

# THE SOCIO-CULTURAL AND SECURITY IMPLICATIONS OF INSTABILITY IN GUINEA ON THE SUB-REGION

*(Côte d'Ivoire, Guinea-Bissau, Liberia, Mali, Sierra Leone  
and Senegal)*



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Cover Design by: Gorée Institut

Graphic Design by: Imprimerie Graphiplus

Printed by: Imprimerie Graphiplus

ISBN:978-2-9535524-2-3

Photo : Cheikh Keita- 'The Hut of the Sacred Forest'

# **THE SOCIO-CULTURAL AND SECURITY IMPLICATIONS OF INSTABILITY IN GUINEA ON THE SUB-REGION**

**(Côte d'Ivoire, Guinée-Bissau, Libéria, Malí, Sierra  
Leone et Senegal)**

This report presents the conclusions of a study commissioned by the Goree Institute and analyzes the socio-cultural and security implications of the instability in Guinea on its neighbors: Côte d'Ivoire, Guinea-Bissau, Liberia, Mali, Sierra Leone and Senegal. The study is based on the general hypothesis that the precarious political and social situation that reigns in Guinea constitutes a serious threat to the internal peace of the six states with which the country shares borders. A crisis in the country will surely bring about an uncontrolled series of conflicts that could disturb the peace processes under way in at least three neighboring countries, Côte d'Ivoire, Liberia and Sierra Leone, and also have serious repercussions on the functioning of the three others, Guinea-Bissau, Mali and Senegal.





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# **ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS (TRANSLATED)**

<b>ADRA:</b>	Adventist Development and Relief Agency
<b>AQIM:</b>	Al-Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb
<b>AU:</b>	African Union
<b>CENI:</b>	Independent National Electoral Commission
<b>CNDD:</b>	National Council for Democracy and Development
<b>CNT:</b>	National Council on Transition
<b>DNF:</b>	National Borders Directorate
<b>ECOMOG:</b>	Economic Community of West African States Cease-Fire Monitoring group
<b>ECOWARN:</b>	Economic Community of West African States Warning and Response Network
<b>ECOWAS:</b>	Economic Community of West African States
<b>ENDA:</b>	Environment and Development Action in the Third World
<b>FN:</b>	New Forces
<b>FIDH:</b>	International Federation for Human Rights
<b>ICRC:</b>	International Committee for the Red Cross
<b>INEP:</b>	National Institute of Research
<b>LURD:</b>	Liberians United for Reconciliation and Democracy
<b>MATAP:</b>	Ministry of Territorial Administration and Political Affairs
<b>MFDC:</b>	Movement of Democratic Forces of Casamance
<b>MPCI:</b>	Patriotic Movement of Côte d'Ivoire
<b>MRU:</b>	Mano River Union
<b>OAU:</b>	Organization of African Unity
<b>NPFL:</b>	National Patriotic Front of Liberia
<b>OGDH:</b>	Guinean Organization for the Defense of Human and Citizens' Rights
<b>PAIGC:</b>	African Party for the Independence of Guinea-Bissau and Cap Verde
<b>PDS:</b>	Senegalese Democratic Party
<b>RPG:</b>	Rally of the Guinean People
<b>RUF:</b>	Revolutionary United Front
<b>SWAC:</b>	Sahel and West Africa Club
<b>UFDG:</b>	Union of Democratic Forces of Guinea
<b>UFR:</b>	Union of Republican Forces
<b>UNDP:</b>	United Nations Development Program
<b>UNFPA:</b>	United Nations Population Fund
<b>UNHCR:</b>	United Nations High Commission on Refugees
<b>UNMIL:</b>	United Nations Mission in Liberia
<b>WABI:</b>	West African Borders and Integration
<b>WANEP:</b>	West African Network for Peace building
<b>WHO:</b>	World Health Organization



# LOCATION MAP: GUINEA AND ITS NEIGHBORS



Côte d'Ivoire • Guinea-Bissau • Liberia • Mali • Sierra Leone • Senegal

**Source:** Human Rights Watch: "Guinea. Dying for Change. Brutality and Repression by Guinean Security Forces in Response to a Nationwide Strike", April 2007, Volume 19, No. 5 (A), p.4. Available on-line at: <http://www.hrw.org/en/node/10973/section/1>



## EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

This report analyzes the socio-cultural and security implications of the instability in Guinea on its neighbors: Côte d'Ivoire, Guinea-Bissau, Liberia, Mali, Sierra Leone and Senegal. The study is based on the general hypothesis that the precarious political and social situation that reigns in Guinea constitutes a serious threat to the internal peace of the six states with which the country shares borders. A crisis in the country will surely bring about an uncontrolled series of conflicts that could disturb the peace processes under way in at least three neighboring countries; Côte d'Ivoire, Liberia and Sierra Leone, and also have serious repercussions on the functioning of the three others, Guinea-Bissau, Mali and Senegal.

One of the arguments of the study is to see whether those populations sharing a common history and undeniable cultural traits can suffer from this instability in spite of the configuration of state borders, their porosity and their presence on both sides of the borders. The deep wounds left by wars in Côte d'Ivoire, Liberia and Sierra Leone can be awoken to the point of leaving all of the sub-region in turmoil. In addition to this fear, one must note that several states still live in a transitional phase towards ideal peace after several decades of troubles (Liberia and Sierra Leone); and that others live in chronic instability linked either to conflicts at the head of the state (Guinea-Bissau), or to rebellions in their peripheral regions (Mali and Senegal).<sup>3</sup> This unprecedented situation of latent or open conflict is a favorable terrain for all attempts at destabilization, from wherever they may come. Thus, it is to be feared that a conflict situation in Guinea could serve as a pretext for the resurgence of dormant networks formed by ex-combatants of these wars, to dislocate the social fabric under reconstruction and to delay ever longer the development of these countries, the majority of which are celebrating their fiftieth anniversary of independence.

The present report saves itself from descriptions of field research led in six countries of the West African sub-region (Côte d'Ivoire, Liberia, Mali, Guinea-Bissau, Sierra Leone and Senegal). It opens with a general introduction that sketches the entirety of the issue and the paradigms that served to harmonize the research, followed by a general overview of the sub-region and the social and political history that is occurring in Guinea. The study then presents three case studies, before ending with a few general recommendations for maintaining peace and security in the sub-region.



# GENERAL INTRODUCTION

## JUSTIFICATIONS FOR THE STUDY AND FIELD RESEARCH PARADIGMS

Political and social instability, a recurring problem in West Africa, is at the basis of the breakdown of societies and of state institutions charged with managing the daily life of populations. Consequently, it is more than obvious to support the idea that no development is foreseeable and no consensus, as broad as it may be, is possible, without peace. Several studies have been conducted to date on the causes and consequences of these conflicts on the evolution of the continent and the West African sub-region. The permanence and latent character of these conflicts deserve continued attention from researchers, civil society actors and public authorities, but also from peoples, in order to anticipate them, thereby attenuating their consequences not only on bilateral relations between states, but also on the relations between populations near borders who are directly involved in these kinds of conflicts. For this work, it was therefore a wise choice to investigate the current situation on the ground in Guinea through an innovative process that consisted in exploring elements that were very often marginal, for example, "psychosocial and cultural" consequences in the short, medium and long term on the entirety of populations in the sub-region.

Indeed, these conflicts bring about a massive displacement of persons and, in spite of the existence of strong and multifaceted sociological and cultural links between host populations and refugees, it can occur that conflicts of interest arise to the point that public authorities and actors engaged are caught off guard in face of these complexities. The examples of Liberia, Sierra Leone and Côte d'Ivoire and their socio-political consequences are there to teach us about the possible excesses of these conflicts. We can multiply examples from across all of Africa.

One must admit, on the basis of the first field observations, that our approach presented real problems in terms of full satisfaction.<sup>4</sup>

As it was indicated in the Terms of Reference, this study should have taken place over three months (May, June and July 2010). Five priority objectives were targeted in the present study. Beyond the deepening of our knowledge about the impact of an eventual conflict and instability that could ensue for all of the countries in the sub-region, the accent was to be placed on the psychosocial and cultural consequences in the short, medium and long-term of an open conflict in Guinea. For us, it was therefore imperative to pay particular attention to these often neglected aspects in the interventions of NGOs, public authorities and different donors that come to the rescue of the displaced populations directly or indirectly threatened by the intensification and extension of conflicts in this part of the African continent.



But the political circumstances in Guinea significantly influenced not only the course of the research, but also the general orientation of the issue itself and thus on the delivery of the reports. It seemed indispensable to us to reflect more on the issue of the presidential election in June 2010 and to observe the different manners that formed around the political compromises to engage Guinea in a dynamic of stability benefiting the entirety of countries of the sub-region. Following the internal evolution of politics in Guinea, a slight reorientation of the issue imposed itself. The new internal dynamic demanded another vision that would not, in a systematic manner, break the dynamic underlying the Terms of Reference and the primary orientations assigned to the researchers. The situation seemed "unprecedented" to us in the sense that all or almost all reports written in recent years on Guinea inspired by a series of events, including the most recent, the massacres of September 28, 2009, anticipated the worst for the country, even chaos.

First of all, beyond the exploration at the level of civil society actors, public authorities and other participants, the researchers were able to make clear, in their work, the general sentiment of the border populations who are most directly concerned by the massive flows of refugees with whom they share, very often, a long history. The most instructive examples in this matter remain Liberia and Côte d'Ivoire whose situations are explained here by the telling of the lives of foreigners who live in these countries trying to move along tranquilly to lasting peace, and Guinea-Bissau, where civil society unanimously defended the idea that the worst would not arrive in Guinea.

Next, we began from the hypothesis according to which the socio-historical evidence "suffered", very often, from incomprehension and even that competition appeared after installation of the refugees in the host country and the attempts at reconstruction of the broken down social fabric. Indeed, it is not rare to note the appearance of conflicts of practices between refugees and populations that host them after only a few years of settlement, further complicating the modes of intervention of states, traditional authorities and non-governmental organizations. It was thus wise to analyze how these conflicts arise and what solutions to put into place to cut off at birth the reciprocal enmities that come to disturb actions of peace and human security conducted in the field.

The other fundamental question to which we had to respond was to find out how populations with a common ethnicity and culture could find themselves in competition to the point that their relationships came into conflict and even became too problematic to resolve. This question could only find a semblance of an answer by analyzing with detachment and depth the different imbrications that interact in the field to produce complex situations that disconcert observers of both social behaviors and modes of construction of new solidarities born of war. It seemed important to us to highlight that, in spite of common cultural and geographic identities, this part of the continent remains far from being integrated. Differences linked to the nationalities and citizenships of different peoples resurface and subjectivities arising from the competition of national sovereignties



make conflicting dynamics arise with particularly dramatic consequences. This is why it was, for us, wiser to take into account the different ideological, moral, ethnic, religious and political stakes that make up the basis of the "loss of control" observed in several countries of the sub-region to the point that the prolongation of their conflicts makes security policy for persons and goods difficult. By interviewing different people involved in NGO work and personalities from public authorities and populations, we realized that, in the majority of cases, it was the politicians and those engaged in the shadows of traffickers that perfectly manipulated either ethnicity, religion or the status of a foreigner or native, to satisfy their plans. The example of Côte d'Ivoire in this domain is very informative on this issue.<sup>5</sup>

To grasp a fair picture of the engagements of different people, it was necessary to go beyond the discourses of technicians in humanitarian aid, the realities in the field and the fundamental contradictions that exist between laws and reality: the instrumentalization of aid, the legitimacy of the border outlines, the anchoring of the idea of a nation and the different identities that cross one another in sociologically complex spaces. The notions of "common identity" of inter-ethnic joking relationships and of the interpenetration of cultures often lose their integrating values when they could have or should have been, in the minds of many, the bases upon which the actors should build their methods of intervention. But their motivations lose some of their pertinence and become non-operational in the case of conflicts aggravated by political and social practices that are not very orthodox.

All of these examples must make us reflect, and allow one, by acting ahead of time, to analyze the role of stigmas and other induced effects that tend to dismantle the structure of solidarities. The wills of integration of peoples suffer, very often, from a lack of acceptance of the realities generated by these conflicts on the ground and on the populations situated on borders as shifting as those that separate the countries of West Africa.

Driven by the requirement to produce a detailed report on the basis of results obtained on the ground and by the necessity to place a particular accent on "specific recommendations" capable of allowing for the construction of an effective execution plan for an accompanying program of an efficient early warning policy in order to overcome the different deteriorations that these "conflicts in practice" experience and that appear, with time, in the West African space, we have chosen the option of questioning the pertinence of a few concepts. This option has proved to be of great use, especially in the study of the specific case of the Mano River Basin, notably in Liberia and Sierra Leone.

Finally, the situation in Guinea seemed paradoxical to us in the sense that it was impossible to master the political agendas and issues that were developing since, alongside the avowed optimism of many, one could sense the most alarming pessimism from another side, or from the angle at which we were trying to capture this still evasive reality. It was then necessary to play with time in order not to fall into the trap of making an overly hurried analysis that risked not taking into account the real complexity and "dangerousness" of the situation.<sup>6</sup>



Consequently, in order to understand the stakes and challenges that weigh on West African countries on the basis of the political and social stakes in Guinea, it is indispensable to sketch an overview of the situation in the sub-region in light of the conflicts that have, for a long time, upset all certitudes and analyses about stability and peace.

# I

## **THE COMPLEX AND WEIGHTY GEOPOLITICAL<sup>7</sup> PAST OF THE SUB-REGION<sup>8</sup>**

As of the beginning of the 1990s, conflicts in spiral shook the whole West African sub-region and lasted more than a decade; the scars are still visible. Indeed, West Africa became, during this whole period, the battlefield of wars of violence never equaled before that brought about the displacement of millions of individuals fleeing the most abominable acts of violence. Two conflicts cast a pall over Liberia and Sierra Leone.<sup>9</sup> Though these conflicts have acknowledged internal causes, they are nonetheless also fed by external logics and the competing interests of networks that have different ramifications in the clans that are formed at the heart of neighboring countries. These networks supply their "correspondents" with arms and, through their combined actions, dismantle social ties and the interdependences that nourish them. More than a million refugees were displaced towards neighboring Côte d'Ivoire and Guinea, putting in danger not only the demographic equilibrium, but also re-writing the land maps<sup>10</sup>, economic circuits and social solidarities in these two countries.

If the conflicts in Liberia and Sierra Leone are so worrying, we are, nonetheless, entitled to not forget the local but old conflict in Casamance and the armed mutiny that was rife in Guinea-Bissau in 1998, plunging the country into a situation of non-war and non-peace. Mali, on its side, has been living a peace process since the end of the Tuareg rebellion. The only problem today that the country is facing, and that it shares with others, (notably Mauritania<sup>11</sup>) remains the crucial problem of the AQIM.<sup>12</sup>

These two events also brought about a massive flow of migrants, forced to flee violent acts. They were estimated at 200, 300 refugees. This entirely new situation which led to a forced re-writing of the demographic map is the basis of heavy consequences not only for displaced persons, but also for host populations. If many observers qualify these wars as "ethnic" in an abrupt manner, one must note that they also answer to other descriptions that are often neglected in the analyses: war for the control of resources (diamonds and wood), kidnappings of young idle people who are easily enrolled by the "militias" that multiply and the trafficking networks that, not only, diversify, but also specialize in the distribution of criminal products.

Consequently, it is difficult to assign them a singular and reductive "civil state" of any kind, which does not take account (or takes little account) of the complexity of recruitments, real or avowed intentions, multiethnic origins of combatants and the political projects that they envision in the short, medium and long term. This reality poorly masks the real intentions of leaders who receive favors and support from multinational



corporations that extract the wealth of countries in war. States, having become almost obsolete, and the national political class implicated in the chaos, corruption and drug trafficking, further complicate the life of the abandoned populations at the mercy of the “merchants of horror” who proceed to plunder, rape and murder if they do not enlist children by force. It is symptomatic to state that, according to several studies that have been realized in this period, at the end of the 1990s, more than a third of the refugee population was located in West Africa. These displaced persons have either crossed borders or gone over to other zones in their own country.<sup>13</sup> They become exiles from the interior caught in a stranglehold in a war between rival factions. One of the fundamental elements that must be noted at this level is that the populations do not go far from their former areas of residence and remain within a few kilometers of the border. They thus benefit from sociological proximity and from tacit and legendary hospitality and remain targets of rebel and brigand attacks. If they had left for more tranquility they find themselves trapped by their vulnerability.<sup>14</sup> The only solution that remains for organizations in charge of managing them is to displace them further into the country with all that that brings about in terms of constraints on all levels. The example of Casamance refugees in the Guinea-Bissau territory illustrates this well, according to one of our inside sources, a manager from an international NGO (Adventist Development and Relief Agency or ADRA). Even if the governments and populations host the displaced persons in a generous manner, it should be noted that the amplitude of the flows and, above all, the duration of the stays, further complicate their situation that should only have been “transitory”. Families host many refugees and thus refugee camps empty continually and end up becoming deserted. But hosting capacities are generally quickly reached thus leading to new arrivals integrating the abandoned camps and to precarious and uncertain living conditions (shortages of drinking water and food and of primary health care and school infrastructures for children of school age).

Beginning in 1989, the war in Liberia opposed forces of the National Patriotic Front of Liberia (NPFL), dominated by the Gio and the Mano ethnicities, and the forces loyal to the president Samuel Doe (dominated by the ethnic Krahn). The war was characterized by an atrocious repression against civilians, the total destruction of goods and the recruitment of child soldiers, boys and girls<sup>15</sup> indiscriminately, who killed without worrying about the value and the sacredness of human life. One estimates the loss of human life at more than 150,000 souls in eight years of war and more than a million and a half displaced persons either internally within the country or into bordering countries. Indeed, more than 40% of these refugees find their safety precarious in Côte d'Ivoire and in Guinea; even if one must note that they also went further away, notably to Guinea-Bissau and to Senegal. In the latter cases, they are “invisible” to the extent that many of them go to the capitals<sup>16</sup> and melt into the masses of citizens in these respective countries.

The Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), a sub-regional body, was concerned about the situation that prevailed in Sierra Leone, this was why, through a common agreement, its members judged it necessary to send a West



African intervention force known under the abbreviation ECOMOG. This force besieged the capital and left more than 95% of territory in the hands of armed factions that reached eleven in number in 1994. This real limit to the will of intervention aggravated the situation of war, and the civilian populations suffered even more so from this since the questions raised remained insoluble, and true horror was installed beyond any possibility of a detailed account. Indeed, crimes are committed away from the cameras and microphones of the media.<sup>17</sup> It was only later, in 1996 that the principal factions signed a peace agreement that brought about the election of Charles Taylor to the presidency of the Republic in 1997. But Taylor established what specialists call the "predator model of rebellion". Indeed, he considerably enriched himself between 1992 and 1996. It was thus during this somber period that Guinea hosted more than 650,000 refugees from Liberia and Sierra Leone, and Côte d'Ivoire close to 360,000. But an unfortunate declaration of the deceased president will wake up xenophobia<sup>18</sup> and obligate Liberian refugees, accused of upsetting order in Guinea, to leave for their country of origin, exposing them to criminal laws of opposing factions.

The psychological consequences of this speech continue to be vivid in minds. Indeed, relations between Liberia and Sierra Leone return to testimonies that show that Liberian citizens having lived this humiliation are not ready to welcome eventual refugees coming from Guinea. Thus, in spite of traditional mechanisms of hospitality and mutual assistance, an unfortunate declaration suffices to slow down the secular, social mobility based on a common history and tradition. It is superfluous to highlight that political discourse can clash with the real intentions of peoples, and create ill will or wake up that which has long been hidden away in memories. Settling these enmities can pose insurmountable practical or even ethical problems.

All of these wars feed major trafficking networks in arms, diamonds and cocaine, having obtained blessings and the necessary support in neighboring countries. The war feeds "trafficking economies" whose tentacles reach beyond "natural" borders and connect to the world of cartels. Many, if not to say the majority, of these "barons" are linked, closely or indirectly, to acting heads of state, either in Guinea, or in Côte d'Ivoire, or in Burkina Faso and far-off Libya. The example of relations between Conté and Taylor, between Taylor and Robert Gueï and the latter with the head of the Sierra Leonean Revolutionary United Front, illustrate how interests at the top can be complicit to the point that finding one's way presents real problems. All of this makes the roles of West African mediators, civil society and international organizations difficult. The play of interests throws off all observers at the very moment that the populations of the countries concerned are fighting to escape from this bulldozer that goes beyond the borders of countries at war. The war "regionalizes" itself and encompasses these border areas that are hard to control by the armies implicated in trafficking.

The persistent uncertainty about an eventual conflict in Guinea comes to be inscribed against this background. This is why it appeared indispensable to come back, in a succinct manner, to the principal steps that have led to its birth and persistence. Indeed, the probability of an outbreak of violence in Guinea is still possible and fully justifies the concerns.



## II

# SOCIOPOLITICAL CONTEXT OF A JUSTIFIED UNCERTAINTY

## A) - FROM THE HISTORICAL "NO" OF SÉKOU TOURÉ TO THE SEPTEMBER 28, 2009 MASSACRES: 52 YEARS OF WASTE!

"Through the trials and tribulations of History, each people moves towards their own light, acting according to their particular characteristics and their principal aspirations without necessarily showing the real motives that make them act. Our spirit, while broken in to the implacable logic of means and ends, as well as to the hard disciplines of daily realities, is constantly attracted by the major necessities of Human Elevation and Emancipation."<sup>19</sup> Sékou Touré held this speech 52 years ago in front of General de Gaulle (August 25, 1958). He concluded the speech with a claim to the right of independence in a tone that was to the General's taste. The "No" would triumph in Guinea on September 28 of the same year. Its logical sequel was the "demonization" of his power with the blessing of a few heads of state from this part of the African continent. As of this point, Sékou Touré was going to drive his country to independence with his own means, an independence that would be followed by a cascade of others in the entire francophone West African sub-region. The ill will between the former metropolis as center and the new independent Guinea was punctuated by attempts of overthrowing the Sékou Touré regime, attempts, in all likelihood, originating in the African Cell of the Élysée palace, led by Jacques Foccart. This situation aggravated the interior state of affairs which ended in a blind repression of the forces opposed to his regime. Another result was the father of independent Guinea placing himself in the Socialist camp and governing with politics of distrust that led to an unprecedented terror whose sad symbol is the famous Camp Boiro Mamadou located in Conakry.

Soon to be more than a year ago, on September 28, 2009, the junta that arrived in power in December 2008 under the "orders" of Captain Moussa Dadis Camara, after the death of Lansana Conté, committed a massacre of civilians in the famous stadium of the Guinean capital, Conakry. More than a hundred dead, thousands wounded and uncountable other victims of rape and sexual abuse of another kind was the result.<sup>20</sup> This out of the ordinary event was related throughout the world and constitutes, in this way, a logical sequel in the recent history of the country. It is the event underlying the legitimate concerns on the part of all international observers.



## **B) - DADIS CAMARA IN POWER: FROM THE POLITICAL "SHOW" TO THE AUTHORITARIAN EXCESSES**

After 24 years of rule, Lansana Conté left behind him a country on the verge of explosion. A captain of forty years arrives in power in his own way.

The captain himself, in person, announced his taking control of the country over the radio waves. The power change was characterized, like with all coups d'états, by the dissolution of government and of all the institutions of the Republic. He announced the birth of a "new Guinea" and, in front of the press and a crowd that had come to cheer him on, declared: "I am convinced, reassured that I am President of the Republic, the President of the National Council for Democracy and Development (CNDD)". Unknown by many up until this point, the captain Dadis Camara became, in less than two days, the President of the CNDD and directed the country with his style that was such that derision became a central element of his management of power. The "Dadis show" was the darling of Internet users of the world. Indeed, all of his outings were retransmitted on national television and "amused" not only the Guinean people, but also the entirety of those interested in the internal evolution of this country. He is from Kouré in the region of N'Zérékoré (in the Forest Region of Guinea) situated around 1000 km southeast of Conakry. He played a role as a "ring leader"; it appears, in 2007 during the revolt of soldiers who demanded their back pay and better treatment. He had, during the month of May of the same year, participated in the mutiny of soldiers that ended in deaths after a confrontation with police. He also seems to have played a role qualified as "important" in the "calming" of heated minds. This position as "intermediary" allowed him to have a sort of influence over the rest of the troops to the point of declaring after having taken power, "I tell you, I have not come to power by accident, it is in relation to many qualities, I am a patriot. (...) There were three successive events that occurred, and it was me, Captain Dadis, who calmed these events." All of this agitation only hid very poorly the generational dissent that had been eating away at the army for several years.

This form of "tacit" legitimacy did not, however, guarantee him the complete mastery of the elements of the army that act on the limits of all orders and that behave as if on conquered land, even believing that they have every right in a distraught country falling prey to the most alarming concerns. Besides, this period is characterized by a heavy atmosphere that drove some worried populations to leave Guinean territory to "take refuge" in bordering countries. Indeed, during this period, a movement of population is noted on the Senegalese-Guinean border. It was necessary to prepare for any eventuality. Dadis Camara took refuge with his faithful companions in the Alpha Yaya Diallo camp, which became the headquarters of the CNDD. The captain promised to fight against all forms of waste, smugglers and, above all, against drug traffickers. Indeed, in the model of many other countries in the sub-region, Guinea had become a real hub for hard drugs.<sup>21</sup>



In spite of all of these declarations of intent, with great pomp, on national television and in front of the national and international press,<sup>22</sup> Dadis Camara only inspired low levels of confidence in politicians, observers from the West African sub-region (ECOWAS and the AU), and in the international community. A painful event will come to break this frenzy of the young captain who arrived in power as if "by accident" and who confirms even more the justified fear of national, sub-regional and international opinion.

## **C) - SEPTEMBER 28, 2009 MASSACRES<sup>23</sup> OR JUSTIFIED REASONS FOR FEAR**

Summoned by the Guinean political opposition, the population of the capital traveled en masse to group together in the stadium on the 28 of September to protest against the military junta and to demand democracy. The toll of the military attack was heavy. By opening fire and shooting point blank, the army took the lives of 158 victims and wounded a thousand. After this massacre the "red berets" proceeded to massive and arbitrary arrests of political activists, to collective rapes, robbery and torture. Journalists were forbidden to recount the facts of what they experienced. The captain pretended not to control his army and absolved his aide-de-camp, Toumba Diakité, who had supervised the operations of the massacres in person.

The day after these killings, several Western governments suspended their military cooperation and demanded that their nationals leave Guinea since danger threatened. These events were quickly qualified as "crimes against humanity", the terse formula applied to this type of behavior of another era. An international inquiry commission was established by the UN that was concerned by the pernicious situation that reigned in the capital and at the heart of the army itself. These killings lead the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs to declare that, "the episode of the stadium concerns Guineans and the entire world, as it is a crime against humanity", in front of an audience of journalists, members of the European-American Press Club. Human Rights Watch then published a background report that established in plain language the direct implication of the army in these killings. The observers did not hesitate to affirm that the acts were intentional. The most visible opponents were fought and some of them were only in safety after their departure to be cared for in hospitals elsewhere in the sub-region or in France. This was the case for Cellou Dalein Diallo, the possible future democratically elected president who was evacuated to Dakar before being taken to Paris.

In light of this situation, no one was able to predict the immediate future of Guinea. Many observers judged the immediate solution not to be evident and stated that mistrust remained the order of the day. The strong likelihood of political instability worried the entirety of countries of the sub-region, the African Union, ECOWAS other sub-regional organizations and the international community, who were mobilized to allow Guinea to escape from what was, in their eyes, an insoluble short-term impasse. Indeed, the September 28 massacre was considered an element able to further complicate the situation of blockade that reigned since 1958. From then on, Dadis Camara appropriated his power and led authoritarian policies repressing all attempts



at opposition. Indeed, as Professor Boubacar Barry stated in an interview<sup>24</sup>, "The September 28 massacre further complicates the political impasse that Guinea has put up with since independence in 1958". This massacre caused dread in national and international opinion and seems to be at the heart of worries about an eventual crisis that could be revealed to be uncontrollable. The fact that Dadis Camara is the heir of the two regimes of Sékou Touré and General Lansana Conté does not make the task any easier, even more so since he appears implicated closely in the different disturbances that bloodied Conakry in 2006 and 2007. According to several observers, he prepared quietly over several years the succession of the general, who was bed-ridden and who had retreated to his village. If this hypothesis is difficult to verify, it remains that he managed to arrive, to the detriment of the highest ranks of the army, to the highest office. He knew how to play on the internal divisions of the army and the different clans that make it up. This gangrene that has been maintained for a long time has been perpetuated or even accentuated with his regime. The disorganization is such that it is difficult to maintain the managed control of men in troops who act in a sovereign manner day and night.

## **D) - AN ASSASSINATION ATTEMPT: A "HAPPY"<sup>25</sup> EVENT!**

An event that would change the political situation of Guinea took place in the meantime. On December 3, 2009, Toumba Diakité, the aide-de-camp of Dadis Camara, attempted to assassinate Camara, justifying his act by the fact that Captain Camara wanted to have him bear all the responsibility for the September 28 massacres<sup>26</sup>. Seriously injured, the Captain was evacuated to Morocco where he was hospitalized and would miraculously recover. He accepted to become a medical exile in Burkina Faso, before going to settle there after the first round of presidential elections in Mali<sup>27</sup>. It is undeniable that this attempt at elimination of "he that acted his show" allowed for the acceleration of the sociopolitical situation in Guinea.

General Sékouba Konaté<sup>28</sup> then took command of power and was named "interim" president. Nonetheless, he was considered the strong man of the country<sup>29</sup> even more so as he seemed to have played an important role in taking power at the end of 2008. It was thus in his "medical exile" that the Captain accepted to remain away from the events in Guinea<sup>30</sup> and to follow the evolution of the situation brought about by the aborted attempt by his aide-de-camp to eliminate him.

Blaise Compaoré will be mandated by his peers to manage this situation in order for Guinea to take off and get out of this impasse in which it had been living for going on fifty years. The Ouagadougou Accords would thus come to clarify the situation and give back hope to see this country entering into a cycle of peace and sustainable development. These accords, signed in mid-January 2010 in Ouagadougou, thus constituted a real success that allowed to measure not only the degree of cohesion of the CNDD, but also the heavy responsibility that came to the vital forces of opposition. Indeed, it fell to the latter the duty of showing, in

front of all actors, their capacities to overcome different divisions in order to give back to the Guinean people the taste for a life without worry and in serenity. In spite of all that one could reproach, before, of Captain Dadis, one had to admit that by accepting to participate in the signing of the accords, he showed the world his patriotism and political realism. After this signature, Captain Dadis Camara made a solemn declaration in which he invited all political actors and members of the CNDD to show more "loyalty, fidelity and sincerity towards all of the Guinean people." Without peace in Guinea, the situation in West Africa would always remain under the threat of a possibility of instability whose consequences for people will be without possible comparison.

In spite of his physical condition, he knew how to use the necessary words to encourage all Guineans to "build" their nation in solidarity and unity. With this historical agreement, Blaise Compaoré and Burkina Faso marked a great occasion in the entire West African sub region. Blaise received the deserved tribute of several personalities among who was the President of Liberia, Mrs. Johnson Sirleaf, whose country, a direct neighbor of Guinea, had experienced a decade of civil war with scars still visible.

