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Ghana's Peaceful Election 2012: A Lesson for Africa?

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Abstract

Ghana is often considered a peaceful country due to its ability to manage electoral disputes. However, the role of peacebuilding institutions such as the National Peace Council (NPC) is often overlooked in all the analysis. Using documentary sources, this paper analyzed the petitions of the opposition New Patriotic Party (NPP), the Electoral Commission of Ghana (EC) and the ruling National Democratic Congress (NDC) before the Supreme Court of Ghana; the content of the speeches delivered at the Kumasi Peace Accord; the National Peace Council Act 2011 (Act 818), and selected literature on infrastructure for peace to appraise the role of the NPC in promoting peaceful election in the year 2012 in Ghana. The paper examined the NPC role in election 2012 on different phases: pre-election phase, Election Day phase and post-election phase. In the analysis of these events, the over-riding objectives remain appraising the NPC as a proactive peacebuilding institution. An examination of the potential challenges of the NPC is in regard to pointing out, indirectly, the nature of support it needs to be able to work effectively. The paper recommends that since election remains the source of conflict in Africa and also conflicts being the bane of development in the continent, the feasibility of establishing a continental-level peace infrastructure will not be a misplaced idea.

Keywords: *Ghana Election 2012; Africa; National Peace Council; Kumasi Peace Accord; Democracy*

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1. Introduction

Infrastructures for peace are not new to the African continent [1]. Africa's experience with the concept goes back to the 1991 National Peace Architecture in South Africa when the representatives of African leaders and civil society organizations pledged a commitment to establishing national architecture for peace [2]. Even though the conceptual foundation of infrastructure for peace was built two decades ago, the meaning of the concept is still elusive. According to author in [2: 385] peace infrastructures are the 'dynamic network of interdependent structures, mechanisms, resources, values and skills, which through dialogue and consultations, contribute to conflict prevention and peace building'.

This definition was agreed by representatives from governments, political parties, civil society organizations and UN Country Teams from fourteen African countries at a UNDP facilitated meeting in Naivasha, Kenya on February 2010 [3]. It is arguably one of the most comprehensive definitions of the concept. However, it's near holistic nature stems from the fact that it is loosely done to embrace almost every attempt at building peace to symbolize a new academic concept. Infrastructure for peace is seen to denote 'structures', 'tools', 'mechanisms' as well as 'values' and 'skills' which absolutely are different things and require different talent to execute. Nonetheless, it still offers something to both academics and practitioners: infrastructures for peace vary in meaning and in nature, depending on how and where they are envisioned.

On the other hand, author in [1:400] sees peace infrastructures as '...mechanisms for cooperation among all relevant stakeholders in peacebuilding by promoting cooperative problem solving to conflicts and instituting the response mechanisms to conflicts in order to transform them'. This definition is not only simple but also straight forward. It sees Infrastructure for Peace as 'mechanisms for cooperation' in order to transform conflicts. Conflict transformation is both a developmental term and an approach to violent conflicts. As a developmental term, it refers to the deepest level of change in the process of conflict resolution [4].

It focuses on the dynamic processes through which conflict becomes violent and this perspective helps in understanding the changes that occur in individuals and in relationships. As an approach, conflict transformation refers to the changes needed at many different levels of society in order to create a long-term peace [4]. The approach-driven perspective of conflict transformation aims at changing conflicts from being a destructive force to a constructive one capable of removing or reducing the conditions from which the conflict and violence have arisen [5]. Later in his analysis, author in [1:401] makes a very significant point, noting that, infrastructure for peace did not '...imply a rigid structure but a process [and] a platform for change: a functional network that would span across the dimensions and levels of society and that would ensure optimum collaboration between the main stakeholders'.

The Ghanaian attempt at infrastructure for peace was inspired by, and built on this observation. The National Peace Council emanated from the Northern Region Peace Advocacy Council (NRPAC) which was established to restore peace in the Dagbon traditional area in Northern Ghana following the murder of the overlord of Dagbon (*Ya Na Yakubu Andani II*) and several of his elders (estimated to be 40). According to author in [3] the success of the NRPAC necessitated the decision of the Ghanaian Government to explore the possibility of

extending the peace council concept to the rest of the country. It is important to note that the use of the word “success” here is highly relative. The Dagbon chieftaincy crisis is one of the most protracted conflicts in Ghana, outliving generations and governments.

