

## **An Analysis of the Effects of Civil War and Prospects for Development in Mozambique: The Case of Frelimo-Renamo in Chokwe District**

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**ABSTRACT:** Mozambique got its independence in 1975 when the FRELIMO government removed the colonial power, Portugal, from colonial rule after an armed struggle. Peace did not last for long as RENAMO, a political movement which was created in 1977 by Rhodesia and supported by the South African government, waged a new resistance to counter FRELIMO government through the barrel of the gun. The war had far reaching implications in Mozambique, especially in areas where the battles were fought. At community level the war had negative consequences towards development. It is the purpose of this paper to analyse the impact of civil war in rural Mozambique's Chokwe District. The paper examined measures that were taken to encourage development after the war both by the government and the community. The findings of the research indicate that the civil war had negative impact on the Chokwe community and the government has made strides in improving the livelihood of the people in Chokwe District.

**KEYWORDS:** Civil War, Development, Chokwe District, Mozambique

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### **I. INTRODUCTION**

Mozambique got its independence in 1975 when the Frente de Libertacao de Mocambique (FRELIMO) government removed the colonial power, Portugal from colonial rule after an armed struggle, which was led by Samora Machel. Resistancia Nacional de Mocambique (RENAMO) led by André Matsangaissa was a political movement which was created by Rhodesia and later then by the South African government to destroy guerrilla fighters from Zimbabwe and South Africa. Thus, the new government was violently opposed from 1977 by the Rhodesian government and South Africa backed RENAMO. In general terms, a new resistance was founded to counter FRELIMO government and to disrupt logistical flow of weapons to Zimbabwe African National Liberation Army fighters in Mozambique boarder areas. The war had far reaching implications in Mozambique and her neighbors. The war was intense since RENAMO had the support of the South African government. The country was caught in between the Cold War in which RENAMO was supported by the Western governments whilst FRELIMO was supported by Soviet Union and other Communist states. There was heavy supply of arms to the two sides due to the power politics as a result of the Cold War. The war was intense in the 1980's with increase in political tension, economic recession and lack of social services. A lot of civilians lost their lives, the economy collapsed and the lives of Mozambicans were totally changed for the worst. Given this background, the researchers were encouraged to undertake the research in order to establish the effects that the civil war had on ordinary civilians of Mozambique who suffered most from this brutal war, especially in rural areas, which was the main theater of war.

### **II. HISTORICAL BACKGROUND TO MOZAMBICAN CIVIL WAR**

Mozambique is a country in southern Africa and has a population of 19 million, according to the census carried out in 2004. Its total area is about 801 590 square kilometers and it has a shoreline which stretches from Rovuma down to Maputo (<http://www.iss.co.zw/profiles/Mozambique/population.html>). It was colonized by Portugal in about 1500 by establishing a trading post at Sofala now known as Beira. This trading post had a thriving slave trade and barter trade with Africans Kingdoms such as the Monomotapa Empire of Zimbabwe. The country became the central point for Portuguese colonial interest in Southern Africa; most of their energy was driven by the need for a Portuguese province on the African continent for political and economic benefit. ([http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/history\\_of\\_Mozambique](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/history_of_Mozambique)). The president of the colony ruled directly from Portugal using governors of the colony.

Administration of much of the country was shifted to company rule, especially Companhia de Moçambique (Mozambique Company) for a period of 50 years from 1891, under a charter granting sovereign rights with its headquarters at Beira ([http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/history\\_of\\_Mozambique](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/history_of_Mozambique)). The Mozambique Company was controlled and financed by the British, it supplied cheap or forced labour to the gold mines and plantation in South Africa. The colonial policy benefited white settlers and the Portuguese homeland. The indigenous people did not benefit from this administration which created discontent amongst the local population of Mozambique, leading to increasing calls for an end to colonial rule (Posthumous. B.1993:3).

Due to this discontent, there was the creation of revolutionary movements like UDENAMO, UNAMO and MANO. However, these decided to unite to form FRELIMO in 1962 and Eduardo Mondlane became the first president. He inspired many to join FRELIMO in order to liberate the country from colonial rule. Eduardo Mondlane died in 1969 in his office in Dar Es Salaam in Tanzania and FRELIMO was led by Samora Moisés Machel, who had received support from the Soviet Union and its allies. The war also received financial support from Cuba and the Soviet bloc after independence. The independent country of Mozambique began supporting other armed forces that were still fighting against colonialists under what was called the Frontline States (FS) of note were ZANLA forces the armed wing of Zimbabwe African National Union, led by Mugabe who were fighting for the liberation of Zimbabwe. The African National Congress of South Africa was also given bases in Mozambique.

