

## AFRICA RISK CONSULTING

### Guinea Monthly Briefing July 2025

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#### Guinea Summary 24 July 2025

*The new proposed constitution is presented to junta leader, General Mamadi Doumbouya (2021-present) on 26 June and to the public on 30 June. The constitution proposes several changes, including increasing presidential terms from five to seven years and contains safeguards against new coup attempts. However, critics regard the new constitution as intended to promote Doumbouya's presidency. Government terminates its agreement with Dubai-based Emirates Global Aluminium's (EGA) subsidiary Guinea Alumina Corporation (GAC). EGA and GAC announce that they will seek international arbitration and wish to obtain compensation for their loss. France-based Africa Global Logistics (AGL) says it will invest \$200m to upgrade Port autonome de Conakry (PAC).*

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#### Draft constitution published

The new proposed constitution was presented to the junta leader, General **Mamadi Doumbouya** (2021-present) on 26 June and released to the public on 30 June. The 199 article constitution proposed several changes, including increasing the presidential mandate from five to seven years (renewable once), the introduction of a **Sénat** (senate) and the creation of a special court that can put the head of state and high-ranking members of the government on trial if they are deemed to have committed high treason.<sup>1</sup> The passages regarding the armed forces contain language that prohibits them to act in contravention of the constitution, while another article bans the constitution from being suspended or declared invalid. This appears to have been specifically inserted to forestall any future coups, which would seek to overthrow a Doumbouya-led government.

Analysts have pointed out that the article granting immunity to former presidents is problematic, especially when there are court cases against former president **Alpha Condé** (2010-2021) pending, and noted that the requirements of the president to publicly declare assets has been weakened.<sup>2</sup> The opposition has also said that the removal of the critical article from the transitional charter that prevents members of the current junta from running for president renders the entire text unacceptable. Civil society coalition, **Forces vives**, and the opposition coalition **Alliance nationale pour l'alternance et la démocratie (ANAD)**, led by opposition party **Union des forces démocratiques de Guinée (UFDG)**, have rejected the proposed constitution as unacceptable. Both are against the possibility that Doumbouya can run for the presidency, while ANAD wants the immunity for former presidents removed, the presidential mandate brought back to five years and the asset declaration clause strengthened.<sup>3</sup> As the constitution currently stands, Doumbouya will indeed be eligible for a two-term presidential mandate, which could in theory allow him to rule Guinea until at least 2040.

The proposed constitution also creates four new bodies that are designed to assist the government in specific areas:

- A **Commission Nationale pour le Développement** (national development commission), which will observe the preservation of critical resources (food, minerals, energy) in the national interest;

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<sup>1</sup> Guineematin.com, 2 Jul 2025; RFI, 3 Jul 2025

<sup>2</sup> Le Lynx, 14 Jul 2025

<sup>3</sup> Le Lynx, 14 Jul

- A **Commission Nationale de l'Éducation civique et des Droits humains** (national commission for civic education and human rights) will advance patriotism, respect for the law and human rights;
- The **Organe Technique Indépendant de Gestion des Élections** (independent technical election management organ), which will be in charge of the electoral register and prepare, organise and supervise all elections including referendums and in this capacity is likely to replace both the (now defunct) **Commission Electorale Nationale Indépendante** (independent electoral commission) and take over the election organising function lodged within the territorial administration and decentralization ministry, although the constitution does not mention this;
- A commission to regulate communication and the audiovisual media, which guards the freedom of the press, observes media productions in times of election and introduces checks on incitement to violence, threats to national security and public order and the dignity of the person. The text says that a separate law will cover the functioning of this commission but does not say whether it will replace the current **Haute autorité de la communication (HAC)** (high communication authority).<sup>4</sup>

The timetable for the constitutional referendum appears to be on course, as government spokesman **Ousmane Gaoual Diallo** has been touring the country promoting it since its release and material to print voting cards has arrived.<sup>5</sup> The popular referendum on the new constitution is 21 September.

Controversy has also begun regarding the 19 July publication of the revised electoral register that has a total of just over 6.75 million voters registered.<sup>6</sup> Observers point out that the administrative region of **Kan Kan** in the northeast has the highest number of registered voters (1.53 million), even surpassing the capital **Conakry** with 1.51 million. The electorally important **N'Zérékoré** region in Guinée Forestière comes in third with just over 891,000 voters registered.<sup>7</sup> The calculation is that with the help of former junta leader **Moussa Dadis Camara** (2008-2009), who is from N'Zérékoré and whom Doumbouya pardoned in March, Doumbouya should be able to win a majority in a first round presidential contest, since he is likely to carry Kan Kan (the district of his birth), nearby **Faranah** and parts of the capital and the town of **Kindia**. The low number of registered voters in the districts of **Mamou** and **Labé**, traditional UFDG strongholds, support this hypothesis. Both the former ruling party **Rassemblement du peuple de Guinée (RPG)** and the UFDG have rejected the figures presented in the electoral register, considering them suspect.<sup>8</sup>

