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The 2011 Africa Leadership Scorecard

How presidents fared on governance, democracy, press freedom, corruption, and human development in the past year.

cover story

Revolutions, elections and money in the air

Editor's Note

Africa taught the world a master class in revolution in 2011 with what has now come to be known as the Arab Spring.

It demonstrated the power of both the continent's masses and its civil society with the revolutions that swept the Arab North. It was also the year when the continent's potential for change shone brightly. Africa's immense economic opportunities over which the Western world and the East desperately scramble, have become more evident, and the high number of democratic elections that took place suggests that there has been no despair in the quest for democracy.

The hopeful signs, however, should not blind anyone to the enormous challenges Africa faces — particularly the high price it pays for the lack of good leadership. While the continent had a record 19 elections, they were also an indicator of how easily progress can unravel. The 19 elections produced only seven newly elected leaders, and all the elections were marred by varying degrees of irregularity.

Africa's seeming inability to successfully transfer power without violence and mass controversy only points a finger at the poor, and often crooked, leadership which continues to plague the continent.

To compound the problem, the media is easily co-opted and controlled, making it quickly distrusted. Opposition groups are either fragmented or unwilling to participate in elections they know they will lose to state-sponsored rigging, and civil society's opinion is often rendered redundant.

Nevertheless, there are a few gems. After a couple of years without a winner, the Mo Ibrahim Prize for good leadership was finally called back into action — Cape Verde's former president, Pedro Pires, bagged the \$5 million prize.

At Nation Media Group we feel we have a duty to the people of Africa to highlight the good, the bad and the ugly. Our Africa project staffer, SAMANTHA SPOONER, has spent quite some time tracking reports of the political actions of Africa's leaders in order to come up with our Second Annual African Leadership Scorecard.

With all the changes in government and revolutions, the 2011 index was going to be a tricky one. To maintain the broadness of the index, we continue to rely on a variety of measures to give a rounded evaluation of the leaders' performance; the Mo Ibrahim Index of African governance, the Democracy Index, Freedom House's Press Freedom Index, Transparency International's Corruption Index and the United Nation's Human Development Index. We then developed a Nation Media Group Index to complement the others that we chose. The final score on which the political leaders are judged is an average score of all these indices.

The Human Development Index was generally more positive in 2011. Also noteworthy is that although a large middle class is emerging in Africa, restrictions on freedom remain in place.

Finally, countries' score for the year in review were heavily influenced by the Freedom of the Press Index and the Corruption Index. A strong bias in favour of media freedom and against corruption, means that there was a general downward negative trend in the 2011 results, compared with 2010 as governments were more controlling of the media — perhaps spooked by the Arab Spring.

Our methodology for the leaders' scorecard

Leaders' grades were derived from how they placed in five respected international indices of governance, plus the new NMG Political Index that we developed. Their scores in these indices were weighted, then combined to produce a score on a scale of 0-100. The best governors placed closest to 100, and the worst closest to 0. The scorecard heavily rewards consistency. If an African leader scores very highly in one or two areas, but poorly in the rest, he/she will end up with a dismal overall grade. A consistent score across the board, on the other hand, will place him/her highly in the overall standings. This is how the indices are weighted.

Mo Ibrahim Index – 15 per cent

Democracy Index – 15 per cent

Press Freedom Index – 15 per cent

Corruption Index – 15 per cent

Human Development Index – 5 per cent

NMG Political Index – 35 per cent

Leaders were assigned letter grades based on their 0-100 score, derived from the six indices. The best of the bunch received 'A,' good performers got 'B,' passable leaders got 'C.' Leaders who performed below standard received 'D' and 'F.' Due to the extraordinarily oppressive, violent and corrupt governance found in many countries on the continent, two special categories were added to these basic grades: the Intensive Care Unit and the Morgue. Leaders in this range represent the bottom of the barrel, and their countries will need intense rehabilitation to walk amongst the free and prosperous nations of the world.

100-70: A

70-60: B

60-50: C

50-45: D

45-40: F

40-30: Intensive Care Unit (ICU)

30-0: MORGUE

Mo Ibrahim Index

The Mo Ibrahim Index is the most comprehensive collection of qualitative and quantitative data that assesses governance in Africa. It measures the delivery of public goods and services to citizens and uses indicators across four main categories: Safety and Rule of Law; Participation and Human Rights; Sustainable Economic Opportunity; and Human Development.

Countries are scored between 0 and 100, where 100 is the best. The "rank" refers to their position in relation to other African countries, the best governed country takes 1st place, the worst 53rd.

(<http://www.moibrahimfoundation.org/en>)

Democracy Index

The Democracy Index (2008) is compiled by the Economist Intelligence Unit and seeks to examine the state of democracy in various countries in the world. It focuses on five general categories: electoral process and pluralism, civil liberties, functioning of government, political participation and political culture.

Full democracies — scores of 8-10

Flawed democracies — scores of 6 to 7.9

Hybrid regimes — scores of 4 to 5.9

Authoritarian regimes — scores below 4

The rank refers to their position in relation to other countries worldwide, the most democratic take 1st place, the least take 167th.

(<http://www.eiu.com/public/>)

Freedom of the Press Index

The Freedom of the Press Index is produced annually by the Freedom House advocacy group. The index provides a survey of media independence in 196 countries and territories. It assesses the degree of print, broadcast, and Internet freedom in every country in the world, analysing the events of each calendar year. It provides numerical rankings and rates each country's media as "Free," "Partly Free," or "Not Free."

Countries scoring 0-30 are regarded as having "Free" media; 31-60, "Partly Free" media; and 61-100, "Not Free" media

(www.freedomhouse.org)

Corruption Index

Transparency International's well-respected Corruption Perceptions Index, ranks countries according to the perception of corruption in the public sector. It draws on different assessments and business opinion surveys carried out by independent and reputable institutions and compiles the index to include questions relating to bribery of public officials, kickbacks in public procurement, embezzlement of public funds, and questions that probe the strength and effectiveness of public sector anti-corruption efforts.

The scale is from 10 (highly clean) to 0 (highly corrupt). The rank refers to their position in relation to other countries

worldwide, the most "clean" takes 1st place, the least takes 178th.

(www.transparency.org)

Human Development Index

The United Nation's primary method of measuring development, the Human Development Index is a comparative measure of life expectancy, literacy, education, and standards of living for countries worldwide. It is a very detailed index used to distinguish whether the country is a developed, developing, or under-developed country, and also to measure the impact of economic policies on quality of life. Health is measured by life expectancy at birth; education or "knowledge" by a combination of the adult literacy rate and school enrolment rates (for primary through university years); and income or standard of living by purchasing-power-adjusted per capita Gross National Income (GNI); GNI includes remittances and foreign assistance income, for example, providing a more accurate economic picture of many developing countries.

High Human Development = 0.7 and above

Medium Human Development = 0.450 to 0.699

Low Human Development = 0 to 0.449

The rank refers to their position in relation to other countries worldwide, the most developed will rank 1st place, the least developed will rank 169th.

(<http://hdr.undp.org/en/statistics/hdi/>)

NMG Political Index

The NMG Political Index is an evaluation of a leader's performance, based on the editorial judgement of *Nation* journalists. It takes into account how a leader took power; whether they have extended or broken term limits; it also measures investment in infrastructure; food security; democratic space; creative public policy and effective of execution; globalisation initiatives; and the extent to which a leader invests in national building. Because it is so ambitious, it has the highest weighting.

10-9 = Outstanding performance

8-7 = Good performance

6-5-4 = Average performance

3-2 = Poor performance

1-0 = Truly appalling performance

	Result	2011 Grade	2010 grade
Botswana	75.225	A	A
Cape Verde	73.2	A	A
Mauritius	73.165	A	A+
Ghana	70.085	A	A
Namibia	63.925	B	A-
South Africa	63.17	B	B+
Mali	62.3	B	B
Benin Republic	59.125	C+	C
Liberia	58.66	C+	B-
Kenya	55.55	C	C
Lesotho	54.75	C	C
Sierra Leone	54.325	C	B
Zambia	54.07	C	C+
Tanzania	52.355	C	B-
Mozambique	50.6	C-	D+
Tunisia	50.13	C-	D
Nigeria	48.965	D+	D-
Rwanda	47.675	D	C-
Niger	47.575	D	D
Malawi	45.085	D-	C
Egypt	44.33	F	F-
Senegal	44.075	F+	C-
Comoros	42.84	F	ICU
Burkina Faso	42.805	F	ICU
Uganda	42.705	F	D+
Guinea	41.725	F	F
Morocco	41.165	F	C
Libya	39.395	ICU	F+

	Result	2011 Grade	2010 grade
Burundi	38.46	Morgue	D-
Cote d'Ivoire	37.575	ICU	D+
Republic of Congo	37.41	ICU	ICU
Algeria	37.225	ICU	F
Mauritania	36.15	ICU	ICU
Togo	32.34	ICU	ICU
Ethiopia	32.055	ICU	ICU
Gabon	31.76	ICU	ICU
Madagascar	31.675	ICU	Morgue
Guinea Bissau	30.43	ICU	ICU
Cameroon	29.525	ICU	Morgue
Angola	28.78	Morgue	ICU
Gambia	26.09	Morgue	ICU
Djibouti	25.105	Morgue	ICU
Swaziland	23.07	Morgue	F-
Eritrea	22.23	Morgue	Morgue
Central African Republic	21.835	Morgue	Morgue
Sudan	19.835	Morgue	Morgue
Democratic Republic of Congo	18.865	Morgue	ICU
Equatorial Guinea	18.77	Morgue	Morgue
Chad	18.31	Morgue	Morgue
Zimbabwe	16.925	Morgue	Morgue
Sao Tome and Principe	Incomplete	Incomplete	Incomplete
Seychelles	Incomplete	Incomplete	B
Somalia	Incomplete	Incomplete	Morgue
South Sudan	Incomplete	Incomplete	Not available

The third wind of change in North Africa

Armed with technology, forthright messages, and driven by years of frustration by oppressive regimes, in 2011 the youth of North Africa grabbed world attention in ways that were impossible to even dream of earlier.

With rare persistence, they brought down regimes hitherto perceived as indomitable, paving the way for new political and social experiments.

Even in places like Mauritania, Morocco and Algeria where the revolution failed to blossom fully, some reforms were realised. The courage of the North Africans inspired the "Occupy" protest movements that began on Wall Street in New York to express outrage against corporate greed — then spread to the rest of the Western world, Asia, and Latin America.

Small wonder then the "protester" was named *Time Magazine's* 2011 "person of the year."

The revolt in North Africa toppled three long serving African dictators.

The wave of protests was sparked by the self-immolation of a young Tunisian vegetable seller, Mohamed Bouazizi, mid December 2010, only to spill over to the rest of North Africa. Egypt and Libya witnessed the most dramatic moments with the eccentric ex-Libyan leader Muammar Gaddafi ending up dead in the streets of in Sirte where he was lynched in a dramatic and bloody end to a 10-month rebellion against his rule. The "king of kings," as he liked to be called, had been in power since 1979 after overthrowing King Idriss Al Sanusi.

Hosni Mubarak of Egypt reluctantly resigned after days of mass protests in the now famous Tahrir Square in Cairo demanding his

exit, joining Ben Ali of Tunisia who fled to Saudi Arabia.

But it was the protests in Tunisia that caught many by surprise. This is a country that had been cited as one of the success stories of Africa, especially for its impressive economic growth rate, implementation of the MDGs, a well-trained youthful labour force and overall involvement of women in public affairs.

What the world chose not to see was the serious economic disparities — with a huge chunk of the national cake being in the hands of president Ben Ali's family and cronies thanks to the liberalisation programmes of the 1990s — and a youth bulge that was largely unattended.

According to the African Development Bank, unemployment among university graduates in Tunisia stood at over 20 per cent in 2010 and even higher in the rural areas, the epicentre of the revolution.

Besides the disparities and unemployment, technology played a great role in the youthful revolts, especially in Egypt, Tunisia and Libya to some extent, especially to skirt around the tight media censorship in the countries.

Facebook and other social networking sites made political mobilisation easier than in the past.

In Cairo, the failed structural adjustment programmes that did away with subsidies on essential commodities and privatisation of government businesses resulted in serious discontent across the country.

Then there was the youth empowerment programmes controlled from Washington that ended up creating more liberal Arab youths, with a huge appetite for more democratic ideals.

Mwenda wa Micheni

The Arab Spring survivors

In 2011 the Arab Spring claimed three of Africa's Big Men, but their countries weren't the only ones affected. There were the governments that endured the turbulent times of protests and strikes yet somehow managed to hold on, be it through violent suppression of protestors, suspension of various forms of communication, proposing reforms or simply ignoring protest and hoping that it goes away.