Different conflict resolution mechanisms have been employed, at times simultaneously, to resolve it including Commissions of Inquiries, mediations, trials, traditional mechanisms, among others. It will therefore be wrong to assume that only the effort of the NRPAC led to the success. Indeed, the Dagbon traditional area is currently enjoying uneasy calm and any small incident may result to new hostilities. This statement of fact does not take away the reality that the work of the NRPAC informed the decision to establish the NPC at the governmental level. Therefore the process that led to the establishment of the NPC was a bottom-up one, starting from a notorious hotbed for conflicts in the country and now spanning across the whole nation. The NPC Bill was therefore laid before the Ghanaian parliament and unanimously adopted by both divide of the house in March 2011. It has the following mandate, among other things;

- to harmonize and coordinate conflict prevention, management, resolution and build sustainable peace through networking and coordination;
- to strengthen capacities in relation to its objectives;
- to facilitate the amicable resolution of conflicts through mediation and other connected processes;
- to monitor, report and offer indigenous perspectives and solutions to conflicts in the country; and
- to promote understanding about the values of reconciliation, tolerance, confidence building, mediation and dialogue as responses to conflict.

The consultative nature of the process that led to the establishment of the NPC ensured that many stakeholders from the district up to the national levels are represented in the Council. The NPC is considered an independent institution with its own Board made up of thirteen eminent persons appointed by the President in consultation with the Council of State. Five members of the Council represent various religious bodies in the country and that exemplifies the religious nature of the Ghanaian society. In Ghana religious leaders are not only revered, but also have loud audience and followers that enable them to influence society decision making processes. It is difficult separating the political from the religious in Ghana. This web of politics and religion is deeply woven that the latter is a critical benchmark in the selection of presidential and vice-presidential candidates for national elections. A close examination of the religious representative shows a delicate balance between the different sects and denominations in Ghana. The two Muslim representatives represent both the Ahmaddiyya and the Tijania sects. Though the Sunni sect is not represented, they nonetheless take solace in the Tijania leader who also doubles as the Chief Imam of the Republic of Ghana. Also, the Christian representatives include members from the Catholic and the Charismatic denominations. Although this is not truly representative of the Christian denominations in the country, it nonetheless represents the broader major categorization of the Christian faith in Ghana. The other members of the Council represent youth, educational, trade union, traditional and legal groups in the country. I had earlier on described the process that led to the establishment of the NPC as a bottom-up one. However, the category of people nominated by the President into the Council is colourfully top-level and has gradually influenced their approach to dealing with the numerous challenges that the country has faced since its inception. Author in [5:44] argues that in a top-level approach to peacebuilding, “people who emerge as

peacemakers, often seen as intermediaries or mediators, are eminent figures who themselves possess a public profile” and often command the support of the government. All the Board members of the NPC match this allusion.

Besides this national level composition, the NPC has Regional and District Peace Councils consisting of thirteen persons that have to engage in activities that include public education, sensitization and awareness of conflict indicators within the region. Though a brilliant idea that allows grass root access and participation in peacebuilding efforts, some regions still lack Regional Peace Advisory Councils and in others, they have been merged with regional security structures limiting their ability to operate independently. To enable a smooth functioning of the Council, the NPC Bill also made provisions for the establishment of Executive Secretariats that will operate in each region and district. Secretaries who will run the day to day activities of these secretariats are suppose to be experienced in conflict resolution and peace building. The Ghanaian Peace Council is therefore, in conception and practice, an epitome of both authors [1] and [2] description and explanation of what constitutes an infrastructure for peace.

Using documentary sources, this paper analyzed the petitions of the opposition New Patriotic Party (NPP), the Electoral Commission of Ghana (EC) and the ruling National Democratic Congress (NDC) before the Supreme Court of Ghana; the content of the speeches delivered at the Kumasi Peace Accord; the National Peace Council Act 2011 (Act 818), and selected literature on infrastructure for peace to appraise the role of the NPC in promoting peaceful election 2012 in Ghana. The role the NPC played towards a peaceful election 2012 can be categorized into three phases: the pre-election campaign including the press releases it issued calling for a peaceful conduct of affairs or rebuke institutions or individuals that behaved in manners capable of engendering the country’s fragile peace. However, the most significant pre-election event discussed in this paper is the Kumasi Peace Accord. Events during the Election Day constitute the second phase in this process. Yet, only the Dzorwulo-STL incident is discussed. The third phase is the post-election phase and the incident discussed in this phases is the intervention the NPC made to save the situation when the opposition NPP called for a delay in declaring the winner of the 2012 elections. In the analysis of these events, the over-riding objective remain appraising the NPC as a proactive peacebuilding institution. An examination of the potential challenges of the NPC is in regard to pointing out, indirectly, the nature of support it needs to be able to work effectively. The paper recommends that since election remains the source of conflict in Africa and also conflicts being the bane of development in the continent, the feasibility of establishing a continental-level peace infrastructure will not be a misplaced idea.

