



ZAMBIA

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Introduction

Zambia is a poor country with an estimated population of 9.98 million¹ people from some 70 ethnic groups.

In its relations with other nations, Zambia has been generally peaceful, although security has at times been affected by the civil wars in neighbouring countries.

Since Zambia's independence in 1964, there have been wars in five of her eight neighbouring countries: Mozambique, Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC), Angola, Namibia and Zimbabwe. These wars destabilised the country politically and economically, and led to large volumes of illicit small arms and light weapons (SALW) entering the country.²

Zambia's domestic politics have been highly competitive, and occasionally violent, with ethnic rivalry being a powerful undercurrent. There is an ongoing push for independence from the Lozi people of the south west. The former finance minister, Ronald Penza, was assassinated in 1998, and Wezi Kaunda, son of Zambia's founding president Kenneth Kaunda, was murdered in suspicious circumstances in 1999.

However, violent incidents like this are rare. Although politicians have been known to use tactics such as renting crowds of supporters, none have ever maintained a permanent, armed militia. Competition among the elite for patronage and power is more likely to end up in the press and courts than on the streets. However, members of opposition parties have often alleged that cadres supporting the ruling Movement for Multiparty Democracy (MMD) were armed during the presidency of Frederick Chiluba (1991-2001).³ The MMD party members were apprehended while buying firearms from Congolese rebels in 1997.⁴

Methodology

A combination of semi-structured interviews, analysis of public records, and focus group discussions were used to collect information for this chapter. Five focus groups were held – with journalists, transport providers, university students, refugees and bankers. Other informants were interviewed individually. Focus groups were asked to consider three key issues: the reasons for the demand for firearms, the sources of firearms, and how firearm proliferation could be reduced within the country.

Among those interviewed were officials from the Zambia Police Service, the Zambia Revenue Authority (ZRA), the Department of Home Affairs, human rights organisation representatives, health workers, students, transport providers, drivers, journalists, refugees, private security firms, hunters, gun owners, business owners and the Zambia Red Cross. In total, over 100 people were interviewed in six areas: Lusaka, Chirundu, Kitwe, Ndola, Chipata and Mufulira.

Most of the people interviewed would only speak freely on condition of anonymity. Given the sensitive nature of the data, this was understandable. An additional difficulty was that government officials always insisted on getting clearance from their superiors, which, more often than not, was not forthcoming.

The study has also drawn on reports from a workshop entitled “The Social Impacts of the Proliferation of Small Arms and Light Weapons in Zambia”, which was held in Lusaka, Zambia on 22 November 2003 under the auspices of the IPPNW.

National Firearm Stockpiles

State-owned firearms

In 2003 the Zambian Armed Forces numbered 21 600 (20 000 army and 1 600 airforce), with an additional 1 400 paramilitary troops. The Zambia Police Service was about 13 000-strong in 2003, while the Zambia Wildlife Authority (ZAWA) employed several thousand game scouts, who were often armed in order to combat poaching and provide general security in the national parks and game reserves. Total defence expenditure, much of which is spent on salaries rather than equipment, was estimated at ZK100bn (US\$23.2m) in 2002,⁵ and expenditure on the police a further ZK111bn (US\$ 25.75m).⁶ The Zambian government is known to have purchased arms from the former Soviet Union, South Africa, Belgium, China and the former Yugoslavia.⁷ Among the most commonly used weapons by the state’s armed forces are AK-47 automatic rifles, M56 sub-machine guns (also known as the Zastava), M59 self-loading single shot rifles, and G3 rifles.⁸

The Zambia Police Firearms Registry maintains the database for state-owned small arms and light weapons, which are stored in designated warehouses under the custody of the police and armed forces. Information from the Firearms Registry database about the state armoury are protected under the State Secrets Act, to which only senior authorised personnel have access. Firearms Registry personnel declined to release details of state stockpiles to researchers, alleging that only the President has the power to do so.⁹

Civilian firearm ownership

Civilians are permitted to own and use licenced firearms. The Firearms Act of 1970, which has not since been reviewed or amended¹⁰ regulates civilian firearm ownership. The Firearms Act prescribes strict control over the licensing of firearms to civilians and restricts the number of permits issued to civilians to about 600 per year, with allocations divided equally between the nine provinces.

