

AFRICA RISK CONSULTING

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Guinea Summary 26 September 2025

The constitutional referendum takes place on 21 September, with provisional results indicating that 86.42% of the electorate voted in favour of the referendum. This result paves the way for junta leader, General Mamadi Doumbouya (2021-present) to run in the yet to be scheduled election. Australian mining junior, Arrow Minerals, confirms it has suspended all exploratory and technical activity on its sites at Simandou and in the Moyenne Guinée region, owing to uncertainty surrounding its permits. A deadly landslide in Manéah on 20 and 21 August kills at least 15 people. The disaster points at problems relating to climate change and the extremely rapid urbanisation of the capital and surrounding towns.

Constitutional referendum passes peacefully and ends in an overwhelming yes

Guinea's constitutional referendum took place on 21 September, with provisional results published on 24 September indicating that 89.38% of the Guinean electorate voted [in favour](#). The territorial administration and decentralisation ministry reported that 6.7 million Guineans had [registered](#) but on voting day, there were [conflicting reports](#) regarding how many had actually gone to the polling stations to cast their votes. However, there is widespread consensus that the day passed [without major incidents](#), and proved that the government's nationwide campaign for a 'Yes' vote led to the desired result. For the result to become binding, the supreme court will now review the results and [declare them final](#). Those wishing to contest the results had until 26 September to submit their disaccord at the supreme court but there is no indication that this has happened. The supreme court now has until 4 October to [proclaim](#) the definitive result.

The ministry has also [claimed](#) an exceptionally high voter turnout figure of 86.42%, but this cannot be independently verified. It remains difficult to ascertain whether the call for a [boycott](#) from at least one part of the [opposition](#) has had any effect. Some reports [suggest](#) that boycotts have been reasonably successful in the principal strongholds of two parties – the **Moyenne Guinée** region, a stronghold for the **Union des forces républicains** of former prime minister **Celou Dalein Diallo**, and the **Haute Guinée** region, a stronghold of the former ruling **Rassemblement du peuple de Guinée (RPG)**. However, it does not appear that boycotts were successful in other regions. Since leaders like Diallo and former president **Alpha Condé** (2010-2021) have been in exile for at least three years, it is also plausible to [speculate](#) that their appeal has waned.

Prime minister **Amadou Oury Bah** gave a [press conference](#) on 24 September and called the referendum "*an important step towards the return of the constitutional order*". He repeated his [promise](#), which he first made during the **Africa CEO Forum** in **Abidjan (Côte d'Ivoire)** in May, that presidential elections would be held before the end of the year. Most importantly from the military junta's point of view, the vote in favour of the new constitution paves the way for junta leader **Mamadi Doumbouya** (2021-present) to run in the election, which he is expected to win. This will give Doumbouya the potential of a two-term presidency of seven years each, which enables him to rule uninterrupted until, theoretically, at least 2040.

Significantly, among the first to [congratulate](#) Doumbouya with his victory was **Gabon's** President General **Brice Oligui Nguema** (2025-present). Nguema also led a military junta in Gabon, overthrowing former president **Ali Bongo Ondimba** (2009-2023) in August 2023, and went on to convincingly win the presidential election in April this year.

In the run-up to the referendum and to mark the fourth anniversary of the coup, opposition parties and civil society organisations had planned protests for 5 September. However, a large-scale presence of the security forces and extreme rainfall contributed to the protests, which the authorities also had forbidden as a precaution, [not taking place](#). In the days prior to the referendum and during the event itself, the internet was repeatedly disrupted and sometime entirely [blocked](#). The **Association des blogueurs de Guinée (Ablogui)** (association of Guinea bloggers) found that specifically **Facebook** and **Telegram** channels were [unavailable](#) and called the measures “*a serious attack on the freedom of expression and citizens’ right to information.*”

While the opposition decried the referendum, calling it a [sham](#), the junta and its government clearly regard this poll as an overwhelming endorsement of their legitimacy.

