

ART AT THE SEASIDE

Santa in tow, top exhibitions head for the Coast **Pg XIV**



The East African

MAZEMBE'S GOAL

Top African club hopes to rule the world soon **Pg XVI**



MAGAZINE

DECEMBER 27, 2010 - JANUARY 2, 2011

The African Presidents Index:

The good, the bad and the ugly

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special report

In Africa, it is still political leadership

The problems of corruption, violence, poverty and elections that make a mockery of democracy continue to be a monkey on Africa's back.

Increasingly, though, they are now becoming the lesser problem, not the primary one. There is now a new narrative, which no longer sounds overly optimistic — that Africa is on the course to being “the most happening” continent in the world.

In 2010, Africa's population surpassed one billion people — close on the heels of China and India. And something else — just over 40 per cent of Africans live in cities — a proportion close to China's and India's.

This is important because it is cities that drive modern economies. And, for good measure, statistics show that 59 million African households earn at least \$5,000 per year and that number is forecast to reach 106 million by 2014.

The world's richest corporations are booking a ringside seat at the Africa party. Walmart — America's and the world's largest supermarket chain — recently offered more than \$4 billion to buy a South African retail chain.

Coca-Cola has announced it will spend \$12 billion over the next 10 years to improve its production and sales network across the continent.

Increasingly, many people argue that Africa has one big problem to solve — leadership; especially political leadership. The Mo Ibrahim Foundation, thinking along the same lines, in 2007 launched its African Leadership

Prize. At \$5 million, it is the world's richest prize. The prize was to encourage good leadership and democracy, and was given to a just-retired leader to enable them keep their inspiring example alive through selected public projects.

After two awards, it ran out of candidates. Apart from the Mo Ibrahim Prize, there is no other significant effort to put the spotlight on African leaders. At Nation Media Group, we decided to offer some thought on this matter, and our Africa Project staffers **SAMANTHA SPOONER** and **JEFFREY DAVIS** spent the year tracking reports of the political actions of all of Africa's leaders and measuring them against the impact their governments had. The result is our first Annual African Leaders Scorecard.

It is a first stab, a throwing of the stone in the bush to see what comes out. We rely on various indexes; The Mo Ibrahim Index of African Governance; the Democracy Index; Freedom House's Press Freedom Index; Transparency International's Corruption Index; and the UN's Human Development Index.

We then developed a Nation Media Group (NMG) Index to complement the others we chose. The final score on which the political leaders are judged is an average of the scores from all these indexes.

This is, by no means, an iron-clad scientific approach, and should be considered as the beginning of an exploration and measurement of the continent's leaders that, we hope, we shall only be able to perfect in the years to come.

Our methodology for the Africa 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, the combined to produce a score out of 100. The best governors placed close to 100, and the worst closest to 0. The scorecard heavily rewards consistency.

If an Africa 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.

Leaders were assigned letter grades based on their score from 0 to 100, 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 places 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.

NMG Political Index

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

Mo Ibrahim Index – 15%	100-70: A
Democracy Index – 15%	70-60: B
Press Freedom Index – 15%	60-50: C
	50-45: D
Corruption Index – 15%	45-40: F
Human Development Index – 5%	40-30: ICU
NMG Political Index – 35%	30-0: MORGUE

10-9
= outstanding performance

8-7
= good performance

6-5-4
= average performance

3-2 = poor performance

1-0 = truly appalling performance

The good, the bad and the ugly...

COCONUT HEADS OF THE YEAR

They are the archetypal bad governors; autocrats who run their countries like personal fiefdoms. These bad dudes trash national economies, refuse to hold meaningful elections, spends oodles of money on defence while populations starve, tear up constitutional order, spirit public funds to offshore accounts, destroy the free press, and build up cults of personality.

- Andry Rajoelina, President of the High Transitional Authority of Madagascar.



- Idriss Déby, President of Chad.
- Omar Hassan Ahmad al-Bashir, President of Sudan.
- Yahya Jammeh, President of the Gambia (above).
- Faure Gnassingbé, President of Togo.
- Ismail Omar Guelleh, President of Djibouti.
- Isaias Afwerki, President of Eritrea.
- Paul Biya, President of Cameroon.

THE TRUE ECCENTRICS



A number of African leaders display behaviour that is bizarre in the

extreme. Colourful incidents from 2010 from these odd characters included: Declaring war on Switzerland, campaigning to be crowned king and buying towering Soviet-style monuments from North Korea. The following eccentrics top the list:

- Yahya Jammeh, President of the Gambia.
- Mswati III, King of Swaziland (pictured above), and
- Abdoulaye Wade, President of Senegal.
- Muammar Gaddafi, Brotherly Leader and Guide of the Revolution of Libya (left).

NEW KIDS ON THE BLOCK

These leaders took office in 2010. Two have recently emerged victorious from recent presidential elections, while the third was a vice-president who took the helm when his predecessor died. The fourth is not a politician but a general, who is trying to get his country on a democratic track after years of mismanagement.

- Alassane Dramane Ouattara, President Côte d'Ivoire (since December 2010).
- Lieutenant Gen-



- eral Djibo Salou, Chairman of the Supreme Council for the Restoration of Democracy of Niger (since February 18, 2010).
- Goodluck Jonathan (above), President of Nigeria (since May 5, 2010).
- Alpha Condé, President-elect of Guinea (yet to take office).

STARS OF WIKILEAKS

The unprecedented hemorrhaging of reams of highly-classified United States diplomatic cables has caused much embarrassment to Africa's leaders. Illegal shipments of tanks to Sudan, government involvement in drugs and weapons smuggling, swamps of corruption, fears of assassination, and the fact that Col. Gaddafi never travels without a buxom Ukrainian nurse are just a few of the highlights.

- Muammar Gadd-



- afi, leader of Libya.
- Ismail Omar Guelleh, President of Djibouti.
- Yoweri Museveni, President of Uganda (above).
- Mwai Kibaki, President of Kenya (above).

HOW THE LEADERS RANK

1	Sir Anerood Jugnauth	Mauritius	83.54	A+	28	Abdelaziz Bouteflika	Algeria	43.42	F
2	Pedro Pires	Cape Verde	78.91	A	29	Alpha Conde	Guinea	41.94	F
3	Ian Khama	Botswana	78.7	A	30	Mohamed Hosni Mubarak	Egypt	40.74	F-
4	John Atta Mills	Ghana	72.56	A	31	King Mswati III	Swaziland	40.05	F-
5	Hifikepunye Lucas Pohamba	Namibia	71.07	A-	32	Ahmed Abdallah Sambi	Comoros	36.97	ICU
6	Jacob Zuma	South Africa	69.93	B+	33	Mohamed Ould Abdelaziz	Mauritania	36.29	ICU
7	James Michel	Seychelles	66.4	B	34	Blaise Compaore	Burkina Faso	35.7	ICU
8	Amadou Toumani Touré	Mali	64.4	B	35	Ali Ben Bongo Ondimba	Gabon	34.28	ICU
9	Ernest Bai Koroma	Sierra Leone	61.89	B	36	Denis Sassou Nguesso	Congo	33.43	ICU
10	Jakaya Mrisho Kikwete	Tanzania	60.39	B-	37	Faure Gnassingbe	Togo	33.38	ICU
11	Ellen Johnson-Sirleaf	Liberia	60.32	B-	38	Malam Bacai Sanha	Guinea Bissau	32.84	ICU
12	Rupiah Banda	Zambia	59.59	C+	39	Meles Zenawi Asres	Ethiopia	32.68	ICU
13	King Mohammed VI	Morocco	54.84	C	40	Yahya Jammeh	Gambia	32.48	ICU
14	Bethuel Pakalitha Mosisili	Lesotho	54.5	C	41	Ismail Omar Guelleh	Djibouti	31.53	ICU
15	Thomas Yayi Boni	Benin	53.91	C	42	Joseph Kabila Kabange	Drc	30.18	ICU
16	Mwai Kibaki	Kenya	53.43	C	43	José Eduardo dos Santos	Angola	30.17	ICU
17	Bingu wa Mutharika	Malawi	53.04	C	44	Paul Biya	Cameroon	29.52	Morgue
18	Abdoulaye Wade	Senegal	51.68	C-	45	Andry Rajoelina	Madagascar	29.31	Morgue
19	Paul Kagame	Rwanda	51.31	C-	46	François Bozizé Yangouvonda	CAR	28.22	Morgue
20	Yoweri Museveni	Uganda	49.91	D+	47	Robert Gabriel Mugabe	Zimbabwe	22.62	Morgue
21	Alassane Ouattara	Cote D'ivoire	49.69	D+	48	Sheikh Sharif Sheikh Ahmed	Somalia	22.41	Morgue
22	Armando Guebuza	Mozambique	49.35	D+	49	Idriss Déby Itno	Chad	20.81	Morgue
23	Zine El Abidine Ben Ali	Tunisia	49.01	D	50	Teodoro Obiang Nguema Mbasogo	Equatorial Guinea	20.72	Morgue
24	Salou Djibo	Niger	48.55	D	51	Omar al-Bashir	Sudan	15.67	Morgue
25	Goodluck Jonathan	Nigeria	46.06	D-	52	Isaias Afwerki	Eritrea	12.14	Morgue
26	Pierre Nkurunziza	Burundi	45.2	D-					
27	Omar Ghaddafi	Libya	44.64	F+					

GOVERNANCE:
THE A-LISTERS

These leaders respect democratic process, stimulate business growth, undertake effective development programmes to lift their populations out of poverty and refrain from provocative or warlike actions.

These outstanding few tend to be brilliantly educated, have the sterling credentials one would expect of world leaders, and can use diplomatic charm to secure bigger foreign aid donations:



- Ernest Bai Koroma, President of Sierra Leone.
- Paul Kagame, President of Rwanda (above).
- Navinchandra Ramgoolam, Prime Minister of Mauritius.
- James Alix Michel, President of Seychelles.
- Pedro Verona Rodrigues Pires, President of Cape Verde.
- Seretse Khama Ian Khama, President of Botswana.

LONG-REIGNING TYRANTS

These megalomaniacs have kept their countries locked in governance chokeholds for years, and in some cases for longer than four decades. They have hijacked the destinies of their nations, sucking up all political oxygen and monopolising political space. They tend to grow increasingly eccentric and paranoid as their reigns stretch on. Preferred is an almost royalist-style of governance, reminiscent of French King Louis XIV's famous remark: "état, c'est moi") there is much blood on these hands, which often took power through coups, wars or murders.

- Teodoro Obiang, President of Equatorial Guinea since 1979.
- José Eduardo dos Santos, President of Angola since 1979.
- Hosni Mubarak, President of Egypt since 1982.
- Paul Biya, President of Cameroon since 1982.
- Yoweri Museveni, President of Uganda since 1986.
- Robert Gabriel Mugabe, President of Zimbabwe since 1987.
- Blaise Compaore, President of Burkina Faso since 1987.
- Omar al-Bashir, President of Sudan since 1993.
- Isaias Afwerki, President of Eritrea since 1993.
- Meles Zenawi, Prime Minister of Ethiopia since 1995.
- Muammar Gaddafi, leader of Libya since 1969.

THE ILL-GOTTEN GOODS GANG

Anti-corruption NGO Transparency International is hot on the heels of African leaders who have embezzled state funds and stashed them in France. Included in their vast assets are stuffed bank accounts, million-dollar properties and fleets of luxury cars.

But these crooks may not keep these assets for long, as France's top appeals court has authorised an inquiry into their ill-gotten goods.