This did not impress the Ian Smith regime, P. W. Botha and other western countries like Portugal and the United States of America. These sought for ways to prevent the new government from supporting armed struggle in Zimbabwe and South Africa. The Ian Smith regime responded by targeting guerilla bases in Mozambique leading to the bombing of Chimoio, Nyadzonya, Pungwe, the destruction of bridges in Chokwe and Mutarara in Tete (interview with Domingos Julião, the Eight Brigade General of Chokwe, 15 August, 2009). The South African government also sent spies to Mozambique to check the movement of African National Congress (ANC) operating from the country. These efforts did not stop Mozambique from supporting the nationalist movements; instead these activities encouraged the Machel government to give further assistance to the Zimbabwean and South African nationalists. This also led to increase in resources provided by the Soviet bloc for the nationalist movements; and some were coming from China. The western powers, which believed that they were losing the battle in their attempt to have influence in southern Africa resorted to the destabilization of the region so as to put in place a government in Mozambique that would be pro West. Thus, Mozambique became the center of the battle between the West and the Communist.

RENAMO started its attacks on government positions but when this proved to have little impact, they turned on the civilians by using fear as a means of coercing support. The RENAMO forces used various tactics in its pursuit of its main aim of destabilizing the country. Since its support came from Rhodesia, the forces attacked rural bases along the Mozambique-Zimbabwe boarder to prevent liberation forces from Zimbabwe entering Mozambique for training in army bases set up in the country. According to Kalley (1999:739), RENAMO forces continued their attack after the independence in Zimbabwe by attacking bases near Dukuso, and from December 1987 to January 1988 they had performed 101 attacks near the Mozambique-Zimbabwe boarder. RENAMO forces' attack on Zimbabwe encouraged the country to join the forces with FRELIMO to help destroy RENAMO and bring peace to the country.

In Mozambique, RENAMO worked from rural areas by using people as human shield to protect themselves from FRELIMO attacks. The RENAMO forces used guerilla tactics such as the destruction of bridges and sugar cane plantations, especially at Mafambissi in Sofala, the bombing of electrical substations in many parts of the country and the looting of shops (Kalley 1999). RENAMO targeted the most important infrastructure: that is, those which were central to trade and communication. FRELIMO responded by deploying soldiers in all urban and strategic areas to protect the infrastructure. Initially, RENAMO had success in destabilizing the urban centers but the government managed to prevent further penetration. RENAMO used child soldiers to kill and massacre the local civilians. Gersony (1998:5) suggests that RENAMO used brutal tactics of shooting executions, knife or bayonet killing, burning alive, beating to death, forced asphyxiation, forced starvation and random shooting of civilians. In some cases, RENAMO cut open pregnant women or force women to kill their own children as a way of inflicting pain on civilians. People fled to towns such as Maputo, Beira, and Nampula where there was more protection.

The FRELIMO administration, led by Samora Machel, was economically ruined by RENAMO's rebels. By 1988, the territory was roughly divided between the two groups and the war had reached the stage of a stalemate. The military and diplomatic entente with the Soviet Union could not alleviate the nation's economic misery and famine. Samora Machel was forced to sign an Agreement on Non Aggression and Good Neighborliness Pact with the South African government known as the Nkomati Agreement signed on 16 March 1984 (Munslow,1985:16).

In this agreement, South Africa promised to stop supporting RENAMO and in turn FRELIMO promised to prevent the ANC from using Mozambique sanctuary to pursue its campaign to overthrow the white

minority government of South Africa. The two failed to honor their promises since FRELIMO continued accommodating ANC comrades while South Africa continued supporting RENAMO. Evidence found at Gorongosa raid discovered secret documents of continued South Africa military support for RENAMO. Samora Machel was killed in a plane crash on 19 October 1986 (Munslow, 1985:16). Nevertheless, it was suspected that his death could be linked to South Africa. After the death of Samora Moises Machel, Joaquim Chissano, who was the Foreign Minister, became president of FRELIMO. He and the country continued with Machel's ideologies of fighting RENAMO.

The end of the Cold War in the 1990s and the crumbling of apartheid saw to a reduction in the support for RENAMO, which encouraged dialogue between the two warring groups for an end to the civil war. Talks began in Rome in 1990. After two years and twelve rounds of negotiation, an agreement was reached as a way of trying to find a lasting solution to the war. This led to the draft constitution which paved the way for multi-party democracy; and in 1990, there was a new constitution which was meant to be in line with the new system rather than a one party system that was adopted after independence.

