-CV-0229
Court File No. CV-22-00-690649-0000
Court File No. CV-24-00-714148-0000

COURT OF APPEAL OF ONTARIO

B E T W E E N :

SOPHIA MATIKO JOHN, IN HER PERSONAL CAPACITY AND AS LITIGATION GUARDIAN FOR HER MINOR CHILD, KELVIN; ANACRETUS MARINGO GIMANWA; ESTA GEORGE RANGE, IN HER PERSONAL CAPACITY AND AS LITIGATION GUARDIAN FOR HER MINOR CHILDREN JOSEPH, GODFREY, FILEMON AND REBEKA; ELIZABETH MATIKO IRONDO; NEEMA STEPHEN JOHN, IN HER PERSONAL CAPACITY AND AS LITIGATION GUARDIAN FOR HER MINOR CHILDREN JOHN, MIRIAM, ESTA AND TIMOTHY; MASWI MARWA MOHABE; DOTTO WILLIAM ITAMA, IN HER PERSONAL CAPACITY AND AS LITIGATION GUARDIAN FOR HER MINOR CHILD CHRISTINA; LYIMO ITAMA MACHELA; ITAMA MACHELA MAX; CHARLES DANIEL NYAKINA; BHOKE HAGALE MARO; DANIEL NYAKINA GHATI; DICKSON JULIUS SISE; SIBORA MARWA MWITA; EMMANUEL NYAKORENGA MBURI; RYOBA ELIAS KEBWE; PASCO MAREMBELA MWITA; NYAHELI MARWA NYAKORENGA; CHRISTOPHER JHOMU MAKENDE; RANGE MWITA RANGE; AND FREDY CHACHA WAMBURA LEMA

Plaintiffs
(Appellants)

and

BARRICK GOLD CORPORATION

Defendant
(Respondent)

and

AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL CANADA

Intervener

And Between

ESTER NYANGI PETRO, IN HER PERSONAL CAPACITY AND AS LITIGATION GUARDIAN FOR HER MINOR CHILD LUCIA; LEONIDA RUBEN JOSHUA, IN HER PERSONAL CAPACITY AND AS LITIGATION GUARDIAN FOR HER MINOR CHILDREN MACHUGU, NEEMA, AND DANIEL; ABEL SAIMA MACHUGU NYAMARUNGU; CLEMENSIA PROTAS MARWA; MACHERA KIMIRA W ANKA; CHARLES IKAYA MGAYA; MAHERI MWITA NTORA; AND CHARLES MWITA MSETI

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**MOTION RECORD
FRESH EVIDENCE TENDERED BY THE APPELLANT**

November 7, 2025

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TAB 1

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NOTICE OF MOTION
(Motion to adduce evidence on appeal)

TAKE NOTICE THAT the Appellants (Plaintiffs) will make a motion to the Court of Appeal under subsection 134(4)(b) of the *Courts of Justice Act*, which the Appellants request to be heard orally at the outset of the appeal pursuant to Rule 61.16(2) of the *Rules of Civil Procedure*.

THE MOTION IS FOR:

1. An order allowing the Appellants to adduce fresh evidence on appeal;
2. If necessary, an order that the motion be heard orally at the outset of the appeal; and
3. Such further and other relief as this Honourable Court may deem just.

THE GROUNDS FOR THE MOTION ARE:

1. The Appellants have appealed from an order of Justice Morgan dated November 26, 2024 dismissing their actions on the basis that the Court lacked jurisdiction to determine the matters at issue, and in the alternative, on *forum non conveniens* grounds;
2. In the underlying actions, the Appellants claim that between April 2021 and July 2023, they or their family members were injured or killed by security forces at the North Mara Mine in Tanzania, a mine that is controlled and beneficially owned by the Respondent

(Defendant), the Canadian company Barrick Mining Corporation (formerly Barrick Gold Corporation) (“**Barrick**”);

3. On appeal, the Court will be required to assess the motion judge’s determination that Tanzania is the clearly more appropriate forum for the litigation of this dispute, as well as the factual and legal findings that led the motion judge to conclude that the Ontario Superior Court of Justice lacked jurisdiction;
4. New evidence has arisen in the time since the hearing of the motion below that bears directly on the key question of whether Tanzania is a clearly more appropriate forum for the determination of the dispute, including information regarding:
 - (a) the rapidly deteriorating human rights situation in Tanzania leading up to and immediately after the Oct. 29, 2025 general election, marked by increased state violence, suppression of dissent, and a persistent lack of government accountability;
 - (b) continued police violence at the North Mara mine, and the fact that no lawsuits have been filed in Tanzania against Barrick or its subsidiaries to address this violence in the time since the motion under appeal was heard in October 2024; and
 - (c) changes in Barrick’s senior leadership;
5. The Appellants seek to adduce the following fresh evidence addressing the above topics:
 - (a) evidence of the ongoing and deepening human rights and governmental crisis in Tanzania occurring in the leadup to the country’s 2025 general elections on October 28th and 29th, 2025, comprising a Globe and Mail article dated November 3, 2025; a statement by the Foreign Ministers of Canada, the UK, and Norway, dated October 31, 2025; a report by Amnesty International, dated October 20, 2025;
 - (b) a report of continued police violence at the North Mara Mine from the Sunday Times, dated August 17, 2025, and Barrick’s response issued on Toronto letterhead the same day;

- (c) affidavit evidence that no lawsuits have been filed at the High Court in Tanzania against Barrick or its subsidiaries related to the allegations of continued police violence at the North Mara Mine; and
 - (d) a press release from Barrick, issued on September 29, 2025 in Toronto, announcing the appointment of Mark Hill as COO and interim CEO, and a LinkedIn profile showing Mr. Hill's history with Barrick in Toronto;
6. The Appellants exercised due diligence in preparing evidence on the underlying motion. The complex factual matrix underling the forum dispute is constantly evolving, and up-to-date information is necessary for the Court of Appeal to make a proper determination on the issues of jurisdiction and *forum non conveniens*.
 7. The documents that the Appellants seek to adduce as fresh evidence were all published in the last three months — with several critical documents published in just the last two weeks — and pertain to events that have occurred since the hearing of the initial motion.
 8. Similar evidence did not exist or could not have been obtained prior to the hearing of the motion through the exercise of due diligence.
 9. The evidence is relevant, and bears directly on the issue of the appropriateness of Tanzania as an alternative forum for this dispute.
 10. The evidence is credible and reasonably capable of belief.
 11. If believed, the evidence could reasonably have affected the result at trial.
 12. The proposed evidence is permissible, and speaks to social facts that provide the Court with the necessary context for deciding issues crucial to the resolution of this appeal.
 13. The Appellants ask that this motion be heard by the panel hearing the appeal immediately prior to the hearing of the merits, in accordance with the Court of Appeal's well-established practice with respect to fresh evidence, and on the bases that it would be timely, orderly, and cost-efficient, and that the panel is best placed to determine what evidence it requires to determine the issues on appeal.

14. Rules 61.16(2) of the *Rules of Civil Procedure*, R.R.O. 1990, Reg. 194, and subsection 134(4)(b) of the *Courts of Justice Act*, R.S.O. 1990, c. C.43; and
15. Such further and other grounds as counsel may advise.

THE FOLLOWING DOCUMENTARY EVIDENCE will be used at the hearing of the motion:

1. The affidavit of Marrinette Magrofa, affirmed November 6, 2025, and the exhibits attached thereto; and
2. Such further and other evidence as counsel may advise and this Honourable Court may permit.

November 7, 2025



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TAB 2

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AFFIDAVIT OF MARRINETTE MAGROFA #1

I, Marrinette Magrofa of the city of Mississauga, in the Province of Ontario, **MAKE OATH AND SAY AS FOLLOWS:**

1. I am a law clerk at Phillips Barristers, counsel to the plaintiffs in this proceeding. As such, I have personal knowledge of the facts and matters deposed to in this affidavit. Where the facts and matters referenced in this affidavit are based on information I have received from other sources, I have stated the source of the information, and confirm that I believe such information to be true.

2. Facts and matters referenced in this affidavit arose in the time since the hearing of Barrick's motion to stay before Justice Morgan on October 15-17, 2024.

Deepening Human Rights Crisis in Tanzania

3. The political climate in Tanzania has substantially worsened since Barrick's motion to stay was heard by Justice Morgan on October 15-17, 2024.

4. Attached as **Exhibit “A”** is a report by Amnesty International dated October 20, 2025, and entitled, “Tanzania: Unopposed, unchecked, unjust ‘Wave of Terror’ sweeps Tanzania ahead of 2025 vote” which was obtained at

<https://www.amnesty.org/en/documents/afr56/0376/2025/en/> and accessed on November 5, 2025.

5. The report’s Executive Summary states:

Tanzania continues to face a deepening human rights crisis ahead of its October 2025 general elections. Despite findings and recommendations issued in Amnesty International’s 2020 report “Lawfare: Repression by Law ahead of Tanzania’s General Elections” highlighting the worrying human rights situation in the lead up to the 2020 polls and calling on the Tanzanian authorities to respect and uphold human rights throughout the vote and after, the situation as the country heads to this year’s election has deteriorated further. Authorities have intensified the use of repressive laws to silence dissent, targeting journalists, civil society, human rights defenders, and opposition voices.

Between January 2024 and October 2025, Amnesty International has documented widespread and systematic violations, including enforced disappearances, arbitrary arrests, torture, unlawful killings, and severe restrictions on freedoms of movement, expression, and peaceful assembly. These actions reflect a deliberate strategy to suppress civic engagement and entrench power, undermining the fundamental rights of Tanzanians and eroding the integrity of the electoral process.

This briefing highlights how Tanzania’s legal system lacks safeguards to protect political actors and citizens from state abuse. Vague and overbroad laws enable selective enforcement, undermining democratic participation and violating international human rights standards. The findings are based on verified information from diverse sources, including victims, witnesses, families, legal representatives, civil society groups, and media. Amnesty International’s standard methodology was used, prioritizing source credibility, safety and confidentiality. Many contributors remained anonymous due to fear of retaliation.

6. The report describes many specific incidents that Amnesty International characterizes as human rights violations, including the arrest in April 2025 of opposition presidential candidate Tundu Lissu, who has remained in custody after being charged with the non-bailable offence of treason.

7. On October 31, 2025, the Foreign Minister of Canada, along with the Foreign Ministers of the U.K. and Norway, issued a joint statement about Tanzania. The statement is attached as **Exhibit “B”**. The Ministers stated:

We are concerned by the situation in Tanzania following the national elections of October 28 and 29. There are credible reports of a large number of fatalities and significant injuries as a result of the security response to protests, which began on October 29.

We continue to urge the authorities to act with maximum restraint and respect the right of assembly and freedom of expression.

We remain concerned that the run-up to the elections was marked by harassment, abductions and intimidation of opposition figures, journalists and civil society actors.

We call on the Tanzanian authorities to uphold their international commitments and ensure that all citizens can participate freely and safely in public life.

8. The Foreign Ministers’ statement was obtained at <https://www.canada.ca/en/global-affairs/news/2025/10/joint-statement-by-foreign-ministers-of-canada-norway-and-the-united-kingdom-on-situation-in-tanzania.html> and accessed on November 5, 2025.

9. Attached as **Exhibit “C”** is a Globe and Mail article entitled “Canada, allies raise doubts over Tanzanian election as president claims landslide victory”, dated November 3, 2025, which was obtained at <https://www.theglobeandmail.com/world/article-tanzania-election-canada-allies-doubts-president-hassan-victory/> and accessed on November 5, 2025.

10. The Globe and Mail article states, “Tanzania’s traditional allies, including Canada, are questioning the fairness of a disputed election that delivered a landslide victory of 98 per cent to President Samia Suluhu Hassan after the two biggest opposition parties were banned from the ballot.” The article also states, “Southern African election observers, who traditionally endorse

almost all African elections, issued an unusual criticism of the Tanzanian election on Monday, concluding that it did not meet democratic standards”.

Allegations of police shootings, disappearances, and torture at the North Mara mine

11. In the period between October 17, 2024 and present, allegations of police shootings, disappearances, and torture at the North Mara mine have continued.

12. On November 5, 2025, I accessed a webpage on Barrick’s website entitled “Response to The Sunday Times”, dated August 17, 2025, at

<https://www.barrick.com/English/operations/north-mara/mining-with-integrity/response-to-the-sunday-times/default.aspx>.

That webpage provides a hyperlink in a sentence stating, “Barrick is aware of the article published today in The Sunday Times.” I followed that hyperlink

(<https://www.thetimes.com/article/b748e373-5507-4caa-93f7-1498e0cc85ee>) which took me to

an article on the website of The Sunday Times entitled “The \$1bn gold mine bringing death to desperate villagers” dated August 17, 2025. However, I was unable to save a copy of same

without a subscription to The Sunday Times. Attached as **Exhibit “D”** is a copy of the same

Sunday Times article which was obtained by CFM Lawyers’ subscription on August 19, 2025

and viewed by myself on November 5, 2025.

13. The Sunday Times article describes allegations of incidents of police violence at or near the North Mara mine during the last year. The article states:

A notable trend in alleged abuses has also emerged in the past year. In the period from May last year to June this year, 28 torture cases and six unresolved disappearances were noted, according to monitors who provided the data to The Sunday Times, an increase matching covert but violent repression on a national scale.

14. The article provides allegations of specific incidents, including a community member who was searching for gold on a waste dumping site this year when he was shot in the leg by police then spent almost two months in a jail cell with 20 other people while his leg rotted away.

15. Attached as **Exhibit “E”** is a letter on Barrick letterhead with a Toronto address written by Grant Beringer, Group Sustainability Executive, which was obtained at https://s25.q4cdn.com/322814910/files/doc_downloads/north_mara/The_Sunday_Times_Response_130825.pdf and accessed on November 5, 2025. This hyperlink was provided on Barrick’s webpage “Response to The Sunday Times” described above. The letter is undated, but refers to emails dated August 8 and 11, 2025.

16. In the letter, Mr. Beringer responds to the allegations published in the Sunday Times article. He states, “Barrick hosts continuous engagements with its host communities, including quarterly meetings between Barrick executives and the Village Chairpersons, chaired by our CEO and President, and no concerns of government oppression, or repression, have been raised.”

No cases regarding police violence at North Mara in Tanzanian courts

17. Plaintiffs’ counsel are not aware of any lawsuits before the Tanzanian courts against North Mara Gold Mine Limited, Barrick Gold Corporation, or Barrick Mining Corporation related to allegations of police violence at the North Mara mine.

18. I am informed by Matt Eisenbrandt of CFM Lawyers (“CFM”) that CFM retained Yonas Masiaya Laiser to conduct a search of matters before the High Court in Musoma, Tanzania, dating back to October 1, 2024. I am informed by Mr. Laiser that he is a practicing lawyer in

Tanzania and an advocate of the High Court of Tanzania and courts subordinate thereto. I am informed that he has practiced before the High Court in Musoma.

19. I am informed by Mr. Laiser that on October 27 and 28, 2025, he attended at the court registry of the High Court in Musoma. He conducted a search of matters before the High Court currently and back to October 1, 2024. His search did not reveal any lawsuits before the High Court against North Mara Gold Mine Limited, Barrick Gold Corporation, or Barrick Mining Corporation related to allegations of police violence at the North Mara mine, including shootings or wrongful death.

Departure and replacement of Barrick's CEO

20. Attached as **Exhibit "F"** is a press release on Barrick's website entitled "Barrick Announces Leadership Transition", dated September 29, 2025, and issued from Toronto, which was obtained at <https://www.barrick.com/English/news/news-details/2025/barrick-announces-leadership-transition/default.aspx> and accessed on November 5, 2025.

21. The press release states that Barrick has appointed Mark Hill as Group COO and Interim President and Chief Executive Officer following the departure of Mark Bristow. The press release indicates that Mr. Hill joined Barrick in 2006.

22. Attached as **Exhibit "G"** is a copy of the LinkedIn profile of Mark Hill which was obtained at <https://www.linkedin.com/in/mark-hill-39b89138/> and accessed on November 5, 2025.

