

AMENDMENT NO. _____ Calendar No. _____

Purpose: In the nature of a substitute.

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES—119th Cong., 2d Sess.

S. 4577

To reassess the United States-Tanzania bilateral relationship,
and for other purposes.

Referred to the Committee on _____ and
ordered to be printed

Ordered to lie on the table and to be printed

AMENDMENT IN THE NATURE OF A SUBSTITUTE intended
to be proposed by Mrs. SHAHEEN (for herself and Mr. CRUZ)

Viz:

1 Strike all after the enacting clause and insert the fol-
2 lowing:

3 **SECTION 1. SHORT TITLE.**

4 This Act may be cited as the “Reassessing the United
5 States-Tanzania Bilateral Relationship Act”.

6 **SEC. 2. FINDINGS.**

7 Congress makes the following findings:

8 (1) Tanzania is one of Africa’s fastest growing
9 economies with strong economic growth over the
10 past decade due to the expansion of key sectors, in-
11 cluding agriculture, mining, and tourism.

1 (2) Tanzania’s reliability as a partner to the
2 United States is increasingly in question due to on-
3 going political repression, violations of religious free-
4 dom and freedom of expression, and persistent bar-
5 riers to United States investment.

6 (3) The October 29, 2025, general elections
7 were marked by significant political interference, in-
8 cluding ballot manipulation and vote tabulation
9 irregularities, which favored incumbent President
10 Samia Suluhu Hassan and other candidates of Tan-
11 zania’s parliamentary majority party, Chama Cha
12 Mapinduzi (CCM).

13 (4) Leading up to the general elections in Tan-
14 zania’s October 29, 2025, election, multiple incidents
15 of political abductions and disappearances occurred
16 in Tanzania, most recently the abduction and subse-
17 quent disappearance of Tanzanian Ambassador
18 Humphrey Polepole on October 6, 2025.

19 (5) A range of actions by the CCM, a political
20 party that has continuously held a parliamentary
21 majority and controlled Tanzania’s central govern-
22 ment since the CCM’s formation in 1977, has se-
23 verely undermined democracy in the country.

24 (6) The ongoing treason trial of Chadema oppo-
25 sition figure Tundu Lissu, terrorism charges against

1 Chadema Deputy John Heche, and charges and de-
2 tentions of other opposition party members are po-
3 litically motivated and intended to prevent opposi-
4 tion figures from standing for elections.

5 (7) The Government of Tanzania has engaged
6 in violations of religious freedom, including the rev-
7 ocation of registration for religious institutions, har-
8 assment, detention, and attacks against religious
9 leaders, and restrictions on religious worship and ex-
10 pression.

11 (8) During mass citizen protests against Tanza-
12 nia's fraudulent and illegitimate October 29, 2025,
13 general elections, the Tanzanian Police and Tan-
14 zania Defense Forces killed hundreds of Tanzanian
15 citizens and endangered the lives of United States
16 citizens and tourists visiting the country.

17 (9) While protestors faced attacks by Tanza-
18 nian Security Forces, the Government of Tanzania
19 imposed an internet shutdown impacting online con-
20 nections, communications, business, and banking,
21 disrupting regional trade and costing the country an
22 estimated \$238,000,000 in the process.

23 (10) In response to this unprecedented violence
24 and unrest in Tanzania, the United States Embassy
25 in Tanzania issued a Security Alert on October 30,

1 2025, calling on United States citizens in Tanzania
2 to shelter-in-place.

3 (11) Following the electoral protests, the Tan-
4 zanian electoral commission released disputed results
5 from the fraudulent election, declaring President
6 Samia Suluhu Hassan the winner with 98 percent of
7 the vote.

8 (12) On December 4, 2025, the Department of
9 State announced a comprehensive review of the bi-
10 lateral relationship between the United States and
11 Tanzania.

12 **SEC. 3. SENSE OF CONGRESS.**

13 It is the sense of Congress that—

14 (1) over the last three years, the actions by the
15 Government of Tanzania—

16 (A) have subverted democracy;

17 (B) have blatantly violated citizens' inter-
18 nationally-recognized human rights;

19 (C) have disrupted regional trade;

20 (D) have endangered the safety and secu-
21 rity of Tanzanians, tourists, and the diplomatic
22 community;

23 (E) place United States national interests
24 in Tanzania at risk; and

1 (F) threaten to undermine regional sta-
2 bility and long-term bilateral cooperation be-
3 tween the United States and Tanzania; and

4 (2) the United States—

5 (A) supports the decision to terminate
6 Tanzania's Millennium Challenge Corporation
7 threshold program;

8 (B) expresses solidarity with the people of
9 Tanzania;

10 (C) recognizes the unprecedented levels of
11 violence experienced in Tanzania; and

12 (D) supports calls for an international
13 independent investigation into the pre- and
14 post-election violence in Tanzania that will re-
15 sult in those who conducted violence against
16 Tanzania civilians being held accountable for
17 violations of internationally-recognized human
18 rights.