The United Nation (UN) created a monitoring force, the United Nation Operation in Mozambique (ONUMOZ), which was to oversee the disarmament and demobilization of 110 000 troops and the resettlement of 5-6 million refugees and to organize elections by 1993. Although there was a delay in the coming of the election, it eventually took place in 1994. In that election, FRELIMO won the presidency and 45% of seats in parliament (Bunslow, 1985).

The war finally ended in 1992 but had left a trail of destruction, which meant the country was in a poor economic situation since the infrastructure for economic development had been completely destroyed. The shipping industry, which was meant to stimulate economic growth, had been brought to its knees by the conflict, the war had discouraged investment. After the civil war, there was need for reconciliation and integration to avoid the suspicion between FRELIMO and RENAMO from affecting chances of long lasting peace. The RENAMO forces were integrated into the Mozambique National Army (Forças Armadas de Moçambique – FADM).

### **III. THE IMPACT OF THE CIVIL WAR ON DEVELOPMENT AND POST WAR DEVELOPMENT EFFORTS IN CHOKWE DISTRICT**

Civil wars across the world and in Africa have negative influence on the development of the affected nations and even beyond. The nature of the war and its length has great effects on how a state can move forward and at what speed it can develop. The civil war in Mozambique was prolonged and was disastrous since RENAMO forces did not target FRELIMO forces but the civilians and the infrastructure needed for development. The researchers however did not favor any between RENAMO and FRELIMO but tried to be objective in order to come up with accurate information.

During the civil war, there was low agricultural productivity since there were landmines in the fields and it became very dangerous for the people to engage in agricultural production. Many people in the rural areas were displaced by the war and consequently abandoned their fields where the soil is fertile. The main economic activity in the District of Chokwe is agriculture and before the war it was considered the Silo of the country or its grain basket in terms of producing rice to supply the whole country, with the possibility of exports other countries at the time. The agricultural system was badly hurt by the civil war since the fields were either land mined or destroyed through the looting done by RENAMO and FRELIMO forces.

Irrigation facilities were destroyed by bombing and some of the crops were destroyed by the people who tried to hide from the *Matsanga* (a name used to refer to RENAMO fighters and their supporters). The drought of 1991-1992 did not help matters either, with 63% of the people facing starvation (Timberlake, 1996:17). The government failed to cope with increase in the need for food, which meant many people in Chokwe faced starvation.

The civil war saw most people migrating to urban areas where there was more protection. There was increase in rural-urban migration, with most people leaving their property such as livestock and crops behind in the field. It should be noted that due to congestion of people in the urban areas, there was food shortage to sustain those in need. (Timberlake, 1996). The migration of people to Chokwe town in the Chokwe District caused congestion in the town. There were also poor living conditions in the urban center of Chokwe.

The poor living conditions and standard of life led to diseases such as cholera, diarrhoea and bilharzia. There was also water shortage, which resulted in poor sanitation. The town center of Chokwe became a health hazard. The government provided services to try and resolve the problems; however the influx of the refugees was so great that the government could not do much. The government nonetheless provided the land for building temporary housing for living and farming.

The civil war also meant that there were travel restrictions since all the people who traveled had to be accompanied by the military. This limited the need to travel by most people who were restricted to move from

one urban center once a week. According to A. K. M. Ambrósio (interview 15 August 2009), people were restricted from traveling since RENAMO forces targeted those who traveled on the busy highways of the country such as the Chokwe to Maputo road. The RENAMO attacks also had consequence for the destruction of such social infrastructure like schools, hospitals, clinics, community stadiums, and recreation facilities. The major hospital in Chokwe, based in an area called 57 at the time, was mainly attacked as a way of destroying a base of Zimbabwe Military, which had set up camp there and received medical treatment in the hospital. People were therefore no longer treated properly since there was shortage of medicine and some of the nurses ran away to safer areas.

Teachers in rural areas ran away from their places of work because, the *Matsanga* targeted teachers, kidnapping those who continued to teach in broad day light. As a result, students, together with teachers, chose not to go to school anymore. This situation bred the low literacy rate in the population which was of school going age at that time. According to the District Service of Education, Youth and Technology over 78 per cent of those who were of school going age during the war are illiterate today (Jorge Novela, interview, 10 August, 2009).

In the areas where the people took refuge, there was increase in social problems. These areas were filled with people of different backgrounds and this created a number of problems. There was increase in criminal activities as more people sought to survive in harsh conditions. There were gangs that were formed by the youth as survival skills. These took advantage of the insecurity to loot shops, steal from houses, and people in the street.