- King Mohammed VI, Morocco
- Bingu wa Mutharika, Malawi
- Ian Khama, Botswana
- King Mswati III, Swaziland
- King Letsie, Lesotho
- Ali Bongo, Gabon
- Yoweri Museveni, Uganda
- Mwai Kibaki, Kenya
- Ikililou Dhoine, Comoros
- Ismail Omar Guelleh, Djibouti
- Mohamed Abdelaziz, Mauritania
- Omar al-Bashir, Sudan
- Meles Zenawi, Ethiopia
- Jacob Zuma, South Africa

Election fever

So it was that 2011 was the year of presidential elections in Africa. There were a total of 18 scheduled elections at the start of the year, by the end there were a total of 19. In Tunisia elections took place to replace ousted leader Zine El Abidine Ben Ali, and elections that were meant to take place in Zimbabwe and Madagascar have been moved to 2012.

The new leaders:

- Alassane Ouattara, Cote d'Ivoire
- Field Marshal Mohammed Hussein Tantawi, Egypt
- Mustafa Abdul Jalil, Libya
- Mahamadou Issoufou, Niger
- Manuel Pinto da Costa, Sao Tome and Principe
- Salva Kiir, South Sudan
- Moncef Marzouki, Tunisia
- Michael Sata, Zambia

Honourable mention — Pedro Pires

Former Cape Verde president Pedro Pires received 2011's Mo Ibrahim prize for Achievement in African leadership. He was the leader of the island nation from 2001 to 2011, and was singled at as one of the key African success stories for "good governance," including multiparty democracy, rule of law and respect for human rights.

Samantha Spooner

cover story

**BOTSWANA****Name:** Seretse Ian Khama**Title:** President of the Republic of Botswana since 2008**Personal history:**

A former army commander and the son of Botswana first president, Ian Khama rose quickly in politics from minister of presidential affairs and public administration to vice president (1999), and party chairman (2003). When president Festus Mogae resigned in 2008, Khama succeeded to the presidency; he was elected to a full term in 2009.

Successes of the year:

President Khama continues to be seen as the exception to the rule in terms of Africa's strongmen. He has openly criticised African despots, flaunting his own golden credentials.

Failures of the year:

Botswana endured a long and widespread strike this year. Lasting seven weeks, the public sector workers were demanding pay rises. President Khama was viewed as the main stumbling block in resolving the stand-off and his leadership was questioned, particularly when the country's normally unarmed police used teargas and rubber bullets to disperse

rioting secondary-school pupils.

For the first time since independence, the budget is in deficit. The World Bank urged the government to slash its bloated public workforce by a quarter but President Khama is resisting this.

President Khama invited Malawi's President Bingu Mutharika to wine, dine and officiate at the opening of a new stadium. Hosting Mutharika brought Khama a great deal of criticism by the opposition because of the former's poor human rights and democratic record at home.

Moment of the year:

When Botswana offered relief to Japan, one of the main markets for Botswana's diamonds, to help cope with the effects of March's major earthquake

Mo Ibrahim Index: 76.1 (3/53)**Democracy Index:** 7.63**Press Freedom Index:** 40 (partly free)**Corruption Index:** 5.8 (33/183)**Human Development Index:** 0.633 (medium)**NMG Grade:** 9/10**2010 Grade:** A **2011 Grade:** A**CAPE VERDE****Name:** Jorge Carlos Fonseca**Title:** President of the Republic of Cape Verde since August 2011**Personal history:**

Jorge Carlos Fonseca is a lawyer and university professor who served as minister of foreign affairs from 1991 to 1993. He stood unsuccessfully as a presidential candidate in the 2001 election. In August 2011, he again sought the presidency and was successful, this time backed by the main opposition Movement for Democracy party.

Successes of the year:

Mr Fonseca was the candidate for the main opposition Movement for Democracy and won presidential elections with a decisive second-round victory in August 2011, beating the ruling party candidate.

Cape Verde continues the battle against the narcotics trade, with success. One huge victory was when



police seized 1.5 tonnes of cocaine

with a street value of \$100 million.

Failures of the year:

The government's promise to employ youth did not take effect, and with more than 45,000 unemployed youths Mr Fonseca's programme on the modernisation of the economy and of the state was under pressure.

Moment of the year:

In December, the European Union decided to apply its Generalised System of Preferences, which offers preferential Customs tariffs to countries within the system, to Cape Verde.

Mo Ibrahim Index: 79.0 (2/53)**Democracy Index:** 7.94**Press Freedom Index:** 27 (free)**Corruption Index:** 5.1 (45/183)**Human Development Index:** 0.568**NMG Grade:** 8/10**2010 Grade:** A**2011 Grade:** A**MAURITIUS****Name:** Navinchandra Ramgoolam**Title:** Prime Minister of the Republic of Mauritius since July 5, 2005**Personal history:**

Ramgoolam is the son of Sir Seewoosagur Ramgoolam, known as the "Father of the Nation." Served as prime minister from 1995 to 2000, before losing at the polls. Retook the premiership in 2005 after out-campaigning Mauritian Militant Movement leader Paul Berenger.

Successes of the year:

Mauritius was full of successes for the year! It remained top among

African nations on the list compiled by global watchdog Transparency International, which rates corruption; it was ranked the best country in which to give birth in sub-Saharan Africa and still had the most business friendly climate in Africa even though it has dropped two places in the world rankings, in the World Bank's "Doing Business 2012."

Failures of the year:

Mauritius needs to deal with the issue of being a major transit point for drug traffickers. Poverty and inequality continued edging up. Traffic congestion and the high number of road accidents also continued to be a problem.

Moment of the year:

A herbal tea claimed to cure HIV/Aids caused four deaths in Mauritius. Local media reported that the tea, from Madagascar, was being sold to people under the counter.

Mo Ibrahim Index: 47.1 (33/53)**Democracy Index:** 8.04**Press Freedom Index:** 28 (free)**Corruption Index:** 5.4 (39/183)**Human Development Index:** 0.728**NMG Grade:** 9/10**2010 Grade:** A**2011 Grade:** A+**GHANA****Name:** John Evans Atta Mills**Title:** President of the Republic of Ghana since January 7, 2009**Personal history:**

Among the best-educated leaders on the continent, is known in Ghana as 'The Prof.' He is a development economist and legal expert. Served as vice-president under Jerry Rawlings from 1996-2000. Won the 2009 presidential elections, after incumbent John Kufour stepped down after two terms in office.

Successes of the year:

A visiting International Monetary Fund team projected that Ghana's economy was expected to be the fastest growing in the world for 2011. Like elsewhere in Africa, China's project funding to the nation has been on the rise – a \$13 billion infrastructure loan from China was announced. However, this hasn't affected the nation's integrity as it continues to crack down on Chinese individuals engaging in illegal mining activities. In an effort to improve the socio-economic well-being of the citizenry, Ghana rolled out an ICT training programme for approximately 5,000 people living with disabilities.

Failures of the year:

Despite high growth, there was agitation for better pay that swept the country in the last few months of the



year. One of the worst incidents was the doctor's strike, which caused massive disruption of health service delivery and forced Mills to cancel a trip to the Commonwealth Heads of Governments Meeting in Australia.

Moment of the year:

Self-proclaimed prophet Peter Anamoah made headlines when he stated that the only safe place on earth on November 11, 2011 would be a small village near Bolgatanga in Ghana's Upper East region. His prophecy didn't come true.

Mo Ibrahim Index: 66.0 (7/53)**Democracy Index:** 6.02 (upgraded from hybrid regimes to the flawed democracy category)**Press Freedom Index:** 26 (free)**Corruption Index:** 3.9 (69/183)**Human Development Index:** 0.541**NMG Grade:** 9/10**2010 Grade:** A**2011 Grade:** A



NAMIBIA

Name: Hifikepunye Lucas Pohamba

Title: President of the Republic of Namibia since 2004

Personal history:

A former activist and political prisoner, Pohamba was also the lands minister who sped up one of Namibia's most difficult schemes — the transfer of land from white farmers to black citizens. He was a founding member of the South West Africa People's Organisation (Swapo) and its presidential candidate in 2004. He won in what was described as a landslide.

Successes of the year:

A big story this year was the return of the remains of Ovaherero and Nama leaders, who were massacred by German colonial forces during Namibia's pre-Independence era. There was widespread discontent amongst Namibians, who wanted the Europeans to show "genuine remorse", but Pohamba managed to maintain peace and stability.

Pohamba also went about improving diplomatic ties with his neighbours, visiting Angola and making deals to supply energy to the nation, as well as abolishing entry visas with Mozambique.

Failures of 2011:

The opposition was up in arms over what they termed as the ruling Swapo party's unfair rubberstamping of laws without adequate deliberations in the country's legislative chambers. An example of this is a new law which gives powers to the president to appoint regional governors.

Despite being prone to flooding, the nation was, again, unprepared for the floods early this year, which were so bad that Pohamba was forced to declare a state of emergency.

Moment of the year:

Pohamba lashed out at his "Facebooking" Cabinet ministers who, he said, were "washing their dirty laundry in public."

Mo Ibrahim Index: 69.7 (6/53)

Democracy Index: 6.23

Press Freedom Index: 34 (partly free)

Corruption Index: 4.4 (56/183)

Human Development Index: 0.625 (medium)

NMG Grade: 7/10

2010 Grade: A-

2011 Grade: **B**

SOUTH AFRICA

Name: Jacob Gedleyihlekisa Zuma

Title: President of the Republic of South Africa since 2009

Personal history:

A shrewd political operator, and sterling intelligence officer for the African National Congress during the struggle, Zuma has had no formal schooling. He became involved in politics at an early age and has served a 10-year-jail sentence for "conspiring to overthrow the apartheid government." In 2005, he was relieved of his duties as deputy president by Thabo Mbeki, in the wake of corruption allegations. Was elected president of the African National Congress in 2007 after the ouster of Mbeki, and went on to win the 2009 presidential elections.

Successes of the year:

Zuma joined Twitter in 2011 to become one of the few African leaders who joined the social network. An anti-graft activist withdrew a multi-billion dollar military contract suit that had haunted Jacob Zuma's administration for years.

He faced rising opposition championed by African National Congress (ANC)



youth leader Julius Malema. However, Mr. Malema was slapped with a five-year suspension after he was accused of provoking divisions within the ANC.

Failures of 2011:

Zuma's meditation skills are certainly not his forte. His talks with Gaddafi in May failed to bring about progress towards an end to Libya's conflict, whilst his mediation talks between Zimbabwe's main rival parties have once more ended with calls for him to be relieved of this position.

Strong allegations were made against the ANC in the year: Blade Nzimande, Minister

of Higher Education and head of the South African Communist Party, said the ruling party is plagued by perpetual leadership battles funded by dirty money. The party was also criticised for the controversial "Protection of State Information Bill" (also called the Secrecy Bill) that it pushed through parliament - activists and editors say will stifle investigative journalism. Zuma's government came in for strong criticism, and protests, after it failed to give the Dalai Lama a visa to attend the 80th birthday celebrations of Archbishop Desmond Tutu.

Moment of the year:

When Zuma warned voters they risked sparking their ancestor's wrath unless they chose the African National Congress party in May's elections.

Mo Ibrahim Index: 70.6 (5/53)

Democracy Index: 7.79

Press Freedom Index: 33 (partly free)

Corruption Index: 4.5 (54/183)

Human Development Index: 0.619 (medium)

NMG Grade: 6/10

2010 Grade: B+ **2011 Grade:** **B**



MALI

Name: Amadou Toumani Touré

Title: President of the Republic of Mali since June 8, 2002

Personal history:

A trained soldier, Touré was in charge of parachute commandos when longtime Malian dictator Moussa Traoré violently crushed protests against his rule in 1991. Siding with the protestors, Touré participated in a successful coup and ousted Traoré from power. He then assumed the duties of the head of state, helping write a new Constitution and holding elections, before stepping aside in 1992. For his services, he earned the title "The Soldier of Democracy." He easily won the presidency in the 2002 and 2007 presidential elections.

So it was that 2011 was Touré's final year as president as he is not eligible for re-election in 2012 when he completes his final term.

Successes of the year:

Living up to his reputation as the "Soldier of Democracy", he was a pillar of support in the restoration of civilian democratic rule in Niger.

Mali's 51st Independence Day was marked by Touré's inauguration of the third bridge in Bamako, called The China-Mali Friendship Bridge, the biggest project of this nature in West Africa.

Failures of the year:

Mali was in the limelight as a drug peddlers' and child-trafficking haven. The nation has however taken strong measures to rein this in and in November relocated 104 Nigerian citizens suspected of being made to work as "sexual slaves."