### Government terminates agreement with Dubai-based Emirates Global Aluminium

**Dubai-based Emirates Global Aluminium (EGA)** announced on 10 July that Guinea had terminated its basic agreement with EGA's local subsidiary, **Guinea Alumina Corporation (GAC)**. GAC will need to now close its operations, leading to an estimated loss of 2,000 jobs among those it directly employs and its subcontractors, primarily in the **Boké** area where GAC had its operations.<sup>9</sup> The company and its parent have stated that they will defend their right "*before the competent international tribunals*", to be compensated for losses incurred.<sup>10</sup>

The government's issue is GAC's perceived failure to build an alumina refinery, which would increase the country's revenue stream as compared to untreated bauxite, which currently leaves the country in unprecedented quantities. Like other projects, the issue of this refinery dates to the early 2000's, when companies - including GAC's parent company EGA - and the then government of president **Lansana Conté** (1984-2008) signed agreements for the development of alumina refineries,<sup>11</sup> Apart

<sup>4</sup> Guineematin.com, 2 Jul 2025

<sup>5</sup> Le Lynx 17 Jul 2025

<sup>6</sup> X, 19 Jul 2025; conakryinfos.com, 20 Jul 2025

<sup>7</sup> Guineenews, 21 Jul 2025

<sup>8</sup> Guineenews, 21 Jul 2025

<sup>9</sup> EGA media statement, 9 Jul 2025; conakryinfos.com, 9 Jul 2025

<sup>10</sup> EGA media statement, 9 Jul 2025; conakryinfos.com, 9 Jul 2025

<sup>11</sup> ecofinanceguinee.com, 9 Jul 2025

from the **Russian** producer **RusAl**, which runs Guinea's sole refinery at **Kindia**, no other refinery has ever been built in Guinea.

After the September 2021 coup, Doumbouya demanded all bauxite miners submit plans and a timeline for the construction of alumina refineries.<sup>12</sup> Few of the companies present did so, although both the two largest operations - **Société minière de Boké** (majority-owned by **Singapore's Winning International Group**, **China's Hongqiao Group** and **France's United Mining Services**) and the majority state-run **Compagnie des bauxites de Guinée (CBG)**, had made earlier commitments to develop refineries, CBG's and EGA's going back 20 years.

On 11 July, the regional inspector for Boké at the mines and geology ministry toured the GAC premises, making an inventory of the equipment, which include vehicles, electricity generators and rolling stock. Local reports say that the sites at the mine and the port (at **Tinguilinta** and **Kamsar** respectively) have been placed under high security, to prevent equipment leaving the country.<sup>13</sup>

It should be added that historically speaking, expropriation and/or one-sided termination of contracts is nothing new in Guinea. Two of the most high-profile cases involve the 2008 decision by Conté to take half of the Simandou iron ore concession away from the then sole owner, **Australia's Rio Tinto**, handing it to the **Swiss-headquartered Beny Steinmetz Group Resources**, and the 2011 decision by Condé to take Conakry's container port from the concession holder, **France-headquartered Necotrans**, and give it the then **Bolloré Logistics Africa**.

The GAC development has prompted concern among investors, who may once again question the legal and contractual stability of Guinea going forward.<sup>14</sup> That said, Guinea's bauxite exports increased by 36% to a record 99.8 million metric tonnes in the first half of 2025, driven by strong demand from **China** and GAC's departure does not appear to have had an impact on Guinea's bauxite export performance.<sup>15</sup>

### **Africa Global Logistics to modernise Conakry Port (PAC)**

The **Port autonome de Conakry (PAC)** is the principal entry and exit point for Guinea's external trade. Most goods, including extraction products, pass through here although a significant portion of bauxite also exits Guinea through the port of Kamsar. The PAC has four terminals that handle bulk, petrol products, mined minerals (particularly bauxite) and containers respectively. France-based **Africa Global Logistics (AGL)**, part of the **Swiss Mediterranean Shipping Company (MSC)**, manages the container terminal.<sup>16</sup> AGL was formerly known as **Bolloré Logistics Africa**, which controversially obtained the management of the PAC container terminal in 2013. MSC bought Bolloré and its numerous operations on the African continent in 2022 for \$6.3 billion.<sup>17</sup> In Guinea, AGL employs just under 700 people and is also active in Kamsar, the port of **Morébaya** - under construction as a transshipment point for the iron ore out of the mines at **Simandou** - and runs a dry port at **Kagbelen**.<sup>18</sup>

Recently appointed director **Ibrahima Diallo** presented the future plans on 24 June, including investments in port infrastructure estimated to be worth \$200m:

*"Currently, Guinea is in a mining boom. We have seen the volume at this port grow by something like 25%. There is every necessity to put our best foot forward in logistics. We are here, at the port, we are very keen to accompany all investors and all companies that are already here."*<sup>19</sup>