23. The profile indicates that Mr. Hill has had various positions in the Toronto area at Barrick since at least 2010.

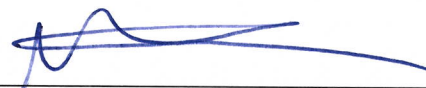
SWORN before me in person at the City of Toronto, in the Province of Ontario, on November 6, 2025.



Commissioner for Taking Affidavits
(or as may be)

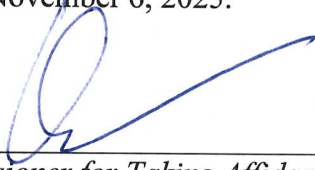
W. CORY WANLESS
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}



MARRINETTE MAGROFA

This is **Exhibit "A"** referred to in the Affidavit of Marrinette Magrofa sworn November 6, 2025.



Commissioner for Taking Affidavits (or as may be)

W. CORY WANLESS
(LSO NO.: 57288M)



UNOPPOSED, UNCHECKED, UNJUST

“WAVE OF TERROR” SWEEPS TANZANIA AHEAD OF
2025 VOTE

RESEARCH
BRIEFING

AMNESTY
INTERNATIONAL



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Zanzibar's anti-riot police officers stand guard by a group of men sitting on the ground during an operation after the opposition called for protests in Stone Town, on October 29, 2020, as tensions rise while the results of the general election are being announced.

© MARCO LONGARI/AFP via Getty Images).

Despite previous warnings from Amnesty International's 2020 report, Tanzania authorities have intensified repression, using vague and over-broad laws to silence dissent ahead of the October 2025 elections. Between January 2024 and October 2025, Amnesty documented widespread abuses including enforced disappearances, arbitrary arrests, torture and other ill-treatment, and extrajudicial killings. Freedoms of expression, movement, and peaceful assembly have been severely restricted.

UNOPPOSED, UNCHECKED, UNJUST
"WAVE OF TERROR" SWEEPS TANZANIA AHEAD OF 2025 VOTE

GLOSSARY

WORD	DESCRIPTION
ACT-WAZALENDO	A Tanzanian opposition political party; full name: Alliance for Change and Transparency – Wazalendo.
ACHPR	African Charter on Human and Peoples’ Rights
AU	African Union.
AUEOM	African Union Election Observation Mission
CCM	<i>Chama Cha Mapinduzi</i> – the ruling party in Tanzania; translates to “Party of the Revolution.”
CHRAGG	Commission for Human Rights and Good Governance – Tanzania’s national human rights institution.
CSO	Civil Society Organization
DCI	Directorate of Criminal Investigations – a Tanzanian law enforcement agency.
EAC	East African Community
EACJ	East African Court of Justice.
ED	Enforced Disappearance
ICCPR	International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights
ICRC	International Committee of the Red Cross
INEC	Independent National Electoral Commission – Tanzania’s electoral body, formerly known as NEC.
IHL	International Humanitarian Law
JAMIIFORUMS	A Tanzanian online platform known for whistleblowing and public discourse.
MP	Member of Parliament.
NEC	National Electoral Commission – the former name of Tanzania’s electoral body, now INEC.
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization.
OHCHR	Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights.
RIG	Robben Island Guidelines – African Union guidelines on the prohibition and prevention of torture.
SADC	Southern African Development Community
TLS	Tanganyika Law Society – the bar association of mainland Tanzania.
TCRA	Tanzania Communications Regulatory Authority
UDHR	Universal Declaration of Human Rights
UNCAT	United Nations Convention Against Torture
WGEID	Working Group on Enforced or Involuntary Disappearances
X	Formerly known as Twitter.

1. EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Tanzania continues to face a deepening human rights crisis ahead of its October 2025 general elections. Despite findings and recommendations issued in Amnesty International's 2020 report "*Lawfare: Repression by Law ahead of Tanzania's General Elections*" highlighting the worrying human rights situation in the lead up to the 2020 polls and calling on the Tanzanian authorities to respect and uphold human rights throughout the vote and after¹, the situation as the country heads to this year's election has deteriorated further. Authorities have intensified the use of repressive laws to silence dissent, targeting journalists, civil society, human rights defenders, and opposition voices.

Between January 2024 and October 2025, Amnesty International has documented widespread and systematic violations, including enforced disappearances, arbitrary arrests, torture, unlawful killings, and severe restrictions on freedoms of movement, expression, and peaceful assembly. These actions reflect a deliberate strategy to suppress civic engagement and entrench power, undermining the fundamental rights of Tanzanians and eroding the integrity of the electoral process.

This briefing highlights how Tanzania's legal system lacks safeguards to protect political actors and citizens from state abuse. Vague and overbroad laws enable selective enforcement, undermining democratic participation and violating international human rights standards. The findings are based on verified information from diverse sources, including victims, witnesses, families, legal representatives, civil society groups, and media. Amnesty International's standard methodology was used, prioritizing source credibility, safety and confidentiality. Many contributors remained anonymous due to fear of retaliation.

The Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) confirmed 17 presidential candidates, including President Samia Suluhu Hassan. Chadema (*Chama cha Demokrasia na Maendeleo*, in English, Party for Democracy and Progress), the main opposition party, was disqualified from the elections for refusing to sign the Electoral Code of Conduct. ACT Wazalendo's presidential candidate, Luhaga Mpina, who had defected from the ruling *Chama Cha Mapinduzi* (CCM) party, was nominated by ACT-Wazalendo as their presidential candidate was also disqualified by INEC despite court rulings in his favour, paving way for minimal electoral challenge for the ruling party CCM candidate at the 2025 elections, with the two major contenders disqualified. The Registrar of Political Parties nullified Mpina's candidacy, citing internal party procedural violations, stating that Mpina had not been a member of *ACT Wazalendo* for a required 30-day minimum period and was nominated after the party's deadline.² The party claimed the rules had been updated.

A series of laws, including the Political Parties Affairs Laws (Amendment) Act, 2024, Cybercrimes Act, and Media Services Act, have been used to criminalize dissent, censor media, and control digital spaces. Media and digital censorship remained pervasive during the period as journalists and online content creators faced arrests, bans, and surveillance. A 24-year-old content creator disappeared while another one reported abduction and torture. Popular social media platforms that many Tanzanians rely on for information like JamiiForums and X were also restricted and will remain banned during the election period.

Enforced disappearances and killings have also been used by the state to silence its critics as numerous cases of abductions and extrajudicial killings of opposition figures and activists are documented, with little to no accountability. Activists and opposition members have also been subjected to torture, incommunicado detention, and politically motivated charges, including treason.

Freedom of movement and peaceful assembly has been repressed as authorities used arbitrary powers to block opposition leaders from traveling, banning political rallies, and violently dispersing peaceful gatherings including in places of worship.

¹ Amnesty International, "*Tanzania: Lawfare: Repression by Law ahead of Tanzania's General Elections*," 20 October 2020, www.amnesty.org/en/documents/afr56/3051/2020/en/

² ACT-Wazalendo 2015 Standing Rules.

2. METHODOLOGY

This briefing is based on extensive documentation of human rights violations occurring in Tanzania between January 2024 and October 2025. The research methodology follows Amnesty International's standard procedures for human rights documentation, with particular attention to protecting the safety and confidentiality of sources. The information has been gathered through multiple sources, including victim testimonies, witness accounts, family members, legal representatives, civil society organizations, and media reports. All cases documented have been verified through multiple independent sources where available.

Amnesty International also carried out extensive desk research reviewing video footage, photographs, official statements and media reports. Further evidence was obtained from other official sources, including government websites, which provided additional context and corroboration for the findings.

On 6 October 2025, Amnesty International sent letters to the Attorney General of the United Republic of Tanzania requesting official responses to the specific concerns that we have investigated. At the time of publishing this briefing, the Attorney General had not responded to the right of reply.

In total, 43 individuals were interviewed during the course of the research. All interviewees gave consent to use their information. Where interviewees were concerned about reprisals, their names and other identifying information have been omitted to protect their identity and safety.

3. BACKGROUND

Following the death of President John Magufuli in March 2021, Samia Suluhu Hassan became Tanzania's first female president. Despite initial hopes for reform, the government has continued and intensified repressive practices targeting opposition leaders, civil society, journalists, and other dissenting voices.

On 13 June 2025, UN human rights experts called on Tanzania to immediately stop the enforced disappearance of political opponents, human rights defenders and journalists, as a tool of repression in the electoral context. The UN Experts list other human rights violations used as a tool for repression to include, "arbitrary arrests, harassment, torture, and the enforced disappearance of youth leaders, human rights defenders, and members of the political opposition."³

As Tanzania prepares for its 29 October 2025 general elections, the ruling party, *Chama Cha Mapinduzi* (CCM), in English, the Party of the Revolution, and Africa's second longest-ruling party, faces minimal electoral challenge. Under President Hassan, authorities have escalated a coordinated campaign to suppress political opposition and dissent. Tundu Lissu, Chairperson of Chadema (*Chama cha Demokrasia na Maendeleo*, in English, Party for Democracy and Progress), the main opposition party, remains in custody facing treason charges for remarks made on 3 April 2025, urging his supporters to boycott the elections. His prosecution reflects the broader crackdown on dissent and the shrinking space for political participation.

On 12 April 2025, the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) disqualified Chadema from participating in the elections after the party refused to sign the mandatory Electoral Code of Conduct citing unresolved concerns over electoral integrity. This disqualification extends to all elections until 2030.

Further undermining political pluralism, the Registrar of Political Parties annulled Chadema's secretariat appointments on 13 May 2025, stripping key leaders of their positions. Although the High Court overturned the decision on 28 August, the Registrar has refused to comply.

ACT-Wazalendo's presidential candidate, Luhaga Mpina, was also disqualified by INEC on 27 August, citing procedural irregularities. His disqualification follows his defection from the ruling CCM. The High Court ruled the disqualification unconstitutional on 11 September, affirming Mpina's right to a fair hearing. Nevertheless, INEC disqualified him again on 15 September following an objection by the Attorney General. The disqualification of Lissu and Mpina highlights growing concerns over the independence of Tanzania's electoral institutions ahead of a vote now lacking major opposition contenders.⁴

Tanzania's legal framework continues to enable repression. Authorities have weaponized laws including the Media Services Act, Electronic and Postal Communications Act, Political Parties Act, Cybercrimes Act, and Public Order Act to silence dissent, restrict freedoms, and entrench authoritarian control. These laws are vague, overly broad, and incompatible with international human rights standards.

³ The Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights (OHCHR), Tanzania: UN Experts alarmed by pattern of enforced disappearance and torture to silence opposition and critics, 13 June 2025, www.ohchr.org/en/press-releases/2025/06/tanzania-un-experts-alarmed-pattern-enforced-disappearance-and-torture

⁴ The International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance (International IDEA), Tanzania - August 2025: Opposition presidential candidate barred ahead of October vote, August 2025, www.idea.int/democracytracker/report/tanzania/august-2025

4. THE LEGAL CONTEXT

In the run up to the elections, authorities in Tanzania have passed laws and regulations that, while framed as administrative or protective reforms, collectively serve to constrain political opposition, suppress dissent, and expand state control over the right to freedom of expression, association and peaceful assembly. The legislations, ranging from electoral reforms to digital surveillance laws, create bureaucratic hurdles, surveillance mechanisms, and discretionary enforcement powers that disproportionately affect opposition parties, civil society organizations (CSOs), and independent media. The disqualification of Chadema from the 2025 general elections for refusing to sign the Electoral Code of Conduct is emblematic of how these laws are being used to exclude dissenting voices from democratic processes. Below is a summary of some key legislative developments:

4.1 POLITICAL PARTIES AFFAIRS LAWS (AMENDMENT) ACT, 2024⁵

This legislation, assented on 7 March 2024, and published on March 22, 2024, introduces extensive new bureaucratic requirements for political parties, creating multiple opportunities for government interference in political party activities. The law, known as Act No. 3 of 2024, mandates that political parties maintain comprehensive documentation, including gender and social inclusion policies, financial management rules, procurement rules, and employment rules. While these requirements may appear administrative, they create room for selective enforcement against opposition parties and impose significant compliance burdens that can be used to justify deregistration or sanctions. Chadema was barred from conducting political activities following a court injunction. The amended law provides broad powers to the Registrar of Political Parties, enabling such restrictions based on allegations of internal disputes or violations. The law was cited in a lawsuit filed by Chadema trustees from Zanzibar, alleging discriminatory resource allocation and violations of party governance rules. The case led to a High Court injunction against Chadema's activities.⁶

4.2 INDEPENDENT NATIONAL ELECTORAL COMMISSION ACT, 2024⁷

This legislation was assented on 22 March 2024, and published on 10 July 2024, renamed the National Electoral Commission (NEC) to the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC), ostensibly to enhance independence. However, the legislation maintains presidential control over key appointments, allowing the President to directly appoint five of the ten commission members. This provision has been particularly criticized by the opposition who allege that it undermines genuine electoral independence ahead of the 2025 elections, and it forms the basis of Chadema's 'No Reforms, No Election' campaign.

On 26 August 2025, the Registrar of Political Parties, a presidential appointee, nullified Luhaga Mpina's nomination as *ACT-Wazalendo's* presidential candidate. The decision was based on alleged internal procedural violations, stating that Mpina had not been a party member for the required minimum of 30 days and was nominated after the party's official deadline.⁸ *ACT-Wazalendo* contested this decision, arguing that its internal rules had been updated, and successfully challenged the nullification in the High Court in Dodoma. On 11 September, the court ruled that Mpina's disqualification was unconstitutional and ordered INEC to reinstate his candidacy and resume the nomination process. However, on 15 September, INEC refused to comply, citing new legal grounds

⁵ The United Republic of Tanzania, *Political Parties Affairs Laws (Amendment) Act, 2024*, Act No. 3 of 2024, enacted March 7, 2024, published March 22, 2024. Available at: <https://tanzlii.org/akn/tz/act/2024/3>

⁶ The Citizen, Zanzibar trustees sue Chadema over alleged discrimination, resource misallocation, 17 April 2025, www.thecitizen.co.tz/tanzania/news/court-news/zanzibar-trustees-sue-chadema-over-alleged-discrimination-resource-misallocation-5006136

⁷ The United Republic of Tanzania, *Independent National Electoral Commission Act, 2024*, published July 10, 2024. Available at: oagmis.oag.go.tz/storage/index-attachments/parliamentary-acts/pwRFK7NjyHYUrqh1EYia2LEPG73imjVv1yKYhj8.pdf

⁸ ACT-Wazalendo 2015 Standing Rules.

provided by the Attorney General, which the commission claimed justified Mpina's continued disqualification.⁹

4.3 ELECTRONIC AND POSTAL COMMUNICATIONS (ONLINE CONTENT) AMENDMENT REGULATIONS, 2025

The Electronic and Postal Communications (Online Content) Amendment Regulations, 2025 that amended the Electronic and Postal Communications (Online Content) Regulations, 2020 were enacted on 28 January 2025. The amendments represent a continuation of the government's efforts to control digital communications and online content.¹⁰ The amendments impose stricter compliance requirements on online content providers and expand regulatory oversight mechanisms, creating additional barriers to free expression and information sharing. The regulations work in conjunction with existing laws to create a comprehensive framework for digital censorship. They require online content providers to establish systems for identifying information sources, effectively eliminating anonymity for digital communications and creating mechanisms for surveillance and retaliation against critics.

On 27 May 2025, the Tanzania Communications Regulatory Authority (TCRA), the government body that regulates telecommunications, broadcasting, internet, and postal services in Tanzania issued a directive to The Chanzo Initiative, an independent multimedia platform to take down a video covering a press event held by Josephat Gwajima, a CCM member of parliament (MP) known for challenging the party leadership and government policies. The video, published on The Chanzo Initiative's YouTube channel, featured Gwajima speaking about alleged abductions and disappearances in Tanzania.¹¹

5. RIGHT TO LIFE AND SECURITY OF PERSON

“Every human being shall be entitled to respect for his life and the integrity of his person.”¹²

On 6 September 2024, Ali Mohammed Kibao, a 69-year-old senior strategist for Chadema was abducted from a bus in Dar es Salaam in the afternoon and remained missing for several hours before his body was discovered discarded near the shores of the Indian Ocean the next morning. Kibao had been brutally murdered, with his face disfigured with acid, indicating apparent torture.¹³ Although President Hassan ordered¹⁴ a prompt inquiry into Kibao's killing¹⁵, there has been no visible progress in the investigation. On 25 October 2024, Kibao's family complained that the Tanzania police did not show commitment to investigate the case, claiming that the family was sidelined¹⁶, with authorities failing to provide any information on the status of the investigation to them.¹⁷

Extrajudicial, summary or arbitrary killing is a grave violation of the right to life and bodily integrity guaranteed by Article 4 of the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights (the African Charter).