- The late Omar Bongo, former president of the Gabon (father of Gabon's current president).
- Teodoro Obiang, President of Equatorial Guinea.
- Denis Sassou Nguesso, President of the Republic of Congo.
- Paul Biya, President of the Republic of Cameroon (above).

DADDY'S BOYS

Perhaps the truest testament to a total lack of democracy is when a son or nephew, groomed since birth as a princely successor inherits leadership from an ailing or dead father.

While succession is not surprising among the few remaining kings, it is deeply unsettling that this has caught on with some of the continent's more vicious dictators. Here are some dictatorships that have become dynasties, or are likely to soon:

- Ali Ben Bongo Ondimba, President of Gabon.
- Faure Gnassingbe,



- President of Togo.
- Teodoro Obiang, President of Equatorial Guinea (above).
- Joseph Kabila, President of the Democratic Republic of Congo.
- Ismail Omar Guelleh, President of Djibouti.
- Mohammed VI, King of Morocco.
- Mswati III, King of Swaziland.



1

Navinchandra Ramgoolam

Prime Minister of the Republic of Mauritius (since July 5, 2005).

Political background:

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 outcampaigning Mauritian Militant Movement leader Paul Berenger.

Successes in 2010:

Ramgoolam secured a majority government in the 2010 Mauritian general elections after a closely fought race.

The polls were deemed to have been "free and transparent" by international observers. Mauritius, ranked first on the Mo Ibrahim Index, has a lot to be proud of. It is one of the few highly-developed countries in Africa, and appears to be staying on the right track under Ramgoolam.

Failures this year:

Mauritians were alarmed to learn that 123 fatal car accidents occurred this

year on the otherwise peaceful archipelago.

Moment of the year:

Being invited to speak at the Mo Ibrahim Forum, after his country was named the best governed country in Africa. Mauritius has topped the list every year since it was launched.

Indices

Mo Ibrahim Index: Score = 83.0, Rank = 1

Democracy Index: Score = 8.04, Rank = 26 (Full democracy, Parliamentary republic, Parliamentary democracy)

Press Freedom Index: Score = 18.00, Rank = 65

Corruption Index: Score = 5.4, Rank = 39

Human Development Index: Score = 0.701, Rank = 72 (High human development)

NMG index: 10/10

Final Grade: 83.54

A+

Pedro Verona Rodrigues Pires

President of the Republic of Cape Verde (since March 22, 2001).

Political background:

Pedro Pires is a towering figure in Cape Verdean politics, and has been since the country gained Independence from Portugal in 1975. He was a revolutionary in his younger days and a key military commander in the African Party for Independence of Guinea and Cape Verde. Was the first Prime Minister of Independent Cape Verde, serving from 1975 to 1990. Remained active in politics, finally retaking power in 2001 in a showdown with longtime rival Carlos Veiga.

Successes in 2010:

Cape Verde is one of a handful of African countries that is on track to meet the UN's Millennium Development Goals. The United Nations says excellent progress is being made in the areas of poverty eradication, health, education and gender. **Failures this year:**

One is hard pressed to find any missteps by President Pires. He is attract-

ing foreign aid and investment, and maintaining peace and order in his realm.

Moment of the year:

Under President Pires' watch, Cape Verde inaugurated the Centre for Renewable Energy and Energy Efficiency. An agency of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), the policy and technology centre is based in Praia, the capital of Cape Verde. With a budget of \$150 million, the centre will focus particularly on how to improve power supply to poor West Africans.

Indices

Mo Ibrahim Index: Score = 75.5, Rank = 4

Democracy Index: Score = 7.81, Rank = 34 (Flawed democracy, Republic)

Press Freedom Index: Score = 8.00, Rank = 26

Corruption Index: Score = 5.1, Rank = 45

Human Development Index: Score = 0.534, Rank = 118 (Medium human development)

NMG Index: 9/10

Final Grade: 78.91

A



2

Seretse Ian Khama

President of the Republic of Botswana (since 2008).

Political background:

A former army commander and the son of Botswana first's president, Ian Khama ascended fast 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 this year:

Africa's democratic darling, President Khama has been taking deliberate steps to improve foreign relations as he visited Japan and Cuba this year. He also hosted Chinese Vice-President Xi Jinping. The highlights of the visit included the signing of the agreement on Economic and Technical Co-operation, which offers Botswana a grant of \$6 million for development projects.

Though Botswana's Aids epidemic is severe, this year Khama has overseen huge progress due to antiretroviral programmes. The 152,598 Botswanans receiving antiretroviral therapy represent 92.5 per cent of those needing the drugs.

Failures this year:

For the third consecutive year in a row, Khama failed to attend the United Nations General Assembly. Khama's government has come under criticism by international rights groups for the relocation of the Kalahari Bushmen from

the Central Kalahari Game Reserve (CKGR). It is said that the San people have been forcibly kicked-out of the CKGR to pave the way for commercial activities, especially mining.

Moment of the year:

At a Botswana Democratic Republic rally, former Cabinet minister Kebablamang Morake set the tone of what would dominate the proceedings when at the podium he shouted: "Naledi Khama rapela ngwana wa ga kgaitradio wa kgosi a nyale..." (Naledi Khama, please could you plead with your brother's son, who is also our chief, to marry). President Khama would later tell the rally: "For your information, I want a woman who is tall, slim and good looking", not a huge one, as many Batswana tend to be, as such a woman could break the bed.

Indices

Mo Ibrahim Index: Score = 75.9, Rank = 3

Democracy Index: Score = 7.47, Rank = 39 (Flawed democracy, Parliamentary republic, Unicameralism)

Press Freedom Index: Score = 17.50, Rank = 62

Corruption Index: Score = 5.8, Rank = 33

Human Development Index: Score = 0.694, Rank = 125 (Medium Human Development)

NMG Index: 9/10

Final Grade: 78.70

A



3

John Evans Atta Mills

President of the Republic of Ghana (since January 7, 2009)

Political background:

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 this year:

Mills will proudly watch this December as the black gold starts pumping and Ghana takes its place amongst the petrol-exporting countries of the world.

Large finds at the Jubilee offshore oilfield since 2007 have now put Ghana's total reserves at 1.5 billion barrels, and possibly more. Mills has ushered the development of this sector along, and will likely reap political rewards once royalty money begins to flow in.

Failures this year:

President Mills struggled with the recent but sharp increase in armed robberies and roadside banditry in the country. He pledged to rid the

country of such violence during his campaign two years ago.

Moment of the year:

Many were surprised when Mills was publicly derided as "wicked" and "callous" by a senior ranking member of his own party, the outspoken Dr Ekwow Spio-Garbrah. The former ambassador to the United States was outraged that President Mills had not given a new home to former president Jerry Rawlings, whose home burned down in a Valentine's Day blaze.

Indices

Mo Ibrahim Index: Score = 64.6, Rank = 7

Democracy Index: Score = 5.35, Rank = 94 (Hybrid regime, Presidential system, Constitutional republic)

Press Freedom Index: Score = 8.00, Rank = 26

Corruption Index: Score = 4.1, Rank = 62

Human Development Index: Score = 0.467, Rank = 130 (Low human development)

NMG Index: 9/10

Final Grade: 72.56

A



4



Hifikepunye Lucas Pohamba

President of the Republic of Namibia (since 2004).

Political background:

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

Successes in 2010:

Pohamba took over the chairmanship of the Southern African Development Community (SADC) from President Joseph Kabila of the Democratic Republic of

Congo.

He was awarded the 2010 FANRPAN Food Security Policy Leadership Award (Food, Agriculture and Natural Resources Policy Analysis Network) for creating responsible fisheries policies in Namibia. It was a double celebration as Pohamba was inaugurated this year for his second term. The event was in conjunction with celebrations marking the country's 20th anniversary

Failures this year:

A new communications law passed in July raised concerns about privacy rights, and media harassment continued throughout the year.

Moment of the year:

This year, Kazenambo Kazenambo, the outspoken

Minister for Youth and Sports, proposed that prostitution should be legalised. At the same time, President Pohamba was calling upon the entire nation to pray for divine intervention to save Namibia from decaying moral values.

Indices

Mo Ibrahim Index: Score = 67.3, Rank = 6
Democracy Index: Score = 6.48, Rank = 64 (Flawed democracy, Republic)
Press Freedom Index: Score = 7.00, Rank = 21
Corruption Index: Score = 4.4, Rank = 56
Human Development Index: Score = 0.686, Rank = 128 (Medium human development)

NMG Index: 8/10
Final Grade: 71.07

A-



5

Jacob Gedleyihlekisa Zuma

President of the Republic of South Africa (since 2009).

Political background:

A shrewd political operator, and sterling intelligence officer for the Africa National Congress during the struggle, Zuma has had no formal schooling, 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 in 2010:

Zuma became a father for the 22nd time this year.

After huge scrutiny for taking more than the legal time to do so, Zuma finally declared his assets this year. The president is meant to do so within 60 days of taking office. Zuma took nine months.

By far, though, Zuma gets many feathers in his cap for South Africa staging one of the most successful World Cups ever.

Failures this year

There have been alleged abuses by Zuma's bodyguards who were implicated in multiple incidents involving members of the public and journalists.

Zuma's personal life has greatly overshadowed his professional one. It emerged that Zuma fathered a "love child" with the daughter of a family friend, and he continues amassing wives.

He also supported a law that, critics argue, curbs press

freedom and had to confront angry union protestors for weeks.

Moment of the year

Zuma staying in Buckingham Palace with Thobeka Stacey Madiba, his latest bride and fifth wife, whom he married in January.

Indices

Mo Ibrahim Index: Score = 71.5, Rank = 5
Democracy Index: Score = 7.91, Rank = 31 (Flawed democracy, Constitutional democracy, Bicameralism)
Press Freedom Index: Score = 12.00, Rank = 38
Corruption Index: Score = 4.5, Rank = 54
Human Development Index: Score = 0.597, Rank = 110 (Medium human development)

NMG Index: 7/10

Final Grade: 69.93

B+



6



James Alix Michel

President of the Republic of Seychelles (since April 14, 2004).

Political background:

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 Mr René as president.

Successes in 2010:

He inaugurated the University of Seychelles in November, alongside the guest of honour, Britain's Princess Anne, Chancellor of the University of London.

Launching a university to serve the island's 85,000 residents was a dream of President Michel, and he was named the academy's first chancellor.

Two Indian firms have announced they will begin exploring for oil off Seychelles in 2012. Also, Seychelles broke its tourism record this year, surpassing 161,274 visitors.

Failures this year

With only 85,000 residents, the Seychelles has a rather puny navy of only nine ships.

This has been far from sufficient to protect the island from attacks and harassment by the pirates of the Indian Ocean. The tourism and fishing sectors have been seriously affected, and the Seychelles must move quickly.

Moment of the year

President Michel was deemed "A man of the people" in a gushing profile article published in Seychelles Elite, a glossy magazine influential on the island. However, the inauguration of the University of Seychelles is still the crowning moment for 2010.

Indices

Mo Ibrahim Index: Score = 78.5, Rank = 2
Democracy Index: Not listed
Press Freedom Index: Score = 18.00, Rank = 65
Corruption Index: Score = 4.8, Rank = 49
Human Development Index: Score = 0.845, Rank = 57 (High human development)

NMG index: 10/10
Final Grade: 66.40

B



7



Amadou Toumani Touré

President of the Republic of Mali (since June 8, 2002)

Political background: 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 hold 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.