There was the emergence of other social problems, especially prostitution by young ladies who were also looking for ways to survive. These women targeted those youths that were involved with gangs who always had cash due to their criminal activities. The prostitution also came with its own problems, which included sexually transmitted diseases. According to the District Service of Health, Women and Social Action, there was an increase in the number of sexually transmitted diseases but these were not noticed since most people never went to hospitals (Fernando Muianga, interview, 19 August 2009). Some of these ladies and boys were made orphans while some others and their parents were displaced – all due to RENAMO attacks on the rural dwellers. Consequent on their inability to locate one another, they had to find way of surviving.

Women also acted as mothers of the civil war, by taking care of those who had been injured in the civil war. The hospitals could not cope with the increasing number of those injured, which made Chokwe women to volunteer as auxiliary health workers. The most prominent role of the women was to take care of those who suffered from abuse from RENAMO forces. These included people who had been tortured, beaten or sexually abused by the RENAMO forces (Azevedo, 1991:43). These women were not trained in counseling but used their motherly experiences in life to counsel those who had suffered abuse.

Teachers also worked tirelessly to protect their pupils from adverse effects of the war. RENAMO forces targeted young children to forcefully recruit them as child soldiers. The teachers therefore dug trenches to protect children from the RENAMO forces. The teachers designed a warning system of whistling and lighting of fire to warn their pupils to hide in the dug pits. The schools offered more protection than the village where residents were slow to react to attacks. The teachers also gave education on the war which helped the children have a greater understanding of the dangers of the war.

The people of Mozambique became heavily politicized due to the nature of the civil war since RENAMO was regarded as the aggressor and FRELIMO, the defender of the country. The people became heavily polarized and divided between those who supported the two warring parties (Azevedo, 1991:66). The majority of people largely supported FRELIMO, since its members protected civilians from attacks by RENAMO forces. There was the development of extreme hatred for RENAMO supporters; there were cases of some villagers attacking those that they believed were supporting RENAMO. This intense hatred was also common in Chokwe since RENAMO forces left behind them a trail of damage in the area, with the killing of innocent civilians and destruction of crops.

In the District of Chokwe, there was the destruction of economic infrastructure, which resulted in a low level of production in the industries. This led to some companies closing down; many people lost their jobs. Consequently, the rate of unemployment in the District increased to about 80%. Economic activity ground to a halt, there was destruction and looting of shops by RENAMO at Macarretane, Ndzindzine, Munslow, 1985:26). In the same area, the bridge Guija-Chokwe, which was used to supply products to other districts like Caniçado and Chibuto, was destroyed. This meant that products could not find their way into the market freely.

In Chokwe there was a thriving tourism industry before the war but the anarchy that prevailed in the area made the tourism industry to collapse. The industry needs a very peaceful environment to flourish but the atrocities of the war and the images that were coming out of the country in general prevented people from coming to tourist resorts in Chokwe. The images showed burnt bodies, mutilated bodies and those amputated by RENAMO; these generally discouraged people from coming as tourists, not only to Chokwe but to the whole

country in general (Fernando Muianga, interview, 19 August, 2009). The collapse of the tourism industry reduced local revenue, which was needed for development after the war.

The pervading insecurity also discouraged many investors from putting their money into the tourism and agriculture industry. There was also lack of direct foreign investment flow into the region. This further worsened the economic problems of Chokwe and the District Government of Chokwe became bankrupt, to the point that it could not provide adequate services to the local residences of Chokwe.

The people in Chokwe had a lot of livestock, which was their main source of wealth in the rural parts of the District. Those with livestock like goats were regarded as the richest in the area. The people lost their livestock to theft while they simply left others behind. The loss of cattle affected their socio-economic status. Chief Danita Andrade Tome of Chiguidela said that the loss of their cattle meant that the people lost hope of returning to their homes; and some have not returned up till now as they apparently have decided to start a new life somewhere else (interview, 25 February 2009).

Those people who went to town in Chokwe found life difficult since they suffered different forms of exploitation. The exploitation took the form of being paid very low wages or sometimes not being paid for their work. These people worked as housemaids, gardeners, guards, bar tenders and messengers. It should be noted that those who suffered exploitation were victims of their desperation to make a living since they had no other option than to move on with their lives.

There was also child labour in which young boys and girls were used to work in the field for long periods of time without getting paid; their wages was sometimes only food. In some cases, the children were used as street vendors or unpaid child minders. This was a direct violation of the African Charter on the Rights and Welfare of the Child, Article 15 Section (1) which states that “every child shall be protected from all forms of economic exploitation and from performing any work that is likely to be hazardous or to interfere with the child’s physical, mental, spiritual, moral or social development”.