⁹ Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC), Decision on Objections to the Selection of Presidential Candidates for the United Republic of Tanzania, 15 September 2025, www.inec.go.tz/news/uamuzi-wa-pingamizi-za-uteuzi-wa-wagombea-wa-kiti-cha-rais-kwa-jamhuri-ya-muungano-wa-tanzania

¹⁰ The United Republic of Tanzania, *Electronic and Postal Communications (Online Content) (Amendment) Regulations, 2025*, Government Notice No. 57 of 2025, dated 28th January 2025. Available at: <https://www.tcra.go.tz/uploads/documents/sw-1738833320-Online%20Content%20Amendment%20Regulations,%202025%20GN%20No%2057%20of%2028%20January%202025.pdf>

¹¹ The Chanzo, *The Chanzo Yaondoa Maudhui ya Askofu Gwajima Kufuatia Wito wa TCRA*, 27 May 2025, thechanzo.com/2025/05/27/the-chanzo-yaondoa-maudhui-ya-askofu-gwajima-kufuatia-wito-wa-tcra

¹² Article 4 of the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights (the African Charter).

¹³ The Chanzo, “Abducted Tanzanian Opposition Leader Found Dead, President Orders Investigation. Three Recently Abducted Opposition Leaders Remain Missing,” 8 September 2024, thechanzo.com/2024/09/08/abducted-tanzanian-opposition-leader-found-dead-president-orders-investigation-three-recently-abducted-opposition-leaders-remain-missing

¹⁴ BBC News, “Tanzania leader condemns killing of opposition figure doused in acid,” 9 September 2024, bbc.com/news/articles/cqjlnewdzo

¹⁵ Daily News, “President Samia orders the Police to end abduction cases,” dailynews.co.tz/president-samia-orders-the-police-to-end-abduction-cases

¹⁶ Statement by Ali Kibao's son expressing concern over the lack of progress in the investigation into his father's death. X (formerly Twitter), 25 October 2024, x.com/AliKibao/status/1849742292258639924

¹⁷ Amnesty International telephone interview with Mohammed Ali Kibao, son of the slain opposition strategist Ali Mohammed Kibao, 20 September 2024.

On 1 May 2025, unknown assailants attacked catholic priest, Charles Kitima, Secretary General of the Tanzania Episcopal Conference, at the organization's premises in Kurasini ward, Dar es Salaam, hours after a recording of him criticising what he called "lawlessness" in the police force and emphasizing the need for electoral justice ahead of Tanzania's 2025 elections went viral on social media. According to the police report, the attack occurred around 10:15 PM, when Kitima went to use the canteen's washroom, after arriving there at around 7:00 PM. Kitima sustained severe injuries and had to be hospitalised for days.⁴⁰ On May 5, 2025, the Commission for Human Rights and Good Governance – Tanzania (CHRAGG) condemned the attack and urged police to investigate the incident and apprehend its perpetrators. Police said they were holding one person in connection to the incident, but there has been no update on the status of the investigation.

The practice of enforced disappearance violates multiple fundamental rights under international law, including Guidelines on the Protection of All Persons from Enforced Disappearances in Africa, the International Convention for the Protection of All Persons from Enforced Disappearance (2010)¹⁸, and Article 6 of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR), which establishes that "every human being has the inherent right to life," and Article 9, which provides that "everyone has the right to liberty and security of person."¹⁹ The killing of Ali Mohammed Kibao presents a clear violation of Article 6 of the ICCPR. The documented circumstances of his abduction from a bus in Dar es Salaam, subsequent torture evidenced by acid disfigurement, and extrajudicial killing constitute several gross violations, including arbitrary deprivation of life.

The UN Human Rights Committee's General Comment No. 36 emphasizes that states must not only refrain from engaging in arbitrary killings but must also investigate such killings and bring perpetrators to justice. The African Charter also imposes on States a responsibility to prevent arbitrary deprivations of life caused by its own agents, and to protect individuals and groups from such deprivations at the hands of others, and further to investigate any killings that take place and hold the perpetrators accountable.²⁰ The documented lack of progress in the investigation, despite presidential orders, indicates a failure to meet this positive obligation.²¹

6. TORTURE AND OTHER ILL-TREATMENT

“Out of nowhere, a man who was wielding a long, pointed object jammed it through the inner ankle of my left leg, which left a gaping wound that was squirting blood. Through my bloodied eyes, I noticed that several of my captors were filming the ordeal, while laughing at and taunting us [the captives].”²²

On 23 June 2024 social media activist Edgar "Sativa" Mwakabela, was abducted at around 1:45 AM by individuals he identified as police officers in the Kimara Korogwe area on the Maji Chumvi road in Dar es Salaam. According to Mwakabela the police took him to Oyster Bay police station also in Dar es Salaam before blindfolding him and transporting him towards Arusha and dumping him in Katavi

¹⁸ The International Convention for the Protection of All Persons from Enforced Disappearance (2010) compels States to fight enforced disappearance on their respective territories. It affirms the right of individuals to know the fate of their disappeared relatives, and to obtain justice and reparation.

¹⁹ UN Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights, "International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights," Articles 6 and 9, <https://www.ohchr.org/en/instruments-mechanisms/instruments/international-covenant-civil-and-political-rights>

²⁰ African Commission on Human and Peoples' Rights, 'General Comment 3 on the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights: The Right to Life (Article 4)' 18 November 2015, para 2.

²¹ UN Human Rights Committee, "General Comment No. 36, Article 6 (Right to Life)," <https://docs.un.org/en/CCPR/C/GC/36>

²² Amnesty International in-person interview with Pendo Jonas Kileo, 25 April 2025.



Social media activist Edgar "Sativa" Mwakabela found at Katavi National Park © Mdude Nyagali

National Park, western region of Tanzania. Sativa's abduction occurred during preparations for a strike by traders from Kariakoo, the main commercial area in Dar es Salaam, who were complaining about actions of officials from the Tanzania Revenue Authority, which Sativa was writing about on X.²³ Despite Sativa naming those involved in his kidnapping, transportation, reported torture, and abandonment in a forest with wild animals, including naming a Dar es Salaam Zonal Crime Officer²⁴, no investigation has been conducted into the incident.²⁵ Sativa also reported that the police officers who took him to the forest shot him in the head.²⁶

On 24 April 2025, police tried to prevent people from gathering at the Kisutu Resident Magistrate Court to observe the trial of Tundu Lissu who stood accused of criminal charges of treason and publication of false statements. Police arrested dozens of people outside the courthouse. Many detainees later reported being harassed, beaten, and subjected to treatment that may have amounted to torture or other ill treatment, before being abandoned in Ununio and Pande Forest, a game reserve approximately 43 kilometres from Dar es Salaam's city centre.²⁷ Police briefly held

the party's Secretary General, John Mnyika, before returning him to Chadema's Mikocheni headquarters in Dar es Salaam late that evening.²⁸ A woman and a man reported to Amnesty International that they had been sexually assaulted by the police.²⁹

On 19 May 2025, security authorities arrested human rights activists, Agather Atuhaire, from Uganda, and Boniface Mwangi from Kenya, who had arrived in Tanzania on 18 May 2025 as part of a delegation to observe the trial of Lissu. After being arrested by immigration and police officers at the Serena Hotel in Dar es Salaam on 19 May 2025,³⁰ the two were driven to an unknown location, where they were held incommunicado and reported that they were beaten, tortured and stripped naked by people believed to be members of the Tanzanian military. On the day they were arrested, President Hassan had publicly warned foreign activists against interfering in Tanzanian affairs.³¹ The two human rights defenders reported being subjected to unimaginable cruelty for four days. Boniface Mwangi was found abandoned at a border post between Kenya and Tanzania on 22 May while Agather Atuhaire was left at the border between Tanzania and Uganda on 23 May. They were both separately driven to the border posts and dumped. Medical reports and testimonies by the two show signs of torture.³² In September 2025, during her presidential campaigns, President Hassan made remarks that could be

²³ Amnesty International in-person interview with Edgar 'Sativa' Mwakabela, October 2024.

²⁴ YouTube, "Sativa Amtuhumu Afande Mafwele Kuratibu Mpango wa Kutekwa Kwake," Published 28 June 2024, www.youtube.com/watch?v=W5110iJ0hgQ

²⁵ The Chanzo, "Shocking Revelation: A 27-Year-Old Man Who Was Kidnapped, Shot in The Head, and Dumped in the Wild," 28 June 2024, thechanzo.com/2024/06/28/shocking-revelation-a-27-year-old-man-who-was-kidnapped-shot-in-the-head-and-dumped-in-the-wild-says-he-was-first-detained-in-a-police-workshop-in-dar

²⁶ Medical reports on file with Amnesty International.

²⁷ Amnesty International in-person interview with 23 eyewitnesses and victims of police violations, 25 April 2025.

²⁸ Amnesty International in-person interview with Chadema Secretary General, John Mnyika, 25 April 2025.

²⁹ Amnesty International in-person interview with two victims of alleged police sexual violations, 25 April 2025.

³⁰ Amnesty International, Tanzania: Torture and forcible deportation of Kenyan and Ugandan activists must be urgently investigated, 23 May 2025,

www.amnesty.org/en/latest/news/2025/05/tanzania-torture-and-forcible-deportation-of-kenyan-and-ugandan-activists-must-be-urgently-investigated/

³¹ WION, Tanzania's President Samia Suluhu Warns & Departs Kenyan Activists | World of Africa, 20 May 2025, www.youtube.com/watch?v=BwPgQEM6-DO

³² "Msiruhusu watu wasio na adabu kutoka nchi nyingine kuvuka mipaka hapa." (unofficial translation from Kiswahili to English).

³² Amnesty International telephone and in-person interviews with Agather Atuhaire and Boniface Mwangi in May and June 2025.

interpreted as a defense of Tanzanian authorities' actions against Atuhaire and Mwangi, saying, "do not allow ill-mannered individuals from other countries to cross the line here."³³ She further said that "authorities would deal decisively with foreigners..."³⁴

The Police Force and Auxiliary Services Act (Chapter 322) grants broad powers to police officers but lacks adequate safeguards against abuse. Section 5 establishes the general duties of the Force for "preservation of the peace" and "apprehension and guarding of offenders" but provides insufficient procedural protections for arrest and detention.³⁵ The Act's failure to establish clear accountability mechanisms for police conduct creates an environment conducive to the documented violations.

The African Union's Guidelines and Measures for the Prohibition and Prevention of Torture, Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment in Africa (The Robben Island Guidelines or RIG), elaborates on Article 5 of the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights (the African Charter), which prohibits torture, cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment (ill-treatment).³⁶

Although Tanzania has not ratified the UN Convention against Torture and other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment (UNCAT)³⁷, the prohibition against torture is a peremptory norm of international law from which no derogation is permitted regardless of a state's treaty ratification status. Further, torture is prohibited in its Constitution (article 13(6) (e)) (United Republic of Tanzania, 1977).

7. ABDUCTIONS AND ENFORCED DISAPPEARANCES

According to the Guidelines on the Protection of All Persons from Enforced Disappearances in Africa, enforced disappearance is a unique and integrated series of acts that represent a continuous violation of several fundamental rights enshrined in the African Charter, many of which are absolute and non-derogable. The list of rights breached, or potentially breached, by an enforced disappearance is not exhaustive. Even though the conduct breaches multiple rights, an enforced disappearance shall be considered a consolidated act and not a combination of acts. Among other violations, this crime infringes upon a wide range of civil and political rights, including the right to life; the right not to be subjected to torture or other cruel, inhuman, and degrading treatment or punishment; the right to liberty and security of the person; and the right to a fair trial and corresponding judicial guarantees.³⁸

Tanzanian security forces have engaged in a systematic pattern of enforced disappearances targeting opposition supporters, civil society activists, and government critics. The wave of mysterious abductions, which are often followed by a refusal to acknowledge the deprivation of liberty or by concealment of the fate or whereabouts of the concerned person, has persisted despite public condemnations from President Hassan, who has explicitly denounced the disappearances and ordered security and defence forces to intervene and halt what she described as a "wave of terror" frightening the public across the country. The victims of disappearances and enforced disappearances are predominantly critics of the government or President Hassan often affiliated with the opposition, especially Chadema, or human rights activists. Many were targeted after voicing criticisms on social media, particularly on X (formerly Twitter).

"Those who came to abduct me at Kimara Korogwe were three people - two men and one woman, by their appearance - the one who grabbed my neck was a tall person with a big body, somewhat big, with scars..."³⁹

³⁹ Amnesty International telephone interview with Edgar Mwakabela, September 2025.



Dioniz Kipanya © Dioniz Kipanya



Deusededith Soka © Deusededith Soka

On 26 July 2024, Dioniz Kipanya, a Chadema party official, went missing when he left home following a telephone conversation with an unidentified person.⁴⁰ He had not been found by the time this briefing was published.⁴¹ On 18 August 2024, Deusededith Soka and Jacob Mlay both Chadema youth activists, and Frank Mbise, a motorcycle taxi driver, were taken by a group of men in Temeke district, Dar es Salaam⁴². Soka was at the forefront of driving a movement for political change in Tanzania and disappeared just days after announcing his intention to lead nationwide youth protests to push for those changes.⁴³

The Tanganyika Law Society (TLS) reported 83 cases of people going missing under mysterious circumstances as of August 9, 2024.⁴⁴ The Commission for Human Rights and Good Governance (CHRAGG), the country's national human rights institution stated on 22 August 2024, that it was conducting special investigations into these incidents, but the public has not been informed whether these investigations have been completed or if the report will be made public.⁴⁵

On 1 December 2024, Abdul Nondo, chairman of ACT Wazalendo's youth wing, reported that he was abducted at a bus stand in Dar es Salaam at 5 AM while returning from Kigoma. He was released 18 hours later after being dumped on the shores of Coco Beach in Dar es Salaam's Oyster Bay neighbourhood, having sustained injuries and he received treatment at the Aga Khan hospital in Dar es Salaam.⁴⁶

³⁴ The Chanzo, Samia Asisitiza Suala la Amani, Asema Hakutakuwa na Vurugu Siku ya Kupiga Kura, 'Tumejipanga Vyema, 20 September 2025, www.youtube.com/watch?v=awYtihOUVAU

³⁵ Police Force and Auxiliary Services Act, Chapter 322, <https://tanzlii.org/akn/tz/act/1939/1/eng@2002-07-31>

³⁶ African Commission on Human and Peoples' Rights (ACHPR), Committee for the Prevention of Torture in Africa, 2004, achpr.au.int/en/mechanisms/committee-prevention-torture-africa#:~:text=In%20October%202002%2C%20at%20its%2032nd%20Ordinary%20Session%2C,cruel%2C%20inhuman%20or%20degrading%20treatment%20or%20punishment%20%28ill-treatment%29.

³⁷ Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights (OHCHR), Convention against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment, indicators.ohchr.org/

³⁸ African Commission on Human and Peoples' Rights (ACHPR), Guidelines on the Protection of All Persons from Enforced Disappearances in Africa, part 3: rights commonly infringed upon by an enforced disappearance

³⁹ Amnesty International telephone interview with Edgar Mwakabela, September 2025.