Arrow Minerals suspends project activity as uncertainty over permits continues

Junior **Australian** miner **Arrow Minerals** announced on 8 September that it was [suspending](#) its activities in Guinea and [cutting corporate costs](#), pending resolution of issues pertaining to its permits. Arrow Minerals has bauxite exploration operations at three locations in Moyenne Guinée - **Dalaba**, **Tougué** and **Mamou** - and is also involved in an iron ore project at **Simandou**, which was reportedly [in an early stage](#).

The company said that the government’s May decision taken to scrap and/or review more than 100 mining exploration and exploitation permits was affecting its bauxite operations and that there is, at present, still [no clarity](#) on the part of the authorities concerning the status of its permits, even though it [describes](#) the technical work already completed on the bauxite projects as “*significant*”.

The regulatory uncertainty comes at a time when Guinea is seeking more investment, especially as it relates to the multibillion dollar Simandou iron ore project, in which **Chinese** companies are the key players. In fact, Arrow was in talks with **Baosteel Resources**, part of the **Bawu** steel conglomerate about the sale of iron ore from Simandou North, a zone adjacent to the Simandou project itself, where Arrow was running a project. These projects will now be [on hold](#) until such a time that Arrow will have certainty about the status of its licences.

The Guinean government has been engaging in what it describes as ‘[housekeeping](#)’ with regards to its licence register; licences were found to be expired, inactive, or in possession of underperforming license holders. Arrow Minerals does not know if it belongs in any of those categories, but the company says it is in talks with the mines and geology ministry [to obtain clarity on the issue](#). In general terms, the government has only unilaterally communicated its decisions regarding the permits.

The government has also provided further context regarding the earlier withdrawal of **Emirates Global Aluminium (EGA)** from Guinea. The **Guinea Aluminium Corporation**, which EGA owns, was deemed to be in breach of earlier promises it had made to build an alumina refinery, which, the government claims, was years behind schedule. The junta [announced](#) in 2022 that it expected all major bauxite miners to submit plans for the construction of alumina refineries (*see ARC Briefing Guinea Apr 2022*). EGA, which owns refineries and smelters in **Dubai (United Arab Emirates)**, was among the companies singled out. The country only has one refinery, owned by **Russia**-headquartered **RusAl** in **Friguia**, which produces up to 700,000 tonnes per year. Alumina already fetches prices that are on average ten times those of bauxite, which Guinea [exported](#) at the rate of almost 100 million tonnes in the first half of 2025 alone.

Deadly Manéah landslide reveals persistent environmental and regulatory issues

Between 20 and 21 August, a deadly landslide occurred in **Manéah**, killing an estimated 19 people. The landslide took away homes people had built on a hillside, which had become destabilised following [heavy rainfall](#). **Agence nationale de gestion des urgences et catastrophes humanitaires (ANGUCH)** (agency for the management of emergencies and humanitarian disasters) said in a [statement](#) that 11 victims had been taken to hospitals. The armed forces and the **Red Cross** assisted

ANGUCH in its efforts to recover deadly victims and ensure the wounded received medical care. The total death toll remains unknown, given that at least nine individuals are still [unaccounted for](#).

A key issue facing Guinea, and especially main cities, is that homes are frequently constructed on unauthorised sites and the number of inhabitants in any given household either varies or is completely unknown. The towns of Manéah and neighbouring **Coyah** were once separated from the nearby capital, **Conakry** but have now effectively been incorporated in the city, which has seen exponential growth since Guinea's independence in 1958, when it had 50,000 inhabitants. By 1980, that figure stood at an estimated 600,000. At the last census, Conakry was found to be home to 1.6 million people; today's estimates put the figure at 2.25 million.