19 **SEC. 4. REVIEW OF THE UNITED STATES RELATIONSHIP**
20 **WITH TANZANIA.**

21 (a) REASSESSMENT OF THE UNITED STATES-TAN-
22 ZANIA BILATERAL RELATIONSHIP.—The Secretary of
23 State, in coordination with the Secretary of Defense, the
24 United States Trade Representative, and the heads of
25 other relevant Federal agencies, shall conduct a com-

1 prehensive reassessment of the bilateral relationship be-
2 tween the United States and Tanzania.

3 (b) ELEMENTS.—The reassessment required under
4 subsection (a) shall—

5 (1) review efforts taken by the Department of
6 State to press for the release of religious and opposi-
7 tion leaders unjustly detained by the Government of
8 Tanzania;

9 (2) analyze the democratic priorities and trajec-
10 tory of Tanzania;

11 (3) develop a detailed strategy outlining the
12 necessary democratic reforms needed in Tanzania;

13 (4) assess United States security assistance to
14 Tanzania to ensure the Tanzanian Defense Forces
15 and the Tanzanian Police are reliable partners
16 that—

17 (A) adhere to Tanzania’s constitutionally
18 mandated human rights and rule of law norms;

19 and

20 (B) protect the safety of the citizens and
21 all of the visitors to Tanzania;

22 (5) evaluate the relationship between the Gov-
23 ernment of Tanzania and the Government of the
24 People’s Republic of China, including—

1 (A) military and security cooperation, in-
2 cluding training, exercises, arms transfers, and
3 cooperation between defense, intelligence, or law
4 enforcement entities;

5 (B) economic engagement, including in-
6 vestments, loans, and financing involving Chi-
7 nese-state-owned or affiliated entities, and the
8 impact of such activities on market access, debt
9 sustainability, and the competitiveness of
10 United States companies; and

11 (C) political cooperation with the Govern-
12 ment of the People's Republic of China that
13 seeks to undermine democratic principles, ad-
14 vance one-party consolidation, and solidify anti-
15 American and anti-Western sentiment internally
16 and internationally;

17 (6) assess the likely impact of the measures au-
18 thorized under this Act on United States strategic
19 and security interests in Tanzania and East Africa,
20 including regional security cooperation, maritime se-
21 curity, and competition with the People's Republic of
22 China; and

23 (7) evaluate the relationship between the Gov-
24 ernment of Tanzania and the Government of the
25 Russian Federation, including—

1 (A) military and security cooperation, in-
2 cluding training, exercises, arms transfers, and
3 cooperation between defense, intelligence, or law
4 enforcement entities; and

5 (B) economic engagement activities, in-
6 cluding investments, loans, and financing in-
7 volving Russian state-owned or affiliated enti-
8 ties, and the impact of such activities on mar-
9 ket access, debt sustainability, and the competi-
10 tiveness of United States companies, with a
11 particular focus on Russian investment in the
12 energy, critical minerals, healthcare, and agri-
13 culture sectors.

14 (c) REPORT.—Not later than 90 days after the date
15 of the enactment of this Act, the Secretary of State shall
16 submit a report to the appropriate committees of Congress
17 that includes the findings of the reassessment required
18 under subsection (a).

19 **SEC. 5. REPORT ON CERTAIN INDIVIDUALS IN LEADERSHIP**
20 **POSITIONS IN TANZANIA.**

21 Not later than 180 days after the date of the enact-
22 ment of this Act, the Secretary of State shall submit a
23 report to the appropriate committees of Congress that in-
24 cludes a list of each foreign person the Secretary deter-
25 mines—

1 (1) holds a senior position in the Government
2 of Tanzania, the leadership of Chama Cha
3 Mapinduzi, the Tanzania Police Force, the Tanza-
4 nian People's Defense Force, or the Tanzanian In-
5 telligence and Security Service; and

6 (2) is responsible for or complicit in, or has di-
7 rectly or indirectly engaged in—

8 (A) ordering, controlling, or otherwise di-
9 recting abductions, enforced disappearances, or
10 arbitrary detention of political opponents, jour-
11 nalist, or civil society actors;

12 (B) targeting harassment, intimidation, de-
13 tention, or use of violence against journalists,
14 media organizations, or activists to suppress
15 dissent or silence public reporting on violations
16 of internationally-recognized human rights;

17 (C) censorship or other restrictions on
18 media, shutdowns or reductions to internet ac-
19 cess, or restrictions on freedom of expression
20 intended to conceal abuses of internationally-
21 recognized human rights or to prevent the dis-
22 semination of credible information;

23 (D) severe violations of religious freedom,
24 including the persecution of individuals or
25 groups on the basis of religion, prohibitions or

1 restrictions on religious worship, assembly, or
2 expression, or acts of violence, coercion, or dis-
3 crimination against religious communities;

4 (E) the use of transnational repression tac-
5 tics that target foreign nationals, Tanzanian
6 citizens, and diaspora members regionally and
7 internationally;

8 (F) extrajudicial killings, torture, or gross
9 violations of internationally recognized human
10 rights; or

11 (G) other actions that violate or undermine
12 internationally recognized human rights or the
13 civil liberties guaranteed to Tanzanian citizens
14 under the Constitution of Tanzania.