Beyond the sub-region, the international community as a whole congratulated itself on these accords. Indeed, they offer "to Guinea, a chance to start again with renewed vigor, especially for the vital forces that now have the ball in their court. It was them who had shown interest in the designation of Sékouba Konaté as successor of Captain Dadis Camara at the head of the CNDD and, therefore of the state structure. Presently, it will be necessary for them to find men and women capable of leading the transition safely and soundly. It is desirable that these accords not be torpedoed on the ground by the inconsistency of political actors. In terms of the delay of the transition, six months seems reasonable. Different factors were doubtlessly taken into account. First of all, the rainy season known as being devastating in Guinea. Next is the configuration of the political landscape. Indeed, the country has lived in relative freedom since the Conté era and accomplishments exist. It will be advisable to revisit them and put finishing touches on them: legislation and the functioning of political parties, electoral commissions, texts of laws and electoral lists, etc. A basic structure of work can be completed in the planned timelines without losing time. It remains for the vital forces to know how to measure the importance of their role and to take responsibility for finding those who, in their name, can help to forge the future of Guinea. Since, as highlighted by Captain Dadis Camara at the signature of the Ouagadougou Accords, "a man dies, a nation remains".<sup>31</sup>

Sékouba Konaté, thereafter leader of the country, rolled out his program that consisted in respecting the initial engagements of the CNDD. He established an authority charged with watching over the positive functioning of institutional reforms before leading to a first democratic election in Guinea. The establishment of the National Council on Transition (CNT) directed by the labor leader, Rabiataou Serah Diallo, the establishment of the Independent National Electoral Commission (CENI)<sup>32</sup> and the nomination of a new Prime Minister, Jean Marie Doré are the pledges to guaranteeing a real success in the Guinean transition. The situation is going to develop quickly and allow for the political staff to refine their strategy of conquering the Guinean electorate.



## **E) - THE JUNE 27 ELECTION: LEGITIMATE HOPES FOR LASTING STABILITY**

We can hope that Guinea is on its way to escape the impasse after 50 years of somersaults and internal tensions that have characterized it for all this time. The assassination attempt on Captain Moussa Dadis Camara was, paradoxically, an event of prime importance in the acceleration of the internal political and social evolution of Guinea. The arrival in power of General Sékouba Konaté allows a grain of hope regarding the promises made by the CNDD to organize free and democratic elections that would allow for civilians to take back power. Indeed, the General, by taking the reins of power, is attempting to clean up the situation and has begun internal reconstruction of the army whose characteristic indiscipline was already denounced to such an extent that Captain Dadis, after the September 28 massacre, declared to the international media not to control his army, which, it seems, is infiltrated by former combatants of sub-regional wars.

Salutary compromises gave back guarantees to the political class, international opinion and ECOWAS actors implicated in the search for harmonization of the political life of the country. The withdrawal of Dadis from the scene, for convalescence, completes the hope born at the heart of the Guinean people and among actors of the West African sub-regional civil society, especially those of the countries covered by this study.<sup>33</sup>

After several months of hesitation under cover of imminent tension, the Guineans are finally able to go to the ballot box to elect, for the first time, after fifty years of independence, he who will preside over the destiny of the country for the five years to come. The June 27 elections were a test for more than ten million Guineans since they constituted the last phase of a process of transition installed by the junta under the leadership of Sékouba Konaté and the supervision of the National Council of Transition (CNT). If the president Rabiou Serah Diallo<sup>34</sup> feared confrontations between communities, one must recognize that the voting took place under relative calm in spite of the imperfections and accusations of fraud that led to the resignation of a member of the Constitutional Council. The occurrence of the elections took a central importance in the accord negotiated between ECOWAS, Blaise Compaoré, General Sekouba Konaté and Dadis Camara. It was according to this "historical" accord that a presidential decree set the date of June 27, 2010 as that of the first round. This date was respected and the Guineans went en masse to vote for the candidate of their choice.<sup>35</sup> It is evident that the fear of turmoil remains worrying, to the extent that between the two rounds anything is possible and that the whole situation depended and still depends on the will of the political leaders to unite their forces, quiet their dissent and work towards a future of calm for Guinea in a peaceful West African space. Even though the date of the second round was moved back to mid-September (September 19, 2010) and then pushed back to a later date, one must admit that the beginning of a solution to the structural crisis of the Guinean state is under way. The building of internal peace no longer depends only on the will of political actors from the

vital forces who have been fighting the authoritarian excesses of past regimes since the beginning. This can only be possible by also taking account of sub-regional actors better placed to weigh in on the balance for peace building. The visit of the presidents of Mali, Amadou Toumani Touré<sup>36</sup>, and of the African Union, Jean Ping, must serve as an indispensable pledge of the reinforcement of the entente between political leaders. The heads of state of all of the six countries covered in the study must, together, reach an agreement to participate in the calming of the political climate in Guinea.

The disagreements between leaders, the "fatal weapon" of the ethnicization of voting, and the complexities of the networks of traffickers should not take precedence in the search for the reassurance of the people so that in the end, the fifty years of independence do not remain only a time of counting conflicts and victims. Let us hope that the violent horizon that AQIM attempts to maintain in this part of the continent not be an occasion to recruit combatants from among the idle youth of the countries of West Africa<sup>37</sup>. If ever that were the case, AQIM will have the good fortune of extending its space of "blooming" and further breaking down the process of peace under way<sup>38</sup> in this part of the continent. Finally, to reinforce human security in West Africa and to avert the threat of destabilization, it is necessary to establish a joint and conscientious staff and, above all, to encourage the birth of disciplined armies resolutely turned towards the reinforcement of peace. Those are the only decisions that will assure the birth of a healthy environment to encourage development. In any case, the tact, balance and listening capacity of the Senegalese general, Mr. Lamine Cissé<sup>39</sup>, are real guarantees for his mediation in the reconstruction of the army<sup>40</sup>. Also, the recent evolution and opening of the Guinea-Bissau army to all the ethnicities of the country set up the outlines of real hope, even if it continues to suffer from a structural undersupply<sup>41</sup> linked to the ban on arms sales to countries as decided by international courts.

In any case, the results of the ballot boxes rewrite the political and even ethnic map of Guinea. Indeed, the former Prime Minister, Cellou Dalein Diallo, of the Union of Democratic Forces of Guinea (UFDG), came in at the head with 43.63% of the vote, followed by far from the charismatic opponent Alpha Condé of the Rally of the Guinean People (RPG) who had less than 18.25% of the vote.<sup>42</sup> The UFDG succeeded in signing an agreement with Sidya Touré<sup>43</sup> of the Union of Republican Forces (UFR) who came in third place with 13.06% of votes. Many observers think that the favorite thus signs an alliance of importance that will weigh in with all its weight on the second round. Even if the negotiations were long and difficult, the two heads of parties succeeded in smoothing things over to come to an agreement on a plan for the government and a share of tasks. Nonetheless, Cellou held that it is not because of "calculations or trading of positions of responsibility [that they] decided to undertake this alliance. (...) If we unite together, with our talents, our experiences, our resources, together it will be for the benefit of the development of Guinea." After a commentary diffused on the UFDG site, the party of Sidya Touré held that "Their program [of UFDG] joins that defended by the candidate of the UFR during the campaign of the first round of the presidential elections. Their determination to share the responsibility of the business of the country with us in the future government is real and without ambiguity. From this fact, the UFR commits to an electoral alliance at the sides of the UFDG and in a contract with



the government of the future legislation." As for Alpha Condé, he established ties with a former Prime Minister of Conté, Lansana Kouyaté, who came in fourth place with 7.04% of the vote. And yet, it was "unimaginable" that the two men sign this strategic alliance to the extent that they were also presented as hardcore "enemies". Beyond all caricature, serious ideological divergences oppose them.

While the former Prime Minister advocated the unity of the entirety of Guinean communities, Alpha Condé had left high and dry a few regions of the country, more specifically the Fouta Djallon region. Even more "seriously", Alpha Condé, at the beginning of the month of June, declared that a griot could not lead the country, referring to the cast of origin of Lansana Kouyaté. In addition, a rather vindictive text circulates on the site of the RPG and directly attacks the former Prime Minister<sup>44</sup> It remains that the deleterious situation of before the alliance was quickly forgotten and gave way to political logic that take precedence over all other considerations. Indeed, according to several analysts, Lansana Kouyaté, is aiming far. He shares the same electoral stronghold as Alpha Condé (Upper Guinea) and can thus position himself in a sustainable manner on the political-social chessboard of this region and become the "representative" of the Maninkas.

Beyond this purely local aspect, it is to be mentioned that an aging Condé could allow Kouyaté to inherit his national and international aura. This may explain that Kouyaté can declare that the attacks of Condé were not meant for him. Political realism wins over personal attacks. During the signature of the strategic alliance protocol, the former Prime Minister declared that his choice was guided by "the vote of activists interviewed at the grassroots level, inside and outside of the country".<sup>45</sup> The future of Guinea seems to play out in the peaceful conduct of the second round of the elections and the acceptance of the results that will come from the ballot boxes. Evidently, it is allowed to hope that everything will go in the right direction to the extent that the mediators can calm the spirits of all so that peace and serenity can triumph over passions.

## **F) - A WEIGHTY SECOND ROUND: TURNING POINT OR CHAOS?**

Since the publication of results by the CENI, the heads of the political parties have been multiplying contacts and declarations. The prevarications that flew regarding the exact date of the second round allowed doubt to prevail on the wills of all sides. Regrettable disagreements appeared and unfortunate declarations on the part of not only Prime Minister Jean Marie Doré, but also from CENI, and CNT and other political actors created such a confusion that protests arose from all over. This situation led many observers to judge that it was opportune to avoid falling into what some call "the Ivorian syndrome".<sup>46</sup>

Today, after so much waiting, the date of September 19 has been set back sine die. In any case, alliances are being made between the different candidates and this seems to foretell "reconciliation", even momentary, between the political

leaders whose dispersion was making doubt reign. It remains that questions are still open in that the foundations of the new constitution must be perpetuated to allow Guinea to escape definitively from the vicious circle of violence and the concerns that result from it in the sub-region and in the world. To achieve this, Guinea will need the support of donors and, more particularly, the support of ECOWAS who must continue to play the role of main actor in the process of reinforcing democracy and the restoration of trust between the different Guinean actors. Already, international organizations have granted the country 15 million dollars to finance the second round of elections. Nonetheless, fears remain that underground maneuvers and the frenzied ideas around the "communitarization" of votes (ethnic votes!<sup>47</sup>) can come to further obstruct the horizon of this fragile process whose outlet remains uncertain. This agitation around the ethnic vote makes the reading of realities on the ground impenetrable. It seems indispensable to us not to fall into easy analyses that do not, in any sense, reflect the reality of the sociological alliances of the country that could not be more complex, even if a few stubborn elements suggest this.

At any rate, the interview between the two candidates, upon the invitation of Blaise Compaoré last September 3, will certainly bring the needed balm so that the second round can take place in the best conditions and that the result coming from the ballot boxes will be respected by all the protagonists of the Guinean political scene. Indeed, the two candidates "signed a document of six pages that encourages them to make the second round of voting a calm and transparent vote."<sup>48</sup> From that moment on, it is legitimate to ask whether the second round will be a decisive political and social turning point or the beginning of the chaos so expected by all observers over the past several years. In any case, the two candidates seem determined to respect the independence of the CENI accused, at one time, of "vague impulses of fraud". A great discord appeared between the two candidates on the management and oversight of the elections of the second round. While Alpha Condé demanded the supervision by the Ministry of Territorial Administration and Political Affairs (MATAP), accusing CENI of playing in favor of Cellou Dalein Diallo who rejected the arbitrage of MATAP. But the Ouagadougou Accords raised the veil on the shadowy side that was hanging over the second round. In the end, the electoral campaign began on Sunday, September 5, and the times allocated on the radio were managed to the general satisfaction of the two candidates. While Cellou Dalein Diallo is almost assured of the coming victory<sup>49</sup>, Alpha Condé is consolidating his alliances in order to conquer one part of the split electorate that arose from the number of candidates in the first round (a total of 24).

Indeed, Cellou declared in no uncertain terms Friday on AFP: "I am confident; I know there is no risk for me of losing the second round". He continued: "I received 44% of the votes; I made alliances with parties that had only 18%. I think that (...) I have all chances of winning the election resoundingly."<sup>50</sup>

Amidst this euphoria, it is unfortunate to indicate that two events again came to cloud the democratic horizon towards which Guinea was tranquilly moving. The President of CENI, Ben Sékou Sylla, and the person responsible for the planning of the electoral process, El hadj Boubacar Diallo, were sentenced on September 9 to a year of prison without remission with a fine of two million Guinean francs. In addition,



they were to be deprived of their civic rights for two years after a complaint was registered by the RPG of Alpha Condé who accused them of electoral fraud in favor of his adversary. This unprecedented situation is going to be complicated by the sudden disappearance of the President of CENI. Indeed, Ben Sékou Sylla, evacuated to France, would pass away on September 14 in Paris. But the weekend prior to his death was bloody in Conakry. The sentencing and imprisonment of two members of CENI brought about riots opposing the partisans of the two candidates in the second round. They resulted in the death of one person and the wounding of several, and the General canceled his trip to Lebanon and the government suspended the electoral campaign. This atmosphere with a backdrop of the death of a protestor and of a key person in the electoral process is a bit worrying for the near future. If, in the beginning, the idea of pushing back the date of the second round, set for September 19, was not foreseen, other elements came to oblige CENI to put off the holding of the second round sine die.

According to the interim president, Hadja Aminata Mame Camara, more than 465,000 digital voting cards from South Africa should have been delivered, for the most part, to the regions. This appears to be one of the causes of the delay of the second round.<sup>51</sup> All of this makes the situation in Guinea impenetrable to the point that the declarations keep coming. One declaration, signed on September 16, after the delay of the second round, by Cellou Dalein Diallo, upholds with force that, "the Alliance recalls to national and international opinion that it has always shown flexibility for the setting of dates for the elections, held in the face of provocations of all kinds from the opposing camp and has always been subject to the calendar proposed by the authorities of the Transition (...). The Alliance will no longer support the violation of legal and regulatory measures and will henceforth oppose, in an energetic fashion, all maneuvers aiming at preventing or postponing the organization of the second round of the presidential election." The conclusion of this declaration resembles a warning, even more so as the activists on both sides seem exasperated in front of this situation of blockage whose reasons come in several veins. Even the president of the CNDD, the General Sékouba Konaté, solemnly declared in a broadcast and televised speech that he was disappointed in this situation to the point of letting the accredited mediator attempt to calm the minds that are beginning to be weighed upon by the waiting for the outcome. As we highlighted above, the responsibility is now upon the different managers of administrative staff of the parties, the two candidates in contention in the second round, the government, civil society and the different partners of Guinea. Today, this almost unexpected test shows a true will to further block the political and social situation in Guinea. It would be dreadful for the country to plunge into chaos at the moment that hopes were being created tranquilly and that minds were already concentrated on the consolidation of democratic advancements and the means to reinforce them. A game of interests and intrigues that are purely political, strongly risks the anger of disillusioned citizens whose serenity is beginning to wane.

Let us simply hope that these different oratory jousts, these contestations, the wear and tear caused by a long wait, these positions, that many think of as



being ethnic or regional, will not play in disfavor of this, and will give a chance to Guinea to enter into "Year one" of a new Republic that will break the moorings with the heritage of a half century of stagnation, or even regression in certain domains.

When all is said and done, it seemed indispensable to us to come back to this history that continues to unfold in order to grasp the entirety of the stakes that are playing out in the West African sub-region, if only through their major features. If concerns have been justified for several years already, one must take note that at the moment that we finish our work, Guinea is still at peace and the political actors, sub-regional organizations, the army and the international community, have hope that, in spite of the delay of the second round of election to a later date and the regrettable events of the first two weeks of the month of September, order will be restored and peace and human security in the sub-region will not suffer from instability. States in transition towards definitive peace will consolidate their advancements, less stable States will benefit from the situation and the populations will continue to travel among the territories of "their ancestors" without worry<sup>52</sup>.



## NOTICE

We have chosen to leave the introductions, methodologies and different recommendations of the authors as-is in order to make evident, in an even more explicit manner, the particularities of each land. each of the six countries has specific ties to guinea. the nature of these ties explains the singularities whose perception can only be measured by taking into consideration the criteria of each "land". nonetheless, we have seen to it that there is not a fundamental break between the different analyses that meet up on many points. even if an overall decision for establishing a peace-keeping mechanism is necessary, one must also admit that each land requires taking into account many elements that can appear subjective for political decision-makers; and that arise in an unexpected manner as if to "contest" the decisions tending to homogenize the practices of a nation-state that poorly combines with the social realities that structure it.

### III

## CASE STUDIES OF GUINEA-BISSAU AND SENEGAL

Dr. Abderrahmane NGAÏDÉ

### INTRODUCTION

Guinea-Bissau<sup>53</sup> has been going through crises at the head of state that influence traumatically all sectors of the life of this country that won its independence after an armed conflict against the Portuguese. The heritage of the war of liberation in Guinea-Bissau is still steadfast in minds here and, since the end of the 1990s; the country is living under permanent convulsions and instability that has become almost chronic. This situation is exacerbated by the criminal drug trade to the point that the United Nations classified the country among narco-trafficking states.

Senegal, on its side, has experienced an old rebellion in the south of the country. Since the beginning of the 1980s, the region knows neither peace nor war. Rebels or independent gangs very often plunder the region, looting shops, killing civilian populations and robbing passengers on national roads. This rebellion is restricted to Casamance and, more specifically, to the region of Ziguinchor which shares borders with Gambia to the north and Guinea-Bissau to the south. The combatants are often accused of devoting themselves to the culture and traffic of Indian hemp, better known through its local name of yamba. It seems to be cultivated in an uncontrolled manner in Gambia and in the rice paddies and its traffic that can operate from Kafountine. In any case, the civil society actors in Guinea-Bissau do not hesitate to affirm that its devastating effects are more dramatic than that of cocaine.<sup>54</sup>

Senegal, we should indicate, is nonetheless reputed to be an open and welcoming country that benefits from a favorable prejudice arguing that its democracy is solidly anchored in morals. And yet, the country has only the equivalent of 4% of foreigners on its soil. The Guinean community is strongly represented in this percentage. In Guinea-Bissau, unofficial statistics state that the Fulani represent 20% of the population. If there is a Fulani population in the Gabou region, let us note that generations of Fulani immigrants who came from Guinea are represented in the wholesale and retail trades.<sup>55</sup>

### **A) - CONFLICT IN GUINEA: A POSSIBILITY REJECTED BY BISSAU-GUINEAN AND SENEGALESE CIVIL SOCIETY**

The Guinea-Bissau civil society, after the fashion of many other societies in Africa, has not yet experienced sizeable development, and criticisms are raised against



it. But it is very implicated and up-to-date on the realities of the country and the sub-region. During our research in Guinea-Bissau, the civil society actors were unanimous on the positive progress of the presidential elections and on a happy outcome for democracy in Guinea. Many are those who argued that stability would come back to the joy of all Guinean people and those of the sub-region as well. This eventuality is inspired, for the major part of the actors, by the departure of Captain Moussa Dadis Camara and a part of the army who was faithful to him, and also to the charisma of General Sékouba Konaté and the choices made to designate certain personalities, who had demonstrated their patriotism during the last years of the rule of Lansana Conté, to key posts. Beyond all subjectivity, Rabiadou Serah Diallo benefits from the sympathy of a large palette of civil society actors from Guinea-Bissau and Senegal.

It is not rare to hear that "The situation in Guinea-Conakry is in the midst of calmly quieting down. We are witnessing a relative stability. The elections stand out on the horizon and the results coming from the ballot box will allow, if the actors agree, the birth of real stability. If ever the elections occur normally, we will see peace in this country. Indeed, the results will depend, of course, on the way in which the elections are organized and on the will of the political leaders to respect the results from the ballot box. Only these different guarantees will allow one to believe that stability will be in order for the entirety of the West African sub-region. There is, of course, a strong trend of ethnic voting in Africa, but the departure of Dadis clarified the situation in Guinea. The collaboration of sympathizers of Dadis Camara can allow for a real stability for the political situation in Guinea."

In spite of this real optimism regarding the evolution of Guinea-Bissau towards a calmer and more peaceful situation, the actors we met, whether in Guinea or in Senegal, were unanimous in supporting the idea that, naturally, a conflict in Guinea would affect all of the sub-region, in the image of what has happened these last ten years. This is why those who participated in our study used the same language just about everywhere to justify what they said, "You see yourself, the conflict in Liberia affected Guinea-Conakry. A conflict in Guinea will also affect Guinea-Bissau and Senegal as well. The conflict in Casamance is there. It is edifying that a conflict on their borders should be fearsome for all the countries. This conflict has ramifications in Guinea-Bissau, as in Gambia, countries that border on Senegal. It is entirely natural that instability in these countries affects those that are contiguous to them. It is an almost natural given. There are family affinities between the populations that make it so that humanitarian problems that affect a population on both sides of the border also affect the others. Armed gangs and groups of rebels can easily circulate between the territories, thus creating a form of instability that provokes the displacement of people. The question of drugs also has resonance in this zone, whether it is in Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Senegal or Gambia. The networks are interwoven with one another. All of that is a bearer of seeds of instability in the region. Pre-organized groups can profit from this situation to reinforce their hold on the region in order to serve their dirty work."



The more confident ones supported that the elections would be held in good conditions, since all actors were conscious of the stakes that awaited Guinea. Indeed, one of our interviewees at the border of Guinea-Bissau and Senegal said, "I think that Guinea is in the midst of going back to normal life. It seems that everything that happened these last months is calmly going back to normal. It was hard for certain segments of the population and for politicians because a country led by its military is always difficult to manage. But what the civil society, politicians and military are in the midst of doing now is encouraging. They are looking for a salutary outlet from the crisis, and so much the better not only for the country but also for the entirety of the sub-region. The whole of the political class is looking for all means possible to move on to peaceful, democratic and transparent elections for the country and to seek a way forward for the development of Guinea. It is the only way that is important for Guinea, and I think that all of the political class, the military and the civil society are all very conscious of the stakes of this new phase."<sup>56</sup> On borders and among populations there, the feeling of cross-border solidarity is the most marked in minds. Indeed, as we have already pointed out, the populations do not forget their proximity in spite of the daily problems that they endure. This comes out clearly in the assertions of many, "Relations between the populations will not be disturbed by an inflow of Guinean refugees. No, it is inconceivable. You know, in 1998, there was a civil war in Guinea-Bissau, the populations left their country to go elsewhere: to Senegal and others to Guinea and others went to Portugal. One must remember also that during the war of liberation, the populations were in Guinea to flee from the repercussions of the Portuguese. I think that all of this history will serve as preliminaries so that the Bissau-Guineans greet with serenity the Guinean populations that are going to flee the conflicts. I think, without exaggeration on my part, that the Bissau-Guineans are welcoming. They are open. We have received on our territory Liberians who are still in Bissau and who see to their business without being bothered. There is no problem among them and the citizens of the country, the Guineans will be greeted like the others without any major problem. They will be in the east of the country: in Gabou and Bafata, even in the south, people are going to receive them as well. In the east we have Fulani and in the south the Susu. History teaches us a lot about the partitions made by the colonialists. For example, Casamance was granted to the French and the region of Cassini came back to the Portuguese, in this zone there are Susus and to the north of Guinea-Bissau there are Jolas and in the east there are Fulani that stretch out to the region of Kolda. This means that in spite of the existence of independent states, there are no problems of border lines. The peoples interpenetrate each other and trade on a daily basis. I remain persuaded that this sociology will not be broken, even if a conflict broke out in Guinea." Indeed, this zone has historically experienced intense trade and lived through an evident social permeability that, still today, is more important than other considerations.

In the end, our inquiries in Guinea-Bissau, as in Senegal, reveal that, in spite of the existence of "high tension" areas, the spirit of solidarity is going to outweigh other considerations. Of course, the narratives speak of uncertainties, but we are far from alarmist positions. One must remember that Guinea-Bissau has, for a long time, benefited from a backcountry to lead its resistance against the Portuguese. This historical background remains alive in the minds of actors and populations. But let us also point out that real worries limit this optimism.



## **B) - PAST HISTORY, LOCAL REALITIES AND PERSPECTIVES OF HOSTING IN GUINEA-BISSAU: A COUNTRY ON BORROWED TIME?**

Political life in Guinea-Bissau is dominated by struggles born in the maquis. Indeed, combatants of the PAIGC once in power continued to perpetuate the different contradictions that appeared between the leaders of the PAIGC. This situation is going to end up with the coup d'état perpetrated by Nino Viera on the person of the brother of the "father of independence", Amilcar Cabral. From then on, a logic of struggle was installed at the summit of the state and gangrene of considerable consequence of the functioning of the Administration. The political orientation of the regime and the precipitated retreat of the Portuguese placed the internal situation mined by the competition between the people of mixed race from Cap Verde and the "indigenous" Bissau-Guineans.

Social and political relations between Guinea-Bissau and Guinea go back in time to the struggle by the African Party for the Independence of Guinea-Bissau and Cap Verde (PAIGC), for independence. Combatants from Guinea-Bissau always used the Guinean backcountry as a base for their attacks against the Portuguese colonialists. These political relations found their place in interethnic ties that go beyond the logic of modern states and that embrace the contours of ancient kingdoms that have led for many years in common their respective spaces either in peace or in confrontations that always end in negotiations capable of reconstituting the social fabric. The fundamental element of restoration of these relationships is made up of matrimonial exchanges and the different blood alliances that have remained in local memories.

In any case, the actors of Bissau-Guinean civil society that we met were unanimous in recognizing that the ethnicities did not know the border. It is easy to understand that a Susu from Guinea cannot be a foreigner to a Susu from Guinea-Bissau and that a Fulani from the region of Gabou or Bafata can have ties with those of Guinea and Senegal. These are diffuse realities that can facilitate all the good faith used by one another to perpetuate an age-old mutual assistance. Beyond this acknowledgement, it is also all of the members of the other ethnic groups that the situation concerns.

One of the leaders in the public eye in the Bissau-Guinean civil society states without difficulty, "I think that ethnic diversity and historical and cultural proximity are strong aspects that can contribute to minimizing the negative effects of conflict situations. I am a Keïta (spelled Quéta in Portuguese) whose parents (my grand-father) were from Guinea-Conakry. I have certain affinities with other Keïta from this country. These different affinities allow us to greet those that we consider as members of our respective families that colonization dispersed. This natural reaction in the face of close relatives is also valid for other citizens of this country who have relatives in nearby countries. It is impossible to reject these people who arrive and who have multiple and complex ties with you



and with your society or your ethnic origin." This affirmation was clearly expressed by several of our interviewees and proves to what point, indeed, secular kinship can play the role of a safety valve in this part of West Africa. But we can always ask the question if that is also valid for all people and in any circumstance. One must note, in passing, that this leader can host several people without a problem. But the largest mass of refugees is going to remain near borders and the observation is that, in spite of social rapprochements, the people install themselves and build small villages, but that over time problems appear, such as land disputes, and the rebels that will not miss coming to recruit among the mass of refugees.

We are very often witnessing the creation of networks at the very interior of the community of refugees that disturb, even more, the relationships between the latter and the natives. Competition can even appear between the citizens and the refugees even if there are some naturally strong historical and ethnic relationships. We had the time to verify this with the Senegalese refugees coming from Casamance who have been in Guinea Bissau for more than two decades and who begin, in spite of sociological proximity, have problems with their relations. Indeed, nationality comes up as an element of crystallization of differences between natives and refugees. But one must point out that in spite of this cultural proximity, there are a few noted differences linked "to the habit of living in another country" whose practices and methods of governance are different; and this can create unfortunate dissent even if the latter are very often trivialized. Indeed, one must not forget that the two countries have known two types of colonization different in their form as in their objectives.

When they arrive, refugees are necessarily taken under the wing of inhabitants who take care of them, but over time, divisions can appear between them and the citizens of Guinea-Bissau, for example, who are worried by what is happening at the head of their State. It is therefore to be remembered that there is a negative side and a positive side to the inflow of refugees. The conviviality that exists between them can be transformed and be at the origin of irreconcilable splits. For example, in Sao Domingo, considered a zone where drug traffickers hold sway, and which is also likely to host refugees, the populations of the surrounding areas fear that refugees get involved in the different networks thus reinforcing the insecurity arising from this trafficking.

The problems of nationality, identity and different cultures are certainly fundamental, but the attenuation of their negative effects will depend on the assistance available for displaced persons and the programs developed for their insertion in Guinea-Bissau, in Senegal and/or in other host countries. We think that the problem of nationality will be present as in many other countries of the sub-region (Côte d'Ivoire<sup>57</sup>). From that moment on, the capacities of the authorities to face the inflow, to organize people, to oversee them and to assist them in all the domains that their situations demand, are solicited to assure a lasting peace. Without these efforts, the hosting of refugees will always be distorted by elements add to their precarious situation. This therefore necessitates the establishment of an efficient assistance program and insertion of the community of refugees according to the new "administrative" life that awaits them and which is different from that which they had lived before leaving their country.



In the end, problems of nationality, identity and different cultures are certainly fundamental, but everything will depend on the assistance available to displaced persons and the programs developed for their settlement. It is at this level that the taking of responsibility for children and women presents itself as a central element in the massive flows of populations. But in the two countries, structures with experience in the management of questions of gender and the responsibility for children already exist. A bureaucrat from a humanitarian NGO stated: "Normally, and according to our policy of integration, we never accept to separate children. When you are a refugee in a country, you have to study in the school of the country. To better integrate, I think it is indispensable that the children integrate into the educational system of the country. It is necessary to integrate all of the systems that exist: health...and all entirely. One must admit that one is often faced with enormous difficulties among refugees because there is always tradition, for example that of Koranic schools: the Islamic refugees always tell us that they prefer that their children go to Koranic schools, but we always try to raise their awareness. We, of course, leave them the choice of going to a Koranic school, but we also tell them of the importance of taking their children to public schools. Because, quite simply, we tell them that by preventing their children from going to these schools they keep them from integrating effectively into society. Here, it is the Portuguese-speaking system that works and is based on the Portuguese teaching system. We have an interesting experience with refugees from Casamance. The Senegalese tell us that their children could not master the Portuguese language. But we insisted and told them that they can unite the two languages, Portuguese and French. One never knows, young people can study here and choose to stay and become university professors for example. And we cannot go against national law. We cannot create things separately." But in Senegal, the Guinean children will not have a language problem; the only stumbling block will certainly be the level of the teaching. Solutions are foreseeable in this domain by having recourse to a test in order to orient the children in classes in which they are susceptible to succeed their integration.

But the Bissau-Guinean state is preoccupied by other priorities and leaves the choice and latitude to non-governmental organizations to establish adequate mechanisms to deal with any eventuality. A manager of ADRA could not say it any better, "The country has an emergency team helped by people from the United Nations and NGOs that work in the domain of development and conflict management. My organization, ADRA, is part of this pool of organizations in Guinea-Bissau. It is the contingency group and it has already prepared an intervention plan in case of something occurring in Guinea. We have all discussed the modes of intervention of each organization, so this team is already formed and the team is coordinated by the United Nations system. The resident coordinator of UNDP in Guinea-Bissau directs this pool. We have had several missions to the border between the two countries. We have identified the spaces that can host populations. We have been at Cassini (in the south); the site is located near Bouba. The region of Cassini borders Guinea-Conakry. In Bouba, a former military base (Niala) can serve as a base for displaced persons. It is currently abandoned.



