**Civil control of the Zambian military since independence and its implication for democracy**

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**Introduction**

The modern defence force as we know it today in Zambia was a colonial creation. Initially its role was to facilitate colonisation and colonial rule. The Northern Rhodesia Regiment was a tool for the domestic task of protecting the British colony and was mainly involved in policing colonial subjects.

However, the concept of a defence force should not be restricted to the colonial period. The question of control of the military should be looked at in a longer historical context. B.A. Ogot observed that:

> “we are not likely to understand the nature and role of the military in post-independence Africa unless we also study the nature and role of the military in pre-colonial as well as colonial Africa.”

From a methodological point of view, therefore, a historical approach to the question of civil-military relations and the role of the military in a democracy is recommended.

Pre-colonial Zambian society was generally a civilian society in which the king, in the case of centralised societies like that of the Ngoni, controlled the use of force. The chiefs and kings maintained some form of direct control of the men of fighting age who were, from time to time, called upon to raid other communities and defend their territory from outside attacks. It was via the control they had of the warriors that chiefs and kings maintained control of broader society. The Ngoni in the Eastern Province of Zambia fought many wars before the arrival of the white man. However, the Ngoni warriors did not constitute a standing army in the sense of the modern armies of today albeit they had drawn lessons from Shaka Zulu’s approach to warfare, and that partly explains their success as they moved from South Africa to the north. They were eventually halted by European armed forces with their superior weapons in 1898.1

Historically, the Northern Rhodesia Regiment, the forerunner to the Zambian Army, grew out of the Northern Rhodesia Police.2 The Northern Rhodesia Police was established soon after the British South Africa Company was granted its Charter and began to administer Northern Rhodesia on behalf of the British Crown in 1891. As a result, the early history of the Northern Rhodesia Regiment forms part of the history of the Northern Rhodesia Police. It was for this reason that even after its establishment, the Northern Rhodesia Regiment remained essentially a military force engaged in mainly constabulary duties protecting the colonial power.
In 1933 the military functions of the Northern Rhodesia Police were separated from the purely civilian functions. Henceforth, the Northern Rhodesia Regiment grew into an homogeneous unit. It was originally composed of a wide variety of men, units and traditions, all of which helped to shape its development. The Regiment reflected the B.S.A. Company’s intentions for its establishment. The impact of civilian officials on the Regiment was very visible from the period of its formative stages, which spanned from 1891 to 1933. Arguably, therefore, civil control of the military in Zambia was established at the time of the creation of the armed forces during the colonial period.

What is most significant is that from its inception in 1933, the military leadership accepted and recognised civil control of the defence forces and this tradition has proved enduring. Though there have been five military coup attempts in Zambia, the military as an institution has never tried to seize control of the government. Even during the period of one party rule, there were regularly scheduled presidential and parliamentary elections. At the peak of the liberation wars, when Zambia suffered bombing raids from the Rhodesian and South African white regimes, the military still continued to respect and accept civil control.

That the military leadership accepted civil control and that attempted military coups were successfully put down by loyalist soldiers, is testimony that the Zambian people, both civilian and military, accept that civil control of the military is an essential aspect of democracy. From the time that Zambia attained its independence in October 1964, there was a conviction that the majority, subject to the rule of law, should decide public policy. Essentially, therefore, civil control of the defence force has helped to develop a culture that ensures that decisions concerning defence policy do not compromise fundamental democratic values.

Civil-military relations in Zambia are governed by certain criteria, which over time have determined and influenced governmental structures. These criteria include civilian leadership of the executive branch of Government, and judicial defence of civil control of the defence forces.

It is necessary at this point to define what is meant by civil-military relations in this context. The following definition takes into account the premise that there exists an institution that properly fits the definition of an army, and that this institution is a sub-society of a larger society in which the civilian population is a majority. Gwyn Harries-Jenkins and Jacques van Doorn define military institutions as those institutions with a monopoly of arms, whose expertise is in the management of violence and who possess a strong sense of corporate identity that creates a purposive force. Civilians are those persons, constituting a majority, who are not engaged in military activities. Arising from this, civil-military relations can be defined as the interaction between military institutions and civil authorities. Such interaction is critical to the process of nation building in an evolving democracy.
Yet another useful definition of civil military relations is one that seeks to explain the interaction between civil authorities and the defence forces in terms of the relative distribution of power between the government and the armed forces of a given country. The main concern here is to measure and evaluate the relative influence of military officers and civil authorities in decisions of the state concerning war, internal security, external defence and military policy in the country. The USAID Centre for Democracy and Governance further explains that civil-military relations function in relation to a particular political system. Thus, according to Claude Welch and Johanna Mendelson, while civil control of the defence forces is an essential aspect of democracy, it is difficult to achieve and maintain.4