A 2002 study by Saferworld and SaferAfrica highlighted the absence of reference in the Firearms Act to state-owned firearms, the control of arms brokering or the breach of arms embargoes. The study also pointed out that penalties and fines have not been reviewed since the Act was passed, and that since 1970 high inflation has severely eroded their value.¹¹

The Act makes provision for sportspeople, licenced firearms dealers, neighbourhood security watch organisations,¹² hunters, abattoir owners¹³ and private security officers¹⁴ to legally own firearms. Licences are also issued to allow for the use of firearms during traditional ceremonies. Civilians are entitled to own firearms for the purpose of personal protection, though this is discouraged.¹⁵ To cater for tourists seeking to hunt, visitors and resident permit holders can obtain temporary firearm permits.

In the case of organisations (which can be as diverse as private security companies and shooting clubs) firearm licences are either issued to the owners, who can then allow their employees to use them, or to the employees themselves. Whoever is the licensee bears full responsibility for the maintenance and safekeeping of the firearms.¹⁶ This provision allows for only limited control over firearms and needs to be addressed through the adoption of clearer legislation.

According to a presentation by Mr Tilimboyi, Chief Registrar of the Zambian Firearms Registry, there are currently 86 642 firearms licenced to civilians in Zambia. Of these, 43 295 are shotguns, 32 277 are rifles and 11 070 are pistols,¹⁷ indicating that licenced firearms are predominantly sought for hunting and sporting activities, rather than for purposes of self-protection. Registry officials have said that men own “98% to 99%” of firearms legally in the hands of civilians. Table 8.1 and Table 8.2 below provide a breakdown of the number of firearm licences issued between 1998 and 2003 and the amount of ammunition that civilians are legally allowed to possess per firearm respectively.

Table 8.1: Firearm licences issued by the Firearms Registry 1998-2003

Type of firearm	Number registered
Shotguns	1 144
Rifles	1 188
Pistols	552
Total	2 884

Source: Central Firearms Registry, Zambia Police Service

Table 8.2: Amount of ammunition legally allowable per firearm

Nature of ammunition	Quantity
Pistol	100 rounds
Rifle (.22 calibre or below)	50 rounds
Rifle (calibre above .22)	100 rounds
Shot guns	100 rounds
Gun powder	2 pounds (just under 1kg)
Caps	100 rounds

Source: Firearms Act, 1970

The figure of 86 642 firearms means that with a population of about 9.98 million, there are relatively low levels of legal firearm ownership (0.9% of the population). The evidence points, however, to a significant level of illegal, unlicenced firearm ownership among civilians. During a workshop on the social impact of firearms proliferation, held in Lusaka in November 2003, the Firearms Chief Registrar reported finding large numbers of unlicenced firearms¹⁸ but did not provide figures.

In order to reduce the number of illegal firearms in circulation, the police have offered amnesty from prosecution to anyone surrendering an illegal firearm to them, and up to US\$ 40 per firearm surrendered. Officials at the Firearms Registry commented in 2003 that a lack of funding was hampering the success of the amnesty programme.¹⁹ The cash compensation policy has been criticised by other police forces within the region for allegedly encouraging trade in firearms. In the three-year period up to mid-2003 the amnesty campaign had netted some 2 500 firearms, and most of these were reportedly either very old or of inferior quality,²⁰ representing a very low success rate.

In late 2003, the Firearms Registry reported that 720 illegally owned firearms had been retrieved by the state that year, either through confiscation or through the firearm buy-back scheme.²¹ Some of the weapons were burnt at a ceremony on 17 July, 2003. At this event Home

Affairs Minister, General Ronnie Shikapwasha, announced the formation of an inter-departmental working group to spearhead an awareness campaign against firearm proliferation.²²

Despite the public weapons-destruction ceremony, allegations persist of a lack of transparency in the way that the police store and destroy confiscated and returned firearms. Such allegations fuel suspicion that some of these firearms are not destroyed, but are instead being illegally transferred back to unlicensed civilian users for criminal purposes.²³ The police deny the charge.