Successes in 2010: In years past, Mali was considered the weak link in the fight against terror in the region, being accused of weak action by Algeria and Mauritania. Now, however, it appears Mali is doing its part. Touré announced recently that a joint command which includes Malian, Mauritanian, Nigerien and Algerian officers has been formed to combat Islamic extremists in the region.

Besides terrorists and kidnappers, Touré is also putting in a decent effort to fight the Aids epidemic, and recently represented Africa at a meeting of the World Fund Against Aids in New York.

Failures this year: While it appears Touré is a committed ally in the fight against Al-Qaeda, the proficiency of his armed forces is questionable. Earlier this year Mauritanian troops staged a raid in Malian territory. Touré's troops have been unable to locate five French hostages currently being held by Al-Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb in northwestern Mali. As a result, no rescue operation can be launched.

Wikileaks cables revealed Algeria's scathing critique of

Malian security officials who "have alerted insurgents that their cell phone calls were being monitored and leaked sensitive intelligence." Algeria called the country "a favourable business environment for terrorists."

Moment of the year: President Touré laid the foundation stone of a monument at Kouroukanfouga to help his nation recall a distant past when Mali was the centre of a great empire. Signed in 1236, the Charter of Kouroukanfouga cemented together the Empire of Mali, laid down a constitution and laws, and is considered by some historians as the first constitution in Africa.

Indices

Mo Ibrahim Index: Score = 52.9, Rank = 19
Democracy Index: Score = 5.87, Rank = 83 (Hybrid regime Semi-presidential system)
Press Freedom Index: Score = 8.00, Rank = 26
Corruption Index: Score = 2.7, Rank = 116
Human Development Index: Score = 0.309, Rank = 160 (Low human development)

NMG Index: 8/10
Final Grade: 64.40

B



9

Ernest Bai Koroma

President of the Republic of Sierra Leone (since September 17, 2007)

Political background:

Came to power in 2007 in elections considered free and

fair, and is considered among the most effective presidents in Africa.

Successes in 2010: President Koroma has been as successful managing Sierra Leone's international relations as he has been with its internal affairs. He has convinced the United Kingdom to boost bilateral aid by a further 50 million pounds sterling in 2010. His focus on agricultural development is bearing fruit, and donors are gushing at the results.

The UN Development Programme gave him an award this year, saying: "This award is for President Koroma who has given everything to ensure that there is sufficient food for the farmers who are doing the hard job."

Failures this year: Despite his efforts to crack down on corruption, Koroma has still allowed a few rats into his Cabinet. Transportation and Aviation Minister Ibrahim Kemoh Sesay was sacked for involvement in a cocaine trafficking ring in August. Wikileaks documents have alleged that Mr Sesay's

juicy campaign contributions may have helped him secure the ministerial post, which he reportedly used to further his drugs business.

Moment of the year:

President Koroma got very public kudos from Barack Obama in September, during the US President's address to the United Nations General Assembly. Sierra Leone was held up as an example of good governance in the global South.

Indices

Mo Ibrahim Index: Score = 46.0, Rank = 32
Democracy Index: Score = 4.11, Rank = 112 (Hybrid regime, Constitutional republic)
Press Freedom Index: Score = 24.25, Rank = 91
Corruption Index: Score = 2.4, Rank = 134
Human Development Index: Score = 0.317, Rank = 158 (Low human development)

NMG Index: 9/10
Final Grade: 61.89

B

Jakaya Kikwete

President of United Republic of Tanzania (since December 21, 2005).

Political background: A 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 by mediating between competing factions.

Successes in 2010: Upon taking office after winning recent elections, President Kikwete promised to overhaul Tanzania's student loans programme to increase access to higher education. He has also pushed for major investments in agricultural technology in the

East African region. Speaking to regional leaders, he has urged investment in irrigation technologies that can boost output and limit dependence on rainfall to grow crops.

Failures this year: Kikwete was undermined by the October election fiasco that was rigged by his ruling CCM, forcing the opposition to hand out its most emphatic rejection of a Tanzanian election outcome in a long time. They also embarrassed Kikwete further by staging a rare walk out in Parliament on its opening as soon as he entered the chamber.

Despite his apparent best efforts, Kikwete has yet to find a viable solution to the killing of albinos. Albinos are often ritually killed in Tanzania and their body parts used by witchdoctors as part of medicines, enchantments and curses. The president tried to halt the practice in 2009 by revoking the licences of all

traditional healers with immediate effect, but the killings continue. The issue tarnishes Tanzania's image.

Moment of the year: Winning a second term in the October presidential elections, and securing his leadership till 2015. The opposition alleged fraud, however, and Kikwete emerged with a weakened mandate that may make things more difficult for him in his second and final term.

Indices

Mo Ibrahim Index: Score = 55.0, Rank = 16
Democracy Index: Score = 5.28, Rank = 96 (Hybrid regime, Republic)
Press Freedom Index: Score = 13.00, Rank = 41
Corruption Index: Score = 2.7, Rank = 116
Human Development Index: Score = 0.398, Rank = 148 (Low human development)
NMG index: 7/10
Final Grade: 60.39



10



11

**Ellen Johnson-Sirleaf**

President of the Republic of Liberia (since January 16, 2006).

Political background:

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. Has pledged to crack down on corruption.

Successes in 2010:

Johnson-Sirleaf was the darling of the Western media this year. She was named one of the top 10 female leaders by Time magazine, dubbed "The Rebuilder" in News-

week's list of outstanding leaders, and deemed "the best president the country has ever had" by The Economist. Her programme to reward anti-graft whistleblowers with five per cent of stolen government funds recovered has been effective, and Transparency International reports improvements in corruption in the country. In November, a group of single, professional women and girls formed the "Ellen Girls' Brigade." A grassroots organisation, the brigade will support "Mama Liberia" in her run for re-election in 2011.

Failures this year

The fact that some 12,000 Liberian students failed the standardised West African Examinations alerted many to the continuing brain drain in Liberia.

Moment of the year

Living up to her moniker, President Johnson-Sirleaf abruptly dismissed her entire Cabinet in November. She said she needed a "clean slate" to push ahead with her anti-corruption agenda.

Indices

Mo Ibrahim Index: Score = 43.2, Rank = 38
Democracy Index: Score = 5.25, Rank = 98 (Hybrid regime, Presidential Republic)
Press Freedom Index: Score = 22.50, Rank = 84
Corruption Index: Score = 3.3, Rank = 87
Human Development Index: Score = 0.300, Rank = 162 (Low human development)
NMG Index: 8/10
Final Grade: 60.32

B-

Rupiah Bwezani Banda

President of the Republic of Zambia (since 2008).

Political background:

Banda has a history of holding important diplomatic posts, including ambassador to the United States, and was appointed vice-president by president Levy Mwanawasa in October 2006. When Mwanawasa died in 2008, Banda became president and narrowly won re-election in 2008 as the candidate of the governing Movement for Multiparty Democracy (MMD).

Successes in 2010:

On World Aids Day, Banda announced that 90 per cent of infected Zambians were able to obtain Aids treatment.

He was applauded by the international community and

UNHCR for allowing Angolan refugees, who wished to stay in Zambia, to live there permanently. Zambia's mining sector has been boosted by sound measures and policies implemented by Banda's government.

Failures this year:

Despite being applauded by the international community, Mr Banda has faced staunch criticism at home. He has come in for criticism for high unemployment rates in the country, taking excessive foreign trips and not doing enough to prevent catastrophes during the worst floods the country has had in 40 years.

Moment of the year

Banda declared that governments that co-operate

with Zambia should not "blackmail" his government by withholding donor support as a way of forcing it to resolve challenges faced in various sectors of the economy.

Indices

Mo Ibrahim Index: Score = 54.9, Rank = 17
Democracy Index: Score = 5.25, Rank = 97 (Hybrid Regime, Republic)
Press Freedom Index: Score = 22.0, Rank = 82
Corruption Index: Score = 3.0, Rank = 101
Human Development Index: Score = 0.395, Rank = 150 (Low human development)
NMG Index: 7/10
Final Grade: 59.59

C+

12



13

**Mohammed VI**

King of the Kingdom of Morocco (since July 30 1999).

Political background:

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 in 2010

The World Bank tipped Morocco to be on track to

exceed the targets for water and sanitation services under the Millennium Development Goals, thanks to greater public spending on water supply and sanitation infrastructure.

Failures this year

At least four people were killed and 70 injured as Moroccan forces stormed a refugee camp in the disputed region of Western Sahara. According to a leaked report from American diplomats, Morocco's royal family is using the institutions of the state to "coerce and solicit bribes" in the country's lucrative real estate sector.

Human Rights Watch has charged that Moroccan police have instituted a pattern of abuse under the country's anti-terrorism law, notably by way of detentions carried out by the intelligence service.

Moment of the year:

The King's 10th Marrakech Film Festival was a truly star-studded event with the likes of John Malkovich, Keanu Reeves, Martin Scorsese, Francis Ford Coppola and James Caan in attendance.

Indices

Mo Ibrahim Index: Score = 56.6, Rank = 13
Democracy Index: Score = 3.88, Rank = 120 (Authoritarian regime, Constitutional monarchy)
Press Freedom Index: Score = 47.40, Rank = 135
Corruption Index: Score = 3.4, Rank = 85
Human Development Index: Score = 0.567, Rank = 114 (Medium human development)
NMG index: 7/10
Final Grade: 54.84

C

Bethuel Pakalitha Mosisili

Prime Minister of the Kingdom of Lesotho (since 1998).

Political background: 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 in 2010: His dedication to the fight against the pandemic in Lesotho is demonstrated by the focus on education for prevention. He was commended by Unicef's Executive Director, Ann M. Veneman, this year.

Failures this year: In 2005, Mosisili obtained a grant of approximately \$8.7 million from the Chinese to construct Lesotho's new parliament. Work started in 2007, with a planned inauguration in July 2009, but this was postponed to this year and has now once again been delayed. One of the fundamental issues was the poor supply of water and electricity — which had been the responsibility of the government.

Moment of the year: Lesotho's King Letsie III and Prime Minister Pakalitha Mosisili led the nation in a peace march in the capital Maseru, marking the African Union's declaration of 2010 as a year of peace, stability and security.

Indices: Mo Ibrahim Index: Score = 60.1, Rank = 10
Democracy Index: Score = 6.29, Rank = 71 (Flawed democracy, Constitutional monarchy, Parliamentary system)



14



Press Freedom Index: Score = 24, Rank = 90
Corruption Index: Score = 3.5, Rank = 78
Human Development Index: Score = 0.514, Rank = 156 (Medium human development)
NMG Index: 5/10
Final Grade: 54.50

C



15



Thomas Yayi Boni

President of the Republic of Benin (since April 6, 2006). **Political background:** An international banker who holds a Phd in economics, Boni was a high officer in the Central Bank of the States of West Africa before working on the staff of former Beninese president Nicéphore 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 in 2010: Boni saw Benin through its worst floods since 1963, which left almost 700,000 homeless and provoked a deadly cholera outbreak. In the aftermath of the disaster, he sought and co-ordinated international aid. He secured aid from unusual sources like Iran.

Failures this year: He narrowly survived calls for his resignation, after more than 130,000 Beninese lost their savings in a Ponzi scheme. He had publicly endorsed the illegally-run investment fund on TV and radio, appearing side-by-side with its operators to encourage people to invest. Yayi sacked his interior minister and an appeals court prosecutor over the case. Forty-eight opposition MPs petitioned for the president to be indicted for his involvement, but the speaker of parliament intervened to quash any action against Mr Boni.

