

AFRICA RISK CONSULTING

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Guinea Summary 23 February 2022

Members of Guinea's interim legislative body, the Conseil National Transition (CNT) (national transition council), are officially installed. An investigation by the Cour de Répression des Infractions Économiques et Financières (CRIEF) (economic and financial crimes court) into the 2002 sale of defunct state airline Air Guinée implicates opposition leader Cellou Dalein Diallo as part of a broader government crackdown on corruption. The Comité National de Redressement et du Développement (CNRD) military council commences operations to recover state-owned property across the country, which has implicated several high-ranking public officials and personalities. The International Monetary Fund (IMF) has granted Guinea access to \$150m in Special Drawing Rights (SDR) to support its fight against Covid-19, the first external funding made available to Guinea since the 5 September military coup.

Transition Council members officially installed

Members of Guinea's interim legislative body, the **Conseil National Transition (CNT)** (national transition council), have officially been installed.¹ The CNT held its first deliberations on 7 February, with CNT president **Dansa Kourouma** pledging the body will work in Guineans' interests.² Amongst other responsibilities, the 81-member CNT will formulate the draft constitution and collaborate with the **Comité National de Redressement et du Développement (CNRD)** military council to establish an election timetable.³

CNRD president and head of state Col. **Mamadi Doumbouya** (2021-present) stated in a communiqué on 3 February that CNT members would be confirmed in a ceremony on 5 February.⁴ The event took place at the **Palais des Peuples** in the capital, **Conakry**, and was attended by prime minister **Mohamed Béavogui** alongside foreign dignitaries including **Malian** transition council president **Malick Diaw** and **Abass Bundu**, president of **Sierra Leone's** national assembly.⁵ Diaw made the trip despite having **European Union (EU)** sanctions imposed on him on 4 February.⁶

Kourouma outlined his ambitions for the CNT, stating it must earn the trust of Guineans and work transparently to adopt a constitution that will serve as the basis for the establishment of strong institutions.⁷ Kourouma said CNT members must ensure that future political leaders cannot easily modify the eventual constitution,⁸ in an apparent reference to former president **Alpha Condé** (2010-2021) who enacted a new constitution in April 2020 following a referendum (see *ARC Briefing Guinea Apr 2020*). Although the new constitution continued to impose a two-term limit, the opposition accused Condé of wanting to use the pretext of the new document to reset the counter to zero and seek another term in elections at the end of 2020.⁹

¹ Africa Guinée, 5 Feb 2022

² GuinéeNews.org, 5 Feb 2022

³ ARC Guinea analyst

⁴ GuinéeNews.org, 3 Feb 2022

⁵ GuinéeNews.org, 5 Feb 2022

⁶ Ouestaf, 4 Feb 2021

⁷ GuinéeNews.org, 5 Feb 2022

⁸ RFI, 6 Feb 2022

⁹ Aljazeera, 7 Apr 2020

Kourouma said he counts on the support of the **Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS)** and **African Union (AU)**, but above all, from the Guinean people.¹⁰ The CNT president appealed to all socio-political and economic actors within the country to join hands and ensure this is the last political transition resulting from the overthrow of a head of state that Guinea experiences.¹¹ Kourouma acknowledged the reforms being undertaken will not be easy to implement but said they are necessary in order to steer the country in the right direction.¹²

Despite initial objections from leading civic action and opposition parties to the membership of the CNT (see *ARC Briefing Guinea Jan 2022*), all 81 members were present at the installation ceremony.¹³ Political parties have 15 members, followed by civil society with 13 members, and defence and security nine representatives.¹⁴ Each of Guinea's major political parties has a single representative.¹⁵

Following the inauguration ceremony, CNT member and prominent lawyer **Mohamed Traoré** said the priority of the institution should be to define the duration of the transition and develop a timeline and content for the transition.¹⁶ Traoré acknowledged that Guineans have high expectations for the CNT's work and, echoing Kourouma's sentiments, suggested that CNT members should do their utmost to ensure this is Guinea's last transition arising from a non-democratic transfer of power.¹⁷