Civilian leadership during the colonial period

From 1924 when the Colonial Office took over direct administration of Northern Rhodesia up to independence in October 1964 the Governor, who was appointed by the Queen, was the commander-in-chief of the defence forces in the territory. Throughout the colonial period the commander-in-chief was a civilian. Governors were removed and replaced through established civilian procedures in the Colonial Office. The defence force accepted and recognised this civil control.

This civil control was strengthened by the fact that the office of the Secretary for Home Affairs oversaw all policy issues regarding defence during the colonial period. The Governor appointed all personnel in the Secretariat. Arguably therefore, the civilian chief executive of the secretariat supported by civilian subordinates stood at the head of the military chain of command.

Principles of civil control

Although defence forces in general are not ordinarily subject to the civilian judicial system, the judiciary ensures that defence forces do not compromise the civil liberties of the civilian population or those of the military personnel. In this respect the High Court is empowered to hear cases involving military infringements on the rights of the citizenry. Since colonial times, a tradition developed which ensured that civil control of the defence force was constitutionally and administratively guaranteed. Therefore, long before the country became independent, the people of Zambia grew accustomed to civil control of the defence forces.

The role of civil control of the defence forces in a democracy is enshrined in the current constitution. In the Zambian context this is founded in the powers conferred upon the President as commander-in-chief. These include:
• the power to determine the operational use of the armed forces; and
• the power to appoint members of the armed forces, to make appointments or promotion to any office in the armed forces and to dismiss any member of the armed forces. The Constitution of Zambia, CAP 1 Section 54 (2).

Furthermore, this civil control of the defence force is regulated by parliament, which oversees the exercise of the powers conferred upon the president. In essence, therefore, the democratic principles of the country ensure civil control of the defence force.

Because Zambia has never been at war, nor experienced civil war, the defence force has generally been concerned with the issue of national defence to enhance democracy. The president has a dual role of Chief Executive of the civilian government and commander-in-chief of the armed forces. Through this dual role, the civil control of the defence force is established while the defence force in turn is expected to protect the evolving democracy and the democratic institutions associated with it.

Civil control of the defence force is meant to guard against military subversion while ensuring that military strategy remains a tool of national political goals under the civilian government. To this end, the executive branch of government plays a significant role in maintaining civil control of the military, while the legislative branch of government maintains a strong influence in military affairs. This is achieved through the principle of separation of powers, an essential element in democracy.

Civil control of the defence forces after independence, 1964–1973

In Zambia the defence force can be divided into three categories. These are The Zambia Army (ZA), The Zambia Air Force (ZAF), and The Zambia Nation Service (ZNS). The ZNS occupies a unique position in that it is the wing of the Zambia Defence Force (ZDF) that was used to train the largest number of Zambians for military duty in response to the military threat arising out of the liberation wars in the neighbouring countries. It combined military training and training in agricultural skills. Soldiers trained by the ZNS were expected to contribute to the security of the nation and the production of food for the nation. This training enabled the ZNS to bridge the gap between defence force personnel and civilians in a creative and productive way.

After independence in 1964, the new government maintained the colonial tradition of the defence force’s subordination to the civilian political authority. Two years after independence former President Kenneth D. Kaunda reminded the Third Battalion of the Zambia Regiment in Kabwe that:
“Under our constitution the right is given to the people of Zambia to elect their own government. This is legally exercised at the general elections and, in the same manner, the people can reject a government during properly constituted elections. Constitutionally, therefore, your role is to be loyal and to protect and defend the constitution of the land as well as other institutions emanating from the provisions of the constitution.”

Obviously, the defence force was expected to respect the young democracy. Kaunda’s speech was prompted by events elsewhere in Africa where the defence forces had taken over constitutionally elected governments through military coups.

Civilian oversight was achieved in part by the Defence Council, originally established in 1955 and adapted for the postcolonial situation. After 1964 the membership of the Defence Council included the President, the Minister of Finance and the Commanders of the Army and the Air Force.