⁴⁰ Amnesty International, Tanzania: Stop repression of opposition leaders and immediately release Tundu Lissu, 11 April 2025, www.amnesty.org/en/latest/news/2025/04/tanzania-stop-repression-of-opposition-leaders-and-immediately-release-tundu-lissu/

⁴¹ Amnesty International, Tanzania: Stop repression of opposition leaders and immediately release Tundu Lissu, 11 April 2025, www.amnesty.org/en/latest/news/2025/04/tanzania-stop-repression-of-opposition-leaders-and-immediately-release-tundu-lissu/

⁴² Amnesty International, Tanzania: Stop repression of opposition leaders and immediately release Tundu Lissu, 11 April 2025, www.amnesty.org/en/latest/news/2025/04/tanzania-stop-repression-of-opposition-leaders-and-immediately-release-tundu-lissu/

⁴³ The Chanzo, "One Year On: CHADEMA Honors Deusededith Soka Amid Unsolved Disappearance," 18 August 2025, thechanzo.com/2025/08/18/one-year-on-chadema-honors-deusededith-soka-amid-unsolved-disappearance

⁴⁴ Tanganyika Law Society, "Ongeziko la Vitendo vya Utekaji na Uteaji wa Watu Nchini," 8 August 2024 (on file with Amnesty International).

⁴⁵ Commission for Human Rights and Good Governance (CHRAGG)/THBUB, "THBUB Yatoa Tamko Kuhusu Kupotea Kwa Watu Nchini," 8 August 2024 (on file with Amnesty International).

⁴⁶ The Chanzo, "ACT Wazalendo Says Its Youth Wing Leader, Abdul Nondo, Has Been Abducted," 1 December 2024, thechanzo.com/2024/12/01/act-wazalendo-says-its-youth-wing-leader-abdul-nondo-has-been-abducted/

On 23 March 2025, Daniel Chonchorio, a CCM member and Mwanza-based businessman, went missing and is yet to be found. Two party members participating in the internal CCM elections for parliamentary and councilor candidates have been reported missing under mysterious circumstances: Sinda Mseti, who was competing in councilor primaries for Sirari Ward, Tarime, vanished on 6 August 2025; and Siza Mwita Keheta, competing for Ganyange Ward, Tarime, went missing on 29 July 2025. Additionally, Anthony Gabriel, an acquaintance of one of the missing aspirants, was also reported missing.⁴⁷

On 2 April 2025, *ACT-Wazalendo* reported the abduction of its member, Fakihi Ali Salim, a resident of Wete, North Pemba, who disappeared on 27 March 2025 at around 5:00 AM. He remains missing to date. According to his family, Salim's last known activity involved responding to a request from an unknown caller to procure a chicken. He was last seen entering a Harrier-model vehicle in Minyeneni village at 5:00 AM.⁴⁸

On 2 May 2025, unknown assailants raided the home of Mdude Nyagali, a Chadema cadre and fierce critic of President Hassan's government and abducted him. The assailants severely beat him, leaving blood splattered across his home's veranda, before abducting him. Two police officers were alleged to be involved in the incident, with the police promising to investigate the allegations to ascertain the truth. However, the police later dismissed these allegations, stating that their officers were not involved in the incident.⁴⁹ Police Spokesperson David Misime issued a statement on 18 June 2025, absolving the law enforcement authority from any connection to the incident. He stated that inquiries into multiple alleged abduction cases had identified a disturbing pattern, concluding that many of the reported missing persons had fabricated their own disappearances.



Mdude Nyagali © Mdude Nyagali

On 6 October 2025, unknown assailants abducted a former Tanzanian ambassador to Cuba Humphrey Polepole. According to his family, they were alerted to a possible break-in the residence of the former diplomat and outspoken government critic. Upon arrival, they found the door broken, electrical wires cut off, and a significant amount of blood at the scene. Videos and images shared by the family appear to corroborate these claims, showing clear signs of a violent struggle.⁵⁰ Polepole's family reported the incident to Mbezi Police Station on the same day and his lawyer filed a habeas corpus application in court on 7 October 2025.⁵¹ The police spokesperson David Misime stated that Polepole had been summoned to appear before the Directorate of Criminal Investigations (DCI) over allegations made on social media but had failed to comply.

The National Elections Act (Chapter 343) contains no specific provisions addressing the protection of political actors from enforced disappearance, despite the clear targeting of opposition figures documented in the cases of Kibao, Soka, Mlay, Mbise, and Nyagali.⁵² This legislative gap undermines

⁴⁷ +Mwananchi, "Familia yaomba kinara kura za udiwani aliyetoweka Sirari arejeshwe," 8 August 2025, mwananchi.co.tz/mw/habari/kitaifa/familia-yaomba-kinara-kura-za-udiwani-aliyetoweka-sirari-arejeshwe-5148184

⁴⁸ The Chanzo, *ACT-Wazalendo Yadai Mwanachama Wake Kutekwa Pemba*, 2 April 2025, thechanzo.com/2025/04/02/act-wazalendo-yadai-mwanachama-wake-kutekwa-pemba

⁴⁹ The Chanzo, "One Year On: CHADEMA Honors Deusededith Soka Amid Unsolved Disappearance," 18 August 2025, thechanzo.com/2025/08/18/one-year-on-chadema-honors-deusededith-soka-amid-unsolved-disappearance/

⁵⁰ Amnesty International telephone interview with Augustino Polepole, brother to Humphrey Polepole on 7 October 2025.

⁵¹ Amnesty International telephone interview with Peter Kibatata and Tito Magoti, lawyers of Humphrey Polepole on 7 October 2025.

⁵² National Elections Act, Chapter 343, <https://tanzlii.org/akn/tz/act/1985/1/eng@2010-08-06>

the electoral process's integrity and violates Article 25 of the ICCPR, which guarantees the right to participate in public affairs.⁵³ Enforced disappearances represent serious violations of human rights, including the right to life, liberty and security of person protected under the international human rights law.

Beyond civil and political rights, enforced disappearance also affects economic, social, and cultural rights, such as the right to health, the right to family life, and the right to education, among others. In addition to human rights violations, enforced disappearance contravenes a range of customary and treaty rules of international human rights and humanitarian law (IHL), most notably the prohibitions against arbitrary deprivation of liberty, torture and other cruel or inhuman treatment, and murder, as outlined in the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) Study on Customary International Humanitarian Law.⁵⁴ According to the UN Working Group on Enforced or Involuntary Disappearances (WGEID), this crime is recognized as a continuous violation, reinforcing its gravity and the need for comprehensive legal and humanitarian responses.⁵⁵

8. ARBITRARY DETENTION AND UNFAIR TRIALS

Article 9 of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR) prohibits arbitrary arrest or detention. The UN Human Rights Committee, General Comment No. 35 further sets out several circumstances in which a person's detention may be unlawful. Accordingly, "arbitrary detention occurs when a state deprives an individual of their liberty without a legitimate legal basis or fails to follow due process of law." In such cases, the detention lacks justification under national or international legal standards and is therefore considered arbitrary.⁵⁶

After a person has been detained, they have a right to access lawyers and family members. Those denied this access are being subjected to incommunicado detention. In some cases, as well as being denied contact with the outside world, prisoners or detainees are held in locations known only to the authorities – this is known as secret detention and may amount to enforced disappearance.⁵⁷

On 9 April 2025, police arrested Tundu Lissu after holding a political rally in Mbinga town, southwest of Tanzania. He was then transferred to Dar es Salaam, more than 1,000 kilometres away by road during the night. Police used unnecessary and excessive force, including by firing teargas and shooting in the air to disperse his supporters who gathered around during the arrest.⁵⁸

"The Kisutu [in Dar es Salaam] Court had no jurisdiction. I should have been charged in Mbinga, where I was arrested. This is against the law. I am being detained without any legal basis."⁵⁹

On 10 April 2025, police charged him with the non-bailable offence of treason, in relation to statements he made during a press conference on 4 April 2025 in Dar es Salaam, while addressing Chadema's prospective parliamentary and council candidates. The specific words that form the basis of the charge are: "They have said one thing correctly there, they say this stance signifies rebellion, it

⁵³ International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, Article 25, <https://www.ohchr.org/en/instruments-mechanisms/instruments/international-covenant-civil-and-political-rights>

⁵⁴ Jean-Marie Henckaerts and Louise Doswald-Beck, Customary International Humanitarian Law, Volume I: Rules, International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC), Cambridge University Press, 2005.

⁵⁵ Working Group on Enforced or Involuntary Disappearance (WGEID), General Comment on Enforced Disappearance as a Continuous Crime, A/HRC/16/48 (26 January 2011), para. 39.

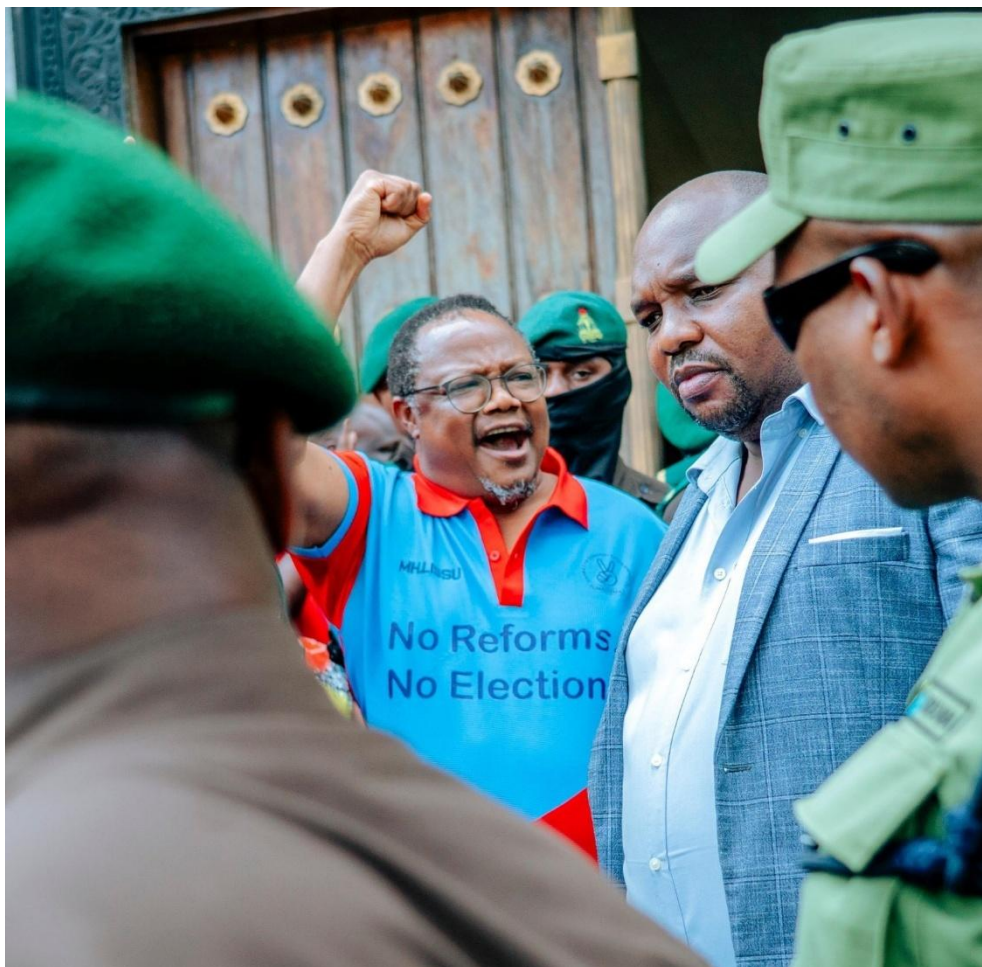
⁵⁶ United Nations Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights (OHCHR), Fact Sheet No. 26 (Rev. 1): Working Group on Arbitrary Detention, 14 February 2024, www.ohchr.org/en/publications/fact-sheets/fact-sheet-no-26-rev-1-working-group-arbitrary-detention

⁵⁷ UN Human Rights Committee (HRC), General Comment No. 35, Article 9 (Liberty and Security of Person), CCPR/C/GC/35, 16 December 2014.

⁵⁸ Amnesty International, Tanzania: Stop repression of opposition leaders and immediately release Tundu Lissu, 11 April 2025, www.amnesty.org/en/latest/news/2025/04/tanzania-stop-repression-of-opposition-leaders-and-immediately-release-tundu-lissu/

⁵⁹ Tundu Lissu in court on 11 September 2025, Unofficial Kiswahili to English translation of, "Mahakama ya Kisutu haikuwa na mamlaka yoyote. Nilipaswa kushtakiwa Mbinga, ambako nilikamatwa. Hii ni kinyume na sheria. Nimewekwa kuzuizini bila msingi wa kisheria."

is true. Because we are saying we are blocking the election, we will incite rebellion, that is the way to bring about change, that is the way to bring about change.”⁶⁰ Lissu called on Tanzanians to boycott the forthcoming elections, citing the possibility of rigging.⁶¹ The state also charged him with three offences in relation to the “publication of false information” using the country’s cybercrime laws. On 3 April 2025, Tundu Lissu, in a YouTube post also stated that Tanzanian police participated in alleged electoral malpractices that he claimed were ordered by the president following the November 2024 local elections. He further stated that judges in the country are not independent and subject to pressure of the ruling party.⁶²



Tundu Lissu at the High Court of Tanzania in Dar Es Salaam, August 2025 © CHADEMA

Since his arrest, Lissu has remained in custody because his treason charge is not eligible for bail. Lissu was granted permission on 23 June 2025 to represent himself in his treason trial after being denied the right to meet his lawyers in private by prison authorities.⁶³

On 23 July 2025, security authorities in Tanzania abducted a Kenyan human rights activist Mwabili Mwangodi in Tanzania. Mwangodi, known for his outspoken criticism of political influence in religious institutions and his mobilization of youth movements in Kenya, was last seen in Dar es Salaam where he worked for a hospitality company. Eyewitnesses confirmed he was taken away by unknown persons

⁶⁰ Unofficial Kiswahili to English translation of, “Wamesema kitu kimoja sahihi hapo, wanasema msimamo huu unaashiria uasi, ni kweli. Kwa sababu tunasema tunazuia uchaguzi, tutahamasisha uasi, hiyo ndiyo namna ya kupata mabadiliko, ndiyo namna ya kupata mabadiliko. Mandela had to go through life in prison for treason ili kupata mabadiliko Afrika Kusini. Kwahiyi tunaenda kukinukisha, walio tayari tutakwenda nao, hakuna mtu atawekewa bunduki kwenda... kama unataka kuwa mbunge seriously twende tukapiganie mabadiliko... huuu uchaguzi tutauvuruga, kama ulikuwa unafikiria kuwa Mbunge Oktoba au Novemba saha... mimi nimekinukisha, ninakamatwa... ninakwenda kushitakiwa kwa uhaini kwa kuhamasisha uasi.”

⁶¹ Amnesty International, Tanzania: Stop repression of opposition leaders and immediately release Tundu Lissu, 11 April 2025, www.amnesty.org/en/latest/news/2025/04/tanzania-stop-repression-of-opposition-leaders-and-immediately-release-tundu-lissu/

⁶² Amnesty International, Tanzania: Stop repression of opposition leaders and immediately release Tundu Lissu, 11 April 2025, www.amnesty.org/en/latest/news/2025/04/tanzania-stop-repression-of-opposition-leaders-and-immediately-release-tundu-lissu/

⁶³ Amnesty International telephone interview with four lawyers representing Tundu Lissu, September 2025.

on a motorbike.⁶⁴ Mwangodi was dropped in a bush in Kinondo, Kwale county, on the Kenyan coast around 3:00 am on 27 July 2025, where he walked for about three kilometres to a Diani police station where he sought help, including medical help. According to Mwangodi, Tanzanian authorities took his phone, laptop, and questioned him about protests and political interests.⁶⁵

9. VIOLATIONS OF THE RIGHT TO PEACEFUL ASSEMBLY

“Every individual shall have the right to assemble freely with others. [...]”⁶⁶

Tanzanian authorities have systematically banned, disrupted, or violently dispersed peaceful gatherings, particularly those organized by opposition parties.