During its first session on 7 February, the CNT deliberated on the responsibilities of councilors, review and adoption of CNT internal regulations and preparation of the councilors' visits across the country. An ad-hoc commission was created to work on the CNT's rules of procedure as well as the establishment of a commission to draft the terms of reference. Newly appointed **United States (US)** ambassador to Guinea, **Troy Fitrell**, released a statement on 5 February congratulating Guinea for the effective start of CNT activities, stating:

*"Work begins today to restore democracy to the people of Guinea. The challenge is to do it in 2022."*¹⁸

Fitrell's declaration reflects the US stance with respect to the ongoing transition. US assistant secretary of state for African affairs **Mike Gonzales** undertook a three-day visit to Conakry from 1-3 December to assess the state of the transition.¹⁹ Gonzales expressed US support for the CNRD but said that the provision of US financial aid would be contingent on the publication of a transition timeline, to pave the way for the organisation of free and transparent elections, the return of a democratically-elected civilian regime and constitutional order (see *ARC Briefing Guinea Dec 2021*).²⁰ The failure to provide clarity regarding the proposed length of the transition contributed to the US suspension of Guinea from the **African Growth and Opportunity Act (AGOA)** in November (see *ARC Briefing Guinea Nov 2021*).²¹

On 3 February, ECOWAS voted to maintain its suspension of Guinea from the organisation and to maintain the sanctions it imposed on the country in September.²² Removal of these sanctions appears unlikely unless the CNRD takes more concrete steps to ensure a swift return to civilian rule.²³

¹⁰ Africa Guinée, 5 Feb 2022

¹¹ GuinéeNews.org, 5 Feb 2022

¹² GuinéeNews.org, 5 Feb 2022

¹³ Africa Guinée, 5 Feb 2022

¹⁴ Africa Guinée, 22 Jan 2022

¹⁵ Africa Guinée, 22 Jan 2022

¹⁶ GuinéeNews.org, 5 Feb 2022

¹⁷ GuinéeNews.org, 5 Feb 2022

¹⁸ Africa Guinée, 5 Feb 2022

¹⁹ Vision Guinée, 2 Dec 2021

²⁰ GuinéeNews.org, 3 Dec 2021

²¹ Jeune Afrique, 9 Nov 2021

²² Africanews, 3 Feb 2022

²³ ARC Guinea analyst

Prominent opposition figures implicated in airline sale investigation

Cour de Répression des Infractions Économiques et Financières (CRIEF) (economic and financial crimes court) special prosecutor **Aly Touré** announced on 15 February that a judicial investigation has been opened into the sale of defunct state airline **Air Guinée**.²⁴ According to Touré, the allegations date back to 2002, when assets of the bankrupt airline were sold.²⁵ During the transfer of state assets, certain executives and an economic operator are alleged to have committed serious breaches of criminal law.²⁶ The accused individuals include then transport and public works minister **Mamadou Cellou Dalein Diallo** and former minister of economy and finance **Cheikh Ahmed Camara**.²⁷ The CRIEF also identified **Ibrahima Camara**, director of the privatisation unit at the economy and finance ministry, and prominent businessman **El Hadj Mamadou Sylla**.²⁸

The allegations relate to the sale of a **Boeing 737 Dash 7** turboprop aircraft, spare parts, the Air Guinée headquarters in Conakry, and company facilities at **Conakry Airport**.²⁹ The amount paid for these purchases was not disclosed.³⁰ Following the presentation of the audit report on Air Guinée, the prosecution requested the opening of an investigation for

“embezzlement in the reward of public contracts, corruption, illicit enrichment, embezzlement of public funds, concealment of property and complicity”.³¹