However some of the problems associated with the constabulary role of the defence force spilled into the independence period. For most of the colonial period, the defences force was perceived by Africans as a tool for their oppression by the colonial government. Consequently, the Northern Rhodesia Police were feared. This view was further enhanced by the defence force’s involvement in the Alice Lenshina uprising in June 1964. Alice Lenshina led the Lumpa Church in the Chinsali District of the Northern Province. She advised her followers not to participate in politics. This message was against nationalist struggle at the time and it led to clashes between members of the Lumpa Church and members of the United National Independence Party (UNIP) in some parts of Northern and Eastern Province. The government’s high-handedness in dealing with the problem created ill-feeling among the people and many people in parts of Northern and Eastern Provinces developed very unfriendly attitudes towards the defence force. This approach and the fact that the top leadership of the defence force was white, created a deep mistrust of the defence force among Africans. Because of this the Zambian government embarked upon programmes immediately after independence intended to change the image of the defence force in order to improve civil military relations.

At independence the Zambian government faced the task of transforming the defence force from a colonial force created to serve the interest of the colonial authorities to one that would serve the interest of the independent government. Because of the nature and background of the colonial defence force, the senior officers were British. The Zambian government decided to Zambianise the top positions fairly early on in its rule, perhaps taking a lesson from the experience of Tanzania where there was an army mutiny in January 1964, but also because the new Zambian Government feared that British officers would
act sympathetically to white regimes in African countries still under colonial rule in the ongoing liberation wars in the region. Thus Kaunda quickly promoted Zambian officers in the defence force to enable him to replace the British officers. This development was complemented by other measures aimed at Zambianising defence matters in the country.

One of the changes was the opening up of the Combined Cadet Force to Africans. From January 1964 steps were taken to form a non-racial Combined Cadet Force in all schools. Previously cadet activities practised at schools had been for white children only. The opening of the Combined Cadet Force to all schools in the country provided a window for the civilian population into the military world. The cadets mixed with soldiers under whom they trained and from whom they learnt military discipline and some of them took up military careers when they completed school.

Civil control of the military during the second republic, 1973–1991

The political change from the multi-party system inherited at independence to the one-party state system of government in 1973 did not significantly alter civil-military relations from a constitutional point of view. The president remained the head of both the executive wing of government and the military affairs of the nation. If anything, the president became more influential in exercising his powers regarding the control of the defence force.

However, many changes took place in the management and organisation of defence. Military personnel, including army commanders, who were considered insufficiently submissive were either retired ‘in the public interest’ or were sent into the foreign service. Civil control of the defence force was very strong during this period. Since the defence force was expected to play a significant role in the one-party participatory democracy of the Second Republic, the government initiated a number of measures to facilitate civil-military interaction. The opening up of the Cadet Force to Africans and later the introduction of the Zambia Youth Service with a military component were among such measures.

Kaunda once observed that “… a loyal, disciplined and efficient Army is vital to the state while a disloyal, ill-trained and corrupt Army is a menace to the state.”

However, during the Second Republic civil-military relations became strained because the defence force was used to enforce politically motivated policies that were generally unpopular. Furthermore, there was lack of contact between defence force personnel and the civilian population. From the time that the defence force was established, military personnel were confined to
barracks and areas of operation. Both areas were generally out of bounds to civilians. This situation naturally led to suspicion and mistrust, and the colonial defence force was portrayed as an institution of force to be used against any civilians acting unlawfully. Civilians perceived the defence force as a society of self-centred and heartless people trained to fight and kill. There was nothing to be gained by interacting with them. If anything, they were to be avoided at all costs. These views developed during the colonial period, but stuck in the minds of the people long after independence. The Alice Lenshina uprising (referred to previously) and the brutal way in which it was put down strengthened the feelings.

The politicisation of the defence forces

Jacques van Doorn identifies four types of civil-military relations in which the armed forces are regarded as an embodiment of a legitimate political order. The politicisation of the military in the Second Republic fits into the third type of civil-military relations, where:

"The legitimacy of the armed forces no longer reflects a spirit of nationalism in general, but a political ideology. The military identify themselves with a political myth, for which they receive in return recognition of their task to defend and extend the political system."^8

The defence forces identified themselves with the political myth that one-party participatory democracy was an alternative form of democracy, which the defence forces had to defend to maintain its legitimacy.^9

As Chief Executive of the civilian government formed by the only legal party in the country, and Commander-in-Chief of the Zambia Defence Forces, President Kaunda deliberately politicised the military. This development was contrary to the previously agreed principle that military personnel should not participate in politics while actively serving in the defence force. However, during the Second Republic, party organs commonly referred to as Works Committees found their way into the barracks. Members of the defence force enhanced their chances for political appointment by becoming party members and being loyal to the appointing authority. Although strict procedures for promotion were laid out, appointment to positions of authority within the defence force reflected a deliberate attempt on the part of authorities to pick those believed to be loyal to UNIP.

