

## VI. SOURCES

### a. *Informants*<sup>203</sup>

Afonso Bila, Alto Changane (Chibuto), 13/07/2005 and 14/07/2005

António Tivane, Alto Changane (Chibuto), 13/07/2005

Colective and individual interviews with José Magaissa Maposse, Jossias Tivane and Matchuquetane Macuacua, Alto Changane (Chibuto), 14/07/2005

Filipe João Mojavangue, Alto Changane (Chibuto) 14/12/2005

Jaime Cuinica, Alto Changane (Chibuto), 12/07/2005

Jaime Vilanculos, Alto Changane (Chibuto), 13/07/2005

João Mandava Mathe, Alto Changane (Chibuto), 15/12/2005

João Ubisse, official of Ministry of Labour, Maputo 13/09/2005

Júlio Chauque, Alto Changane (Chibuto), 13/07/2005

Julio Chilengue, Alto Changane (Chibuto), 13/07/2005

Laurinda Langa, Chibuto, 16/12/2005

Manuel Chauque, Alto Changane (Chibuto), 13/07/2005

Moises Chongoane, Alto Changane (Chibuto), 12/07/2005

Nataniel Tembe, former Administrator of Chibuto, Chibuto, 12/07/2005

Paulo Gaza Maposse, Alto Changane (Chibuto), 15/12/2005

Representatives of the Department of Migrant Labour (DTM) of Ministry of Labour, Maputo, 12/09/2005 and 13/09/2005 (collective interview)

Senhor Carlos, official of TEBA in Maputo, Maputo, 18/07/2005

Teresa Chichongue, representative of Department of Migrant Labour in Chibuto, Chibuto, 15/07/2005

### b. *Bibliography*

This bibliography has been divided into:

---

<sup>203</sup> All interviews were conducted by Napoleão Gaspar

## **1. Unpublished sources**

Documents from Centro de Estudos Africanos  
FRELIMO's documents  
Department of Migrant Labour documents

## **2. Published sources**

Public documents  
Newspapers and Periodicals  
Selected books  
Selected articles

## **3. Unpublished theses and papers**

### **1. Unpublished sources**

#### **Documents from Centro de Estudos Africanos**

Centro de Estudos Africanos (CEA). ‘Alguns Efeitos e Implicações da Expulsão de Trabalhadores Migrantes Moçambicanos pela República da África do Sul’, Maputo, 1987.

De Brito, L. ‘The Social Welfare of Migrant Labour in Contemporary Southern Africa’, Maputo: Universidade Eduardo Mondlane, 1984.

Manghezi, A, ‘History and Organisation of Labour Recruitment in Southern Mozambique’, Maputo, WD (without date – c.1987).

Manghezi, A. ‘Workshop on Strengthening Multisectorial Linkages and Co-operation in Southern Africa: A framework Toward Attaining Regional Economic Integration’, 4 October 1994.

Universidade Eduardo Mondlane (UEM) – CEA, ‘Os mineiros moçambicanos na África do Sul’, Maputo, 1980.

Centro de Estudos Africanos (CEA)– Universidade Eduardo Mondlane (UEM). ‘The South African Mining Industry and Mozambican Labour in the 1980s: An Analysis of recent Trends in Employment Policy’. Geneva: International Labour Office, 1987

### **FRELIMO's Documents**

FRELIMO, ‘Resolução sobre as Aldeias Comunais’, Documentos da Oitava sessão do comité central da FRELIMO, Maputo, December 1976.

FRELIMO, ‘Directivas económicas e Sociais – Terceiro Congresso’, Maputo, February 1977.

FRELIMO, ‘Quarto Congresso: Relatório da Comissão das Directivas Económicas e Sociais’, Maputo, April 1983.

FRELIMO, ‘Directivas económicas e Sociais ao Quinto Congresso’, Maputo, July 1989.