<sup>12</sup> Reuters, 9 Apr 2022

<sup>13</sup> guineemining.info, 11 Jul 2025

<sup>14</sup> conakryinfos.com, 9 Jul 2025

<sup>15</sup> Engineering News, 7 Jul 2025

<sup>16</sup> Africa Outlook, Dec 2024; Vision Guinea, 25 Jun 2025

<sup>17</sup> MSC website press release, 30 Mar 2023; Vision Guinea, 25 Jun 2025

<sup>18</sup> Africa Outlook, December 2024; this author has seen Conakry's traffic situation up close on numerous occasions

<sup>19</sup> Vision Guinea, 25 June 2025

The new investments are destined for better services, new infrastructure including a new container quay and more storage space. Diallo placed the new developments he is overseeing in direct line with the military junta's preferred phrase of 're-establishing the state', being keenly aware that logistics, and especially all logistics connected with the junta's flagship Simandou iron ore project is under constant scrutiny from Doumbouya.

## Planner

Sep 2025 **(Guinea)** Constitutional referendum  
 Dec 2025 **(Guinea)** Presidential and legislative elections expected  
 2026 **(Guinea)** 4<sup>th</sup> **Guinea Investment Forum**

## Chronology

22 Jul 2025 **Conakry (Guinea)** *Vision Guinee*. Opposition party, **Union des Forces Démocratiques de Guinée**, expresses concern over the absence of televised debates between presidential candidates in the upcoming election, viewing this omission in the new constitution as a sign of non-transparent intentions by the transitional authorities;

21 Jul 2025 **Coyah (Guinea)** *Vision Guinee*. Posts, telecommunications and the digital economy minister, **Rose Pola Pricemou**, presents the draft constitution, highlighting reforms that include strengthening the rule of law, guaranteeing education until age 17 and ensuring at least 30% female representation in decision-making bodies;

19 Jul 2025 **Boffa (Guinea)** *Vision Guinee*. **China**-headquartered **SD Mining** is observed actively loading barges from the **Axis** mining site in Boffa despite a government stop order banning mining activity and the withdrawal of all mining permits for site;

12 Jul 2025 **Conakry (Guinea)** *Vision Guinee*. Local media scrutinise mine minister **Bouna Sylla's** decision to award a key mining permit to **Chinese** company **SD Mining**, despite a more financially attractive offer from a local firm, **AGB2A-GIC**;

14 Jul 2025 **Conakry (Guinea)** *Vision Guinee*. Environment minister **Diami Diallo** and mines and geology minister **Bouna Sylla** reaffirm a nationwide ban on illegal gold mining following a joint investigation from 10 to 23 June, which revealed severe environmental damage, including waterway pollution, caused by unauthorised artisanal mining;

9 Jul 2025 **Conakry (Guinea)** *GAC*. **United Arab Emirates (UAE)**-headquartered **Emirates Global Aluminium (EGA)** confirms the Guinean government has terminated its basic agreement with EGA's subsidiary **Guinea Alumina Corporation**, stating that it will affect more than 2,000 employees and subcontractors;

9 Jul 2025 **Conakry (Guinea)** *Vision Guinee*. **United States, China, and Spain** welcome Guinea's draft constitution, praising the milestone and reaffirming their support for the country's political, economic and social development;

8 Jul 2025 **Conakry (Guinea)** *Engineering News*. **Australia**-listed **Arrow Minerals** confirms it is still in voluntary trading suspension on the **Australia Stock Exchange (ASX)** as it waits for clarity from the Guinean government after reports in May that two of Arrow's projects – the **Niagara** bauxite and **Simandou North** Iron projects – were under review for potential cancellation;

7 Jul 2025 **Conakry (Guinea)** *Engineering News*. Official data confirm Guinea's bauxite exports increased by 36% to a record 99.8 million metric tonnes in the first half of 2025, driven by strong demand from **China**;

3 Jul 2025 **Conakry (Guinea)** *Vision Guinee*. Opposition **Union des Forces Démocratiques de Guinée (UFDG)** coalition postpones its 6 July congress following a directive from the territorial

administration and decentralisation minister, **Ibrahima Kalil Condé**, citing procedural violations by the party;

1 Jul 2025 **Conakry (Guinea)** *APA News*. Environment and sustainable development ministry announces the temporary suspension of all timber logging, transportation and import activities from 7 July to 30 September as part of a preservation exercise;

30 Jun 2025 **Conakry (Guinea)** *Engineering News*. Statistics data indicate bauxite exports increased 39% to 48.6 million metric tonnes in the first quarter of 2025;

29 Jun 2025 **Conakry (Guinea)** *Vision Guinee*. **Conseil national de la transition (CNT)** (national transitional council) president **Dansa Kourouma** announces a change to the draft constitution, notably an increase to the presidential term from five to seven years, renewable once;

26 Jun 2025 **Conakry (Guinea)** *APA News*. Prime minister **Oury Bah** meets with **Senegal's** armed forces minister, General **Birame Diop**, to discuss strengthening bilateral relations.

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