Moment of the year: Benin led the charge in November to weaken international protections for homosexuals, proposing an amendment to a United Nations resolution on extrajudicial, summary or arbitrary executions. Reference to gays was removed, after a UN vote which passed with strong African backing. Benin was slammed afterwards by gay rights groups for endangering the safety of homosexuals around the world.

Indices: Mo Ibrahim Index: Score = 56.6, Rank = 12
Democracy Index: Score = 6.06, Rank = 80 (Flawed democracy, Republic)
Press Freedom Index: Score = 19.00, Rank = 70
Corruption Index: Score = 2.8, Rank = 110
Human Development Index: Score = 0.435, Rank = 234 (Low human development)

NMG Index: 5/10
Final Grade: 53.91

C



18

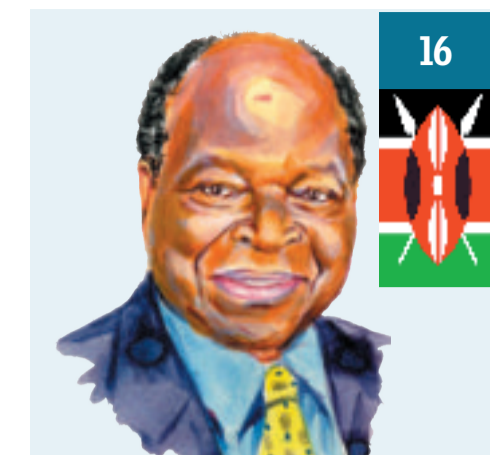


Abdoulaye Wade

President of the Republic of Senegal (since April 1, 2000).

Political background:

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.



16



Mwai Kibaki

President and Commander in Chief of the Armed Forces of the Republic of Kenya (since December 30, 2002).

Political background: 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, robbing rival Raila Odinga of the presidency. The flawed elections caused the country to erupt in paroxysms of ethnic violence, which ended when a power-sharing deal was struck. **Successes in 2010:** Wrote his name indelibly into Kenya's history books by midwifing a progressive and long-awaited new Constitution. The Constitutional implementation process continues, and the degree to which Kibaki can deliver on the euphoric high hopes for the new Constitution will do much to determine this legacy.

His government also started some of the most ambitious refurbishment of urban roads in Africa, and Nairobi will soon have several flyovers.

Failures this year: Mr Kibaki has failed to rein in the rampant and widespread corruption that is crippling Kenya's economic and political development. Many ministers and officials have been caught with their hands in the cookie jar, but have not been punished, perpetuating

a culture of impunity. The United States has said a number of "drug barons" are included in the Kenyan public service and government, but the Kenyan government has taken no apparent action yet.

Piracy is on the increase in Kenya's coastal waters and is having severe effects on the country's economy and security. Nevertheless, Kibaki decided to stop accepting, trying and jailing pirates in Kenya. It is debatable whether that was a bad or good thing. However, the effect is that it weakened global counter-piracy efforts and angered some of Kenya's international partners.

Moment of the year: Hoisting the new Constitution triumphantly into the air on Promulgation Day, after it had been given the official stamp.

Indices

Mo Ibrahim Index: Score = 50.5, Rank = 26
Democracy Index: Score = 4.79, Rank = 103 (Hybrid regime, Presidential system)
Press Freedom Index: Score = 19.00, Rank = 70
Corruption Index: Score = 2.1, Rank = 154
Human Development Index: Score = 0.398, Rank = 148 (Low human development)
NMG index: 6/10
Final Grade: 53.43

C

Bingu wa Mutharika (Born Ryson Webster Thom)

President of the Republic of Malawi (since 2004).

Political background: 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 multi-party elections in 1994, and also founded his own Democratic Progressive Party after a falling out with former president Bakili Muluzi. He ran unsuccessfully for office in 1999 but was finally successful in 2004. **Successes in 2010:** On January 31, 2010 Mutharika replaced Muammar al-Gaddafi as chair of the African Union.

Malawi has moved from being a food aid recipient, to becoming a maize donor to countries in need, and sells its surplus on world markets.

Failures this year: The government came under criticism from Malawi's Catholic bishops who urged it not to use its numerical parliamentary strength to suppress minority views.

Mutharika had to open Malawi's waterway linking inland Malawi to the Indian Ocean without the arrival of the important barges. The port is due to improve trading with the landlocked country. But the waterway's maiden voyage was delayed after Mozambican authorities impounded a barge that was due to make the trial journey.

Moment of the year:

Not one to shy away from luxury, the 76-year-old president became engaged to former tourism minister Callista Chimombo, planning a \$3.1 million wedding at the Civo Stadium in Lilongwe. The ceremony was attended by 3,500 guests and two roads were built within 60 days in time for the wedding so that the president and his guests could travel between his £50m home and the venue in comfort.

Indices

Mo Ibrahim Index: Score = 51.7, Rank = 22
Democracy Index: Score = 5.13, Rank = 99 (Hybrid regime, Republic)
Press Freedom Index: Score = 21, Rank = 79



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Corruption Index: Score = 3.4, Rank = 85
Human Development Index: Score = 0.493, Rank = 160 (Medium human development)

NMG Index: 5/10
Final Grade: 53.04

C



19



Paul Kagame

President of the Republic of Rwanda (since April 22, 2000).

Political background: 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 in 2010: Kagame has just won a new seven-year term in a landslide poll, in a race with no serious rival. International election observers said the election was devoid of "critical opposition voices," noting that the three other candidates were linked to Kagame's coalition. That aside, Rwanda has emerged as the regional leader in business and economic growth.

Failures this year: Some of the skeletons in Kagame's closet came back to haunt him this year. He was named in a leaked report by the UN High Commissioner for Human Rights on crimes committed by various forces in the Democratic Republic of Congo between 1993 and 2003. The

incident caused Kagame much embarrassment, and major diplomatic waves in the region. Kagame's government termed the accusations — believed by many in the international community — "insane."

President Kagame is the darling of the international press. Fortune magazine published an article recently titled "Why CEOs Love Rwanda," and Kagame was named the "world's top reformer" in the World Bank's Doing Business Report 2010.

Influential CNN luminary Fareed Zakaria also praised Kagame, saying "the biggest success story out of the continent is Rwanda."

Indices

Mo Ibrahim Index: Score = 47.2, Rank = 31
Democracy Index: Score = 3.71, Rank = 121 (Authoritarian regime, Republic)
Press Freedom Index: Score = 81.00, Rank = 169
Corruption Index: Score = 4.0, Rank = 66
Human Development Index: Score = 0.385, Rank = 152 (Low human development)
NMG index: 8/10
Final Grade: 51.31

C-

Successes in 2010: President Wade made a compassionate gesture in the aftermath of the Haiti earthquake, inviting all Haitians who wanted to return to Africa to make a new home in Senegal. He promised parcels of land, education and even a whole region for Haitians if they chose to come en masse. In October, 160 Haitian students arrived. "Your ancestors left here through the gate of no return," Wade said. "(Now) you are coming back to Africa, as free men, to come and study."

Failures this year: The unveiling of President Wade's grandiose prestige project titled the

African Renaissance Monument sparked public outrage. Built by North Koreans at a cost of \$27 million, the bronze statue is the tallest on the continent. Depicting a half-clad family, it has been criticised as unIslamic and extravagantly expensive. Controversially, Wade claims he is entitled to 35 per cent of all revenues from tourists' visits because the monument is his intellectual property.

Moment of the year: Wade shocked and offended Christians, who make up about five per cent of Senegalese, when he publicly denied the divinity of Jesus Christ this year.

The comment provoked the ire of the Catholic Church, and Wade apologised.

Indices

Mo Ibrahim Index: Score = 56.3, Rank = 14
Democracy Index: Score = 5.37, Rank = 93 (Hybrid regime Semi-presidential system)
Press Freedom Index: Score = 25.00, Rank = 93
Corruption Index: Score = 2.9, Rank = 105
Human Development Index: Score = 0.411, Rank = 144 (Low human development)

NMG Index: 5/10
Final Grade: 51.68

C-

Yoweri Kaguta Museveni

President of Uganda (since seizing power on January 26, 1986).

Political background: Long-time ruler and veteran guerilla commander. Began his career as an intelligence officer in 1970, but soon became a guerrilla fighter, warring 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. An early reformist who turned the once-war wracked country around, he got deeply involved in the First

and Second Congo Wars.

Successes in 2010: Of late, President Museveni has pledged some \$389 million to upgrade Uganda's roads network. He's also promised to eradicate poverty in the country by 2020. The President also recorded a minor diplomatic coup by visiting Somalia to lend support to the Transitional Federal Government, making him the first foreign leader to visit the country since 2007.

Failures this year: Corruption remains a major problem and the World Bank asked him to fire or discipline officials for siphoning off funds. Uganda received aid donations from the 2007 Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting, but much of the money has been embezzled, the Ugandan parliament found. The British government has announced it will slash



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aid donations by over \$115 million because senior ministers responsible have not been held to account. Arrest and torture of critics, journalists and opponents remains widespread.

Moment of the year: Grabbing the attention of young voters in the run up to next year's elections with his club-banging and wildly popular music single: 'Do you want another rap?'. "It's good to rap and I am a rapper these days, but that's entertainment," said Museveni.

Indices

Mo Ibrahim Index: Score = 50.8, Rank = 24
Democracy Index: Score = 5.03, Rank = 101 (Presidential system, Republic)
Press Freedom Index: Score = 25.50, Rank = 96
Corruption Index: Score = 2.5, Rank = 127
Human Development Index: Score = 0.422, Rank = 143 (Low human development)
NMG index: 5/10
Final Grade: 49.91

D+



21

Alassane Dramane Ouattara

President of the Republic of Côte d'Ivoire (since December 2010).

Political background: Incoming President Ouattara has for decades been a major player in international financial institutions.

Successes this year: On December 2, Ivory Coast's Independent Electoral Commission declared Ouattara won the second round of voting.

Failures this year: Laurent Gbagbo refuses to go!

Indices: Mo Ibrahim Index: Score = 6.8, Rank = 44

Democracy Index: Score = 3.27, Rank = 134 (Authoritarian regime, Semi-presidential system)
Press Freedom Index: Score = 36.00, Rank = 118
Corruption Index: Score = 2.2, Rank = 146

Human Development Index: Score = 0.397, Rank = 149 (Low human development)
NMG Index: 7/10
Final Grade: 49.69

D+



22

Armando Emilio Guebuza

President of the Republic of Mozambique (since 2005).

Political background: A former leader of Frelimo (Frente de Libertação de Moçambique — Mozambique Liberation Front) and served briefly as part of a 10-member collective head of state after the death of Mozambique's first president, Samora Machel, in 1986. When socialist economic policies were abandoned under President Joaquim Chissano, Guebuza became a successful and wealthy businessman. He was chosen as Frelimo's presidential candidate in 2004 and won

the elections with 63.7 per cent of votes. **Successes in 2010:** Awarded the African Gender Award for his efforts to champion wider participation of women in government.

Failures this year: A jump in the price of bread and other goods sparked three days of protests on the streets of Maputo; 13 people were killed, and 142 arrested. A high proportion of the population suffers from food insecurity, and the agricultural sector suffers from inadequate infrastructure, commercial networks and investment.

Moment of the year: Despite delayed rains, Guebuza kept cool and was sworn

in as President of Mozambique for a second term at a ceremony witnessed by over 5,000 people and many international heads of state.