Much of the capital and surrounding towns are built on hillsides. Formally, permits are required for the construction of homes but regulations are frequently flouted and the state agencies cannot keep track of the number of new homes being built. One local publication [qualifies](#) the extension of the urban zones in and around Conakry as "*anarchic*". The capital zone, the largest urban area in the country, attracts numerous Guineans from rural areas with the promise of economic opportunity. Given the dearth of space, new arrivals take to building homes wherever they can find space, often destroying trees and rendering hillsides such as Manéah and numerous other sites vulnerable to [soil erosion](#). Given that Conakry, one of the wettest cities on the planet, is experiencing [more frequent extreme rainfall](#) as a result of climate change, there is urgency in addressing the problems of urbanisation at breakneck speed, unregulated house construction and educating the population on the grave dangers of building homes in vulnerable areas. Bah, who was present at the 5 September funeral of 15 victims, [mentioned](#) a collective responsibility:

"We should prevent catastrophes. We need to clearly identify the zones where construction may take place and the zones where this is forbidden and take measures to enforce these rules."

On 17 September the government announced that it was releasing over GNF 8 billion (\$930,000) to support victims of this and other recent floods and landslides caused by heavy rains.

Planner

Dec 2025 **(Guinea)** Local and legislative elections announced

2026 **(Guinea)** 4th **Guinea Investment Forum**

Chronology

23 Sep 2025 **Conakry (Guinea)** *Jeune Afrique*. Director general of elections **Djénabou Touré** says over 80% of polling stations have been counted and estimates that there was a 91% turnout in Sunday's constitutional referendum;

21 Sep 2025 **Conakry (Guinea)** *RFI*. Guinea holds a constitutional referendum, its first national vote since the 2021 coup that brought General **Mamady Doumbouya** to power;

20 Sep 2025 **Conakry (Guinea)** *Vision Guinee*. **United States**-headquartered **S&P** assigns Guinea its inaugural B+ credit rating with a stable outlook, reflecting the strength of Guinea's economic fundamentals and strong growth prospects driven by the **Simandou** iron-ore project;

17 Sep 2025 **Conakry (Guinea)** *Vision Guinee*. Government releases over GNF 8 billion (\$930,000) to support victims of recent floods and landslides caused by heavy rains;

15 Sep 2025 **Conakry (Guinea)** *Africanews*. Political rallies continue across Guinea ahead of the constitutional referendum on 21 September;

12 Sep 2025 **Conakry (Guinea)** *Africaguinee*. Justice and human rights ministry suspends three magistrates for gross misconduct;

12 Sep 2025 **Conakry (Guinea)** *Energy Capital & Power*. **Mauritanian** bank **Groupe BCI**'s local subsidiary, **BCI Guinée**, secures a \$10m loan from **Proparco**, the private sector arm of **Agence Française de Développement (AFD)** (French development agency);

9 Sep 2025 **Conakry (Guinea)** *Africa Mining Market*. **Australia**-headquartered **Arrow Minerals** confirms it has suspended all activity at its **Niagara** bauxite project pending the resolution of a dispute over the status of its mining permits;

8 Sep 2025 **Conakry (Guinea)** *Mining Weekly*. **Australia**-headquartered **Arrow Minerals** says it has suspended all project-based activities and cut corporate costs as uncertainty over the status of its exploration permits in Guinea persists;

7 Sep 2025 **Conakry (Guinea)** *Vision Guinee*. Opposition **Rassemblement Pour la République (RPR)** president **Diabaty Doré** resigns as vice president of the opposition **Alliance nationale pour l'alternance et la démocratie (ANAD)** coalition;

6 Sep 2025 **Conakry (Guinea)** *Jeune Afrique*. Media regulator, **Haute autorité de la communication (HAC)**, announces it has suspended a news website and banned a television channel, accusing them of bias in the campaign for the constitutional referendum and of "illegal activity";

31 Aug 2025 **Conakry (Guinea)** *Vision Guinee*. Government launches the campaign for the 21 September constitutional referendum, emphasising that it is not a vote on junta leader **Mamadi Doumbouya**'s candidacy and urges all citizens to participate;

29 Aug 2025 **Conakry (Guinea)** *APA News*. Authorities confirm that over 6.7 million Guineans have been registered to vote in the constitutional referendum;

27 Aug 2025 **Conakry (Guinea)** *APA News*. Transport ministry announces the suspension of two senior merchant navy officials over gross misconduct;

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