

## AFRICA RISK CONSULTING

### Guinea Monthly Briefing November 2021

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#### Guinea Summary 19 November 2021

*Comité National du Rassemblement pour le Développement (CNRD) military council leader Col. Mamady Doumbouya (2021-present) has appointed a cabinet consisting of 25 ministers and two government secretary generals, largely technocrats. The Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) and the CNRD remain at loggerheads as ECOWAS maintains sanctions against CNRD members despite their progress in Guinea's political transition. Members of the former ruling party Rassemblement du Peuple de Guinée (RPG) Arc-en-Ciel have called for the release of former president Alpha Condé (2010-2021), who has been held in custody since being deposed from power in early September.*

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#### Doumbouya names his cabinet

Guinean head of state and **Comité National du Rassemblement pour le Développement (CNRD)** military council leader Col. **Mamady Doumbouya** (2021-present) has named his cabinet, nearly two months after the overthrow of former president **Alpha Condé** (2010-2021) from office in a military coup on 5 September.<sup>1</sup> The nomination of a new government, comprising 25 ministers and two government secretaries general, has been highly anticipated as the next major phase of the transition, following the establishment of the **Transition Charter** and appointment of a prime minister (see *ARC Briefing Guinea October 2021*).<sup>2</sup>

Ministerial appointments began on 21 October with the naming of four cabinet ministers, including Gen. **Aboubacar Sidiki Camara** as defence minister and **Bachir Diallo** as security and civil protection minister.<sup>3</sup> Camara, popularly known as "*Idi Amin*", is a seasoned and well respected soldier and was Guinea's ambassador to **Cuba** prior to his appointment.<sup>4</sup> A graduate of the **École de Guerre** (War College) in **Paris (France)**<sup>5</sup>, he was arrested in 2003 by former president **Lansana Conté** (1984-2008) on accusations of planning a coup.<sup>6</sup> Camara was permanent secretary of the **Conseil National pour la Démocratie et Développement (CNDD)** transition government, but was arrested by former president Captain **Moussa Dadis Camara** (2008-2009), who similarly accused him of planning a coup.<sup>7</sup> Camara developed good relations with Camara's successor, Gen. **Sekouba Konaté** (2009-2010), and Condé.<sup>8</sup> Camara reportedly introduced Doumbouya to Condé when the former returned from military service in France.<sup>9</sup> Camara is widely regarded as a mentor to Doumbouya and will play a central role in this position.<sup>10</sup> Bachir Diallo served as defence attaché at Guinea's embassy in **Algeria** before his appointment.<sup>11</sup>

Doumbouya selected Dr. **Mourissanda Kouyaté** as minister of foreign affairs, international, **African** integration and Guineans abroad.<sup>12</sup> Kouyaté, a medical doctor, has an established international

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<sup>1</sup> Vision Guinée, 5 Nov 2021

<sup>2</sup> ARC Guinea analyst

<sup>3</sup> GuinéeNews.org, 22 Oct 2021

<sup>4</sup> RFI, 23 Oct 2021

<sup>5</sup> RFI, 23 Oct 2021

<sup>6</sup> Jeune Afrique, 24 Sep 2021

<sup>7</sup> Jeune Afrique, 24 Sep 2021

<sup>8</sup> Jeune Afrique, 24 Sep 2021

<sup>9</sup> Jeune Afrique, 24 Sep 2021

<sup>10</sup> Jeune Afrique, 24 Sep 2021

<sup>11</sup> GuinéeNews.org, 22 Oct 2021

<sup>12</sup> Africa Guinée, 26 Oct 2021

reputation and served as executive director of the **Comité Interafricain sur la Santé des Femmes et Enfants** (inter-African committee for women and children's health), an organisation with **African Union (AU)** observer status.<sup>13</sup> The **United Nations (UN)** awarded Kouyaté and a co-recipient the **Mandela Prize** in 2020 for their role in the fight against female genital mutilation (FGM).<sup>14</sup> **Mamadou Pathé Diallo**, who served as the UN coordinator in **Guinea-Bissau**, was named health and public hygiene minister,<sup>15</sup> while **Lansana Béa Diallo**, a former world boxing champion and MP in **Brussels (Belgium)** for the **Socialist Party**, was appointed sports minister.<sup>16</sup>