The initiation of investigations against Dalein Diallo and Sylla have caused the most surprise. Dalein Diallo, who served as prime minister from December 2004-April 2006 during the presidency of former head of state **Lansana Conté** (1984-2008) and went on to become president of the opposition **Union des Forces Démocratiques de la Guinée (UFDG)**, is the de facto leader of the opposition.³² Sylla is a well-regarded politician in his capacity as president of the opposition **Union Démocratique de Guinée (UDG)**.³³ Following the largely boycotted March 2020 legislative elections, Sylla became head of opposition in the **Assemblée Nationale** (national assembly) (see *ARC Briefing Guinea Apr 2020*). Dalein Diallo had earlier expressed approval of the announcement that an audit would be carried out in relation to the sale of Air Guinée.³⁴ Following the revelation of the accusations against him, the UFDG issued a communique on 15 February claiming that Dalein Diallo had committed no wrongdoing in the matter.³⁵ The UFDG also called on party members, party communicators and sympathisers to refrain from commenting on the issue until further notice.³⁶

During a 17 February press conference, Dalein Diallo described the accusations as an attack on his reputation and honour.³⁷ He acknowledged that he had verified the transaction but claimed the economy and finance ministry coordinated the sale and set the prices.³⁸ Dalein Diallo claims that targeted allegations have been made against him due to his political status and the mobilisation capacity of the UFDG.³⁹ Dalein Diallo said “*hostile forces*” were manipulating the CNRD and using legal harassment to sideline him from participating in politics.⁴⁰ UFDG vice president **Dembo Sylla** said he

²⁴ Africa Guinée, 15 Feb 2022

²⁵ VOA Afrique, 17 Feb 2022

²⁶ VOA Afrique, 17 Feb 2022

²⁷ Africa Guinée, 15 Feb 2022

²⁸ Africa Guinée, 15 Feb 2022

²⁹ VOA Afrique, 17 Feb 2022

³⁰ Africa Guinée, 15 Feb 2022

³¹ GuinéeNews.org, 16 Feb 2022

³² TV5 Monde, 16 Feb 2022

³³ Guinée Matin, 15 Feb 2022

³⁴ GuinéeNews.org, 5 Feb 2022

³⁵ Guinée 360, 16 Feb 2022

³⁶ Guinée 360, 16 Feb 2022

³⁷ RFI, 17 Feb 2022

³⁸ RFI, 17 Feb 2022

³⁹ Africa Guinée, 18 Feb 2022

⁴⁰ Africa Guinée, 18 Feb 2022

hoped that re-examination of the case will bring to a definitive end an issue that has been highlighted by three heads of states.⁴¹

El Hadj Mamadou Sylla similarly maintains his innocence, stating that he purchased the Boeing in 2002 for \$5m and only used it for two years.⁴² Sylla described the plane as “*a wreck*” and said he sent it for repairs in **France**, where it is still located due to a payment dispute.⁴³ Sylla claims the aircraft purchase is attracting more attention because the individuals concerned were affiliated to Conté’s regime.⁴⁴ Sylla has indicated that he has in possession three legal documents from July 2002, August 2002 and April 2003, which prove that he followed due procedure in relation to the aircraft purchase.⁴⁵

The former ministers are not the only targets the CRIEF is pursuing for purported acts of corruption. On 14 February, seven high-ranking public officials were dismissed for alleged acts of embezzlement, forgery and complicity.⁴⁶ These include:

- **Société des Eaux de Guinée (SEG)** (Guinea water company) director general **Mamadou Diouldé Diallo**;
- **Pharmacie Centrale de Guinée (PCG)** (national pharmacy) inspector general for health **Moussa Konaté**;
- **Agence Nationale de l’Assainissement et de la Salubrité Publique (ANSP)** director general (national agency for sanitation and public health) **Condé Marie Touré**;
- **Hôpital de l’Amitié Sino-Guinéen** (Sino-Guinean Friendship Hospital) director general **Dr Tolno Sandy Kola**;
- **Commune de Matam** (Matam municipality) mayor **Seydouba Sakho**;
- **Fonds de Sauvegarde de l’Environnement (FSE)** (environmental protection fund) director general **Amadou Sébory Touré**;
- **Office National de Contrôle Sanitaire des Produits de Pêche et de l’Aquaculture** (national office for sanitary control of fishery and aquaculture products) director general **Moussa Kabassan Keita**.⁴⁷

