

AFRICA RISK CONSULTING

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Guinea's acting legislative body, the Conseil national de la transition (CNT) (national transition council), launches the constitutional orientation debate on 17 June. The CNT hosts several debates with various political parties, civil society, trade unions and professional organisations before meeting the public on 23 June. The trial of Moussa Dadis Camara, former military junta leader at the time of the 28 September 2009 massacre, is postponed for several reasons, including a prison guards' strike and lawyers' strike, delaying the over-due reconciliation process even further. L'Inspection Générale d'Etat (IGE) (general state inspectorate) presents its 2022 report on the state of governance and accountability in Guinea to junta leader Colonel Mamadi Doumbouya (2021-present) on 17 June. The IGE identifies irregularities and mismanagement of state-owned enterprises.

Constitutional recommendations

Guinea's acting legislative body, the **Conseil national de la transition (CNT)** (national transition council), launched its constitutional orientation debate on 17 June, hosting several debates with various political parties, civil society, trade unions and professional organisations.¹ The country is currently governed by a transition charter after the ruling **Comité national du rassemblement et du développement (CNRD)** military junta suspended the controversial 2020 constitution in September 2021 (see *ARC Briefing Guinea Sep 2021*). The formulation of a new constitution is a key target for the CNRD and the return to civilian rule in Guinea.

Trade unions and professional bodies including the **Confédération générale des entreprises de Guinée (COGEGUI)** (general confederation of Guinean companies), **Front national pour la défense de la Transition (FNDT)** (national front for the defence of the transition) and **Conseil national des médecins de Guinée** (council of doctors) presented their suggestions on 26 May. Their main proposals included constitutional guarantees of peace and national unity, fighting against ethnocentrism, reduction of the president's powers, creating the post of vice president, and institutionalisation of public-private partnerships.²

Religious leaders addressed the CNT on 30 May, proposing their additions or suggestions for the constitutional process. Archbishop **Vincent Coulibaly** told the CNT that the new constitution needs to reflect principles on which all citizens can agree, which would entail preserving secularism while respecting religious freedoms.³ His other suggestions included a bicameral parliament that would include religious leaders and members of civil society, reorganisation of the judiciary, an executive made up of a president and prime minister, and the inability of the president to dissolve parliament until the president's term ends and to respect judicial independence.⁴ Coulibaly also appealed for municipal and legislative elections to be held before the presidential elections in a bid to restore trust between the citizenry and the state. The **Islamic Council** proposed that the presidential term be limited to five years and one additional term if re-elected.

¹ APA News, 17 Jun 2023

² Vision Guinée, 26 May 2023

³ ACI Africa, 2 Jun 2023

⁴ ACI Africa, 2 Jun 2023

During their debate on 30 May, defence and security forces proposed that the number of political parties in Guinea be limited to three.⁵ Guinea currently has an estimated 300 registered political parties, but chief of staff in the defence ministry Brigadier-General **David Haba** told the CNT that reducing this number would help maintain public order. The territorial administration and decentralisation ministry proposed on 2 June that the existing structures established on religious or ethnic lines do not bode well for national unity and suggested that the constitution not promote the creation of religious or ethnic associations.⁶

The CNT launched consultations with the public on 23 June, with the objective of collecting their opinions on the new constitution. While the transitional authorities have not overly impressed international partners thus far, as evidenced by their lack of funding for the transition, progress is being made. More time is required before it can be determined if the junta will meet its commitment of returning to civilian rule in early 2025.

2009 massacre trial suspended

The trial of **Moussa Dadis Camara**, former military junta leader at the time of the **28 September Massacre**, has been postponed for several reasons over the past month, including a prison guards' strike and a lawyers' strike, drawing out the overdue reconciliation process even further. Several nongovernmental organisations (NGOs) and opposition parties organised a rally at the **Conakry** stadium on 28 September 2009 to protest Camara's possible presidential candidacy after he had seized power in a coup d'état in December 2008.⁷ Camara sent the army into the stadium, which resulted in the deaths of 157 people and rape of 109 women. A **United Nations (UN) Commission of Inquiry** in 2009 concluded that there was a strong presumption that crimes against humanity were committed and that there were reasonable grounds to suspect individual criminal responsibility.⁸ An in-dept investigation by **United States (US)**-based NGO **Human Rights Watch (HRW)** reported on 27 October 2009 that the massacre was premeditated.⁹

Lawyers for the September 28 massacre victims and defendants presented a statement on 17 May to the justice ministry citing poor working conditions and asking for payment of their fees.¹⁰ The defendants' lawyers asked the government for legal aid, stating that their clients are unable to pay them and that the demands of the case do not allow them to work on other cases, resulting in a shortfall. The state-appointed lawyers for the massacre victims noted issues with poor working conditions, warning that they would boycott the hearing on 29 May if their demands were not met, which was the case.¹¹