Doumbouya also selected some opposition members to serve in the transition government. **Union des Forces Républicains (UFR)** member **Alpha Soumah** is the culture, tourism and handicrafts minister, while businessman and former MP **Abé Sylla** from the **Nouvelle Génération pour la République (NGR)** serves as energy, water and hydrocarbons minister. A surprising appointment was that of **Union des Forces Démocratiques de Guinée (UFDG)** communications head **Ousmane Gaoual Diallo** as urbanisation, housing and regional planning minister. Gaoual Diallo was imprisoned after the October 2020 presidential elections on charges of election-related violence.<sup>17</sup> He was released after Condé's overthrow and has since fostered close ties with the CNRD.<sup>18</sup> UFDG president **Cellou Dalein Diallo** said he had not been informed of Gaoual Diallo's appointment to cabinet but wished him well.<sup>19</sup>

In the economic cluster, **Moussa Cissé** becomes budget minister. Cissé holds a master's in law, public administration, defence and security and development from the **École Nationale de l'Administration (ENA)** (national administration school) (France) and served as legal adviser to the economy and finance minister before his selection.<sup>20</sup> **Lanciné Condé** takes the reigns of the economy and finance ministry. At the time of his appointment, he was serving as an adviser to **German** development agency **GIZ** and was formerly director of economic studies and forecasting at the economy and finance ministry.<sup>21</sup> **Moussa Magassouba** is the new mines and geology minister. Magassouba was director general of the **Société AngloGold Ashanti De Guinée (SAG)**, a subsidiary of **South Africa**-based **AngloGold Ashanti**, and has over 20 years of experience in the mining industry.<sup>22</sup>

Only seven of the 25 ministers are women. Notary **Fatoumata Yarie Soumah** was appointed justice minister and keeper of the seals,<sup>23</sup> while the youngest member of the new government is 35-year-old **Moury Condé**, a prominent civil society actor who was named territorial administration minister.<sup>24</sup> Women's rights activist **Moussa Yéro Bah** criticised the low female representation in cabinet and hoped it would be rectified in the selection of **Conseil National de Transition (CNT)** (national transition council) members.<sup>25</sup>

The opposition **Alliance Nationale pour l'Alternance Démocratique (ANAD)** declared its support for the newly appointed government during a plenary session on 11 November.<sup>26</sup> Opposition **Bloc Libéral** leader Dr. **Faya Milimouno** says the CNRD is "on the right track" in selecting qualified individuals for the cabinet appointments.<sup>27</sup> Prime minister **Mohamed Béavogui** noted that the new cabinet faces challenges such as "the refoundation of the economy, the overhaul of the highly politicised

<sup>13</sup> GuinéeNews.org, 26 Oct 2021

<sup>14</sup> GuinéeNews.org, 26 Oct 2021

<sup>15</sup> Africa Guinée, 26 Oct 2021

<sup>16</sup> GuinéeNews.org, 3 Nov 2021

<sup>17</sup> Jeune Afrique, 5 Nov 2021

<sup>18</sup> Jeune Afrique, 5 Nov 2021

<sup>19</sup> Jeune Afrique, 5 Nov 2021

<sup>20</sup> GuinéeNews.org, 6 Nov 2021

<sup>21</sup> Financial Afrik, 30 Oct 2021

<sup>22</sup> Reuters, 5 Nov 2021

<sup>23</sup> Jeune Afrique, 5 Nov 2021

<sup>24</sup> Jeune Afrique, 5 Nov 2021

<sup>25</sup> Jeune Afrique, 5 Nov 2021

<sup>26</sup> Africa Guinée, 11 Nov 2021

<sup>27</sup> Africa Guinée, 26 Oct 2021

administration [and] the fight against corruption” in order to lay the foundations for Guinea’s reconstruction on the basis of “justice”.<sup>28</sup> Béavogui listed justice and functioning administration, roads and public finances among the new government’s priorities:

*“The problems are many and complex. We want to do things well... We do not want to stay in power forever, we want to work for change and the construction of Guinea.”<sup>29</sup>*

### ECOWAS maintains sanctions against transition authorities

The **Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS)** and the CNRD military council remain at loggerheads with respect to the transition process. ECOWAS wants the CNRD to orchestrate a return to constitutional order and civilian rule within six months, while the transition government has yet to release a timetable towards this goal. Both sides have promised to continue to engage with each other.<sup>30</sup>