The civil war in Chokwe District saw the increase of women headed households since the husbands had either died or migrated to neighboring countries such as South Africa or Zimbabwe to seek employment. Women were then supposed to take care of the children and look after the cattle. Women walked long distances, carrying children and luggage, running from *Matsanga*.

Water pollution also took place in the urban centers. The RENAMO, after killing the civilians, threw them into the rivers and dams, thus causing the spread of diseases in rural areas. According to Jordão Mungambe, traditional leader of Mucatine, “people even went to the extent of thinking that diseases in the area were brought by RENAMO”. (Interview, 10 February 2009). He further argues that people no longer want to hear a word of RENAMO because of the disaster caused by *Matsanga*. The *Matsanga* killed civilians and threw them in wells. The water system was in a complete mess but people usually had no other drinking sources. They had to resort to drinking from unsafe sources such as the river, which in turn caused diseases like cholera and diarrhoea for the people. Coupled with this was the increased competition for the scarce resources which resulted into a great deal of pressure on the available resources. This caused an increase in the level of infrastructural destruction in the congested areas of Chokwe.

The women and children suffered from the psychological trauma of being caught in between the war. These suffered from various forms of abuse; which includes sexual abuse by the marauding RENAMO soldiers. Sexual abuse was common in areas where RENAMO forces were operating: rape was used by these forces to instill fear in the citizenry and to also foreground the government’s inability to protect its citizens.-(Fernando Muianga, interview, 19 August 2009). The women and children also suffered physical abuse since they were beaten up or made to undergo degrading punishments in the hands of the RENAMO forces. The government forces also tortured some people, accusing them of being RENAMO forces. It is however found that most of those people were mere civilians who were made to suffer from both forces in the war.

The migration of people from rural to urban centers or as refugees led to the reduction of young men that were responsible for production in the plantation and industry of Chokwe. This migration affected most households since the young men never came back to the villages after they had learnt the survival skills in the urban areas. This resulted in a higher female population in the rural areas, comparable to that of men in the urban areas where the man to woman ratio was higher. This encouraged polygamy in the rural areas of Chokwe where there was the excess of women led to the need to cover the gap with men marrying more women. The excess number of women in the rural areas encouraged polygamy in Chokwe as the men tried to cover the vacuum left by the absent men by marrying more women.

The war also caused emotional stress for women and children. Watching their parents being killed and the tiring long hours without rest for maids took its toll, with some actually committing suicide (Julia Domingos, interview 15 March, 2009). After the war, some women and children were taken to mental institutions as a result of mental disorders. This is clearly revealed that women and children suffered greatly from the abuses meted to them, especially from labour exploitation and the terrors of war that they witnessed. Mental institutions also increased for women and children at a greater rate than before the civil war. In Chokwe, two mental

institutions were established by UNICEF to offer services to the war victims. This is appears a clear evidence of the magnitude of the psychological impact of the war on the civilian population in the Chokwe District.

Those who were responsible for the killing and maiming of children also ended up suffering from mental problems. Some of the soldiers who killed people at will suffered from mental disorders. Danita Andrade Tome (interview 25 February, 2009) further argues that the mental problems these people had could be linked to the war since most of them that became mentally unstable were always talking about how they killed people while some other were acting as if they were still at war shooting at imaginary targets. It is obvious that such behaviours were a result of the war effects on the people, which eventually reveal them as culpable in the atrocities of the war.

The nation was divided between FRELIMO and RENAMO supporters. This meant that FRELIMO supporters had first priority when it came to employment in government sectors and RENAMO supporters were discriminated against. This division intensified the discontent of RENAMO forces that saw justice not being done and felt isolated from the political front of the country, therefore profound hostility and hatred held sway among the people.

The government tried to adopt policies to protect the people from the atrocities of RENAMO's militia. The government encouraged people from the rural areas of the District of Chokwe to move to safer urban centers. The urban centers were heavily protected by the Government soldiers known as Oitava Brigada (Eight Brigade) which was trained in Algeria, Cuba and China. The government also protected the civilians by escorting them to different places outside Chokwe, such as to Maputo and Massingir, once a month.

The government protected strategic development infrastructure. This infrastructure included electricity substations, canals, railway lines, highways, bridges, silos, and irrigation. On one occasion, the government intercepted RENAMO forces that wanted to bomb Lionde electricity substation. FRELIMO used the State Secret Service (CISE) to ensure that they found out what RENAMO was planning to attack next. The state also created the State Infrastructure Protection Unit (Batalhão Nyanga) which was to protect the railway lines in order to safeguard cargoes being transported into the neighboring countries such as Zimbabwe and Malawi (Hedges, 1993:547). On highways the Unit protected haulage trucks that transported food and other basic commodities to Chokwe.