In 2003 the *Times of Zambia* reported that 26 villagers in Isoka district, Northern Province, were fined for illegal firearm possession.²⁴ Previously, in 1999, the police recovered 154 firearms in North-western Province, believed to have come from neighbouring Angola.²⁵ In 2001, two years later, a high number of illegal firearms were rounded up in Zambia's Western Province. The Angolan and Zambian governments condemned the presence of these firearms, which they blamed on smugglers and refugees.²⁶

The conflict in the DRC has also stimulated gunrunning in neighbouring Zambian provinces. In August 2003, a traditional leader from Northern Province publicly called on the government to take action to prevent his subjects from trading firearms with the Congolese.²⁷

Despite the absence of conflict in neighbouring Malawi, there are reports that firearms are illegally smuggled across the border between Zambia and Malawi. In 2003 the press reported the confiscation by police of hundreds of firearms from villagers in the Eastern Province's Chama District, which borders Malawi.²⁸ Research at the Mwami border crossing, near Chipata in Eastern Province, suggested that poaching in the nearby South Luangwa National Park was rife, and that many local residents believed that large quantities of firearms and ammunition were being smuggled across the border from Malawi and Mozambique. It was also observed that the main ethnic group in the region, the Ngoni, have a warlike reputation, and many families are said to pass down firearms from generation to generation.²⁹

Private security companies

There has been a private security industry in the Zambia for many years, and most people and businesses who can afford private security appear to

already have it. There are reported to be around 15 000 guards operating in Lusaka alone,³⁰ with private security companies also operating elsewhere in the country, particularly on the Copper Belt in the Northern Zambia. Many of the major security companies are subsidiaries of South African companies. Fearing perhaps that the release of such sensitive information might jeopardise their standing in a highly competitive industry, private security companies declined to disclose the size of their firearm armouries. Although theoretically in a position to do so, the Firearms Registry did not furnish this information either.

Firearms dealers

In 2003 there were five registered firearms dealers in the country – four in Lusaka and one in Solwezi in Northwestern Province. Firearms dealers are required to have a licence. They must specify what security measures they have in place to safeguard their firearms and ammunition, they must keep a register showing all transactions, and be open to inspection at any time by the Registrar of Firearms. Dealers may only sell firearms to licensed users, and there are limits on the amount of ammunition they can sell at any time, for a given firearm. In practice however, the Registrar of Firearms does not carry out regular inspections, due to lack of transport and manpower.³¹

Mr Tilimboyi reported that the annual allocation given to firearms dealers is as follows: 275 rifles; 309 shotguns; 138 pistols; and 1 103 350 rounds of ammunition (assorted).³²

Because Zambia does not manufacture firearms,³³ dealers have to import all their stock. Dealers declined to reveal information about the sources of their imports, or their volume and value, on the grounds that only the Firearms Registry is entitled to receive this information from them. According to the Central Firearms Registry rifles, shotguns, pistols and ammunition are imported from the following companies and countries:³⁴

- Swartklip Products (South Africa)
- Pretoria Metal Pressings (South Africa)
- Rossi Firearms (Brazil)
- Ceska Zbrojovka (Czech Republic)

- Sellier and Bellot (Czech Republic)
- Masten-Wright, Inc. (United States of America)
- Clever (Italy)
- Gamo Industries (Spain)
- Kynamco Limited (England)
- Hans Wrage & Co (Germany)

Loss and theft of state-owned firearms

The penalties for members of the police and armed forces found to have sold or rented their firearms to civilians are strict, although unspecified by law.³⁵ These include dismissal and imprisonment, depending on the seriousness of the offence.³⁶ The police and armed forces do not normally report internal firearm losses, citing security reasons, since under the State Securities Act alarming the public is a criminal offence.

Journalists interviewed for this study were of the view that the main source of illegally owned firearms in the country was the state security services, either through sale or theft. However stories about illegal firearms do not usually appear in the press unless the guilty parties are apprehended. In one notorious incident in 1993, two senior airforce officers who had been working with Congolese businessmen were caught by the police after stealing 48 AK-47s, 60 rifles and 21 pistols from a military armoury.³⁷ An undisclosed number of army officers were apprehended the same year after unsuccessfully trying to transfer 30 AK-47s to civilians.³⁸ Also in 1993, Interpol was reported as having discovered a car hijacking syndicate, whose weapons were being supplied by members of the Zambian police.³⁹ A year later, in 1994, two members of the armed forces were arrested for selling stolen state firearms to civilians.⁴⁰ More recently, in 2000, the police spokesman, Mr Lemmy Kajoba, admitted publicly that there were instances in which police officers were supplying weapons to crime syndicates.⁴¹ However, such frankness is uncommon – the more usual official position, even when weapons recovered at crime scenes are of the same type as those used by the police and armed forces, is to say that they were smuggled in from neighbouring countries.⁴²

Given the reluctance of the state to share information with regard to firearms, it is impossible to assess the extent of loss and theft of firearms from the armed forces in Zambia. It is a matter of concern that those responsible for the control of firearms are also seen to be responsible for the illegal exchange of firearms. Whether this is a widespread phenomenon or not, it undermines public confidence in the police forces' ability to implement firearm controls.