15 **SEC. 6. SANCTIONS.**

16 (a) IN GENERAL.—Not later than 30 days after the
17 submission of the report required under section 5, the
18 President may impose the sanctions described in sub-
19 section (b) with respect to any foreign person described
20 in section 5(1) that the Secretary of State determines
21 meets the criteria described in section 5(2).

22 (b) SANCTIONS DESCRIBED.—The sanctions de-
23 scribed in this subsection are the sanctions authorized
24 under the Global Magnitsky Human Rights Accountability
25 Act (22 U.S.C. 10101 et seq.).

1 **SEC. 7. PROHIBITION ON CERTAIN UNITED STATES ASSIST-**
2 **ANCE AND INVESTMENTS FOR TANZANIA.**

3 (a) PROHIBITION.—Except as provided in subsections
4 (c) and (d), assistance, grants, loans, loan guarantees, in-
5 surance, equity investments, and other support provided
6 by the United States International Development Finance
7 Corporation, the Export-Import Bank of the United
8 States, or the United States Trade and Development
9 Agency may not be obligated, expended, or otherwise made
10 available for any entity in Tanzania.

11 (b) TERMINATION AFTER CERTIFICATION.—The pro-
12 hibition under subsection (a) shall terminate beginning on
13 the date that is 30 days after the date on which the Sec-
14 retary of State submits to the appropriate committees of
15 Congress a written certification that the Government of
16 Tanzania has—

17 (1) taken steps to enact electoral reforms to ad-
18 vance free, fair, and transparent elections;

19 (2) demonstrated substantial progress sus-
20 pending politically motivated or illegitimate criminal
21 proceedings and releasing opposition leaders and
22 other individuals who were detained on politically
23 motivated grounds;

24 (3) allowed independent, outside investigators
25 to conduct their own investigation into the October
26 2025 election violence;

1 (4) begun a dialogue with opposition leaders fa-
2 cilitated by a third-party mediator or entity to dis-
3 cuss reconciliation efforts and a way forward fol-
4 lowing the October 2025 election violence; and

5 (5) taken steps to ensure the ability of media
6 figures, journalists, and civil society actors to oper-
7 ate free from state sponsored violence.

8 (c) EXCEPTIONS.—The prohibition under subsection
9 (a) shall not apply to—

10 (1) humanitarian assistance;

11 (2) health assistance; or

12 (3) assistance to support democracy, human
13 rights, governance, and civil society in Tanzania.

14 (d) WAIVER.—The Secretary of State may waive the
15 prohibition under subsection (a) if the Secretary deter-
16 mines and notifies the appropriate committees of Congress
17 that the issuance of such waiver is in the national interests
18 of the United States.

19 **SEC. 8. PROHIBITION ON MILLENNIUM CHALLENGE COR-**
20 **PORATION FUNDS FOR TANZANIA.**

21 (a) PROHIBITION.—Except as provided in subsection
22 (b), no funds authorized to be appropriated or otherwise
23 made available to carry out section 609 or 616 of the Mil-
24 lennium Challenge Act of 2003 (22 U.S.C. 7708 and
25 7715) may be made available to Tanzania.

1 (b) **TERMINATION AFTER CERTIFICATION.**—The pro-
2 hibition under subsection (a) shall terminate beginning on
3 the date that is 30 days after the date on which the Board
4 of Directors of the Millennium Challenge Corporation, act-
5 ing through the Chief Executive Officer of the Millennium
6 Challenge Corporation, submits to the appropriate com-
7 mittees of Congress a written certification that the Gov-
8 ernment of Tanzania has demonstrated its commitment
9 to just and democratic governance in accordance with the
10 criteria described in section 607 of the Millennium Chal-
11 lenge Act of 2003 (22 U.S.C. 7706).

12 **SEC. 9. DEFINED TERM.**

13 In this Act, the term “appropriate committees of
14 Congress” means—

15 (1) the Committee on Foreign Relations of the
16 Senate;

17 (2) the Committee on Appropriations of the
18 Senate;

19 (3) the Committee on Foreign Affairs of the
20 House of Representatives; and

21 (4) the Committee on Appropriations of the
22 House of Representatives.

1 **SEC. 10. SUNSET.**

2 This Act shall cease to have any force or effect begin-
3 ning on the date that is 5 years after the date of the enact-
4 ment of this Act.