An ECOWAS delegation led by chairperson **Jean-Claude Brou** visited **Conakry** from 28-30 October for discussions with transition authorities and to assess the nature of support needed.<sup>31</sup> Ahead of the visit, foreign minister Morissanda Kouyaté declared that the country’s transition process is “*non-negotiable*”, suggesting the best support ECOWAS could provide would be to listen to Guineans.<sup>32</sup> The ECOWAS delegation met with Doumbouya and Béavogui, who asked for leniency with respect to the transition timetable, saying the transition authorities have to re-establish the foundations of a failed state.<sup>33</sup>

Brou acknowledged that positive developments are emerging from the transition, including the adoption of the transition charter, nomination of a prime minister and the progressive appointment of cabinet.<sup>34</sup> However, he emphasised that ECOWAS wants Guinea to return to constitutional order, in line with provisions in the **ECOWAS Protocol on Democracy and Good Governance**, and is willing to provide assistance for Guinea to pursue constitutional reform, appoint a new electoral management body, undertake a census and finalise the electoral register.<sup>35</sup> Brou said ECOWAS wants Guinea to hold elections within six months, reaffirming its commitment to supporting Guinea’s transition:

*“We are not giving directives to Guinean authorities. We came to listen to them. If we want to support Guinea, it is after the authorities have formulated their needs themselves.”<sup>36</sup>*

Kouyaté said the CNRD and ECOWAS need to work together.<sup>37</sup> However, during the third ECOWAS extraordinary summit on Guinea’s political situation on 7 November in **Accra (Ghana)**, heads of state and government maintained Guinea’s suspension from ECOWAS activities as well as sanctions imposed on CNRD members and their families, demanding the immediate release of former president Condé.<sup>38</sup> ECOWAS also requested a detailed timetable for a return to constitutional order and appointed **Mohamed Ibn Chambas** as ECOWAS special envoy to Guinea.<sup>39</sup>

During a press briefing on 8 November, Kouyaté suggested that the CNRD can only provide a timetable when all the instruments of the transition are in place.<sup>40</sup> Kouyaté said Guinea would continue to work with ECOWAS to ensure it is aware of the circumstances the country is facing, in

<sup>28</sup> Africa Guinée, 31 Oct 2021

<sup>29</sup> Africa Guinée, 31 Oct 2021

<sup>30</sup> ARC Guinea Analyst

<sup>31</sup> GuinéeNews.org, 28 Oct 2021

<sup>32</sup> Africa Guinée, 27 Oct 2021

<sup>33</sup> GuinéeNews.org, 31 Oct 2021

<sup>34</sup> Africa Guinée, 30 Oct 2021

<sup>35</sup> Africa Guinée, 30 Oct 2021

<sup>36</sup> Africa Guinée, 30 Oct 2021

<sup>37</sup> Africa Guinée, 30 Oct 2021

<sup>38</sup> Africanews, 7 Nov 2021

<sup>39</sup> GuinéeNews.org, 7 Nov 2021

<sup>40</sup> GuinéeNews.org, 8 Nov 2021

order to provide the necessary support.<sup>41</sup> In an undated letter addressed to current ECOWAS president and Ghana's head of state, **Nana-Akufo Addo** (2017-present), Doumbouya described the appointment of Ibn Chambas as special envoy to Guinea as "*neither opportune nor urgent*".<sup>42</sup> Doumbouya said Ibn Chambas' involvement could compromise the positive trajectory of the transition.<sup>43</sup> Former president Sekouba Konaté agreed, citing Ibn Chambas' failure to resolve previous crises in the region, including Guinea, when he was the special representative of the **United Nations** secretary general for **West Africa** and the **Sahel**.<sup>44</sup> In a wide ranging interview conducted with **Radio France Internationale (RFI)**, Doumbouya expressed dismay that ECOWAS was treating the situations in Mali and Guinea in a similar manner.<sup>45</sup>

Despite ECOWAS' hard-line approach towards the CNRD, regional leaders such as **Sierra Leone's** President **Maada Julius Bio** (2018-present) and **Guinea Bissau's** head of state, **Umaro Sissoco Embaló** (2020-present) have undertaken visits to Guinea since the coup.<sup>46</sup> Although Guinea's development partners have unanimously condemned Condé's overthrow, they have expressed desire to support Guinea's transition. **European Union (EU)** resident representative to Guinea, **Joseph Coll** stated on 27 October that the institution was aware that the return to civilian rule would not be achieved overnight but noted that progress had been made and that the EU was available to provide necessary contributions.<sup>47</sup> During a meeting with Kouyaté on 8 November, Coll reaffirmed that the EU is ready to give financial, political and technical support in the transition authorities' request.<sup>48</sup> UN system coordinator in Guinea Dr. **Vincent Martin**, who met with Kouyaté on 2 November, confirmed the UN's support for the transition.<sup>49</sup> However, despite the various pledges of support, the **United States (US)** announced on 2 November that it had suspended Guinea from the **African Growth and Opportunity Act (AGOA)**, a regulatory framework that allows several **African** products to be exported duty-free to the US.<sup>50</sup> Kouyaté suggested that the decision to suspend Guinea from AGOA was made while Condé was still in office.<sup>51</sup>