Indices

Mo Ibrahim Index: Score = 52.1, Rank = 20
Democracy Index: Score = 5.49, Rank = 92 (Hybrid regime, Presidential system)
Press Freedom Index: Score = 26.50, Rank = 98
Corruption Index: Score = 2.7, Rank = 116
Human Development Index: Score = 0.402, Rank = 172 (Low human development)

NMG Index: 5/10
Final Grade: 49.35

D+

Zine El Abidine Ben Ali

President of the Republic of Tunisia (since November 7, 1987).

Political background: He has served as prime minister, member of government, senior army officer and diplomat. He was sworn in as the new president in 1987, after doctors declared president Habib Bourguiba unfit to govern because of senility. The takeover is sometimes described as a palace coup.

Successes in 2010: Ben Ali has fluctuated between being progressive and authoritarian during his 20 years as President of Tunisia. This year,

though human rights may still lag behind, significant economic progress was reported. The executive Board of the Central Bank of Tunisia noted that economic activity was marked by improved production in the agriculture, energy and mining sectors.

Failures this year: The arrest of Taoufik Ben Brik, a prominent critic of President Zine El Abidine Ben Ali. Brik has always claimed his conviction was politically motivated, but officials deny he was framed. Wikileaks claims Tunisia blocked the site, reporting "hatred" of first lady.

Moment of the year: President Ben Ali's speech on August 2010 to the world

youth, at the start of the International Year of Youth, was extremely popular worldwide and made several public screenings.

Indices

Mo Ibrahim Index: Score = 62.1, Rank = 8
Democracy Index: Score = 2.96, Rank = 141 (Authoritarian regime, Republic)
Press Freedom Index: Score = 72.50, Rank = 164

Corruption Index: Score = 4.3, Rank = 59
Human Development Index: Score = 0.683, Rank = 81 (High human development)

NMG index: 6/10
Final Grade: 49.01

D



23



24

Djibo Salou

Chairman of the Supreme Council for the Restoration of Democracy of Niger (since February 18, 2010).

Political background: Former president Mamadou Tandja was ousted in a coup in February 2010. The presidential palace was attacked and the president captured by military officers opposed to his attempt to extend his term limit beyond the constitutional maximum. Lieutenant General Djibo Salou heads the ruling junta, called the Supreme Council for the Restoration of Democracy, and is Niger's de facto and pro temp leader

Successes this year: General Salou helped to peacefully usher in a new Constitution.

A referendum was held on the new charter in October, and passed with over 90 per cent approval. General Salou proudly promulgated the constitution in early December, announcing the dawn of the 7th Republic. Presidential elections have been scheduled for January 2011. General Salou has declared no junta member can run for office.

Failures this year: Niger, which for years was rated the worst place to live in the world by the United Nations, is likely to be hit by another severe famine. The ruling junta appears to have done little to prepare or plan for this. The European Union and civil society groups have been shipping in food aid to areas at risk.

Moment of the year: The dream of a

new, legitimately democratic Niger was almost lost earlier this year when a plot to assassinate General Salou and halt his reforms was uncovered and foiled. Led by a former deputy head of the junta, the counter-coup aimed to stop General Salou's planned transition to civilian rule.

Indices

Mo Ibrahim Index: Score = 42.3, Rank = 40
Democracy Index: Score = 3.41, Rank = 128 (Authoritarian regime, Military Junta)
Press Freedom Index: Score = 28.50, Rank = 104
Corruption Index: Score = 28.50, Rank = 123
Human Development Index: Score = 0.261, Rank = 167 (Low human development)

NMG Index: 6/10
Final Grade: 48.55

D



25

Goodluck Jonathan

President of Federal Republic of Nigeria (since 5 May 2010, acting since 9 February 2010)

Political background: Jonathan was handpicked by former president Umaru Yar'Adua to be vice-president, and succeeded him in February 2010. Nigeria is preparing for elections in 2011.

Successes in 2010: In taking over after Yar'Adua, Jonathan managed Nigeria's smoothest succession.

Indices: Mo Ibrahim Index: Score = 43.3, Rank = 37

Democracy Index: Score = 3.53, Rank = 124 (Authoritarian regime, Federalism, Presidential system)
Press Freedom Index: Score = 51.50, Rank = 146

Corruption Index: Score = 2.4, Rank = 134
Human Development Index: Score = 0.423, Rank = 142 (Low human development)

NMG Index: 6/10
Final Grade: 46.06

D-

Pierre Nkurunziza

President of the Republic of Burundi (since August 26, 2005).

Political background: A university lecturer until the outbreak of the Burundian civil war in 1993, when he joined the Force 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 in 2010: President Nkurunziza emerged victorious in elections this year, securing his leadership until 2015. The elections were roundly criticised, and Human Rights Watch has reported serious

human rights violations and a "shrinking political space" in Burundi, so it is debatable whether, indeed, that is a success.

Failures this year: Nkurunziza's cabinet is helping itself to public funds in a fairly blatant manner. Burundi's anti-corruption watchdog has alleged that half the funds destined for a \$6 million weapons contract with Ukraine were pocketed by officials. The country is ranked the most corrupt in the East African Community.

Moment of the year: Burundi has taken up the rotating chair of the East African Community this year. These are big diplomatic shoes for this small country to wear, but offers a chance for Burundi

to punch above its weight as the EAC's five-country Common Market gains momentum.

Indices

Mo Ibrahim Index: Score = 44.7, Rank = 33
Democracy Index: Score = 4.51, Rank = 106 (Hybrid regime, Republic)
Press Freedom Index: Score = 28.88, Rank = 108
Corruption Index: Score = 1.8, Rank = 170

Human Development Index: Score = 0.282, Rank = 166 (Low human development)

NMG index: 5/10
Final Grade: 45.20

D-



26



27

Muammar Abu Minyar al-Gaddafi

President of the Great Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriya (since September 1, 1969)

Political background:

The colonel came to power in a coup in 1969 against the ailing King Idris I. Over the years, Gaddafi supported a broad range of militant groups, including the Irish Republican Army and the Palestine Liberation Organisation. He is a controversial figure, once regarded as a pariah by the West. Colonel Gaddafi began his return to the international fold after Libya settled the Lockerbie bombing claims and agreed to stop developing of weapons of mass destruction.

Successes in 2010:

Authorities had arrested 19 journalists and a senior media executive, reportedly as part of a power

struggle inside the ruling elite. However, the Colonel intervened in the matter and ordered their release.

Failures this year:

Gaddafi is a dictator, but a very amusing one. He opened the Africa-EU summit saying the partnership between the two continents had failed. Gaddafi failed in his bid to stay on as president of the African Union for another year. At the annual AU summit in Ethiopia, leaders from 53 African countries chose the President of Malawi, Bingu wa Mutharika, to take his place.

The Colonel caused a scene at the African Heads of State Summit in Speke Resort, Munyonyo, near Kampala when he slapped one of his aides for taking him to a wrong venue of the meeting.

Moment of the year:

When Gaddafi declared war on Switzerland. He

said Muslims everywhere had a duty to act against the country, which he claimed had been destroying mosques. This followed a vote in Switzerland against building minarets.

Indices:

Mo Ibrahim Index: Score = 51.5, Rank = 23
Democracy Index: Score = 2.0, Rank = 159 (Authoritarian regime Jamahiriya ("State of the masses"))
Press Freedom Index: Score = 63.50, Rank = 160
Corruption Index: Score = 2.2, Rank = 146
Human Development Index: Score = 0.755, Rank = 53, although highest in Africa! (High Human Development)

F+

NMG index: 6/10
Final Grade: 44.64

28



Abdelaziz Bouteflika

President of the People's Democratic Republic of Algeria, (since April 28, 1999).

Political background: 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 in 2010: The commander of Africom forces, US forces in Africa, General David Hogg, reported progress "very impressive" in Algiers.

Failures this year: This year, Algeria kicked out the International Federation of Human Rights, Human Rights Watch and Amnesty International.

Moment of the year: During the Africa-France Summit, President Hosni Mubarak of Egypt and President Bouteflika hugged. This ignited hope for improved relations between the two nations.

Indices: Mo Ibrahim Index: Score = 55.2, Rank = 15
Democracy Index: Score = 3.32, Rank = 133 (Authoritarian regime, Semi-presidential system, Republic)
Press Freedom Index: Score = 47.3, Rank = 133
Corruption Index: Score 2.9, Rank = 105
Human Development Index: Score = 0.677, Rank = 84 (Medium Human Development)

NMG index: 4/10
Final Grade: 43.42

F

Alpha Condé

President-elect of the Republic of Guinea.

Personal background: 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 this year: Leading Guinea out of a cycle of brutal military rule and towards democracy for the first time. The death of longtime president Lasana Conté in 2008 sent Guinea spiraling deeper into violent and undemocratic rule.

Failures this year: Has not been in power long enough to record notable failures. He takes the presidency with a relatively clean slate.

Moment of the year: Has pledged to create a truth and reconciliation commission to help heal the deep fissures in his often war-torn country.

Indices: Mo Ibrahim Index: Score = 35.6, Rank = 45
Democracy Index: Score = 2.09, Rank = 158

29



(Authoritarian regime, Military junta)
Press Freedom Index: Score = Rank =
Corruption Index: Score = 2.0, Rank = 164
Human Development Index: Score = 0.340, Rank = 156 (Low human development)

F

NMG Index: 5/10
Final Grade: 41.94

Mohamed Hosni Mubarak

President of the Arab Republic of Egypt (since October 14, 1981).

Political background: He is Egyptian politics' great survivor. In 2005, he gained a fifth consecutive term as president at the age of 77. He has survived six assassination attempts. He has pursued friendly relations with the West, and broken the isolation imposed on Egypt by Arab countries opposed to peace with Israel.

Successes in 2010:

Met his Palestinian counterpart Mahmoud Abbas in Cairo to discuss

reviving moribund Palestinian-Israeli talks.

Failures this year: There has been a huge amount of tension this year in relation to Nile water distribution. This has been compounded by water shortages in Egypt. Ethiopia maintained that it had evidence about Egypt's support to rebels against the Addis government in order to secure the River Nile waters.

Moment of the year: Al-Ahram, the state-owned newspaper, doctored photos showing President Obama and other leaders being led down a corridor by Mubarak during Middle East peace

talks at the White House.

Indices: Mo Ibrahim Index: Score = 60.5, Rank = 9
Democracy Index: Score = 3.89, Rank = 119 (Authoritarian regime, Semi-presidential system, Republic)
Press Freedom Index: Score = 43.33, Rank = 127
Corruption Index: Score = 3.1, Rank = 98
Human Development Index: Score = 0.620, Rank = 101 (Medium Human Development)
NMG index: 3/10
Final Grade: 40.74

F-

30



31



Mswati III (born Makhosetive Dlamini)

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

Political background: One of the many sons of King Sobhuza II, the Great Council of State (the Ligoqo) 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 in 2010: The Ministry of Health launched a programme to award health facilities that excel.

Failures this year: It doesn't bode well that King Mswati III is a polygamist in an HIV hotzone.

Moment of the year:

While on a trip in Taiwan, his 12th wife, Mswati Nothando Dube, 22, and the country's justice minister, Ndumiso Mamba, were discovered having a romantic affair.

Indices: Mo Ibrahim Index: Score = 50.8, Rank = 25
Democracy Index: Score = 3.04, Rank = 137 (Authoritarian regime, Absolute monarchy)
Press Freedom Index: Score = 57.50, Rank = 155
Corruption Index: Score = 3.2, Rank = 91
Human Development Index: Score = 0.498, Rank = 121 (Medium Human Development)
NMG Index: 4/10
Final Grade: 40.05

F-

32



Ahmed Abdallah Sambi

President of the Union of Comoros (since May 26, 2006).

