



# REFLECTION ON THE STRATEGY OF THE CONSOLIDATION OF PEACE IN GUINEA WORKSHOP REPORT

May 26-28, 2008  
The Mariador Palace Hotel  
The Republic of Guinea

A partnership project of swisspeace and the Alliance for Peacebuilding

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## List of Acronyms

CDA:	Collaborative for Development Action
CENI :	National Independent Electoral Commission (Commission Electorale Nationale Indépendante)
CNDD:	National Council for Defense of Democracy (Conseil National de Défense de la Démocratie)
CNT :	National Council for Transition (Conseil National de Transition)
DSF:	Defense and Security Forces
IGC:	International Group of Contact (Groupe International de Contact)
IFES:	International Foundation for Electoral Systems
MATAP :	Ministry of Territorial Administration and Political Affairs (Ministère de l'Administration du Territoire et des Affaires Politiques)
RPP:	Reflecting on Peace Practice
UNDP:	United Nations Development Programme

## 1. Introduction

The “Reflections on the Consolidation of Peace Workshop in Guinea” was held on May 26th to 28th 2009 in Conakry and hosted by BEFORE: Action to Prevent Political Violence, a joint project of swisspeace and the Alliance for Peacebuilding (AfP). BEFORE brought together more than 50 representatives from government ministries, security and defense forces, political parties, civil society organizations, and leading religious and opinion groups.

The workshop was part of the standard 10-Step BEFORE Approach to consolidate peace in fragile states. Given the long and fragile transition from colonialism to national independence and the ensuing ethnic tensions in Guinea, the BEFORE Advisory Committee for West Africa in May 2008 had proposed that Guinea be the next site for a BEFORE peacebuilding engagement. Accordingly, an assessment mission led by former US-Ambassador to Guinea, Mr. Dane Smith, was sent there to determine the feasibility of conflict prevention projects. The Guinea Assessment Mission took place in September 2008 and the team reported back that the situation was quite delicate: political tensions, economic crisis with high unemployment, widespread corruption, dysfunctional state institutions, mutinies and strikes, mistrust and ethnic rivalries, territorial conflicts, arbitrary arrests, extortion attempts by the security forces, drug trafficking, and negative repercussions from conflicts on neighboring countries were among the most pressing problems which according to the authors plagued the country.

On the other hand, the Assessment Team mentioned various efforts currently being undertaken to preserve peace. This included initiatives from state institutions (the Ministry of National Reconciliation, the Independent National Electoral Commission and the Economic & Social Council), mixed government-civil society organs (the Civil Military Committee, the Commission on the Struggle against the Proliferation and Use of Small Arms and the Commission of Investigation into the Events of January/February 2007) and actions by individual civil society organizations. The impact of these initiatives, however, was quite limited, especially after the death of President Lansana Conté and the subsequent military coup. These events further aggravated the already precarious situation in Guinea.

It was against this background that BEFORE, in collaboration with CEDIDE, IFES, SFCG and WANEP/Guinea, took the initiative to create a space that enabled local stakeholders to come together to conduct a conflict analysis and outline first steps in developing a viable peace consolidation strategy.

## 2. Structure of the Workshop

The workshop in Conakry was facilitated by Bokary Fofana (CECIDE), Chérif Karamo (WANEP), Kababaro Condé (Spokesperson of Council of the Wise), Moussa Nimaga (CECIDE), Quentin Kanyatsi (SFCG), Tidiane Diallo (independent consultant and expert in democracy, governance, conflict prevention), and Frédéric Kama-Kama Tutu (BEFORE). It was a mixture of presentations, group work and plenary discussions but methodologically following closely the Reflecting on Peace Practices approach developed by CDA and partner organizations:

- The first day was devoted to identifying and analyzing the broad range of factors of actual or potential conflict in Guinea;
- the second day was spent on elaborating prevention strategies; and

- the third day focused on a concrete national action plan and the questions on how to strategically address the most pressing problems in Guinea, by answering the following questions:
  - what (activities, priorities, etc.);
  - for whom (beneficiaries, groups/persons);
  - why (objectives, results, etc.);
  - how (strategies);
  - when (timelines);
  - where (place);
  - by who (partners);
  - by what (means and resources).