We also have the center of Bedenda that is located in the south that is a rural development center and that is also currently abandoned. It is a large center where people can camp. Regarding a kit that the country can give in the face of an inflow of populations, WHO has already shown its will with the establishment of a reserve of medicine that can contribute to those facing disease, the Red Cross as well, and the UNFPA and UNICEF.

We have already verified in the eastern zone of the country as well as on the border with Guinea. We have, for example, conducted a study on water; the quantities and quality of water in this area. There is an area near Gabou that is called Contubuel where there is a large rural development center where there are lodgings that can host populations. There is everything necessary to limit demands. It will be of a major contribution if ever there is the need." If one follows the developments of this manager, one easily understands that the organizations have not waited for the government authorities to establish an adequate prevention program in the two areas likely to host refugees coming from Guinea.

It is therefore almost incontestable, for all those that we interviewed, that there will not be major problems in terms of hosting and settling refugees coming from Guinea. The only principal fear remains the overload of families of which one of the consequences is an increase in the "demand for food, which, consequently, necessitates reactivity beforehand. A rupture of reserves is always to be feared". Thus, several informants were of the opinion that this was the only problem that could affect their activities. Regarding cohabitation, the displaced persons are going to be rapidly settled at the heart of what appear, in speeches, as "their second families". Everything will happen as in a period of peace where we witness movements from here to there near the border. The populations are together and share the same history. This observation is valid for the eastern region of Guinea-Bissau that is inhabited by the Fulani who have relations on both sides of the border. This climate of solidarity is considered as incredible luck to the extent that the populations speak the same language, has the same customs and share many things together. The only perceptible differences remain the accents and this does not remotely present an insurmountable problem in the eyes of the actors present. All of this results from the different cross-border ramifications facilitating movement to the point that the central states solicit the action of local populations to face the situations that they cannot control themselves. In the south of Guinea-Bissau, we find Susus whose populations stretch all the way to Guinea.

However, in Guinea-Bissau, a crucial problem will remain that the state and the populations must face: the management of the land patrimony. Up until recent years, land did not pose a particular problem in Guinea-Bissau, but in recent times, some serious divisions have started to appear. The interest in the plantation of cashew nuts, the basic product of the Bissau-Guinean national economy, has exacerbated the race to the most fertile lands. A few years ago, Casamance refugees, for example, had no problem obtaining a plot of land to cultivate. But today, things have started to change and even to provoke serious dissent. Indeed, the relationship of Bissau-Guineans with the land has greatly evolved. The loan of land was a current variable in the social practices and was justified by complex logics of relationships and trade.



A farmer highlights with insistence that, "People who came were welcomed, but, since then, problems appeared. For example, we could give them land for food-producing agriculture, you prepare the land to cultivate, but instead of that you profit to plant cashews. While the land that sees the birth of a cashew tree needs a long fallowing of three years. Now the person who had loaned before pays attention to that and refuses to loan his land."

Another informed interviewee confirmed this situation. "Before" he stated, "it was easy for people to 'give' their land. But since the discovery of cashew cultivation, land has become a rare and disputed commodity. The Bissau-Guinean economy rests essentially on the exploitation of the cashew nut and this explains that. Today the nut demands a type of conservation of land to the point that it is difficult to grant to someone land on which he is going to cultivate this product. This problem arose with the Senegalese refugees from Casamance. From that time on, a mobilization from the sources of state and customary law is necessary to prepare for all eventualities. It seems to me that problems arise between new arrivals and citizens on their choice of crops; food-producing or commercial. People tolerate food-producing crops, but when it comes to cashew or mango plantations, the populations are reticent to give their land to cultivate. The time of overseeing the plantations is long and the native populations cannot continue to loan their land to people who are supposed to come for a certain period of time. Time is important here and has to be taken into account by the outside participants: governments as well as organizations."

Hospitality and access to resources for survival are subject to a test of time. Wear and tear plays against the refugees and assistance decreases to the point of disappearing. Organizations that provide support depend largely on quotas and aid granted to each country confronted with this type of problem. But refugees hold another kind of discourse; that of the diversion of aid to other ends. One of the workers of ADRA rejected this with the back of a hand by stating that, "Refugees speak generally of diversion, but one must understand that the refugee never lacks criticism. Refugees think that UNHCR is a bank and that there is always more money there waiting, while the funds that are collected are subdivided and there are an enormous amount of conflicts in the world. One cannot take care of one population alone, well, no. It is also necessary to take care of other corners of the world. And with the global economic crisis, the funds are diminishing. We are in the midst of mobilizing refugees so that they take responsibility for themselves, because a refugee in ten, fifteen or twenty years is no longer a refugee. He has to find the means himself of taking responsibility for himself at a given moment. His responsibility is found engaged in the search for the appropriate solutions to escape from the crisis."

Therefore, in addition to this new type of behavior, it is found that the law in the national domain is not yet operational. Its promulgation always suffers in the corridors of the presidency of the Republic. This can be easily explained by the precarious situation that the country has lived since 1998. An eminent sociologist from the National Institute of Research (INEP), whose field research is



an authority, affirms in a clear testimony that "The law on the national domain is not yet applied. It has passed the National Assembly. It is a document that exists, but it has been fifteen years and the directives have not been applied as with many other laws as well. It is also a law that presents a problem as to the exact definition of the ownership of land. It is under debate! One thinks of the privatization of the management of land. The land, does it belong to the state or to collectivities? This is a discussion that is under way and that has seen no application." One must point out here that this problem is not specific to Guinea-Bissau and that it is not an issue only for refugee populations, but also between citizens of the same country and it is a subject that deserves exhaustive investigations. Cashew nuts have become the sole source of currency in Guinea-Bissau even if other mining resources exist that are hard to be mined or whose mining incites worries on the part of populations installed on the lands near deposits. Indeed, in light of the situation that reigns in Guinea-Bissau, with drugs and latent conflicts, the populations fear that once the mining begins, the projects attract all kinds of individuals and would further disturb the calm of the populations.<sup>58</sup>

It is evident that even if the law on the national domain is promulgated, customs will be there as the only guarantee of regulations.<sup>59</sup> The testimony of this Bissau-Guinean union leader reflects this, "We work with the refugees and it has been a long time that we have been interested in conflicts linked to land management. But only the administrators, equivalents of sub-prefects, we send them correspondence in this sense. Normally, and according to the law, the land belongs to the state, which has the power to legislate on the matter. It is for the state to assign the land to all persons who are able to make it flourish and, in the case of refugees, if ever the state grants them land, they must give it back to the state, but generally, this is not what is done. We still have the prevalence of customary laws over modern laws. It is the "king" who has the power to give and to take away the land because, quite simply, the laws on the national domain are not yet promulgated and people continue to act as before. Traditional laws continue to be the fundamental reference for all land grants of whatever nature. Therefore "traditionalism" persists and remains above the laws." The recourse to traditional courts to resolve problems is a current practice in this part of Africa. Guinea-Bissau and Senegal do not escape from this reality that is rooted in normal customs. Indeed, it is not rare to hear managers on both sides of the border, with a heavy heart, maintain that "we must first find the traditional authorities and, in collaboration with the authorities, make them see that, first of all, the primary responsible is the state and secondly, it is traditional powers. To not upset cohabitation, one must go to negotiate with the traditional authorities. It is on this basis that the state is going to be solicited because if the state wants to use force, it will not succeed in managing anything and that is going to destroy the cohabitation between the autochthones and the refugees." In spite of the existence of states, local authorities are still needed for the resolution of certain crucial questions.

The south of Guinea-Bissau has experienced strong land pressures because of the existence of major forests, and agriculture that is difficult to practice, since the ecological conditions do not allow it. This region, susceptible to hosting Guinean refugees, borders a forest reserve forbidden to commercial forestry, even though it is one of the regions that enjoys favorable climatic conditions and includes a rather



significant population. While in the east of the country, we witness a drop on the pluviometer and the drought progresses bit by bit. One must, therefore, deduce that difficulties can appear at any moment to the extent that the populations earn all of their revenues from agriculture.

Beyond these conflicts, others appear and are, often, linked to religion or to market spaces<sup>60</sup>. Indeed, today it is observed that the Fulani make up about 20% of the population and the majority is originally from Guinea and has acquired the Bissau-Guinean nationality. But the "condescension" of the Guinean Fulani towards an Islamic practice that they consider weak or blemished by pre-Islamic practices brings them to scorn the nationals, or even to refuse that they rise to the position of imams in the mosques. Indeed, as one of our interviewees confirmed, "At this time, we have pointed problems between the members of one same religion. We have tensions between the Bissau-Guinean Muslims and those that come from Guinea. The Muslims who have come from Guinea consider those of Guinea-Bissau to be second rate and this presents problems in the management of prayers and mosques. This already presents a real problem. Strong competition between the marabouts is coming to light, even for the management of mosques and even for the "prayers for the dead". The people judge that the Bissau-Guineans are less Muslim than the Guineans who arrive. We even have problems in the central market in Bandé. It is something that is dangerous in the short, medium and long term. There are enormous potentials for a crisis in a country that must not be hidden." All of this hides poorly the conflicting consequences that can result from a massive inflow of refugees from Guinea. This situation can also be observed in Senegal, particularly in the region of Kolda. Indeed, it reaches back into history and is still present today. It is not rare for a mosque to close because of dissensions arising after the designation of an imam that was not accepted by consensus.

The consequences of these conflicts have real repercussions on the mental state of the protagonists and feed their imaginations to the point of becoming prisms for reading and classifying the other. From these observations it was possible to affirm that, after the moment of compassion; competition appears and negatively influences mutual relations. This aspect of the question of time cannot be measured except by deepening our interrogations on the different splits that are produced on the real role of the actors implicated in the search for peace and stability, on the eventual complicity with other "occult" forces that interact to bring out their resonance in the networks that are formed around compromises, often so fragile that they disconcert all observers. It suffices to read this "grey" literature, produced over more than a decade ago on Guinea, to realize, even though the situation is worrying, that it is indispensable to go beyond simple and simplifying statements. If Guinea constituted and still constitutes a case, it also illustrates sufficiently that the dimension that a conflict can take cannot be measured except by the terms of the consequences that it brings about. The lessons of past wars must further inspire the different decision-makers, at whatever level, to reflect on the modes of rethinking the mechanisms of prevention and of human security in this sub-region.



In the end, we can argue with many others who have done so before us that many studies show that Africa holds the sad record of the rate of displaced populations after wars and internal conflicts. These "refugee" populations on the edges of borders are, in their circumstances, exposed to difficult situations and, above all, "undergo" psychological heartbreak in spite of the sharing of a common cultural background with the populations that host them. This "rediscovery" of place, which is normally commonplace and that can be transformed into an "elsewhere", accentuates the precariousness of their situation and worries not only the national authorities but also the citizens. The multitude of organizations intervening in their hosting and their eventual settlement adds further complications to the situation.

Indeed, it is not rare that organizations, spurred on by the necessity that emergency situations demand, commit errors of assessment that can lead to dysfunctions not only at the heart of camps, but also between the displaced populations and those that host the new arrivals on their lands. Many of those answering our questions, working ahead of time, lament this situation that complicates their mission. Current demographic pressures, the rarity of land suitable for cultivation, the economic crisis doubled with a structural political crisis in the eventual host countries, are an omen of the birth of inextricable endemic crises. The infiltration of armed groups, of recruiters, also weighs on the climate of doubt around the state borders whose oversight presents real problems in this part of the continent. The example of Guinea-Bissau is decisive in the matter to the extent that the army remains under-equipped and cut through by splits linked most often to the drug trafficking that blights the country. Not so long ago, this country lived under the rhythm of assassinations that touched the highest levels of the state. The strong ethnicization of the army and dissent between the former combatants of the PAIGC do nothing to resolve the situation.

Guinea-Bissau is living through a precarious reprieve that, as soon as it is over, can lead to a generalization of dissent and thus produce an explosion whose mastery would pose problems to all the actors of society. In spite of all of their will, ECOWAS and the African Union will not be able to apply to the letter all of the resolutions made in their different assemblies. Beyond any caricature of any catastrophic scenario, Guinea-Bissau is not in a place to manage a conflict that could explode on its borders in the south and in the east. Indeed, as we have highlighted above, and as expressed in the opinion of several interviewees, the Bissau-Guinean army cannot face a situation of conflict in Guinea. This union leader does not pull punches in declaring, "The army is not well equipped to oversee a territory in order to discourage the arrival of subversive elements. The Bissau-Guinean army could never face the infiltration of eventual "maquis". It is under-equipped in spite of efforts that are currently under way. The army lacks everything; they even use ammunition that was used during the war of 1998. It is forbidden to Guinea-Bissau to import arms quite simply because one does not know when war will again take over the country. The members of the military are undisciplined."

Already, the infiltration of Casamance rebels presented very serious problems to this country. The revolt of Ansoumana Mané in 1998 demonstrates to what extent the networks of cross-border solidarity play a negative role in the search for peace and



stability in the West African sub-region. Indeed, it is more than likely that former combatants of sub-regional wars may attempt to recycle themselves if ever a conflict broke out in the short, medium or long-term in Guinea.

The Guinean army, in spite of attempts to restructure it, suffers from "indiscipline" even if it is infiltrated by elements issuing from or having fought at the sides of rebels in Liberia and in Sierra Leone. In addition to that, small arms circulate throughout the country. The presence of elements of a branch of Al Qaeda (AQIM) in a few countries makes the situation even more worrisome. It is consequently more than evident that the situation in Guinea remains troublesome in spite of the placing of Captain Dadis Camara "on the sidelines" and the organization of the first round of the presidential elections. The history of September 28, 2009 and the not very orthodox declarations of a few political leaders these last weeks, feed back into and maintain worries.

Guinea is a fragile country that is living its last moments of transition, where tensions remain alive at the approach of the conclusion of the crisis that has pushed back the second round of elections. This situation is worrisome not only for the entirety of countries that share land borders, but also for observers. It is why the question that underlies this study remains pertinent: what will be the socio-cultural consequences of an eventual conflict in Guinea for the countries of the sub-region?

### **C) - SENEGAL: "PREJUDICED" FOR A FAVORABLE HOSPITALITY**

Senegal is always cited as an example of democracy and a host country. The Guineans constitute an important community in Senegal and this has been the case over a long period of time. Since the time of seasonal migrations and even before, Guineans came by successive waves to lend their labor during a time of experimentation, development and consolidation of peanut culture.

The year 2000, in this part of the sub-region, was translated by an important change at the summit of the Senegalese state. In March 2000, the PDS (Senegalese Democratic Party) of Abdoulaye Wade came to power after 25 years in opposition. But, for soon to be twenty years, Senegal is confronted in the southern border, Casamance, by an irredentism with periods of calm, and jolts whose consequences on the long term; block all possibility of coming to the end of the "oldest conflict" in the West African sub-region. Senegal accommodates it in spite of everything. Having arrived in power, Abdoulaye Wade, on a visit to Guinea-Bissau, declared in front of cameras that he was giving himself 100 days to definitively settle the conflict. That was without counting on the realities of the field and the heads of the maquis entrenched in Guinea-Bissau and Gambia. The political manipulations and the underground intrigues based on money led to internal dissent and produced effects contrary to the expectations of the state.



Politico-military instability in Guinea-Bissau does nothing to arrange the situation in this region. Indeed, the armed conflict from June 1998 to May 1999 plunged this country into a crisis that led the rebels of Ansoumana Mané to occupy the Bissau-Guinean capital. The military junta demanded the resignation of Nino Vieira who rejected this command and maintained himself in power in spite of the risks of explosion. Supported by General Conté of Guinea and President Abdou Diouf of Senegal, whose government accused General Mané of supporting the rebellion by supplying them with arms, he continued to persist while the war led to victims and displaced persons. Even if the population was not directly implicated in this "urban" war, they fled the capital and left the "two old friends from PAIGC" to prolong their war for a year. This long prolongation led other "protagonists" to interest themselves closely in the situation that reigned in Guinea-Bissau. If General Conté wanted to support Nino Vieira to preserve his personal "interests",<sup>61</sup> Abdou Diouf wished the intervention of his army to cut off at the roots what is thought to be the back bases of MFDC in order to find, through this operation, the possibility to end this long war.

The Senegalese accusation seems to hold all of its legitimacy from the idea according to which the Casamance rebels retreat further towards this territory. The interpenetration of the populations is an uncontested given. The populations of Casamance are found on both sides of the border and share a complex set of social and familial relations that the states cannot dismiss with "political magic". Naturally, Casamance produced refugees who crossed the border and settled in Guinea-Bissau as of the first hours of the conflict that cast a pall over the region. These populations were greeted and rescued by the Bissau-Guinean government and by international organizations in place in the country. The civil populations fleeing the stranglehold of the war spread out in the countries of the sub-region (especially in Guinea-Bissau and Gambia).

Let us point out simply that the Casamance region is not susceptible to receiving a significant inflow of refugees coming from Guinea, but one can fear that with a "conflagration" of this country, that the networks would wake up and re-establish themselves, thereby generating a series of complications able to bring about instability whose consequences would be incalculable. The geography, the networks of drug traffickers and the armed gangs that plunder the region constitute a rather fertile land that can allow for the emergence of a "West African rebel coalition" whose vocation would be the terror and criminal economy that it brings about. The 700 kilometers of border are crossable at any moment and at any period. They appear therefore as a "very favorable condition" to the extension of the conflict zone proper. All of this trafficking becomes possible and profits from this situation to revitalize and reinforce itself.

It is more than likely that we are witnessing a form of "reinvention" of war that responds to new modalities and that can use the networks of a conflict that has lasted too long over time. This war economy whose central piece is drug trafficking (cocaine and Indian hemp) only finds its real flourishing in the chronic instability that all of the countries of the sub-region experience. The intensification of the trafficking and the circulation of small arms will find, in this new breeding ground, means to develop and to further sophisticate its distribution technology by enlarging the area where it holds



sway. And all of the idle populations of the sub-region will find the necessary means to reconvert themselves into real mercenaries for the recruiters, who will not miss out on the opportunity of traveling through the territories and crossing the borders. Already, the weekly markets in the region (Kolda and Ziguinchor), attract a varied clientele and the sales of arms is done in full sight of, and to the knowledge of all. A strict oversight will become necessary in order to accompany the eventual movement of populations from Guinea. The inherent difficulties in the "elastic" character of borders and the existence of secondary paths complicate the oversight and the holding of reliable registers of entries and exits for the identification and the monitoring, in a more systematic manner, of the possible formation of groups whose objectives are contrary to the maintenance of peace and security.

All of the reorganizations of rebel structures can mutually sustain each other, thereby creating a front and causing regular armies to risk having all kinds of difficulties imposing themselves on this new order. If the Senegalese army is aware about this issue, it is to be feared that the disorganized, demoralized and undisciplined Bissau-Guinean army cannot act ahead of time to slow down a movement capable of shaking the region. Otherwise, even if the Bissau-Guinean army is under restructuring, it remains prisoner to quarrels that undermine its command.<sup>62</sup> These risks not only threaten this region and a part of Guinea-Bissau, but also Gambia which not only hosts a large part of the refugees coming from Casamance, but also a part of the rebels who found refuge in the Gambian villages on the border. As the theater of rebel operations in Casamance "migrates" from time to time, it is to be feared that a situation that appears far off can "encourage" the outbreak of armed attacks. An armed rebellion is, as a matter of principle, cross-border. War is easily exported and generates new strategies that only united governments can cut off through the coordination of their military actions.

Peace will only find its *raison d'être* once a series of mechanisms are established to allow for the refinement of positions for the building and, above all, for the perpetuation of this peace without which development is not foreseeable in the West African sub-region. Instability in Guinea will only be another pretext to drive populations further into the pervading misery and the economic stagnation in which they have lived for close to two decades. If ever policies can answer the different social demands, they will have won an advance on the flourishing of these rebellions that tend to annihilate the efforts of many. But one must note that, in spite of the old conflict in Casamance, actors like the populations that we came into contact with do not think that instability can have direct repercussions on Senegal, even if they think, unanimously, that one must reinforce security at the borders. Even if the eradication of the rebellion in Casamance is far from being realized, one must note that the Senegalese army is well equipped, experienced and has an excellent deployment that allows for good surveillance of sensitive areas. The only problem that is feared is that this eventual instability in Guinea be combined with disturbances in Guinea-Bissau.<sup>63</sup> But a solid network of intelligence has been, it seems, functional for some time to track not only "narco-traffickers", but also members of organized crime. The stability that is beginning in



Guinea-Bissau, with the reorganization of the army, allows the actors we met with to have faith in the future. However, they insist a great deal on the capacities of states to make things right with the set of conventions signed between them to guarantee the security of people and goods.

At any rate, the Guinean colony in Senegal is estimated at more than 500,000 individuals. Some speak of a million. Whatever it may be, the Guineans are relatively well integrated, even if stubborn stereotypes about them exist. This situation does not blemish their living conditions in Senegalese cities and across the country. Recent studies on their living conditions take account of a double image that demonstrates the various paradoxes that structure the mental state of individuals. Even if no fear is on the horizon in terms of their welcome, it is to be noted that real competition exists between them and the Senegalese. The Guineans who will flee their country because of instability will find before them structured and strongly integrated networks that know the entirety of Senegalese society circuits very well. The favorable prejudice that Senegal enjoys, this "country of Teranga", or "country of hospitality", is going to play its role to allow for real fluidity and assistance that will be used at the borders. It is almost obvious to support the idea that the Guineans will feel at home, since the border point that they use to enter Senegal is populated by their "cousins".

Of all the regions of Senegal, it is Kolda that is likely to host an important wave of Guinean refugees fleeing an eventual explosion. Indeed, already as of the massacre of September 28, 2009, a first inflow of refugees had been pointed out in the region that shares with a part of Guinea the same history and sociology. Remember that towards the middle of the nineteenth century, the Fulani of Fouta Djallon had come to the help of their "brothers" of Fuladou (region of Kolda) when they were rising up against the Mandinka regime of Kaabu. These long historical and sociological relationships are still alive in our time, and the populations enjoy recalling them to guarantee that no major problem will come to prevent them from welcoming their relations in distress.

Indeed, as of the mid-nineteenth century the region experienced a long ethnic, linguistic, cultural, territorial and political reconfiguration at the moment that the English, French and Portuguese colonial powers attempted, through treaties and conventions, to stabilize their grounds of influence. During this turbulent period, the birth of a Fulani-speaking space that covers a vast territory going from English Gambia to the north of the current Guinea-Bissau was seen. Indeed, the region of Bafata, along with other areas, formed the territories where the hold of Fouta Djallon in Guinea, was in place. Still today, the families share the same history and practice the same ways of life. The borders were not, and are not so watertight, in spite of the existence of different states having their respective legislatures and modes of governance.<sup>64</sup>

Since the end of the slave trade, Western powers have developed other techniques of colonial penetration and have traced imaginary lines between the different peoples of this sub-region. In the Kolda region, contiguous with Guinea, the passage of Salikénié constitutes the ultimate point of contact between the peoples of Guinea and Senegal.



Still today the *luomo* (the weekly market) of Diaobé alone attracts a group of populations whose age-old ties remain undeniable. This market<sup>65</sup> illustrates well this interpenetration of peoples of the region and their different capacities of adaptation to modern crises that the post-colonial states have experienced. It is not rare, in conversations, to hear this familiar affirmation, "We are one and the same people that borders attempt to divide. It is impossible for us to remain insensitive to what happens in one or another country." This acknowledgement allows one to appreciate, at its true value, the dilemmas that people experience today, captured as they are in the snares of the civil state, from the national identity card to belonging to a territorialized nation state. This issue clearly presents the questioning of the very notion of nationality and of exclusive national belonging in cross-border areas. Indeed, to the contrary, this situation does not wipe out this feeling of belonging to a vast socio-cultural territory that cannot be erased, neither from memories nor from daily practices. It is enough to observe the daily quality of exchanges, subtleties and social affinities that are formed and the different tactics that develop in these peripheral zones that seem to escape from the real hold of modern states.

In spite of this historical truth, one must also point out that in a period of conflict, other mechanisms arise and impose their operating methods (*modus operandi*) to the point of disconcerting all actors. Other stakes appear and very often tend to invalidate the historical truths that were the happiness and calm of the populations. Then the question is posed of this common territory that becomes suddenly an elsewhere that does not cease becoming more complex. It seems important to us to note here that the notion of state and national belonging regains its force as soon as it is a question of settling oneself for an undetermined amount of time and to appreciating the new rights that the situation demands.

Intra-state conflicts, overall, present real problems in the sense that the nation-state problem seems to be founded on the principles of legitimacy and on the dynamics of citizenship, otherwise said, on the equal rights and possibilities for all citizens of whatever ethnicity to participate in the management of public affairs, rather than on a "primordial" ethnic or religious definition of the nation.<sup>66</sup> One must also find the appropriate solutions to put into practice the ECOWAS principles that advocate not only the free circulation of goods and individuals, but also the possibility that is offered them to establish themselves over time and to benefit from all of their rights and to fulfill all of their responsibilities.

Multiform crises cut into a part of solidarities and divert them from their primary vocation to the point that the dilemma of existence imposes its philosophy on peoples who, more and more, tend to lose their different points of reference and their reflexes. From then on, it is not an exaggeration to maintain that conflicts have brought about deep mutations of mentalities of belonging, leading, in the end, to this kind of allocation of unwavering identity in which political actors find resources to make themselves a place of choice on the national, sub-regional and worldwide scene.

## **D) PARTIAL CONCLUSION: A FEW PERSPECTIVES**

During our inquiries in Guinea-Bissau and in Senegal, the actors sketched out schemas of escaping from crisis that we are going to list here in the form of what they themselves call priorities for lasting peace in the sub-region:

- Establishment of a more effective system of conflict prevention paying attention to the organization of hosting organizations, contact and rapid settlement of displaced persons;
- Adequate equipment in places susceptible to receiving a massive inflow of populations (sanitation structures, means of transportation);
- Release a sizeable budget so that states are in a position to face unexpected situations of internal turmoil;
- Reinforce decentralized powers (administrative structures at the borders of states) so that they may play their roles more effectively;
- Have border populations participate in the question of refugees through traditional structures;
- Reinforce traditional mechanisms of solidarity and mutual assistance that have, for a long time, shown their effectiveness;
- Raise the awareness not only of the peoples in relation to their common history, but also of political actors so that their speeches enmesh, in a real fashion, with the aspirations of the populations for a fair access to the resources of the country;
- Develop a spirit of West African citizenship so that an ECOWAS of the people can be more than a slogan;
- Rebuild the cross-border solidarities to facilitate local integration;
- Reinforce democratic practices in hosting countries in order to avoid all efforts that have been agreed upon to be in vain;
- Clean up the political discourses on the social, economic and strategic levels;
- Using ethnic motivations in the limits of their pertinence and of the philosophy that grounds them, to not consider them as elements of breaking down the community, but as real "objects" of which "modernity" must be composed. Finally, accept that ethnicity constitutes a reality with which we must work and find a place that it must occupy in the national space without overexcitement;
- Empty the discourse of intellectual mimicry of its negative content to give back to local "values", their capacity to federate differences;
- Bring back peace and stability to all of the sub-region by liberating all energies and by encouraging citizen initiatives;
- Restore the image of the army, reorganize it according to the challenges of development, reinforcing it with surveillance equipment and, above all, with assistance in the case of need;
- Mobilize refugee populations in order that they take responsibility for themselves while also giving them substantial means to face the emergency situation;
- Escape from the logic of emergency and assistance whose results over the long-term leave much to be desired;
- Monitor the refugee populations in a way so that they not be infiltrated by recruiters of the drug circuits;

- Reflect on care for the refugees that is adapted to the socio-economic conditions of the host countries;
- Develop a permanent monitoring of operations and an efficient audit of actions led in favor of displaced persons;
- Put into place "social diplomacy" with its own mechanisms, different from the often restrictive language and etiquette of conventional diplomacy.

## IV

# CASE STUDY OF LIBERIA AND SIERRA LEONE

**Kalié SILLAH**

## INTRODUCTION

The starting argument of this study is that the strategic proximity of the countries of the Mano River Union is such that instability on one side of the border has the potential to reignite a fire on the other side, especially where many sociopolitical and economic questions are objects of frustration and are in suspense, waiting for a detonator to explode. This part of the study closely concerns what could occur in Liberia and Sierra Leone if instability took new forms in Guinea.

The majority of persons interviewed in this study, in one way or another, sought refuge in Guinea during the civil war that lasted eleven years in Sierra Leone and fourteen years in Liberia, which is what explains the contrasts that can be revealed in the answers on their respective capacity or lack of capacity to host refugees from Guinea. In general, the majority of answers take their justifications from the reminiscences of the ways in which populations were hosted in Guinea as refugees. Nonetheless, the majority of Sierra Leoneans are ready to receive refugees coming from Guinea, in particular kin of the same ethnic community. Many people interviewed in the border communities prefer to host refugees on the basis of their belonging to the same ethnicity, rather than on purely humanitarian criteria. The populations living in the immediate proximity of the border zones consider that it is a responsibility and a moral obligation to lodge kin of the same ethnicity wherever they come from in the sub-region.

The majority of Sierra Leoneans interviewed are ready to host Guinean refugees, contrary to neighboring Liberia. Although the majority of Liberians expressed a profound concern about the lack of preparations or the absence of a contingency plan to host Guinean refugees, in comparison with their Sierra Leonean peers, a limited number of influential voices among the community actors expressed an agreement to grant them asylum in spite of the fragile security conditions in their country.

A critical observation and work with the agents of border security and of immigration showed a low level of professionalism and lax attitudes on the questions of security at the interior and across borders. The very weak system of security management observed at the interior and at the entirety of borders translates, in an implicit and explicit manner, to the low level of knowledge of questions of security,



and the absence of public discourse on the aspects that arise from the realities on the ground at the level of local communities. On the other hand, the firm hold of poverty, the absence of economic opportunities and of strategic alternatives for subsistence for many people living in the sub-region, all turn the population into easy targets to be recruited by networks of organized crime. This poses a serious problem whose negative consequences can have repercussions on human security in the sub-region. With all of these objective elements giving rise to concern, it is evident that instability in Guinea will make the vulnerability of the Sierra Leoneans and Liberians, in terms of threats to human security, even more acute. Consequently, the permanent security concern emanating from these countries demands a well-coordinated and inclusive approach to finding the missing links in the search for a durable solution for peace in order to dissipate the security dilemma of the country and of the entirety of the sub-region of the Mano River Basin.

## **A)- RESEARCH METHODOLOGY**

Starting with the hypothesis for the research, the study was conceived to examine the possible consequences of instability in Guinea on the countries of the Mano River Basin, in particular, Liberia and Sierra Leone. The study takes into consideration the political uncertainty under way in Guinea and evaluates the political instability that characterizes the sub-region. It examines these questions as a point of departure in the formulation of overall recommendations to resolve the sub-regional dilemma for peace and security.