On 21 July 2024, the police arrested opposition leader Freeman Mbowe and 11 other Chadema party officials and staff members at a hotel in Mwanza, northwestern Tanzania. They were arrested hours before a planned conference, in which party members would discuss demanding a new Constitution for the country. Although seven of them were released days after their arrest, Mbowe was only released more than seven months later, after the Director of Public Prosecution dropped terrorism charges against him and three others.⁶⁷

On 11 August 2024, Tanzanian police arrested and detained leading figures from Chadema including Tundu Lissu, John Mnyika, Nyasa regional leader, Joseph Mbilinyi, leaders of the party’s youth wing, Baraza la Vijana Cha Chadema (Bavicha) and more than a hundred youth supporters, as well as five journalists for violating a ban on holding a youth conference. They were arrested during a meeting at Chadema’s Nyasa zonal office in Mbeya, southwest Tanzania, ahead of International

Youth Day on 12 August 2024.⁶⁸ According to a party official, the leading figures were taken by police to unknown locations, while other party members and journalists were transported to various police stations in Mbeya. The police later, on 12 August 2024, arrested then Chadema party chairman

⁶⁴ 26 July 2025, www.amnestykenya.org/amnesty-international-statement-on-the-reported-abduction-of-kenyan-activist-mwabili-mwangodi/

⁶⁵ Amnesty International telephone interview with three eyewitnesses who saw Mwangodi in Diani, including his sister, human rights activists, and Mwangodi himself, July 2025.

⁶⁶ Article 11 of the African Charter

⁶⁷ Amnesty International, Tanzania: End mass arrests and arbitrary detentions of political opposition, 12 August 2024, www.amnesty.org/en/latest/news/2024/08/tanzania-end-mass-arrests-and-arbitrary-detentions-of-political-opposition/

⁶⁸ Amnesty International, Tanzania: End mass arrests and arbitrary detentions of political opposition, 12 August 2024, www.amnesty.org/en/latest/news/2024/08/tanzania-end-mass-arrests-and-arbitrary-detentions-of-political-opposition/



The arrest of several party leaders, including John Heche, the Vice Chairman of Chadema in Dar Es Salaam, 23 August 2025 © CHADEMA

Freeman Mbowe and the Bavicha national leader John Pambalu at Songwe airport after they arrived from Dar es Salaam to follow up about other party leaders and members who had been arrested.⁶⁹

On 23 April 2025, police in Dar es Salaam arrested several party leaders, including John Heche, the Vice Chairman of Chadema (Mainland Tanzania), to prevent a public rally which the party planned to hold in the Kariakoo area. In their letter dated 22 April 2025, police said they were prohibiting the meeting to avoid disrupting business activities in Dar es Salaam's main market area.⁷⁰ The next day, on 24 April 2025, police beat up and arrested people gathering at the Kisutu Resident Magistrate Court to observe a court case against Lissu.⁷¹

“As we approached the court, I noticed an unusual police deployment including armoured vehicles stationed around the entrance. Even at the court premise, there were police men, members of the Field Force Unit and they stopped us from getting access to the courtroom. So, we decided to stand outside and watch from there as we considered our options.”⁷²

On 2 June 2025, the Ministry of Home Affairs through a letter revoked the license of Glory of Christ Tanzania Church, led by government critic Bishop Josephat Gwajima who also serves as Kawe MP for ruling party, CCM.⁷³ In the letter to Gwajima from the Registrar of Civil Societies, the authority claimed that the church had breached the law by mixing politics with religion, stating that his sermons had “incited the public against the state” and “threatened peace and stability” against sections 17 and 39 of the Civil Societies Act.⁷⁴

Gwajima had publicly demanded authorities take action to stop incidents of enforced disappearance of government critics, placing blame on President Hassan. Glory of Christ Tanzania Church members have had difficulty assembling for worship purposes, with police dispersing them violently every Sunday when the congregation meets, sometimes using water cannons.⁷⁵

⁶⁹ Amnesty International, Tanzania: End mass arrests and arbitrary detentions of political opposition, 12 August 2024, www.amnesty.org/en/latest/news/2024/08/tanzania-end-mass-arrests-and-arbitrary-detentions-of-political-opposition/

⁷⁰ Tanzania Police Force, letter to CHADEMA prohibiting rally at Kariakoo, 22 April 2025, (on file with Amnesty International).

⁷¹ Amnesty International interviews, Dar es Salaam, 25 April 2025. Telephone and in-person interviews conducted with Chadema party officials and 23 party members who were arrested by police on 24 April and later released.

⁷² Amnesty International telephone and one on one interviews with Chadema party official in Dar es Salaam, 25 April 2025.

⁷³ Government of Tanzania, statement on Instagram, 24 September 2025, www.instagram.com/p/DKZqQkMPx1/

⁷⁴ Letter from the Registrar of Civil Societies, Emmanuel Kihampa dated 2 June 2025 (on file with Amnesty International).

⁷⁵ Josephat Gwajima, statement on YouTube, 23 September 2025, www.youtube.com/watch?v=NhpB9Zh2_6Y

On 10 June 2025, the High Court in Dar es Salaam issued an injunction prohibiting Chadema from conducting any political activities. The order was based on a lawsuit alleging discrimination in how the party allocates resources between mainland Tanzania and the semi-autonomous islands of Zanzibar.⁷⁶ This injunction has adversely impacted the right of peaceful assembly for many Chadema members and supporters across the country.

On 8 September 2025, dozens of Chadema supporters were detained in police custody for holding what police described as "illegal assemblies." On 7 September 2025, police prevented members and supporters from gathering to commemorate "Mashujaa Day" (Heroes Day), an event Chadema organised to honour those who died fighting for democracy in Tanzania. In Serengeti, Mara region, police arrested several high-ranking Chadema officials while they were cleaning the grave of Bob Makani, one of the party's founders, and visiting his family. On the same day, in Mwanza, in north-western Tanzania, police arrested over 20 people gathered at a church to commemorate *Mashujaa Day*.⁷⁷ Amnesty International confirmed in an interview with the party's spokesperson that no charges were pressed against any of them. In Dar es Salaam, police surrounded the offices of the Tanganyika Law Society to block access for a similar planned *Mashujaa Day* commemoration.⁷⁸

The Public Order Act, referenced in the police actions against Chadema rallies, grants broad discretionary powers to police to restrict assemblies but lacks adequate procedural safeguards.⁷⁹ Section 5 of the Public Order Act criminalizes behavior that is "threatening, abusive, or insulting, and either intended to provoke a breach of the peace or likely to do so." In practice, authorities have applied this provision subjectively—particularly in interpreting terms like "threatening" or "likely to provoke"—which gives police broad discretion to intervene in public gatherings.

Together with the Political Parties Act (Chapter 258) 2019, which establishes the framework for political party operations, the two laws contain provisions that have been used to restrict legitimate political activities. The Political Parties Act's broad language regarding activities that threaten "national unity" or "public order" provides insufficient guidance for consistent application and creates opportunities for discriminatory enforcement.⁸⁰

The Police Force and Auxiliary Services Act require organizers to notify police 48 hours in advance of any public assembly. Police may deny permission if the gathering is deemed likely to breach peace or public order.⁸¹

Article 11 of the African Charter protects "the right to assemble freely with others. The exercise of this right shall be subject only to necessary restrictions provided for by law, in particular those enacted in the interest of national security, the safety, health, ethics and rights and freedoms of others."⁸² In May 2017, the African Commission developed, the Guidelines on Freedom of Association and Assembly of the African Commission on Human and Peoples' Rights. The guidelines provide how states must establish a clear and explicit legal basis for the right to freedom of peaceful assembly that should be recognised in states' constitutions and/or legislation.⁸³

The systematic restrictions on peaceful assembly violate Article 21 of the ICCPR and Art. 20 of the UDHR which provides that "the right of peaceful assembly shall be recognized."⁸⁴

⁷⁶ *High Court of Tanzania, Attorney General v. CHADEMA, Miscellaneous Civil Application No. 2987 of 2025*, 10 June 2025 (on file with Amnesty International).

⁷⁷ Chadema, statement on X, 25 September 2025, x.com/ChademaTZ2/status/1964641556369215673

⁷⁸ Amnesty International telephone interview with Amani Golugwa, September 2025.

⁷⁹ Public Order Act, referenced in police actions against CHADEMA rallies

⁸⁰ Political Parties Act, Chapter 258, <https://tanzilii.org/akn/tz/act/1992/5/eng@2019-11-30>

⁸¹ Section 43 of the Police Force and Auxiliary Services Act (Chapter 322).

⁸² Article 11 of the African Charter.

⁸³ Amnesty International, Guidelines on the right to freedom of peaceful assembly 27 November 2024,

www.amnesty.org/en/documents/act30/8426/2024/en/

⁸⁴ UN Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights, "International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights," Article 21,

<https://www.ohchr.org/en/instruments-mechanisms/instruments/international-covenant-civil-and-political-rights>

10. ATTACKS ON FREEDOM OF EXPRESSION AND THE MEDIA

“We have started seeing a trend where activists from our region are beginning to invade and interfere in our affairs. If they’ve already been dealt with in their own countries, they should not come here to ruin things for us. Let’s not give them room ...”⁸⁵

Police arrested and detained opposition politicians for statements they made on public platforms, particularly those concerning President Hassan. Freedom of information and the ability of the public to express their views freely have come under severe attack as Tanzania approaches its general elections, threatening to undermine the public's capacity to access information needed to effectively participate in the electoral processes.

On 4 July 2024, Rungwe Primary Court, Mbeya, southwest Tanzania sentenced 24-year-old Shadrack Chaula, a painter and TikToker to two years imprisonment or a fine of five million Tanzanian shillings (about 2,000 USD) for spreading false information contrary to section 16 of the Cybercrimes Act, 2015. Police said Chaula used “strong words” against the president in a video he posted on his TikTok account on 30 June 2024 showing himself burning a picture of President Hassan while verbally insulting her. Supporters crowd-funded the fine, securing his release. However, on 2 August 2024, he was reportedly abducted by unknown individuals and has not been seen since. In a letter dated 8 August 2024 to the media, Mbeya Regional Police Commander, Benjamin Kuzaga, acknowledged the incident and promised to investigate⁸⁶, but no official findings have been made public.

The Cybercrimes Act, 2015 (Act 14 of 2015) criminalizes various forms of online expression through vaguely defined offenses such as “false information” and content that may “cause fear and alarm.”⁸⁷ These provisions fail to meet the requirements of legality, necessity, and proportionality under Article 19(3) of the ICCPR.

On 2 October 2024, TCRA suspended the online content licenses for three Mwananchi Communication Limited brands: The Citizen, Mwananchi Digital, and Mwanaspoti for 30 days following the release of a viral animated clip by The Citizen. Many media outlets have also faced orders from TCRA to take down certain content they have published on their platforms, which is perceived to contradict the government's position and narrative, creating fear among journalists and editors.⁸⁸

On 18 June 2025 police in Dar es Salaam detained Janeth Rithe, Chairperson of ACT Wazalendo's Women's Wing, for four days after she responded to a police summons. Police summoned Rithe for questioning regarding a statement she made on June 18, 2025, at a public rally in Manzese, Dar es

⁸⁵ Citizen TV, Tanzanian President Samia Suluhu warns foreign activists to stay away, 19 May 2025, www.bing.com/videos/riverview/relatedvideo?q=Samia%20Suluhu%20September%202025%20akisema%20aliwadhait%20wagani&mid=4CC82223F880C37CF8324CC82223F880C37CF832&ajaxhist=0

“Tumeanza kuona mtindo wa wanaharakati kutoka ukanda wetu kuja kuingilia mambo yetu. Kama tayari wamekwishaadhibiwa kwao, wasije hapa kutuharibia. Tusitoe nafasi—tayari wameleta vurugu kwao ...” (unofficial translation from Kiswahili to English).

⁸⁶ Media Wire Express, Mbeya Police Probe Missing Accused Photo Burner, 9 August 2024, mediawireexpress.co.tz/mbeya-police-probe-missing-accused-photo-burner/.

⁸⁷ The Cybercrimes Act, 2015, Act 14 of 2015, <https://tanzlii.org/akn/tz/act/2015/14/eng@2015-05-22>

⁸⁸ The Chanzo, “The Chanzo Yaondoa Maudhui ya Askofu Gwajima Kufuatia Wito wa TCRA,” 27 May 2025,

Salaam, where she expressed astonishment at President Hassan's claim that Tanzania was performing better economically than the United States.⁸⁹

On 6 September 2025, the TCRA imposed a 90-day ban on JamiiForums, a prominent online platform, citing the publication of misleading and defamatory content about the government and the President. The alleged violations were said to contravene the 2020 Online Content Regulations and its 2022 and 2025 amendments.⁹⁰ TCRA stated that on 4 September 2025, JamiiForums published misleading, defamatory, and demeaning content about the Government and the President through its platform and social media accounts.⁹¹ The JamiiForums ban came following the criminal case facing the owners of the YouTube channel Wachokonozi, Jackson Kabalo and Joseph Mrindoko, who face charges of publishing false information contrary to Section 16 of the Cybercrime Act of 2015, and publishing online content without a license, in violation of Section 116(3)(b) of the Electronic and Postal Communications Act.⁹²

The Electronic and Postal Communications Act (Chapter 306) and its 2018 Online Content Regulations require registration and licensing of online content creators, creating barriers to expression that are incompatible with international standards.⁹³ The regulations' broad liability provisions for user-generated content create incentives for over-censorship.

Ordinary members of the public have also been targeted under the pretext of combating misinformation. The Media Services Act (Chapter 229) establishes a licensing regime for journalists and grants broad powers to the Minister to prohibit content deemed against "public interest" or "national security."⁹⁴ These provisions violate the principle of legality under Article 19(3) of the ICCPR due to their vague and overbroad nature.

On 6 August 2025, Home Affairs Minister Innocent Bashungwa ordered police to conduct "online patrols,"⁹⁵ claiming the measure would monitor individuals allegedly using digital platforms to disrupt peace and security in Tanzania while combating cybercrime.

The government has intensified efforts to censor social media networks as the general election approaches. Authorities have already restricted access to X, a platform popular among Tanzanians for uncensored news and political discussion. Users of other online platforms such as Telegram and Clubhouse have also reported difficulties accessing these networks, with many stating they must use a VPN to participate in discussions.

"By March 31, 2025, TCRA had identified and shut down a total of 80,171 websites, social media accounts, platforms, and blogs that were publishing content deemed unethical and harmful to children's mental health."⁹⁶

On 5 May 2025, deputy Minister of Information, Culture, Arts, and Sports told parliament that TCRA had identified and closed 80,171 platforms for "publishing unethical content that poses a risk to children's mental health."⁹⁷ According to NetBlocks, a global internet monitor working at the intersection of digital rights, cybersecurity and internet governance, on 20 May 2025 live metrics showed that X was unreachable on major internet providers in Tanzania. The incident followed posts

⁸⁹ Mwanahalisi Online, "ACT Wazalendo hawajui hatma ya Janeth Rithe," 21 June 2025, mwanahalisionline.com/2025/06/21/act-wazalendo-hawajui-hatma-ya-janeth-rithe/

⁹⁰ Amnesty International telephone interview with Maxence Melo, the Executive Director of Jamii Forums, September 2025.

⁹¹ TCRA, statement on Instagram, 25 September 2025 (on file with Amnesty International).