Moment of the year:

Libya's former leader, Muammar Gaddafi had strong support among ethnic Tuaregs living in Mali. On the announcement of Gaddafi's death, thousands of Muslims in Mali's capital, Bamako, held a special prayer service for him

Mo Ibrahim Index: 53.6 (22/53)

Democracy Index: 6.01 (upgraded from hybrid regime to the flawed democracy category)

Press Freedom Index: 24 (Free)

Corruption Index: 2.7 (116/183)

Human Development Index: 0.359

NMG Grade: 8/10

2010 Grade: B

2011 Grade: **B**

BENIN

Name: Thomas Yayi Boni

Title: President of the Republic of Benin, since April 6, 2006

Personal history:

An international banker who holds a PhD in economics, Boni was a high ranking officer in the Central Bank of the States of West Africa before working on the staff of former Beninese president Nicephore Soglo, running banking and monetary policy. He then moved on to become president of the West African Development Bank (BOAD). Took power following a tough election race in 2006, and survived an assassination attempt in 2007. A convert from Islam to Christianity.

Successes of the year:

Yayi Boni was re-elected in 2011 with 53 per cent of the vote, though a number of appeals were made to the Constitutional Court asking it to invalidate votes in certain areas over allegations of massive fraud.

Yayi Boni took some positive steps in the year that could potentially have a positive impact on the country's future; following an official trip to China he secured \$34 million in loans and grants, part of which will fund an anti-piracy patrol and launched a major campaign to arrest growing drop-out rates



Failures of the year:

President T. Yayi Boni continues to keep tight control over the state, several demonstrations were banned when trade unions and civilians sought to protest against corruption and the rising cost of essential goods

Moment of the year:

In November, Pope Benedict XVI celebrated mass at a stadium hosting tens of thousands in Cotonou, Benin

Mo Ibrahim Index: 59.9 (11/53)

Democracy Index: 6.17

Press Freedom Index: 33 (partly free)

Corruption Index: 2.8

Human Development Index: 0.427

NMG Grade: 7/10

2010 Grade: C

2011 Grade: **C+**

cover story

**LIBERIA****Name:** Ellen Johnson-Sirleaf**Title:** President of the Republic of Liberia since January 16, 2006**Personal history:**

Known in Liberia as the "Iron Lady", Ellen Johnson-Sirleaf is currently the only elected female head of state in Africa. Educated at Harvard University's prestigious Kennedy School of Government, she served in Liberia's Cabinet in the 1970s. Lost the 1997 presidential elections to Charles Taylor, before winning the 2006 vote.

Successes of the year:

Johnson-Sirleaf had a successful year. She was one of three women to be honoured with the Nobel Peace prize in 2011 for "their non-violent struggle for the safety of women and for women's rights to full participation in peace-building work". Despite the turbulence surrounding this year's presidential elections, in which the election boss resigned and the main opposition boycotted the run-off, Johnson-Sirleaf came out with victory and though political tension continues, there has been no violence. President Johnson-Sirleaf wants to establish a legitimate timber trade to boost the Liberian economy. To make that possible, every legally

harvestable tree and every cut log would have to carry a barcode that makes it traceable – environmental pioneer!

Failures of the year:

One of Africa's oldest radio stations, the Monrovia-based Eternal Love Winning Africa was burnt down by unknown arsonists. This occurred after several radio stations had been closed down, during the election period, due to "inflammatory comments" aired by them. Despite winning another presidential term, low turnout and no majority in parliament makes Johnson-Sirleaf's promises all the more difficult to meet.

Moment of the year:

Johnson-Sirleaf had promised a reform of the mining sector and this year, after a 20-year break, Liberia returned to the iron ore market.

Mo Ibrahim Index: 45.4 (38/53)**Democracy Index:** 5.07**Press Freedom Index:** 59 (partly free)**Corruption Index:** 3.3 (87/183)**Human Development Index:** 0.329**NMG Grade:** 9/10**2010 Grade:** B-**2011 Grade:** C+**LESOTHO****Name:** Bethuel Pakalitha Mosisili**Title:** Prime Minister of the Kingdom of Lesotho since 1998**Personal history:**

A former academic and teacher, Mosisili was elected to parliament in 1993 where he served as minister of education and manpower development, deputy prime minister, before being elected the leader of the Lesotho Congress for Democracy in 1998. He was sworn in as prime minister the same year.

Successes of the year:

Lesotho has been recognised for its gender equality! The small nation was ranked eighth in the world by the World Economic Forum when it comes to bridging the gap between

the sexes.

Failures of 2011:

Mosisili endured what was called "the mother of all protests". People from all walks of life joined the throng, demanding Mosisili fight for the rights of the poor, and stamp out corruption. There were also loud calls for him to get out of business and stop taking part in business associations.

Moment of the year:

A Lesotho court ruled that six South Africans charged with plotting to kill the prime minister in 2009 could stand trial in the country after their extradition.

Mo Ibrahim Index: 62.8 (8/53)**Democracy Index:** 6.02**Press Freedom Index:** 48 (partly free)**Corruption Index:** 3.5 (78/183)

Human Development Index: 0.450

NMG Grade: 6/10**2010 Grade:** C**2011 Grade:** C**SIERRA LEONE****Name:** Ernest Bai Koroma**Title:** President of the Republic of Sierra Leone since September 17, 2007**Personal history:**

Came to power in 2007 in elections considered free and fair, and is considered among the most effective presidents in Africa.

Successes this year:

Sierra Leone made some real progressive strides in 2011. An undersea telecommunications cable landed in the country, part of a 17,000-kilometre fibre optic line that aims to connect countries along the West African coast to Europe. Koroma hailed it as a "momentous and great communication transformation" in a country where Internet penetration is currently at a mere six per cent.

The nation also officially announced the formation of a new national



airline, over five years since its last flag carrier was grounded by bankruptcy.

Failures of the year:

The Sierra Leone government has promised to "fully address" issues raised by an Al Jazeera TV investigative series that has implicated a senior government official in corruption and caused a storm within the ruling APC party.

President Ernest Bai Koroma instructed the police and the Anti-

Corruption Commission to mount an immediate investigation into the issues highlighted by the report, which alleged the official was involved in the illegal timber trade and soliciting for bribes. Logging is banned in Sierra Leone as a result of severe forest depletion.

Moment of the year:

Sierra Leone's second city, Bo, came up with an unusual scholarship scheme that rewards girls who maintain their virginity up to level 3 of senior secondary school – causing huge controversy in the country!

Mo Ibrahim Index: 48.2 (30/53)**Democracy Index:** 4.51**Press Freedom Index:** 53 (partly free)**Corruption Index:** 2.4 (134/183)**Human Development Index:** 0.336**NMG Grade:** 8/10**2010 Grade:** B**2011 Grade:** C**KENYA****Name:** Mwai Kibaki**Title:** President and Commander in Chief of the Armed Forces of the Republic of Kenya since December 30, 2002**Personal history:**

Kenya has had a new dawn, but still has the same group of Independence leaders. Kibaki is a veteran politician who helped push for Kenya's Independence in the 1960s, and has since served as minister of finance, home affairs, and health. Spent 10 years as vice president to former president Daniel arap Moi. Came to power in 2002 in free and fair elections. Was accused by Kenyan and international observers of rigging the 2007 elections, cheating rival Raila Odinga out of the presidency. The flawed elections caused the country to erupt in paroxysms of ethnic violence that killed nearly 1,400 people and displaced 600,000.

It ended when a power-sharing deal was struck.

Successes of the year:

Kibaki launched an open data portal (www.opendata.go.ke), to allow citizens to track the affairs of state. The first African country, and one of the very few in the world to do so, it ushers in a new age of transparency.

Since the coming into force of the country's new Constitution, Kenya's politicians will be adding to the national kitty! Kibaki tops the list of public officers from whom the Kenya Revenue Authority is demanding millions of shillings in unpaid taxes. He could pay up to Ksh8 million (\$88,105) to the taxman.

Failures of 2011:

There was a dramatic increase in Somali refugees entering the country – at one point around 1,500 a day. This resulted in a row between the Kenyan government, international aid agencies and the United Nations over the opening of an extension camp for the refugees.

There has been widespread dissatisfaction with the government this year, manifested in

numerous public protests. There have been strikes by teaching staff, medical staff and protests over the rising cost of living and in security. Controversy erupted when a Kenyan court ordered the arrest of President Omar al-Bashir of Sudan, on account of an outstanding International Criminal Court warrant, and the government said it would appeal as it sought to appease the Sudanese leader.

Moment of the year:

When Kenya declared war on Al Shabaab in October and its forces entered Somalia.

Mo Ibrahim Index: 52.6 (23/53)**Democracy Index:** 4.71**Press Freedom Index:** 54 (partly free)**Corruption Index:** 2.1 (154/183)**Human Development Index:** 0.509**NMG Grade:** 8/10**2010 Grade:** C**2011 Grade:** C



ZAMBIA

Name: Michael Sata

Title: President of the Republic of Zambia since September 2011

Personal history:

Michael Sata, popularly known as "King Cobra," was a key opposition leader in Zambia for 10 years. He leads the Patriotic Front (PF), and is known for his populist ideologies. This was his fourth try at the presidency, and he finally won.

Sata is well-known for formerly being a governor of Lusaka. He was described as being a "hands on" man; cleaning up the streets, patching roadways and building bridges in the city.

Successes of the year:

Winning the presidency and unseating a government that had been in power for 20 years. He went on a serious purge and got rid of the anti-corruption chief, reversed the previous government's sale of a privately-owned bank to South Africa's FirstRand, dissolved several parastatal boards, recalled 12 ambassadors and high commissioners and revealed that the nation, including State House, was "stinking with corruption." He has also said that Chinese mining deals must benefit Zambians, a statement which led to a 100 per cent pay rise for some workers who went on strike.

Failures of the year:

Sata suspended copper exports

in a move to ensure that mining firms accurately report their sales. However he quickly realised that new laws would take too long to draw up and quickly lifted the ban on the county's main export. Sata failed on his campaign promise to overhaul the constitution within 90 days, saying that it would take a "little longer."

Moment of the year:

Kneeling to kiss Anglican Archbishop Rowan Williams' hand, announcing that Guy Scott, a white Zambian, would be vice-president and stating that the country would be governed by the 10 Biblical Commandments

Mo Ibrahim Index: 57.0 (17/53)

Democracy Index: 5.68

Press Freedom Index: 61 (not free)

Corruption Index: 3.0 (101/183)

Human Development Index: 0.430

NMG Grade: 7/10

2010 Grade: C+ 2011 Grade: **C**

TANZANIA

Name: Jakaya Kikwete

Title: President of United Republic of Tanzania since December 21, 2005

Personal history:

An intelligence and military officer who rose to the rank of lieutenant-colonel before turning to politics. Served as Tanzania's foreign minister from 1995 to 2005, when he won the presidency in elections deemed largely free and fair.

Has won accolades (and development dollars) from abroad for investing in education. Played a last-minute role in helping Kenya return to peace after the 2008 post-election violence.

Successes of the year:

At the start of the year, Standard Chartered bank stated that Tanzania is one of East Africa's most consistent growth economies. They commended the broad-based

nature of Tanzania's growth, with growth across sectors including mining, construction, agriculture and tourism.

After a visit with Mr Kikwete at the State House in Dar es Salaam, Bill and Melinda Gates announced that their foundation will continue to assist Tanzania in research on health and agriculture sectors

Failures of the year:

Tanzania continued to sink into deeper dependence on donor aid, with the media reporting that in 2011 it became the world's third largest recipient of aid after Iraq and Afghanistan.

In September a ferry accident off the popular tourist archipelago of Zanzibar claimed the lives of over 200 people.

Tanzania has been unsuccessfully grappling with issues of drug trafficking this year.

Moment of the year:

In 2011 Tanzania marked its 50th

Independence anniversary. President Kikwete told Tanzanians to feel proud of their nation's success since Independence and urged them to work even harder for a better and more prosperous future.



Mo Ibrahim Index: 58.1 (13/53)

Democracy Index: 5.64

Press Freedom Index: 48 (partly free)

Corruption Index: 2.7 (116/183)

Human Development Index: 0.466

NMG Grade: 6/10

2010 Grade: B- 2011 Grade: **C**



MOZAMBIQUE

Name: Armando Emilio Guebuza

Title: President of the Republic of Mozambique since 2005

Personal history:

A former leader of Frelimo (Frente de Libertação de Moçambique — Mozambique Liberation Front)

he served briefly as part of a 10-member collective head of state after the death of Mozambique's first president, Samora Machel, in 1986. He was chosen as Frelimo's presidential candidate in 2004 and won.