During the war the government also provided various forms of assistance to the people who were fleeing to town. The initial response by the government was to offer temporary shelter, first it was tents, and then, giving them land to build temporary accommodation. These were common in places like Mapapa, Chiaquelene, Conhane and Muzumuia. After the people had been settled, the government gave assistance of blankets, clothes, food, and safe drinking water. Although, the FRELIMO government provided all these forms of assistance it could not cope with the demand of the people who fled to towns in greater numbers.

The first and most important decision by the government as a way of trying to encourage development was the process of reconciliation and integration of the two warring factions: FRELIMO and RENAMO. This was done through incorporation of RENAMO soldiers into the National Army and Local Administration. Integration reduced suspicion, hatred, and discrimination on the RENAMO forces. This suspicion during the transitional period had led to the beating and sometimes killing of RENAMO former fighters. According to Chapepa (2009) it was dangerous for former RENAMO fighters to move on the street without suffering verbal and physical attacks because of their purported crimes against the civilians.

The government's main target soon after the war was reconstruction of infrastructure. The first thing the government did was to encourage people to go back to the rural areas by giving them assurances of their security. The government started by reconstructing roads, especially Macarretane to Massingir, which is important for supplying Chokwe District with fish; it is the same road which links Mozambique's Limpopo National Park to Kruger National Park in South Africa (Paulo Tivane, interview, 08 August, 2009). This was important for attempting to revive the tourism industry of Chokwe and the country as whole.

There was also the reconstruction of the road linking Chokwe to Macia, which is important for the supply of agricultural produce to Maputo, Xai - Xai and other areas. This encouraged many farmers to go back to their farms since there was a thriving market in Maputo. The government also created a flea market in Maputo for Chokwe farmers so that they could sell their produce easily; it gave many of the farmers the impetus to venture into cash crops farming (Floriano Chauque, interview, 04 August 2009). The reconstruction of roads paved the way for development since the roads opened the way for trade and commerce, which had been disturbed by the civil war.

The government, with the cooperation of Non-Governmental Organizations helped in improving the health sector and education in Chokwe. In Macarretane, they helped in the building of a secondary school of the same name which reduced the distance and cost of traveling to get educated. This led to an increase in the number of students attending secondary schools, thereby reducing illiteracy rate. There was also the construction of other schools in other parts of Chokwe such as Hokwe, which also increased the number of

students attending schools, while in Nwachicoluane, the government also converted a destroyed Agrarian Institute into the ADPP Center for Formation of Teachers (Jorge Novela, interview, 10 August 2009).

In the center of the district the government constructed three secondary schools as a way of trying to address the demand for increased number of students from primary schools. In tertiary education, there was the creation of two universities in Chokwe, namely the Polytechnic Superior Institute of Gaza for Agriculture in 2006, as a way of improving knowledge in agriculture; this encouraged cooperation with commercial farmers to the point that students are usually attached to Chokwe farms (Interview with Alberto Massingue, 10 August, 2009). These students also produce seeds in green houses and sell their hybrid seeds to commercial farmers. The government created the Superior School of Management and Economics in 2007 to respond to demands of workers in public and private sectors of the economy.

In the health sector, government built many hospitals in the rural areas. The construction of hospitals was a response to the people's demands for an improved health delivery system which had collapsed during the civil war. People were in need of clinics and hospitals since many had been amputated, some had severe wounds from beatings and burns which they suffered from the civil war. There was also a general health scare since in the urban areas poor sanitation still persisted and cholera and diarrhoea were common (Luis Braz, interview, 19 August, 2009). The government also equipped hospitals with medicine with the help of massive donor funds from both the East and West. This massive aid came as a result of Joaquim Chissano's new liberal approach, which was popular with the west.

The congestion of the population in Chokwe urban center encouraged social problems like prostitution, which some women engaged in order to get money to sustain themselves; this in turn caused diseases such as Tuberculosis, Sexual Transmitted Diseases, and HIV/AIDS. Rape, that was common in the FRELIMO and RENAMO controlled, areas also increased the risk of people contracting STIs ( Fernando Muianga, interview, 19 August, 2009). The health sector needed to cater for all these problems in order to ensure that the people moved forward rather than backwards in the development of the country. For a country to develop, the people or its human resources must be in good health for it to work towards realizing its goals.