Machel, S. ‘O Partido e as Classes Trabalhadoras Moçambicanas na Edificação da Democracia Popular’, Documentos do Terceiro Congresso da FRELIMO, Maputo, 1997.

### **Department of Migrant Labour documents**

Departamento do Trabalho Migratório (DTM) – Ministry of Labour of Mozambique, ‘Mineiros Moçambicanos Recrutados para as Minas na África do Sul’, Maputo, 2004.

Departamento do Trabalho Migratório (DTM) – Ministry of Labour of Mozambique, ‘Quantias do Pagamento Diferido das Minas Filiadas e não Filiadas Recebidas em Milhões de Randes’, Maputo, 2004.

Ministério do Trabalho ‘Projectos de Reinsersão Social dos Ex- Mineiros Moçambicanos’. Maputo, June 2004.

## **2. Published sources**

### **Public documents (legislation)**

*Boletim Oficial*, 13, 1909 – ‘Convention between the Government of the Transvaal and the Government of the Province of Mozambique’, Supplement, 10 April 1909.

*Boletim Oficial*, Governo Geral da Província de Moçambique , I, 43 -Decreto 18:570, ‘Acto Colonial’ 25 October 1930.

*Boletim Oficial*, I, (Supplement) ‘Revisão das Cláusulas da Convenção entre o Governo da República Portuguesa e o Governo da União da África do Sul’ 19 November 1934.

Governo Geral da Província de Moçambique- Circular 818/ D-7, 7 October 1942.

### **Newspapers and Periodicals**

*African studies*

*Estudos Moçambicanos*

*Journal of Southern African Studies*

### **Selected books**

Allen, V. *The History of Black Mineworkers in South Africa, Vol I: The Techniques of Resistance, 1871- 1948.* Keighley: The Moor Press, 1992.

Allen, V. *The History of Black Mineworkers in South Africa, Vol III: The Rise and Struggles of the Union of Mineworkers, 1982- 1994.* Keighley: The Moor Press, 2003

Beinart, W. *The Political Economy of Pondoland, 1860- 1930.* Cambridge University Press, 1982.

Beinart, W., Delius, P. and Trapido, S. *Putting a Plough to the Ground: Accumulation and Dispossession in Rural South Africa 1850- 1930.* Johannesburg: Ravan Press, 1986

Cahen, M. *Mozambique, la Revolution implosé.* L' Harmatam, 1987.

Covane, L. A. *As Relações Económicas entre Moçambique e a África do Sul, 1850-1964: Acordos e Regulamentos Principais.* Maputo: Arquivo Histórico de Moçambique, 1989.

Covane, L. A. *O Trabalho Migratório e a Agricultura no Sul de Moçambique (1920-1992).* Maputo: Promédia, 2001.

Crush, J. *The Struggle for Swazi Labour, 1890- 1920.* University of California Press, 1987.

Crush, J., Jeeves, A. and Yudelman, D. *South Africa's Labour Empire: A History of Black Migrancy to the Gold Mines.* Cape Town: David Philip, 1991.

Crush, J. and James, W. (Eds) *Crossing Boundaries: Mine Migrancy in a Democratic South Africa.* Cape Town, Creda Press, 1995.

Delius, P. *The Land Belongs to Us: The Pedi Polity, the Boers and the British in the nineteenth-century Transvaal.* Johannesburg: Ravan Press, 1983.

Delius, P. *A Lion amongst the Cattle: Reconstruction and Resistance in the Northern Transvaal.* Johannesburg: Ravan Press, 1996.

Epprecht, M 'This Matter of Women is Getting Very Bad': *Gender, Development and Politics in Colonial Lesotho.* Pietermaritzburg: University of Natal Press, 2000.

First, R. *Black Gold: The Mozambican Miner, Proletarian and Peasant.* Sussex Harvester, 1983.