Following his dismissal, Diouldé Diallo was arrested and placed in detention alongside SEG accountant **Ousmane Kourouma**.⁴⁸ According to preliminary investigations, Diouldé Diallo is alleged to have misappropriated GNF 3,678,461 billion (\$409,000).⁴⁹ Territorial administration ministry minister **Mory Condé** said several mayors are currently under investigation for alleged corrupt acts and will be dismissed as well.⁵⁰

Some segments of Guinean society claim the CRIEF was created in order to settle political scores.⁵¹ Touré has refuted these accusations, indicating that all suspects were charged in line with article 47 of the criminal procedure code.⁵² Touré said Guineans had become accustomed to impunity with respect to acts of corruption and described the CRIEF’s establishment in December (see *ARC Briefing Guinea Dec 2021*) as an act of courage.⁵³ Touré added that the court works independently and all persons

⁴¹ Vision Guinée, 16 Feb 2022

⁴² GuinéeNews.org, 14 Feb 2022

⁴³ GuinéeNews.org, 14 Feb 2022

⁴⁴ Guinée Matin, 16 Feb 2022

⁴⁵ Guinée Matin, 16 Feb 2022

⁴⁶ Africa Guinée, 15 Feb 2022

⁴⁷ GuinéeNews.org, 15 Feb 2022

⁴⁸ Africa Guinée, 15 Feb 2022

⁴⁹ Africa Guinée, 15 Feb 2022

⁵⁰ Africa Guinée, 15 Feb 2022

⁵¹ Africa Guinée, 20 Feb 2022

⁵² GuinéeNews.org, 15 Feb 2022

⁵³ Africa Guinée, 20 Feb 2022

prosecuted will have access to a fair trial.⁵⁴ Touré noted on 22 February that the CRIEF has 24 cases under investigation, with three ready to go to trial.⁵⁵

Government embarks on recovery of state property operation

Army chief of staff **Col. Sadiba Coulibaly** declared on 2 February that the state would take action to recover property that belongs to it.⁵⁶ Doumbouya made the announcement while chairing the inter-ministerial council meeting on 3 February, underscoring the importance of state property, and noting that the operation would be conducted without violating the rights of individuals concerned.⁵⁷ During a 5 February interview, government spokesperson **Ousmane Gaoual**, who also serves as urban planning, housing and regional development minister, promised the government would restore order with respect to the recovery of state property.⁵⁸

The government made good on its promise on 8 February when director general of state property **Mohamed Traoré** ordered the closure of the government-owned **Residence 2000** complex.⁵⁹ Traoré summoned occupants of villas in the **Cité Ministérielle** and **Petit Bureau** on 15 February to vacate the properties by 28 February.⁶⁰ Two unlikely victims of this government action were opposition leaders **Cellou Dalein Diallo** and **Union des Forces Républicaines** (UFR) president **Sidiya Touré**.⁶¹ Dalein Diallo was ordered to leave his property in the Conakry commune of **Dixinn**, on the basis that it was built on government-owned land.⁶² During a 17 February press conference, Dalein Diallo claimed he had obtained the land under transparent conditions.⁶³ Dalein Diallo said former president Conté had approved the transaction and that all three successive Guinean presidents had investigated the purchase without discovering any wrongdoing.⁶⁴ Dalein Diallo described himself as a man of integrity, who has never been involved in corruption in his 30 years of working in Guinea's public service.⁶⁵