Trade in illegal firearms

It is believed that a significant number of firearms have been exchanged between Zambian citizens and refugees and militia of neighbouring countries experiencing civil war. While no official statistics exist, the press has often reported on the subject, with the bulk of the stories concerning either the illegal transfer of weapons from Angolans to Zambians during the long-running Angolan civil war,⁴³ or, more recently, from combatants in the DRC.⁴⁴

According to the Zambia Revenue Authority, which staffs customs posts between Zambia and its neighbours, it lacks sufficient capacity to adequately control the entry and exit of firearms into/out of Zambia, due to a shortage of both personnel and specialist equipment. In a bid to reduce illegal firearms imports and exports, the ZRA says it has established a "Flexible Anti-Smuggling Team" (FAST), which works with the security forces. At the end of 2003 there was no basis upon which an assessment of the effectiveness of FAST could be established.⁴⁵ Research conducted at Chirundu, the main border crossing between Zambia and Zimbabwe, suggests that most goods entering Zambia via this route are not physically inspected, in part because bribery and corruption are commonplace between ZRA officials and transporters.

Zambia is host to an estimated 300 000 refugees, most of whom come from Angola, DRC, Burundi and Rwanda. Many are housed in camps to which the Zambia Red Cross Society (ZRCS) provide health services, food, and refugee registration assistance. The ZRCS was unwilling to comment on allegations of arms transfers between refugees and Zambians, but did confirm that armed refugees are encountered at camp entry points, where

they are supposed to be disarmed by the state security services. The ZRCS added that its personnel stop work at 4pm, due to security concerns, indicating that the disarmament of refugees is not as thorough as it ought to be.

Zambia has a history of hosting southern African liberation movements, including South Africa's African National Congress (ANC). It is suspected that firearms formerly owned by these liberation movements have remained in Zambia and contribute to the pool of illegal weapons. There are rumours in the Southern province of substantial arms caches that once belonged to Zimbabwean guerrilla movements camped there prior to Zimbabwean independence in 1980. However, those involved in repatriating Zimbabwean guerrilla fighters after the war insist that the bulk of their firearms were transferred with them.⁴⁶ There are allegations too that some members of South Africa's ANC sold firearms to Zambians before they went home in 1990, and that many of these weapons have found their way into the hands of criminal gangs.⁴⁷

Zambians tend to blame foreigners for illegal firearms proliferation in the country, but Zambians too have been reported as involved in this trade. In April 2000 it was reported that the children of senior Zambian politicians had joined a syndicate distributing firearms for car-jackings throughout southern Africa.⁴⁸ Furthermore, it was widely alleged, though never conclusively proved, that the former vice-president Enoch Kavindele and home affairs minister Keli Walubita sold firearms to Angola's rebel União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola (UNITA), during the Angolan civil war.⁴⁹

Assessing the Demand for Firearms

Focus groups and interviews conducted for this study indicated a growing demand amongst Zambians for firearms for self-protection and for the protection of property. This appears to be linked to a lack of faith in the police service to perform this task adequately. The police are widely believed to be incompetent and under-equipped.

Alfred Zulu, president of the Lusaka-based human rights NGO, Zambia Independent Monitoring Team (ZIMT), alleged that: "Crime is increasing

exponentially, with lax control over firearms, rampant corruption in the security services, and a desire by members of the public to arm themselves, as the Zambia Police are perceived as being unreliable...."⁵⁰

Even the president, Levy Mwanawasa, has been publicly critical of police performance. The police blame chronic under-funding for the problem.⁵¹ Lack of confidence in the police, and perceptions of a rising crime rate, keep the demand for private security companies high. While most firearms imported for the private security industry seems to be legal, in some cases it has not been.⁵² In addition, in areas bordering the DRC, residents say they feel insecure because of incursions from across the border, which residents allege, the Zambia Defence Force (ZDF) and ZRA officials are unable to counter. This has resulted in increased reliance on private firearm ownership – both legal and illegal – among DRC border region residents.

Many focus group respondents, particularly in the health sector, linked the seemingly rising crime rate in the country to poverty and unemployment.

The main crimes associated with firearms are aggravated robbery, murder and poaching. The statistics confirm the widespread view that Lusaka is the most crime-affected area of the country. 493 firearms were reportedly involved in murder or aggravated robbery in 1998, and 372 firearms in 2002.⁵³ Official police statistics indicate that the number of firearms involved in crime nationally has been stable since 1998 (see Table 8.3). In the Copper Belt, which is a major conduit for firearms entering from the DRC, the statistics show crime involving firearms to have decreased since 1998, when the DRC war began. However, the statistics should be treated with caution, as there appears to be a significant degree of under-reporting of crime.