- Gelb, S. (Ed). *South Africa's Economic Crisis*. Cape Town: David Philip, 1991.
- Gool, S. *Mining Capitalism and Black Labour in the Early Industrial Period in Southern Africa: A Critique of the New Historiography*. Sweden Studentlitteratur Lund, 1983.
- Hanlon, J. *Mozambique: The Revolution under Fire*. London, Zed Books, 1984.
- Harries, P. *Work, Culture and Identity: Migrant Laborers in Mozambique and South Africa, c 1860- 1910*. Johannesburg, 1994.
- Hedges, D. (Coordinator) *História de Moçambique: Moçambique no Auge do Colonialismo, 1930 – 1961*. Maputo: Imprensa Universitária, 1999.
- Humphries, S. *The Handbook of Oral History: Recording Life Stories*. London, 1984.
- Isaacman, A. and Isaacman, B. *Mozambique: From Colonialism to Revolution, 1900- 1982*, Westview Press, 1983.
- James, W. *Our Precious Metal: African Labour in South Africa's Gold Industry, 1970- 1990*. Cape Town: David Philip, 1992.
- Jeeves, A. *The Struggle for the Gold Mines' Labour Supply 1890- 1920*. Johannesburg: Witwatersrand University Press, 1985.
- Jeeves, A. and Crush, J. *White Farms Black Labor: The State and Agrarian Change in Southern Africa, 1910- 1950*. Natal: University of Natal Press, 1997
- Lang, J. *Bullion Johannesburg: Men, Mines and the Challenge of Conflict*. Johannesburg: Jonathan Ball Publishers, 1986.
- Mazula, B (Ed). *Moçambique, Eleições, Democracia e Desenvolvimento*. Maputo, 1995.
- Marks, S. and Rathbone, R. *Industrialisation and Social Change in South Africa: African Class Formation, Culture and Consciousness, 1870- 1930*. Longman, 1982.
- Moodie, D. T. *Going for Gold: Men, Mines and Migration*. Johannesburg: Witwatersrand University Press, 2001.
- Nattrass, N. and Ardington, E. (Eds) *The Political Economy of South Africa*. Oxford University Press, 1990,
- Newitt, M. *A History of Mozambique*. London: Hurst, 1995.
- Saul, J. (Ed) *A Difficult Road: The Transition to Socialism in Mozambique*, N Y Monthly Review Press, 1985.

Serra, C. (Dir) *História de Moçambique: Primeiras Sociedades Sedentárias e Impacto de Mercadores, 200/300 – 1930*, Maputo- Livraria Universitária, 2000.

Thompson, P. *The Voice of the Past: Oral History*. Oxford, 1978.

Vail, L. and White, L. *Capitalism and Colonialism in Mozambique: A Study of Quelimane District*, London, 1980, p. 208;

Vansina, J. *Oral Tradition as History*, London, 1985.

Walker, C. *Women and Gender in Southern Africa to 1945*, Cape: David Philip, 1990

Wilson, F. *Labour in the South African Gold Mines 1911- 1969*. Cambridge University Press, 1972.

Wuyts, M. *Money and Planning for Socialist Transition: the Mozambican Experience*. England; Gower, 1989.

### **Selected articles of books and journals**

Anonymous, ‘President Samora Recebe Trabalhadores Moçambicanos Radicados na África do Sul’, *Tempo*, 315, 17 October 1976, pp.9- 10.

Anonymous, ‘Acordo de Nkomati’, in *Tempo*, 702, 25 March 1984, pp. 32- 35.

Anonymous, ‘Trabalho Migratório em Discussão’, *Tempo*, 732, 21 October 1984, p.4.

Beinart, W. and Delius, P. ‘Introduction’, in Beinart, W, Delius, P. and Trapido, S. *Putting a Plough to the Ground: Accumulation and dispossession in rural South Africa 1850- 1930*. Johannesburg: Ravan Press, 1986, pp. 1- 55.

Bickford- Smith, V., Field, S., and Glaser, C. ‘The Western Cape Oral History Project: The 1990s’, *African Studies*, 60, 1, 2001, pp. 5- 23.