UFR executive secretary **Saikou Barry** called the government's decision "*illegal, illegitimate and a provocation*".⁶⁶ The **Barreau de Guinée** (Guinea Bar Association) called the eviction of individuals and suspension of land titles a violation of the law, calling for the protection of property rights and for the law to be followed if such action needs to take place.⁶⁷ Civil society opposition consortium **Front National Pour La Défense De La Constitution** (FNDC) similarly noted that the eviction of persons must be accompanied by a court decision.⁶⁸

Despite this criticism, the CNRD appears resolute in pursuing the operation. Gaoual noted on 17 February that 82 properties in Conakry, **Kankan** and **Kindia** had already been recovered, with the target for 2022 set at 750 properties.⁶⁹ Secretary general at the presidency and presidency spokesperson **Amara Camara** said the operation will continue, while Doumbouya said he aims to recover all state property.⁷⁰

⁵⁴ Africa Guinée, 20 Feb 2022

⁵⁵ Guinée Matin, 22 Feb 2022

⁵⁶ GuinéeNews.org, 2 Feb 2022

⁵⁷ GuinéeNews.org, 4 Feb 2022

⁵⁸ GuinéeNews.org, 5 Feb 2022

⁵⁹ GuinéeNews.org, 9 Feb 2022

⁶⁰ Aminata.com, 16 Feb 2022

⁶¹ GuinéeNews.org, 16 Feb 2022

⁶² Africa Guinée, 16 Feb 2022

⁶³ RFI, 17 Feb 2022

⁶⁴ Africa Guinée, 16 Feb 2022

⁶⁵ Africa Guinée, 17 Feb 2022

⁶⁶ Africa Guinée, 18 Feb 2022

⁶⁷ Africa Guinée, 17 Feb 2022

⁶⁸ Africa Guinée, 18 Feb 2022

⁶⁹ Africa Guinée, 17 Feb 2022

⁷⁰ Africa Guinée, 17 Feb 2022

Guinea obtains \$150m from IMF to support Covid-19 response efforts

The **International Monetary Fund (IMF)** has granted Guinea access to \$150m in **Special Drawing Rights (SDR)** to support its fight against **Covid-19**.⁷¹ The funding, confirmed on 4 February, is the first external funding made available to Guinea since the 5 September military coup.⁷²

Despite the presence of the **Omicron** variant of Covid-19, Guinea has not experienced a significant increase in Covid-19 infections.⁷³ According to the most recent statistics provided by the **Agence Nationale de la Sécurité Sanitaire de la Guinée (ANSS)** (national health security agency), as of 10 February, Guinea had recorded 36,329 confirmed Covid cases in its population of roughly 12 million, with 32,684 recoveries and 436 Covid-19-related deaths.⁷⁴ As of 24 January, Guinea had confirmed 36,013 cases, 31,870 recoveries and 416 Covid-19-related deaths.⁷⁵

The ANSS on 11 February revised regulations for international travelers arriving at the **Aéroport Internationale Ahmed Sékou Touré**.⁷⁶ Henceforth, all arriving passengers six years of age and older will have to present negative PCR tests not older than 72 hours. All passengers, 18 years and older, will have to be fully vaccinated against Covid-19 upon arrival in Guinea. The following vaccines have been by recognised for travelers by Guinean authorities: **Johnson & Johnson, Moderna, Sinopharm, Sinovac** and **Sputnik V**. Individuals who have had Covid-19 over the last six months, can present a health certificate attesting to their recovery in lieu of vaccination. The health ministry launched the second phase of the mass vaccination campaign at **Kindia** on 23 February, which will run until 10 March.⁷⁷

⁷¹ Africa Guinée, 4 Feb 2022

⁷² Africa Guinée, 4 Feb 2022

⁷³ ARC Guinea analyst

⁷⁴ ANSS, 11 Feb 2022

⁷⁵ ANSS, 26 Jan 2022

⁷⁶ ANSS, 11 Feb 2022

⁷⁷ ANSS, 23 Feb 2022

Planner

(Date TBA due to Covid-19) **Conakry (Guinea)** Transform Africa Conference;
 2023 **Conakry (Guinea)** Guinea Investment Forum;
 2026 **Conakry (Guinea)** Start of exploitation at the **Simandou** iron ore project;