The study adopts an analytical approach that grants particular attention to the socio-cultural dimensions of the political crisis and the unstable post-conflict environment of the Mano River Basin. Referring to the domino effect that ravaged the river region in the past, it also looks at risk-generating factors to better highlight the threats to human security within and across borders. Three fundamental elements are analyzed in this study: the imbrications between socio-economic aspects, the traditional model of coexistence and the psychosocial impact of instability in Guinea. The study examines the challenges for economic survival and the manner in which they are linked to the circulation of persons, goods and services that could be disturbed by this instability. The study brings out certain aspects of formal and informal economic activities, as well as organizational and institutional factors that limit the possibilities of finding means of subsistence. These visions offer clearer perspectives on the policy that the three countries can, collectively, engage in to reinforce the processes of economic recovery and to contribute to peace-building in the states of the sub-region.

Solid and pertinent research combined with studies on sub-regional peace and security allows an adoption of such a forecasting approach to discuss the instability in Guinea and its consequences on the sub-regional level. From this arises the imperative to face the current peace-building dilemma in the sub-region. And this is only possible by avoiding this major instability that comes to disturb the entirety of the sub-region. Considering what has just been discussed,

this study takes up an explanatory orientation that grasps the overall consequences of instability in Guinea.

After three months of collecting primary and secondary data in the Mano River Basin, it was possible for us to examine diverse and variable interactions through the use of techniques of analysis of the narratives of the persons interviewed. This allowed us to understand many factors and dynamics that influenced peace-building interventions aimed at resolving the problems of the area. This approach also helped to set forth a criticism of socially constructed perceptions or interpretations from the points of view of the persons interviewed in order to analyze the consequences of instability in a still fragile security environment. Literature research validated the semi-structured interviews held with government officials, security personnel and immigration agents, representatives of the MRU Secretariat, the community of actors and the residents of the border communities of Guinea, Sierra Leone and Liberia. Upon our departure, it was possible to further emphasize the nature and the complexities of the border security dilemma from the broad spectrum of academic theses, hypotheses and empirical experiences from a comparative perspective.

The complicated reality of the sub-regional security dilemma is presented in the form of numerous challenges. The first stumbling block that we had to face was the difficulty in making a precise evaluation of the deep causes of instability in Guinea and its socio-cultural and security consequences for its neighbors. A second challenge resulted from the difficulty of identifying questions with precision since a large part of the people interviewed judged that Guinea would not experience an explosion. This attitude comes from the past experience of civil wars that taught them bitter lessons and generated a deeply rooted consciousness about avoiding the recurrence of a conflict. This major difficulty prevented us from sketching a realistic image of the phenomenon of displaced refugees from Guinea which would be different from the image lived previously. Many people interviewed were convinced that the study came at the right time for actors to establish an early warning mechanism and preventive peace-building in order to avoid unfortunate events.

## **B) - CONTEXT AND EPISTEMOLOGICAL READINGS OF INSTABILITY IN WEST AFRICA: THE CASE OF LIBERIA AND SIERRA LEONE**

We are witnessing a remarkable reappearance of socio-political disorder as a result of the civil wars that inflamed the West African sub-region in the past years. The amplitude of these conflicts with their destructive character, and the political crisis which was experienced, put the brakes on perspectives for development, and was accompanied by enormous suffering inflicted on the populations of the sub-region of the Mano River Basin. The complexities of this violence resulted in hostilities between families of the same ethnicity from both sides of the borders. In addition, the complex characteristics of these conflicts set off confrontations between diverse intellectual opinions, rival theories, and political debates on the deep causes of instability of a given country and its consequences for neighboring states.



Although colonial heritage was blamed for having set the foundations of such conflicts<sup>67</sup>, accusatory voices blamed the failure of states to offer decent living conditions and opportunities to their citizens. The same facts are also in evidence in many writings on the post-independence period. They mention the questions of governance as being the deep underlying causes of instability in the West African sub-region.<sup>68</sup> However, a comparative study conducted by Douma on the causes of conflicts in developing countries confirmed that socio-economic factors do not cause conflicts themselves, it is rather an interaction of diverse questions that generate, amplify and even prolong them.<sup>69, 70</sup>

Although West Africa is recognized for its instability, certain researchers, including William Zartman, maintain that the sub-region has been capable of managing its own conflicts. However, this position could be questioned today due to the flagrant indicators of the fragility of the sub-region such as the cruelty of massacres through vengeance, the drug trafficking in Guinea-Bissau, and the absence of a clear consensus on the application of recommendations of the "Truth and Reconciliation" Commission in Liberia. In addition, poor governance, ethnic tensions, corruption, systemic inequality, endemic poverty and chronic underdevelopment exacerbate this fragility. Researchers often emphasized strategies to resolve and manage conflicts at the interior of states and political crises having significant sub-regional repercussions on democracy and development. However, some accounts available concentrate on the principal categories or responses to national conflicts, with an insistence on preventative peace-building and early warning. Relative to the existing approaches, Kimmel (1998)<sup>71</sup>, Deutsch and Coleman<sup>72</sup> maintain that traditional techniques of searching for peace could temporarily reduce the level of violence in a destructive conflict, but are not likely to reduce the risks of domino effects of politically motivated violence having established sub-regional repercussions.<sup>73</sup> Leggold highlights, on his side, the advantages and disadvantages of different regional strategies and mechanisms.<sup>74</sup> He analyzes the key aspects of regional strategies and the degree of implication of that called by the generic term "security externalities" in the dynamics of sub-regional conflicts. He brings out the threshold from which a domino-effect conflict affects neighboring countries and how this conflict can be generalized by dismantling the structure of the geographic regions that are nearby. However, before the generalization of Leggold on security externalities, Kolodziej had attracted attention to the danger and lapses often associated with a conflict of a sub-regional character, and then maintained that multiple types of regional security complexities specific to a given region can exist, which necessitates, consequently, prudence in generalization.<sup>75</sup> This idea conforms to the argument that different countries and regions live the political crisis differently.<sup>76</sup> That said, this complex situation raises the question of knowing in which way the political crisis in Guinea can be resolved in order to avoid a domino effect, with the use of a specific approach to the socio-political, governance and sub-regional security dynamic in West Africa.



## **C) - A SITUATION LONG DESCRIBED AS A SOURCE OF POSSIBLE CHAOS**

There has always been a well-founded fear that Guinea be taken in the turmoil of civil wars that began in Liberia in the 1990s and that reached Sierra Leone, Guinea-Bissau, Côte d'Ivoire, and then exacerbated the rising of separatists in Casamance, Senegal.<sup>77</sup> This situation created a massive inflow of refugees and displaced persons and thus made the economic and social security net and interethnic relations of the West African sub-region fragile. These conflicts directly and indirectly affected Guinea, not only with their hosting of a large population of refugees and its implication in the hostilities through a cross-border chain reaction effect,<sup>78</sup> but also by rendering the country more vulnerable to instability. Although Guinea succeeded in maintaining a relative stability and though it survived cross-border attacks during over two decades, the political crisis that is taking place currently is now in the midst of presenting security challenges to its neighbors. At the same moment that the riverside countries are in different phases of post-conflict reconstruction, the fear of seeing Guinea led into political instability is present. This could be interpreted as a potential breeding ground to re-create positions for poorly unarmed ex-combatants coming from the neighboring states of Liberia, Sierra Leone, Côte d'Ivoire and Guinea-Bissau.<sup>79,80</sup> The first threats to the security of Guinea came from chain reaction effects, including the refugee crisis. Human rights violations, endemic poverty, corruption, small arms proliferation, armed robbery, and drug trafficking are also a cocktail of internal and external factors that have had serious repercussions on the current political crisis. This situation has the possibility of launching a sub-regional humanitarian dilemma. Inside, there are diverse questions hidden such as poor governance, "ethnocentric" politics, corruption, patrimonial policy and poverty that smolder under the surface of a tense political infrastructure in Guinea that only wait for an occasion to explode.

## **D) - THE COLLECTIVE SECURITY INITIATIVE OF THE MANO RIVER BASIN**

The will to establish an inter-governmental ministerial committee in 1961 arose in the context of self-determination of the post-independence period, a common aspiration to reinforce social and economic cooperation between Liberia and Sierra Leone, two historically and ethnically linked countries. This necessitated the signature of the respective governments of the Mano River Union (MRU) Declaration of October 3, 1973. At this stage, the Union was principally conceived to allow for the free movement of ethnic neighbors, goods and services. The Republic of Guinea later became a signatory of the Treaty and joined the Union in 1980.<sup>81</sup> However, socio-cultural ties, economic interdependence and proximity made evident that a political crisis in any country of the MRU would have deep impacts on the others. They would be joined in April 2007 by Côte d'Ivoire.

During the period of signing of the Mano River Union agreement in 1961 and 1973, there were no concerns about relative questions of security, but under the somber mantle of suspicion of instability in the beginning of the 1980s, the three



heads of state signed a non-aggression treaty in 1986.<sup>82</sup> They recognized the importance of cooperation on the questions of security in the sub-region. This initiative necessitated the extension of the mandate of the Mano River Union to include the restoration of peace and stability in the sub-region. At the Summit of April 2000, held in Conakry (in Guinea), the heads of state of Guinea, Liberia and Sierra Leone signed the 15th Protocol that put into place the structures recommended by a consultative process in order to respond to questions of security and to re-establish confidence between the three countries.<sup>83</sup> This new structure includes a mixed commission for security, a technical committee and a service charged with security and reinforcement of relations of confidence along borders. It has the mandate of treating questions of common security and other related issues, such as the monitoring and evaluation of the security situation along border areas. In addition to this mechanism, the member states can also use the measures of the Mano River Union treaty for conflict resolution at the interior of these structures that give higher priority to dialogue than to arbitration-type resolutions.<sup>84</sup> The mandate stipulated that the three states establish cross-border mixed commissions to facilitate entries and exits between the countries. However, this measure was included only because of suspicion, accusations and counter accusations of the extension of the war in Liberia and Sierra Leone in the direction of Guinea. These plans were made, but only applied in part, due to the lack of resources and to the instability that struck the whole sub-region.

Nonetheless, the countries were obliged to respect the terms and conditions of the mandates, but the lack of military means and of immediately operational logistics, to face the demands of an urgent and tense situation in Liberia, prevented them from taking certain measures concerning security. In spite of the will of Guinean and Sierra Leonean governments to respect the mandate, it would have been very difficult for the two countries to provide a sufficient military peace-keeping force to intervene in neighboring Liberia.<sup>85</sup> Hence, one of the reasons that led to the solicitation of support from ECOWAS to supply a much more significant peace-keeping force (ECOMOG), under the auspices of the United Nations Security Council, to contain the situation in Sierra Leone and in Liberia.

## MAP OF THE MANO RIVER BASSIN AND NEIGHBORING COUNTRIES



**Source:** Gwynne-Jones, D.R.G. Mitchell, P.K. Harvey, M.E. and Swindle, K. (1978) A New Geography of Sierra Leone. London: Longman.



## **E) - PRINCIPAL AXES OF THE STUDY**

### **General challenges for Peace-keeping in the Mano River Basin**

One of the most fundamental domains examined by this study was the degree to which peace-building efforts are integrated and coordinated by the two countries to avoid instability in Guinea. Before examining this aspect, it is necessary to confirm that the peace-building efforts of the international community remain insufficient in the face of the complex challenges of the establishment of lasting peace in the societies torn apart by war in West Africa.<sup>86</sup> Many researchers and academics who study the multi-dimensional challenges of peace-keeping in post-conflict periods<sup>87</sup> are unsatisfied with international efforts because of a lack of capacity, coordination and flexibility necessary to effectively manage the transition from war to peace.<sup>88</sup> Lessons learned in the West African sub-region justified the argument according to which peace-building efforts were uniquely limited to the measures taken on the level of the states, taken individually, with very minimal efforts to counter these challenges. With questions such as "to what extent sub-regional institutions such as ECOWAS and the states of Liberia and Sierra Leone coordinate their efforts with respective governments to drive peace-building efforts destined to prevent possible instability in Guinea"; and, "to what extent, current and past efforts of peace-building in the geographic area are effective in the prevention of conflicts and political crises at the national and sub-regional level?", it appeared that the links between political instability in Guinea and its impacts on neighbors were taken seriously by the sub-regional decision-makers. However, the absence of the application of border security initiatives, and insufficiencies in terms of financing, were among the most important challenges to advancing the sub-regional peace-building initiative.<sup>89</sup>

In addition, although political and civil society actors targeted in the study know the political, economic, military and socio-cultural consequences of instability, it was nonetheless confirmed that peace-building efforts still remain confined to national frameworks directed by non-state actors.<sup>90</sup> This situation contributes to weakening efforts in peace construction and work towards exiting from the crisis at the sub-regional level. However, it appeared that community actors in Sierra Leone collaborated often with Guineans from the other side of the border in awareness-raising efforts on border security initiatives. Indeed, one of our interviewees confirmed that: "Sub-regional actors and political decision-makers have often missed realizing that, when peace-building efforts are applied in the framework of directives emanating from the state, the enemies of peace in the neighboring state can equally take advantage of porous borders to fraudulently introduce illicit products, drugs, arms trafficking, including mercenaries who can help to stir up the fire in the immediate area. Several facts have proven that sub-regional policies and efforts at peace building remain ineffective in fighting cross-border problems—and thus push the risks of the fragilization of the security of individual states. Up to the present, the political decision-makers often maintained silence on the sub-regional dimensions of political instability in peace-building

efforts."<sup>91</sup>

It appears that complexity and sensitivity, and the lack of political will of decision-makers in the sub-region to treat the political problem in Guinea, is among the most important challenges to peace-building efforts. This situation makes it imperative that all forms of intervention to resolve national questions in-depth without paying attention to the dynamics of peace and security in the sub-region can be interpreted as deliberate negligence on the part of political actors in the taking of responsibility of certain deeply rooted causes of sub-regional crises. Although sub-regional consequences are clearly understood, actors have the tendency not to use them for the establishment of sub-regional approaches to address obstacles to peace and security.

### **The role of sub-regional institutions in the resolution of security consequences of the instability in Guinea**

This part of the study reinforces the analysis conducted above by critically examining the often assumed relationship between regional cooperation initiatives and collective peace-building efforts to treat the questions of peace and security in the Mano River Basin. Experience has shown that a collective effort of the MRU countries, and particularly of Liberia and Sierra Leone, to prevent political instability or to contribute to peace-building efforts, depends largely on the ways in which these initiatives and their activities are conceived and put into action. This brings up questions of understanding whether the existing efforts of preventative peace-building were used to contain the national and sub-regional security dilemma, that is to say, an effort of sufficiently large scope to facilitate more peaceful relations between Liberia, Guinea and Sierra Leone on the vertical and horizontal levels, all the while maintaining an eye on future instability, from wherever it comes.

The answer to the speculative question is very evident in the framework of conflict prevention and peace-building, which is also evident in the Mano River Union Declaration and in the Protocols and mechanisms of ECOWAS for the free circulation of peoples<sup>92</sup>. In other words, the MRU and ECOWAS both have conflict prevention and peace-building frameworks that already contain measures to treat peace and the threats to security in West Africa. For example, the sub-regional ECOWAS Conflict Prevention Framework, adopted by the heads of state of ECOWAS in January 2008 in Ouagadougou created the possibility that the ECOWAS of heads of state be transformed into an ECOWAS of peoples<sup>93</sup>. This was a significant step that solicited great optimism in the option for conflict prevention and peace-building on a sub-regional level, thus accelerating sub-regional integration initiatives.

However, there exist several indicators that confirm the slow pace of sub-regional institutions, in particular ECOWAS and MRU, in spite of their capacity to stimulate the free circulation of goods and populations and to support peace-building efforts. Apart from the joint framework of early warning and conflict prevention of WANEP and ECOWAS (known by the acronym ECOWARN) created to oversee early warning, no concrete political decision has been formulated to answer the signals of early warning on the community level.<sup>94</sup> In addition, no restrictive mechanism exist on the state level or on the sub-regional level to help in monitoring the obstacles



of free circulation of goods and services between borders—as a part of the sub-regional integration agenda and conflict-prevention mechanisms. That is to say, mechanisms to prevent the worst-case scenarios, like that which is foreseen for Guinea. Although the last two years were punctuated by the promotion of mutual reinforcement of ties between economic integration and sub-regional peace and security, there have not been many accomplishments in this direction since the adoption of the framework in Ouagadougou in 2008. This also explains the insufficiencies in the materialization of the political ideas on concrete instruments of politics in the West African sub-region. This explains, in part, the slow pace recorded in the will to resolve the border differences that face Guinea and Sierra Leone regarding Yenga.

In addition, security personnel grant little serious attention to risk factors of cross-border conflicts. It is to be foreseen that the possible repercussions of instability in Guinea will be more devastating if ever a powerful mechanism for surveillance and response as described above is not put into place. Moreover, it is important to highlight that many existing opportunities for peace-building on the local community level are not taken into consideration by the sub-regional institutions to help face threats that weigh on the cross-border crises. The facts, in this regard, are that the border disagreements are not taken into consideration by sub-regional institutions to help face threats that weigh on cross-border crises. The facts, in this regard, are that the border disagreement that opposes Guinea and Sierra Leone and the mistrust between Guinea and Liberia, arising from games of accusations and counter-accusations for having supported opposition dissidents at the end of 2000 and the beginning of 2001, have not been resolved in a satisfactory manner at the sub-regional, state and community levels.

This post-conflict atmosphere informs, if the need exists, the demand and the necessary weight that must be taken into account in conflict resolution. All of this leads to the arousal of anger and hatred that feed stereotypes and behaviors that arise at the heart of communities on state borders. The three states should have attempted to better coordinate their efforts in facing the security threats that disturb cross-border relationships in this zone.

### **The first refugee crisis in Guinea**

The phenomenon of refugees has been an essential component of forced and voluntary migration in Africa.<sup>95</sup> At the height of the civil war in Liberia and Sierra Leone, close to 800,000 refugees lived in Guinea.<sup>96</sup> The majority of people interviewed in this study have, in one way or another, sought refuge in Guinea during the civil war that lasted fourteen years in Liberia and eleven years in Sierra Leone and their answers present contradictory opinions concerning the possibility of hosting refugees from Guinea. The majority of people interviewed come back to the conditions of their own hosting and how they were treated in Guinea as refugees.<sup>97</sup> With the exception of those that did not seek refuge in the country, the majority still maintained grievances against their former hosts. Indeed, they insist on the manner with which they were treated. Only a few people interviewed

did not have the memory of having been victims of xenophobic attacks after the declaration of the late President Lansana Conté. Indeed, the general declared that, "Guinea is currently a target of external aggression by Liberians and Sierra Leoneans. They destroyed their country and now they want to destroy ours. We cannot allow that. Guinea has always helped other African countries to resolve their problems. Now it is time that we solve ours and leave them to resolve theirs. It was our generosity in helping others that led us to this situation. We have allowed too many foreigners to enter our country; and this is how they pay us back. There are too many foreigners in our city and in all of our villages. They should go home. Too much is too much. Go all over the country, whatever the place, and bring them to the community leaders, police stations and prisons. They are responsible for all of these problems. We helped them; too much is too much."<sup>98</sup>

This declaration set off xenophobic sentiments, leading to violence on a large scale against the refugees, whose presence in the country was perceived as a cause of the economic and political crisis that was rife in Guinea. The hate speech by President Conté exacerbated anti-refugee sentiments throughout the country. The general situation brought about a major humanitarian crisis that led to a massive and "voluntary" return of Sierra Leoneans and Liberians to their countries of origin, thus exposing them to the worst acts of violence.

It is a truth known to all that the responses of the late President Lansana Conté to the diverse threats presented by the activities of neighboring countries were made to the detriment of refugees in Guinea, with flagrant violations of their rights as stipulated by international humanitarian law. In other words, the Guinean authorities ignored all protocols and conventions on refugees by responding to the threats that were weighing on Guinea by the conflicts in these two countries. A large-scale persecution of refugees resulted. In Guinea, the factor of fear was based on the suspicion and negative perception that the rebel fighters with criminal intentions had infiltrated the mass of refugees and civilians to cross borders and "invade" the Guinean territory. In spite of the expression of negative sentiments, the majority of people interviewed had expressed their availability to support their kin of the same ethnicity from the other side of the borders, in spite of past events.<sup>99</sup>

The first groups of refugees that arrived in Guinean territory were received by kin of the same ethnicity.<sup>100</sup> Having ethnic, linguistic and cultural similarities, many refugees could easily adapt and socially and economically integrate into their respective local host communities before rescue organizations were able to come to help them in the different camps and settlement areas<sup>101</sup> arranged to host them. But from 1999 until 2002, things changed to take unprecedented forms.

### **Ethnic interdependence and the establishment of a contingency plan in the face of a "foreseeable" refugee crisis**

The majority of people interviewed in Liberia and Sierra Leone were disposed to host kin of the same ethnic group living on the opposite side of the border if the



latter were displaced due to instability in Guinea. This confirms the hypotheses according to which many people, in particular the communities living along the border, prefer to host refugees on the basis of ethnic belonging rather than on other exclusively humanitarian basis. People living in the immediate proximity of the border areas consider the fact of hosting their Guinean kin of the same ethnicity as a responsibility and a moral obligation. This implies that, in spite of the lines of demarcation of colonial borders, these populations identify with other populations from the opposite side of the border on the basis of ethnic, religious and cultural belonging, rather than on the basis of factors such as nationality and citizenship guaranteed by the legislation of their respective states.

When we asked about the types of contingency plans or preventive alert measures that were established by the local communities relative to the foreseeable social and security consequences of instability in Guinea, the community actors in Sierra Leone confirmed that an important awareness effort was under way through education of local residents about their obligations to host refugees. While we observed an openness to host Guinean refugees at the majority of Sierra Leonean homes, the contrary seemed to be true with those people interviewed in Liberia. It appeared that the majority of Liberians expressed profound concern about the lack of preparation and establishment of a contingency plan to host Guinean refugees. A limited number of influential voices among community actors in Liberia expressed their availability to host refugees, on humanitarian and ethnic bases, even if at the price of their fragile national security.

One must point out that land conflicts remain unresolved and uncompromising. Indeed, the ethnic Mandinka communities remain in waiting for a lasting solution, after their land and homes were confiscated by their neighbors from Mano and other ethnic groups since the Liberian civil war displaced them. A manager from civil society who monitors and helps the resolution of this question between the Mandinka and other ethnic groups declared, "It will be extremely difficult for the Liberians to host the Guineans based on the past experiences of mistrust between the two countries. Of course, the government is obligated to host refugees on the basis of international commitments on the international convention on refugees. However, this will be very difficult to do in a context of post-conflict problems that are yet to be resolved. In fact, the members of other ethnic groups who illegally confiscated the property belonging to members of the Mandinka ethnic community during the Liberian civil war still feel threatened in terms of their return to take back their homes and their land. The Mano populations say that the Mandinka are not Liberians, hence the occupation of their properties since the Mandinka were obliged to move to find refuge in neighboring countries. In reality, this is one of the most serious problems of the Liberian civil war that remains without a solution."<sup>102</sup>

This response highlights the sensitive character of the post-conflict environment in which the Guineans could be hosted in Liberia.<sup>103</sup> The unresolved land conflict between Liberians of Guinean origin and the Mano ethnic group is one of numerous social wounds that the peace process in Liberia was not capable



of healing. Unfortunately, it is not classified as a security priority of first rank on the government's political agenda, in spite of bitter lessons learned in fourteen years of civil war. The failure to resolve this social crisis between the communities will pose a threat to peace and bring about instability at the heart of Liberia and Sierra Leone. Hence the pertinence of the point of view according to which the peace accords treat political and military questions but miss out on resolving basic social problems such as poverty, refugee issues, displaced persons and the subtleties of cross-border ethnic antagonisms.<sup>104</sup> It is therefore clear that Liberia is not the best destination for eventual Guinean refugees.

However, in Sierra Leone, communities are constantly in the midst of being made aware of the precarious humanitarian situation and the consequences that come along with it. For example, an awareness-raising effort in rural communities is under way to prepare the community for the situation it must expect and how to treat the refugees if the need arises. One must only regret that the degree of consciousness and the level of preparation of the local community are higher than the administrative preparation of the government to manage any inflow of refugees.

### **Instability in Guinea as a threat to human security on the sub-regional level**

Conceptually, human security has gone through several stages of changing paradigms, from a function that is a matter for the state, to the concern for life and human dignity.<sup>105</sup> The basic reality of the 21st century is that even though it is the sovereign responsibility of a state to protect the country, there are evident problems of human insecurity to take into consideration on the national and sub-regional levels. The pertinence attached to other social and economic conditions has broadened the conceptual parameters and the importance of human security discourse, permanently, and in several ways, rather than narrowly limiting it to the military perspective centered on the state.<sup>106</sup>

Human security is studied in this part of the report, starting from the general hypothesis according to which sub-regional security cannot be realized without granting special attention to the imperatives of human security on a national level. One can maintain that the process of reconstruction after the wars in Liberia and in Sierra Leone depended largely on peace and stability in Guinea. Considering the natural proximity of the three countries, this was not only to determine the degree to which the sub-regional actors were capable of collectively committing to meet the challenges of human security for states, but also to pay greater attention to the circulation of goods and services over borders to determine the importance with which instability in Guinea would affect human security in Sierra Leone and Liberia.<sup>107</sup>

Although the architecture of monitoring peace was established from efforts of collaboration of ECOWAS with state and non-state actors to help the surveillance of early warning indicators, the effectiveness of such a structure was questioned in order to determine the level at which it could help to face questions such as instability and its consequences on other countries. It also evaluates, in a critical manner, how peace-



building efforts were used as an auxiliary initiative to face factors of fragility of sub-regional states, with direct and indirect threats to human security on the level of these states and of the sub-region as a whole. This also demands to help in the resolution of challenges presented to human security on the national level.<sup>108</sup> From this fact, it is indispensable to grant a more significant consideration to non-traditional security questions such as disease, poverty, juvenile delinquency, prostitution and environmental degradation in the three states.

The interdependent nature and proximity of the countries, as well as the porosity of borders, calls for taking responsibility for human security in a global and concerted way.<sup>109</sup> This helps to examine to what degree the security initiatives of States directly and indirectly influence sub-regional security imperatives. Up until this point in the argument, we have attempted to confirm through our examples, that poverty, food insecurity, the impacts of chain reaction effects and violence for political motives, that could all affect the life and livelihoods of people in Guinea, will also have, without a doubt, serious repercussions on the local dimension of human security in neighboring countries. It is evident that the violence of the 1990s in the sub-region is an irrefutable element to justify such an argument. Regional dynamics of conflicts and the cross-border nature of threats to security, like small arms proliferation, drugs, and human trafficking, have serious repercussions on the social, economic and political capital of the region.

Arguments and divergent analyses exist among experts. Indeed, certain groups judge that the most serious challenge to human security in the sub-region finds its roots in the manner in which individual States establish their own human security to the detriment of a global vision.<sup>110</sup> Today, with firmly rooted poverty, the absence of economic opportunities and alternative strategies that strike many people in the sub-region, populations become targets that are easy to recruit into the networks of organized crime, with serious consequences on stability on the sub-regional level. In addition, instability in Guinea will increase the vulnerability of the Sierra Leonean and Liberian borders. It is evident that the infernos that preceded the political crisis in Guinea redrew the security environment in such a way that the enemies of peace, including drug cartels, consider the present political crisis a benediction.

As many researchers and observers have mentioned, criminal networks in West Africa are made up of a multitude of actors.<sup>111</sup> Those whose source of survival entirely depends on the facilitation of fraudulent activities between the three countries were satisfied to see Guinea progressively turn towards a political crisis with serious security consequences on the sub-regional level. Many of the people interviewed confirmed that these criminal networks still exist and are, at times, helped by cross-border ethnic communities. To the extent that the traditional alternative system of subsistence is disturbed during civil war, this type of criminality has made dependent those civilians who look at these activities as formal economic activities in their environment.



A general consensus exists among researchers who study the end of conflicts that declares that when law and institutional order are rendered fragile, criminal activities; whether they be organized or occasional, increase. Plunder, extortion of funds through corruption and robbery become major sources of revenue.<sup>112</sup> In these circumstances, state actors generally no longer have power because of institutional dysfunctions. As also observed in Liberia and in Sierra Leone, the conviction is established that this situation will cause a new class of actors to arise, such as smugglers, black market traffickers, racketeers, moneychangers, and street hawkers. This situation describes the scenario on the ground on the border areas of the Mano River Basin, since the actors just described were in large numbers along the borders of Sierra Leone, Guinea and Liberia as of our passage.<sup>113</sup> Their presence presents more and more of a threat in the sub-region. This phenomenon will increasingly become a manifest reality if decisive prevention mechanisms of a sub-regional dimension are not established to contain instability in Guinea.

Lastly, we noticed a guilty lack of urgency on the level of states of the sub-region to face the challenges presented for human security, above all, if the latter can have negative consequences for all of the sub-region. As in the case of Guinea, violence has political motivations, but, most often, the nature of state decisions in terms of the peace-building process in neighboring countries justifies sub-regional fragility. Some critics, such as Kumar<sup>114</sup>, maintain that much too much attention and too many resources are set aside for the realization of less ambitious objectives. This attitude threatens the success of a vaster and more general agenda of peace-building on the national and sub-regional level.<sup>115</sup>

## **F) - IMPACT ON CROSS-BORDER TRADE AND ON SOCIETY IN LIBERIA AND SIERRA LEONE**

People sharing a common language, and cultural and ethnic ties, have co-existed with a long history of commercial trade which has created economic security for populations over centuries. It is evident, as highlighted earlier in this report, that no economic progress can exist without a peaceful, stable and assured environment<sup>116</sup>; this can be verified clearly for Liberia and Sierra Leone. Cross-border trade is at the heart of this reality and represents a livelihood for both countries. There is no doubt that Guinea offered the means of survival for many Sierra Leoneans and Liberians. It was clearly underlined in this study that the slightest instability in Guinea will present threats for human security and cross-border commerce in a Sierra Leone and Liberia impoverished after the war.

Instability in Guinea has serious socio-economic consequences on trade relations between the countries. In reality, formal exports from Guinea to Sierra Leone and Liberia dropped considerably because of the current crisis. This observation alone shows how much more significant instability can further disturb the commercial interdependence and survival of populations.

The nature of security management models based on the abuse exercised by a



large number of border guards has contributed to the porosity of borders. Itinerant vendors, security personnel and community actors who were interviewed during the work on this study, confirmed that cross-border trade consisted, in most cases, of fraudulent transactions of renewable and non-renewable natural resources, while legal exchanges included agricultural products, cosmetic products, paper and other useful articles, in particular for cities and cross-border communities. In addition, security agents who oversee the control posts extort, on a daily basis, traders who walk through the border on foot. This justifies to the latter their need to find "alternative routes" to illegally move their merchandise. Although suspicion and mistrust between communities often continue to manifest themselves in business relationships, informal cross-border trade continued, even at the height of instability.

### **Instability in Guinea and its impact on the traditional models of co-existence in the Mano River Basin**

It is to be highlighted that, according to our investigations, ethnic interdependence and the traditional model of co-existence can show themselves not to be pertinent in their capacities to settle conflicts arising from the experience of past crises. It was confirmed that populations have held a certain degree of latent hatred that could create real tension in relations between Guinean refugees and host populations. Clearly, the last ten years saw major changes in the relations and models of co-existence between Guinea and its neighbors, due to the civil war that struck the sub-region.

The complete breakdown of the rural security net that resulted from extreme violence will have a direct impact on traditional models of co-existence to the point that potential refugees could suffer from it. Already, one can highlight the existence of tensions in relations between and at the heart of communities that have their origin in the continuous frictions that result, for the most part, from problems not only of access, but also of mining of resources along borders between countries. Animosity is strong, for example, between communities of farmers and shepherds, both on the interior and across borders. It is the same for river fishermen, like those who practice their activities on the Moa River that separates Guinea from Sierra Leone.