2. The NPC and peaceful election 2012: *the Kumasi Peace Accord*

On November 27, 2012, just ten (10) days before the 2012 general election, the NPC, Institute for Democratic Governance (IDEG) and the Manhyia Palace convene a joint meeting of all the 2012 Presidential Candidates to publicly denounce “electoral violence, impunity and injustice” in the coming election. Also, all presidential candidates were asked to make a declaration that they will accept the electoral results and prevail on their supporters across the nation to eschew violence before, during and after the elections. Present at what became known as the Kumasi Declaration or Kumasi Peace Pact were the Asantehene (Otumfuo Osei Tutu II),

Chairman of the NPC (Most Reverend Professor Emmanuel Asante), the two immediate past Presidents of Ghana (Jerry John Rawlings and John Agyekum Kufour), the President of the Republic of Ghana and flagbearer of the NDC (John Dramani Mahama), the Chief Justice (Her Lordship Georgina Theodora Wood), the Inspector General of Ghana Police Service; members of the NPC, representatives of civil society organizations, chiefs and members of the general public.

Addressing the need for such a high-level meeting, the Executive Director of IDEG, Dr. Emmanuel Akwetey notes that “ [R]eview of the many commendable interventions so far has pointed to the need for a high level meeting with all the presidential candidates on this matter, as it puts the nation’s cherished values of freedom and justice as well as unity and stability at great risk” [6]. He goes further to explain that the Kumasi declaration “provides a public space within which the presidential candidates as political leaders will openly and collectively take a stand against all acts of electoral violence, impunity and injustice during and after the December 2012 elections” [6]. To appreciate the significance of this meeting, one needs to examine the political context in which it took place. The former President, Jerry John Rawlings, captured this political situation in his speech at the meeting noting that, “Ghana has been blessed with peaceful political transitions since ...the Fourth Republican Constitution in April 1992. However, many of the electoral processes that have led to these transitions have been characterized by uncomfortable levels of tension and indeed several instances of violence and threats of violence” [7]. He further notes that “Ghanaians are alarmed by the exchange of extremely vitriolic and basely abusive language on our airwaves – our politics is now characterized by how loud and abusive one can be, rather than the application of moderate, toned-down logic and common sense in debating the issues. We cannot sustain this and guarantee our peace. Such recklessness is a catalyst for conflict” [7].

On the other hand, the NPP flagbearer placed the source of tension not only on the recklessness of our politics in the run up to the election, but also on the failure of government to institute confidence measures that could assure the citizenry that the Ghanaian security agencies have a free hand to do their work in an impartial manner [8]. Having indicted the security services and the government of the day, the NPP flagbearer went ahead to express his party’s commitment to peace thus; “[W]e on our part have no hesitation in signing up to a commitment to peace. I pledge on behalf of the NPP and on my own behalf that we shall accept the verdict of the people, as we did in 2008, and we pray that Ghana emerges as the shining example of a peaceful democratic nation” [8]. Though a commendable statement, one analyst [9], took on the NPP presidential candidate for setting conditions on which he and the NPP will accept the results of the 2012 elections.

In addition to the incidents that the NPP flagbearer enumerated, several other disturbances happened prior to the Kumasi high-level meeting that contributed to the general level of insecurity and anxiety. First was the vandalisation of a car belonging to an NPP MP for Adansi-Akrofuom Constituency in Ashanti region; second was the physical assault meted out to NDC supporters at Kyebi, the hometown of the NPP flagbearer when the President and flagbearer of the NDC went there to campaign; third was the physical assault of Ursula Owusu, an NPP MP aspirant for Ablekuma North; the physical assault of people thought to be non-Ga speaking during the biometric registration exercise at the Odododiodio constituency in the Greater Accra.