⁹² The Chanzo, "Criminal Case Against YouTubers 'Wachokonozi' Postponed," 14 August 2025, thechanzo.com/2025/08/14/criminal-case-against-youtubers-wachokonozi-postponed/

⁹³ The Electronic and Postal Communications Act, Chapter 306, <https://tanzlii.org/akn/tz/act/2010/3/eng@2010-05-07>

⁹⁴ Media Services Act, Chapter 229, <https://tanzlii.org/akn/tz/act/2016/12/eng@2016-11-18>

⁹⁵ Ministry of Home Affairs, Bashungwa Amuagiza IGP kudhibiti wahalifu wanaotumia mitandao kuvuruga amani, 11 August 2025, moha.go.tz/index.php/News/QK9b68neEv

⁹⁶ The Chanzo, TCRA Yafungia Zaidi ya Mitandao ya Kijamii 80,000 Yenye Maudhui Hatarishi kwa Watoto, 5 May 2025, www.youtube.com/watch?v=QUgOCYJrAqU

⁹⁷ The Chanzo, TCRA Yafungia Zaidi ya Mitandao ya Kijamii 80,000 Yenye Maudhui Hatarishi kwa Watoto, 5 May 2025, www.youtube.com/watch?v=QUgOCYJrAqU

by a compromised police X account claiming that President Hassan had died⁹⁸. At the time of publishing this briefing, users could only access X through VPNs.⁹⁹

Article 9 of the African Charter guarantees individuals the right to receive information as well as the right to express and disseminate information. In November 2019, the African Commission adopted the Declaration of Principles of Freedom of Expression and Access to Information in Africa to replace the Declaration of Principles on Freedom of Expression in Africa which the African Commission had adopted in 2002. The 2019 Declaration consolidates developments on freedom of expression and access to information guided by standards drawn from African and international human rights instruments and African judicial bodies.¹⁰⁰

The attacks on freedom of expression and media freedom violate Articles 19 of the ICCPR and UDHR which guarantee freedom of expression, including "freedom to seek, receive and impart information and ideas of all kinds."¹⁰¹

11. RESTRICTIONS ON FREEDOM OF MOVEMENT

Opposition leaders and activists have faced severe restrictions on their freedom of movement that have effectively prevented them from conducting normal political activities.

On 29 January 2024, Mdude Nyagali reported that authorities at the Tanzania-Kenya Namanga border prevented him from leaving the country for Kenya after informing him that he needed a special permit from law enforcement organs before leaving Tanzania.¹⁰²

On 13 May 2025, Chadema deputy secretary general Amani Golugwa was arrested at Julius Nyerere International Airport as he was preparing to travel to Brussels via Turkish Airlines to attend the International Democracy Union Forum.¹⁰³ Police claimed they were acting on intelligence reports that Golugwa had "developed a habit of exiting and entering the country without following established procedures."¹⁰⁴ According to Golugwa, the police claimed that he had been sending information outside the country to, among other institutions, the European parliament. They further claimed that Golugwa had been sharing with foreigners' information that dishonors the country, which had led to the European Parliament issuing some sanctions against the country.¹⁰⁵

“They questioned me about allegedly sending information outside the country, specifically to individuals in the European Parliament. They claimed that the information I shared dishonoured the country and may have contributed to the European Parliament issuing sanctions against Tanzania.”¹⁰⁶

On June 6, 2025, senior Chadema official Godbless Lema was stopped at the Namanga border by immigration officers and detained for about four hours while en route to Nairobi, Kenya. According to information he shared with Amnesty International, he was going to Nairobi to check on his health.¹⁰⁷

⁹⁸ NetBlocks, 20 May 2025, mastodon.social@netblocks/114541588493655020

⁹⁹ Amnesty International in-person interview with four Tanzanians, 30 September 2025.

¹⁰⁰ African Commission, Declaration of Principles on Freedom of Expression 2019.

¹⁰¹ UN Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights, "International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights," Article 19,

www.ohchr.org/en/instruments-mechanisms/instruments/international-covenant-civil-and-political-rights

¹⁰² Mdude Nyagali, statement on X, 24 January 2024, x.com/mdudenyagali/status/1751858280790417671?s=20

¹⁰³ The Chanzo, "CHADEMA Deputy Secretary Amani Golugwa Arrested at Airport While Heading to IDU Forum in Brussels," 13 May 2025,

thechanzo.com/2025/05/13/chadema-deputy-secretary-amani-golugwa-arrested-at-airport-while-heading-to-idu-forum-in-brussels/

¹⁰⁴ Amnesty International telephone interview with Edgar Mwakabala, May 2025.

¹⁰⁵ Amnesty International telephone interview with Amani Golugwa, September 2025.

¹⁰⁶ Amnesty International telephone interview with Amani Golugwa, September 2025.

¹⁰⁷ Godbless Lema, statement on X, 24 September 2025, x.com/godbless_lemastatus/1930979938804363683

His passport was confiscated, and he was detained for hours before being released and instructed to report to Immigration Headquarters in Dodoma for further clarification. The Immigration Department described the action as "normal," usually undertaken when the authority has been provided with information demanding the person in question to be interrogated.¹⁰⁸

On 12 July 2025, two senior Chadema officials, Brenda Rupia and Leonard Joseph Magere, were prevented from travelling to neighbouring Kenya at the Namanga border after being arrested by police. Police confirmed arresting Rupia, claiming it related to an investigation as she had allegedly published false information on social media.¹⁰⁹

The Tanzania Immigration Act, 1995 and related regulations provide broad discretionary powers to immigration officials and lack the precision required under international law for restrictions on fundamental rights. The documented practice requiring "special permits from law enforcement organs" for opposition members to travel, as experienced by Nyagali, has no clear statutory basis and violates the principle of legality.¹¹⁰

The restrictions on freedom of movement violate Article 12 of the ICCPR, which establishes that "everyone lawfully within the territory of a State shall, within that territory, have the right to liberty of movement and freedom to choose his residence" and that "everyone shall be free to leave any country, including his own."¹¹¹ The documented restrictions lack the legal basis, necessity and proportionality required under international law.

Article 12(1) of the African Charter provides that every individual has the right to move freely and live anywhere within their own country, as long as they follow the law. They also have the right to leave any country, including their own, and to return to it.¹¹² In 2019, the African Commission adopted General Comment No 5 on the African Charter. In this general comment, the commission elaborated on the right to freedom of movement and residence within state borders.¹¹³

11.1 DISREGARDING REGIONAL TREATY-BASED MOVEMENT FREEDOMS

Article 104 of the Treaty for the Establishment of the East African Community highlights the EACs commitment to making it easier for people, workers, and services to move freely across member states. It supports the rights of citizens to live, work, and set up businesses anywhere within the region.¹¹⁴

On May 18 and 19, 2025, Tanzanian immigration authorities denied entry to six prominent Kenyan legal and human rights advocates, including former Justice Minister Martha Karua and former Chief Justice Willy Mutunga, who had traveled to Dar es Salaam to observe the treason trial of opposition leader Tundu Lissu.

The deportations contravened Tanzania's obligations under the East African Community (EAC) Treaty and the Common Market Protocol, which guarantee free movement among member states. The group included Martha Karua, a former justice minister of Kenya; Willy Mutunga, former Chief Justice of

¹⁰⁸ Tanzania Immigration Department, statement on Instagram, 25 September 2025.

¹⁰⁹ Tanzania Police, statement via Gazeti Jamvi on Facebook, 25 September 2025, www.facebook.com/gazetijamvi/posts/baada-ya-chama-cha-demokrasia-na-maendeleo-chadema-kuandika-barua-ya-kudai-mwana/1306699944144645/

¹¹⁰ International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, Article 12, www.ohchr.org/en/instruments-mechanisms/instruments/international-covenant-civil-and-political-rights

¹¹¹ UN Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights, "International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights," Article 12, <https://www.ohchr.org/en/instruments-mechanisms/instruments/international-covenant-civil-and-political-rights>

¹¹² Article 12(1) of the African Charter.

¹¹³ African Commission's General Comment on the Right to Freedom of Movement and Residence under Article 12(1) of the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights.

¹¹⁴ Article 104, Treaty for the Establishment of the East African Community, Article 104, signed on 30 November 1999 and entered into force on 7 July 2000.

Kenya; Gloria Kimani, a council member of the Law Society of Kenya and human rights activists Lynn Ngugi, Hussein Khalid and Hanifa Adan. Upon arrival at Julius Nyerere International Airport, the group was reportedly detained without explanation, had their passports confiscated, and were subsequently returned to Kenya.¹¹⁵ Their visit was part of an international trial observation mission, but Tanzanian officials claimed they lacked the necessary permits to carry out legal or advocacy activities in the country.¹¹⁶

12. CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The findings and recommendations in this briefing align with those issued in Amnesty International’s 2020 report *“Lawfare: Repression by Law ahead of Tanzania’s General Elections”* which found that laws had been used to form a comprehensive framework for political control, allowing the Tanzanian government to regulate opposition activities, suppress dissent, and control digital and economic spaces. While presented as reforms, the new laws’ cumulative effect has been to shrink civic space ahead of the 2025 elections.

The findings of this briefing reveal a deeply entrenched pattern of state-led repression that has escalated in both scale and severity as Tanzania approaches its 2025 general elections. The documented violations—ranging from enforced disappearances, torture and other ill-treatment to digital censorship and politically motivated prosecutions—are not isolated incidents but part of a deliberate strategy to dismantle political participation and silence dissent.

The legal and institutional architecture in Tanzania has been recalibrated to serve political ends, enabling the government to operate with impunity while eroding the rule of law. The refusal of authorities to comply with court orders, the targeting of opposition figures through manipulated legal processes, and the weaponization of regulatory frameworks against civil society and media reflect a governance model increasingly hostile to accountability and transparency.

This briefing underscores the urgent need for both domestic and international actors to recognize the gravity of the situation. Without immediate and sustained action to reverse these trends, the 2025 elections risk becoming a procedural exercise devoid of legitimacy, conducted in an environment where fear, violence, and exclusion have replaced open political competition in an election wholly defined by abuse of the human rights of the people of Tanzania.

RECOMMENDATIONS

12.1 TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED REPUBLIC OF TANZANIA

- Publicly commit that the government will respect, protect, promote and fulfil human rights before, during and after the elections, will not tolerate any human rights violations and abuses, and will ensure prompt, thorough, transparent and effective investigation of any allegations of violations and abuses and bring suspected perpetrators to justice.
- Publicly condemn all threats, intimidation, harassment and attacks against opposition politicians, religious leaders, human rights defenders, activists, NGOs, media outlets, journalists, and social media users and respect and protect the rights to freedom of expression, peaceful assembly, and association for all individuals.

¹¹⁵ Amnesty International telephone and one on one interviews with Martha Karua, Willy Mutunga, Gloria Kimani, Lynn Ngugi, Hussein Khalid and Hanifa Adan, May 2025.

¹¹⁶ Tanzania’s Minister for Constitutional and Legal Affairs, Dr. Damas Ndumbaro, defended the deportations, stating the group lacked permits to conduct legal or advocacy activities in Tanzania and had violated national laws.

- Publicly recognize and defend the importance and legitimacy of the human rights work of human rights defenders, activists and civil society organizations, and ensure that they can carry out their work freely and independently without any fear of reprisals.
- Ensure the urgent repeal and review of all repressive laws and regulations that violates international human rights standards, including the Media Services Act, Cybercrimes Act, and Public Order Act and bring any such laws and regulations in conformity with Tanzania's constitution and international human rights obligations and commitments.
- Publicly commit that your government will take steps to implement the UN Declaration on Human Rights Defenders into national law, and end intimidation and harassment of associations lawfully carrying out their mandates to defend other people's rights.
- Respond positively, with no further delay to the requests made by the UN Special Procedures, including the Special Rapporteur on the rights to freedom of peaceful assembly and of association and Special Rapporteur on the promotion and protection of the right to freedom of opinion and expression and ensure full and unfettered access.

12.2 TO MINISTER OF HOME AFFAIRS

- Conduct an independent investigation into incidents involving arbitrary arrests, torture and other ill-treatment. Ensure accountability for perpetrators, provide medical and psychological support, and guarantee legal redress and protection from future reprisals in the cases of Abdul Nondo, Agather Atuhaire, Boniface Mwangi, Khadija Anwar Mohamed, Mwabili Mwangodi and Said Muhuzi Bakari.
- Immediately end the practice of enforced disappearances and disclose the fate and whereabouts of all disappeared persons, including through conducting independent investigation into the incidents involving enforced disappearance. Ensure accountability for perpetrators and guarantee legal redress and protection from future reprisals in the cases of, Anthony Gabriel, Daniel Chonchorio, Deusdedith Soka, Dioniz Kipanya, Fakhir Ali Salim, Frank Mbise, Humphrey Polepole, Jacob Mlay, Mdude Nyagali, Shadrack Chaula, Sinda Mseti and Siza Mwita Keheta.
- Conduct an independent investigation into the incident involving the detention and assault of John Mnyika and ensure accountability for perpetrators, provide medical and psychological support, and guarantee legal redress and protection from future reprisals.
- Conduct prompt, thorough, and impartial investigations into all allegations of human rights violations, involving physical attacks against Charles Kitima and Edgar 'Sativa' Mwakabela, bring perpetrators to justice and guarantee legal redress and protection from future reprisals.
- Conduct an independent investigation into the incident involving abduction, torture, and extrajudicial killing of Ali Mohammed Kibao and guarantee legal redress and protection of members of his family from future reprisals.
- Conduct an independent investigation into the incident involving arrest and travel restrictions against Amani Golugwa, Brenda Rupia, Godbless Lema, Leonard Joseph Magere, Martha Karua, Willy Mutunga, Gloria Kimani, Lynn Ngugi, Hussein Khalid and Hanifa Adan to ensure accountability for perpetrators, and guarantee legal redress and protection from future reprisals.

12.3 TO MINISTER OF INFORMATION, CULTURE, ARTS AND SPORTS

- Ensure the immediate and unconditional release of anyone detained solely for expressing political and religious views or other beliefs, including Tundu Lissu and drop all charges against him, as they appear to be politically motivated.
- Restore access to social media platforms and end censorship of online content.
- Ensure that media outlets are free to operate independently, and that journalists and other media practitioners can enjoy their human rights including the right to freedom of expression and access to information and can carry out their job without any fear of reprisals before, during and after the elections

12.4 TO MINISTER OF CONSTITUTIONAL AFFAIRS AND JUSTICE

- Immediately establish an independent mechanism to promptly, thoroughly, transparently and effectively conduct investigations into allegations of excessive use of force, arbitrary arrests, and other violations by police.
- Ensure the authorities fully and effectively respect, protect, promote and fulfil the human rights of everyone including the rights to freedom of expression, association and peaceful assembly.
- Carry out prompt, impartial, thorough, transparent and effective investigations into all allegations of threats and physical violence against opposition politicians and bring suspected perpetrators to justice in fair trials.

12.5 TO THE INDEPENDENT NATIONAL ELECTORAL COMMISSION

- Fully comply with court orders without delay or selective interpretation, including the judgment reinstating Luhaga Mpina as the presidential candidate for ACT Wazalendo, overturning his disqualification by the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC).
- Uphold its constitutional independence as guaranteed under Article 74(11) of the Constitution of the United Republic of Tanzania, which states that the Commission shall not be subject to the direction or control of any other person or authority. This includes refraining from acting on instructions or influence from the Registrar of Political Parties, the Attorney General, or any other external body.
- Ensure that all political parties and candidates can campaign freely without harassment, intimidation, or violence.
- Conduct independent, thorough, transparent and effective investigations into allegations of misconduct leading to election-related human rights violations and hold anyone suspected to be responsible to account.
- Allow independent observers to freely carry out their work including monitoring the conduct of the election and the human rights environment surrounding the poll.

12.6 TO ALL POLITICAL PARTIES AND CANDIDATES

- Publicly commit to promote respect for the human rights of everyone before, during and after elections, including the rights to freedom of expression, association and peaceful assembly and without fear of reprisals.

12.7 TO ELECTION OBSERVATION GROUPS

- Include human rights components in their election observation and make public their findings, including any failure of the authorities to take swift and effective remedial action in accordance with the international and regional human rights standards.
- Include coverage of human rights issues in areas where there are widely reported patterns of complaints or where there is history of electoral violence.
- Closely observe the impact of the security environment on human rights by paying particular attention to the actions taken by security forces to address any problems that may arise during the electoral period, to manage political demonstrations and rallies peacefully and to prevent any action in the electoral process that would lead or contribute to human rights violations and abuses.

12.8 TO THE EAST AFRICAN COMMUNITY

- Hold Tanzania accountable for rights violations against EAC Treaty principles on democracy, rule of law, and human rights in the cases involving abductions and forceful deportation of Agather Atuhairi, Boniface Mwangi and Mwabili Mwagodi.
- Support the Government of the United Republic of Tanzania to meet its rule of law and governance commitments as they relate to human rights under Article 6(d) of the EAC Treaty and relevant normative frameworks.
- Put pressure on the authorities to respect, protect, promote and fulfil the human rights of everyone including the rights to freedom of movement, expression, association and peaceful assembly.
- Raise Amnesty International's concerns and recommendations detailed above in your engagements with the Government of the United Republic of Tanzania and urge their immediate implementation.
- Raise, through explicit and proper channels, any human rights violations and abuses witnessed, or allegations of human rights violations and abuses received, including with the relevant authorities, for example, the Tanzania Police Force and the National Electoral Commission and review the situation before, during and after the elections.