Independently of that, all of the countries of the West African sub-region have either directly or indirectly lived through the impact of conflicts and political instability with immense repercussions on the coexistence of cross-border communities. In the end, we can maintain that mistrust and difficult relationships between the three countries, resulting from past experience make it more difficult to host Guinean refugees. In spite of the availability of ethnic communities in Sierra Leone to host their kin coming from Guinea, it is to be feared that old quarrels can reignite. However, indispensable dynamics and commercial relations, as well as historical and ethnic interdependence also helped to reconstruct "natural" relationships between Liberia and Sierra Leone.



But in spite of the optimism expressed by many, that Guinea, unlike Sierra Leone, will never drift into civil war whose consequences would be to affect the traditional model of co-existence, our studies in the field reaffirmed the argument according to which, political instability and the past civil war, perturbed the traditional model of co-existence and interdependence. In response to the question, "What is the socio-cultural capital necessary to develop the co-existence of Liberia and Sierra Leone?" many people evoked the necessity to re-energize the existing function of traditional initiatives that answer the needs of ethnic groups from countries of the Mano River Union. Moreover, many people interviewed thought of the facilitation of dialogue through the organization of inter-community and cross-border events in order to do the most possible as a means of bringing together kin of the same ethnic groups from across borders. Many of our interviewees considered the multiplication of cross-border intercommunity events as a means to eliminate ethnic animosity and the stereotypes and prejudice that result from it. It is almost self-evident that initiatives of this kind can reinforce knowledge of others, aptitudes and general attitudes that will allow people of all ages, and at all levels, to develop the behaviors that would prevent the occurrence and re-occurrence of conflicts. They will be at the basis of a birth of social conditions that encourage peace in the whole of the sub-region. These activities can occur in formal and informal frameworks (intercommunity meetings, traditional ceremonies, forums of discussion of common problems and so on).

To the question "What are the new policies and strategies necessary to reinforce the co-existence of the three countries, Guinea, Liberia and Sierra Leone?" many non-state actors suggested that the three governments must continue to reinforce their ties and fight mistrust by placing the accent on the necessity to prevent border disputes and the establishment of the foundations for the promotion of the free circulation of goods, services and persons. Similarly, many intellectuals support the idea that other factors must be integrated into the conception of sub-regional peace-building initiatives. For this category of individuals, it is clear that dynamics of peace and security will remain illusory in the sub-region and their impacts on the sentiment of interdependence and survival of populations will be negative if ever intermediary solutions are not found. These policies and strategies will consist in giving priority to collaborative mechanisms with the aim of reinforcing early warning signals and establishing recommendations for an effective reactivity of national and sub-regional institutions. It is symptomatic to observe that the three countries cruelly lack capable measures to reinforce shared trust in order to foster synergy between their different assets to attack head-on the causes and factors favoring conflicts in the sub-region. As we discussed a bit earlier, the border disputes between Guinea and Sierra Leone are there to illustrate this lack of will.

It is in this same order of ideas that it is necessary to replace the reciprocal mistrust between Guinea and Liberia, a mistrust born of the war and of the "alleged support" that Guinea brought to dissidents to chase Charles Taylor from power. This accusation had negative repercussions on current relations between the two neighboring countries, whether it is at a state or local community level. The impact of these events on community sentiment and on the co-existence of rural populations



remains deeply rooted in minds. One must also highlight that our investigations allowed us to understand the porous nature and easy penetration of borders that, added to the absence of a coordinated and coherent border policy between the three states explains the reserved attitudes between Guinea and its two neighbors. Since the beginning of the political crisis in the country, set off after the death of President Lansana Conté and the bloodless coup d'état of Captain Dadis Camara, the relations between the two countries have remained at the same level as before.

The late President Lansana Conté followed a defensive strategy whose negative consequences faded the coexistence of the border communities.

### **Instability in Guinea and its psychological implications on Sierra Leone and Liberia**

Existing studies on the post-conflict period<sup>117, 118, 119</sup> grant sufficient interest to psychological impacts of civil war on the behaviors of neighboring states. Two decades of violence in the sub-region led to, and maintained, a network of individuals directly linked to violence and criminality. Dr. Amos Sawyer described this situation by declaring, "The existence of young traumatized persons, the knowledge of destructive behaviors from a variety of situations, cultures and circumstances and the occasion offered by the breakdown of order and the absence of restrictive influences on the part of regional and international communities are contributing factors to the humanitarian nightmare experienced in Liberia and in Sierra Leone."<sup>120</sup>

Following the logic that underlies this analysis, we can argue that the long armed conflict in the sub-region brought about a massive and radical transformation of the security environment. This situation could, if it is not mastered, stir up the flames of instability in Guinea. As highlighted above, endemic poverty and the free circulation of arms are serious sources of concern. Indeed, juvenile criminality has become an integral part of daily life for populations of the interior as it has across the borders in Sierra Leone and Liberia. Enemies of peace could easily exploit this unprecedented situation if preventive actions are not taken to resolve the political crisis in Guinea.

Today the sub-region of the Mano River Basin is judged to be one of the most precarious because of the illegal trade in arms among ex-combatants. The main method of arms proliferation in such an environment is linked to a fact that has become endemic: arms have become a method of survival,<sup>121</sup> not to mention a tool of work. The researcher, De Waal, highlights that, for an important number of youth living in this environment, combat is a lifestyle, a career, a profession or even a vocation.<sup>122</sup> In spite of the importance of operations of disarmament, demobilization and reintegration (DDR), arms assume not only an economic value, but also a security value for their holders.<sup>123</sup> Employment opportunities being limited, just as productive aptitudes of ex-combatants who remain marginalized, it becomes very difficult to put down arms. Barbara Walker highlighted that the signature of a peace accord to end civil war is sometimes not very effective in

ending the central issues of security and poverty that prevail in an environment where law and order have broken down. <sup>124</sup>

This is why one can maintain that a conflict in Guinea will be more devastating for the sub-region than what occurred in Sierra Leone and Liberia during the last two decades, due to the sub-regional security fragility. A former combatant of the National Patriotic Front of Liberia (NPFL), the rebel faction of the former president, Charles Taylor, interviewed in Liberia declared, "They did not succeed in bringing us support since the end of the war in Liberia. The government and the international community did not manage to offer us a support framework for reintegration. Only a few of our comrades benefited from training leading to a qualification and tools that were given them after two to three weeks of training. They sold the tools later because no one could give them work. So, we are waiting to find work in Guinea. Most of us are ready to do something in Guinea, if we are hired." <sup>125</sup>

This declaration allows one to grasp the gravity of the situation of poorly re-integrated ex-combatants who are ready to recycle themselves, if ever a crisis of large scale were to be set off in Guinea. <sup>126</sup>

Answers to the question "What will be the psychosocial implication of instability in Guinea on the geographic circuit of the Mano River Basin?" brought out that a crisis would create, without any doubt, a greater psychosocial instability in the sub-region. The same situation prevailed during the civil wars in Liberia and Sierra Leone. They stimulated a massive exodus of refugees towards Guinean territory that provoked a vast humanitarian catastrophe accompanied by immense psychosocial problems among refugees and host populations. Although UNHCR closed the chapter on Sierra Leonean refugees, since December 31, 2008, several thousand of them still live in Guinea, with innumerable difficulties of integration and the possibility to return to their country of origin presenting enormous problems. Previous experience showed that Sierra Leonean and Liberian refugees are victims of intimidations of xenophobic attacks each time the country is confronted with the slightest threat of political instability. Persistent rumors argue that the massacres of September 28 were perpetrated by a combination of marginalized ex-combatants coming from the borders of Sierra Leone and Liberia, to the point that many Sierra Leoneans integrated in several Guinean communities were intimidated.

We were also able to observe a close relationship between the political crisis in Guinea and the troubles resulting from post-traumatic stress among people who were exposed to great suffering and violence over neighboring borders during the last two decades. Our research among Sierra Leonean refugees in Guinea made evident that the current political crisis has serious impacts on those among them who are still present on the Guinean territory. Thousands of Sierra Leonean and Liberian refugees who lost their houses, and who consequently tried to integrate into Guinean communities (in particular in the capital of Conakry) feel threatened by the perspective of the return to their respective countries due to the threats of instability in Guinea.



Note that among people living in the immediate proximity of international borders in Liberia, as in Sierra Leone, who were exposed to violence and to continually deteriorating social conditions, the psychological impact is immense to the point of rendering them emotionally insensitive and causing them to lose hope in the security architecture of the state each time there are signs of instability in the country. Concerning the youth, our studies confirmed that the "culture of violence" transforms them and further reinforces in them the conviction that aggressive attitudes and violent behavior are acceptable norms in an environment where violence is perceived as an alternative survival strategy. The child soldiers of yesterday are today marginalized criminals without hope for the future that are, therefore, easily recuperated by the "merchants of death."

### **Crossing borders and consequences on peace and security**

This part of the report discusses the circulation of people across international borders and its security consequences, if instability in Guinea is not prevented.<sup>127</sup>

The weak level of knowledge about security questions and the absence of public discourse on related aspects continue to present serious concerns for states in the sub-region. A critical observation and involvement close to the border security and immigration agents show the low level of professionalism, or even lax attitudes on questions of cross-border security. Nonetheless, to a very large extent, the local authorities with the responsibility for the protection of borders seem very optimistic about the fact that they are well secured and that an identical crisis to that which occurred in Sierra Leone and Liberia will not come to pass in Guinea. While we attempted to understand the type of mechanisms to establish for a monitoring center, we noticed an inadequacy in the commitment of the government to take responsibility for the threat to security and to protect the sovereignty of the country.

Even though the Secretariat of the Mano River Union and ECOWAS do not consider it pertinent to establish all structures to face this foreseeable security and humanitarian dilemma, it appeared that the lack of political will on the part of governments, combined with a lack of resources to establish a credible security infrastructure, do not in any way tarnish this desire to see one day, the establishment of adequate surveillance mechanisms on the borders. In addition, the security structure of the United Nations Mission in Liberia (UNMIL), that leads patrols to the border with Liberia, and the governmental security oversight system are visibly weak, and even, in a certain measure, non-existent. A security agent working on intelligence at the border between Guinea and Liberia declared when he was interviewed, "I have traveled all over in the country to evaluate the security system and to recommend measures to the government to improve the security infrastructure. For very strange reasons, the government officials and security personnel seemed very complacent about problems of security on the borders, in spite of terrible lessons learned during recent decades. Security agents, including those of immigration, are more concerned about extorting funds from smugglers



and small traders than in taking care of questions of security. It is a disgrace that the majority of our agents desert their posts of control to go sleep elsewhere at night."<sup>128</sup>

In this geographic area, migration has, for a long time, been a way of life, and has always played a central role in subsistence strategies, at the same time for rural and urban populations, on the interior and between colonial borders. Sierra Leone includes the least internationally recognized border posts among the three countries.<sup>129</sup> Liberia has three, while Guinea has six with each of the four remaining countries that have, on their side, different points of passage, with the exception of Côte d'Ivoire that shares common borders with Guinea and Liberia. The other neighbors of Guinea, notably Senegal, Côte d'Ivoire, Mali and Guinea-Bissau, have different points of border passage that link them to the heart of the African continent. This also explains the possible extension of the geographic spread of the consequences of instability in Guinea on the West African sub-region in whatever amplitude it may have.

One major problem is that borders were traced without any linguistic, historical, traditional, social or cultural consideration. Those that traced them forgot the ties that united kin of the same ethnicity within and across borders.<sup>130</sup> Relatives and families of the same ethnicity were separated by force, without giving them a chance to opt for a choice to belong to one or another territory. In addition to these human problems, no reflection was engaged on the manner of sharing natural cross-border resources. Indeed, these countries share natural resources along their common borders and, in certain places, these resources extend further into other countries.<sup>131</sup> Today, the geographic localization of natural resources overlaps the countries. This situation led many researchers, including Adebayo<sup>132</sup> and Ayissi<sup>133</sup> to attribute a growing number of cross-border conflicts to the colonial heritage and to the consequences that result from drawing borders.

In certain areas, rivers served as border markings with very little reflection on the future consequences of this will to erect "natural" borders. For example, the border between Guinea and Sierra Leone is the Moa River. Lans Gberie, citing Greene, observed that, "The curious thing on these borders, a segment of river in a lost forest, no passports, no barriers to the tribes that are roaming, is that they are as distinct as a European border, by getting out of a pirogue, one can find oneself in a different country. Even the nature has changed; at the place of a forest (...) a narrow path extends straight ahead for kilometers and kilometers through giant cattails without trees." <sup>134</sup>

Light arms and small caliber arms brought in, illegally, after the conflicts in Sierra Leone, Liberia, Guinea-Bissau and Côte d'Ivoire, contribute to the fragility of security in the sub-region. After one critical observation of the border environment, it appeared that the porosity of borders will continue to serve as fertile ground for networks of organized crime. Ideally, the official points of entry and exit should have been the only zones of internationally recognized passage. On the contrary, we witness a multiplication of points of entry and exit between the countries, the majority of them unknown by public service agents. These paths are not objects of concern on the part of the border security agents and remain, consequently, without oversight. Moreover,



the non-official point of entry is made up of shortcuts, which are very often epitomized by small paths that are regularly used by local residents to go about their daily activities on one side or the other of the border. Criminal networks make the most of these points of passage to introduce products of contraband with the complicity of local residents themselves as testifies a border security agent, "The posts of security on borders are not there only so that we can do our work. The real contraband does not go by here, and even if that were the case, it does not take place in the light of day. The border is closed before 6pm. Security and immigration agents leave the control post empty between 10pm and midnight to go sleep with their families and return early in the morning. The situation has improved greatly because the soldiers of Bangladesh from UNMIL constantly oversee our work while they patrol in the zone to confirm if we are in place, due to the rumors that we desert our posts. In fact, the majority of criminal activities do not occur here. And, in addition, we are not well paid to the point of risking our lives in the pursuit of criminal gangs that indulge in drug trafficking or contraband in lumber." 135

This situation makes the three countries very vulnerable. Past experience also showed that the closing of official points of entry to prevent the infiltration of combatants into neighboring countries did not prevent the development of organized crime and criminal activities inside and outside of Guinean territory. The poor state of the road network and of infrastructure is also one of the factors that contribute to organized crime in this corridor. The civil wars in Sierra Leone and in Liberia destabilized the road networks that link Guinea to the two countries. The lack or advanced state of degradation of infrastructure considerably limits free circulation and commercial opportunities. The civil wars are a real windfall for those who indulge in criminal activities in Guinea. They seem to be the only alternative sources of supplying the two countries. One of the other major consequences of this situation is the high cost of transportation of food products, due to harassment imposed by security agents in the border service. These "plundering" practices oblige communities to resort to contraband.

### **Ethnic dynamics and sub-regional consequences of instability in Guinea**

The least violence that will be exercised on the most numerous and the richest ethnic group in Guinea, notably the Fulani, will bring about tension in all of the country, and even affect human security in the sub-region. The Fulani ethnic group has always considered itself a victim of the authoritarian regime of President Sékou Touré. Consequently, the Fulani feeds resentment and has a strong sentiment that they must govern the country since the first two presidents of the post-independence period were from the Mandinka and Susu ethnicities and Captain Dadis Camera was from an ethnicity from the Forest region of Guinea.

The majority of people interviewed expressed their concern regarding the situation in Guinea where ethnic divisions have become sources of precariousness in the sub-region. Experts alerted that the rise in tension on ethnic bases could



spread to Liberia, Côte d'Ivoire, Sierra Leone, Guinea-Bissau, Senegal and Mali,<sup>136</sup> immediate neighbors of Guinea. This situation is justified by cultural, economic and historical ties that exist between the peoples of these countries. A cross study of speeches, especially those of community actors, reveals that each ethnic group in Guinea has close ties of belonging with kin on the other side of the border. From this fact, a political crisis, with ethnic undertones, in a country that had served as the breadbasket to its six neighbors, will have serious consequences for those of the same ethnicity on the other side of the border.

Few people of influence among those interviewed expressed fear that the countries which have deeply engrained "ethnocentric political dynamics" will have difficulty managing a political transition without violence. This justifies the need for neighbors of Guinea to reinforce security on borders and to establish surveillance and early warning systems to prepare for any possibility. Many fear that an ethnic explosion of any kind on another ethnic group would bring about socio-cultural and economic consequences of even larger amplitude on the kin of the same ethnicity from the other side of the border. A similar conflict would, without a doubt, annihilate the peace efforts in the countries in post-conflict transition (Sierra Leone, Liberia, Guinea-Bissau and Côte d'Ivoire).

There have always been ethnic tensions between political parties and among the elite in Guinea. The use of ethnic identity for political mobilization has negative influences on the political crisis. Poor governance, the struggles between ethnic groups to rise to power and to attain resources, and also for patrimonial ties, also have a negative influence on the high tension situation. Many indicators, substantiated by real facts, suggest that the CNDD had strong tendencies to incite interethnic tensions.<sup>137</sup> Indeed, persistent rumors supported by established facts confirmed that President Dadis Camara, native of the Forest region of Guinea, recruited members of his ethnicity and the poorly demobilized ex-combatants of diverse factions of the war who roamed around border areas in order to protect his own political ambition. If he had succeeded in his plans, it would have led to the emergence of a cycle of conflicts that would have again plunged Liberia and Sierra Leone into crisis.

### **Consequences of instability on economic activities in Liberia and Sierra Leone**

We support the hypothesis that closer cooperation between peoples, accompanied by respect for the interdependence of one another, will help to build relationships of mutual trust on the vertical and horizontal levels. It is also expected of states that they put into application subsidiary initiatives to develop regional economic cooperation, with the declared objective of establishing bilateral relationships beneficial for all peoples of the sub-region. After years of civil war and poor management, of which the sub-regional scope is incontestable, economic activities in the sub-region of the Mano River have become quite informal. This shows, rather well, the complexity of the situation and, due to this fact, the necessity of establishing policies to minimize the informal business models that are at the heart of security imperatives for states and the sub-region.<sup>138</sup> Wealth from renewable and non-renewable natural resources is barely an advantage for populations of the sub-region, due to the absence of a rigorous mechanism of surveillance at borders. One of the lessons that we should retain from



the past is that formal and informal business relationships of the state and at the grassroots levels, helped to stir up the flames of violence in Liberia and in Sierra Leone, while Guinea acted as a commercial route to the rest of the world. Today, concerns are even more worrisome than in the past, since the worst seems to be foreseen for Guinea. It was found that the cross-border movements of merchants, farmers and unskilled workers will be affected, as they are less attentive to borderlines and use the different borders as their livelihoods. Also, the pastoralists who travel "illegally" from one side to the other of borders searching for pastures for their livestock will also be affected.

The informality of economic interdependencies explained the complex and fragile nature that animated the heart of the security environment. It is incontestable that the complexity of a conflict in Guinea would be exacerbated by the fate that will be reserved for Guinean refugees in Sierra Leone and Liberia.

The majority of local merchants interviewed in Freetown and Monrovia expressed their concern, since each time that the border is closed due to a political crisis, whatever its amplitude, the situation had enormous repercussions on the cost of living in both countries. Beyond illicit trade in natural resources, human trafficking and drugs, there are diverse and intense economic activities between the traveling merchants that would, without a doubt, be disturbed on both sides of the borders.

### **Early warning and R2p in Guinea**

The general conclusion that emerges is the kind of failure that surrounded the policy of protection of lives in Guinea. And yet, long before the disappearance of Lansana Conté, alarm bells were set off to attract the attention of political leaders to an eventual deep political crisis in Guinea. In spite of the early warning capacity of the African Union and ECOWAS, no measure was taken to establish an adequate preventative policy. In spite of condemnations on the global level of the massacre of September 28, 2009, no option was adopted to protect the lives of innocent civilians. It is therefore indispensable to understand that "the responsibility to protect does not only signify a responsibility to react, but also to prevent and to reconstruct." The use of early warning and conflict-prevention initiatives is one of the fundamental prerequisites for the operationalization of the Responsibility to Protect (R2p). It is in this framework that it would have been necessary, to save the 150 victims killed in the name of an urgent demand for more democracy, to imagine concrete scenarios and to have recourse in a pragmatic way to all means available to help the international community come to the support of Guinea.

Assurance had been given during the Global Summit of 2005 that the international community would never again miss out on protecting human beings from the worst kind of crimes. Although the Constitutive Act of the African Union of 2000 had already begun to pave the way, by the passage from non-interference to "non-indifference" faced with mass atrocities, diverse commitments and measures had been put into place to make the ideals of R2p operational. Independently of

the major recognition of governments to adhere to obligations under international law, the reality is that, in the Guinean context, few things were done to protect innocent civilians, particularly women. Governments have the legal obligation to protect citizens by reacting to early warning signals. But when the system is ineffective, it is expected that the regional and international community will reorient the actions of collective response to prevent the more significant human rights violations.

## **G) - CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS FOR LASTING PEACE IN LIBERIA AND IN SIERRA LEONE**

Having granted particular attention to the numerous obstacles to democratic governance in Guinea, with their sub-regional consequences, the result of the research explains that there will still be growing threats of explosion and of recurrence of conflicts in the sub-region if collective sub-regional actions are not taken to face the political crisis in this country. For many evident reasons, the consequences of a massive displacement of Guinean populations towards neighboring countries could be more devastating than the humanitarian crises lived during past decades, due to the domino effect of the civil war in neighboring Sierra Leone and Liberia. It is imperative that the developing political uncertainty be assuaged, through initiatives that could prevent instability and build peace, while at the same time resolving the often-neglected questions of human security.

The challenges that the political transition in Guinea face are numerous and complex. They are strongly rooted in the history of the post-independence period of the country that, in several ways, is similar for many countries of the African continent. The constant faults of governance in the sub-region since its accession to independence, characterized by excessive corruption and weak state institutions, produced recurrent events of political instability and civil wars. While the tensions and concerns that provoke the sparking off of violence continue to worry minds, many judge that instability in Guinea will be more devastating because of the economic interactions between Sierra Leone and Liberia. This conviction comes from the fact that Guinea supplies the means of alternative economic survival for many people in this geographic area. Many people interviewed maintained that, to a certain extent, the current political crisis placed back at the heart of concerns the structural weaknesses of the security of states to face the aftermath of preceding wars that still undermine the ties between the three countries.

It was also found that certain regional institutions that take responsibility for these problems are often treating symptoms instead of attacking the deep causes of the sub-regional security dilemma. As Lara Olson and Hrach Gregorian maintain, in situations of incomplete and fragile peace, one cannot escape the interdependent nature of security and development; and security becomes necessary to allow for progress. As a specific example, efforts of states taken individually as well as the efforts of collaboration to bring forces of states and sub-regional institutions together to fight organized crime have failed in the countries of the Mano River Basin.<sup>134</sup> Thus an explosive situation in Guinea could destroy the sub-regional equilibrium that is under construction.



We propose the following points to establish better security in the West African sub-region.

- *States should consent to put into practice and to adhere to the principles of the UN Convention of 1951, the Convention of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) on refugees and their respective protocols—at the same time as the ECOWAS Treaty and Protocols on free circulation.* The ECOWAS treaty and its protocols on free circulation offer complementary support to the conventions on refugees and their protocols. ECOWAS should continue to reinforce its commitment to support refugee programs, in close partnership with UNHCR and other United Nations agencies. In fact, the measures of the protocols on free circulation could be characterized as a complementary instrument since they establish the security of residency and the right to work, while allowing refugees to keep their nationalities of origin. However, diverse preventative peace-building measures should be priorities to prevent a humanitarian catastrophe such as that that seems to be forming in the unstable environment threatening Liberia and Sierra Leone.
- *ECOWAS and the Secretariat of the Mano River Union should have a strategic posture in the treatment of political instability in Guinea, whose lasting negative impact on the advancing of peace building as well as the agenda of sub-regional integration is foreseeable.* Sub-regional institutions must hold states responsible for measures of commitments to common security, peace building, and respect of the protocols of conflict prevention and other instruments capable of maximizing impacts of preventative peace building. For example, more than two years have passed since the Framework for Conflict Prevention was adopted in January 2008 in Ouagadougou, Burkina Faso. This significant step brought a great deal of optimism on a decisive advance to accelerate the initiatives of regional integration. Nonetheless, speeches and signatures of heads of state have not been translated into policies and decisions that will help to face the obstacles evident in the prevention of conflicts and in the agenda of regional integration.
- *Effective early warning systems and a large framework of prevention must be established on the community, state and sub-regional levels to prevent the eventual explosion of a conflict in Guinea.* It appeared to us that, apart from the common framework of early warning and conflict prevention of WANEP and ECOWAS (ECOWARN) that includes a protocol of agreement to oversee early warning throughout the West African sub-region, no policy decision has been made to respond to early warning signals indicated by non-state actors.

# V

## CASE STUDY OF CÔTE D'IVOIRE AND MALI

Naffet KEÏTA

### INTRODUCTION

Between September 2000 and March 2001, Guinea was victim of a series of "aggressions" on the part of armed groups coming from Liberia and Sierra Leone. Although today the situation has quieted down on the military front, Guinea does not experience any fewer important worries as much from the security point of view as from the human security perspective. On the humanitarian level, outside of particular actions supported by humanitarian and development partners, a coherent strategy both on oversight and in post-conflict reconstruction is taking a long time to be established. These crises push back, delay or even brush under the carpet real activities of development and national integration. They have affected all sections of the population and have developed a strong impact on youth, women and stability in the sub-region.

In all of these conflicts (Liberia, Sierra Leone, Guinea-Bissau, Côte d'Ivoire), Guinea was accused of interference by its neighbors. In Liberia, for example, President Lansana Conté did not hesitate to support the LURD (Liberians United for Reconciliation and Democracy), an armed group opposed to the regime of President Charles Taylor, while authorities had many times denied Liberian accusations.<sup>140</sup>

Since September 2002, Guinea experienced the negative humanitarian, economic, social and ecological effects of the crisis that shook Côte d'Ivoire. The two countries share 610 kilometers of border that was occupied, on the Côte d'Ivoire side, by the ex-rebels, that had suspected Guinea of supporting, at the time of Lansana Conté, the regime of President Laurent Gbagbo in his will to annihilate them. They feared a surprise attack from their positions from the Guinean territory and were eager to denounce this possibility in the press.<sup>141</sup> Groups of young combatants with particularly uncertain allegiances built up in the region, traveled as combats arose. In the wait for a disarmament and demobilization, they constituted a real threat. To that, one must add the circulation of light arms and the uncertainties still linked to the electoral efforts to come in Côte d'Ivoire and those under way in Guinea.

In Mali (1990), arms continued to go off in the northern regions; at the beginning this was due to rebel groups, since then, largely integrated into paramilitary and security forces and the public administration; today, the country faces recurring incursions and abductions, generally of Westerners, on the part of AQIM. In terms of



southern border regions, particularly those borders with Guinea, intercommunity conflicts persist, notably in the circle of Yanfolila (Sikasso region) in relation to the access to land<sup>142</sup> on a backdrop of the light arms trade. These types of confrontations have existed since then, between cross-border populations, presenting once again the problem of border limits from the period of colonization, questions of land management, insecurity, risk of epidemics or free circulation that harass certain populations living on the cross-border regions of the countries cited above.

Indeed, beyond cultural questions, it is all the importance of territorial dynamics, regional integration and regional stakes that are topical issues. What is a border? What are the implications of territorial divisions on the level of regional integration and the development of territory in terms of interactions between people situated on both sides of the border sharing the same cultural background? Furthermore, does the sub-regional migratory dynamic, in part due to socio-economic reconstitutions, put into question moral or philosophical values, such as hospitality and otherness? Are identity reconfigurations underpinned by conceptual referents or theoretical imaginations? Do they refer to the image of the Other as tinged with disgrace? How is the concept of foreigner, not necessarily linked to nationality and inherited from past centuries, understood at the beginning of the 21st century? What does it signify to be a foreigner in West Africa? Are mental or psychological borders more pertinent than material borders inherited from the colonial era?

The question is to know how these crises affected the economic, social and political fabric of Guinean populations: is it a crisis that arises from poor governance of social identities and environmental deregulation? To what point have the consequences of these crises affected, changed on the one hand the co-existence of population groups situated on one side or the other of borders, and, on the other hand, the organization of power and authority of leaders? In what way will the socio-cultural backdrop inform the security bases of instability in Guinea and its implications in the sub-region?

So many questions that need a sustained reflection on this dynamic to better elucidate the initiatives in the direction of their effectiveness. It is in this framework that the border regions between Côte d'Ivoire, Mali and Guinea have been traveled to grasp the socio-cultural and security implications of instability in Guinea on the sub-region. In this complex game of a construction of otherness, we set ourselves the objective of exploring the notion of the foreigner but also its construction, the "makeshift repairs" and identity anchorages, the modalities and strategies of insertion of migrants into host societies and their access to resources.



## A) - PROCESS OF FIELD WORK: PRELIMINARY OBSERVATIONS

The present report synthesizes the data from fieldwork gathered between June and July, 2010 in Côte d'Ivoire and in Mali. This work was preceded by a literature and bibliographic review. The study itself began by making contact with Malian deputies (the President of the Commission of Foreign Affairs of the National Assembly, elected officials from Kadiolo, Kangaba, Kéniéba, Yanfolila) and the national management of the interior on the level of the Ministry of Internal Security and Civil Protection of Mali to inform us about the measures established by the Ivorian crisis by Operation *Faso Danbé*<sup>143</sup>; also, the segments of authorities of border circles of Kangaba and Yanfolila (Mali) were met with. These were the circles of the regions that share a long border with Upper Guinea. For the research mission in Côte d'Ivoire, we<sup>144</sup> conducted thirty interviews and gathered several life narratives. We visited Pogo, the first border post, then Ferkessédougou, Ouangolodougou, Korhogo, Boundiali and Odienné (region of Denguélé).

The first region of Côte d'Ivoire that borders the third natural Guinean region (Upper Guinea with Kankan as a regional capital) is the region of Denguélé that has for a central town the city of Odienné. This region is located to the northwest of the country between the region of the savannahs (Korhogo), Mali and Guinea. It has an area of 20,600 square kilometers for a population estimated in 2010 at 316,571 inhabitants (density of 15.4 inhabitants per square kilometer) and is populated in the majority by Malinkas. Just like Korhogo, its economic activity is essentially based on the production and sale of cotton.<sup>145</sup>

We traveled the north, west, south and central Ivorian regions.<sup>146</sup> We noted the absence of public administration, civil society organizations (NGOs and associations) other than schools, secondary health centers and banks that, in addition, only function approximately. As a reminder, this part of Côte d'Ivoire is under the hold of the rebellion that broke out in the beginning of the decade of 2000-2010.

The economy is very largely informal with its share of illicit trafficking in products from Mali and Guinea. This contraband which escapes customs oversight and "small-scale corruption" is in full force. The road network, one of the most well maintained in its era, is in the midst of degrading due to a lack of maintenance and inter-region public transportation is affected by this through the loss of interest in the lines by a number of companies located in the south of Côte d'Ivoire. Just one company, Sama Transport, conducts the core of the trade, serving almost all of the northern and central regions with buses, including some that are old and barely usable.