There were also several genocidal pronouncements and leaked secret tapes including the NPP flagbearer's infamous "all-die-be-die" slogan purportedly calling on his supporters to protect the ballot at all cost or to ensure he wins the elections at the cost of the lives of his supporters, depending on whether one is NPP or NDC supporter; the NPP Member of Parliament for Assin North, Hon. Kennedy Agyapong's call on Akans to butcher Ga's and Ewe's to death; the NDC's national organizer, Yaw Boateng Gyan's, secret tape in which he alleges to the infiltration of the national security apparatus with political sympathizers to be used for the purposes of the election; the NPP's national youth organizers secret tape in which he alleges to recruit refugees from Ivory Coast and Togo to be used to cause mayhem in the run up to the election; the former President, John Agyekum Kufour's allegation at a rally in Tamale, that the Special Forces Unit of the Ghana Armed Forces will be used to brutalize NPP's supporters; A senior ranking member of the NPP, Konadu Apraku's claim that the government will mastermind an electricity outage on NPP strongholds on the election day so that they will not be able to use the Biometric Voter Device (BVD), and several other highlights of incidents. Against this background of mounting political tension, the Kumasi Peace Accord, in the words of author in [9] "underscores the desire of Ghanaians to live in a peaceful atmosphere, regardless of who wins or loses the upcoming elections." It also provided Ghanaians; he continued "a document to refer to in our assessment of the political situation in the country." It is when this historic peace accord is examined from this perspective that the efforts of the NPC will be much appreciated.

3. The Dzorwulo-STL Incident

A near fatal incident happened on December 8, 2012 when the voting went to the second day due to the breakdown of the Biometric Voter Devices. Many young people belonging to the opposition NPP massed up at Dzorwulo, an area in Accra, where it was alleged that the Government had brought in some Israeli IT experts to intercept, mid-way, voting results faxed from Regional Coalition Centres of the Electoral Commission to its "Strong Room" at Accra for computation and subsequent declaration. This incident became one of the many issues on which the historic election petition was filed and captured succinctly in paragraphs 8, 9 and 10 of the petition, signifying the importance that the party attached to the impact of the incidence to their overall victory in the election. These young people demanded access to the office of the STL Company where they believed the "rigging" was going on. Personnel from the Ghana Police Service were deployed. A team of NPP leaders, led by Osafo Maafo, went to the offices of STL to confront them before the media and the Police [10]. It was at this time that the members of the NPC, led by Most Rev. Professor Emmanuel Asante, came in to help rescue the situation. They teamed up with the NPP leaders at the scene to beg the teeming youth who had gathered at the scene to leave for the Police Officers to do their work. The Police Officers were allowed entry into the office of STL and inspect all equipments, and this was transmitted live on some media houses in Ghana. The Electoral Commission of Ghana dismissed the NPP's claim that they had arranged with STL to intercept and transit results to its "strong room" in Accra. It notes that STL won the contract to provide IT services, including equipment provision and staff training, to the Electoral Commission following an international competitive bidding procedure in 2011 and had no role to play and did not play any role in the transmission of election results [11]. In their amended petition to the Supreme Court, the NPP expunged the STL incident from the list of cases they were seeking relief thereby exposing the weakness of the claim. Indeed, a leading member of the petitioners' party (the NPP), Dr. Wereku Brobby, referred to the inclusion of the STL incident in the petition as

ill advised [12]. Yet, it would have led to a bloodbath had the NPC and the NPP leadership did not exercise good judgment. It also exposes the psychology of mob action and group behavior in events as emotional as elections. It is under this circumstance that the timely intervention of the NPC is deemed appropriate.

4. The NPP's Call for the Suspension of Results Declaration

Ghana's elections are conducted by an independent Electoral Commission (EC) as provided for in Article 45(c) of the 1992 Constitution. Pursuant to Article 63 (3) of Ghana's 1992 Constitution, a candidate is deemed President-elect if he/she obtains more than fifty per cent of the total number of valid votes cast in an election [13]. The EC was therefore getting ready to declare candidate John Mahama president-elect of the 2012 elections having secured 50.70 per cent of the valid votes cast when the opposition NPP claimed the vote had been manipulated by the EC in favour of the candidate. The party therefore called on the EC, contrary to the provisions of Article 46 of the 1992 Constitution, to delay the official announcement of the results until all allegations of rigging are investigated [13]. The cause of the NPP's suspicion is captured in paragraph 20 of the Affidavit sworn by the 2nd Petitioner, Dr. Mahamudu Bawumia, pursuant to the Supreme Court's directions on memorandum of issues and mode of trial for the Presidential Election Petition, number J1/6/2013 on 2nd April 2013. Their suspicion, which necessitated the call for the delay in the declaration of the election results stemmed from the inexplicable differences and discrepancies that arose at the Dome-Kwabinya constituency between the results of the party's parliamentary candidate and that of the presidential candidate.