Lusaka-based bank employees interviewed said they considered themselves to be at increasing risk from crime, and cited numerous incidents in which they or their colleagues had been victims of armed and violent assault. Bank employees appear to share the widespread view that the state security services were a major source of illegal firearms.⁵⁴

Table 8.3: Violent crime statistics 1998-2003

Year	Crime	Cases	Reported No. of firearms
1998	Murder	458	65
	Aggravated robbery	698	709
1999	Murder	291	31
	Aggravated robbery	664	667
2000	Murder	322	42
	Aggravated robbery	732	649
2001	Murder	267	27
	Aggravated robbery	447	522
2002	Murder	196	74
	Aggravated robbery	627	668
Jan-Aug 2003	Murder	145	25
	Aggravated robbery	372	347

Source: *Daily Incident Reports, Zambia Police*

Firearms can be good business, particularly in border areas, where they are a form of hard currency, both for refugees and Zambians. Research in border regions suggested widespread arms trafficking for this purpose. Journalists interviewed for the study also suggested that firearms are regularly used in lieu of cash in illegal operations, such as drug deals, money laundering, and the illegal trade in precious stones and fuel. The journalists also claimed that due to low salaries in the state security services, police and armed force members have a powerful incentive to hire out or sell their weapons to criminals. Refugees alleged that the police sometimes sell weapons to militia from neighbouring countries.

Refugees reported that the nature of the regimes that ruled them was at times a powerful incentive for them and their fellow countrymen to use firearms. Some refugees also alleged that arms dealers were able to operate with impunity in their countries of origin, because of lax and corrupt administration.

In response to the question of how to reduce the demand for firearms, most respondents said the main solution would be extensive reform of the police

service. When asked how this could be done, they responded: improving training and working conditions; and depoliticising the force so that it would concentrate more on crime prevention, and less on suppression of forces identified as hostile by government.

According to human rights organisations, the police service is excessively politicised, and prone to human rights abuses. Lusaka-based NGO, Afronet, stated in its human rights report for 2002 that: "... the role of the police in protection of life and property, preservation of law and order and prevention and detection of crime in 2002 was undermined by cases of unlawful detentions, extra-judicial killings and torture....." ⁵⁵

More broadly, many respondents called for an improvement to the country's dire socio-economic position, which they felt meant that crime was of growing appeal, particularly to the young.

Conclusion

The demand for firearms among civilians is evidently much higher than the available legal supply, both among criminals and among those who feel threatened by crime. There are numerous reports indicating that civilians are in possession of illegal firearms. The two main supply sources of illegal firearms in Zambia appear, from the available evidence, to be networks connected to belligerent groups in neighbouring countries, and the Zambian state itself.

Reducing illegal firearms proliferation requires both that demand be reduced and that supply is restricted. Reducing criminal demand for firearms is a difficult task for the Zambian state to accomplish. Even a surge in economic growth will not necessarily make legal income generation more attractive to criminals than crime. It is, however, likely that the greater involvement of local communities in the management of national parks and game reserves would reduce poaching. This approach is already being pursued by ZAWA, but poaching remains a problem, suggesting that implementation should be intensified.

Reducing demand for firearms from civilians wanting to protect themselves from crime requires boosting public confidence in the criminal justice

system, and particularly the police. The highly politicised nature of the police force, a legacy of the colonial era that has sadly been perpetuated by post-independence governments, is a significant hurdle that needs to be overcome. In addition, police training needs to be improved, and the police need more resources such as vehicles, mobile phones and radios.

Increasing funding and training for the judicial system in order to improve the quality of trials and speed them up, would also boost public confidence and make people less inclined to take the law into their own hands.

Given the difficulty the Zambian state has in policing the country's long borders, it would appear that only an end to the conflicts of the region will really have much impact in reducing firearms supply coming from belligerent groups in neighbouring states. Fortunately there has been considerable progress on this, since the long-running Angolan civil war is over and the DRC war has come to an end.⁵⁶ The ongoing political crisis in Zimbabwe does not appear to have had any impact on firearms proliferation in Zambia.⁵⁷

The measures proposed above to improve public confidence in the police would be likely to have a marked impact on the availability of weapons from state sources, either for sale or hire. In addition, the government should initiate an enquiry into the abuse of firearms by state employees and implement measures to counteract it. The government should also enact specific legislation to regulate the use of firearms by state employees, as none currently exists.