12.9 TO THE SOUTHERN AFRICA DEVELOPMENT COMMUNITY

- Support the Government of the United Republic of Tanzania to meet its rule of law and governance commitments as they relate to human rights under Article 4(c) of the SADC Treaty.
- Put pressure on the authorities to respect, protect, promote and fulfil the human rights of everyone including the rights to freedom of expression, association and peaceful assembly.
- Raise Amnesty International's concerns and recommendations detailed above in your engagements with the Government of the United Republic of Tanzania and urge their immediate implementation.
- Raise, through explicit and proper channels, any human rights violations and abuses witnessed, or allegations of human rights violations and abuses received, including with the relevant authorities, for example, the Tanzania Police Force and the Independent National Electoral Commission and review the situation before, during and after the elections.

12.10 TO THE AFRICAN UNION

12.10.1 AU COMMISSION CHAIRPERSON

- Publicly condemn the increasing repression and human rights violations and abuses in Tanzania, including threats, intimidation, harassment and attacks against opposition politicians, religious leaders, human rights defenders, activists, non-governmental organisations, media outlets, journalists, and online users.
- Call on Tanzanian authorities to respect, protect, promote and fulfil the human rights of everyone, including the rights to freedom of expression, association and peaceful assembly, in accordance with Article 3(h) of the AU Constitutive Act.
- Ensure that if or when an African Union Election Observation Mission (AUEOM) is deployed to observe the elections, it documents the human rights violations and abuses committed before, during and after the elections.
- Raise Amnesty International's concerns and recommendations detailed above in your engagements with the Government of the United Republic of Tanzania and urge their immediate implementation.

12.10.2 AFRICAN COMMISSION ON HUMAN AND PEOPLES' RIGHTS

- Publicly condemn the increasing repression and human rights violations and abuses in Tanzania including threats, intimidation, harassment and attacks against opposition politicians, religious leaders, human rights defenders, activists, non-governmental organisations, media outlets, journalists, and online users.
- Call on Tanzanian authorities to respect, protect, promote and fulfil the human rights of everyone, including the rights to freedom of expression, association and peaceful assembly, in accordance with the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights.
- Follow-up on Tanzania's implementation and compliance with the Commission's Resolution 640 (LXXXIV) of 30 July 2025 in which the Commission asked Tanzanian authorities to, among other measures, "ensure freedom of expression and access to information during the electoral period" and ensure that citizens are able to "exercise their right to vote in an environment free of intimidation, violence , or any other impediment".
- Urge the Government of the United Republic of Tanzania to fully comply with the Commission's 2017 Guidelines on Access to Information and Elections in Africa.

12.11 TO THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY

- Publicly condemn the increasing repression and human rights violations and abuses in Tanzania including threats, intimidation, harassment and attacks against opposition politicians, religious leaders, human rights defenders, activists, non-governmental organisations, media outlets, journalists, and online users.
- Call on the authorities to respect, protect, promote and fulfil the human rights of everyone including the rights to freedom of expression, association and peaceful assembly.
- Urge the Government of the United Republic of Tanzania to fully comply with the United Nations Human Rights Committee, General Comment 25 on the right to participate in public affairs, voting rights and the right of equal access to public service.

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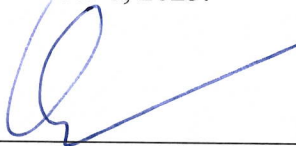
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This is **Exhibit "B"** referred to in the Affidavit of Marrinette Magrofa sworn November 6, 2025.



Commissioner for Taking Affidavits (or as may be)

W. CORY WANLESS
(LSO NO.: 57288M)



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Joint statement by Foreign Ministers of Canada, Norway and the United Kingdom on situation in Tanzania

From: [Global Affairs Canada](#)

Statement

October 31, 2025 - Ottawa, Ontario - Global Affairs Canada

The Foreign Ministers of Canada, Norway and the United Kingdom today issued the following statement:

“We are concerned by the situation in Tanzania following the national elections of October 28 and 29. There are credible reports of a large number of fatalities and significant injuries as a result of the security response to protests, which began on October 29.

“We continue to urge the authorities to act with maximum restraint and respect the right of assembly and freedom of expression.

“We remain concerned that the run-up to the elections was marked by harassment, abductions and intimidation of opposition figures, journalists and civil society actors.

“We call on the Tanzanian authorities to uphold their international commitments and ensure that all citizens can participate freely and safely in public life.”

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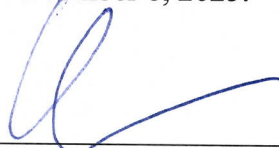
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Date modified: 2025-10-31

This is **Exhibit "C"** referred to in the Affidavit of Marrinette Magrofa sworn November 6, 2025.



Commissioner for Taking Affidavits (or as may be)

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Canada, allies raise doubts over Tanzanian election as president claims landslide victory

GEOFFREY YORK > AFRICA BUREAU CHIEF

JOHANNESBURG

PUBLISHED NOVEMBER 3, 2025



Tanzania's President Samia Suluhu Hassan holds a spear during her swearing-in ceremony in Dodoma on Nov. 3.

PRESIDENTIAL PRESS UNIT/REUTERS

Tanzania's traditional allies, including Canada, are questioning the fairness of a disputed election that delivered a landslide victory of 98 per cent to President Samia

Suluhu Hassan after the two biggest opposition parties were banned from the ballot.

Hundreds of people have been killed by Tanzania's security forces in several days of protests against the Oct. 29 election, according to opposition activists and civil society groups. Authorities shut down the internet to hinder communications, imposed a nightly curfew and deployed soldiers on the streets to reinforce the police.

Ms. Hassan was sworn in for a second term on Monday under heavy security at a military parade ground, where members of the public were barred. Inauguration ceremonies are normally held at a national stadium with large crowds participating.

Ms. Hassan called for "unity and solidarity" across the country. "Life must continue," she told the ceremony.

Protests in Tanzania enter second day after contentious election

Southern African election observers, who traditionally endorse almost all African elections, issued an unusual criticism of the Tanzanian election on Monday, concluding that it did not meet democratic standards.

In most areas, "voters could not express their democratic will," the observers said in a preliminary statement, issued by Malawi politician Richard Msoyoya on behalf of the mission from the Southern African Development Community (SADC).

Election authorities announced that 87 per cent of eligible voters had cast ballots, but their claim was widely seen as implausible and a sign of election rigging, since most polling stations had few voters on election day.

The SADC observers contradicted the official claims of a massive surge of voting for Ms. Hassan. "The mission noted a very low voter turnout in all polling stations observed," their report said. "Some polling centres did not have voters at all."



People protest in the streets of Arusha on election day.

THE ASSOCIATED PRESS

Authorities also declared that nearly 32 million Tanzanians had voted for Ms. Hassan – more than twice as many as the 12.5 million who voted for her predecessor, John Magufuli, in the last election in 2020 – despite the fact that most opposition supporters are believed to have stayed home because their parties were banned.

Even before the voting day, the government had heavily tilted the playing field to favour Ms. Hassan, with the main opposition leader imprisoned on treason charges and other opposition activists targeted for abductions.

“We remain concerned that the run-up to the elections was marked by harassment, abductions and intimidation of opposition figures, journalists and civil society actors,” said the foreign ministers of Canada, Norway and Britain in a statement after the election.

“There are credible reports of a large number of fatalities and significant injuries as a result of the security response to protests,” the foreign ministers added.

Canada's criticism of the election is significant because the federal government has poured billions of dollars into Tanzania since its independence in 1961, making the East African country one of the largest recipients of Canadian foreign aid. In total, Ottawa has provided \$3.4-billion in international assistance to Tanzania, including \$141-million in 2023-24, according to data from Global Affairs Canada.

World's oldest head of state re-elected in Cameroon as incumbents triumph across Africa

Western governments have generally seen Tanzania as a peaceful and stable partner in a continent where wars and coups are common. But this ignores the low-level repression that the Tanzanian state has exercised against the media and the opposition for many years, analysts say.

Since its independence, the country has been governed by a single ruling party, now known as Chama Cha Mapinduzi (CCM, the Revolutionary Party). The party has relentlessly tightened its grip on power, until it finally provoked massive protests this year.

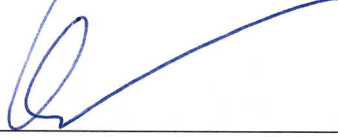
Dan Paget, a professor and Tanzania expert at the University of Sussex, said it will be difficult for CCM to claim to be popular or legitimate rulers after the massive protests against it. The protests have been unprecedented in their national scale, their violence and their demands for political change, Mr. Paget told an online briefing on Monday.

Ms. Hassan, a former vice-president who came to power in 2021 after Mr. Magufuli's death, was initially seen as a reformer who was loosening the restrictions on the media and opposition rallies. She portrayed herself as a soft-spoken motherly figure – but then she “unleashed terror with a smiling face,” said Joseph Oleshangay, a Tanzanian human rights lawyer, at the online briefing.

“Tanzania has been turned into a killing field, a crime scene,” he said.

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This is **Exhibit “D”** referred to in the Affidavit of Marrinette Magrofa sworn November 6, 2025.



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
The \$1bn gold mine bringing death to desperate villagers

As the price of the precious metal surges, so does kidnapping, torture and political repression in a country once seen as one of Africa's safest



Jack Denton, Nyamongo

Sunday August 17 2025, 12.01am BST, The Sunday Times

 Share

 Save

It was the middle of the night and Chacha was bound hand and foot, hanging upside down from a bridge spanning the crocodile-infested Mara River.

He was there because of the gold.

Masked men had abducted Chacha from Nyamongo, a village near the North Mara gold mine, one of Tanzania's largest. He was transferred between police stations and tortured so badly he blacked out.

The men had two questions. Who was buying gold from him and other independent miners, and what did he know about the latest police killings at North Mara?

Gold has been coveted since ancient times but demand has rarely been as potent as it is now. The price has almost doubled since 2022, driven up by geopolitical uncertainty, inflation concerns and, latterly, [President Trump's tariffs](#).

ADVERTISEMENT

In Tanzania, where gold mining provides a significant share of state revenues, [the surge in the gold price](#) has enriched the public purse and strengthened the ruling party's grip on power. Critics say that gold is funding mounting repression under President Hassan, who only two years ago was described by Kamala Harris, then the US vice-president, as a "champion of democratic reforms".

North Mara is the crown jewel of the government's gold holdings. It is also an extremely dangerous place.

At least 96 people have been killed by the mine's police and hundreds injured in incidents, mostly since 2006, according to human rights monitors.



Mounds of waste dominate the landscape around the North Mara gold mine

THE SUNDAY TIMES

Chacha’s ordeal took place last summer. He is one of numerous villagers, kept anonymous for their safety, who gave The Sunday Times first-hand accounts of violence at the hands of police stationed near the gold mine.

“I was so afraid,” he said. “I knew deep down that this could be the path to my death.”

ADVERTISEMENT

The torture ended only after he and other captives smuggled word of their location to family through a woman bringing food to the facility where they were kept. He was released from captivity three months later with mental and physical scars.

“What is happening around gold mining is a microcosm of what is happening [in Tanzania] more broadly,” said Nic Cheeseman, professor of democracy and international development at the University of Birmingham.

Civil society has been brought to heel. Chadema, the main opposition party, is barred from elections and its chairman, Tundu Lissu, is in prison on what are widely seen as trumped-up treason charges.

“The money from the gold mine is used to help this repressive government stay in power,” said John Heche, vice-chairman of Chadema and Tanzania’s de facto opposition leader. He was previously the MP for the district where the mine is located, which is now represented by a politician from the ruling Chama Cha Mapinduzi (CCM) party.

Deadly treasure

The Kuria, an ethnic group straddling the Kenya-Tanzania border west of the Serengeti National Park, have been drawn to gold for generations, mining it on a small scale.

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Commercial mining came to the area in 2002, and Barrick Mining Corporation, a Canadian gold giant, entered North Mara in 2006.

Barrick took full operational control of the mine in 2019 through a joint venture with the Tanzanian state called Twiga

Minerals. While Barrick holds 84 per cent of the equity, the economic benefits are split 50/50 with the government. In those six years the Twiga venture has pumped \$4.79 billion into the Tanzanian economy, including \$558 million in the first half of this year. Gold is Tanzania's top export and most of the bullion comes from Twiga.

Barrick estimates that North Mara specifically will produce up to 309,500 ounces of gold this year, worth \$1.05 billion with gold priced at \$3,400 an ounce. Billions of dollars more remain in the ground.

Like many African mines, North Mara has faced controversy over land and the environment: villagers allege evictions and land grabs, and the mine has been fined for pollution. What makes North Mara different is that it is "one of the deadliest industrial mines in Africa in terms of security-related violence," according to the UK-based human rights watchdog Raid.

Barrick denies forced evictions and says there is a formal process for land compensation at North Mara. The company has also transformed its waste storage system and invested \$65 million in water management since 2019. It says Raid's allegations are uncorroborated.

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Most allegations of abuse are made against the Tanzania police force, an organisation that Barrick has distanced itself from and claims no control over. The mining company cites its

development work, including job creation and the provision of clean water and education, as key to its sustainable business model.

The sprawling North Mara operation includes open-cast and underground mines at two complexes sitting amid Nyamongo and other small Kuria villages. It dominates more than 30 square miles, towering piles of ore visible from beyond, and is fortified with razor wire and watchtowers.

Villagers in Nyamongo are monitored by CCTV cameras as well as officers from a dedicated police unit focused on security around the mine. The “mine police”, as they are known locally, are funded and equipped by the mining company.



Police officers patrol the razor wire fences near Nyamongo village

THE SUNDAY TIMES

Villagers complain of a police culture of intimidation, including the use of tear gas and sound bombs close to homes. This is an apparent attempt to stop men storming the mine’s walls in unison.

Most violence stems from incursions onto the mine property by villagers who search vast dumping sites for nuggets of gold that slipped through the cracks and remain embedded in blasted rock.

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One villager, Marwa, was searching through that rubble this year when he was shot in the leg by police. He spent almost two months in a dirty jail cell no bigger than a small bedroom with 20 other people, his leg rotting away.

“Police told me they wanted to kill me,” he said.



A man shows his scars after he was shot by police while looking for gold in a mounds of waste rock

THE SUNDAY TIMES

Villagers are drawn to gold scraps at North Mara out of desperation. More than 80 per cent of people living in the Mara region survive on less than \$3.65 a day — a global poverty line — as of Tanzanian census data from 2018.

“You can’t imagine the rubbish they throw away,” said Mwita, a veteran scavenger, adding that searchers can find chunks of gold worth as much as \$800. “What drives people to go to the waste site is hunger.” Mwita has stopped going after witnessing the killings of three men by police.

Barrick said there were grievance mechanisms to address injustices. Villagers we interviewed, who collectively know dozens of people who have been affected by violence, were either unaware of these mechanisms or said they knew only a few cases where compensation was paid.

There have been four lawsuits since 2013 in the UK and Canada over violence at the mine, and in April last year independent experts from the United Nations alleged serious human rights violations at North Mara.



Police have been accused of torturing and killing people to protect the mines

THE SUNDAY TIMES

Barrick denied the allegations and said that local leaders and an independent government commission were on its side.

A notable trend in alleged abuses has also emerged in the past year. In the period from May last year to June this year, 28 torture cases and six unresolved disappearances were noted, according to monitors who provided the data to The Sunday

Times, an increase matching covert but violent repression on a national scale.

“In our country, there are times when a person disappears and is never found,” said Chacha.

Tanzania’s golden curse

Tanzania has enjoyed one of the best international reputations among African nations. This has been the case since independence in 1961. The country’s first president, the intellectual revolutionary Julius Nyerere, was widely seen as a credible and positive figure by the international community, even though his 21-year rule was marked by authoritarian tendencies.