The politicisation of the defence force affected the professional conduct of defence force personnel. In some cases, it even affected the military chain of command where officers were sometimes appointed to civilian positions which gave them superiority over their erstwhile senior officers. Some army officers were appointed as district governors ‘to oversee the running of the party’.^10
While this development could be seen as positive in that it assisted in narrowing the gap between military personnel and the civilian population, it actually led to apprehension among the rank and file in the defence force.

The negative impact of this development in the context of this paper is that the defence force became increasingly hostile to any suggestion of professional conduct and call for improvement. This was expressed through defence force hostility to criticism from the public. This hostility was worsened by the national intelligence network, which ensured that no dissent was tolerated. In the end, army officers who were appointed to run for political offices where ordinarily civilians would have been appointed were seen as informers and were not trusted by the civilian community. Arguably, therefore, civil-military relations deteriorated.

Kaunda’s politicisation of the army went beyond appointing defence force personnel to civilian positions. Political education was introduced in the defence force in keeping with his strategy of total control over the defence force. Members of Parliament who felt strongly that this would undermine the professional conduct of the defence force questioned the wisdom of this move.11

In some cases the armed forces were used in purely civilian institutions, such as when government decided to hand over the administration of the Mechanical Services Department (MSD) to the military. The government had reports at the time that the MSD under civilian management was making heavy losses. It hoped that pilfering would be reduced under military administration. Under the new dispensation all civilians employed by the MSD were subject to military discipline. In the end there was little improvement and the MSD was restored to civilian control. However, the style of administration by the military at the MSD while it was in control created hostility between the military and the civilian personnel.

The use of military personnel in civilian institutions was seen as a conspiracy between Kaunda and a few privileged military officers to oppress the majority. Consequently, civilians and the disgruntled military officers teamed up to remove the Kaunda regime from office on several occasions. These coup attempts were nipped in the bud because of the well-structured intelligence network, which covered even the military institutions, but they contributed to poor civil-military relations during the Second Republic. It is plausible to suggest that the politicisation of the military did little to improve civil-military relations and certainly worsened relations between the military and the civilian population.

When UNIP lost multi-party elections in 1991, the officers who were heading civilian institutions were recalled. However, most chose to retire from the defence force because they found it difficult to reintegrate into the military. A number of such officers became actively involved in politics and some became members of parliament.
Quasi-military institutions and their role in civil-military relations

We have observed that soon after independence the Zambian government amended the law to facilitate the admission of Africans into the Combined Cadet Force in an attempt to bring the military closer to the civilian population and to attract children to learn military discipline and consider a career in the defence force.

Another quasi-military institution that brought civilians and military personnel closer together was the Home Guard Unit established under the Home Guard Act No. 32 of 1971. The Unit was meant to assist the military in dealing with security concerns that arose as a result of insufficient military personnel in border areas. It is important to place the establishment of the Home Guard Unit in its proper historical context. It was a way in which Zambia’s commitment to the liberation movements in neighbouring Angola, Mozambique, Namibia, South Africa and Zimbabwe would be secured. The Unit also served to promote contact between civilians and military personnel.

The Unit consisted of Zambian volunteers, both men and women, aged between 18 and 45. They were civilians from all walks of life who performed specific military roles under direct supervision of military personnel when called upon. From time to time the civilians were exposed to rudimentary training in some military tactics and handling of weapons. The civilian members of the Home Guard Unit provided much needed intelligence reports regarding the movements of enemy soldiers in the operational zones. This is undoubtedly an example of close co-operation between the military and the civilian community.

The Home Guard Unit was most active during the 1970s and 1980s when the liberation wars in the region were at their peak. The unit is currently not constituted although the legislation is still in place and the present government can invoke the Act and call upon Zambians for Home Guard duty if the security of the nation is seriously under threat.