Presentations of regional conflicts were given by representatives of Boké, N'Zérékoré, Kankan, Kindia, Mamou, Labé et Makona; and those on the mechanisms of conflict management by Néné Moussa Maléya Camara (writer) et Siriman Kouyate (President of the Court of First Instance, Boké).

### **3. Results of the Workshop: Analysis & Strategy**

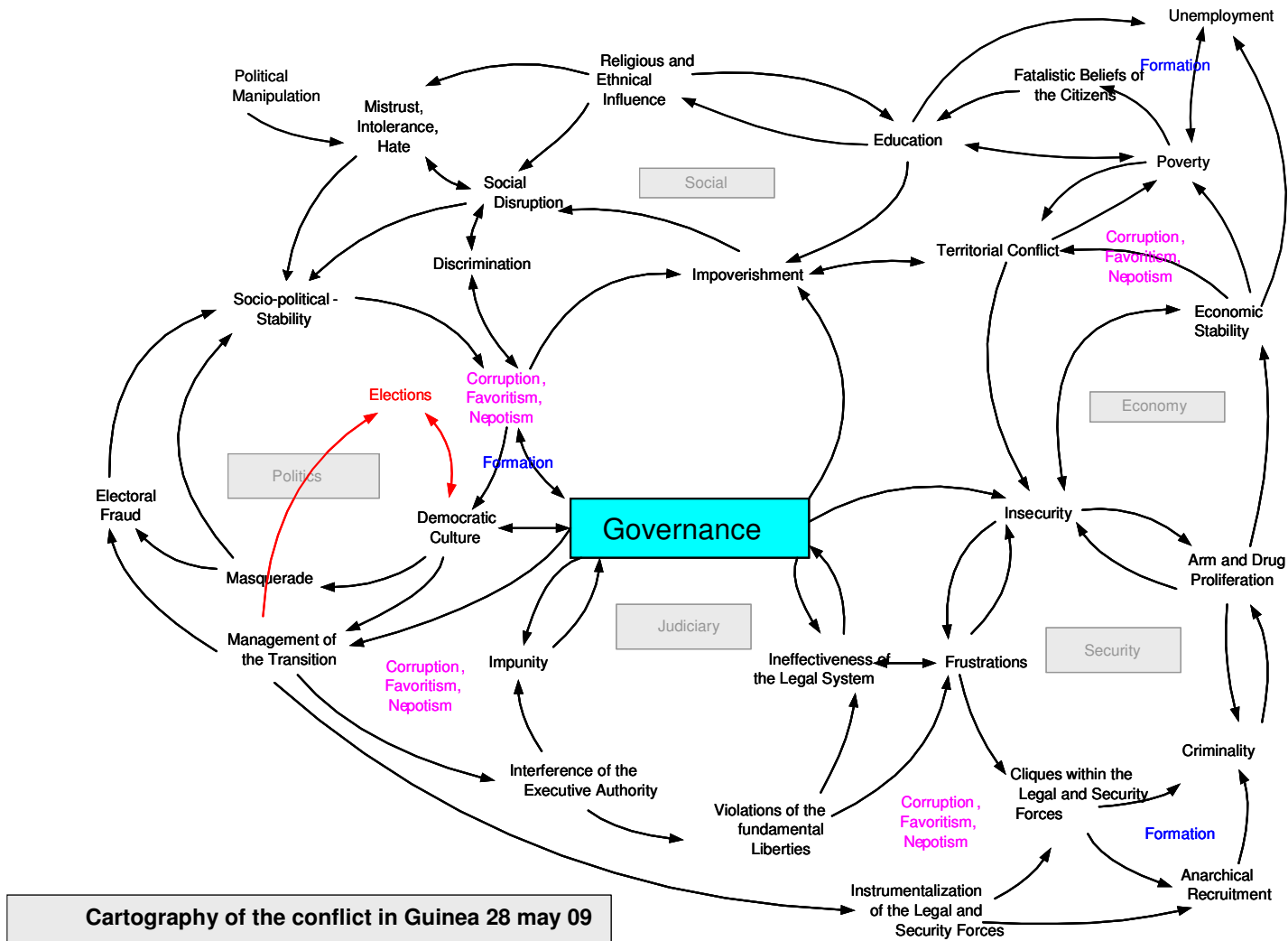
After compiling a list of potential and actual conflicts in Guinea, the participants went on to identify the main areas where these conflicts arise. They determined the following five areas of conflict:

- Politics
- Economy
- Society
- Security
- Judicial System

In five working groups, the participants discussed and replied to the following questions for their respective area:

- Determine the relationship of causality to effect between the identified factors.
- Which factor is central one?
- Starting from the central factor, determine how these factors are contributing to the overall national conflict.

The groups discussed the specific factors of each conflict area and their links and dynamics with the purpose of designing a dynamic sectoral model. Merging the five sectoral models eventually resulted in the following overall conflict model for Guinea:



After building a comprehensive model of conflict dynamics in Guinea, the participants went back into their working groups and started to develop strategies (program objectives and activities) to address these conflict factors.

In the following plenary discussion the sectoral strategies were critically assessed and the participants concluded that the following five objectives were quintessential for the consolidation of peace in Guinea:

- i. Return to constitutional order through elections
- ii. Establish an effective and credible legal system
- iii. Reform defense and security forces
- iv. Promote political and judicial good governance
- v. Provide Guinea with a new constitution

For the participants, the most important short-term activity in the current situation is the return to constitutional order through free and fair elections, which should take place as soon as possible. It was argued that such elections constitute the very foundation for all other reforms needed.

#### **4. Recommendations for Short- and Long-Term BEFORE Actions**

With regard to the realization of the five main objectives, the workshop participants drafted an action plan for peace and stability fostering activities in Guinea. Due to time constraints but also due to the fact that objectives and planned activities need to be discussed with other stakeholders who were not present at the workshop, the action plan below is by no means exhaustive. It provides only a first draft of possible activities, their anticipated results, the duration of the implementation, and the responsibilities for implementers. It will be the team of facilitators and the BEFORE Secretariat’s task to further develop, refine and finalize the action plan during the coming weeks.

It seems to be obvious, however, that under the given circumstances quickly conducted free and credible elections are of great importance. Furthermore, the elections constitute the fundamental basis for further reforms outlined above. The International Contact Group on Guinea and development partners are providing support to the election process. We suggest that in the short-run BEFORE supports the on-going initiatives of the actors on place (CENI, IFES and SFCG) with its analytical and technical capacities on the prevention of violent conflict. In a long-term perspective, however, BEFORE should follow the facilitators’ recommendations and consider concentrating on the following issues and activities:

Strengthen good governance capacities:

Specific tactics include the following activities:

- Organize a national consultation group to define the “new” State and how to achieve it and, subsequently, to support successive activities;
- Organize trainings for key-actors on separation of ruling powers and responsibility with a system of checks and balances;
- Organize civic education for the police force on the rights and duties of citizens and of security forces.

Promote political dialogue:

Specific tactics include the following activities:

- Promote a dialogue on the establishment of the new national consensus (particularly in regards to a new social contract between the State and civil society);

- Organize trainings for political leaders on the management of political parties.

Strengthen the legal system:

Specific tactics include the following activities:

- Organize a training program for magistrates on practical legal skill development, such as the independence of judicial personnel in a state based on the rule of law;
- Promote dialogue between the magistracy and citizens on their perceptions and practices
- Promote a deep sense of responsibility among the magistrates on the importance of independence and impartiality among justices.