### Former ruling party calls for Condé's release

Leaders of the former ruling party, the **Rassemblement du Peuple de Guinée (RPG) Arc-en-Ciel**, called for the release of former president Condé on 3 November in the party's first media outing since Condé's overthrow in the 5 September military coup.<sup>52</sup> Speaking on behalf of the party, former **Assemblée Nationale** (national assembly) president **Amadou Damaro Camara** expressed the RPG's wish for the 83-year-old Condé to be released from custody on the basis of his advanced age.<sup>53</sup> Condé has been held in a secret location since his removal from office.<sup>54</sup> Camara said the RPG had always adopted a philosophy of non-violence, and had thus not initiated any marches or protests since the coup, despite the seizure of passports and the freezing of bank accounts held by former cabinet ministers and presidents of institutions at the time of Condé's overthrow.<sup>55</sup> Camara said the RPG "*[does] not want war and violence in Guinea*" and is ready to participate in the transition process.<sup>56</sup>

<sup>41</sup> GuinéeNews.org, 8 Nov 2021

<sup>42</sup> Jeune Afrique, 10 Nov 2021

<sup>43</sup> Jeune Afrique, 10 Nov 2021

<sup>44</sup> Africa Guinée, 10 Nov 2021

<sup>45</sup> RFI, 15 Nov 2021

<sup>46</sup> RFI, 21 Oct 2021

<sup>47</sup> GuinéeNews.org, 28 Oct 2021

<sup>48</sup> Africa Guinée, 8 Nov 2021

<sup>49</sup> GuinéeNews.org, 2 Nov 2021

<sup>50</sup> Jeune Afrique, 9 Nov 2021

<sup>51</sup> Africa Guinée, 3 Nov 2021

<sup>52</sup> GuinéeNews.org, 3 Nov 2021

<sup>53</sup> GuinéeNews.org, 3 Nov 2021

<sup>54</sup> Jeune Afrique, 10 Nov 2021

<sup>55</sup> Africa Guinée, 3 Nov 2021

<sup>56</sup> GuinéeNews.org, 3 Nov 2021

Camara said the RPG's main objective was to obtain Condé's freedom and, to this end, announced the creation of the **Forum National pour la Libération du Prof. Alpha Condé (FONAL-PRAC)**.<sup>57</sup>

In response, Doumbouya summoned RPG leaders to the **Palais Mohamed V** in Conakry for a closed door meeting.<sup>58</sup> Doumbouya reportedly warned the RPG representatives not to conflate their political party issues with matters concerning individuals who allegedly plundered the state, and promised that justice would take its course.<sup>59</sup> The meeting involved discussions with the top brass of Condé's regime, including Camara, ex-prime minister **Ibrahima Kassory Fofana** and former high ranking ministers including Dr. **Mohamed Diané** (defence), **Ibrahima Kaba** (foreign affairs) and **Mamadi Camara** (economy and finance).<sup>60</sup> After the meeting, Camara clarified his remarks, saying they were not meant as a threat.<sup>61</sup>

The discontent from the former regime regarding the current state of affairs is evident.<sup>62</sup> While Doumbouya has assured that Condé is well treated and has access to a medical doctor and personal cook,<sup>63</sup> it is unclear when or if he will be released from custody.<sup>64</sup> Camara has also voiced concern about the freezing of former top-ranking officials' bank accounts.<sup>65</sup> Camara claims there is a witch hunt against members of the former regime, as there has been no court ruling to back the decision to freeze accounts. Camara said he would file a complaint if the courts decide to seize assets without legal justification.<sup>66</sup>