Political background: He is known as the "The Ayatollah of Comoros." He rose to prominence in business — trading in mattresses, bottled water and perfume. Took the presidency in what was the first peaceful transfer of power in the country, which has endured more than 20 coups or coup attempts since independence from France in 1975.

Successes in 2010: Hardly any. Comoros remains very low on development indices, very high on the corruption

index, is considered an authoritarian regime, and is by far the poorest and worst governed island state off Africa. "The Ayatollah" has failed to turn things around.

Failures this year: Sambi has overstayed his welcome in the president's office, his mandate having ended in May. After the December 26, 2010 presidential elections, he will be replaced in the presidency, which rotates between the constituent island of the Comoros, for the first time, with someone from the tiny island of Moheli.

Moment of the year: He has pushed Comoros into closer and closer relations

with Iran, a country he has deep connections with (he studied there).
Indices: Mo Ibrahim Index: Score = 29, Rank = 48.5
Democracy Index: Score = 3.58, Rank = 123 (Authoritarian regime, Federal Republic)
Press Freedom Index: Score = 19.00, Rank = 70
Corruption Index: Score = 2.1, Rank = 154
Human Development Index: Score = 0.428, Rank = 140 (Low human development)
NMG index: 2/10
Final Grade: 36.97

ICU

Mohamed Ould Abdelaziz

President of The Islamic Republic of Mauritania (since 5 August 2009)

Political background:

This firebrand 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 in 2010: Mauritania has been lauded for its determined fight against Islamic extremism in the region. General Abdelaziz has not hesitated to send troops across borders into neighboring Mali to keep the pressure on Al-Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb.

Failures this year: Tensions between the black and Arab communities in Mali are on the increase, thanks to a few provocative messages from President Abdelaziz's cabinet. **Moment of the year:** President Mohamed Ould Abdel Aziz unveiled a waterworks project to supply his capital city with water from the Senegal River. The parched capital, Nouakchott, is 200

km away from the water source.

Indices: Mo Ibrahim Index: Rank = 36, Score = 43.4
Democracy Index: Rank = 118, Score = 3.91 (Authoritarian regime, Islamic republic)
Press Freedom Index: Rank = 95, Score = 25.38
Corruption Index: Rank = 143, Score = 2.3
UN Human Development Index: Rank = 136, Score = 0.433 (Low Human Development)

NMG index: 2/10
Final Grade: 36.29- ICU

ICU

33



Blaise Compaore

President of Burkina Faso (since 15 October 1987).

Political background: Made his early career in the Burkinabe armed forces, receiving military training from France. With French-backing Mr 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 the third poorest country in the world.

Successes this year: Emerged victorious from the November 21 presidential elections with over 80 per cent of the vote, securing a fourth term. The election was deemed "transparent" by monitors from the African Union and the Economic Community of West African States. Requests by opposition candidates to have the results thrown out for "serious irregularities" were rejected by the constitutional council.

Failures this year: Compaore's international standing took a hit this year when he was ranked the 17th worst dictator in the world by Foreign Policy Magazine. Described as: "A tin-pot despot with no vision and no agenda, save self-perpetuation in power by liquidating opponents and stifling dissent, Compaore has lived up to the low standards of his own rise to power, after the killing of his predecessor, Thomas Sankara, in a 1987 coup."

Moment of the year: Compaore, surprisingly, is playing an important mediator role, as the international community seeks to keep the lid on the political crisis boiling over in Ivory Coast. Following recent disputed elections, two candidates have been sworn in as president, and the eyes of the world are on Compaore. The Economist magazine dubbed him "the region's most respected peace-broker."

Indices:

Mo Ibrahim Index: Score = 51.9, Rank = 21 Democracy Index: Score = 3.6, Rank = 122 (Authoritarian regime, Semi-presidential system) Press Freedom Index: Score = 15.00 Rank = 49 Corruption Index: Score = 3.1 Rank = 98 Human Development Index: Score = 0.305 Rank = 161 (low human development)

NMG Index: 1/10

Final Grade: 35.70



34

ICU



35

Ali Ben Bongo Ondimba

President of the Gabonese Republic (since October 16, 2009)

Political background: Another heir, 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 in 2010:

President Bongo secured a massive investment deal from Singapore-based Olam International this year, valued at \$1.3 billion.

The firm will build a fertiliser production complex, which the presidency said could generate around 10,000 jobs. The lure of Gabon, said senior Olam executives, was "the long term availability of natural gas at competitive prices."

Failures this year: Like a handful of other blatantly corrupt Franco-African leaders, Bongo is facing a probe in France over "ill-gotten goods." His accounts and holdings in that country are being investigated.

Moment of the year:

On November 4, he launched the World Conference of Regular Freemasonry in Libreville. President Bongo's grip on power tightened recently when he took the title of top Freemason in Gabon. He was installed in November as the grand master of the Grand Lodge of Gabon and the Grand Equatorial Rite, the two major French Freemasonic organisations in the country, by visiting senior masons from France.

Indices: Mo Ibrahim Index: Score = 50.1, Rank = 27

EIU Democracy Index: Score = 3.00, Rank = 139 (Authoritarian regime, Republic)

Press Freedom Index: Score = 28.75, Rank = 107

Corruption Index: Score = 2.8, Rank = 110

Human Development Index: Score = 0.648, Rank = 93 (Medium human development)

NMG Index: 1/10

Final Grade: 34.28

ICU



36

Denis Sassou-Nguesso

President of the Republic of Congo (since 1997; he was previously President from 1979 to 1992).

Political background: 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 due to claims that he has used millions of pounds of embezzled public funds to acquire lavish properties in France.

Successes this year: In January 2010, the IMF declared that Congo had satisfied all of the triggers in Poverty Reduction Strategy. Following that, Congo was granted \$1.9 billion in debt relief by the Paris Club in March 2010. Congo signed the World Resources Institute (WRI) agreement worth 787 million francs CFA to monitor forest cover change in the country and evaluation of carbon stocks and emissions from forest degradation, an essential step for the country in positioning itself in the market for carbon credits.

Failures this year:

Sassou-Nguesso increased the salaries of civil servants as "the best way to effectively fight against corruption". He should have taken his own advice. A French court has now approved the appointing of a judge to inquire into the circumstances under which he, Equatorial Guinea President Teodoro Obiang Nguema, and the late President Omar Bongo of Gabon and their relatives amassed bank accounts and assets in France.

Moment of the year:

Sassou-Nguesso himself formally inaugurated "Nkouo," the first of three agricultural villages the government plans to develop at a cost of US\$27 million.

Indices: Mo Ibrahim Index: Score = 32.7, Rank = 48

Democracy Index: Score = 2.94, Rank = 143 (Authoritarian regime, Republic)

Press Freedom Index: Score = 33.60, Rank = 114

Corruption Index: Score = 2.1, Rank = 154

Human Development Index: Score = 0.489, Rank = 126 (Medium Human Development)

NMG Index: 2/10

Final Grade: 33.43

ICU

Faure Gnassingbe

President of the Togolese Republic (since May 4, 2005).

Political background:

The Gnassingbe clan have ruled Togo as their personal fiefdom since 1967. The current president is the son of the late 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 in 2010:

President Gnassingbe has managed to co-opt his main opposition opponent Gilchrist Olympio, the leader of the Union of Forces for Change. He gained the support of Mr Olympio — whose father, Togo's first president, was assassinated by the late president Gnassingbé Eyadéma — by offering his party seven ministerial posts. The deal has not gone down well on the streets, where protests continue, denouncing Mr Olympio as a "traitor."

Failures this year:

When President Gnassingbe was "re-elected" in March this year, Togo was plunged back into chaos, just like the last time the incumbent faced the ballot box. Accusations of fraud were widespread. This time, the death toll for the post-election violence reached between 400 and 500, according to UN reports. Around 40,000 Togolese fled to neighbouring countries.

Moment of the year:

Following the March election, a peaceful candlelight vigil against the stolen election was crushed by police, leaving 30 injured. Another planned vigil in April was prevented by security services raiding opposition party headquarters.

Indices: Mo Ibrahim Index: Score = 42.6, Rank = 39

Democracy Index: Score = 2.43, Rank = 151 (Authoritarian regime, Republic)

Press Freedom Index: Score = 17.00, Rank = 60

Corruption Index: Score = 2.4, Rank = 134

Human Development Index: Score = 0.428, Rank = 139 (Low human development)

NMG Index: 1/10

Final Grade: 33.38

ICU



37

Malam Bacai Sanha

President of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau (since September 8, 2009)

Personal history:

He took power in the presidential elections of 2009. He is 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 in 2010:

Narrowly avoided being toppled from power during a coup attempt in April 2010, when the military in Guinea-Bissau detained Prime Minister Carlos Gomes Junior and Army Chief of Staff Zamora Induta. President Sanha downplayed the seriousness of the coup plot, which was met with large street protests, and vowed to find "a friendly solution to this problem." In under three months, things were back to normal and all officials were back in their positions.

Failures this year:

He appears powerless to turn around Guinea-Bissau's slide into narco-

statehood. The country now serves as a major transit hub for cocaine smuggled from Latin America to Europe.

The United States has accused senior generals of being "drug kingpins" and frozen their US assets. Following a coup attempt by generals in April 2010, the European Union cancelled its mission to reform the country's security forces and recalled troops.

Moment of the year:

President Sanha officially inaugurated his government's new headquarters in November, which was entirely funded by China. With space for 12 ministries and a price tag of \$25 million, it is the latest big ticket gift from Beijing.

Indices: Mo Ibrahim Index: Score = 39.1, Rank = 43

Democracy Index: Score = 1.99, Rank = 160 (Authoritarian regime, Semi-presidential system, republic)

Press Freedom Index: Score = 18.25, Rank = 67

Corruption Index: Score = 2.1, Rank = 154

Human Development Index: Score = 0.289, Rank = 164 (Low human development)

NMG Index: 2/10

Final Grade: 32.84

ICU



38



39

Meles Zenawi Asres

Prime Minister of the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia (since August 1995).

Political background:

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.

Successes this year:

Meles's party emerged victorious from the 2010 general elections, ensuring power will remain

with the incumbents until 2015. The Opposition alleged widespread intimidation. Ethiopia's economy, meanwhile, remains remarkably strong, growing at nearly 10 per cent in 2009, and predicted to expand at a rate of 7 per cent this year.

Failures this year:

His recent foreshadowing of war with Egypt over the control of the River Nile was both unexpected and unsettling. We are not seeking war and there will be not be war," Egyptian foreign minister Ahmed Aboul Gheit said. His party also fiddled the elections.

Moment of the year:

Blasted a European Union Election Observer Mission report on last May's elections, which said the electoral "process falls short of international standards." The Prime Minister angrily retorted that the report was "useless trash that deserves to be thrown in the garbage" can and it was "just the view of some Western neo-liberals who are not happy about the strength of the ruling party."

Indices:

Mo Ibrahim Index: Score = 43.5, Rank = 35
 Democracy Index: Score = 4.52, Rank = 105 (Hybrid regime Federalism, Parliamentary republic)
 Press Freedom Index: Score = 49.38, Rank = 139
 Corruption Index: Score = 2.7, Rank = 116
 Human Development Index: Score = 0.328, Rank = 157 (Low human development)

NMG index: 2/10
 Final Grade: 32.68

ICU

Yahya Jammeh

President of the Republic of the Gambia (since October 18, 1996)

Political background: 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 in 2010: Managed to quash the second coup attempt against his regime in November, this time pinning the blame on the director of internal security in The Gambia's feared National Intelligence Agency.