Chronology

23 Feb 2022 **Conakry (Guinea)** *Jeune Afrique*. Former technical education and vocational training minister **Zenab Drame**, former budget minister **Ismaël Dioubaté** and former minister at the presidency and government spokesperson **Tibou Kamara** have been placed under judicial control for alleged acts of corruption, while serving in the cabinet of deposed president **Alpha Condé**;

18 Feb 2022 **Conakry (Guinea)** *Jeune Afrique*. Doctors in the **United Arab Emirates (UAE)** treating former president **Alpha Condé** advise him not to return to Guinea, following the expiry of his one-month authorisation to leave the country, in order to undergo further medical observations;

17 Feb 2022 **Conakry (Guinea)** *VOA Afrique*. The **Cour de Répression des Infractions Economiques et Financières (CRIEF)** (economic and financial crimes court) is reportedly investigating former prime minister and opposition **Union des Forces Démocratiques de Guinée (UFDG)** president **Cellou Dalein Diallo** for "corruption and illicit enrichment" in the sale of two planes and other property belonging to defunct state airline **Air Guinée** in 2002;

14 Feb 2022 **Conakry (Guinea)** *Africa Guinée*. A **United Nations (UN)-Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS)** joint mission, which was set to travel to Guinea on 14 February to assess the ongoing political transition, has been cancelled until further notice

11 Feb 2022 **Conakry (Guinea)** *Africa Guinée*. Guinea's leading opposition coalition calls for the creation of a permanent framework for dialogue with the **Comité National de Redressement et du Développement (CNRD)** military transition council;

11 Feb 2022 **Conakry (Guinea)** *Africa Guinée*. The second edition of the **Guinea Investment Forum (GUIF)** to take place from 12-14 February in **Dubai (United Arab Emirates)**;

8 Feb 2022 **Conakry (Guinea)** *Agence Ecofin*. Town planning minister **Ousmane Gaoual Diallo** announces that rehabilitation of the 23-km **Labé-Koundara** road that leads to **Senegal** will take place in 2022;

6 Feb 2022 **Conakry (Guinea)** *Africa Guinée*. The **Conseil National de Transition (CNT)** holds its inaugural session;

4 Feb 2022 **Conakry (Guinea)** *Africa Guinée*. Guinea has been granted access to \$150m in **Special Drawing Rights (SDR)** by the **International Monetary Fund (IMF)** in order to support its fight against Covid-19

4 Feb 2022 **Conakry (Guinea)** *GuinéeNews.org*. President **Col. Mamadi Doumbouya** recalls 34 ambassadors who had been appointed by former president **Alpha Condé**;

28 Jan 2022 **Conakry (Guinea)** *Financial Afrik*. The **Banque Centrale de la République de Guinée (BCRG)** (central bank) has issued GNF 572.75 billion (\$62.7m) in treasury bills;

28 Jan 2022 **Conakry (Guinea)** *GuinéeNews.org*. Territorial administration minister **Mory Condé** promises that the permanent framework for political dialogue demanded by the opposition, will be established;

27 Jan 2022 **Conakry (Guinea)** *Agence Ecofin*. The trial between **Brazil**-based mining firm **Vale** and **Franco-Israeli** billionaire **Beny Steinmetz** over Vale's \$2.5 billion purchase of two

blocks of the **Simandou** iron deposit from Steinmetz, which was later cancelled by the Guinean government, has begun in **London (United Kingdom)**;

27 Jan 2022 **Conakry (Guinea)** *Africa Guinée*. Head of state **Col. Mamadi Doumbouya** declares a national population census will be undertaken in 2022, the first such exercise since 2014;

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