In addition to the Home Guard Unit, retired military personnel from the army and the air force are members of a reserve force which the present government could call upon. Retired military personnel are an important link between the military and the civilian world. Because of their special training, they are a valuable source of public relations for the defence force and can be used to improve civil-military relations. However, in the Third Republic many retired military personnel are disgruntled as a result of having received poor retirement benefits, which were not paid on time. Such a demotivated reserve force could not be relied upon in times of need.
Civil-military relations in the third republic

The politicisation of the defence force and especially the introduction of the Home Guard Unit in 1971 facilitated some close ties between military personnel and the civilian population. Even so, Kaunda’s one-party participatory democracy suffered four attempted military coups in 1976, 1980, 1986 and 1990. The incidence of these coup attempts raised questions about the state of civil-military relations in Zambia, and the professionalism of the defence force.

When the Movement for Multi-Party Democracy (MMD) came to power in October 1991 under President Frederick T.J. Chiluba, there was a move to professionalise the defence force. The MMD believed that only a professional defence force would defend the constitution and protect the ethos of democracy. In the view of the MMD government, the defence force should be politically neutral and truly under civil control.

The first step taken by the MMD government to bring the military under closer civil control was the decision that Ministry of Defence Estimates of Expenditure would be subject to parliamentary debate and scrutiny. This was a clear departure from past practice. In 1993 the Estimates of Expenditure for the Ministry of Defence were debated in parliament for the first time in the history of the Zambia Defence Force. This development was complemented by the introduction of a Parliamentary Committee on Foreign Affairs, National Security and Defence. The reforms were expected ‘to facilitate improvements in civil-military relations in Zambia, and [to] enable civilians, both in and outside parliament, to debate military expenditure and other related issues without the fear of being accused of undermining national security’12 as was the case in the Second Republic. The reforms reflected the democratic environment of the Third Republic and facilitated the professionalisation of the defence force with a view to improving civil-military relations.

Civil control of the defence force in the Third Republic has also been reinforced through the strengthening of the Defence Council, which is now composed of the Minister of Defence, who is the Chairperson, the Minister of Home Affairs, the Minister of Legal Affairs, the Minister of Finance, a ruling party representative, the Commanders of the Army, Airforce and Zambia National Service, the Inspector General of Police and the Director of Intelligence, who serves as secretary. The Minister of Defence ordinarily chairs meetings of the Defence Council. However, when there are security matters that require the President’s attention as Commander in Chief, he chairs the meeting.

The Defence Council regularly meets to deal with matters pertaining to promotion of defence force personnel. Evidence available suggests that the Defence Council does not have a big budget. The Commanders of the various defence force wings are responsible for the day-to-day affairs of their forces. The Defence Council is responsible for advising the Commander-in-Chief regarding policy matters and submits names of those recommended for promotion for his assent.
Attempted coups and their impact on civil-military relations

At least two of the five coup attempts in Zambia were engineered by an alliance of civilians and military personnel. The first two attempts were uncovered before they were executed.

The 1980 coup attempt was allegedly engineered by civilians who were influential and wealthy, but unhappy with President Kaunda’s economic policies. The civilians were well-placed business persons. They are alleged to have instigated Zambia Army senior personnel to overthrow the government. The coup plotters were arrested, tried and sentenced to death in January 1983. However, on 25 July 1990 they were pardoned following the commuting of their sentences to life imprisonment.13

Civilians and military personnel conspired again to overthrow the government in 1988. Their trial was discontinued when Kaunda extended a general amnesty to all political prisoners on 25 July 1990. Both the 1980 and 1988 coup attempts were plotted with civilian influence and participation—an aspect of civil-military relations which has escaped the imagination of civil-military relations analysts. Those involved in these two attempts were people occupying privileged positions and enjoying high social status. The defence force personnel were senior defence force officers who also enjoyed high social status.

In contrast, Lieutenant Mwamba Luchembe’s coup attempt of 30 June 1990 and that by Captain Stephen Lungu (alias Captain ‘Solo’) on 28 October 1997 were led by relatively junior army officers. These two attempts do not appear to have been engineered by civilians. The two coup attempts by these junior army officers were the most devastating. In both cases the coup plotters announced their actions on Radio Zambia but loyalist forces crushed them after fighting and loss of life.14

The October 28 ‘Solo’ coup attempt during the Third Republic was precipitated by the intolerance of some members of the opposition. Some members of opposition parties did not have the patience to follow democratic channels to address their grievances.