Successes of the year:

Guebuza has placed emphasis on upgrading air travel to the nation, opening a new cargo terminal at Vilankulo airport and launching the construction of a \$102m airport in the northern city of Nacala in an effort to expand infrastructure to attract tourists and investment. He also opened a \$1.7b coal mine, an investment by Brazilian mining giant Vale - the largest investment in the nation to date, a project aimed at adding \$3b to the country's economy.

Failures of 2011:

Wikileaks ripped the cover off huge allegations of corruption and that tonnes of heroin and cocaine transit the country for South Africa. The US embassy warned that Mozambique might now may be the second most active narcotics transit point in Africa after Guinea Bissau.

Moment of the year:

Guebuza inaugurated the 10th All Africa Games which took place at Mozambique's national stadium, in the Maputo suburb of Zimpeto.

Mo Ibrahim Index: 54.6 (21/53)

Democracy Index: 4.90

Press Freedom Index: 44 (partly free)

Corruption Index: 2.7 (116/183)

Human Development Index: 0.322

NMG Grade: 6/10

2010 Grade: D+

2011 Grade: **C-**

TUNISIA

Name: Moncef Marzouki

Title: President of the Tunisian Republic since December 2011

Personal history:

Mr Marzouki is a well-known Tunisian activist. He studied medicine in France before returning to Tunisia where he founded the Center for Community Medicine in Sousse and the African Network for Prevention of Child Abuse, also joining Tunisian League for Human Rights. Following the Arab spring that ousted former president Ben Ali, on 12 December 2011 he was elected interim President of Tunisia by the Constituent Assembly.

Successes of the year:

Mr Marzouki's election as president was seen a great victory. He is widely respected for his opposition to former president Ben Ali, and is seen as a likely counterweight to the moderate Islamist party that became the country's dominant political force.

Failures of the year:

Mr Marzouki was elected with 155 votes for, 3 against, and 42 blank votes. The blank votes were the result of a boycott from the opposition parties, who considered the new mini-constitution of the country undemocratic.



Moment of the year:

Marzouki said he is prepared to resign if life in the country has not improved after six months.

Mo Ibrahim Index: 61.7 (rank 9/53)

Democracy Index: 2.79

Press Freedom Index: 85 (not free)

Corruption Index: 4.3 (59/183)

Human Development Index: 0.698 (high)

NMG Grade: 7/10

2010 Grade: D

2011 Grade: **C-**

NIGERIA

Name: Goodluck Jonathan

Title: President of Federal Republic of Nigeria since May 2010, acting since February 2010

Personal history:

Jonathan was handpicked by former president Umaru Yar'Adua to be vice-president, and succeeded him as president following the latter's death in February 2010. He was re-elected in April 2011.

Successes of the year:

He won elections in April 2011, in polls judged by analysts to be perhaps the country's fairest ever. However, they still resulted in violence which saw an estimated 500 people killed and thousands displaced from their homes in northern Nigeria after the main opposition Congress for Progressive Change party denounced the result as fraudulent.

He was applauded for sacking the country's anti-corruption chief, saying it was long overdue after complaints were lodged over her handling of high profile corruption cases.

Failures of the year:

Nigeria marked 51 years of Independence in 2011, but it was a terrible year for terrorist attacks. There were waves of deadly killings blamed on Islamist sect Boko Haram. They took responsibility for the August 26 deadly bombing of the UN headquarters.

Moment of the year:

Nigeria successfully launched two Earth observation satellites, to be used to monitor weather in a region seasonally ravaged by disasters.

Mo Ibrahim Index: 41.1 (41/53)

Democracy Index: 3.47

Press Freedom Index: 52 (partly free)

Corruption Index: 2.4 (134/183)

Human Development Index: 0.459

NMG Grade: 7/10

2010 Grade: D-

2011 Grade: **D+**



cover story

RWANDA

Name: Paul Kagame**Title:** President of the Republic of Rwanda since April 22, 2000**Personal history:**

Paul Kagame fled an ethnic massacre in Rwanda at the age of two in 1959, moving with many fellow Tutsis to the Gahunge refugee camp in Uganda. Began his military service at age 20, fighting with Yoweri Museveni's National Resistance Army. Led the Rwanda Patriotic Army/Front to victory in 1994, following a genocide engineered by extremists, the government and the army then, that left nearly one million people dead. Was named vice president and defence minister in the Cabinet of Rwandan president Pasteur Bizimungu. Took power when Bizimungu was deposed in 2000. Won landslide electoral victories in 2003 and 2010, securing over 93 per cent of votes on both occasions.

Successes of the year:

In December, Rwanda joined the thin ranks of African nations seen as fairly free of graft by Transparency International's Corruption Index despite still recovering from the horror of the 1994 genocide. The nation was acknowledged for making strides in rebuilding its economy and promoting itself as a regional business hub.

Rwanda was also acknowledged in November at the UN's Peace Building



Commission meeting on post-conflict peace building in Kigali. Rwanda was used as an example of a nation that transitioned rapidly from being the victim of one of the 20th century's worst conflicts to a living example of how to overcome adversity. Kagame continued to be popular with foreign investors this year, this was helped along by an Act that came into effect which saw any investors doing business in Rwanda and employing more than 200 Rwandan workers benefit from a five per cent tax reduction on profit.

Failures of the year:

There have been several allegations made against Kagame concerning the silencing of opposition groups. According to *The Independent* of London, the Rwandan government

was linked to an assassination plot in Britain against dissidents, who are said to be critical of the country's increasingly authoritarian regime. Rwanda protested furiously at the charges. Furthermore, Peggy Hicks, global advocacy director for Human Rights Watch, said there had been "no opposition and independent journalists were silenced" ahead of the poll last year.

The killing of an online journalist, known to be critical of Kagame's regime, in Uganda also fired up speculation. Kagame denied any involvement by his government in the death.

Moment of the year:

President Yoweri Museveni, once a bosom ally and mentor to Kagame, broke a 10-year drought of not making a private visit to Rwanda. In a move analysts saw as hailing a major change in the relations between the two leaders, Museveni visited with Kagame and stayed in his country for four days. Kagame returned the visit during Christmas.

Mo Ibrahim Index: 51.7 (25/53)**Democracy Index:** 3.25**Press Freedom Index:** 84 (not free)**Corruption Index:** 4.0 (66/183)**Human Development Index:** 0.429**NMG Grade:** 7/10**2010 Grade:** C-**2011 Grade:** D

NIGER

Name: Mahamadou Issoufou**Title:** President of the Republic of Niger since April 2011**Personal history:**

Mr. Issoufou is no stranger to politics. He has stood as a candidate for each presidential election since 1993, he was prime minister from 1993 to 1994 and president of the National Assembly from 1995 to 1996. The veteran opposition leader was declared winner of March 2011 presidential polls held to end a year-long military junta.

Successes of the year:

Mahamadou Issoufou was declared the winner of the 2011

presidential polls with 58 per cent of the vote. The election marked a return to democracy after president Mamadou Tandja was ousted by the army in February 2010.

The US reinstated Niger to the Africa Growth and Opportunity Act which means the country will reap the benefits of preferential trade deals.

Failures of the year:

Niger remains one of the world's poorest nations and is grappling with the threat of terrorism, made worse due to the crisis in Libya that affected the country's trade, immigration and security.

Moment of the year:

There are two moments that

deserve a mention: First when President Mahamadou Issoufou offered asylum to Col Gaddafi's son Saadi. He said he did so for humanitarian reasons. The second was the arrest of five soldiers who were allegedly plotting to assassinate him.

Mo Ibrahim Index: 44.2 (39/53)**Democracy Index:** 3.38**Press Freedom Index:** 59 (partly free)**Corruption Index:** 2.5 (134/183)**Human Development Index:** 0.295**NMG Grade:** 7/10**2010 Grade:** D**2011 Grade:** D

MALAWI

Name: Bingu wa Mutharika (Born Ryson Webster Thom)**Title:** President of the Republic of Malawi since 2004**Personal history:**

After serving in the Malawi civil service, and also for a period in the government of Zambia, Dr Mutharika worked for the United Nations, the Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa (Comesa) and the World Bank. He was one of the founders of the United Democratic Front, the party that won Malawi's first multiparty elections in 1994, and also founded his own Democratic Progressive Party after a falling out with former

president Bakili Muluzi.

Successes of the year:

Bingu wa Mutharika took over the rotating leadership of the Comesa trade bloc.

Failures of the year:

He became increasingly unpopular due to his intolerance of criticism. Police attacked protestors on July 20 – violence that led to the death of 19. Activists in the country went into hiding fearing for their lives after receiving threats, and lobbyist offices were also set ablaze. He ignored international objections and invited the indicted Sudanese leader for Comesa summit. US-based campaign group the Hunger Project embarrassingly withdrew an award to Bingu wa Mutharika for leadership in food security citing his poor human

rights record

Moment of the year:

Mr Mutharika went "missing" for three weeks in late 2011. There was massive speculation over his whereabouts, and when he eventually resurfaced he said he deserved a good holiday after working hard for two years.

Mo Ibrahim Index: 56.5 (17/53)**Democracy Index:** 5.84**Press Freedom Index:** 55 (partly free)**Corruption Index:** 3.4 (85/183)**Human Development Index:** 0.400**NMG Grade:** 4/10**2010 Grade:** C **2011 Grade:** D-

SENEGAL

Name: Abdoulaye Wade**Title:** President of the Republic of Senegal since April 1, 2000**Personal history:**

A long-time opposition leader, he ran for president four times, beginning in 1978, before he was elected in 2000. Spent time in exile in France after being arrested while protesting the results of the 1998 election. Some fear he will make a bid for re-election in 2012, which would be illegal, as he will have completed the term of service allowed by the constitution.

Successes of the year:

Mr. Wade got a step closer to his dream of encouraging science and mathematics on the continent with the opening of the African Institute of Mathematical Science-Senegal, located about 80 kilometres from Senegalese capital Dakar.

Failures of the year:

Several hundred Senegalese opposition supporters demonstrated against 85-year-old President Abdoulaye Wade's bid for a third term in the 2012 elections. The demonstrations came three months after riots, when parliament was debating a bill proposing changes to election laws, that left more than 100 injured.

Things were also made more difficult for potential presidential candidates when fees were hiked. Senegalese opposition parties are incensed with the approximately \$145,000 fee presidential candidates will be required to pay in order to run.

Moment of the year:

Prominent Senegalese rapper Omar Toure was arrested. It is said he had spoken at an opposition rally urging President Abdoulaye Wade not to run for re-election in 2012, a message that did not please Mr President and his cronies.

Mo Ibrahim Index: 57.5 (15/53)**Democracy Index:** 5.27**Press Freedom Index:** 54 (partly free)**Corruption Index:** 2.9 (105/183)**Human Development Index:** 0.459**NMG Grade:** 4/10**2010 Grade:** C-**2011 Grade:** F-

EGYPT

Name: Field Marshal Mohammed Hussein Tantawi, Chairman of the Supreme Council of the Armed Forces

Title: Minister of Defence, and Chairman of the Supreme Council of the Armed Forces, the de facto head of state of Egypt since February 11, 2011.

Personal history:

A military man, Tantawi has served in the infantry and worked his way up to Minister of Defence and Military Production and commander-in-chief of the Egyptian Armed Forces. As the Chairman of the Supreme Council, Tantawi became Egypt's ruler when President Hosni Mubarak resigned.

Successes this year:

Tantawi has kept a relatively low profile since taking over. Nevertheless, with the help of Farouk Ahmed Sultan, Chairman of the Supreme Constitutional Court of Egypt, the highest judicial court in Egypt, there have been significant developments. Egypt's parliament was dissolved, referendums over temporary constitutional amendments have taken place and Mubarak and many of the former regime's top figures have been taken to court.

Failures of the year:

New protests erupted in Egypt in November, thousands have since been injured and many have died. The people are not happy with the slow pace of reforms and fear that the military rulers may be

getting a little too comfortable. Tantawi had to appear on Egyptian national television to pledge the speeding up of presidential elections and reassure the populace that the military will hand over power.

Moment of the year:

The image of Mubarak on a bed, in court.

Mo Ibrahim Index: 60.7 (10/53)

Democracy Index: 3.07

Press Freedom Index: 65 (not free)

Corruption Index: 3.1 (98/183)

Human Development Index: 0.644 (medium)

NMG grade: 5/10

2010 Grade: F- 2011 Grade: *F*



COMOROS

Name: Ikililou Dhoinine

Title: President of the Union of the Comoros since December 2010

Personal history:

A pharmacist by training and previously a vice-president of Comoros, Dhoinine is the first president from the island of Moheli, an opposition stronghold whose residents have complained of exclusion. Dhoinine served for five years as deputy to outgoing president Ahmed Abdallah Mohamed Sambi and was his chosen candidate in the December 2010 poll which

he won with 61 per cent of the vote.