In his testimony to the Supreme Court of Ghana, the Electoral Commissioner, Dr. Kwadjo Afari Gyan explains his refusal to grant the request of the NPP. He notes that the Chairman of the NPP on December 9th 2012 wrote to the EC requesting two things: first, an audit of the verification machine to ensure it tallied with the votes cast in the ballot and second, a re-collation of the ballots at the constituency level to establish the true credibility of the results being declared [14]. The EC explained, in relation to these requests, which an audit of the verification machines will take months to complete, which will unnecessarily delay the announcement of the results [14]. He also added that since none of the polling agents protested against the declaration of the results at the disputed polling stations, it will be very difficult for the EC to honour the request of the NPP. At this point, the NPC stepped in and helped organized a second meeting between the EC and the opposition NPP. At this meeting the NPP chairman provided seven collation forms, otherwise known as "pink sheets" as evidence of allegation of discrepancies. The seven commissioners from the EC then retired to consider the validity of the "pink sheets" tendered as evidence. Upon examination, the EC realized that in five instances, the "pink sheets" provided were less than the total numbers of polling stations in the constituency and in the case of the other two, they realized there were more "pink sheets" than there were in the constituency [14]. The EC then decided that the evidence provided were "insufficient" and went ahead to declare the results.

Another post-election intervention made by the NPC was a press release done on the 9th of December 2012, a day after the December 7th and 8th voting. While the EC was still compiling votes from constituencies across the country, the opposition NPP organized a press conference and the General Secretary, Owusu Afriyie, announced that the NPP had won the elections and that their supporters throughout the country should wear white attires and start celebrating. This was not only an illegal declaration, since per the 1992 Constitution only the Electoral

Commissioner (who is the returning officer for the Presidential Elections) can declare a presidential candidate winner of an election, but it was also irresponsible designed to create chaos. Addressing a press conference at the designated Press Centre for Election 2012, the chairman of the NPC, Most Rev. Emmanuel Asante, said the declaration made by the NPP's General Secretary has the tendency of plunging "the nation into chaos" [15]. He went further to note that while the NPC congratulates all Ghanaians for their peaceful conduct, it considers the press conference organized by the NPP's General Secretary as unfortunate, premature and inconsistent with the 1992 Constitution which mandates only the EC to declare electoral results in this country"[15].

The NPC chairman then called on all concerned in the electoral process to exercise restraint and also warned the media not to provide platform for any irresponsible conduct that will breach the election time peace the country was enjoying. This act was seen to be sinister because the NPP has a lot of seasoned lawyers including their Presidential candidate for election 2012 and even the General Secretary who arrogated to himself power invested in the Electoral Commission. The call for celebration at the time that electoral results were still being compiled by a lawyer who understands the constitutional provision on electoral results declaration therefore deserves the firm rebuke that the NPC gave it. Truly, this timely intervention prevented the ruling NDC from also calling on its supporters to celebrate. This will have marked the beginning of uncontrollable violence.

5. Challenges and Prospects of the NPC

Despite the tremendous role played by the NPC in last year's election in Ghana, it still faces challenges that may undermine its smooth operations. Most of the challenges discussed here relate to the provisions of the NPC Bill. First, Clause 14 provides that District Peace Councils are to 'assist the District Assembly in peace initiatives, mediate in inter and intra community conflict or conflicts among groups within the district.' 'Assist' is not a mandatory responsibility for an important institution like the NPC [16]. Assisting the District Assembly in peace initiatives presupposes a subservient role to the NPC which may allow the District Assembly to usurp the powers of NPC. Second, Clause 17 provides for the allowances and other remuneration payable to members of the governing board of the NPC, the Regional Peace Councils (RPC) and the District Peace Councils (DPC). This is to be determined by the Minister for the Interior in consultation with the Minister responsible for Finance [16]. Also, Clause 23 of the NPC Bill charges the expenditure of the Council to the Consolidate Fund. Both Clause 17 and 23 empower the government to control the purse of the Council [16].