The Firearms Act is 34 years old, and although it meets many of the requirements of the SADC firearms protocol, a study by Saferworld has shown that many of the Act's definitions are out of date. Its penalties need revision, its firearms record-keeping requirements are inadequate, and so are its requirements for firearm import, export and transit permits.⁵⁸ The Saferworld study also highlighted the absence of controls on arms brokering, or regulating the breach of arms embargoes. The time seems right to review the Firearms Act, bringing it more closely into line with the SADC firearms protocol, and with the realities of firearm proliferation in the country.

Endnotes

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- 4 "MMD officials buying firearms", *Times of Zambia*, 14 March 1997.
- 5 Murison, K. (ed), *Regional Survey's of the World: Africa South of the Sahara 2004*, Europa, London, 2003, p1221.
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- 7 Interview with Army Quartermaster, Lusaka, 12 May 2003.
- 8 Ibid.
- 9 Interview with Jones Tilimboyi, Chief Registrar, Firearms Registry, Zambia Police Headquarters, Lusaka, 18 May 2003.
- 10 *Legislation Study on Firearms, Ammunition, Explosives and Related Material in the SADC Region*, Saferworld, London, 2002.
- 11 Ibid.
- 12 A legally recognised local defence unit working in conjunction with the police, which is permitted by the Firearms Act to own firearms individually or severally.
- 13 Abattoir owners are issued with certificates of exemption provided for under Section 58 subsection 6, as read with Form 7 of the Firearms Act of 1970.
- 14 Armed guarding of premises or persons, and the armed transiting of assets are illegal, but armed response is permitted by private security companies.
- 15 Interview with Jones Tilimboyi, Lusaka, 14 August, 2003.
- 16 Sections 41 and 42 of the Firearms Act of 1970.
- 17 Presentation by Mr J Tilimboyi, Interpol, Zambia at an Institute for Security Studies workshop, Pretoria, 15 and 16 March 2004.
- 18 Tilimboyi, J. Presentation at Workshop on the Social Impacts of the Proliferation of Firearms, 22 November, 2003, Lusaka.
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- 31 Jones Tilimboyi, Chief Firearms Registrar, Zambia Police Service at the Workshop on the Social Impacts of the Proliferation of Small Arms and Light Weapons in Zambia held in Lusaka on 22 November 2003.
- 32 Presentation by Tilimboyi, J. Interpol, Zambia at an Institute for Security Studies workshop, Pretoria, 15 and 16 March 2004
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- 38 "Army officers nabbed over Firearms," *Times of Zambia*, 30 October 1993.
- 39 "Interpol Unearth a Scam," *Times of Zambia*, 23 October 1993.
- 40 "Soldiers, civilians arrested over firearms," *Times of Zambia*, 28 February, 1994.
- 41 "Police aiding criminals," *Times of Zambia*, 10 September 2000.
- 42 For example Jones Tilimboyi, Registrar, Firearms Registry, Zambia Police Service, told the workshop on the Social impacts of the Proliferation of Small Arms and Light Weapons In Zambia held in Lusaka, 22 November 2003 that: "...the fact that police and military-style firearms are recovered in crime scenes makes people believe that the state is supplying arms to criminals. The truth is that these firearms are stolen from neighbouring countries such as the DRC and Angola. Smugglers and refugees are working with some Zambians along the border areas...".
- 43 For example: "Angolan refugee arrested over firearm," *Times of Zambia*, 30 October 2000.
- 44 "Ex-combatants selling firearms," *Times of Zambia*, 18 March 1997.
- 45 Presentation delivered by S.K Ndunda, on behalf of the Commissioner- Customs and Excise Division of the Zambia Revenue Authority, at the Workshop on the Social Impacts of the Proliferation of Small arms and light Weapons in Zambia, Lusaka, 22 November 2003.
- 46 Interview with Martyn Hitchens, businessman, Livingstone 18 August 2003.
- 47 Interview with Jones Tilimboyi, Chief Registrar, Firearms Registry, Zambia Police Headquarters, Lusaka, 14 August 2003.
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- 54 Mr Benson Chanda, Finance Bank employee and gunshot wound survivor, during Workshop on the Social Impacts of the Proliferation of Small Arms and Light Weapons in Zambia held in Lusaka, 22 November 2003.
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