Kaunda contributed to this state of affairs by threatening a violent uprising by Zambians against the MMD government. On 27 October 1997 he was reported to have said:

“something big will come and of course MMD will blame UNIP for that… But it won’t be UNIP. It will be the people of Zambia who are going to act.”15

No details were given regarding the nature of the threatened civil action. However, on 28 October 1997 Captain Stephen Lungu (traditional cousin of Lieutenant Mwamba Luchembe who led the coup attempt of January 1990),
announced on Radio two and four of the Zambia National Broadcasting Corporation that the army had taken over the government. He further announced that all defence force service chiefs had been dismissed and appealed to Chiluba to surrender. Captain Lungu claimed that he was representing the National Redemption Council, a political wing of the defence force. There is no evidence that such a council was ever put in place.

Soldiers loyal to the government thwarted the coup attempt. At the end of the attempted coup about forty soldiers were arrested. More were picked up in the course of the week. Chiluba addressed the nation on both radio and television to assure that nation that the constitutionally elected government was still in power. He thanked the soldiers who quelled the coup attempt. Following the coup attempt several military personnel and civilians were arrested and tried. Former President Kaunda was arrested on treason charges. All the civilians were later released when the state failed to bring a case against them and shortly after the former president was also released.

There was clear evidence that Zambians were disturbed by the coup attempt. Curiously, Lieutenant Luchembe, leader of the failed coup attempt in 1990, joined those who condemned the 1997 coup attempt. In his view, the era of military take-overs was long gone. He argued that:

"There was no cause for it because now democracy is in place. If they do not want the MMD government they should wait until 2001 or lobby Parliament to impeach the President and call for fresh elections instead of resorting to coups, that era is long gone."16

After the coup attempt, the government declared a State of Emergency on 29 October 1997 which was supported by the Zambia Congress of Trade Unions (ZCTU) and the Unity Party for Democrats (UPD), although opposed by UNIP and the Zambia Democratic Congress (ZDC). The State of Emergency lasted until 24 March 1998.

The civilian reaction to the 1997 failed coup was a change in their perceptions of the defence force: the instigators of the coup were seen as villains while the loyalist soldiers, who crushed the coup, were regarded as heroes. Because no coup has ever succeeded in Zambia, the armed forces have largely been considered the defenders of democracy and the constitution, amid changing political circumstances. This view is supported by the fact that none of the attempted coups in Zambia had broad-based support in the defence force. Neither the Luchembe nor the ‘Solo’ coup attempt was followed by massive support from soldiers in the barracks around the country. It could be argued that these coup attempts failed because only a handful of soldiers were involved.

The Luchembe and ‘Solo’ coup attempts were a reflection of serious political problems in the nation. The general view is that the failure by government to respond to political demands by opposition politicians in the political arena...
influenced some soldiers to seek change using unconstitutional methods. However, it is important to point out that the response of Zambians to the two coup attempts was different. The Luchembe coup attempt received a lot of support from the civilians because it came at a time when Zambians wanted Kaunda out of State House. However, the ‘Solo’ coup attempt was greeted with contempt by Zambians who felt that, while there were some misgivings over the 1996 presidential and parliamentary elections (boycotted by UNIP), a coup was not the answer.

It is difficult to say with certainty whether conditions for a coup have been removed from the political scene in Zambia. This is because although the MMD government made deliberate attempts to professionalise the defence forces, the evidence suggests that there has been no real change. Arguably, this could become a reason for some group of soldiers to attempt a coup to redress the imbalance. Indeed, reports of delayed salaries for soldiers and delayed payment for retirement benefits can easily be used as rallying points for a coup plot. Combined with a general failure on the part of politicians to deal with issues of poverty and poor governance, the problems in the defence force outlined above could become a real threat. The prevention of another coup attempt seems to lie in finding lasting solutions to economic and political problems in the country.

**Conclusion**

The paper has examined several areas in which civil-military relations have been exercised and has also demonstrated that at times relations between the military and the civilian community have been characterised by suspicion and mistrust. The paper has also shown that through quasi-military institutions, civil-military relations were generally improved.

It has also been shown that civil control of the military has been reasonably effective, particularly in the Third Republic. Zambia is and has been surrounded by neighbouring countries that have been at war. In the interest of the civilian community, both Kaunda and Chiluba have exercised maximum restraint in becoming involved in military affairs. Arguably therefore, civil control of the military has not only been a catalyst for good civil-military relations, but has also been largely responsible for ensuring that the military in Zambia plays the role of defender of the constitution and other institutions emanating from it.

**Endnotes**

14. Ibid.