International observers predict that a successful coup against Mr Jammeh is "only a matter of time," especially as he maneuvers to crown himself king.

Failures this year: After working since 2006 to build relations with Iran, Mr Jammeh watched this diplomatic foray go down in flames.

The Gambia had purchased a shipment of arms from Iran, including weapons as large as 107mm rockets. The 13-sea-container shipment, which potentially violates the UN arms trade ban on Iran, marked as "construction materials" was seized at the port of Lagos, Nigeria.

After the seizure, President Jammeh severed diplomatic ties with Iran and declared its diplomats personae non grata. He gave them 48 hours to leave the country.

Moment of the year: Notorious for heaping himself with ostentatious titles, the president is gunning for yet another: King of The Gambia. He now goes by the handle "His Excellency the

40



President Sheik Professor Alhaji Dr Yahya Abdul-Azziz Jemus Junkung Jammeh" but appears unsatisfied. Traditional chiefs and tribal elders have been fanning out across The Gambia, building support for a coronation, which could well take place soon.

Indices: Mo Ibrahim Index: Score = 53.0, Rank = 18

Democracy Index: Score = 4.19, Rank = 111 (Hybrid regime, Republic)

Press Freedom Index: Score = 40.50, Rank = 125

Corruption Index: Score = 3.2, Rank = 91

Human Development Index: Score = 0.390, Rank = 151 (low human development)

NMG Index: 1/10

Final Grade: 32.48 - ICU

ICU



41

Ismail Omar Guelleh

President of Djibouti (since May 8, 1999)

Political background: Born in Ethiopia, Mr 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 in 2010:

In April, Djibouti's Parliament (which contains no member of the opposition) passed a constitutional amendment permitting President Guelleh to run for a third term. Djibouti has signed a series of agreements with Iran to deepen bilateral relations and boost trade and investment.

Failures this year:

Djibouti's efforts to beef up its counter-piracy efforts were quashed by the United States, Wikileaks revealed recently. Djibouti was in discussions with US private security firm Blackwater International about employing private anti-piracy boats in coastal waters, but plans were vetoed by US Secretary of State Hillary Clinton.

Moment of the year:

Djibouti rarely garners media attention, but did this year due to Wikileaks. A leaked cable quotes Yemeni President Ali Abdullah Saleh as "singling out smuggling from Djibouti as particularly troublesome" in the bandit-filled Red Sea. Mr Saleh said drugs and weapons smuggling has become a major problem in Djibouti, and that his government recently seized four containers of TNT explosive coming from the tiny littoral state.

Indices: Mo Ibrahim Index: Score = 48.5, Rank = 30
 Democracy Index: Score = 2.37, Rank = 152 (Authoritarian regime, Semi-presidential, republic)
 Press Freedom Index: Score = 30.50, Rank = 110

Corruption Index: Score = 3.2, Rank = 91
 Human Development Index: Score = 0.402 Rank = 147 (Low human development)

NMG index: 1/10
 Final Grade: 31.53

ICU



42

Joseph Kabila Kabange

President of the Democratic Republic of Congo (since January 2001)

Political background: He was a guerilla fighter alongside his father, Joseph Kabila, in a mission to oust the Mobutu regime. Once his father was in power, he rose through the ranks in his father's government and held the position of 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 this year: As presidential and

parliamentary elections are due next year, President Kabila signed into law the establishment of a permanent National Independent Electoral Commission (CENI) to replace the transitional CEI. Kabila has taken steps to improve the country's business climate; and the government officially launched the National Organisation for the Harmonisation of Business Law in Africa (OHADA) Commission in April 2010.

Also, inflation has been significantly reduced during 2010 and the annualised rate is currently projected at less than 10 per cent, the lowest in a very long time for DRC.

Kabila ordered a stop to all mining activities in North Kivu, South Kivu and Maniema. He took the decision due to what was felt to be conflicts aggravated by the mining operations.

Failures this year: There were two

massive reports of rape: In July and August, 242 rape incidents were reported in and around a village called Luvungi, although the figure is now believed to be closer to 500. Then again in September and October, it is estimated that 600 individuals had been raped along the Congo-Angola border.

The International Crisis Group has warned that a military solution championed by Rwanda and DR Congo for the eastern Democratic Republic of Congo has failed and the region risks deteriorating.

Moment of the year:

The DRC's 50th anniversary celebrations included a military parade in Kinshasa, the capital, which involved 15,000 soldiers and hundreds of tanks and other military vehicles.

Indices

Mo Ibrahim Index: Score = 31.1, Rank = 51
 EIU Democracy Index: Score = 2.28, Rank = 154 (Authoritarian regime, Semi-presidential Republic)
 Press Freedom Index: Score = 51.83, Rank = 148
 Corruption Index: Score = 2.0, Rank = 164
 Human Development Index: Score = 0.239, Rank = 48 (Low Human Development)

NMG Index: 3/10
 Final Grade: 30.18

ICU

43



José Eduardo dos Santos

President of the Republic of Angola (since 1979).

Political background: 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 in 2010: Launched a national programme to improve living conditions in the country's informal settlements and slums. José Eduardo dos Santos was given an award by the Association of National Olympic Committees of Africa for his dedication to the development of sport in Africa, with particular reference to the good organisation of the last African Cup of Nations, which was hosted by Angola.

Failures this year: A new constitution, adopted in February this year, further concentrated power in Mr Santos' hands and also decreed that he need not be directly voted into office by the populace. Instead, the president will be selected by the victorious party in parliamentary elections.

Moment of the year: The hosting of the Africa Cup of Nations.

Indices
Mo Ibrahim Index: Score = 39.3, Rank = 42
Democracy Index: Score = 3.35, Rank = 131 (Authoritarian Regime, Presidential System)
Press Freedom Index: Score = 28.50, Rank = 104
Corruption Index: Score = 1.9, Rank = 168
Human Development Index: Score = 0.564, Rank = 143 (Medium Human Development)

NMG Index: 1/10
Final Grade: 30.17

ICU

Paul Biya

President of the Republic of Cameroon (since November 6, 1982)

Political background: 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 in 2010: Biya, commander-in-chief of Cameroon's armed forces, was lauded by his loyal troops in December when he threw a large party celebrating the 50th anniversary celebration of the military.

Failures this year:

Biya's looting of state resources caught international attention this year, and he now faces a French probe for illegally commandeering state funds and stashing them in France. He denies the charges, brought by corruption watchdog Transparency International. Wikileaks documents describes Mr Biya as running government finances "like a petty cash fund." Stories of splashy casino nights at posh French resorts, and carrying around sacs containing millions of Swiss francs, have leaked from the US embassy in Cameroon.

Moment of the year: Newsman Bibi Ngota, the editor of the Cameroon Express, died in prison in April while awaiting trial for charges of fraud and using forged documents. The incident provoked protests around the world from press freedom groups.

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After the journalist's death, two others facing similar charges were released on Mr Biya's orders: Robert Mintya, managing editor of the *Le Devoir* daily, and Serge Sabouang managing editor of the daily *La Nation*.

Indices:

Mo Ibrahim Index: Score = 44.2, Rank = 34
Democracy Index: Score = 3.46, Rank = 126 (Authoritarian regime, Republic)
Press Freedom Index: Score = 44.30, Rank = 129
Corruption Index: Score = 2.2, Rank = 146
Human Development Index: Score = 0.460, Rank = 131 (Low human development)
NMG Index: 1/10
Final Grade: 29.52

Morgue



46

François Bozizé Yangouvonda

President of the Central African Republic (since March 15, 2003)

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

Successes in 2010: The Central African Republic backed out from inviting Sudan's internationally "wanted" president Al Bashir to attend the celebration of National Day, after the arrival of Sudan's advance team to organise the reception. In February 2010, André-Dieudonné Kolingba died in France, he was the fourth president of the CAR.

Despite a rocky relationship, Bozizé presided over his burial ceremony in Bangui.

Failures this year: Bozize attempted his hand at some semblance of democracy. Presidential elections were to take place in April. However, they were first postponed to May 16, and then indefinitely. Northeastern CAR is characterised by limited government presence, armed bandits and rebels — the situation for populations living there is extremely unstable and vulnerable. There is increasing concern about the departure of the United Nations Mission in the Central African Republic and Chad (MINURCAT) on December 31 this year.

Moment of the year: President Bozize awarded one of Africa's most brutal dictators, Jean-Bédel Bokassa, a posthumous pardon.

Indices:
Mo Ibrahim Index: Score = 32.7, Rank = 48
EIU Democracy Index: Score = 1.86, Rank = 162 (Authoritarian regime, Republic)
Press Freedom Index: Score = 18.50, Rank = 69
Corruption Index: Score = 2.1, Rank = 154
Human Development Index: Score = 0.315, Rank = 159 (Low Human Development)

NMG Index: 1/10

Morgue



47

Robert Gabriel Mugabe

President of the Republic of Zimbabwe (since 1987)

Political background: 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 mixed-race elections. In 1987, the position of Prime Minister was abolished and Mugabe assumed the new office of executive President of Zimbabwe.

Successes in 2010: There has been

some success in reigning in of inflation, that hit a record 23 million percent over a year ago, and the lowering of unemployment rates.

Failures this year: Several breakdowns in the governing coalition in which President Zuma of Harare has had to intervene. Mugabe has been duped a few times this year. First, he discovered that the Head of the country's central bank was having an affair with Grace Mugabe, his wife. Then him and his entire cabinet were sent on a wild goose chase for 13 days by a magician who claimed that she had discovered pure diesel oozing from a rock.

Moment of the year: Mugabe handed Mnyaradzi Chidzonga, Zimbabwe's representative in the Big Brother

All Stars reality television show, Mnyaradzi a \$300,000 consolation prize money for coming 2nd in the show — which Harare felt was rigged. It was \$100,000 more than Munya would have won if he had topped the BBA contest.

Indices
Mo Ibrahim Index: Score = 32.7, Rank = 49
Democracy Index: Score = 2.53, Rank = 148
Press Freedom Index: Score = 39.50, Rank = 123
Corruption Index: Score = 2.4, Rank = 134
Human Development Index: Score = 0.140, Rank = 169 (the worst score on Human Development!)

NMG Index: 0/10
Final Grade: 22.62

Morgue

Sheikh Sharif Sheikh Ahmed

Transitional Federal President of Somalia (since January 31, 2009).

Political background: Memorized the Qu'ran 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 in 2010: Managed to come to power almost in a democratic and appoint a cabinet in fractured Somalia. So far so good.

Failures this year: Somalia is a uniquely tragic case in the world. Competes with Afghanistan for the poorest, dustiest, and most perilous place on Earth. It has been without an effective national government since 1991, and is so

dangerous that UN officials - and even Somalia's own politicians - cannot live there. It will take a political leader of historic influence to restore this country to peace and order. The question is; is Sharif Sheikh Ahmed that man?

Moment of the year: The surprise visit of Ugandan President Yoweri Museveni in November was the first head-of-state visit to war-scarred Somalia in 20 years. Though the visit was brief, was a diplomatic victory for Sheikh Ahmed, and may signal to those inside and outside

the country things are beginning to turn around under his watch.