Lancinet Sylla, lawyer for **Aboubacar "Toumba" Sidiki Diakité**, former aide-de-camp to Captain Moussa Dadis Camara, told the media on 29 May that justice minister **Alphonse Charles Wright** said that he and the state did not owe the lawyers anything.¹² Wright reprimanded the lawyers on 6 June, telling the media that the defendants chose their lawyers privately (i.e. they were not court appointed) and therefore their clients should pay them. He noted that the justice ministry is willing to offer support measures, but that this should not be confused with legal aid.¹³ Wright affirmed that the justice ministry has spent GNF 24 billion (\$2.80m) thus far on the trial and that it has been an internal effort, with no support from international partners, despite their placing pressure on Guinea to hold the trial. When the trial was set to open in 2018, the state committed to pay 77% of the required GNF 78 billion budget (\$9.12m), while the US committed to paying 17% and the **European Union (EU)**

⁵ North Africa Post, 31 May 2023

⁶ Vision Guinee, 2 Jun 2023

⁷ Africanews, 17 Sep 2022

⁸ United Nations Human Rights Office of the High Commissioner press release, 28 Sep 2022

⁹ Human Rights Watch, 27 Oct 2009

¹⁰ APA News, 29 May 2023

¹¹ APA News, 29 May 2023

¹² RFI, 30 May 2023

¹³ RFI, 6 Jun 2023

5.8%.¹⁴ Neither partner has followed through on this funding, meaning that the justice ministry is likely facing a shortfall too, and unable to offer any additional legal aid.

After three weeks of negotiations, it was agreed that the lawyers' clients could apply for legal aid that the lawyers could then benefit from.¹⁵ It was announced on 19 June that the trial would resume on 21 June, but on the day, the defendants were not present in the courtroom due to a prison officers' strike.¹⁶ The case has been postponed again to 10 July. Human Rights Watch has expressed concern over the ability of the trial to be concluded, noting these issues and a lack of financial resources.¹⁷ HRW has called on the **Comité de pilotage** (trial steering committee), which comprises the government, EU, US and UN, to work on resolving these issues so that the victims can receive justice after 13 years of waiting.¹⁸

Colonel Doumbouya receives IGE report

L'Inspection Générale d'Etat (IGE) (general state inspectorate) presented its 2022 report on the state of governance and accountability in Guinea to junta leader Colonel **Mamadi Doumbouya** (2021-present) on 17 June.¹⁹ The IGE identified irregularities and mismanagement of state-owned enterprises, noting that out of 1,000 qualifications presented by government employees, at least 346 are non-compliant. The IGE noted the following issues:

- Non-compliance of laws and regulations related to the operation and organisation of public enterprises;
- Failure or non-existence of internal control systems;
- Mismanagement that leads to undue remuneration;
- Certain public enterprises not paying tax or social security requirements;
- Unsubstantiated expenses.²⁰

The IGE concluded in its report that these issues prevent effective public service delivery to citizens. It cites the example of the **Agence nationale d'inclusion économique et sociale (ANIES)** (national agency for economic and social inclusion) receiving GNF 3 billion (\$351,129) from the **Mission d'Appui à la Mobilisation (MAMRI)** (mobilisation support mission) in April 2020 via cash payments that the IGE notes were marred by irregularities.²¹ It is unclear what the money was used for. The current ANIES management was unable to clarify, noting that it took place before their tenure began in January 2022.²² Most of the management of public enterprises was changed after the September 2021 coup d'état.

In response to the report, Doumbouya has reportedly tasked the **Cour de répression des Infractions Economiques et Financières (CRIEF)** (court of repression of economic and financial offences), which was established under Doumbouya to tackle corruption in Guinea, with tracking the alleged perpetrators of the corruption identified in the report.²³

Corruption is endemic in the public and private spheres in Guinea, which ranked 147th out of 180 countries globally in **Transparency International's (TI) 2022 Corruption Perceptions Index** (see below). As seen from the scores and ranks, perceptions of corruption have increased since the September 2021 coup d'état that saw the CNRD junta installed as Guinea's leaders. This is likely due to the anti-corruption drive Doumbouya implemented, exposing corruption through the

¹⁴ Justiceinfo.net, 30 May 2023

¹⁵ Agence France-Presse, 21 Jun 2023

¹⁶ Agence France-Presse, 22 Jun 2023

¹⁷ HRW, 13 Jun 2023

¹⁸ HRW, 13 Jun 2023

¹⁹ Africa Guinee, 17 Jun 2023

²⁰ Africa Guinee, 17 Jun 2023

²¹ Africa Guinee, 17 Jun 2023

²² Africa Guinee, 17 Jun 2023

²³ Africa Guinee, 19 Jun 2023

establishment of the CRIEF, and therefore increasing the perception that corruption is worse. Any anti-corruption drive takes years to reflect, especially in a country where the culture of corruption is entrenched. Doumbouya is laying a foundation for the government that eventually takes over.²⁴

TI CPI Rankings for Guinea ²⁵					
	2022	2021	2020	2019	2018
Ranking	147/180	150/180	137/180	130/180	138/176
Score	25	25	28	29	28

Planner

2025 **Guinea** General elections

31 Mar 2025 **Conakry (Guinea)** Start of exploitation at the **Simandou** iron ore project;

Chronology

24 Jun 2023 **Conakry (Guinea)** *Guinee7.com*. **Société nationale du pétrole (SONAP)** (national petroleum company) inaugurates a seismic data centre which will collect information on Guinea's offshore and onshore oil potential;