The government also reconstructed the major hospital which has been destroyed by the RENAMO forces. The reconstruction of new hospitals was a response to the demand of people wanting treatment since there were long queues in the available hospitals and clinics in the urban center of Chokwe. There was also a construction of new Sanitary Post in the rural areas such as The 25 de Setembro Sanitary Post, Macarringue Sanitary Post and Chalucane hospital (Sister Madalena, interview, 10 August 2009). These buildings inspired people that there was peace in their rural homes. The government tried by all means to provide for the basic needs of the people in the rural areas especially in terms of health.

The government placed a high priority on the agricultural sector in order to promote development. There was a need to boost the agriculture in Chokwe as a way of resuscitating the industry based there, which was based on agriculture. The government funded agriculture in Chokwe by providing ploughs and tractors. The government created the District Service of Agriculture and the Agrarian Research Institute in Chokwe; these helped the farmers by providing them with seeds of maize, Soya beans, and rice (Adalberto Mavie, interview, 04 August, 2009). The government support went a long way in ensuring that the agricultural sector was put back on its feet.

In agriculture, the government also resuscitated the irrigation schemes to ensure agricultural activity throughout the year as well as in times of drought. The government rebuilt the canal that was destroyed by the war which captures water from Limpopo River. In Chokwe, since 1993, over 13,000 families have been given plots of 0.5 hectares to 1 hectare in the 9000 hectares set aside for irrigation scheme (Timberlake 1996:17). Maize and cow peas are now the major crops but cassava, ground nuts and potatoes are also grown in the area. The government also created The Savings Cooperatives Bank for Limpopo Farmers in Chokwe and recently the Land Bank to finance agriculture. These provide loans to the people in Chokwe to boost agriculture through mechanization and growing hybrid seeds. The boosting of agriculture by many commercial and subsistence farmers reduced the shortage of food in the District of Chokwe. The farmers produced an excess of grain such that they began supplying other areas, especially the capital, Maputo and regained its status of being the Silo of the country (Timberlake 1996:16-17). This went a long way in promoting development, which led to high standard of living for the rural and commercial farmers in Chokwe.

The government also encouraged private sector participation in agriculture by allowing private buyers to buy certain agricultural produce like cotton. But for rice it is only bought by the government because it is the staple of food. The government also attracted foreign investment in Chokwe by creating partnership with a Japanese company, JICA. This company invested in bringing technology and expertise to the farmers in Chokwe to help improve rice production.

The peasants lost their cattle during the war and needed to restock, but the times were difficult due to low economic performance of the country. The government took this task of ensuring that people regained their livestock in the rehabilitation scheme through which the government provided rural farmers with cows for

breeding in Chokwe (Timberlake 1996). The livestock rehabilitation received support from donor funding, which sought to inspire the people to settle permanently in their rural homes through helping them to be self sufficient.

The government, in its quest to ensure that the people had proper integration, made it one of its goals to integrate displaced families that had taken refuge in towns or other countries. The government, with the assistance of the United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR), provided transport and other types of assistance to ensure that those displaced by the war found their way to their homes (Dolan C, 1997:16). The condition in the Refugee camps had been appalling or poor. The government initiative of developing infrastructure also encouraged people to go back to their old villages, since there were signs of change in the environmental living conditions. The reintegration process led to the uniting of many families in Chokwe; nonetheless, many remained in the neighboring countries such as Zimbabwe and South Africa where they worked on plantations and farms.

The government also promoted the reestablishment of the political authority of local government. The government heavily funded the local government authorities, including the District Administration office in Chokwe. This was to ensure that the ordinary citizens of Chokwe had a lower authority they could air their views to in order to encourage development. The vibrancy created in the District office saw a number of projects being implemented, including the creation of a specific market for the people of Chokwe in Maputo (João Faquir, interview, 04 August, 2009). The local government became the center of development in most districts, including Chokwe.

Resources have been allocated towards the building of special houses known as New Millennium Villages funded by the government of Japan under a government to government partnership. The government set up funds for the building of low income houses to benefit those that are in the low income bracket, especially the farmers of Chokwe, who survived solely by the sale of their produce. The government also encouraged housing for those who are in need of homes to settle into since most people were living in mud, straw or bamboo houses.

The government also allocated and continued to allocate 7 billion meticais annually as credit for the people of Chokwe to make cooperatives. The people were encouraged to write proposals for their projects before they could receive assistance, Those with strong proposals received grants, starting from 5,000 Meticais (Manuel Siteo, interview, 02 August 2009). The projects include chicken farming, pig rearing, some ventured into the hospitality business by building lodges. This funding, which was started in 2005 by the new president, Armando Guebuza, has gone a long way in uplifting the lives of those who are not formally employed. It thus helped to create self employment

The government went a long way to that there was development after the war, but there were problems that the government encountered in the process. These problems slowed down the rate at which development could have been undertaken by the government. Some of the problems were actually linked with the war while others had to do with financial corruption of government officials.