Successes of the year:

Political stability in Comoros improved following the smooth transfer of power to the new president.

The European Union approved a new fisheries agreement with Comoros which provides key funds for infrastructure, an investment the nation desperately needs. They did however say that parliament must be more involved in the process of monitoring the EU-Comoros fisheries agreement. The new arrangements redefine fishing opportunities for EU vessels and provide additional funding of €300,000 annually for the Comoros to build essential infrastructure.

Failures of the year:

Comoros is one of the poorest countries in the world with an economy that is barely growing. A big part of the problem is the lack of

an effective transportation network. It also suffers from rising sea levels, over-fishing, water shortages and inadequate sanitation services, waste is fast becoming a key problem. In the Comoros, collection and disposal of waste is virtually non-existent.

Moment of the year:

Ikililou Dhoinine, faced widespread protests over fuel prices and supplies in October, following oil shortages, bringing to an end the new president's honeymoon period.

Mo Ibrahim Index: 47.4

Democracy Index: 3.41

Press Freedom Index: 48 (partly free)

Corruption Index: 2.1 (154/183)

Human Development Index: 0.433

NMG Grade: 5/10

2010 Grade: ICU

2011 Grade: *F*



BURKINA FASO

Name: Blaise Compaore

Title: President of Burkina Faso since October 1987

Personal history:

Made his early career in the Burkinabe armed forces, receiving military training from France. With French-backing Compaore, then minister for justice, mounted a coup d'etat in 1987 against his close friend, former president Thomas Sankara. The charismatic and popular revolutionary was dismembered and buried in an unmarked grave,

apparently under orders from Compaore. He seized power, and has now held it for 23 years, holding periodic elections denounced by many as shams. A classic African "Big Man," he is known for his ostentatious wealth, which offends many, considering he rules one of the poorest countries in the world.

Successes of the year:

In response to widespread protests and a mutiny which lasted approximately three months, Compaore promised soldiers a range of benefits and formed a new government in a bid to quell the unrest.

Failures of the year:

In 2001, demonstrations by trade unions and civil society groups against the escalating cost of living, were seen as the biggest challenge to Compaore's rule since he took power.

Tens of thousands of people across the landlocked African country marched in protest against his regime and disgruntled soldiers have been protested violently for higher wages.

Moment of the year:

President Compaore was forced to leave the capital Ouagadougou in April and hide out in a secret place, in the face of a mutiny by his personal guard and other soldiers.

Mo Ibrahim Index: 55.1 (19/53)

Democracy Index: 3.59

Press Freedom Index: 41 (partly free)

Corruption Index: 3.1 (98/183)

Human Development Index: 0.331

NMG Grade: 4/10

2010 Grade: ICU

2011 Grade: *F*

GUINEA

Name: Alpha Conde

Title: President of the Republic of Guinea

Personal history:

Alpha Condé, who has spent the past decades as Guinea's prime opposition politician, at last won the presidency in November 2010. The elections were considered the first free and credible polls in the country's history. Suffers from acute diabetes and, it's said, he can no longer walk unassisted.

Successes of the year:

The US government announced the reinstatement of the benefits of a preferential trade deal, known as the Africa Growth and Opportunity Act, to Guinea. This was as a reward for what the US sees as "continual progress" made in good governance and democracy. Guinea launched a new mining code.



The country has improved relationship with Sierra Leone. The leaders of the two nations are poised to settle an almost decade long border dispute.

Failures of the year:

The opposition accused Condé's government of leaving them out of national governance issues and of practising tribalism. When the opposition protested this, the government banned the demonstration, which resulted in the killing of four protestors in Conakry by soldiers. Alpha Condé agreed to postpone legislative

elections earlier set for December 29, with the opposition accusing President Condé of unilaterally deciding the date, thus opening the door for political dialogue with the opposition.

Moment of the year:

All eyes were on a Guinean maid who accused former IMF boss, Dominique Strauss-Kahn, of sexually assaulting her. The case crumbled over questions about her credibility and "DSK" was acquitted.

Mo Ibrahim Index: 37.8 (43/53)

Democracy Index: 2.79

Press Freedom Index: 59 (partly free)

Corruption Index: 2.0 (164/183)

Human Development Index: 0.344

NMG Grade: 6/10

2010 Grade: F

2011 Grade: *F*

UGANDA

Name: Yoweri Kaguta Museveni

Title: President of Uganda since January 26, 1986

Personal history:

Long-time ruler and veteran guerilla commander. Began his career as an intelligence officer in 1970, but soon became a guerrilla fighter, fighting to depose the tyrant Idi Amin from 1972 to 1979. Museveni continued to fight in a rebellion to depose Milton Obote — the first leader elected after Amin in flawed polls in 1980. In 1986, Museveni seized power. He won the elections in 1996, 2001 and 2006, the latter two being widely criticised as rigged. Has removed presidential term limits to hold on to power. He was deeply involved in the First and Second Congo Wars.

Successes of the year:

Museveni was re-elected with a 68.38 per cent of the vote. The opposition described the



elections as a "sham."

Uganda continues to have a leading role in the Somalia peacekeeping force under African Union command.

Failures of the year:

2011 shall be remembered as the year of constant public discontent. Most notable mention goes to the "Walk-to-Work" protests, anti-government demos led by the Activists for Change. They were made popular by opposition FDC president Kizza Besigye earlier in the year as a way to protest the rising cost of living. The climax was the unusually violent arrest of Besigye. There were also strong

protests against the planned giveaway of Mabira Forest Reserve to sugar miller Sugar Corporation of Uganda Limited, SCUL; and the president came under severe scrutiny over graft allegations which he dismissed as "absolute rubbish"

Moment of the year:

In June, attempts to hold a birthday party at Constitution Square celebrating what Free Uganda Now group claim would be President Yoweri Museveni's 73rd birthday flopped after police intervened.

Mo Ibrahim Index: 55.0 (20/53)

Democracy Index: 5.05

Press Freedom Index: 54 (partly free)

Corruption Index: 2.5 (127/183)

Human Development Index: 0.446

NMG Grade: 4/10

2010 Grade: ICU

2011 Grade: *F*

cover story

MOROCCO

Name: Mohammed VI**Title:** King of the Kingdom of Morocco since July 30, 1999**Personal history:**

Groomed for kingship, as his late father King Hassan II referred to his upbringing, Mohammed VI became monarch in 1999. Mohammed

is estimated by Forbes to be worth \$2 billion, and the Moroccan Royal Family has one of the largest fortunes in the world.

Successes of the year:

King Mohammed bowed to the pressure of protesting civil society, making a break with the notion of monarchy as an executive power and introducing reforms that provide for a balanced monarchy, where power is divided between the king and a government based on parliament. He was able to withstand the full tide of the Arab Spring and continues to reign over the Kingdom.

Failures of the year:

Though constitutional reforms have been undertaken, many critics want constitutional changes drawn up by a democratically elected committee instead and have greater changes to the country's political system.

The lack of reforms has resulted in sporadic protests which continue to threaten the stability of the nation.

Moment of the year:

One of the worst attacks in Morocco took place in April this year when a suicide bomber attacked a cafe in Marrakesh, leaving 14 people dead.

Mo Ibrahim Index: 57.8 (14/53)**Democracy Index:** 3.79**Press Freedom Index:** 68 (not free)**Corruption Index:** 3.4 (85/183)**Human Development Index:** 0.582 (medium)**NMG Grade:** 4/10**2010 Grade:** C2011 Grade: **F**

LIBYA

Name: Mustafa Abdul Jalil**Title:** Chairman of the National Transitional Council since March 5, 2011**Personal history:**

Mustafa Abdul Jalil graduated from the department of Shari'a and Law in the Arabic Language and Islamic Studies Faculty of the University of Libya in 1975, and was eventually appointed a judge. From 2007 to 2011, Abdul Jalil was minister of justice under Gaddafi's regime.

He is known for his strong stance against arbitrary arrests and prolonged detention without trial, even in defiance of the previous

regime. He resigned from Gaddafi's government in protest at its actions during the 2011 Libyan civil war.

Abdul Jalil was proclaimed to be the head of the National Transitional Council in the Council's founding statement of March 5 2011.

Successes of the year:

During the unrest in Libya, Abdul Jalil led the process of forming an interim government, based in Benghazi.

Failures of the year:

Jalil proclaimed that Islamic Sharia law will be the "basic source" of legislation in free Libya, to the shock of millions.

Moment of the year:

The brutal death of Libya's former leader Colonel Muammar Gaddafi at the hands of rebels near his hometown of Sirte.

Mo Ibrahim Index: 49.9 (28/53)**Democracy Index:** 1.94**Press Freedom Index:** 94 (not free)**Corruption Index:** 2.2 (146/183)**Human Development Index:** 0.760 (High)**NMG grade:** 6/10**2010 Grade:** F+2011 Grade: **ICU**

COTE D'IVOIRE

Name: Alassane Dramane Ouattara**Title:** President of the Republic of Côte d'Ivoire since December 2010**Personal history:**

An economist by profession, President Ouattara has for decades been a major player in international financial institutions. His rise to Presidency was a turbulent one. He faced incumbent president Laurent Gbagbo and both Ouattara and Gbagbo claimed victory. It was widely accepted internationally that Ouattara had won and a political crisis ensued. This ended with Gbagbo's capture and arrest on April 11 2011.

Successes of the year:

Following the end of Cote d'Ivoire's political crisis, Ouattara has been working hard at trying to reconcile the country. In recognition "of "continual progress" made in good governance and democracy" the US government announced the reinstatement of the benefits of a preferential trade deal, known as the Africa Growth and Opportunity Act.

Failures of the year:

The situation has remained tense in Cote d'Ivoire despite the end of the political crisis. Allies of Gbagbo were



clearly still intimidated and with reason. Video clips have circulated on the Internet showing people alleged to be Gbagbo associates being 'insulted and mistreated' by their jailers. 18,000 Ivorian refugees are still living in Ghana since March of 2011.

Moment of the year:

President Ouattara sacked the boss of the national broadcaster who failed to ensure coverage of the Ivorian leader's return from the United States.

Mo Ibrahim Index: 36.3 (46/53)**Democracy Index:** 3.02**Press Freedom Index:** 68 (not free)**Corruption Index:** 2.2 (146/183)**Human Development Index:** 0.400**NMG Grade:** 5/10 2010 Grade: D+2011 Grade: **ICU**

ALGERIA

Name: Abdelaziz Bouteflika**Title:** President of the People's Democratic Republic of Algeria since April 28, 1999**Personal history:**

Was involved with Algeria's liberation process from a young age and became an influential member of the Front de Libération Nationale (FLN). He became a minister in the post-Independence government and won the presidency in the 1999 polls with the backing of the army.

Successes of the year:

For the first time in post-independence Algeria, Bouteflika announced sweeping media reforms that would allow private radio and television stations to exist. The country also welcomed a new metro system this year. The project was started 28 years ago.

Failures of the year:

Thousands demanded Bouteflika's exit and the government battled to contain popular protests against the lack of freedoms, high unemployment and corruption in the country. Bouteflika promised deep reforms to strengthen democracy but he did not give an indication of when these would happen. Delays have been blamed on the continued presence of the emergency law enforced since the cancelled 1991 elections.

Moment of the year:

Bouteflika's highly anticipated televised speech where he promised national reforms.

Mo Ibrahim Index: 55.3 (rank 18/53)**Democracy Index:** 3.44**Press Freedom Index:** 62 (not free)**Corruption Index:** 2.9 (105/183)**Human Development Index:** 0.644 (medium)**NMG Grade:** 3/102010 Grade: F 2011 Grade: **ICU**

CONGO

Name: Denis Sassou-Nguesso**Title:** President of the Republic of Congo since 1997 and he was previously President from 1979 to 1992**Personal history:**

Sassou-Nguesso was installed as president by the military in 1979 but lost his position in the country's first multi-party elections in 1992. He returned to power in 1997 after a brief civil war in which he was backed by Angolan troops. His personal spending habits are the source of heavy criticism and he is being investigated by the French police on claims that he has used millions of pounds of embezzled public funds to acquire lavish properties in France.

Successes of the year:

The Republic of Congo has embarked on a vast tree-planting programme to guard



against the twin scourges of deforestation and soil degradation that plague many African states. Mr. Sassou-Nguesso has also been strengthening ties with Rwanda. Rwandan President Paul Kagame visited capital Brazzaville in November 2010 and Sassou-Nguesso reciprocated in 2011.