The third major location visited was Man (Mandé in the Wé language), one of the largest cities in the west of Côte d'Ivoire, which is also the main city of the region of Eighteen Mountains. It has an area of 16,600 km<sup>2</sup> and a population estimated in 2010 at 1,334,387 inhabitants. This region touches Guinea. One finds two eco-regions there, the Guinean mountain forest in the highlands and the West Sudanese savannah on the



plains. After the events of 2002, the city, like all the localities in the north of the country, was placed under the administration of the Patriotic Movement of Côte d'Ivoire (MPCI), then the New Forces of Côte d'Ivoire (FNCI). As for each of the ten sectors of the north Ivorian zone, Man has been designated since 2006, under a numerical term; here it is "Zone no. 6". This authority still exists and cohabits with bureaucrats of the state, prefecture and sub-prefecture, returned to the region. This city includes more than 160,000 inhabitants with a population made up principally of Gio (or Dan), Wobe and Toura. One can find here a strong Guinean colony and principally the populations from Guinea Forestière (Nzérékoré). In general, this includes the ethnic groups of the Kissi, who are farmers from the southeast of Fouta Djallon who have come to settle in the regions of Kissidougou and Guéckédou. One finds them also in Sierra Leone and in Liberia. The Lélés are a minority ethnic group attached at times with the Kissis and to the Maninkas, living between Kissidougou et Guéckédou (Yombiro, Kassadou) ; Lomas or Tomas seem to be those groups who have been installed the longest in Guinea Forestière. They generally live between Diani in the east and Makona in the west, in the region of Macenta, with many reaching Liberia. The Lomas are among the paleo-nigrific forest populations. They are sedentary hunter-gatherers; Guerzes or Kpelles live in the regions of Nzérékoré, Yomou and overflow a bit to Liberia and Côte d'Ivoire. They have characteristics similar to the Tomas; farmers, hunters, living in villages or very strong believers (fetichists and partially Christian). The Manons or Manis, related to the Guerzes, live in the region of Nzérékoré - Yomou (Diécké) and the Konons, also relatives of the Guerzes live in the region of Lola. Next to them, lives a large community of the Maninka group.

Concerning what precedes, we were able to find out that, in spite of the crisis, the population continues to grow normally even though in a period of conflict (December 2000), the peak of growth was rising in the regions of the savannahs and Denguélé and was slightly lower in the region of Eighteen Mountains. The most likely explanation is the movement of ethnic Maninka and Senoufo populations towards the regions of origin (Korhogo and Odienné) and the massive departure of populations of Liberian and Guinean origin from the region of Man. In addition to these three regions, our study also included the cities of Abidjan<sup>147</sup> and Bouaké. All during our stay in Côte d'Ivoire, we exchanged with local inhabitants and travelers on the pre-crisis Côte d'Ivoire and the image that it shows today, all the while making the parallel with the Guinean situation. These preliminary observations allowed us to make the following observations:

- Absence of public administration or, if it did exist, not sufficiently connected to the rest of the country and to corresponding ministries;
- Inexistence of a real tax or customs police ;
- Multiplication of forms of levies on travelers;
- Construction of a northern identity around the Senoufo and Maninka ethnic groups;
- Strong presence of Malian and Guinean migrants as well as migrants from Burkina Faso, that arrive to melt into the local population and principally into the Senoufo and Maninka ethnic groups without any difficulties;

- Côte d'Ivoire remains the country that, until now, receives the most migrants.

The field study endeavored to describe and to analyze the strategies of the groups of populations in the maximization of advances from here and there or of rejection of one another in the access to the resource space. All of these strategies and modes of exclusion (unshared conviviality, non-association and strict endogamy) refer to theories of "foreigners" and of autochthony. Of the number of problems that could arise in this cohabitation, the study retained the risks of prejudicial modifications to the socio-ecological equilibrium linked to demographic pressure combined as it is with extensive exploitation of the resource space.

## **B) - CONTEXT AND FRAMEWORK OF THE STUDY**

For a certain time, the movements of West African populations for political, economic, social and environmental causes have attracted the attention of a number of researchers. These studies have been led on the mobility in the Sahelian zones and of the countries of the hinterland towards those of the coasts. Very few studies have concerned the consecutive movements of wars, their displaced persons and political and ecological refugees (Keïta and Diallo, 2010). Let it be known that the socio-cultural and security implications of the population movements to the extreme limits of international borders of a country have not, until now, been the object of a systematic study. That is to say that there has not been an evaluation of their impact on the institutions, systems of production and of reproduction, and on the conditions of access to and sharing of resources.

During the decade 1990-2000, almost all West African countries showed recurring conflicts: the wars in the Mano River Union states (Liberia, Sierra Leone and Guinea), the military uprisings in Guinea-Bissau, the Tuareg rebellions in Mali and in Niger, Casamance irredentism in Senegal, and, very recently, the Ivorian conflict, have put to the test the stability of a region whose equilibrium has, for some time, contrasted with the serious splits that have dislocated the central and southern parts of the continent (IPAO, 2004;7). The multiplication of conflicts in the countries of the Mano River and Côte d'Ivoire translate, to a certain extent, to the failure of poorly fulfilled policies in terms of population, and take account of an inappropriate management of demographic services. In the face of these outcomes, the questions of the history of the population movements in West Africa reveal structural evolutions that will likely punctuate for some time the circular migrations in the countries of the Mano River Basin and Côte d'Ivoire and in the rest of the region.

At the time, the possible Guinean intervention in internal Ivorian affairs could be explained by questions of interior policy susceptible to have dangerous repercussions in Guinea or in Côte d'Ivoire. At the moment of the outbreak of the crisis in Côte d'Ivoire, an explanation was put forward by journalists on both sides of the border. The two men dreaded by the two presidents were Sidya Touré in Guinea and Alassane Dramane Ouattara in Côte d'Ivoire. Sidya Touré was the chief of staff of Ouattara when he was Prime Minister in Côte d'Ivoire (1990-1993) and the Prime Minister of President



Lansana Conté (1996-1999) in Guinea. Since his passage into the government, Sidya Touré has gone into the opposition camp considered "radical" by creating his own political party. Alassane Dramane Ouattara is, today, an essential personality on the political scene in Côte d'Ivoire, and his ambition is to become the next president of the country, although many Ivoirians assimilate him with the Forces Nouvelles (FN). Lansana Conté and Laurent Gbagbo were repelled by the idea of mutual aid between Sidya Touré in Guinea and Alassane Dramane Ouattara in Côte d'Ivoire if one of the two arrived at the head of their respective country.

In the current context, two main themes remain: the multiplication of local and regional conflicts related to the access of natural resources situated in the border regions and the very problematic question of civil status on the eve of elections. Among the responses sketched to contain these recurring crises, we have the launch of the initiative WABI (West African Borders and Integration). If WABI is founded on the convergence of three institutions<sup>148</sup> and on the sharing of information with a network of partners around a common concern (the promotion of cross-border cooperation as a motor of regional integration, development and peace), the initiative also integrates economic, social and security dynamics. Thus, field studies and work led by ENDA and SWAC (Sahel and West Africa Club) grant a central position to the concepts of spaces of proximity, zones of solidarity, corridors of development and "cross-border" concept<sup>149</sup>, put forward to express the idea of cohesion between border zones. And yet, cross-border migration of Guineans to Mali and Côte d'Ivoire and their conflicting relationship with host populations have not been retained in the examples that illustrate the effectiveness of these concepts although the short-term calendar of activities of the National Borders Directorate of Mali (DNF), foresees missions of consultation with the administrative authorities and local actors in the three cross-border zones of five countries (Burkina Faso, Mauritania, Senegal, Guinea and Niger).<sup>150</sup>

The two assaults experienced by the region of Nzérékoré (Guinea) and the circle of Yanfolila (Mali), in the model of other localities of Malian and Ivorian border regions, especially the intrusion of warring gangs to lend a hand to national armies or to rebel groups has, not only upset production systems, but also modified social relations and brought about changes in the behaviors of human groups and, principally, in their relationship to nature and the Other. And yet, one of the modes of deployment of this study operates on the level of the access to natural resources. The distribution of and access to natural resources are conducted according to their availability, the ways of life, and the socio-political institutions that are currently in use in this milieu. Here, they are codified or are under the imprint of village and lineage influences, although more pronounced local variants exist. In reality, each territory is organized according to the availability of natural resources that take up the living spaces.

Handled roughly by the nation-state, many populations react by opposing their territorial singularity. The continuous fabrication of territories to which they turn gives evidence of this reaction. Particularly in Guinea, the period

of independence and that of the edification of socialism have occurred in a context of euphoria, with local and regional values and particular representations tending to melt together with those of a patron state, guarantor of employment, well-being, progress a (relative) share of wealth all orchestrated under the sign of territorial development. Social behaviors do not depend on the spaces in which they occur, but on the forms of organization of the society which gave birth to them: it is the form of the society and not its space that determines social relations, as Claude Lévi-Strauss already remarked (1958). In fact, man/space relationships are not only delimited by the limits of a specific space, by the perimeter of an area or a surface. They are also defined by the deepest structures of society, in the secret parts of its organization. As Anne Gilbert (1986) wrote, "behind the concept of social space, social relationships and the powers that organize them appear". She adds that social space thus conceived, "reveals tensions between social actors, in their practices of the space, in the ideology that guides these practices."

Consequently, the relations of man to geographic space take up a social space lived in its own manner by each individual. And yet, the dynamic of institutional renewal, with the renewal of the democratic process in Guinea, accentuated the fact of ethnic identity started with the purges of the Sékou Touré regime, and reinforced by the repressions under Lansana Conté.

These situations gave birth to population movements following circuits that, in the meantime, were transformed into migration if they integrate the citizens of another state. Incidentally, institutional reforms that were launched (democratization) brought about new political, economic, social and land stakes that are generators of conflict. In the meantime, the traditional modes of access to resources were seriously transformed. Thus, from the priority of access, we go to the rights of access to property and to resources. The transformations of the modes of access to resources, by multiplying conflicts, inaugurated not only a territorialization of space, but also a differential perception of the neighbor, of the displaced person, and of the migrant since the socio-economic and political frameworks are not constructed and shared by the same populations sharing the same common cultural backdrop, but of different nationalities.

Thus, the "*spatial overabundance*" or proliferation of contemporary territories of which Marc Augé (1992) speaks have a paradoxical character. This "spatial overabundance" arises at the moment when globalization tends to unify societies and perhaps their manner of organizing geographic space of modeling its uses. Although confronted with state territorial divisions (Malian, Ivorian and Guinean) and with the sub-regional organizations that are the great equalizers, the populations of regions of contact do not abandon the option of originality. More than ever, they produce a difference, a distinction, a variety (Gregory, 1989). This permanent innovation concerns, at the same time, social forms and their spatial articulations, either of social spaces or, even better, of territories. Territory becomes a major attribute of the construction of a relationship of exteriority, otherness, to those that do not belong to the group. An instrument of solidarity for members of the "endogroup", it can lead to the exclusion of others (or by others) and encourage violence. Such reasoning allows to better situate



the socio-cultural implications of population groups in terms of the help brought to parties in conflict in another country with the backdrop of restructuring the old community or lineage alliances, the reconstruction of citizenship and of territoriality, on the one hand, that is Malian, Ivorian and Guinean, and, on the other hand, "West African" and "global".

Social organization, cultural, economic and political activities of populations in the regions of contact gave way to the structuring of transnational communities from the interests and/or the references of common identities. These new forms of social organization, beyond national borders and even within them, increased the interactions between settled individuals and groups. So numerous are the displaced persons who freely chose to settle elsewhere for family or other reasons, while others are constrained to flee the perils of civil war and government oppression. Political kidnappings, persecutions in meetings with an ethnic, political or religious group are thus environmental catastrophes. These are forced or voluntary migrations. These latecomers imprint another dynamic on the process of hosting and bringing about changes that modify the configurations.

In reality, the rapidity of demographic growth, the economic recession, conflicts, political instability, the generalized poverty and aggravation of unemployment all give signs of an increase in the flows to the regions of contact in the years to come. Unfortunately, during recent years, one observed an acceleration of the displacement of populations whose hosting and mutual aid now have given way to hostility and rejection. This was the case of the Nigerian and Malian Tuaregs in Libya and in Algeria whose consequences were the revolts and rebellions of the 1990s in their countries of origin.

### **C) - THE NICHES OF COHABITATION ON THE BORDER LEVEL**

Fundamentally, the regions traveled turn out to be catchments of strong mobility, as much internal as external. Also, this mobility largely influenced the crisis that still shakes Côte d'Ivoire. And yet, to better grasp the forms of mobility consubstantial with the situations of political and security crises, there is reason to understand them on the basis of long durations. It is at this price that we have been able to decode the realities of relations at the extreme limits of the Malian, Ivorian and Guinean borders in terms of marginalization and, particularly, the psychosocial and cultural consequences of the deep mutations that affect in a negative manner the long tradition of proximity and the outline of a few solutions for the short, medium and long term.

If forced migrations are always linked to persecutions, wars and famines, they are also explained by less radical reasons such as political exclusion of population groups. The most controversial cases, for which one does not hesitate to use the term "voluntary", concern refugees called "environmental" and "economic", two categories that are not recognized by international legislation (IPAO, 2004

:117). It is thus that the demographic stakes of stabilization and reconstruction in the countries of the Mano River Basin and in Côte d'Ivoire structure the different answers to bring to forced displacements and to migrations of populations. One of the structural results of demography in these countries, in Côte d'Ivoire as well as in Mali, is related to the importance of youth in the total population. Côte d'Ivoire, Mali, Burkina Faso and the countries of the Mano River Basin (Guinea, Liberia, and Sierra Leone) shelter close to 53 million inhabitants of which close to three fourths (72.9%) is under the age of 30 years, and 45.1% of this group is under 15 years of age. In this space, the countries of the Mano River represent 29.0% of the total population, with a pre-eminence of Guinea (13.8%).

**table: distribution of population of the mano river countries, côte d'ivoire, burkina faso and mali according to major age groups**

Country	0-14 years	15-29 years	30 years	Total population	
				Persons (in thousands)	Proportion in %
Liberia	44.7	27.3	28.0	3,130	5.8
Sierra Leone	45.0	27.1	27.9	5,031	9.4
Guinea	44.7	27.4	27.9	7,415	13.8
Côte d'Ivoire	42.4	29.5	28.1	116,013	29.8
Burkina Faso	47.3	26.2	26.5	11,274	21.0
Mali	47.1	27.5	26.4	10,840	20.2
Total	45.1	27.8	27.1	53,703	100

Source : Enquête Ivoirienne sur les Migrations et l'Urbanisation (EIMU), 1998.

Mali and Burkina Faso, which represent 41.2% of the total population, show populations that are the youngest in this area. They appear as the two principal structural and perennial reservoirs of foreign immigration with a destination of Côte d'Ivoire. In terms of Guinea, it is represented by a strong contingent of migrants of Fulani origin installed primarily in the cities of the interior and very few in the regions of contact. Limiting ourselves to the border countries, the variations can be shown as follows:

**Table: variation rates of west african populations in côte d'ivoire according to country of origin 1988 to 1998**

Country of Origin	Population 1988	Population 1998	Proportion (%) in 1998	Variation rate 1998/1988 (%)
Mali	712.500	792.258	19.8	1.1
Guinea	225 845	230 387	5.7	1.0
Liberia	4 711	78 177	2.0	16.6
Sierra Leone	-	1 306	0.0	-

Source : RPGH 1988, 1998



The development of the conflict situation during the course of this last decade in this zone had for consequences, among others, to multiply, first in the direction of Côte d'Ivoire, then towards other countries, the forced displacements of populations seeking refuge, peace and security. Thus, the results of the general census of population and of residence in 1998 allowed us to observe that eight of eighteen regions of Côte d'Ivoire have proportions of West African immigrants superior to the national average (26.6%) of foreigners in the total population of the country.

These proportions go from 29.7% in the region of Lagunes (Abidjan) in the south of the country to 13.9% in the Bandama Valley (Bouaké) in the center (Worodougou). From this fact, the regions of the south and of the west (Mountains) of Côte d'Ivoire, in fact the zone "economically the most useful and the wealthiest" principally with the cocoa area, exploitation of precious woods, coffee growth etc., is characterized by strong concentrations of foreign communities. In several villages in this zone, foreigners are even more numerous than autochthones.

**Table: Répartition de la population étrangère par région de résidence**  
**Distribution of foreign population by region of residence**

Regions of residence	Foreign Population	Total Population	Foreign Population (%)
Lagunes (Abidjan)	1,108,958	3,733,413	29.7
Savannahs (Korhogo)	116,777	929,673	12.6
Bandama Valley (Bouaké)	149,994	1,080,509	13.9
Mountains (Man)	828,442	108,068	11.5
Denguelé (Odienné)	13,817	222,446	6.2

*Source* : RGPH, 1998.

For all of the countries concerned, the major problems brought up are, the absence of perspectives and the progressive decline of hope in the future, illiteracy and recurring unemployment that reaches high levels in the country, to the point of rendering the young generations more and more vulnerable. In that manner, on the scale of the region, armed conflicts find a feeding ground among children and unemployed youth, illiterate and susceptible to feeding the ranks of the forces of conflict. It becomes fitting to find the ties between economic migrations, cultural diversity, political identities and the process of exclusion.

"There are migrants in Odienné who are primarily Guinean. Some have lived here for a long time, but with the events in Guinea, the number rose. Most of them are merchants, in general, shopkeepers and their women who help them manage their business." <sup>151</sup>



Also, beyond the border limits of states, there is, in the localities visited, a common cultural backdrop that predisposes the inhabitants to accept the migrants and displaced persons. They arrive, thus, to settle into the productive fabric without any difficulty. But they can be subject to stigmatization as witnesses this hotel waiter:

"I am from Séguéla, towards the Guinean border in the department of Kéfougoula. Concerning my identity, those that come from Séguéla are often taxed by the autochthones as "foreigners". My grandparents are from Guinea, but my parents as well as I were born in Odienné. (...) One finds a majority of Guineans in Hêrêmakono (while waiting for hope or happiness), in (I don't have a choice, I don't have the grip) and in Yankafoussa (there it's better) compared to the place that we left. These are neighborhoods situated a bit outside of town. Today, they have become very big and have melted in the city under the form of a conurbation." 152

The common cultural backdrop would be rather determining in the integration of Guineans in Odienné. In addition, places of residence determine a differentiation of nationality. The name of residential areas are rather revealing in such a situation. These names refer to precariousness, to randomness and even to uncertainty: everything except a form of fixation or of dilution in the social body of the country of residence. Whatever the cultural similarity, Guineans always maintain strong ties with their country. In general, they do not perceive their situation as a state of migration-settlement, but much more as mobility consequent to needs of life or of survival. The violence and the travel that followed events of the 2000 decade are still fresh in memories, which would make it likely not to see a settlement. Thus, at each major event in the country of origin, the Guineans follow the path of return: "It is not easy today to find Guineans with whom to trade, I suppose that many have gone to vote. Some leave Guinea to come and sell items and then return. Those do not come with their families. It is rare to see Guineans marry Ivoirians; it is not easy to manage two families at the same time, especially in two different countries."153

Beyond the community of culture, the acceptance of Guineans can also be explained by the mobility taught since the signature of the sub-regional protocols dedicated to the free circulation of people; also, the fact that many have not yet opted to settle definitively.

"I came from Guinea after the last events (the stadium of September 28). I am here just for a while, when things return to order in my country, I will go back. I left my family in the country. I even participated in the vote. We form a large community here; the head of our community is installed in Kennedy. Most inhabitants of this neighborhood came after the events. We are almost all in trade. The new arrivals like us are in the sale of medicine. Those of us who have lived here a long time enroll their children at school." 154

In addition, the proximity of the region to Guinea and Mali also makes those from here "second rate Ivorian citizens" who must justify their national belonging in terms of their fellow citizens to the south. This further characterizes the populations of the ethnic groups Senoufo and Maninka. Beyond these salient characteristics, how does cohabitation operate between Ivoirians and their Guinean neighbors and what are its issues?



In their economic role, the Guinean mobility set off processes that instrumentalize identity politics and spaces of exclusion. The cultural and identity mosaic of Côte d'Ivoire stands against the economic prosperity of the country and extracted the "artificial ligaments" that underlay, during the period of the "Ivorian miracle", the cohabitation of community groups, at the same time guided by the diversity of their culture and the closeness of their common history under construction.

According to the results of the "Ivorian Study on Migrations and Urbanization" (Enquête Ivoirienne sur les Migrations et l'Urbanisation), 73.2% of West African immigrants (foreigners in fact) are working. It also appears that professional integration of foreigners into the work market operates in an easier way than for nationals. This result implies three major observations. Due to their economic dependence and their political vulnerability, the countries of West Africa have not yet succeeded in assuring sustainable economic growth capable of supporting the social redistribution necessary to the consolidation of civil society. The majority of nationals and foreigners seem to be treated in the same way, with precariousness and insufficiency of basic social services, which makes the exercise of civil, social and economic rights as well as the adherence to any process of national solidarity hypothetical.

Next, by their very principle, economic migrations operate a certain selection of individual candidates from the beginning (good physical aptitudes, compatible linguistic knowledge, capacities and ease of adaptation, belonging to structured channels and networks, etc.) Actors of social change, less demanding and less careful concerning their jobs, particularly for the first ones (domestic workers, coal workers, guards, gardeners, agricultural workers, etc.), the migrants present real capacities of adaptation and develop survival strategies by tapping into material and immaterial resources to reach objectives that they have set for themselves, their families and their communities of origin.

Finally, the cross-border character of the cultural and linguistic areas brings together the autochthones with foreigners who speak the dominant language of their host regions. Thus, with equal human capital, foreigners present a greater chance of finding a salaried position or any other remunerated economic activity, than autochthones. In that way, one can observe in host countries (Côte d'Ivoire), an articulation of the search and the exercise of a position by the identity referent that ends up reproducing and delivering a sort of label of recognition through the conformity of the position undertaken with the nationality of origin. In fact, it consists in a kind of specialization of positions undertaken according to nationality or country of origin such as the Senegalese jewelers, the tailors from Burkina Faso, Ghanaian or Nigerian photographers and cobblers, Mauritanian and Guinean shopkeepers, major Malian merchants, Beninese teachers and Togolese masons and carpenters.

Agricultural workers upon their arrival, some West African migrants become owners of land several years later through purchases or regular

development. Artisans in the beginning, others have become, in turn, major employers of Ivorian citizens. As Tapino and his co-authors (1998) highlight, "An unfavorable economic situation and sustained demographic growth made situations of competition appear between national and foreigner employment." But in the context of free and open competition for all candidates in Côte d'Ivoire, autochthones and foreigners, these daily processes lived and shared on the ground cannot bring about approaches of stigmatization and exclusion. In terms of employment, the principles advocated by the top in the name of regional integration find themselves, on the bottom, confronted by reflexes of conservation, mistrust, suspicion and defense of autochthones; reflexes that are justified, in the face of a persistent economic crisis and the precariousness of the labor market, by the images of socio-economic and professional competitors characterizing the foreigners.

In the long term, these situations have created mistrust that is fed in respect of the foreigner and even of attempts to exclude them from the productive fabric, as success creates jealousy. Socio-professional networks that have been created in the sectors of activity where migrants, refugees or even displaced persons occupied dominant positions—the least qualified positions of the modern sector, several branches of the informal economy have contributed a great deal to their insertion. Even after the crisis, they have not been fundamentally concerned in Odienné, contrary to Man and Abidjan where charter flights and the movements of the flows of refugees, displaced persons and repatriation of Guineans were organized and observed.<sup>155</sup> The reasons for such concern for populations originating in Guinea in the north Ivorian regions were surely due to the fact of belonging to the same socio-cultural space (sharing a language, culture and religion).

"For cohabitation, it is rather between us autochthones that often things don't work. With Guineans, that can happen, as in any human relationship where there are disagreements, but for the moment, there has not been a major incident. Concerning questions of nationality, foreigners have had problems of papers over time; they were more bothered by southern agents than by inhabitants here. One finds them generally in the suburbs (especially at Hérémakônô and Yankafoussa); they come to the center of town for their activities and return at night. The women from here do business (food, pagnes or loincloths, basins, etc.) and the Guinean women generally sell pagnes imported from Guinea and Mali. We are all the same, we have a common tontine. When one of them has difficulties or a social occasion (marriage or baptism), we all save and give a sum to her without distinction of nationality. Everything indicates that there is harmony between us."<sup>156</sup>

Cohabitation between autochthones is often blighted by recurring arguments. The constitution of tontines perfectly illustrates such a state. How to accept one's neighbor if, in reality, there is no cohesion or social commerce between the host and the foreigner?

"I am a Maninka from Guinea. I have lived in Côte d'Ivoire since well before independence, which means that I have an Ivorian identity card. Our ancestors came from Mali, more precisely from "Diafounou". A large part of our grandparents lived in



Djenné. The Guineans are descendants of Malians, we are all brothers. Upon my arrival in Man, there were only three mosques here. We have two major religions; Islam and Christianity. The harmony between the two communities is peaceful, but in terms of an eventual marriage between the two religions, there is not a consensus. This situation has almost created trouble. Some Islamic preachers advocated banning such a union since we do not share the same visions of life. But without that, it is better to convert to the Islamic religion, the same for the Christians. But today, things have changed; we see more and more unions between the two communities. The young are no longer particular on this aspect." <sup>157</sup>

Religious cohabitation can be another factor of cohesion and at the same time of division between the faithful. Inter-religious marriages can be a means of reinforcing social cohesion rather than making them acrimonious. Therefore, in this setting, the situation can, over the long term, create situations of conflict. The adoption of distance or reserve in terms of the local political game: "When it comes to cohabitation, since the time of Houphouët to today, everything occurs between autochthones and us. Only we have to avoid mixing with political life to not have problems." <sup>158</sup>

If our interviewee has been living in Côte d'Ivoire for more than five decades and if he is even naturalized, beyond his identity belonging to the Ivorian nation, he is interested in the news of his country of origin. In his case, he supports not mixing with the political life of his country of adoption nor to implicate himself in the voting process of his country of origin because of not being considered Guinean. His situation refers to a paradox: how to live in a country, and to be a citizen and not be able to implicate oneself in public life? Also, the fact of being from a country and not being able to participate in a vote organized by it! This aspect highlights the dilemma of naturalized immigrants.

"If everything goes well in Guinea, I will go back; I am even in a hurry to return. Imagine, according to 2009 statistics, there are five (5) million Guineans abroad. Some have even taken the nationality of their country of residence (Mali and Senegal). It is time that we go back to our country. I don't understand; there is everything at our home, but we do not manage to develop. Here, people speak badly of my country, I feel ashamed. One is better off at home, I really want to go home quickly. Life abroad is not easy, currently activities have slowed, life has become very expensive and nothing works. We are waiting to see how things go after the elections. I don't see any major difficulty with which we are confronted in Côte d'Ivoire. It is enough to have papers in order and to respect the laws to avoid problems ('if you respect their conditions, you will not have a problem')." <sup>159</sup>

Also, if as an effect of a long duration, the migrant can acquire the nationality, *jus soli* (the literally the "right of the soil" or the right to acquire nationality through the place of birth), such a situation has not given cases of naturalization on a large scale. From this fact, the possibility of naturalization so often put forward must not be perceived as a panacea.

"My name is Djomandé; I have lived in Côte d'Ivoire for a long time. I am of Guinean origin, but I have two identity cards: that of Côte d'Ivoire and that of Guinea; each of the cards is used according to the country where I am. It is impossible for me to show that of Côte d'Ivoire in Guinea and vice versa, or I would risk paying a sum of money. Being in Guinea, we are considered as Ivoirians and in Côte d'Ivoire we are considered foreigners. That is how we live; we are like biscuits burned on both sides." <sup>160</sup>

Whatever the prerogatives linked to *jus soli* the Ivorian legislator is sufficiently careful concerning the conditions of the delivery of nationality. The taking of positions among the populations in addition, reinforces this situation. At this time, the proximity of life, habits and culture no longer become a fitting condition to create the cultural community and to achieve nationality from the prerequisite of *jus soli*.

"I am of Ivorian origin. It has been some time that I lived here, in Man. We live with several communities (Yacouba, Wobé, Guéré, Maoka, Baoulé, Maninka as well as the Malians, Guineans, Beninois, Nigerians and those from Burkina Faso). The foreign community that is larger here is Guinean. They are, in general, in the commerce of mopeds, fish, shoes, etc. Concerning Guinean women, one finds them more in the sale of pagnes. In Man, the Guineans live in the quarters of Kennedy and Libreville. There are many Guinean children born here who know nothing of their country of origin. One can consider them Ivoirians. It is the case of my neighbor (a Guinean of twenty-years); she has never set foot in her country of origin." <sup>161</sup>

Such an understanding or interpretation of access to the Ivorian nationality becomes somewhat relative with the statement that follows, "When it comes to nationality, I think that they cannot become Ivoirians because of problems of papers. As a foreigner, if you definitely want to become Ivorian, you risk going to prison. We are not ready to accept that; to be Ivorian, you have to have at least one Ivorian family member. For foreign children born in Côte d'Ivoire, I think that normally it is possible for them to obtain the nationality." <sup>162</sup> Opinions remain rather contradictory and translate a real existential dilemma. The following narrative illustrates this rather well, "I do not even know the road to Guinea. All of my family was born in Bouaké. Today, we have nothing to do with Guinea, although I am interested in the news from the country, especially in this electoral period." <sup>163</sup>

In what follows, we see a reaffirmation of the "identity of soil" and of the claim of national belonging: "I am from Odienné, my parents too"; "I am of Ivorian origin." Such talk underlies the force with which the Ivorian identity is affirmed and claimed. In such a context, it proves to be difficult, or even impossible, for a foreigner to obtain the Ivorian nationality, running the risk of "going to prison". This demonstrates how much the claimed and re-valued nationality can serve to exclude others. The problem that is presented with northern Ivoirians is the fact that they are considered by southerners as being foreigners, as their ethnicity and culture are intermixed with the border populations (Mali, Guinea, Burkina) since they share the same language and the same surnames. For them it is a way to identify themselves with insistence and precision to avoid any misunderstanding tending to confuse them with nationals of the countries cited above.



In light of the hostility and mistrust between the Ivoirians themselves, are they really ready to receive displaced persons? The question remains open. If the political problems in Guinea can be considered as major causes of migration, one must not forget to mention that in Côte d'Ivoire, one practices the "jus sanguinis" (right of blood) in terms of acquiring the nationality. Of 26% of foreigners, half had not obtained or even requested Ivorian nationality, an issue that can constitute a real problem for the integration and acceptance of refugees. One can also note that all movements across the Ivorian-Guinean borders cannot be included in migratory flows, but are instead ordinary movements of punctual access to financial or agricultural resources. On the other hand, movements in the direction of Abidjan and Bouaké are more frequent and of longer duration. It is necessary, all the same, to make a first important observation. The autochthon populations among themselves do not manage to accept one another due to the fact of the competition around (economic and political) resources. The question would be to find out to what extent Ivorian populations would be ready to accept populations coming from another country living in situations of conflict with which they share a same cultural identity?