Another problem the government had to grapple with concerning its attempt to bring about development after the war as there was hostility and suspicion in the areas where RENAMO had the majority support during the war. There was strong suspicion that the government would use development as a way of reducing the RENAMO support. The government was thus accused of being selective in terms of providing development since most of the roads in areas that were largely pro-government were constructed (Angelo Cuna, interview, 05 August 2009). This suspicion still persists as the government continued to be accused of being blind when it comes to infrastructural development where RENAMO has strong influence.

The governments' efforts at development was greatly hindered by the corrupt practices of some of the government officials: those given the mandate to formulate development projects were the ones abusing the funds. The money meant for irrigation and other development infrastructure was often diverted for personal use. Lack of effective monitoring mechanisms in the system meant that it was difficult to police the local government agents, especially District Administrators, who happen to be the link between the government and the people. Corruption meant that some of the projects planned for were not fully implemented or became costlier to implement (Salomão Macuacua, interview, 02 August 2009).

The women who provided a lot of assistance during the war looked forward to an end to the discrimination against them in the society, especially in the home. However, women are particularly disadvantaged when it comes to the struggle for ownership of land as compared to their male counterparts. Most women in Mozambique depend principally on subsistence agriculture, and thus on access to land, to ensure their livelihood. Nonetheless, they are denied ownership of land (Hermele 1997:24). The policies of government to encourage development have not benefited women that much as they still do not have rights to land in the irrigation scheme in Chokwe. The women whose husbands died in the war have no access to land and are obliged to live on the small plots of land that sympathetic relatives or councils had allowed them to occupy. Although the land law of 1997 affirms the constitutional principle that women and men have equal rights to

occupy and use land, the enforcement of this law has proved to be a problem, especially in the male dominated communities of rural Chokwe. With no other means of survival, many of the women depend on subsistence agriculture to survive in the village.

In the final, the government should ensure that money meant for development from donors goes to the intended beneficiaries. The government should put in place committees in the villages that promote development and see to it that the money has been spent for the required purposes working closely with local government authorities.

There is a need to set up information centres in the villages of Chokwe in order to gather information on the needs and aspirations of the people in the district with regards to development. It is important to note that many times government authorities are unaware of the problems people are encountering in their towns or districts. The government in turn will be pre-occupied with national issues which include trade and defence and not target specific areas which are in need of attention. The District Administrator need to be regularly informed by lower agents for development in the area.

#### **IV. CONCLUSION**

The researchers noted with great concern the effects the war had on the innocent civilians of Chokwe and the country at large. The RENAMO–FRELIMO conflict was over power in Mozambique. It is important to note that RENAMO was not a local product but a creation of the Rhodesian Government which wanted to discourage Mozambican government from supporting revolutionary forces in Zimbabwe and South Africa. The external interference meant that the war was to be long, brutal and devastating. The war greatly affected development in Chokwe, especially agriculture, which was and still is the backbone of the District's economy. The war led to low agricultural productivity which in turn fostered the collapse of the National Silo. This was worsened by the drought of 1990-1992, which led to hunger in the District of Chokwe and the country as a whole while it lasted. The country was forced to live on food aid after the drought. This aid came from the European Union and the government of the United States of America. Apart from the civil wars' effects on agriculture, the infrastructure was also badly destroyed by the guerrilla tactics of RENAMO forces. Dams, roads, bridges, canals and other irrigation facilities suffered from regular attacks by RENAMO militia. The infrastructure was needed for development and the process of rebuilding became a slow process since a lot of damage had been done, which required heavy capital injection. The economy was also registering low growth and it took foreign financial investment from the West for signs of development to show. The process of integration and reconciliation helped a lot in healing some of the people's wounds. However, due to the nature of the civil war, suspicion still persist among the people of Chokwe and also in the country in the sense that some are still seen as enemies up to now because of the atrocities they committed during the conflict. The country still remains heavily divided and a form of regionalism has been created with Gaza being a strong base for FRELIMO and RENAMO receiving much of the support from Beira. The government has done a lot to encourage development with infrastructural development and through the encouragement of foreign investment. The district has now returned to its status as the silo of the country, especially with the growth of the new rice industry. In Chokwe, most people now have access to safe drinking water, electricity, and better health and education facilities. However shortcomings with regards to development still exist and more needs to be done for the full realization of the development aspirations of the people of Chokwe to be completely met.

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