24 Jun 2023 **Conakry (Guinea)** *Media Guinee*. Opposition party **Union des Forces Démocratiques de Guinée (UFDG)** affirms that it will resume demonstrations once pilgrimage and school exams are over;

24 Jun 2023 **Conakry (Guinea)** *RFI*. **Comoros** president **Azali Assoumani**, current head of the **African Union (AU)**, arrives in Conakry to help boost relations between the two countries;

23 Jun 2023 **Conakry (Guinea)** *Guinee News*. **United States** department of agriculture ranks Guinea as the second largest rice producer in **West Africa**, which agriculture minister **Mamoudou Bagnalen Barry** says is a result of the military junta increasing his ministry's budget and implementing good policies;

22 Jun 2023 **Conakry (Guinea)** *Media Guinee*. **Front national pour la défense de la Constitution's (FNDC)** case against justice minister **Alphonse Charles Wright** is dismissed;

19 Jun 2023 **Conakry (Guinea)** *APA News*. Opposition party **Union des Forces Démocratiques de Guinée (UFDG)** leader **Cellou Dalein Diallo** expresses his desire to return to Guinea from exile in **Belgium** despite some of his party members expressing concern over this;

18 Jun 2023 **Conakry (Guinea)** *DW*. **Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS)** mediator **Thomas Boni Yaya** cancels his Guinea trip to discuss the transition and upcoming election date, for unknown reasons;

16 Jun 2023 **Conakry (Guinea)** *APA News*. Court of first instance summons justice minister **Alphonse Charles Wright** to appear on charges of "*slandorous denunciations, public insults, violence and assault and abuse of authority*" brought to the court by leaders of the now dissolved civil society organisation **Front national pour la défense de la Constitution (FNDC)**;

16 Jun 2023 **Conakry (Guinea)** *RFI*. Public prosecutor appeals the court of **Dixinn's** ruling that civil society organisation **Front national pour la défense de la Constitution (FNDC)** leaders **Oumar Sylla, Ibrahima Diallo** and **Saikou Yaya Barry** are not guilty of public participation in

²⁴ ARC Briefing Guinea analyst

²⁵ Source: Transparency International's [Corruption Perceptions Index](#). Countries with a low score, nearer to zero, are calculated to be more corrupt than countries with a high score, nearer to 100

a prohibited demonstration, complicity in the destruction of public and private property and complicity in intentional assault and battery;

15 Jun 2023 **Conakry (Guinea)** *Africa Guinee*. Spokesperson for the **United States (US)** embassy in Guinea, **Alexander Hunt**, says the US will continue to respect the commitments of the ruling military junta regarding the transition back to civilian rule, easing tensions after the embassy launched a countdown on its website in April to exert more pressure on the junta to return to civilian rule;

14 Jun 2023 **Conakry (Guinea)** *Agence Ecofin*. **Burkina Faso** says during the fifth edition of Guinea's Digital Week that it wants to collaborate with Guinea in the information and communication technologies (ICT) sector;

13 Jun 2023 **Conakry (Guinea)** *Africa Guinee*. Territorial administration minister **Mory Condé** admits that the transition is facing challenges in mobilising resources from its partners, who are cautious given the ongoing demonstrations and alleged human rights violations in Guinea;

12 Jun 2023 **Conakry (Guinea)** *Vision Guinee*. Guinea and **World Bank** sign two financing agreements for \$125m

12 Jun 2023 **Conakry (Guinea)** *Media Guinee*. **Guinea Alumina Corporation** and the **Aluminum Corporation of China Limited (Chalco)** enter an agreement for the development of an alumina refinery in Guinea;

8 Jun 2023 **Conakry (Guinea)** *APA News*. Leaders of now banned civil society organisation **Front National pour la Défense de la Constitution (FNDC)** will attend court for judgement on charges including criminal participation in a crowd, complicity in the destruction of public and private buildings and complicity in intentional assault and battery;

8 Jun 2023 **Conakry (Guinea)** *Vision Guinee*. Prime minister **Bernard Gomou** meets with the diplomats of the **United States, France, United Nations, European Union** and **Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS)**, discussing the return to constitutional rule, which government spokesman **Ousmane Gaoual Diallo** says is ahead of initial forecasts;

6 Jun 2023 **Paris (France)** *Agence Ecofin*. **Agence française de développement (AFD)** (French development agency) releases its digital freedoms report noting that digital freedoms in French-speaking **African** countries are "in difficulty";

3 Jun 2023 **Ankara (Turkey)** *APA News*. Guinea's transition leader, Colonel **Mamadi Doumbouya**, arrives in Ankara at the invitation of Turkey's President **Recep Tayyip Erdogan**;

27 May 2023 **Conakry (Guinea)** *Vision Guinee*. Prime minister **Mohamed Beavogui** lays the first stone of the future **Digital Village** of Guinea serving as a school to offer young Guineans prospects for the development of a sustainable digital economy.

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