Indices
Mo Ibrahim Index: Score = 79, Rank = 53
Democracy Index: not listed
Press Freedom Index: Score = 66.00, Rank = 161
Corruption Index: Score = 1.1, Rank = 178
Human Development Index: Score = 0.384, Rank = 161* (Low human development)
NMG index: 4/10
Final Grade: 22.41

Morgue

45



Andry Rajoelina

President of the High Transitional Authority of the Republic of Madagascar (since March 18, 2009).

Political background: 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 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 in 2010: Few and far between. Mr Rajoelina has steered his country further into internal chaos and international condemnation this year. His shaky administration remains financially strapped after foreign aid was halted following Mr Rajoelina's seizure of power. He did manage, however, to survive a coup attempt in November following a divisive referendum.

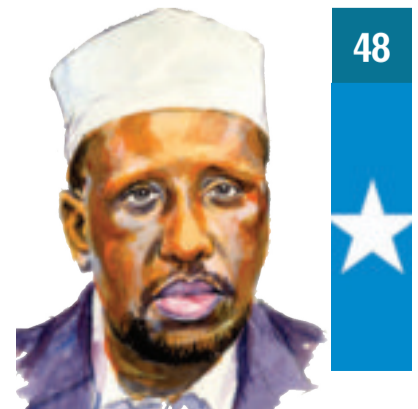
Failures this year: Andry Rajoelina and his country remain internationally isolated after the former DJ toppled his predecessor in 2009. International groups express concern about a "considerable deterioration" in press and other freedoms in Madagascar, and "the constant harassment of political dissidents and journalists" on the island. Mr Rajoelina's leadership has been similarly criticised by the United Nations. The US decision to disqualify Madagascar from the African Growth and Opportunity Act (AGOA) has left its economy, in particular the textile sector, in near-tatters.

Moment of the year: A national referendum was held on Nov 17, and citizens voted on constitutional amendments to decide whether to establish a new Fourth Republic and give Rajoelina more power including the right to be president-for-life. The referendum passed with 70 per cent support, but was not recognised abroad.

Indices
Mo Ibrahim Index: Score = 48.7, Rank = 26
Democracy Index: Score = 5.57, Rank = 90 (Hybrid regime, Presidential system)
Press Freedom Index: Score = 34.88, Rank = 116
Corruption Index: Score = 2.6, Rank = 123
Human Development Index: Score = 0.435, Rank = 135 (Low human development)
NMG index: 0/10
Final Grade: 29.31

Morgue

48



49



MINURCAT's (United Nations Mission in the Central African Republic and Chad) mandate, claiming that the project had been ineffective

Idriss Déby Itno

President of the Republic of Chad (since December 1990).

Political background:

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

Successes in 2010:

He visited Sudan for the first time since 2004 for talks on the Darfur region. The two countries have been fighting a proxy war for several years along their common border.

Failures this year:

This year, the Central Emergency Response Fund allocated over \$3.8 million to humanitarian agencies in Chad. Chad is among the least-developed, low-income and food deficient countries in the world. Despite having a barely functioning state, this year the Government of Chad declined to agree to a renewal of

and proposing to provide better security with its own resources.

Moment of the year:

On the occasion of Chad's 50 years of independence, President Deby criticised France's continuing military presence in the country, saying that if Paris wishes to keep troops in the country, it would have to pay compensation.

Indices:

Mo Ibrahim Index: Score = 28.8, Rank = 52
EIU Democracy Index: Score = 1.52, Rank = 166 (Authoritarian regime, Republic)
Press Freedom Index: Score = 33.7, Rank = 112
Corruption Index: Score = 1.7, Rank = 171
Human Development Index: Score = 0.295, Rank = 163
Low Human Development
NMG Index: 0/10
Final Grade: 20.81

Morgue



50

Teodoro Obiang Nguema Mbasogo

President of the Republic of Equatorial Guinea (since August 3, 1979).

Political background:

President Obiang is one of the few African totalitarians who

can compete with Zimbabwe's Robert Mugabe in nastiness. Teodoro is the nephew of founding president and dictator Francisco Macías Nguema. President Obiang wore many hats before mounting a military coup and donning the hat of the brutal dictator, including those of army officer, prison warden. Has claimed through state radio to be a "God." Is rumoured to kill and eat the livers and testicles of those who cross him. Has siphoned off profits from the tiny country's recently discovered oil reserves and stashed it in overseas accounts, leaving his people in grinding poverty. He 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 in 2010: President Obiang appeared at the 65th United Nations General Assembly to pledge his commitment to the Millennium Development Goals. He spoke about

"Horizon 2020," a development programme he has announced that includes "Ensuring a transparent social climate" and, also, "Invest in strengthening economic growth." He has hired slick Washington, DC.-based public relations firm Qorvis Communications, LLC to help with his communications. These spin doctors have produced for him documents that make Equatorial Guinea appear to be well and responsibly governed. **Failures this year:** It appears Obiang's excesses are catching up with him. France's highest court has decided to investigate complaints by anti-graft watchdog Transparency International and probe the wealth Mr Obiang has stashed in Europe. He also failed to lure famous football coach Philippe Troussier to coach Equatorial Guinea's national team. Mr Obiang's health is now in question, and he is rumoured to be suffering from testicular cancer.

Moment of the year:

Earlier this year, United Nations authorities cancelled plans to award the first ever \$300,000 UNESCO-Obiang Nguema Mbasogo International Prize for Research in the Life Sciences. The award offended many rights observers who knew of his dark tendencies, and came together to scrap it.

Indices:

Mo Ibrahim Index: Score = 34.7, Rank = 46
Democracy Index: Score = 2.19, Rank = 155 (Authoritarian regime, Presidential republic)
Press Freedom Index: Score = 79.00, Rank = 167
Corruption Index: Score = 1.9, Rank = 168
Human Development Index: Score = 0.538, Rank = 117 (Medium Human Development)
NMG Index: 1/10
Final Grade: 20.72

Morgue

Omar Hassan Al-Bashir

President of the Republic of Sudan (since October 16, 1993)

Political background: 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 has continued to travel to countries that oppose the indictment.

Successes in 2010:

The Sudan Armed Forces (SAF), the Khartoum-based government's army, and Sudan People's Liberation Army (SPLA) of South Sudan, have signed an agreement to secure the flow of crude oil from Sudan's oil fields, regardless of the outcome of the upcoming referendum on south Sudan's self-determination. Became the first leader to be re-elected while

facing an international arrest warrant for alleged war crimes.

Failures this year:

Sudan's National Intelligence and Security Services raided a Khartoum office shared by Radio Dabanga and Darfuri human rights activists, arresting 13 people and shutting down the station reporting on Darfur. The ultimate evader, Bashir undermined the International Criminal Court by travelling to several African states this year despite his arrest warrants. One of the most notable was getting away from Kenya without being arrested after attending the promulgation of the new constitution. Has largely failed to tame North/South mutual mistrust ahead of the January 9, 2011 referendum in the south on secession, even as the 2005 peace deal holds.

Moment of the year: US actor George Clooney called for the freezing of assets held by President Bashir — which, according to leaked US diplomat cables, is worth \$9 billion, most of

which is stolen.

Indices:

Mo Ibrahim Index: Score = 32.9, Rank = 47
Democracy Index: Score = 2.81, Rank = 146 (Authoritarian regime Federalism, Presidential system, Republic)
Press Freedom Index: Score = 85.33, Rank = 172
Corruption Index: Score = 1.6, Rank = 172
Human Development Index: Score = 0.385, Rank = 154 (Low Human Development)
NMG Index: 0/10
Final Grade: 15.67

Morgue



51

52

Isaias Afwerki

President of the State of Eritrea (since June 8, 1993)

Political background:

Descended from a line of Ethiopian kings, Afwerki 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 for "three or four decades."

Successes in 2010:

This has been a blockbuster year for President Afwerki, according to state-owned news sources at least. There was a "great leap" forward in training health professionals. The Eritrean government

has opened schools in rural areas, and funded programmes to support needy women and children. More news can be read in the "Nation Building" section of the ministry of Information's Shabait.com website.

Failures this year:

President Afwerki continues to brutally repress free speech and thought with an iron fist. Eritrea has been deemed the country with the least press freedom in the world by Reporters without Borders, more stifled even than North Korea — a remarkable ignominy. There is currently no privately-owned media in the country.

Moment of the year:

Global attention was drawn to President Afwerki's megalomaniacal press controls this year, when Dawit Isaak was awarded the 2011 Golden Pen of Freedom

by the World Association of Newspapers and News Publishers. The founder of Eritrea's first independent newspaper, Mr Isaak has been imprisoned without charge or trial for nine years.

Indices:

Mo Ibrahim Index: Score = 31.8, Rank = 50
Democracy Index: Score = 2.31, Rank = 153 (Authoritarian regime, Semi-presidential, republic)
Press Freedom Index: Score = 105.00, Rank = 178
Corruption Index: Score = 2.6, Rank = 123
Human Development Index: Score = 0.472, Rank = 165 (low human development)

NMG index: 0/10
Final Grade: 12.14

Morgue



Fradique Bandiera Melo De Menezes

President of the Democratic Republic of São Tomé and Príncipe (since September 3, 2001).

Political background:

President de Menezes grew wealthy in the cocoa export business. Was the country's foreign minister in the mid 1980s and an ambassador in Europe. Known colloquially to his nation's 163,000 people simply as "Fradrique." Overcame coup attempts in 2003 and 2009.

Successes this year:

He is doing his best to parlay potentially rich oil reserves in the Gulf of Guinea into a bright future for São Tomé and Príncipe. He has invited major oil companies to bid on exploration rights in its exclusive offshore zone, the first step towards getting oil to pump petrodollars into state coffers. Oil could be flowing into this poor country as early as 2014.

Failures this year:

Low-lying São Tomé and Príncipe is severely threatened by climate change and severe food insecurity. These problems are worsening fast, and appear to be beyond the capacity of the local government.

Moment of the year:

President de Menezes raised the stakes in a



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Mohamed Abdelaziz

Secretary General of the Polisario Front and President of the Sahrawi Arab Democratic Republic (since 1976)

Political background: A strong advocate for Sahrawi nationalism from a young age, Abdelaziz became one of the founding members of the Polisario Front, a Sahrawi independence movement in Western Sahara which launched an armed struggle against Spanish colonialism in 1973. In August 1976, Abdelaziz was elected secretary-general of Polisario and president of the Saharawi Arab Democratic Republic (SADR). He lives in exile in the Sahrawi refugee camps in the Tindouf Province of western Algeria. In 2001, he was nominated to the Nobel Peace Prize

Successes this year: The Sahrawi Arab Democratic Republic has been gaining larger audiences in its fight for independence. This year, the International Sahara Film Festival, which takes place at a remote refugee camp, pitched in with global talent and a popular festival for solidarity with the Saharawi people, was held in the town of Boumerdes, Algeria.

Failures this year: North-west Africa is on the brink of war, the situation is the worst in 20 years. Several people were killed in clashes between Moroccan security forces and protesters shortly before UN-mediated talks on the future of the territory were due to open in New York.

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Moment of the year: After a meeting with Mohamed Abdelaziz, Secretary-General of the Polisario Front, the UN press office said in a statement that Secretary-General Ban had expressed his commitment to finding a solution to the 35-year-old conflict "that provides for the self-determination of the people of Western Sahara."

Indices:

Mo Ibrahim Index: Not recognised
Democracy Index: Not recognised
Press Freedom Index: Not recognised
Corruption Index: Not recognised
Human Development Index: Not recognised