Bonner, P. ‘Desirable or Undesirable Basotho Women? Liquor, Prostitution and the Migration of Basotho Women to the Rand, 1920- 1945’ in Walker, C. *Women and Gender in Southern Africa to 1945*, Cape: David Philip, 1990, pp. 221- 252.

Bragança, A. (Interviewed by Lima, T.) ‘Nkomati -Vitória da nossa Soberania’, *Tempo*, 702, 25 March 1984, pp. 26-27.

Casal, A. ‘Legitimização Política- ideological da Socialização do Campo’, *Revista Internacional de Estudos Africanos*, 1991, 14- 15, pp. 35- 76.

Castel – Branco, C. ‘Opções Económicas de Moçambique, 1975- 1995’, in Mazula, B (Ed). *Moçambique, Eleições, Democracia e Desenvolvimento*. Maputo, 1995, pp. 581- 536.

Cravinho, J. ‘Frelimo and the Politics of Agricultural Marketing in Mozambique’. *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 24, 1, 1998, pp. 93- 114.

Crush, J. ‘Mine Migrancy in the contemporary era’ in Crush, J. and James, W. (Eds) *Crossing Boundaries: Mine Migrancy in a Democratic South Africa*. Cape Town, Creda Press, 1995, pp. 14- 32.

Crush, J. and James, W. “The politics of normalisation: Mine Migrancy” in Crush, J. and James, W. (Eds) *Crossing Boundaries: Mine Migrancy in a Democratic South Africa*. Cape Town, Creda Press, 1995, pp. 218- 226.

Davies, R. ‘Algumas Implicações dos Possíveis Cenários pós Apartheid para a Região da África Austral’, in *Estudos Moçambicanos*, 8, 1990, pp.143- 189.

Freund, B. ‘South African Gold Mining in Transformation’. In Gelb, S. (Ed). *South Africa’s Economic Crisis*. Cape Town: David Philip. 1991, pp. 110- 128.

Gomes, A. ‘A Paz de Nkomati’, *Tempo*, 701, 18 March 1984, pp. 24- 25.

Harries, P. ‘Kinship, Ideology and the Nature of Pre- Colonial Labour Migration: Labour Migration from Delagoa Bay hinterland to South Africa, up 1895’, in Marks, S. and Rathbone, R. *Industrialisation and Social Change in South Africa: African class formation, culture and consciousness, 1870- 1930*. Longman, 1982, pp. 142- 166.

Head, J. ‘Migrant Labour from Mozambique: What prospects’ in Crush, J. and James, W. (Eds) *Crossing Boundaries: Mine Migrancy in a Democratic South Africa*. Cape Town, Creda Press, 1995, pp.129- 138.

Hedges, D., Rocha, A and Chilundo, A. ‘O Reforço do Colonialismo, 1930- 1937’ in Hedges, D. (Coordinator) *História de Moçambique: Moçambique no Auge do Colonialismo, 1930 – 1961*. Maputo: Imprensa Universitária, 1999, pp. 35- 82.

Hedges, D. and Rocha, A. ‘Moçambique Durante o Apogeu do Colonialismo Português, 1945- 1961: A Economia e a Estrutura Social’ in Hedges, D. (Coordinator) *História de Moçambique: Moçambique no Auge do Colonialismo, 1930 – 1961*. Maputo: Imprensa Universitária, 1999, pp.129- 195.

Hofmeyr, J. ‘Black wages: The Post War experience’, in Nattrass, N. and Ardington, E. (Eds) *The Political Economy of South Africa*. Oxford University Press, 1990, pp. 129- 147.

Khan, B. 'The Crisis and South Africa's Balance of Payment' in Gelb, S. (Ed). *South Africa's Economic crisis*. Cape Town: David Philip. 1991, pp. 59- 87.

Kimble, J. 'Labour Migration in Basutoland, c1870- 1885', in Marks, S. and Rathbone, R. (Ed.) *Industrialisation and Social Change in South Africa: African Class Formation, Culture and Consciousness 1870- 1930*. Longman, 1982, pp. 119- 141.