Failures of the year:

An illustration of how rife corruption is in the poor nation, it emerged that Sassou Nguesso owns 16 of the most luxurious

houses and flats in Paris.

Moment of the year:

A dispute erupted between DRC and Congo-Brazzaville about an alleged attack on the former. Kinshasa had blamed Congo-Brazzaville for an attack on the city of Lukolela by a rebel troops. The attack was suspected to have been executed by forces close to General Faustin Munene, who is in exile in the latter – it was all amicably resolved in the end.

Mo Ibrahim Index: 42.4 (40/53)**Democracy Index:** 2.89**Press Freedom Index:** 54 (partly free)**Corruption Index:** 2.1 (154/183)**Human Development Index:** 0.533**NMG Grade:** 4/10**2010 Grade:** ICU2011 Grade: **ICU**

MAURITANIA

Name: Mohamed Ould Abdelaziz

Title: President of the Islamic Republic of Mauritania since August 5, 2009

Personal history:

The general has led two coups in five years, coming to power after ousting his democratically-elected predecessor in a 2009 coup. Prior to this, he was a soldier with the Presidential Guard, and helped suppress a coup in 2003 and a military insurrection in 2004. Was elected president in 2009, in elections initially boycotted by the opposition, but later deemed somewhat free and fair by observers.

Successes of the year:

Ould Abdelaziz has been warming up to a few potential "partners", particularly outspoken Iranian President Mahmoud Ahmadinejad. Having cut diplomatic ties with Israel, Mauritania has now signed two co-operation agreements in mining and infrastructure with Iran. Despite having been a former military coup leader himself, the AU's Peace and Security Council appointed the Mauritanian leader and present "elected

civilian" president, as head of a special committee to try to mediate a solution to the Cote d'Ivoirian electoral crisis

Failures of the year:

There were mass protests, including a "day of rage", against Abdelaziz's government, spilling over from neighbouring Arab Spring countries, which demanded political and social reforms. Mauritania continues to suffer from terrorist attacks, and it is alleged it has a growing presence of Al Qaeda-linked militants. The poor nation also suffers from severe tensions between the Arab and black populations. There have been protests by ethnic black Mauritians who have rallied to denounce a census they feel aims at depriving them of their citizenship, but which the government called false rumours.

Moment of the year:

Ould Abdelaziz is lucky to have escaped an attack on his life. Mauritania's army blew up a car packed with explosives in February, foiling an attack which Al Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb claimed was aimed at assassinating him.

Mo Ibrahim Index: 473



Democracy Index: 3.86

Press Freedom Index: 53 (partly free)

Corruption Index: 2.3 (143/183)

Human Development Index: 0.453 (low)

NMG Grade: 3/10

2010 Grade: ICU

2011 Grade: *ICU*

ETHIOPIA

Name: Meles Zenawi Asres

Title: Prime Minister of the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia since August 1995

Personal history:

Named Legesse at birth, this former guerilla took the nom de guerre "Meles" in tribute to a student revolutionary killed in 1975 by Ethiopian dictator Mengistu Haile Mariam. Was named transitional head of state when his rebels overthrew the Mengistu regime in 1991, and helped forge the 1994 constitution.

Won elections and became prime minister in 1995 and 2001 with little opposition. Opposition resistance was stronger in the 2005 elections, and widespread allegations of electoral fraud led to riots and instability. Dozens were killed and hundreds jailed.

Successes of the year:

Economically, Ethiopia is doing well. According to the *Economist's* "The World in 2011" publication, Ethiopia, along with Eritrea, was expected to be the third



fastest growing economy in 2011. The paper said, Ethiopia was expected to grow by 10 per cent.

This growth will be spurred by an increase in trade with its neighbours within the next five years thanks to a railway project to connect its capital Addis Ababa to neighbouring Djibouti in a new infrastructure-building phase.

Failures of the year:

Zenawi continues to rule the country with an iron fist. He was forced to defend

his government against claims of human rights abuses and the restriction of basic freedoms after his trips to Norway and Denmark were hit by protests.

Also, in November an Ethiopian man set himself on fire in a protest against the government following mass arrests of youths from his area.

Moment of the year:

On October 20, Zenawi stunned Ethiopians when he launched into a tirade against perceived enemies, that seemed to have been inspired by the capture of Col Muammar Gaddafi just an hour before the Ethiopian premier was scheduled to address parliament.

Mo Ibrahim Index: 45.8 (34/53)

Democracy Index: 3.68

Press Freedom Index: 78 (not free)

Corruption Index: 2.7 (116/183)

Human Development Index: 0.363

NMG Grade: 3/10

2010 Grade: ICU

2011 Grade: *ICU*

TOGO

Name: Faure Gnassingbe

Title: President of the Togolese Republic since May 4, 2005

Personal history:

The Gnassingbe clan have ruled Togo as their personal fiefdom since 1967. The current president is the son of the later president Gnassingbé Eyadéma, who took power upon Togo's independence in 1967 and held it for 38 years. Upon his death in 2005, his son Faure was immediately installed as president by military authorities. Sham elections were held soon thereafter, and resulted in protests that were violently crushed, leaving 790 people dead and 4,345 injured.

Successes of the year:

Togo has taken significant steps towards poverty reduction and economic reforms. As a result, the Paris Club cancelled all of Togo's debt, amounting to some \$143.1 million, to encourage the West African nation to pursue economic reforms.

Countries also indicated they intended to provide debt relief on a bilateral basis to Togo amounting to \$404 million.

Failures of the year:

Despite steps taken towards political reform and fiscal transparency, with Faure Gnassingbé still in power many are not certain about whether these changes are just part of a ploy by the ruling party to maintain its hold on power.

The government's case isn't helped by allegations that journalists were threatened after they reported on a human rights report that exposed torture in the country.

Moment of the year:

Leading Togolese football players were among at least six people killed when a bus plunged into a ravine and caught fire in November. Gnassingbe personally ordered those injured to be taken to a military hospital in the capital, Lome.

Mo Ibrahim Index: 45.6 (35/53)

Democracy Index: 3.45

Press Freedom Index: 73 (not free)

Corruption Index: 2.4 (134/183)

Human Development Index: 0.435

NMG Grade: 3/10

2010 Grade: ICU

2011 Grade: *ICU*



GABON

Name: Ali Ben Bongo Ondimba

Title: President of the Gabonese Republic since October 16, 2009

Personal history:

Ali Ben Bongo Ondimba is the son of Omar Bongo, who ruled Gabon from 1967 until his death in 2009. Served as minister of defence and foreign affairs under his father, joining the ministry in 1988. Won elections in 2009 that were rejected by the opposition.

Successes of the year:

Gabon qualified for the Olympic Games football tournament for the first time after beating Senegal 1-0 in the African Under-23 Championship

Bongo headed the United Nations Security Council

for June. He was also given a formal invite by Barack Obama to the White House, where they were to discuss the progress of the partnership between their two countries. Barack Obama came under fire for extending the invite to an African dictator who has plundered billions of dollars from his own country.

Failures of the year:

Bongo was shamed in an ABC News investigation airing on *World News with Diane Sawyer* and *Nightline* which showed him as a ruler over a family empire, estimated by US investigators to be worth hundreds of millions of dollars. His family is said to have literally dozens of luxury homes worth millions of dollars everywhere.

When protests erupted in Egypt a silent struggle also emerged in Gabon, though these were over-shadowed. These protests were violently suppressed by the

government, and it was alleged that opposition leaders were kidnapped.

Moment of the year:

Father of Bongo, Gabon's late President Omar Bongo, was allegedly said by Wikileaks to have funded Nicolas Sarkozy's 2007 campaign.

Mo Ibrahim Index: 50.7 (27/53)

Democracy Index: 3.29

Press Freedom Index: 69 (not free)

Corruption Index: 2.8 (110/183)

Human Development Index: 0.674 (medium)

NMG Grade: 2/10

2010 Grade: ICU

2011 Grade: *ICU*



cover story

**MADAGASCAR****Name:** Andry Rajoelina**Title:** President of the High Transitional Authority of the Republic of Madagascar since March 18, 2009**Personal history:**

Born to a middle class family, Andry Rajoelina began his career as a disc jockey at clubs and bars in Madagascar's capital before moving to the airwaves and gaining a national profile. He married into a wealthy family and went on to own his own radio station, Viva Radio. Launched the Determined Malagasy Youth opposition movement and was elected mayor of Antananarivo in 2007. Was handed the presidency in March 2009 by a cabal of generals who took power after democratically elected president Marc Ravalomanana stepped down in the face of mass protests. Nicknamed "TGV", after the French high-speed train *Tres Grand Vitesse*.

Successes of the year:

Rajoelina and Premier Jean Omer Beriziky finally unveiled their new unity government Cabinet late November. President Rajoelina stated that the next step was for the people to choose whom they wanted to lead the country. The new formation has five allies of the toppled president Marc Ravalomanana, and seven right-hand men of former president Albert Zafy, a radical opposition leader.

Failures of the year:

Getting Rajoelina to commit to key political reforms was tough and despite having a new Cabinet, cracks began to emerge with resignations becoming the order of the day. As the transitional government strove for international recognition following the implementation of the political roadmap championed by SADC, the new officials did not seem able to deal with the crisis. Local analysts believe that President Andry Rajoelina's tough stance towards exiled politicians was the cause of the Cabinet exodus.

Madagascar's opposition continued to demand the immediate release of all people jailed following the 2009 coup that propelled Andry Rajoelina to power. They were also calling for the reopening of all media forcibly closed down after his take over.

The economy continued to falter and one consequence of this is the rise of sex tourism and child prostitution.

Moment of the year:

Former president Didier Iganace Ratsiraka put in a colourful performance as he stepped back on Malagasy soil after a nine-year self-imposed absence in a return that further raised hopes that the island's long-running political crisis can be resolved. He said it was necessary that a high-level forum involving himself, Mr Ravalomanana, Mr Zafy and current leader Andry Rajoelina be held as a condition for his support of the political road map to end the crisis.

Mo Ibrahim Index: 47.1**Democracy Index:** 3.94**Press Freedom Index:** 64 (not free)**Corruption Index:** 2.6 (123/183)**Human Development Index:** 0.480**NMG Grade:** 2/102010 Grade: Morgue 2011 Grade: *ICU***GUINEA-BISSAU****Name:** Malam Bacai Sanha**Title:** President of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau, since September 8, 2009 (died in Paris January 2012)**Personal history:**

He took power in the presidential elections of 2009. Was a member of the African Party for the Independence of Guinea and Cape Verde, and a former aide to the "Father of Independence" Amilcar Cabral. Served as President of the National People's Assembly from 1994 to 1999. Ran unsuccessfully for president in 2000 and 2005. Took the helm in 2009.

Successes of the year:

Malam Bacai Sanha was largely absent from the scene due to health related issues, but the fragile economy was seen as improving. Guinea-Bissau was commended by the IMF's executive board for "their satisfactory performance under the Extended Credit Facility-supported programme. Economic growth has been



buoyant, benefitting from a good cashew harvest and strong terms of trade, and backed by continued prudent macroeconomic policies and implementation of structural reforms." The outlook for 2012 is also positive.

Failures of the year:

A great deal of talk concerning Sanha revolved around the state of his health

– he was in and out of various hospitals throughout the year.

One major act he did carry out was a major Cabinet reshuffle as a measure for economic and security reforms. He however came under fire for keeping controversial Prime Minister Carlos Gomes Jr. Mr Gomes has been in the centre of a huge scandal linking him to several high-profile assassinations, culminating in a series of strikes.

Moment of the year:

In December, the leader was flown to Paris for treatment where rumours emerged that he had died (he died some days later).

Mo Ibrahim Index: 37.2 (44/53)**Democracy Index:** 1.99**Press Freedom Index:** 57 (partly free)**Corruption Index:** 2.1 (154/183)**Human Development Index:** 0.353**NMG Grade:** 3/10**2010 Grade:** ICU2011 Grade: *ICU***CAMEROON****Name:** Paul Biya**Title:** President of the Republic of Cameroon since November 6, 1982**Personal history:**

Has held the presidency, and indeed the whole country, under his tight grip since 1982. Became prime minister in 1975, and was chosen by president Ahmadou Ahidjo as his successor. Holds elections from time to time, but these have no credibility. Routinely ranked amongst Africa's worst dictators.

Successes of the year:

Biya was re-elected for the sixth time in 2011 with 77.9 percent of the vote. The elections were however marked by apathy and irregularities.

The country welcomed the news of the discovery of about two billion tonnes of iron ore deposits in the south, but how much this will benefit the citizens is debatable.