Camara has also accused ECOWAS, the EU and the US of trying to prevent the RPG from participating in upcoming elections and warned that the RPG is too big to be kept out of Guinean politics.<sup>67</sup> Nevertheless, Bévogui issued a press release on 7 November, ordering all former ministers, presidents of dissolved state institutions and senior officials to vacate state property and make contact with the housing ministry and general secretariat of the presidency.<sup>68</sup> The communique noted the reason for the order is to allow the state to make an inventory of all property and recover all its real estate and assets.<sup>69</sup>

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<sup>57</sup> Africa Guinée, 3 Nov 2021

<sup>58</sup> GuinéeNews.org, 4 Nov 2021

<sup>59</sup> GuinéeNews.org, 4 Nov 2021

<sup>60</sup> GuinéeNews.org, 4 Nov 2021

<sup>61</sup> GuinéeNews.org, 4 Nov 2021

<sup>62</sup> ARC Guinea analyst

<sup>63</sup> Jeune Afrique, 15 Nov 2021

<sup>64</sup> ARC Guinea analyst

<sup>65</sup> GuinéeNews.org, 3 Nov 2021

<sup>66</sup> GuinéeNews.org, 3 Nov 2021

<sup>67</sup> GuinéeNews.org, 3 Nov 2021

<sup>68</sup> Africa Guinée, 7 Nov 2021

<sup>69</sup> RFI, 10 Nov 2021

## Planner

1-3 Dec 2021 **Niamey (Niger) Third ECOWAS Mining & Petroleum Forum;**  
 17-18 Dec 2021 **Istanbul (Turkey) Third Turkey-Africa Summit;**  
 (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

18 Nov 2021 **Conakry (Guinea) Africa Guinée.** Transition president Col. **Mamady Doumbouya** hosts first council of ministers since completing the appointment of his first cabinet;

15 Nov 2021 **Conakry (Guinea) Aminata.com.** Transition president Col. **Mamadi Doumbouya** suggests the **Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS)** is making a mistake by treating the current political situations in Guinea and **Mali** in the same manner;

10 Nov 2021 **Conakry (Guinea) Mining.com.** A pre-feasibility study by **Canada-based High Power Exploration (HPX)** for the **Mount Nimba** iron ore project in Guinea reports that the project, estimated to cost \$2.77 billion, will produce and export 30 million tonnes of ore annually;

9 Nov 2021 **Conakry (Guinea) Africa Guinée.** Transition president Col. **Mamadi Doumbouya** criticises the appointment of **Mohamed Ibn Chambas** as the **Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS)** special envoy to Guinea, describing it as “*inopportune*” and “*divisive*”;

5 Nov 2021 **Conakry (Guinea) Africa Guinée.** Transition president Col. **Mamady Doumbouya** concludes the selection of his 25-member cabinet with the appointment of former **South Africa-based AngloGold Ashanti** subsidiary **Société AngloGold Ashanti de Guinée (SAG)** director general **Moussa Magassouba** as mines and geology minister;

2 Nov 2021 **Washington DC (United States) RFI.** The **United States**-announces that it has suspended Guinea from the **African Growth and Opportunity Act (AGO)**;

1 Nov 2021 **Conakry (Guinea) Guinée news.org.** Transition president Col. **Mamady Doumbouya** announces the retirement of 1,000 soldiers;

30 Oct 2021 **Conakry (Guinea) Financier Afrik.** Transition president Col. **Mamady Doumbouya** appoints **Lanciné Condé** as economy, finance and planning minister, **Moussa Cissé** as budget minister and **Mamoudou Nagnalen Barry** as agriculture minister;

29 Oct 2021 **Conakry (Guinea) Africa Guinée.** **Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS)** chairperson **Jean Claude-Kassi Brou** denies allegations that ECOWAS is issuing directives to Guinean transition authorities after the delegation met with transition president Col. **Mamady Doumbouya** and prime minister **Mohamed Béavogui** to reiterate its desire for a return to constitutional order;

22 Oct 2021 **Conakry (Guinea) Africa Guinée** Transition president Col. **Mamady Doumbouya** commences appointment of cabinet members, by naming Gen. **Aboubacar Sidiki Camara** as defence minister;

20 Oct 2021 **Conakry (Guinea) Africa Guinée.** **Guinea Bissau’s** President **Umaro Sissoco Embaló** visits Conakry, becoming the second head of state to visit Guinea since the 5 September military coup that overthrew former president **Alpha Condé**;

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Please contact us by email [info@africariskconsulting.com](mailto:info@africariskconsulting.com) or call + 44 (0) 20 7078 4080

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