In what follows, we note that cohabitation between the autochthon populations and foreigners seems peaceful. In reality, we have the impression that this harmonious relationship is indeed a statement of tranquility and calm before the storm. "We live together without mentioning the origins of one another." Clearly, the question of nationality is mute and everyone avoids it before adopting an electoral list and organizing elections in Côte d'Ivoire. The political and electoral stakes are such that the ethnic situation in Côte d'Ivoire and Guinea proves to be rather worrisome; even more so as certain ethnic groups feel wronged in the exercise and management of power. This situation can be a source of frustration and lead to eventual social crises, above all, since the populations in a situation of migrant support being the subject of sarcastic, disdainful and devaluing judgments.

Becoming the receptacles of stigmatizing qualifications, the Guineans learn to develop a completely different nationalitarian discourse: "Cohabitation between autochthones and Guinean migrants is peaceful, all things considered, we are cousins, and it happens that we joke with them by calling them thieves. There are Ivoirians that think that the 'Odiennéka' are from Guinea. The population is a bit mixed; we have Ivoirians who had children with Guineans and vice versa. However, there are situations (like in the case of bad conduct) that are such that they are often treated as foreigners, but in general, one says it to their backs, not to their faces. It is more often between Ivoirians that cohabitation, between northerners and southerners, deteriorated with events. Certain southerners were displaced, currently things are in order." <sup>164</sup>

Turning to the variations of the joking relationship does not absolve the construction of a differentiated and valuing identity. An identity that is constructed in relation to the "right of soil" only in relationship with a shared culture: "Our relationships with the Guineans go very well, there is only the

"baden gna" (confraternal germanity) between us, we share the same language."<sup>165</sup> In the absence of the "brothers from the south" who have left, the Guineans are not in the way, even more so since they provide a large number of services that begin to interest the Odiennéka. We are in a context in which the methods of identification vary according to collective history and personal life, of affection and diverse categories that depend on the context. It is more appropriate to have recourse here to the expression "crisis of social ties" to better grasp the context. It often concerns the most daily ties of proximity, both familial and professional. To be fired and poorly treated by an administration (the police stations along the road corridors for example) constitutes concrete breakdowns of personal relationships that previously created ties that one often qualified as social. One must recall that in the regions managed by the New Forces (FN), the conditions of resources and living standards declined during the last decade. Thus, after the term "new family", there is also the addition "of exclusion" that has spread. It is no longer a question of simply designating degradation in economic resources, but also of highlighting the transformations and breakdowns in previous social relations. In such a way, one can speak of a crisis of identities, in the sense of a destabilization of previous arrangements of acting together in the Ivorian nation. More and more facts give evidence of the isolation that the border areas of Côte d'Ivoire with Guinea and Mali suffer from and their lacks in terms of social and economic programs taking into account the essential needs of local populations in the absence of the state. Such a fact contributes to the dilution of forms of discrimination in vogue among foreign populations (Guinean and Malian); since, from then on, the essential part of exchanges occurs with the populations of these countries.

The large majority of current northern Ivorian populations identify with the language, culture and ethnicity that they are ready to defend by any means. The recognition of these populations, for the majority, passes by the constitution of official recognition and the defense of their cultural community: "The largest blunder of the Gbagbo regime is to confuse the Senoufos with the Maninkas and, by ricochet, with the Guineans, Malians and people of Burkina Faso."<sup>166</sup>

## **D) - FORMS OF WEST AFRICAN MOBILITY IN SPACES OF CONTACT**

The study of refugee flows and population movements on the level of the "contact-spaces"<sup>167</sup> should therefore allow to determine parameters such as: identity of migrants/displaced persons/exiles, their motivations, their number, the duration of their stay and their occupations. The implantation and structure of networks, as well as the apprehension of the reports between the migrant/displaced person/exile, and his hosting milieu (natural and social), should provide elements that are indispensable to the understanding of the phenomenon on the ecological and human level. And yet, it proves that a number of border countries of Guinea are no longer likely to receive displaced persons as they have also been confronted with the real problems of civil status, especially in Côte d'Ivoire and the recurring community conflicts (circle of Yanfolila-Mali, for example). Recall that the Ivorian rebellion arrived in the context of driving out foreigners, which brought about a massive flow of Guineans towards border



posts. In the case of a conflict in Guinea, the populations would take the path in reverse. That is even truer in that forms of cohabitation and community life are already incrustated in habits.

Finally, we have evaluated the institutional impact of the access of displaced populations to resources in the countries of hosting and of origin. This allowed us to apprehend the dynamic of the system in conflicting terms, of innovations and factors of social and institutional transformation. Our perspective, that is to say, is inscribed in an anthropological perspective of the grasping of the resource-space<sup>168</sup> as a "total social fact".

Contrary to the quest for power, supremacy and territories that often mark traditional interrelations between states, the economic and social factors do not directly provoke interstate conflicts (although they, at times, act as a secondary cause). In fact, the economic, demographic and social aspects with negative characteristics rather risk inciting tensions and aggravating hostilities and problems that already exist in the regions affected by disparities where the population is preyed upon by discontent and desperation. These factors of destabilization can eventually degenerate into humanitarian crises or make it necessary to undertake missions of stabilization and/or reconstruction aimed at putting an end to instability and chaos and to re-establishing a form of acceptable peace. Massive displacements of vast segments of populations have destabilizing effects and can bring about civil troubles and regional confrontations or humanitarian crises obligating developed countries to intervene and resolve problems through diplomacy, with the use of economic development and/or by the deployment of troops.

In Guinea Conakry, for example, the persecutions and shortages under the regime of Sékou Touré from 1958 to 1984 brought about the departure of two million (2,000,000) inhabitants, largely towards Senegal and Côte d'Ivoire. This phenomenon was accentuated by the negligence of the Lansana Conté regime (1984-2008), and became the spectrum of a very likely implosion with the setting aside of the president of the CNDD, Moussa Dadis Camara; in the organization of the first democratic elections, the ethnic and regional variable in the choice of president of the Republic and the creation of a new government would be decisive. Traditionally, the movement of Guinean populations in Côte d'Ivoire concerned, more often, the regions of the savannahs (Korhogo), Denguélé, Man, Bouaké and Abidjan. It affected women as much as men. In Korhogo, Denguélé and Man, it was fundamentally the groups of seasonal agricultural workers that ended up settling and melting in with the local population. To note, also, that in the savannah regions (Madinani) and Denguélé, a large, very dynamic, Fulani population is living by commerce, transportation and the restoration of kiosks.

"Here we live with the Guinean Fulani in symbiosis, they are our brothers. They dominate general commerce and animal husbandry. Some are naturalized but the majority is not. They have invested a great deal in commerce and animal husbandry. They even become irreplaceable. They employ the autochthones as





chauffeurs, apprentices, since they are owners of buses and trucks. Some invest and others do not; we know them all. They are very powerful in economic terms and above all, with this crisis, it will go by and when it is going to end, we will be led to reflect on the situation. You know that here, the times are hard and no one is yet concerned with the capturing of the local economy by our Guinean neighbors. The future is bleak for us. It is true that we live in a crisis, in my opinion, only the populations of Guinean origin can allow themselves to host migrants or refugees, we speak almost the same language and the new arrivals can merge into the population without it being known since the administration functions slowly or almost not at all. Our problem is that the rebellion set us back; we have more contact with neighboring Guinea than with the capital of the country. These days, the Guineans do not cause any major problems, especially seeing that we have access to almost all current products through them. They are interested in Guinean political life and you have likely noticed the presence of parabolic antennas, they follow programs of Guinean television and Africa 24. They are going to follow the elections as spectators, they will not vote in the fashion of all Guineans installed in Côte d'Ivoire, perhaps in Abidjan and not in the zones controlled by rebels." 169

In Mali, there is a higher mobility of Maninkas towards urban centers. One finds Guineans in general commerce. The youth, particularly females, are more visible in the leisure milieu (bars and restaurants) and in the oldest profession. On that level, it is the subject of many police questionings. Cohabitation is more or less masked by a certain hypocrisy; one dares say things behind the backs of the Guineans, but not to their faces. Classifying one's neighbor through certain acts without his knowledge can, over time, bring about crises of cohabitation. The endogenous dynamics played an important role in the maintenance of such a form of peaceful cohabitation and of the expansion of migrations.

"I lived in Abidjan, five (5) years ago. I was born in Guinea; it is through a marriage that I came to Abidjan. We live with other communities in the same courtyard and there is harmony among us; especially with the Malians (her and her husband live as tenants of a family of Malian origin). We suffer a great deal abroad. Take the case here; the autochthones do not miss an occasion to put us down ('the Guineans, foreigners! Go home! Is there nothing in Guinea?'). These are the terms that put us down and make it so that we feel embarrassed in front of other peoples. For the question of papers, the law enforcement forces go as far as humiliating foreigners by kicking them. Often, it makes me think, I tell myself that, being at home, I am never going to suffer such aggressions. We want things to get better so we can go home. We want a developed Guinea so that, in our turn, we can receive foreigners at home."

We all fear a new crisis in the country, we have our families over there and we are scared for their security. In the time of Dadis, we were all scared. We wanted him to leave power with all the massacres that he committed; being here, I didn't have a tranquil mind. We want peace in Guinea to go back; we are not at ease here." As one says, "We are all better off at home!"<sup>170</sup>



"The news that reigns in Guinea right now is the presidential election. This election interests me, but I don't have the time to follow the events because of my activities. In terms of an eventual return to my country of origin, I think it will depend on God. If I have the possibility to earn my living well over there, I will go. Everything is a question of luck; I don't have a preference in terms of my country of origin and my country of birth. My worries are in terms of the elections, it is the choice of the president. In the case that the choice is of a bad president, all of the population will suffer. For me, I don't have a choice in terms of the candidates, I will just want a good leader who is going to manage the country well, and his ethnicity doesn't matter." 171

The constant desire to return to Guinea is a construct borne of trade with the inhabitants, a commerce made up of gibes and a lack of consideration, as reported in a number of interviews in Abidjan. And yet, in Guinea, one is in the midst of succeeding the organization of a free election, as the host country was unable to do for years. Numerous Guineans, who think of the delay in Guinea in terms of national construction and economic and social development, can only find their source in the way in which power manages identities and natural regions. It is in this framework that new strategies of mobility are given a special place on the cross-border dimension to face the constraints linked to the difficulty of integration in the immigration and emigration domains. New strategies are founded on the expansion of practices and circulation, the development of a functional pluri-territoriality that is characterized by placing in synergy activities tending to give access to economic resources in several types of spaces. This enlargement of spaces practiced by the actors implies flows of labor and capital between businesses and exploitations located near the national borders.

Other strategies that are put into place are more risky. They are principally the work of youth who hope to strike a fortune by leaving to work in the gold mines or who enroll in the militias and the armed gangs, who live, in part, on racketeering activities of the populations during civil wars. The negligence of the different regimes that succeeded one another at the head of the Guinean state can only be explained by the singular and particular manner of power management tinged with ethnicity without a guarantee of a real public political life. Seeing that the organizers of the Guinean elections are not party to the jousts, a universe of possibilities is thus open to Guineans who henceforth renew ties with the virtues of new citizenship; a renewed citizenship that is under construction in the logic of latent violence (with the objective of an acceptance of particular identities and their recognition in the political game). The narratives that follow are illustrations: "I came to Côte d'Ivoire in 2009. My father lives in Guinea and my mother in Côte d'Ivoire. I am Fulani, born in Guinea and I came to Fouta Djallon. I grew up over there. I think of returning to Guinea if the elections go well in four months. One finds many Guineans here. In general, they are merchants. In the case of a conflict in Guinea after fixing the results of the vote, I am ready to go to war with my Fulani relatives. The presidency of the Republic must come back to us, since all the other major communities have had this privilege: now it is our turn, because, under Sékou Touré, up until the time of Dadis, the Fulani have only had the oppression

of others. You see, Dadis wanted to kill Cello during the events of September 28 at the stadium."<sup>172</sup>

"The elections in Guinea interest us very much; I would like for Mr. Diallo to be elected president. For years, the other ethnicities have led the country; it is time for a Fulani to come to power. In addition to being Fulani, we come from the same region; a major change is needed in the country. I have hope in the candidacy of Mr. Diallo, even more so since he is very popular abroad and he is a very cultivated man. That does not mean that I am not going to accept it if another takes power, all that Guineans need is a president capable of getting the country out of its poverty. Many young Guineans are unemployed, roads are not paved, the majority of the country is not electrified, and all this demonstrates how much our country is behind. In terms of the ethnicity of the new president, we should set aside our differences. Just a few days ago, I wore the t-shirt of my candidate and I was approached by another Maninka Guinean. He went so far as to push me, telling me to take off the t-shirt, because, quite simply, they do not want a Fulani as president. I think that these are acts that we should avoid, even more so since we are all Guineans, there is no importance for the ethnicity."<sup>173</sup>

"Guinea needs a president who works. Whatever his ethnicity, we need a president that makes the country go forward. For me, I think a Fulani can do it. I voted for Mr. Diallo. I think he can bring change. Different ethnicities have gone after one another in power (Maninkas, Susus and those of the Forested region); it is time for a Fulani to take power: we want to taste power in turn. We want to see what change a Fulani can bring to the country. But if another ethnicity gets into power, we will accept him, as long as he makes the country advance. But in the case that our candidate comes to power and he does not respect his promises, we will be obliged to change him. But I would not like for that to happen, otherwise it would be shameful for the Fulani. When Dadis took power, we were all content; afterwards, he did not keep his promises. We all wanted him to leave power. The Fulani are often played down by others. Some say that a Fulani will never be president of Guinea. It is very serious this kind of talk. What scares me are the ethnic problems; on my side, if someone else came to power, I can accept it, but I don't think that the others will accept it. Everyone knows that Mr. Diallo is the favorite. Things are a bit complicated; everyone wants his own ethnicity to get to power. Currently, we do not want war in Guinea. We are waiting with impatience for the results of the vote. Seeing the lateness that it has taken, in my opinion, there is trouble brewing. I think that my candidate is the favorite; if another wins, I would say that it is not normal. Seeing his popularity, it is impossible that he fails unless one comes up against him. If he does not win, that can present a problem since certain Fulani are not going to accept it. If the others do not accept him as president, we too, we could not accept them in our turn. We are all Guineans, but when you look at the history of Guinea, a Fulani has never been in power. All of the ethnicities who have been in power have done nothing. We want change. There is another aspect that scares me, the occurrence of vengeance against the Fulani and the Maninkas. In the time of Conté and Dadis, the Fulani suffered and if a Fulani took power, is he not going to seek revenge?"<sup>174</sup>



"Normally, it is my sister who takes care of the store in my place. She went to Guinea to vote. On my end, I participated in the vote in Abidjan. I did not at all appreciate the provisional results of the elections. When I heard the results, I couldn't sleep; my husband is Fulani, but I don't trust the Fulani, I have the impression that the Maninkas have not been united around one candidate, which has given this result, there is a hypocrisy between us. The Maninkas are not united against the Fulani. Above all, it is the Fulani from outside that voted for Mr. Diallo. Almost all Fulani are united and mobilized around their candidate. During my last trip to Guinea, I even made the observation that "the little shoe shine boys" supported him. That is what was missing among the Maninkas. Also, there is the fact that many Guineans are naturalized, especially in Senegal and in Mali. We are displaced a bit everywhere. Personally, I think that the Maninkas do not know what they want, they are divided; some are even behind Dadis. Otherwise, how can you explain the percentage obtained by Mr. Diallo? All the same, these are not simply the voices of the Fulani, some of them voted for him. It seems that there is fraud here and there even that the ballot boxes were stuffed. In my opinion, I would say that almost all Fulani from the bordering countries (Mali, Senegal, Burkina Faso) voted for him. The Fulani are very united. I think that that arises from the responsibility of the CENI. One hopes that for the second round, the Maninkas will get together. We went to the elections in a dispersed group and that brought prejudice against us. I hope that we will learn lessons from this experience for the second round."<sup>175</sup>

Once more, ethnic belonging reappears. The Fulani think that it is time for them to manage power since the representatives of other ethnicities have already had the management of the country. According to the narratives collected, only a Fulani can bring change. All the same, the fear of an ethnic clash is not set aside. The delay in the organization of the second round of elections does not arrange an already problematic situation. The tension is already there; it will take almost nothing to set it off. The management of such a situation seems to be the childhood illness of African democracies: votes obey ethnic belonging more often than an activist choice or a choice of platform. Civic education of citizens at the grassroots level should be conducted after such negligence. Here the existence of vast ethnic and linguistic communities that goes beyond the framework of recent borders contributed to make imperceptible or less visible, the contexts of migration. The devastation of the recent Ivorian crises would affect whether these border regions host refugees or migrants: "In the perspective of an eventual conflict in Guinea, we are ready to receive our brothers. During the Ivorian crisis, several Ivoirians went to Mali and Guinea; they were well received and well treated. There is no reason for us not to accept refugees when it is our turn."<sup>176</sup>

"The Fulani travel a great deal and they bring a lot to the country, when you visit Guinea, particularly the regions where the Fulani live, you would be surprised at the achievements made. We build new houses. That does not mean that we have more money than others. We have a sense of development from our different travels abroad. We make the most of our experiences to construct at home."<sup>177</sup>



In any case, it is important to distinguish migrants from refugees. Furthermore, in the case that we are considering where civil war is the major cause of internal and external displacements of populations, one often considers political and environmental patterns, such as the increased scarcity of resources due to climate uncertainties, along with the management of these resources. Since resource issues contribute so much to the growth of vulnerability among populations. In addition, the movements of refugees answer, in this case, to a situation of crisis. Some are going to settle elsewhere, the camps can be transformed into cities, others will come back, and still others leave again for elsewhere. Once refugees, they become migrants. These hybrid profiles multiply today, often linked with the conflicts that disturb the regions or states over time. This is also the case with Côte d'Ivoire. During crises in Côte d'Ivoire and the Mano River zone, for example, numerous Guineans settled in Côte d'Ivoire. Themselves refugees or descendants of refugees having fled violence, they were then obliged to leave again for Guinea. Inversely, in the cities of Man and Danane, there were thousands of Guineans and Liberians, at one point under shelters of straw, today, in permanent houses. Settled in Côte d'Ivoire, they maintain ties with Liberia and Guinea and reactivate social ties and, particularly today, flourishing commercial ties as well. One more time, one must not generalize; there are different situations and thus different causes of departure and multiple effects in the medium and long term.

## **E) - CONCLUSION AND FUTURE PROSPECTS**

Insecurity becomes vivid in the current context of the weakening of the Ivorian state linked to the situation of the rebellion, with budget difficulties related to fiscal problems and the maintenance of an army in a state of war, as well as an acceleration of movements of sub-regional populations following the crisis and its effects. These elements can be translated into a weakening of social cohesion, the marginalization of border areas and the emergence of divisions harmful to the security and stability of the states concerned. As an example, one of the hidden consequences of the Ivorian crisis is the emergence of intercommunity tensions along the borders between host communities and new arrivals (refugees, returning economic migrants, etc.). The lack of food, water and medicine, unemployment and the lack of infrastructures can further incite frustrations and tensions. The border zones are very often territories of choice for cross-border trafficking, especially smuggling of all sorts, crime banditry and other threats to the security and stability of states. These threats increase even more as the borders are vast and difficult to control.

Other problems prevail in these border zones: environmental degradation, the emergence of a culture of impunity and the presence of growing road blocks and highway robbery.

Most problems requiring concerted efforts on both sides of borders must nonetheless be overseen by States in collaboration with local communities, including the associations of women and religious leaders. One of the solutions foreseen is the cross-border cooperation between neighboring local populations for greater dialog and communication in the sense of a culture of peace and a fruitful exchange.



Sub-regional organizations must organize meetings between governments on the practical modalities to allow populations in need to access humanitarian aid through the intervention of neutral organizations. In order to assure the protection of people in transit, internally displaced persons and seasonal workers:

- use financial grants to filter the combatants and separate them from non-combatants, also for the confinement of combatants;
- ensure that the refugee camps are situated in secure areas, far from borders;
- disarmament, demobilization and reintegration (DDR) of former combatants: ensure that former combatants follow professional and practical training adapted to the local market and find the financial means for them;
- illicit movements of light arms: harmonize the legislation relative to the control of arms in the region and readapt laws on the local production of light arms in conformity with the moratorium decided by ECOWAS on imports, exports and fabrication of light arms in West Africa; reinforce the collection and destruction of light arms by making the local communities participate in disarmament programs; reinforce the capacity of oversight of human rights in the region and of the creation of conflict resolution and peace education centers that should be established on the local level in the heart of communities.

## GENERAL CONCLUSION

### PROSPECTS FOR LASTING PEACE IN THE SUB-REGION

Above all, it is indispensable to recall that, at the moment of starting this study, all the actors we met were confident about the future of Guinea. They were, for the most part, assured that the democratic transition would lead to lasting peace that the political actors will have the responsibility of further consolidating. This "legitimate" hope attains all of its strength from the faith that they place in the democratic and institutional principles and the capacities of populations to manage their ethnic differences well in a peaceful west African space.

The reading of different reports and results of field research reinforced by a significant literature review, allows us to grasp the depth of disarray and, above all, of discontent of all actors and populations in this part of West Africa in the face of recurring conflicts and the dramatic consequences they bring about. This situation, full of serious repercussions, disturbs all socio-economic and political activities in the countries concerned. While the civil society actors are worried about this situation, they remain very vigilant and informed about the internal situations of the countries. This unexpected maturity allows a few of them to anticipate sounding the alarm before the overflow and excesses arise from this particular situation. Public authorities, in spite of the first-hand information to which they have access, have a reactivity that clashes with the agreements that they sign, and the diverse bilateral and multilateral commitments that they take on in terms of human security policies.

Our field research had, among other aims, the objective to analyze upstream the moment of birth of these diverse "memories" linked to the fear incited by uncertainty in the face of latent or open conflicts. We were therefore convinced that it is with the reinforcement of this analysis that we would be led to the establishment of the principles to analyze the mechanisms of solidarity that join together beyond the borders of mutual incomprehension. Partial or total, the trajectories of refugees, the traumatizations that they were subjected to, the rewriting of solidarities that give birth to a new relationship with what we can designate as a "new memory" in contradiction with that found in place, tend to make the modalities of intercommunity West African conflict management more complex. It is as if two parallel memories were established to compete in producing the relations of conflicting situations that tend to distort the historicity of previous ties. The most perfect illustration of this situation is the case of the Liberian victims of a decade of war having lived the humiliation in their refuge due to the unfortunate declaration of Lansana Conté. Today, in spite of the historical proximity between them and the Guineans, they are doubtful when one asks them if they are ready to host their Guinean "cousins". From this point, our questions at the onset on how the stigma which are potential sources of conflicts and xenophobia arise and how the competition between displaced populations and citizens of the host countries come to be, finding there all of their pertinence. These are a few questions



that deserve to be researched in order to sketch solutions for a better future in the West African space. This is why the argument put forward by many of our interviewees, on the abusive use of ethnicity, is of long established pertinence, but remains rejected, however, because of the different subtleties of the political games and the intrigues that structure them. Indeed, as the pertinence of one of our interviewees underlines, "I think that it is the politicians who "ruin" democracy in Africa. It is they who manipulate opinions by elaborating speeches that are hateful or of ethnic and regional bents. The populations do not know what ethnicity is. Indeed, populations do not know who is Mandinka and who is Fulani; they do not know who is Jola and who is Balante. They do not know all of that, what interests them is the relations between peoples. But when the politicians lambaste others, it is they who begin to make distinctions between different individuals, thus creating enmity between different peoples. It is all of that that is activated to find votes and this is very serious, since it can go rather far and the example of Rwanda is there to remind us of the dangers of the excessive use of ethnicity as a political lever." One cannot subscribe, in an unconsidered way, to this assertion, but looking at it closely, one realizes that it is the politicians and other actors who fight for power and elaborate all of the information susceptible to create trouble. In any case, the socio-political situation in Guinea proves this amply. This situation presents questions of nationality and of citizenship in this part of Africa where ethnic identities cross state borders and "dissolve" national sovereignties.

It is in this direction that we think it is necessary to go beyond the simple observations and to analyze with the necessary "scientific coldness" the different stereotypes and stigmatizations that appear between people coming from "elsewhere" who find themselves in a "new space" with its rules and ways of managing daily life. Everything could turn, perhaps, around the concepts by which the displaced populations are designated (refugee, exile, displaced person). It is legitimate to ask oneself if these designations provide answers to what is happening in Africa. The discussion around these universals should allow us to better understand that the observation models of international organizations and those who concoct policies may only rarely answer to the realities in the field whether it is in Africa or elsewhere in the world. They only slightly translate local practices and customs. Without going even further, it is to be suggested that actors of all kinds can reorient and debate the usual paradigms in order to interrogate them according to the uses and practices that we have just discussed. Reports present this problem of apprehension of paradigms with a great deal of circumspection, of course, but attract attention to the abuse made of these concepts. It is in this framework that one must apprehend one of the fundamental questions that the reports treat and that deserves to be taken under wing: the definition and the understanding of what "human security" is and all the dimensions that characterize it in order to grasp the stakes and subtleties.

Inspired by international conventions and reinforced by historical logic, the policies of hosting displaced persons answer to several types of logic that can only be grasped by examining the history of age-old or recent relations forged by the different populations of this part of the West African sub-region. Indeed,



the populations of these different countries share the same history, travel the same territory, and use the same lands and rivers beyond the sovereignty of states. From that moment on, it is possible to suspect the states of failing in the face of their ruling obligations.

We were also convinced that our research should be conducted on the basis of fundamental elements interwoven with each other on the basis of the recent history of the sub-region. In this way, the pertinence of the question that we asked ourselves in the beginning finds all of its meaning. Indeed, we had presented as hypothesis, to know if states had adequate systems to face a massive inflow of refugees, mechanisms in preparation (hosting structures, orientation offices, coherent policies of assistance, psychological unit etc.), and if national regulations were linked with those that exist on the regional, sub-regional and international levels. This series of interrogations is based on finding out if the conventions ratified by states were respected. The report highlights that the states, taken individually, cannot face an inflow of refugees and lay all of their hope on NGOs and international organizations.

Civil society actors are unanimous in highlighting the necessity for effective coordination of their actions in order to limit the negative effects of energy dispersion. We think that these worries arise in all of the reports and prove, once again, that conflict issues and consequences solicit the expertise of a group of actors with long known the societies in which they have the custom of working in times of peace. The researchers used a global approach whose fundamental reference remains the human experience considered outside of all attempts of assigning a singular category (men, women, and children). Our study participants noted the existence of specialized organizations in the hosting and integration of women and children, but these act in concert with all of the organizations that intervene. Indeed, organizations for the defense of women become more and more important in the countries studied and are active around the new arrivals in order to integrate them rapidly into the production circuit.

Finally, it is, quite naturally, men who lead and the political decision-makers at all levels of these countries who are called to respect the law in order to be able to demand the same attitude from the people that they govern.

Our general findings can be summarised in the observation of insufficiencies to face the multiple challenges that are presented to West African peoples and states. It is in this regard that we propose the following:

- The reinforcement of civil society actors and local actors is necessary to make them capable of being actively implicated in all steps of peace-building processes and able to respond to the signals of early-warning to prevent possible excesses in Guinea which would have unfortunate consequences for all countries of the sub-region.
- Implicating local community actors in Guinea is also useful to help in awareness raising on conflict prevention and the collective engagement that is an absolute necessity to the establishment of a peaceful democratic transition in the country.



- Indeed, when local actors commit in a significant way to the totality of the process, it creates opportunities for the use of local community resources and autochthon expertise to manage and prevent conflicts.
- Make border communities affected by conflicts self-sufficient and mobilize them to create widespread, global and inclusive peace-building approaches. We were able to observe that the government capacity to channel human security remains extremely limited, that countries taken individually had up to this point, little success in peace building, that there is a lack of effective political engagement and that mutual mistrust has been squarely in place since the civil wars. These observations lead us to propose to reduce these problems, otherwise, the current political situation will not only hinder the impact of peace-building policy in the framework of regional cooperation, but will also be an obstacle to business and interethnic cooperation opportunities while the latter, if well managed, could improve human security through the corridor of the West African sub-region.
  - Sub-regional actors should integrate sensitivity to conflicts and preventive peace-building approaches in efforts made in order to promote co-existence and regional cooperation on the vertical and horizontal levels: the security situation demands an approach of preventive peace-building. The conclusions of our investigations confirmed that solutions centered on the state have not been able to resolve the impact of the chain reaction effect of civil wars on traditional models of co-existence, sub-regional commercial interdependence and cooperation on the state level. The absence of political will and of diplomatic cooperation can prevent technical solutions and cooperation, indispensable elements to promote livelihoods and human security. Sustained political engagement, regular dialogue, common security planning and permanent consultation should be established between the different countries.
  - The international community must help Guinea to commit to short, medium and long-term initiatives to reinforce institutional, judiciary and security system reforms after the announcement of the results of the second rounds of elections. It appeared that the general nature of politics in the country constitutes a threat for the sub-region. The bad memories of interethnic massacres and extrajudicial assassinations during and after the elections must lead to the establishment of legitimate and effective political institutions. These institutions are going to reinforce democratic participation, bureaucratic reform and public sector reform in the country. The next elected president must, in an urgent manner, convoke the country's political and social actors in order to solicit regional and international support in facing post-electoral disputes in order to shelter Guinea from a conflict that would further complicate its situation.
  - Integrate the agenda on human security on the state and sub-regional levels in order for it to be an imperative to reinforce social and developmental policies. Not to take into account this aspect signifies closing one's eyes to the potential causes of instability in Guinea. An approach that consists in minimizing the risks on human security is an attitude that does not guarantee a human, peaceful and viable environment. From now on, it is necessary

to offer means of alternative existence to youth, including the ex-combatants roaming in the border zones. It was proven that societies in post-conflict periods need self-sufficiency, which can be achieved effectively by answering their concerns, which include the need to rebuild their life and livelihood.

- Restoring security and trust among populations is an imperative, by placing at the disposal of institutions charged with security the logistical conditions necessary to formulate effective strategies whose objective is to disconnect all the criminal networks in the sub-region. After a critical observation of the border environments, it appeared that the porosity of borders will continue to serve as fertile ground for networks of organized crime. In addition to that, administrative harassment and the extortion of funds by corruption, with its consequences on the free circulation of persons and services in the sub-region contribute to the multiplication of illegal border crossings that, in turn, have serious repercussions on security. This situation represents a notorious weakness on the national and regional level.
- There must be an effective exercise of international obligation to invoke R2p. Since there has not been a strong consensus on the applicability of R2p in the political realities of Guinea, a practical protection of vulnerable populations living in fragile security environments such as Guinea demands a rapid and operational consensus. Massive violations of human rights, including the massacre of 150 unarmed civilians in the midst of accusations of rapes and kidnappings on September 28, 2009, raise many concerns, making one think that large-scale imminent danger is only waiting to explode, with important sub-regional consequences. The failure to protect innocent protestors in the country could be described, consequently, as a lack of effectiveness of resolutions taken by regional and sub-regional organizations (ECOWAS and the African Union) and the international community to respond to an early warning for prevention.
- Facilitate, as much as the law allows, inter-community cross-border peace building and the organization of peace-building events as a means of rebuilding trust and reinforcing the traditional model of coexistence among communities and cross-border ethnic families. It appeared that some populations maintain a certain degree of latent hatred (in a few countries at least) that could, at a certain level of tension, influence the relations between Guinean refugees and the host population. The past two decades witnessed changes in the relations that threatened the traditional model of co-existence between Guinea and its neighbors, more specifically, the Liberians. In light of the civil war that set ablaze the sub-region, cross-border peace-building initiatives must be encouraged among the communities living along the borders to reinforce community interactions and reduce negative influences of stereotypes and prejudices based on ethnic belonging.