After suffering from crippling power deficits, the World Bank and the International Finance Corporation made an agreement to finance and guarantee a power project at an estimated cost of \$168 million, which when completed would provide electricity to over 160,000 Cameroonian homes.

Failures of the year:

Poverty in Cameroon remained endemic and this does not look likely to ease anytime soon as Cameroon's public debt increased by 10.5 per cent in the year.

The main opposition party accepted and "took note" of the result of the presidential elections that extended Biya's rule, but added that the election had not reflected the will of the Cameroonian people. The opposition were also quick to point out that no foreign leader attended Biya's inauguration.

Moment of the year:

When Biya ordered an investigation into the failure of the Cameroonian national football team to honour a November 15 friendly match with Algeria.

Mo Ibrahim Index: 45.0 (38/53)**Democracy Index:** 3.41**Press Freedom Index:** 67 (not free)**Corruption Index:** 2.2 (146/183)**Human Development Index:** 0.482**NMG Grade:** 2/10**2010 Grade:** Morgue2011 Grade: *ICU***BURUNDI****Name:** Pierre Nkurunziza**Title:** President of the Republic of Burundi since August 26, 2005**Personal history:**

A university lecturer until the Burundian civil war in 1993, when he joined the Forces for the Defence of Democracy as a soldier after the army attacked his campus. Later turned this rebel group into a political party. Took power in the 2005 presidential elections.

Successes of the year:

Burundi's tax revenue has grown by 35.7 per cent, three years after it opened its borders to goods from the East Africa Community. While revenue still trails those of its regional partners — Kenya, Rwanda, Uganda and Tanzania — it represents a major breakthrough for the tiny landlocked nation that gets 50 per cent of its national budget from donors.

Failures of 2011:

Key Burundi opposition figures went undercover or fled the country after President Nkurunziza was re-elected last year in polls they said were rigged.

36 people were killed after unknown gunmen opened fire in a crowded bar near the Burundi capital, Bujumbura in September. Several grenade and gun attacks have taken place in the country during the year, and though the government has blamed attacks on bandits some fear a new rebel group has emerged.

Moment of the year:

Burundi's state media regulator suspended a popular radio talk show because of accusations made by a caller about the president.

Mo Ibrahim Index: 45.1 (37/53)**Democracy Index:** 4.01**Press Freedom Index:** 74 (not free)**Corruption Index:** 1.8 (170/183)**Human Development Index:** 0.316**NMG Grade:** 5/10 **2010 Grade:** D-2011 Grade: *Morgue*

ANGOLA

Name: José Eduardo dos Santos

Title: President of the Republic of Angola since 1979

Personal history:

An officer of the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) who rose to the top ranks of the organisation before being appointed minister of foreign affairs in Angola's first government by president Agostinho Neto. Following the death of Neto in 1979, the ruling Central Committee unanimously approved the appointment of José Eduardo dos Santos as the country's second president.

Successes this year:

During its 36th Independence anniversary, US Secretary of State Hillary Clinton congratulated the country and said it was on the right economic growth path.

Failures of the year:

President Jose Eduardo dos Santos is one of Africa's longest-serving

leaders, having been in power for 32 years. Last year he said he was ready to go on as the country's leader. This has led to rising tensions in the country ahead of elections due next year, with opposition groups calling for dos Santos to step down.

There have also been reports of media intimidation this year. Global media lobby Committee to Protect Journalists has called on authorities in Angola to ensure the safety of journalists who have been critical of the government.

Another lobby group, the Human Rights Watch also appealed to the Angolan government to desist from use of unnecessary force to quell protests. They cited December 3 as one of the occasions police and other state security agents violently dispersed a peaceful rally of about 100 youth in Luanda, the capital.

Moment of the year:

Jose Eduardo dos Santos announced that his country was ready to help bail-out former colonial ruler Portugal



Mo Ibrahim Index: 40.8 (42/53)

Democracy Index: 3.32

Press Freedom Index: 64 (not free)

Corruption Index: 1.9 (168/183)

Human Development Index: 0.486

NMG Grade: 2/10

2010 Grade: ICU

2011 Grade: *Morgue*



GAMBIA

Name: Yahya Jammeh

Title: President of the Republic of the Gambia, since October 18, 1996

Personal history:

A 29-year-old army captain, Jammeh returned with Gambian forces from Liberia in 1994 and staged a bloodless coup against the longtime ruler, Sir Dawda Kairaba Jawara. Has since won three controversial rounds of elections. Among Africa's most bizarre and

colourful leaders, he claims mystic powers, such as the ability to cure Aids and asthma with single dose herbal treatments and a banana-rich diet. His ability to read at a functional level is doubted by some. He has expressed ambitions of territorial expansion. Carries a sword at all times.

Successes of the year:

Mr. Jammeh secured his fourth term in office as he was re-elected this year with a landslide win, the contest however was condemned both by his main challenger and African observers.

For 2011 Jammeh should however be congratulated on the appointment of the first female army general in the West African nation.

Failures of the year:

The presidential elections were only just short of a comedy. Observers from the main west African bloc boycotted the polls, saying Mr

Jammeh's control of the media and intimidation of voters meant the election could not be free, fair and transparent. Meanwhile, Mr. Jammeh was coming out with some ridiculous sound-bites such as; "Do I look like a loser? There is no way that I can lose unless you tell me that Gambians are mad".

Moment of the year:

In May, President Yahya Jammeh presented 114 tractors to all the district chiefs to boost food production.

Mo Ibrahim Index: 51.8 (24/53)

Democracy Index: 3.38

Press Freedom Index: 81 (Not Free)

Corruption Index: 3.2 (91/183)

Human Development Index: 0.420

NMG Grade: 1/10

2010 Grade: ICU

2011 Grade: *Morgue*

DJIBOUTI

Name: Ismail Omar Guelleh

Title: President of Djibouti since May 8, 1999

Personal history:

Born in Ethiopia, Guelleh was groomed to succeed his uncle Hassan Gouled Aptidon as president and did so in 1999. He had a previous career in the police, and was trained by the French Secret Service. He won the 2005 elections with 100 per cent of the vote. He was the only candidate in the race.

Successes of the year:

Guelleh secured a third term in office after a landslide election victory, despite protests against his rule. He won 80 per cent of the votes cast, according to the

country's electoral commission. The opposition had urged a boycott of the polls, alleging irregularities.

Failures of the year:

Guelleh managed to thwart anti-government protestors demanding his resignation. On February, an estimated 30,000 Djiboutians staged a protest in the centre of Djibouti city that security forces quelled. Since then arbitrary arrests were carried out which the Djiboutian human rights group, ORDHD, has expressed concern over.

Moment of the year:

US Secretary of Defence Leon Panetta visited Djibouti and thanked Guelleh for his support and partnership.

Mo Ibrahim Index: 48.7 (29/53)

Democracy Index: 2.20



Press Freedom Index: 73 (not free)

Corruption Index: 3.2 (91/183)

Human Development Index: 0.430

NMG Grade: 1/10

2010 Grade: ICU

2011 Grade: *Morgue*

SWAZILAND

Name: Mswati III (born Makhosetive Dlamini)

Title: His Majesty the Ngwenyama (King) of Swaziland since 1986

Personal history:

One of the many sons of King Sobhuza II, the Great Council of State (the Likoqo) selected the 14-year-old prince Makhosetive to be the next king following Sobhuza's death in 1982. He was crowned king on April 25, 1986.

Successes of the year:

King Mswati had few successes this year. One "success" he could count is that the anti-government pro-democracy protests which took place in the year did not unseat him.

Failures of the year:

King Mswati is widely accused of leading a lavish lifestyle with his 13 wives, showing little concern for the plight of his subjects. Swaziland has been in the grip of a financial crisis which forced the government to ask neighbouring South Africa for a bailout of \$330 million to pay its bills. South Africa did offer the bail-out, of which King Mswati demanded a \$57 million cut for his efforts in securing it. The International Monetary Fund rejected the King's loan requests.

The financial crisis saw the threat of renewed protests as the government scrambled to pull together enough loans from local

banks and private businesses to pay civil servants in November.

Moment of the year:

King Mswati allegedly evicted his 12th wife, Nothando Dube – the one who had an affair with one of the king's ministers - from the palace after she pepper-sprayed a guard. However, the royal governor, Timothy Velabo Mtetwa told the *Times of Swaziland* she was away visiting her grandmother.

Mo Ibrahim Index: 51.4 (26/53)

Democracy Index: 2.90

Press Freedom Index: 76

Corruption Index: 3.2 (91/183)

Human Development Index: 0.522 (low)

NMG Grade: 0/10

2010 Grade: F-

2011 Grade:

Morgue



ERITREA

Name: Isaias Afewerki

Title: President of the State of Eritrea since June 8, 1993

Personal history:

Descended from a line of Ethiopian kings, Afewerki took leadership of Eritrea after leading the country to Independence in 1991. A co-founder of the Eritrean People's Liberation Front, he successfully ended 30 years of secessionist warfare. Called off promised elections in 1997, and governs a one-party state. In 2008, he called off elections.

Successes of the year:

Labelled the "bad boy" of the Horn of Africa, Eritrea silently works away at her own model of development which keeps the donors and dependency at bay. Following a trip to the nation, Gordon Peters, a member of the World Democratic Movement, observed a situation where "people are poor but nobody is

really starving" and a country-wide philosophy and practice of self-sustainability. Afewerki also seemed to be trying out a policy of rapprochement with a "peace trip" to Uganda and the submission of an application to rejoin the regional Inter-Governmental Authority on Development bloc after four years' withdrawal.

Failures of the year:

Widespread human rights violations continue and a "shoot to kill" policy against anyone attempting to flee across the border remains in place.

Kenya and Eritrea had a huge falling out, which could result in more UN sanctions on the small state, over the latter's alleged support for Al Shabaab insurgents in Somalia.

Moment of the year:

The Eritrean government announced a plan to send food aid to hunger-hit Somalia, despite having been classified by the UN as also needing help.

Mo Ibrahim Index: 34.8 (47/53)

Democracy Index: 2.31

Press Freedom Index: 94 (not free) **Corruption Index:** 2.6 (123/183) **Human Development Index:** 0.349

NMG Grade: 2/10

2010 Grade: *Morgue*

2011 Grade: *Morgue*

cover story

**CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC**

Name: François Bozizé Yangouonda

Title: President of the Central African Republic since March 15, 2003

Personal history:

President Bozize seized power in a coup in 2003, before winning an election two years later.

Successes of the year:

Bozize was sworn in for a second five-year term after winning re-election in January.

Failures of the year:

Bozize's re-election was marred by vast irregularities and the results were dismissed by the opposition. One of the aspiring candidates was former president Ange-Felix Patasse, who after a long and chequered career was ousted in a 2003 coup. Patasse died shortly after his presidential bid in Cameroon while on his way to Equatorial Guinea for medical treatment. He had been earlier been barred from leaving the country for health check-ups.

Moment of the year:

A US cable, leaked by Wikileaks, suggested that President Francois Bozize had sought to personally profit from money set aside for a USAid-funded project that would have been an integral part of an east-west road. According to the cable, a frenzy of meetings with Bozize and his cronies ahead of the scheduled October 26, 2009 launch of the road works left the US ambassador with the impression that the president was "personally interested in the monetary benefits that international development money brings".

Mo Ibrahim Index: 32.6 (49/53)

Democracy Index: 1.82

Press Freedom Index: 61 (not free)

Corruption Index: 2.1 (154/183)

Human Development Index: 0.343

NMG Grade: 1/10

2010 Grade: Morgue

2011 Grade: *Morgue*

SUDAN

Name: Omar Hassan Al-Bashir

Title: President of the Republic of Sudan since October 16, 1993

Personal history:

Al-Bashir came to power in a military coup in 1989, following which he dissolved parliament and banned political parties. He faces two international arrest warrants — issued by the International Criminal Court in The Hague — on charges of genocide, war crimes and crimes against humanity. He has dismissed the allegations and continues to travel to countries that oppose the indictment.

Successes of the year:

Bashir accepted the outcome of a referendum in which South Sudan voted overwhelmingly



for Independence. Bashir announced that he will not stand in the next presidential election due in four years.

Failures of the year:

Despite the partition of Sudan, there continue to be tensions and military engagement over the oil-rich Abyei region, both sides bitterly claiming ownership of the fertile area. In September, tensions reappeared between the

North and South as fighting broke out in the Blue Nile State.

In November, Bashir threatened the South with war over rebel attacks in bordering regions.

Moment of the year:

When the government of Sudan gave its blessing for an independent South Sudan.