Tanzania attracts hundreds of thousands of tourists every year to parks such as [the Serengeti](#) — one border of which is just 12 miles from North Mara — and is a big recipient of donor cash.

Meanwhile, violence simmers under the surface.

Hundreds of opposition supporters were arbitrarily arrested and the state was linked to the abduction and killing of at least eight critics in the six months before last November’s local elections, according to Human Rights Watch.

“This is a system of coercion and disruption of independent political organisation that is actually far beyond some of the other countries in Africa that we traditionally think of as being more repressive,” said Cheeseman.

A slide deeper into authoritarianism began with John Magufuli’s election as president in 2015, according to Heche, the opposition leader. After his death in 2021 his vice-president, Hassan, became Tanzania’s first female leader and on her watch restrictions on dissenting political voices have increased before elections due in October.

Chadema rallies were banned and its bank accounts frozen, while many members of the party had been abducted, said

Heche. “They are going to conduct a general election without the largest political party in the country.”

Amos Makalla, CCM’s secretary for ideology, publicity and training – and the party’s spokesperson – said: “Tanzania is a country of multiparty system and CCM adheres to the principles of democracy.”



Gold has brought great riches to some while most people in Tanzania live in poverty

THE SUNDAY TIMES

Tanzania’s gold boom has helped insulate the government from large cuts in international development funding from the US and Europe. Mining, led by gold, is now more than 10 per cent of Tanzanian gross domestic product, and estimates suggest that one shilling out of every 30 flowing into state coffers comes from Twiga.

While CCM has faced criticism for repressing civil society, the party has recently led impressive improvements to national infrastructure, including new roads and railways, and dramatically improved access to public education.

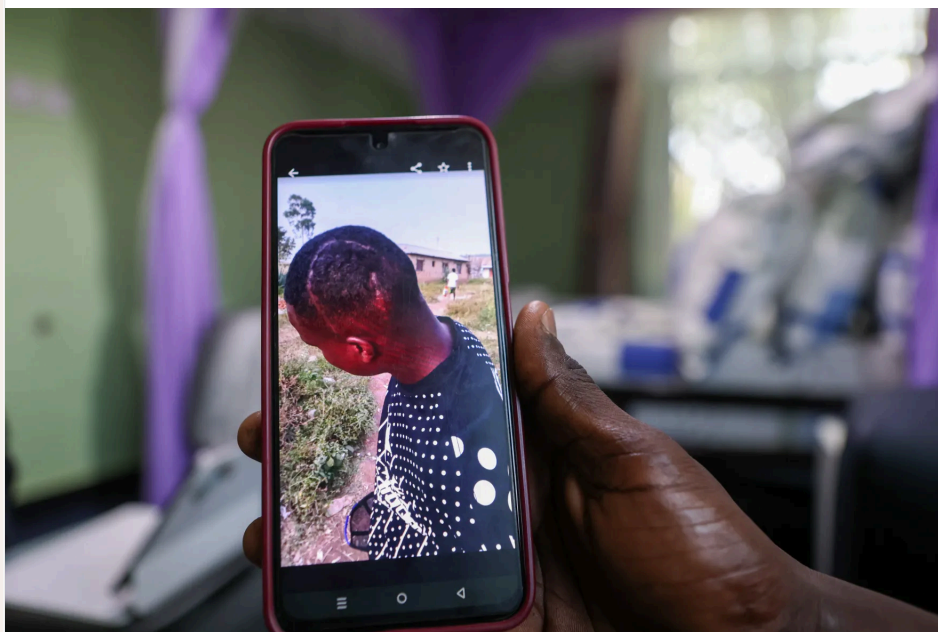
Yet the gold boom has also helped the administration in another way: foreign aid often comes tied to an expectation that governments conform to liberal values, but relying more on gold revenues and less on external funding allows the

Tanzanian government to free itself from this pressure, Cheeseman said.

“[Gold] is the money they are using to pay the police,” said Heche. “The money they are using to buy tear gas and firearms and everything that they are using to make sure that our democracy does not grow.”

“The allegations are untrue and baseless,” said Makalla, the CCM spokesperson, in response to claims that the party represses its political opponents and is engaged in corruption linked to gold mining and human rights violations at North Mara.

Across Tanzania, those in civil society are looking ahead to October with a grim certainty that elections will bring more violence.



A villager who witnessed his friends being attacked by police with machetes shows evidence of the wounds

THE SUNDAY TIMES

In Nyamongo, October holds another significance for Gati, whose young son was playing two years ago when men escaping from mine police ran past.

Officers turned their rage on the boy and beat him, and then shot his older brother, who had intervened. A single mother,

Gati sold the family’s cows and mortgaged the home to pay for treatment.

“The same government that says it’s responsible for protecting people’s property and human rights — they wronged me,” said Gati. Her mortgage is due in October and is unpaid.

“I’ll have nowhere to go. I’ll just be wandering with my children. I’ve already accepted my fate,” she said, shaking her head, cursing the gold.

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James Lee Young

2 DAYS AGO



It will be ok once the maps are changed to show Africa in its true size

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M **MJ Towers** ...
2 DAYS AGO

Starmer should send Lammy over to sort things out. That would be a far better use of his exceptional talents than fishing with Vance.

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N **Neil Martin** ...
2 DAYS AGO

Have they not suffered enough?

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S **stella hollis** ...
2 DAYS AGO

Black Africa which is the source of Europe's immigration problems eludes the self righteous protesters flocking to our atreets.

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D **Darragh Crilly** ...
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A **Abdulaziz Al-Balushi** ...
1 DAY AGO

Such incidents in African countries irrespective how save the place is thought to be is very common. In 2009, a well known Scottish gems expert (Campbell Bridges) was killed in Kenya over some sort of dispute with villagers while operating his tsavorite mine. Campbell actually is the one who discov...

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J

J Becker

...

2 DAYS AGO

If we came back in 200 years that dirt road where the 3 women are walking will look exactly like it is now.

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J

James Bailie

...

1 DAY AGO

Once more blame Africa's corruption and political problems on Whitey and the western countries. Ignore it's Black on Black oppression.

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P

P MacKey

...

1 DAY AGO

And all the while we sit back in our armchairs, look at the prices ... and *smile*.

[Reply](#) · [☆ Recommended \(0\)](#) · [Share](#)

K

Kathy du Plessis

...

2 DAYS AGO

Barrick has responded to these allegations for a number of years. The author, has not shared any information that suggests these allegations are 'new', nor was a draft article shared with Barrick for review or comment.

Detailed disclosures regarding North Mara and these allegations are provided in o...

See more

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jerry kelly

2 DAYS AGO

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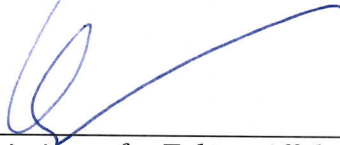
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This is **Exhibit "E"** referred to in the Affidavit of Marrinette Magrofa sworn November 6, 2025.



Commissioner for Taking Affidavits (or as may be)

W. CORY WANLESS
(LSO NO.: 57288M)

Dear Mr. Denton,

We refer to your emails dated 8 and 11 August 2025 in which you outline the intent of your proposed story. The intent of your email, however, is unclear; beyond providing prior notice to Barrick Mining Corporation (Barrick), you have neither provided a draft of the story for review, nor any specific information for Barrick to make any informed comment.

Barrick, and North Mara Gold Mine Limited which operates North Mara Gold Mine, have been responding to these allegations for a number of years. Most notably, we published a detailed disclosure to the [UN Human Rights Commission](#) and include information in both our [Sustainability Report](#) and on our [North Mara Microsite](#). Without repeating these disclosures, we wanted to highlight several points based on the general content of your email.

As you rightly state, all allegations are against the actions of the Tanzanian Police Force, and do not involve Barrick, North Mara Gold Mine Limited, or any security contractors. The Tanzanian Police Force is legally tasked with the duty of protecting life and properties throughout the country, by virtue of the Police Force and Auxiliary Services Act, 2022. This responsibility applies to the entirety of Tanzania, including the Mara Region where North Mara Gold Mine is located. Thus, contrary to the implication in your email, the Police are **not** 'dedicated to security around the mine' or for the mine: the police are present to provide security in the broader community. As the Police is an institution of the state and operates in complete independence, Barrick cannot control, direct or supervise the actions of the Police, or any government institution for that matter. Any implication that the Police are for the sole discretion or protection of the mine, or the mine has any link to any actions of the Police, is false and not grounded in reality.

Barrick takes all human rights allegations seriously, and notes that you claim to have 'new' allegations, without sharing any detail. Barrick would urge you to share this information urgently so that we can investigate accordingly and/or provide to the appropriate authorities for investigation and action. We would also strongly urge you to provide such information to the Tanzanian Commission on Human Rights and Good Governance (CHRAGG): the appropriate authority in place to deal with such matters. It must be noted that prior allegations raised by international NGOs have lacked any supporting information and have not been corroborated by local stakeholders. Despite this, these allegations were shared by Barrick to the [CHRAGG who duly investigated the allegations and determined](#) *'there were no human rights violations ... and noted the significant efforts by the mine to prevent security related incidents...'*.

Your email makes the unsubstantiated claim that the government is enriching itself, and using gold profits to 'fund repression', through the Twiga Partnership. Twiga Minerals is the Joint Venture between Barrick and the Government of Tanzania that establishes the economic split between Barrick and Tanzanian stakeholders. State shareholding in the extractives industry is not unique to Tanzania and is a model successfully implemented in many countries across the globe that seeks to ensure the value creation from national resources are shared with host countries. Any evidence that these funds are being used by the state to enrich itself illegitimately should be shared with the appropriate bodies as a priority. Barrick hosts continuous engagements with its host communities, including quarterly meetings between Barrick executives and the Village Chairpersons, chaired by our CEO and President, and no concerns of government oppression, or repression, have been raised. To the contrary, these engagements are open and transparent, with the agenda set by the Village Chairpersons.

It is with disappointment to learn of your visit to 'communities in North Mara' and intent to include Barrick and North Mara Gold Mine within your story, yet did not reach out to Barrick or the mine as part of your visit or story preparation. We also note that your story is due for imminent publication prior to any email

BARRICK

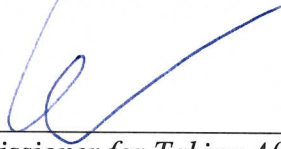
sent to Barrick. In light of this, it brings into question the extent of consideration this response will receive for any fair and factual reporting.

That said, we value transparency and would like to request a copy of the draft story, along with any allegations, for appropriate review, comment and investigation. We would also request that this response is published in full, with any story publication. We will similarly publish this engagement on our website.

Kind regards

Grant Beringer
Group Sustainability Executive

This is **Exhibit "F"** referred to in the Affidavit of Marrinette Magrofa sworn November 6, 2025.



Commissioner for Taking Affidavits (or as may be)

W. CORY WANLESS
(LSO NO.: 57288M)

Barrick Announces Leadership Transition

Mark Hill Appointed Group COO and Interim President & CEO Search Underway to Identify Successor President & CEO

All amounts expressed in U.S. dollars

TORONTO, September 29, 2025 – Barrick Mining Corporation (NYSE:B)(TSX:ABX) (“Barrick” or the “Company”) today announced that the Company’s Board of Directors (the “Board”) has appointed Mark Hill as Group COO and Interim President and Chief Executive Officer, effective immediately, following the departure of Mark Bristow.

Mark Hill, who is currently responsible for Barrick’s Latam and Asia Pacific regions, is a seasoned mining executive with 30 years of experience. He joined Barrick in 2006 and has experience in strategy, corporate development and leading major projects across the world, and was also integral in the initial decision to undertake exploration at the Fourmile gold project in Nevada. The Search Committee of the Board, chaired by Brett Harvey, has embarked on a process with the support of a leading executive search firm to identify a permanent President and CEO.

Mark Bristow is stepping down as President and CEO after nearly seven years having joined Barrick following Barrick’s merger with Randgold in 2019. Mark Bristow led the successful integration of the two companies, and during his tenure made significant investments in Barrick’s world-class assets to better position Barrick to maintain profitable gold and copper growth. Since the merger with Randgold in 2019, Barrick has returned \$6.7 billion to shareholders and reduced net debt by \$4 billion. Most recently, the Company delivered solid Q2 operating performance, strong cash flows, an enhanced quarterly dividend and strong share price performance.

John Thornton, Chairman of the Board, said: “On behalf of the Board, I want to thank Mark for his leadership of Barrick. During his tenure, Mark strengthened our portfolio and helped position Barrick as a leading global producer of gold and copper. As a result, the Company is well-positioned for the next phase of our growth and value creation for all shareholders. We wish Mark the very best for his future.”

“We are delighted to welcome Mark Hill as Group COO and Interim President and CEO. His caliber, experience and deep knowledge of the Company will ensure we maintain momentum. The Board is committed to both finding the right leader to fully capitalize on Barrick’s world-class assets and capabilities, and to driving improved performance, growth and shareholder value,” added Mr. Thornton.

The Company continues to perform in line with our Full Year expectations as set out at Q2 results on August 11, 2025.

About Barrick Mining Corporation

Barrick is a leading global mining, exploration and development company. With one of the largest portfolios of world-class and long-life gold and copper assets in the industry — including six of the world's Tier One gold mines — Barrick's operations and projects span 18 countries and five continents. Barrick is also the largest gold producer in the United States. We create real, long-term value for all stakeholders through responsible mining, strong partnerships and a disciplined approach to growth. Barrick shares trade on the New York Stock Exchange under the symbol 'B' and on the Toronto Stock Exchange under the symbol 'ABX'.

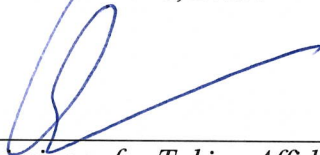
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This is **Exhibit "G"** referred to in the Affidavit of Marrinette Magrofa sworn November 6, 2025.



Commissioner for Taking Affidavits (or as may be)

W. CORY WANLESS
(LSO NO.: 57288M)



Mark Hill · 3rd
COO Latin America & Asia Pacific



• Barrick Gold Corporation

Dominican Republic · [Contact info](#)

500+ connections

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Activity

1,350 followers

Mark hasn't posted yet

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Experience



COO Latin America & Asia Pacific

Barrick Gold Corporation
Jan 2019 - Present · 6 yrs 11 mos
Toronto, Ontario, Canada



Chief Investment Officer

Barrick Gold Corporation
Sep 2016 - Nov 2018 · 2 yrs 3 mos
Greater Toronto Area, Canada



Partner - Head of Mining

Waterton Global Resource Management
Nov 2012 - Aug 2016 · 3 yrs 10 mos
Greater Toronto Area, Canada



Barrick Gold Corporation

5 yrs 10 mos
Toronto

Vice President - Corporate Development (Evaluations)


Jan 2011 - Oct 2012 · 1 yr 10 mos


Vice President - Capital Projects


Jan 2007 - Dec 2010 · 4 yrs

Skills


Base Metals


 Endorsed by 2 colleagues at Barrick Mining Corporation


 Endorsed by 1 person in the last 6 months

 3 endorsements

Management

 Endorsed by 8 colleagues at Barrick Mining Corporation

 Endorsed by 1 person in the last 6 months

 12 endorsements


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CFO - Latin America & Asia Pacific at Barrick Gold Corporation

Message

SOPHIA MATIKO
JOHN et al.
Plaintiffs/Appellants

-and- BARRICK GOLD CORPORATION
Defendant/Respondent

Court of Appeal File No. COA-25- CV-0229
Court File No.: CV-22-00-690649-0000
Court File No. CV-24-00-714148-0000

COURT OF APPEAL FOR ONTARIO

PROCEEDING COMMENCED AT TORONTO

AFFIDAVIT OF MARRINETTE MARGOFA #1

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Lawyers for the Plaintiffs/ Appellants

SOPHIA MATIKO JOHN et al.
Plaintiffs/Appellants'

-and- BARRICK GOLD CORPORATION
Defendant/Respondent

COA File No.: COA-25-CV-0229
Court File No.: CV-22-00-690649-0000
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