Leger, J. 'Coal Mining: Past Profits, Current Crisis?' In Gelb, S. (Ed). *South Africa's Economic crisis*. Cape Town: David Philip. 1991. pp.129- 155.

Lincoln, D. 'Plantation Agriculture, Mozambique Workers and Employers' Rivalry in Zululand, 1918- 1948' in Jeeves, A. and Crush, J. *White Farms Black Labor: The State and Agrarian Change in Southern Africa, 1910- 1950*. Natal: University of Natal Press, 1997, pp. 137- 146.

Lopes Junior, M. 'O Processo de Acumulação da RSA e a Situação Actual no Sul de Save', in *Estudos Moçambicanos*, 1, 1980, pp. 91-110.

Manghezi, A. 'A Voz do Mineiro: Entrevistas e Canções', in *Estudos Moçambicanos*, 1, 1980, pp.77- 90.

Marshall, J. 'Making Education Revolutionary', in Saul, J (Ed) *A Difculty Road: The Transition to Socialism in Mozambique*, N Y Monthly Review Press, 1985, pp. 155- 210.

Murray, C. 'Changing Livelihoods: The Free State, 1990s'. *African Studies*, 59, 2000, 115- 142.

Ribas, F. 'Trabalho Migratório: Criar Emprego para Reduzir a Dependência', *Tempo*, 733, 28 October 1984, p. 31.

Richardson, P. and Van- Helten, J. J. 'Labour in the South African Gold Mining, 1886- 1914', in Marks, S. and Rathbone, R. *Industrialisation and Social Change in South Africa: African class formation, culture and consciousness, 1870- 1930*. Longman, 1982, pp. 77- 98.

Terreblanch, S. and Nattrass, N. 'A Periodization of the Political Economy from 1910', in Nattrass, N. and Ardington, E. (Eds) *The political Economy of South Africa*. Oxford University Press, 1990, pp. 6- 23.

Walker, C. 'Gender and the Development of the Migrant Labour System c. 1850- 1930', in Walker, C. *Women and Gender in Southern Africa to 1945*. Cape: David Philip, 1990, pp. 168- 196.

### **3. Unpublished theses and Papers**

Centro de Estudos Africanos (CEA)– Universidade Eduardo Mondlane (UEM). ‘The South African Mining Industry and Mozambican Labour in the 1980s: An Analysis of recent Trends in Employment Policy’. Geneva: International Labour Office, 1987.

Clarke, D.G. ‘Foreign Migrant Labour in South Africa: Studies on Accumulation in the Labour Reserves, Demand Determinants and Supply Relationship’. Geneva: International Labour Organization, 1977.

De Vletter, F. ‘Migrant Labour Conditions in South Africa: A Case Study of the Gold Mines’. Geneva: International Labour Office, 1980.

De Vletter, F. ‘The Rights and Welfare of Migrant Workers: Scope and Limits of Joint Action By Southern African Migrant-sending Countries’. Geneva: International Labour Office, 1985.

De Vletter, F. ‘Sons of Mozambique: Mozambican Miners and Post- Apartheid South Africa’. Cape Town: Idasa, 1998.

International Labour Office. ‘Reintegration of Mozambican Miners’, Draft report of an Interagency Mission to Mozambique, 23 March- 6 May 1987, Geneva, 1987.

Laburn-Peart, C. ‘Transforming Power Relations in the Mining industry: Housing as a Locus of Power’, Paper Presented an International Conference, University of Cape Town, June, 1994.

United Nations, ‘Perfis de Desenvolvimento Distrital: Distrito de Chibuto’. Maputo: ACNUR/ PNUD, 1997.

Whiteside, A. and Patel, C. ‘Agreements Concerning the Employment of Foreign Black Labour in South Africa’. Geneva: International Labour Office, 1985.