Mo Ibrahim Index: 33.1

Democracy Index: 2.42

Press Freedom Index: 78 (not free)

Corruption Index: 1.6 (172/183)

Human Development Index: 0.408 (high)

NMG Grade: 1/10

2010 Grade: Morgue 2011 Grade:

Morgue

DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF CONGO

Name: Joseph Kabila Kabange

Title: President of the Democratic Republic of Congo since January 2001

Personal history:

He was a guerilla fighter alongside his father, Joseph Kabila, to oust the Mobutu regime. Once his father was in power, he rose through the ranks of government and became chief of staff of the Land Forces, a position he held until the elder president Kabila's assassination in January 2001. He took office in January 2001, 10 days after the murder of his father.

Successes of the year:

The governments of Kenya and the Democratic Republic of Congo established a joint team to investigate the alleged trade in illegal gold.

Failures of the year:

In February, there was a mass attack on the president's residence. A government spokesman described the raid as an attempted coup.

Kabila's "victory" in the 2011 presidential elections cannot be described as a success. The polls emerged amidst fears of violence, rigging and deaths of opposition



protestors. Both Kabila and international observers said the poll was flawed, but the president defended his re-election.

Moment of the year:

Kabila's mother created a stir when she called on Rev Ambilikile Masapila (a former pastor behind a herbal concoction believed to be able to cure all diseases including HIV/ Aids cancer, paralysis and diabetes) for a dose of the mugariga concoction.

Mo Ibrahim Index: 32.4 (50/53)

Democracy Index: 2.15

Press Freedom Index: 81 (not free)

Corruption Index: 2.0 (164/183)

Human Development Index: 0.286

NMG Grade: 1/10

2010 Grade: ICU

2011 Grade: *Morgue*

**CHAD**

Name: Idriss Deby Itno

Title: President of the Republic of Chad since December 1990

Personal history:

A military man who came to power in 1990 after toppling president Hissene Habre, his former mentor, with the help of the French secret service.

Successes of the year:

Being re-elected for a fourth term with 89 per cent of the April vote. Despite repressive laws, a meeting of media editors from the Central Africa region opened in July in the Chad capital, N'Djamena.

A step towards peace — the rebel group Popular Front for Reconstruction signed a peace accord with the government, paving the way for it to return home after setting up in the Central African Republic around three years ago.

Failures of the year:

The main opposition parties accused Deby's Patriotic Salvation Movement of rigging February's parliamentary elections and pulled out of the presidential poll. They said they would refuse to recognise the results and handed Deby an easy victory. The Libyan civil war had a huge negative impact on Chad. The International Crisis Group warned of a massive flight home of migrants, the possible resurgence of militant Islamism and the proliferation of fighters and weapons.

Moment of the year:

The government of Chad and Chinese engineering firm CAMC signed a \$1 billion deal to build a new international airport north of the capital N'Djamena.

Mo Ibrahim Index: 30.6 (52/53)

Democracy Index: 1.52

Press Freedom Index: 75 (not free)

Corruption Index: 1.7 (171/183)

Human Development Index: 0.328

NMG Grade: 1/10

2010 Grade: Morgue 2011 Grade:

Morgue

**EQUATORIAL GUINEA**

Name: Teodoro Obiang Nguema Mbasogo

Title: President of the Republic of Equatorial Guinea since August 1979

Personal history:

President Obiang is one of Africa's few totalitarians. Teodoro is the nephew of founding president and dictator Francisco Macías Nguema, whom he deposed in a coup. A brutal dictator, he has once claimed through state radio to be a "god." Has siphoned off profits from the tiny country's recently discovered oil reserves and stashed it in overseas accounts and is listed by Forbes magazine as one of

the wealthiest heads of state in the world, having amassed a fortune of \$600 million or more.

Successes of the year:

In 2011, Obiang's government called for a referendum over a new constitution that seeks to introduce a presidential term limit and a vice presidency position. The opposition however described the process as a sham. Thanks to copious oil, Equatorial Guinea has one of the highest per capita incomes on the entire continent.

Failures of the year:

In February 2011, the government imposed a news blackout on the political protests in North Africa, and later denied its own citizens the right to hold peaceful demonstrations. As for the constitutional changes, critics say they will allow Obiang to hand-pick his successor, most definitely his son. Archbishop Desmond Tutu published a powerful op-ed against the Unesco-Obiang prize's \$3 million endowment which he

said "should be used to benefit the people of Equatorial Guinea — from whom these funds have been taken — rather than to glorify their president." The prize was suspended for the second year running.

Moment of the year:

France seized 11 high-end vehicles in Paris belonging to the president and his son in compliance with an action initiated by anti corruption organisation Transparency International. Transparency International is pursuing President Obiang for theft of public funds

Mo Ibrahim Index: 36.5 (45/53)

Democracy Index: 1.84

Press Freedom Index: 90 (not free)

Corruption Index: 1.9 (172/183)

Human Development Index: 0.537

NMG Grade: 1/10

2010 Grade: Morgue 2011 Grade:

Morgue



ZIMBABWE

Name: Robert Gabriel Mugabe

Title: President of the Republic of Zimbabwe since 1987

Personal history:

Mugabe rose to prominence in the 1960s as the secretary general of the Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU) during the liberation war against the white minority rule government of Ian Smith. He was a political prisoner in Rhodesia for more than 10 years, a freedom fighter on his release, and the prime minister following Zimbabwe's first all-race elections. In 1987, the position of prime minister

was abolished and Mugabe assumed the new office of executive President of Zimbabwe.

Successes of the year:

China's good relations with Mugabe's government led to the construction of an orphanage for 1,000 children.

Zimbabwe's finance minister projected a 9 per cent growth in the economy in 2012 "driven by stronger farm output and mine exports".

Failures of the year:

There has been an ongoing political crisis between the main parties in the unity government: President Mugabe's party, Zanu PF, and the Movement

for Democratic Change led by Prime Minister Mornig Tsvangirai.

Mugabe's decision to invoke an equity law which would transfer majority stakes to local blacks has caused anxiety among foreign investors. Zimbabwe continues to struggle to feed its population.

Moment of the year:

There are a few "must mentions": Mugabe called British Prime Minister David Cameron "satanic" for considering withholding aid from countries that do not respect gay rights; he donated three elephants to China, but most surprising of all, Mugabe known for his anti-British

outbursts and seizing white-owned farms, showered praises on newly appointed Zambia Vice-President Guy Scott, who is of British origin, and called him "my brother and one of us."

Mo Ibrahim Index: 30.9 (51/53)

Democracy Index: 2.64

Press Freedom Index: 81 (not free)

Corruption Index: 2.4 (134/186)

Human Development Index: 0.376

NMG Grade: 0/10

2010 Grade: Morgue

2011 Grade: *Morgue*

SOMALIA

Name: Sheikh Sharif Sheikh Ahmed

Title: Transitional Federal President of Somalia since January 31, 2009

Personal history:

Memorised the Koran as a child, and succeeded his father as spiritual leader of Somalia's Idriseeyah sect of Sufi Islam. Was elected chairman of the Islamic Courts Union in 2004 after one of his students was kidnapped by bandits. Fought against warlords and disorder and took power in 2006, before being chased from power by the Ethiopian army. Lived in exile in Kenya and Yemen before winning the presidential elections of January 31, 2009.

Successes of the year:

Due to perceptions of improved security, in December, Italy and the United Nations both announced they are



reopening their missions in Mogadishu after two decades' absence. The implementation of a roadmap to transform the transitional government into a permanent one was on course.

Failures of the year:

The government's inability to plan for water storage, irrigation, strategic food stocks, and investment in food distribution infrastructure has seen Somalia face "the worst drought in north-east Africa for 60 years" without protection.

More than 800,000 Somalis crossed into Kenya and turned already crowded

refugee camps into disaster zones.

In October, President Sheikh Sharif Sheikh Ahmed continued to maintain his opposition to the presence of Kenyan troops in Somalia. Sharif repeated that Kenya was wrong in sending troops into Somalia, hinting that Nairobi's action amounted to a breach of Somalia's sovereignty.

Moment of the year:

When UN Secretary-General Ban Ki-Moon made an unexpected visit to Mogadishu.

Mo Ibrahim Index: 7.9 (53/53)

Democracy Index: n/a

Press Freedom Index: 84 (not free)

Corruption Index: 1.1 (178/183) **Human Development Index:** 0.284

NMG Grade: 2/10

2010 grade: Morgue

2011 Grade:

Morgue

SAO TOME AND PRINCIPE

Name: Manuel Pinto da Costa

Title: President of the Democratic Republic of Sao Tome and Principe since August 2011

Personal history:

Pinto da Costa is an economist and politician served as the first President of São Tomé and Príncipe from 1975 to 1991. He ruled with an iron fist and observers warned that his return to power in 2011 could herald a slide towards authoritarianism.

Successes of the year:

Pinto da Costa returned to power after again being elected head of state by winning 52.8 per cent of a run-off poll in August.



Failures of the year:

There was been an uneasy political cohabitation between the new head of state and the administration of Prime Minister Patrice Trovoada, of the ruling party, Acção Democrática Independente. The main challenge for the government was managing the increase in foreign direct investment in the oil sector and rising inflows of donor aid.

Moment of the year:

São Tomé and Príncipe has two higher education institutes, but does not yet have its own public university. Funding higher education overseas for almost 1,000 students costs the government more than \$3m a year. The government was embarrassed when hundreds of Saotoméan students studying overseas had their funding frozen for six months.

Mo Ibrahim Index: 58.4 (12/53)

Democracy Index: n/a

Press Freedom Index: 29 (free)

Corruption Index: 3.0 (101/183)

Human Development Index: 0.509

NMG Grade: 7/10

2010 Grade: n/a

2011 Grade: *N/A*



SOUTH SUDAN

Name: Salva Kiir Mayardit

Title: President of the Republic of South Sudan

Personal history:

Kiir is a military man. He was part of the first Sudanese civil war in the late 1960s and joined the Sudan People's Liberation Movement in the second civil war where he eventually rose to head the Sudan People's Liberation Army. The former rebel commander has guided his homeland of South Sudan through multiple challenges since a 2005 peace deal

ended two decades of war with the north.

Successes of the year:

Celebrated Independence in February.

The oil ministry estimated that from July 9, 2011 to December 31, 2011, South Sudan sold 33.4 million barrels of oil to international buyers at an estimated value of \$3.2 billion, despite a deadlock in negotiations with the North on the industry.

An anti-dumping law forming a statutory regulatory body was established to fight counterfeits.

Failures of the year:

Persisting violence in the new state due to both border tension and internal rebel conflict. Most recently, South Sudan says provocations by Sudan, particularly the occupation of her border areas, were "too much" and that it has ordered its army to expel Sudan forces from

Jau area in the oil-rich Unity state. President Salva Kiir did take initiatives to normalise relations between the two countries with a visit to the North but relations remain tense.

Moment of the year:

In July the President Salva Kiir, told his war-weary citizens that the new nation, which was home to a conflict that claimed the highest number of civilian casualties since the Second World War, would now be a maker of peace and never a wager of war

Mo Ibrahim Index: n/a

Democracy Index: n/a

Press Freedom Index: n/a

Corruption Index: n/a

Human Development Index: n/a

NMG Grade: 6/10

2010 Grade: n/a

2011 Grade: *n/a*



SEYCHELLES

Name: James Alix Michel

Title: President of the Republic of Seychelles since April 14, 2004

Personal history:

A former teacher and army colonel, Michel became active in politics in 1974. He served alongside former president France-Albert René after he came to power in a bloodless coup in 1977 which secured the island's Independence. He served as the country's vice president from 1996 to 2004, and succeeded René as president.

Successes of the year:

Michel was peacefully re-elected in May this year with a promise to revamp the country's economy battered by the 2008 global

economic slump. He has delivered - extensive and continuing reform.

Failures of the year:

Piracy has been a real headache for Michel this year. It is estimated to have cost the nation \$17 million but that doesn't include the added cost of patrols within their territorial waters. Fisheries is a major sector and employer in Seychelles and pirate attacks on local and foreign fishing vessels are said to have cost at least \$4 million over the year.

Moment of the year:

In December Michel sent letters to world leaders telling them that there is a 'silver bullet' to put an end to the skyrocketing scourge of piracy, especially in the Indian Ocean. The president has urged the 25 world leaders and organisations such as the European Union, United Nations and NATO to act without delay with an intervention in Somalia.

Mo Ibrahim Index: 73.5

Democracy Index: n/a

Press Freedom Index: 56 (partly free)

Corruption Index: 4.8 (49/183)

Human Development Index: 0.773

NMG Grade: 9/10

2010 Grade: B

2011 Grade: *Incomplete*