Support mediation:

Specific tactics include the following activities:

- Identify and empower local mediators in the resolution of the identified conflicts;
- Create a space of cooperation between the judiciary and the mediators;
- Raise the awareness of religious leaders and the traditional elders on the synergies among politics, ethnicity, democracy and religion.

## First draft of the Action Plan for the consolidation of Peace in Guinea (work in progress)

Objectives	Activities	Duration of the Implementation				Cost	Anticipated Results	Responsible of the Implementation	
		Tr1	Tr2	Tr3	Tr4			Local Institutions	Partners
i. Return to Constitutional Order through Elections	Continue and complete electoral registration	X							
	Process and update the electoral roll						Electoral roll is available for public	CENI, MATAP	International partners
	Divide the electoral registry into constituencies & identification of polling stations						Voters know about the polling stations		
	Post the electoral lists	X					voters know the location of their respective polling stations		
	Distribute voting cards								
	Raise civil society awareness in regards to the elections						Massive participation in the voting		
	Organize elections; including convocate of the electorate, etc.								
	Foster and mobilize resources								
ii. Establish an Effectual and Credible Legal System	Apply, effectively and quickly, the magistracy statute	X					Consecration of the independence of magistrates	State	
	Refine relationships among different actors within the entire legal system	X	X				Better functioning of the legal system	State & partners	
	Improve the working and living conditions of magistrates and judicial auxiliaries	X	X	X	X		Integrity and self-efficiency of magistrates and others judicial auxiliaries		
	Continue education of magistrates and registrars	X	X	X	X				

Objectives	Activities	Duration of the Implementation				Cost	Anticipated Results	Responsible for the Implementation	
		Tr1	Tr2	Tr3	Tr4			Local Institutions	Partners
iii. Strengthen the Capacities of the DSF to Protect the Country's Territorial Integrity, Citizens and Goods	Make known and implement the statutes and regulations of the DSF	X					understanding by the DSF of the statutes and regulations of their unites	Army	Civilo-military Committee & partners
	Clean-up the personnel of DSF in accordance with the texts and regulations of the DSF	X	X				All mistakes of DSF are corrected		
	Set-up organic units	X	X	X	X		Each man and woman belongs to an organic unit		
	Construct barracks and housing for the DSF	X					Every DSF is integrated into army housing		
	Retrieve and integrate military-issued arms in the military-controlled warehouses	X	X	X	X		The arms are retrieved		
	Update the discipline council and the tribunal military tribunal	X							
	Update the National Council of Defense	X					Mastery and respect of military rules and regulations		
	Train and upgrade the DSF within the framework of civic knowledge	X					Patriotism and professional service		

Objectives	Activities	Duration of the Implementation				Cost	Anticipated Results	Responsible for the Implementation	
		Tr1	Tr2	Tr3	Tr4			Local Institutions	Partners
iv. Strengthen political and judicial good governance capacities	Raise awareness among political actors regarding the objectives in the roadmap of the transition	X	X				Defined objectives Defined chronograph Adapted roadmap Setting-up of CNT	Civil society, political parties, CNDD	ICG-Guinea, partners
	Raise public awareness through a campaign			X			public awareness on norms and values of the democratic culture		
	Revise the basic and traditional laws	5 months					Referendum is organized & Laws are adapted	CNT & Partners	
	Raise awareness of the DSF						Mobilization and raised awareness by the DSF		
v. Equip Guinea with a New Constitution	Raise awareness of political actors and military hierarchy						Responsibilities of the actors are clear		
	Bring together a national forum on the Constitution						The concerns of the Guineans with regard to the Constitution is taken into account	Political decision-makers	UNDP, IGC, IFES
	Create of an editorial board of the Constitution								
	Write of the Constitution								
	Distribute to the public the developed text						Guineans understand the content of the constitution and are able to provide input	Concerned ministries, medias, citizens	Development partners
	Adapt the text in relation to the gathered amendments						The text is amended		
	Organize a referendum on the constitution						The constitution is adopted		