The Finance and Interior ministries are government departments that work to enhance its image. Similarly, the Consolidated Fund is also government-controlled. This means the government controls much of the source of funds for the Council and could likely be used as a tool to control the Council. The only source of funds outside the control of the government is provided in Clause 20 which calls for the establishment of a Peace Fund [16]. The sources of funds for this Peace Fund include contributions from government, local, private, public and international organizations. In response to this call, the UNDP has in the past contributed to the NPC and other stakeholders need to emulate this example. The Peace Fund may serve as a safeguard against government interference in the work of the Council if other stakeholders are really committed to funding its projects. Otherwise, a mischievous government who fills the purse of the Council may likely manipulate its activities.

Further, both Article 195 of the 1992 Constitution and Clause 24 of the NPC Bill vest the power of appointments to the Council in the hands of the President. While Article 195 empowers the President to appoint other staff of the Council necessary for an effective and efficient performance of its functions; Clause 24 stipulates that the Executive Secretary of the Council, (who will be the head of the Secretariat of the Peace Council) should be appointed by the President. Similarly, the President is also mandated to appoint other staff of the Council deemed necessary for the proper and effective performance of its functions.

The power of the President to appoint members of the Council is a positive thing, however, it may be considered that some Presidents may abuse this power and appoint people that listen to them or find another way of influencing them. Rather, there should be a pool of consultative bodies that involve civil society organizations and other stakeholders in the selection of members to the Council. This will preserve the Council from intrusive governments that may want to use it to serve its political interest. As it stands now, there will be no complete safeguard from government interference in the work of the Council if it owns the monopoly of appointment and dismissal of members of the Council and also control its source of funding. This is more significant given the fact that most of the conflicts in the country are either partisan or chiefly-based with partisan colourization. With a firm hold on such an institution, governments may be tempted to clear their names via that window.

6. Conclusion

This paper has examined the role of the NPC towards peaceful election 2012 in Ghana and the challenges of the institution as Ghana's experiment of the concept of infrastructure for peace. It demonstrates (through cases) the role of the NPC before, during and after the 2012 elections and how those interventions have helped towards peaceful elections. It is imperative, in discussing the significance of the NPC, to note that successful state building does not only support the consolidation of peace, but also enhances mechanisms for security and conflict resolution. Institutions established to help realize these objectives need to be encouraged. Such mechanisms should be seen to be legitimate in the eyes of the citizenry and also the international community. Legitimacy stems partly from independence and the NPC notwithstanding its susceptibility to government influence is an independent peacebuilding institution. State building, like peace building, also involves a range of interventions aimed at reducing the risk of a state plummeting or relapsing into conflict. This is guaranteed by establishing and also strengthening national capacities at all levels to prevent and manage conflicts when they arise. The Ghanaian national peace architecture project can therefore be construed as both peace building and state building measures aimed at managing the ethnic and chieftaincy disputes that threaten the stability of the state and also preventing the outbreak of a total war.

The state level success of this institution calls for the establishment of a continental-wide peace infrastructure. Democracy in Africa over the years has come to be synonymous with electoral democracy. This fixation of democracy on election and the concept of the "winner-takes-all" are what have made African elections "a-do-or-die" affair. After several years of practicing democracy on the continent, African countries are still plagued with a myriad of problems including conflicts, political leaders breach of the confidence reposed on them by the electorates, and corruption among others.

Whereas democracy has seen countries like South Africa and Mauritius making steady progress; it has also come with its own attendant problems in some parts in Africa including Ivory Coast in 2010, Kenya in 2007/2008 and Zimbabwe in 2007. The list of countries affected by electoral violence and electoral motivated conflict in Africa go beyond the countries mentioned above. According to a seasoned African political scientist [17:39] these problems persist because presidential power in Africa is a zero-sum game making leaders unwilling to relinquish political power. He therefore calls for the establishment of a “Pan African Senate” which could make recommendations to African governments and to the Summit of incumbent heads of State and Government of the African Union.

According to author in [17:39], the Pan-African Senate will meet bi-annually to serve two purpose among other things: “to tap the experience of former heads of state at a time when they are no longer constrained by the exercise of power; and, secondly, to provide an additional Pan-African acknowledgement and salute to those African heads of state who not only served their countries but also allowed themselves to be replaced from power democratically”. [17:40] further discusses the concept of “pax Africana” in which an “African is established, enforced and consolidated by Africans themselves” since the UN is been overstretched. A continental level infrastructure for peace should be able to perform all the functions of a “pan African senate” and also become a “pax Africana.”

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