Local community actors can achieve this with the organization of meetings with traditional institutions and by proposing real processes of planning, organization and establishment of scenarios of peace and interdependence. These activities that have the vocation of developing the knowledge, aptitudes and attitudes of one another could allow people of all ages and all levels to reinforce behaviors of prevention of the occurrence or re-occurrence of conflicts, creating psychological conditions that encourage peace in the sub-region. They can occur in formal and



informal environments and their awareness can be made through visits of community exchange between border communities, ceremonies and inter-community forums. Local participation in these exercises would help the local communities to fully value the historical, ethnic, social and cultural belongings that will facilitate their different links to reinforce the peace-building process in the West African sub-region.

Civil society organizations, local NGOs and community organizations should make the most of such initiatives to use their expertise in terms of peace-building and conflict prevention in an innovative manner. They would thus succeed not only in reinforcing the process of distribution of information on peace and security, but also in developing the activities of awareness on the different modes of cross-border cooperation. In the end it is a question of inventing and incorporating, into everyday practices, new alternative visions, culturally adapted to historical characteristics, by all actors implicated in the process of dispute resolution in West Africa.

## FOOTNOTES

- 1 Read on this subject the article « Guinée-Conakry. 1 an après le massacre du 28 septembre 2009. Nouveau Pouvoir, Espoir de Justice ? », Rapport n° 546f de la FIDH et L'OGDH, September 2010, 44 p. A commentator highlights that "(...) the report of the International Federation for Human Rights (FIDH) and OGDH advocates a series of recommendations to the attention of the Guinean authorities and the international community in order to establish the foundations of a renewed State, a reformed army, a truly independent judiciary and the end of the impunity of the torturers who have compromised the future of Guinea for so long." See article at <http://www.afrik.com/article20865.html>
- 2 As cruel as it may appear, the attempted assassination of Captain Dadis Camara served as an accelerator of the process of political transition in Guinea. Indeed, if there had not been this event, the country would not, certainly, be in this crucial phase of its history.
- 3 Tuareg rebellion in Mali and lower Casamance irredentism in Senegal.
- 4 The project received a favorable judgment on the part of all of the actors that we met in the field. They were unanimous in stating that the study came just at the right moment. Nonetheless, we must emphasize that this appreciation increased the challenge for our researchers in order to produce a work that satisfied everyone. Indeed, one of our researchers in Guinea-Bissau, very informed of what is happening in the sub-region, before responding to our requests, wished to underline "that the project is interesting in itself, and deserves our particular attention in order that it lead to the establishment of a true mechanism to stamp out the misdeeds of instability in West Africa". (Mamadu Jao, director of INEP, who placed us in effective research conditions by recommending us an assistant and also by facilitating meetings with members of civil society and the administration.)
- 5 The author of this part of the report attended a colloquium on the occasion of the fiftieth anniversary of Côte d'Ivoire in Yamoussoukro in August 2010. The workshops on migration and citizenship and reconstruction of the Ivorian army in which he participated directly, the debates and the discussions in the wings allowed him to measure the weight of the question of foreigners in this country that was reputed to be the best integrator in West Africa. The shadow of the "North-South" conflict, the divergences between the Ivorians, and the notion of "ivory" (from the French *ivoirité*) hung over all the encounters. It was symptomatic to observe how intellectuals charged with thinking the society were embarrassed before these questions that had for a long time divided in the Ivorian political class (Read a series of small books on history, migration and population of Côte d'Ivoire published by CERAP (Centre de Recherche et d'Action pour la Paix); Côte d'Ivoire : Les premiers habitants by Gilbert Gonin et René Kouamé Allou (2006, 122 p.) ; Côte d'Ivoire Terre de convergence et d'accueil (XVe–XIXe siècles) by Simon-Pierre Ekanza (2006, 118 p.) ; Côte d'Ivoire : l'immigration des Voltaïques (1919–1960) by Jacques L. Tokpa (2006, 121 p.) et Côte d'Ivoire: entre barbarie et démocratie by Martial Joseph Ahipeaud (2009, 208 p.) Beyond their educational aspects, these books allow to seize the engagement of Ivorian intellectuals to clarify the complex situation of their country.
- 6 We missed the phase in Guinea to better apprehend the deepness of the dissent and to collect the sentiments of the population. We contented ourselves with reading on an almost daily basis the dispatches of national and international media and to visit several information sites of Guineans in the diaspora who proposed articles about the situation ([www.afrik.com](http://www.afrik.com), [www.africatime.com](http://www.africatime.com)). These "visits" allowed us to take the pulse of the discussions that, very often, incite to hatred and confrontation between the different communities. We also had the chance to correspond regularly with a Guinean journalist, Kadiatou Thierno Diallo, (Journalist, Reporter, Regional Coordinator of a Gender project for the International Federation of Journalists, IFJ, and Deputy General Secretary of the West Africa Journalists Association, WAJA, and Focal Point of the Inter-Africa Network for women, Media, Gender Equity and Development, FAMEDEV, in Guinea), who gave us information on an almost daily basis about the political debates and the sentiments of populations that she met with up until the day before we closed up our work. Her help, on a voluntary basis, allowed us to refine our analyses and reorient our hypotheses. This is the place to thank her wholeheartedly for this help without which many aspects of the process would, quite simply, have escaped us.
- 7 We use here the definition put forward by Yves Lacoste, of geopolitics in his last work. He proposes that: "...geopolitics (...) analyze all power rivalries on a territory, whether the latter be large or very small dimensions (especially in the heart of cities) and whether it is a question of conflicts between States or battles at the heart of the same country, these conflicts can have repercussions on more or lesser distances." (Lacoste 2010:8). This definition takes account of the rivalries that arose and that appears on the horizon in West Africa and more particularly in the sub-region (Read with interest his work, *La question postcoloniale. Une analyse géopolitique*, Paris, Fayard, 2010, 432 p.).



- 8 It is not a question here of recalling in detail what occurred in the sub-region since the beginning of the 1990s, but to sketch a broad overview allowing us to have the background of what could happen if ever a conflict broke out in Guinea. We think that old "war solidarities" can be awoken and feed again the dormant networks of "unemployed" rebels, traffickers of all sorts and gangs of organized crime that hold sway throughout the sub-region. Indeed, in spite of efforts expended to bring peace through demobilization and the limitation of the circulation of arms, it is to fear that any seat of tension that flares up currently would act as an excellent pretext for recycling the former "war bureaucrats". What did occur is well informed by irreplaceable scientific works.
- 9 Read number 88 of the journal *Politique Africaine*, "Liberia, Sierra Leone, Guinée: La régionalisation de la guerre", Paris, Karthala, 190 p. This volume gives a general overview of these wars and the sub-regional implications that feed them and that complicated as much the causes that underlie them as the consequences that have arisen from them to this day.
- 10 Read with interest the article by Jean Pierre Chauveau in collaboration with Koffi Samuel Bobo, "La crise de la ruralité en Côte d'Ivoire forestière. Ethnicisation des tensions foncières, conflits entre générations et politique de libéralisation" in *Frontières de la citoyenneté et violence en Côte d'Ivoire*, Dakar, CODESRIA, 2008, pp. 105-123, to understand the increasing complexity of the land reforms linked, in part, to the presence of "foreigners" and the different conflicts that their presence brings about not only in Côte d'Ivoire but also in the entire sub-region, if not to say in all of Africa. A work under publication, *Terres et citoyenneté en Afrique* (Dakar, CODESRIA), describes an overview of this situation.
- 11 Read with the interest the report by Stéphanie Pézard Et Anne-Kathrin Glatz, "Armes légères et sécurité en Mauritanie. Une perspective nationale et régionale". Small Arms Survey, Institut universitaire de hautes études internationales et du développement, Geneva, June 2010. This report allows one to measure the extent of danger that hangs over this part of the sub-region if ever efforts are not taken in the sense of regulating the circulation of arms. To judge the historicity of the circulation of arms in West Africa at its real value, read the book by Sokhna Sané, *Le contrôle des armes à feu en Afrique Occidentale Française 1834-1958*, Paris/Dakar, Karthala/Crepos, 2008, 280 p.
- 12 The execution, very recently, of a French hostage (Michel Germaneau) captured in the Mauritanian territory, the Mauritanian army raid into Malian territory and the suicide-attack that targeted the military casern in the east of Mauritania towards the end of the month of August 2010 allows the specter of an effective installation of AQIM in this geographic region to remain.
- 13 Read the note "Les déplacés en Afrique " June, 21 2007, 5 p. available here: <http://www.idpaction.org/index.php/fr//actu/1-concertedaction>,
- 14 In addition, they are often shunted about between camps that are fighting, sometimes accused by one group, sometimes accused by others of collaboration with the state or a rival faction. From this perspective, the inhabitants of refugee camps become easy targets to reach in the sense that the regular army cannot assure their security in spite of conventions and regulations in effect. This situation is verifiable everywhere, whether it be in the DRC, Kenya and/or Darfur.
- 15 Read on this subject the very interesting article by Marianne Ferme and Daniel Hoffman "Les filles-soldats: trajectoires d'après-guerre en Sierra Leone" in *Politique Africaine*, n° 88, 2002, pp. 49-62.
- 16 During our interviews, in May 2010, with one of the managers of ADRA, an NGO in Bissau, we were "surprised" by the existence in the country of Sierra Leonean refugees who had come to complain to their "protector" for the payment of their rent. That is to say, again, that in spite of the peace process under consolidation; the Sierra Leoneans remained in their host country and still profited from the attention of civil society actors.
- 17 In a crucial manner here, one can question the role of media (and of all media, the Internet today being the first), in the launching, development and resolution of conflicts in Africa. Today, discussion forums present real problems even if Internet is not accessible to all and if the large majority of populations in West Africa are illiterate; it would be interesting to analyze their impact on opinions. It is not rare to hear one say: "I heard it on the Internet" as if this medium is the only "credible" way to find out what is happening inside the country. The manipulation of images, photomontages and other tricks are in vogue on the net. It is enough to read the few forums of Guineans to understand the hateful rhetoric that punctuates them. One goes from the "private lives" of candidates to their "supposed itineraries" without forgetting excesses on the backdrop of ethnicity (Visit for example: <http://www.guineepresse.info> and [www.kibarou.com](http://www.kibarou.com)).
- 18 Read on this subject the article by Mike McGovern to measure the amplitude of the reaction facing the irresponsible declaration on the part of the highest authorities of Guinea in: "Conflit régional et rhétorique de la contre-insurrection : Guinéens et réfugiés en septembre 2000" in *Politique Africaine*, n° 88, pp. 84-102,
- 19 Extract of Sékou Touré's speech in front of General de Gaulle, August 25, 1958. See: <http://sites.google.com/site/guineejuristes/paged%27histoire>.



- 20 Human Rights Watch, "Bloody Monday. The September 28 massacre and Rapes by Security Forces in Guinea" December 17, 2009, 113 p. <http://www.hrw.org/node/87190> (Accessed October 10, 2010)
- 21 Moreover, his son was not freed until a few months later after having been classified by the United States as a veritable godfather. But one should note that several personalities (and even the army itself) are implicated in this trafficking.
- 22 He does not stop claiming aloud all of his different qualities as if to set himself off from those of the Sékou Touré and Lansana Conté regimes. He has declared himself to be generous, disinterested in material goods and money and concluded by saying: "We are not starved for power."
- 23 Read on this subject the article « Guinée-Conakry. 1 an après le massacre du 28 septembre 2009. Nouveau Pouvoir, Espoir de Justice ? », Rapport n° 546f de la FIDH & L'OGDH, September 2010, 44 p. A commentator highlights that "(...) the report of the International Federation for Human Rights (FIDH) and OGDH advocates a series of recommendations to the attention of the Guinean authorities and the international community in order to establish the foundations of a renewed State, a reformed army, a truly independent judiciary and the end of the impunity of the torturers who have compromised the future of Guinea for so long." See article at <http://www.afrik.com/article20865.html>
- 24 Read his interview here: <http://www.guineeepresse.info/index.php?id=15,4281,0,0,1,0>
- 25 As cruel as it may appear, the attempted assassination of Captain Dadis Camara served as an accelerator of the process of political transition in Guinea. Indeed, if there had not been this event, the country would not, certainly, be in this crucial phase of its history.
- 26 Read his "exclusive interview" at the link [www.guineeepresse.info](http://www.guineeepresse.info). After his "betrayal", Toumba and his men plundered the bars of the capital with arms in hand, emptying cash registers and stocking themselves up on beer. His whereabouts remain "unknown".
- 27 It would appear that it is a rumor that is difficult to verify.
- 28 The General Sékouba Konaté maintains in good terms with a few heads of state of the sub-region, such as Laurent Gbagbo, Amadou Toumani Touré, Blaise Compaoré, Yaya Jammeh and Abdoulaye Wade (See the file in the last edition of Jeune Afrique, n° 2591 of September 5-11, 2010).
- 29 One of the members of the ECOWAS delegation visiting Guinea a few weeks before the massacres, affirmed to us in a "private" discussion that the reality of power was in the hands of the general who only rarely appeared in public and wished to remain in the shadow by putting forward the one considered "his promising follower".
- 30 Read his speech from Burkina Faso television at this link (in French): <http://www.guineenews.org/articles/?num201017182250>.
- 31 See the link: <http://www.actubenin.comm?Accords-De-Ouaga-Sur-La-Guinée>.
- 32 The former president of CENI and his Deputy were recently condemned to one year of prison with a fine between the two rounds after his declarations.
- 33 At least, that is the case of many civil society actors interviewed in Guinea-Bissau and in Senegal.
- 34 In early June, she expressed her concerns: "I fear confrontations between communities, between activists, and even in the heart of families; 70% of the population is illiterate, and people do not have a democratic culture, therefore for questions of interests, they can make faux pas. And then, there are some who do not want the elections and who make the most of the troubles to earn a living." Read the interview at the link: [http://www.guinee58.com/index.php?option=com\\_content&view=article&id=1945:rabiadou-serah-diallo--je-crains-des-affrontements-entre-communautés&catid=34:politique&Itemid=54](http://www.guinee58.com/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=1945:rabiadou-serah-diallo--je-crains-des-affrontements-entre-communautés&catid=34:politique&Itemid=54).
- 35 One must highlight the interesting and eminently evocative fact of the almost "organic" relationships that exist between the countries of the sub-region. A few weeks before the presidential election in Guinea, the walls of capitals such as Abidjan, Bissau and Dakar were papered with giant posters of at least three candidates: Alpha Condé, Cellou Dalein Diallo and Sida Touré, this trio came in on top after the announcement of results from the first round. If this reality speaks of the interlacing of the countries, one must also note that it gives evidence of the massive presence of Guineans in these different countries and, above all, the Fulani who have for a long time suffered from the successive regimes in Guinea. Whether it be in Bissau or in Dakar and a little bit of everywhere else, Guineans on the outside were able to vote in spite of the organizational hiccups that mar the will of the whole of the political class and of the president of the CNDD to give a chance to this country to awake from its long night of chaos and poor governance that has very nearly made the country plunge into violence for several years already.
- 36 An interesting example of a military figure who has been well converted to democracy and who inspires the admiration



of many other military figures in the sub-region to the point that the latter wish to act as he has. He has made fairly candid remarks widely reported by the Guinean press and that take note of the proximity between the two countries and Guinea and the other countries of the sub-region. According to ATT: "There is a country (of which!) we are proud, with the means that you have, because what belongs to you, in Guinea, is for us as well. It is this same Niger River that has its source here that passes in front of the door of my village. It is on the banks of this river that I was born. One cannot count the relations between a Touré and a Konaté, a Touré and a Keïta, a Touré and a Coulibaly. But, who is going to differentiate between a General Sékouba Konaté and the Lieutenant Colonel Mamadou Konaté who is in Kati over there in Mali? No one! That is to say that I am satisfied, I am satisfied, but I will come back, each time the occasion is given me. I will come back also to follow and to accompany my cadet, to accompany the Guinean army and accompany the people of Guinea. I was saying, to whoever wanted to hear it, that everything that affects Guinea, will also affect Mali. Guinea and Mali are two lungs of the same body."

- 37 Today, it has been shown that members of AQIM are recruited in all countries without distinctions of race or ethnicity.
- 38 To measure the risks of instability due to AQIM, read the note published by the Secretariat of SWAT "Vulnérabilités et facteurs d'insécurité au Sahel", Enjeux ouest-africains, n° 1, SWAT/OECD, August 2010, 8 p. The employees of the French mining company, AREVA, that mine uranium in Niger at Arlit were taken hostage by members of AQIM who operate on this large desert strip that goes from Algeria to Niger, according to corroborating sources. Document available on-line: [www.oecd.org/dataoecd/23/28/45830147.pdf](http://www.oecd.org/dataoecd/23/28/45830147.pdf)
- 39 Former Minister of the Interior of Senegal whose moral probity is notorious. He assured, with his civil involvement, a successful changeover of power in March 2000.
- 40 Read the workshop report from Before, an NGO: "Réflexions sur une stratégie de consolidation de la paix" May 2009, 60 p.
- 41 During our stay in Bissau for the needs of the study in May 2010, we witnessed the unloading of logistical material destined for the Guinea-Bissau army from a cargo plane at the airport.
- 42 See the table of results in the Annexes.
- 43 Both occupied the post of Prime Minister under the presidency of Lansana Conté. They know the machinery of the Guinean administration very well and have solid ties with the business world and are known on the regional and international levels.
- 44 See the link:  
<http://rpg-guinee.com/index.php/actualités/1039-attaques-du-pedn-contre-alpha-conde>.
- 45 - On this subject see the report of this alliance here: <http://www.afrik.com/20491.html>.
- 46 That of elections that do not get a date assigned. We can draw attention to the fact that the President Laurent Gbagbo declared, in a solemn manner at the closing of the colloquium on the fiftieth anniversary of independence of Côte d'Ivoire in Yamoussoukro (August 5, 2010) that the election date was set for October 31, 2010.
- 47 A major debate is wrapped around this question that deserves, in our opinion, long epistemological discussions that the report will not and does not have the objective of taking into account. The interesting analysis of Gilles Olakounle "Du vote, de l'ethnie et de la démocratie en Guinée et ailleurs en Afrique" at the link <http://www.afrik.com/artile20467.html>, questions the idea of the "ethnic vote". Even if the analysis is not exhaustive, it allows one to understand how it is often indispensable to relativize the assertion that tends to declassify all behavior to the point of leading to a form of social nervousness. But the declaration of the "wise Maninkas" in favor of Alpha Condé comes to reinforce the idea of an ethnicization of the vote.
- 48 It seems evident to us now that Guinea is in the midst of risking it all with the prevarications that surrounded the date of the second round, the threats of destabilization, the unjustified ethnic speeches, the ambiguous positions of the Prime Minister, the disqualification of the CENI and the outings of the President of the CNT and all the declarations that make the political situation impenetrable. Let us hope simply that Blaise Compaoré will be up to the task of convincing the two candidates at the top of contention in the second round and their respective allies to continue the indispensable process for tranquility and peace in the West African sub-region (Read the wire diffused on the website of the PEDN (Parti de l'Espoir pour le Développement National ) [http://www.pednespoir.org/index.php?option=com\\_content&view=article&id=730:guinee-presidentielle&catid=32:actualites-guineenne&Itemid=56](http://www.pednespoir.org/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=730:guinee-presidentielle&catid=32:actualites-guineenne&Itemid=56)).
- 49 He declared that, after his victory, he would not send Captain Dadis Camara to the International Criminal Court.
- 50 Read the link : <http://www.afrik.com/article20705.html>.



- 51 The date was set for next October 10 with the nomination of a new President of the CENI who, however, is not unanimously accepted. Let us hope that the date will be respected, that the exasperation of the General will dissipate, that the doubt of the electors will diminish and that the candidates will know how to channel their activists in order for the second round to be held in the best conditions to allow Guinea to enter straight into its reconstruction for the entirety of its children.
- 52 This can seem like a dream, but it remains indispensable to push on development that has been so expected, in this country that is rich on the economic and social levels.
- 53 We have insisted much more on this country whose geographic situation is particular. Indeed, it is more exposed than Senegal in terms of massive inflows of populations from Guinea.
- 54 Moreover, the Guineans are reputed to be major resellers of this hallucinogenic plant in Guinea-Bissau.
- 55 One must point out that Guineans made a fortune in the countries of the sub-region and are spread out from Dakar, Banjul, Kolda, Ziguinchor and, naturally, right up to Bissau.
- 56 Let us note that, to better comprehend the general sentiment at the border, we grouped together the studies (studies in parallel) by jointly interviewing the Senegalese, Guineans and Bissau-Guineans. This method allowed us to hold open and "warm" discussions. This was also the occasion to observe how the local cross-border actors lived this situation in Guinea together. It was the occasion to thank Yaya Biaye of the INEP of Bissau who helped us to overcome the language barrier wherever we went. It was an inestimable help for the positive course of our studies and also for our welcome and integration.
- 57 Especially if there are elections and the candidates are suspected of manipulating "foreigners" to fill out the results.
- 58 This is the case in the south of Guinea-Bissau in the Boé region where important deposits of bauxite remain untapped.
- 59 In a text currently under publication, A. Ngaïdé comes back to the superposition of rights and the complexity that it brings about for the management of the land domain in Africa by using the example of the Kolda region that saw inflows not only of farmers from the peanut basin whose cultivating lands get poorer each year, but also who risk to host the Guinean refugees if the situation deteriorates. In addition, one part of this region has known an old intra-community conflict in the holy city of Madina Gounass which is located a few kilometers from the entry path of Guineans and which borders the national park of Niokolo Koba.
- 60 One must point out that the Guinean shopkeepers, Fulani for the most part, manage an extremely substantial network of wholesale stores and control a significant part of the retail business with a real monopoly in the sale of certain products such as kola, fruits and many other consumer commodities.
- 61 Indeed, the General sent 400 men while Senegal sent a contingent of 2200 men. This operation is interpreted as a will of invading on the part of the Senegalese "big brother". But the Senegalese army is going to progressively pull back because of a "non-conventional" war that began to decimate it.
- 62 The assassinations of General Tagmé Na Waïe and President Nino illustrate this situation very well.
- 63 But the election of Malan Bécaye Sagna to the head of the state and the reorganization of the army, under way, are guarantees of stability (even relative) in Guinea-Bissau.
- 64 Read for informative purposes, Ngaïdé (2009), « Identités ethniques et territorialisation en Casamance » in Michel Ben Arrous & Lazare Ki-Zerbo *Études africaines de géographie par le bas/African Studies in Geography from Below*, Dakar, Codesria, pp. 39-77.
- 65 Weekly market that brings together merchants from countries of the sub-region. From a small dimension at the outset, the market has taken on unequalled amplitude and one traffics heterogeneous merchandise: from honey to arms.
- 66 See Ngaïdé (2009), p. 71. In Guinea, the current debate is tied around the impossibility of allowing a Fulani to lead the country. The most persistent rumors (up to the neighboring countries of Senegal in particular) even daily writings in the press and on the Internet, are satisfied to say that "the Fulani cannot have a hand on the national economy and a hand on politics."
- 67 Adebayo, A. (ed) (1999). *Mastering and Comprehending African Conflicts*. London: Zed Press.
- 68 Zartman, William (ed) (1995); "Collapse States: The Disintegration and Restoration of Legitimate Authority". Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner Publisher
- 69 Douma, P.S. (2003) "The Political Economy of Internal Conflict: A Comparative Analysis of Angola, Colombia, Sierra Leone and Sri Lanka": The Hague: Netherlands Institute of International Relations Clingendael.



- 70 Ayissi, A. (2003) *Borders, States and Violence in West Africa Towards Cross Boundary Preventive Diplomacy and Community-Based Peacebuilding*. UNIDIR: Geneva.
- 71 Kimmel, P.R. (1998) "Culture and Ethic Issues of Conflict and Peacekeeping." In H.J. Langholtz (eds), *The Psychology of Peacekeeping*. New York: Praeger.
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- 89 This reality, underlined in the case of the Mano River Basin, finds its guarantor in the other countries of the sub-region. Indeed, this observation is valid, for example, for Guinea-Bissau and even for Senegal.
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- 91 An analyst of peace and security interviewed in Liberia.
- 92 The treaty bringing about the creation of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) was adopted in Lagos, Nigeria on May 28, 1975 by 15 West African states. Article 27 of the Treaty affirms the long-term objective of establishing a citizenship of the community that could be automatically acquired by all the nationals of member states.
- 93 Ibid.
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system, known under the acronym of ECOWARN in all of the West African sub-region.

95 Zlotnik, H. (2003) "Migrants' Rights, Forced Migration and Migration Policy in Africa" Economic Commission for Africa, United Nations: Presentation prepared for the Conference on African Migrations in a Comparative Perspective, Johannesburg, South Africa, June 4-7, 2003.

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97 The poor treatment and forced repatriation of refugees from Guinea towards Sierra Leone and Liberia caused ill will between repatriated populations and local Guinean populations. There is a negative perception among the host populations of Guinean nationality that the Sierra Leoneans were not grateful.

98 Translated from the Susu dialect, the second official language of Guinea.

99 There are a few rays of hope since the ECOWAS Treaty and the protocols on the free circulation are not instruments of refugees—but offer a complementary support to the conventions on refugees. In particular, ECOWAS has once more reinforced its commitment by making a declaration according to which "refugees must have the guarantee of a treatment equal to that of other citizens of the community in terms of protocols on the freedom of circulation." In fact, the measures of the protocols on free circulation could be characterized as a complementary instrument, since they guarantee the refugees the security of residence and the right to work, while allowing them to maintain their nationality of origin. The question remains now to know to what extent the individual states are prepared to fully put into action the convention on refugees, even more so the ECOWAS treaty and the protocols on free circulation. Nonetheless, diverse measures of prevention are necessary to prevent the occurrence of foreseeable human catastrophes of this kind in an unstable environment.

100 The author of this report was a refugee in Guinea during this period. He also benefited from the hosting of family of the same ethnic group during the civil war in Sierra Leone.

101 Black, R. and Mohamed, F. (1998) Refugees and Environmental Change in West Africa: The Role of Institutions. *Journal of International Development* 10(6): 699-713.

102 An interview with Mr. Maxim Kommeh, June 24, 2010 in Liberia.

103 Indeed, land disputes are still at the heart of complexities that react to inter-community reports in Africa. This situation is illustrated, for example, by Guinea-Bissau in this report.

104 Diehl, P.F. and Lepgold, J. (2003) (eds) *Regional Conflict Management*. Rowman and Littlefield: New York.

105 Ibid.

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107 The ECOWAS Framework for Peace and Conflict Prevention, adopted in Burkina Faso which gave preeminence to ECOWAS of the peoples over ECOWAS of heads of state.

108 Read, as indicated in this report, the work of Bernard Founou Tchuigoua and Alfred Inis Ndiaye (2010), *Migrations et insécurité humaines*. Afrique occidentale-Europe, Paris : L'Harmattan, 220 p.

109 Read on this subject the text "L'insécurité humaine des migrants dans les réseaux des mégapoles mondiales : une stratégie de recherche" in Bernard Founou Tchuigoua & Alfred Inis Ndiaye (Sous la dir.), (2010), *Migrations et insécurité humaines*. Afrique occidentale-Europe, Paris: L'Harmattan, pp. 33-45, which highlights the theoretical framework of a taking account of the global strategy for the management of human security in the world.

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143 This is an exfiltration operation of Malians from Côte d'Ivoire, the organization of their return and reintegration and the taking charge of Ivorian refugees in Mali.

144 For the needs of a large study among the populations interviewed, we employed an assistant, a student enrolled in a masters program in anthropology, native of Bouaké.

145 Côte d'Ivoire is the third African producer of cotton, with an annual production of 380,000 tons.

146 These are the regions of savannahs, Denguélé, Bafing, Eighteen Mountains, Lagunes and the Bandama Valley.

147 In Abidjan, in addition, a large Fulani community lives and resides there, we interested ourselves in certain organizations, in particular: the International Organization for Migration, Humanitarian Aid Department of the European Commission, the Embassy of Guinea and UNHCR. Access to these structures was not difficult. At the Embassy of Guinea, we were dismissed for reasons of the organization of voting and at the other structures our concern did not find favorable echoes due to the internal Ivorian situation that monopolized attention even if the organization of the Guinean elections was perceived in an idyllic manner.

148 National Borders Directorate (DNF) of Mali, an NGO (ENDA-Diapol) and an international organization (SWAC-OECD) that provides financing.

149 The country-border is defined as a geographic space overlapping the lines of sharing of two or several bordering states where populations linked by socio-economic and cultural ties are living.

150 WABI/FI/08/03, « Le Mali, frontières et intégration : quelle politique ? », in : *Arguments et propositions*, octobre 2003. WABI/FI/08/03, "Mali, borders and integration: what policy?" in *Arguments et propositions*, October 2003.

151 Interviews with Mme Bamba, Sadio Kanté.

152 Interviews with Adama Soumaoro, a hotel waiter at the camp of Odienné.

153 Interviews with Sokona Cissé, a seller of pagens in Man.

154 Camara Ousmane, itinerant seller of medicine in Man.

155 As an illustration, we can mention that between September 27 and December 18, 2002, it was recorded by the services of emigration along the southeastern border that 28,000 Guineans fleeing the crisis in Côte d'Ivoire, specifically:  
-24,000 to the border posts of the Lola prefecture (from Man);  
2,380 in the prefecture of Byelaw (from Tuba);  
-1,098 in the prefecture of Mandan (from Korhogo and Odienné); and  
-407 arrived in Conakry by plane from Abidjan.

156 Interview with Miss Samassi Mayaka, manager of a telephone call booth in Odienné.



- 157 Interview with the patriarch Diakit  in the Kennedy neighborhood in Man.
- 158 Interview with the patriarch Diakit , op.cit.
- 159 Mamadou Bah, shopkeeper in Adjam .
- 160 Interview with a taxi driver in Man.
- 161 Interview Awa Ciss , a shoe saleswoman in the central market in Man.
- 162 Interview with Samassa Mayaki, op. cit.
- 163 Life story of Madame Awa Diabat , central market, Bouak .
- 164 Interview with Mrs. Bamba, Sadio Kant , nurse in the school medical center of Odienn .
- 165 Interview with Sokona Ciss , seller of pagnes in Man.
- 166 Mr. Soro, a manager of FN in Bouak .
- 167 By contact spaces, we mean the places that allow for exchanges of important populations and can become themselves major migration centers.
- 168 By resources spaces, we mean the existence of a plurality of resources in one space and whose users and managers can differentiate and exert their authority following a well-defined timeline according to the seasonality of the resource.
- 169 Daouda Diarrassouba, municipal agent in Mandinani located on the axes of Korhogo-Boundali (57 km) and Odienn  (80km).
- 170 Mrs. Kadidia Sow, op.cit.
- 171 Interview with Adama Soumaoro, op.cit.
- 172 Interview with a holder of a restaurant stand in Odienn .
- 173 Mrs. Kadidia Sow, op. cit.
- 174 Mamadou Ba, Guinean shopkeeper in Adjam .
- 175 Interview with a Guinean, seller of pagnes whose husband is Fulani.
- 176 Interview with Adama Soumaoro, op.cit.
- 177 Mamadou Ba, op.cit.

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