

Tributes to Professor Sam Moyo

Professor Sam Moyo, a Great Intellectual, and a Man of Integrity

CODESRIA President 2008-2011

The Council for the Development of Social Science Research in Africa (CODESRIA) deeply regrets and mourns the passing away of its former president, Professor Sam Moyo. Professor Moyo was in New Delhi, India, where he was attending a conference on "Labour Questions in the Global South". The vehicle in which he was travelling was involved in a serious accident in the evening of Thursday, 19 November, and Professor Moyo died in the early hours of Sunday 22 November 2015.

Sam had been an active member of CODESRIA since the 1970s. He coordinated a number of CODESRIA working groups and research networks, and was a tireless and inexhaustible resource that CODESRIA heavily relied upon. Several of his most important ideas were first carried in CODESRIA publications. In 1998, he was elected Vice-President of CODESRIA. During the 12th General Assembly held in Yaoundé, Cameroon in December 2008, Sam was elected President of CODESRIA, a position he held until December 2011. He continued to play a vital role in the life and work of CODESRIA, attending General Assemblies, representing CODESRIA at many events, hosting activities in Harare, advising on research programmes, contributing to the deepening and broadening of intellectual exchanges across the Global South and providing wise counsel to the leadership.

Sam was Africa's leading intellectual voice on land and agrarian transformation. Over long periods when there was little policy interest in land reforms, he and a few other scholars kept the issues alive through rigorous empirical research and theorizing about Africa's land and agrarian questions in the context of globalization. Throughout an intellectual career that spanned decades and produced a massive body of work, he consistently championed the rights of Africa's smallholders as well as its landless and dispossessed communities and chronicled the struggles of agrarian social movements for equitable land rights. He followed up his research with engagements with policy makers, civil society organisations, research networks on agrarian issues as well as social movements. He was much in demand in Africa and beyond as a policy advisor on land and agrarian issues.

Prof. Dzodzi Tsikata, President
Dr Ebrima Sall, Executive Secretary
CODESRIA



Sam showed great courage in his robust engagement with Zimbabwe's land reforms. He charted a course of independent research which eschewed sensationalism and illuminated the scale and significance of land redistribution represented by the Fast Track Land Reform Programme which saw over two hundred thousand Zimbabwean households acquiring land for their livelihoods. In spite of the fact that this was for a long time a very lonely undertaking, which incurred the disapproval of the different sides of the debates on Zimbabwe's land reforms, he was much respected and admired not only within CODESRIA, but in the wider community of progressive intellectuals within the Global South for his consistency and the quality of the evidence he produced to back his positions. The growing acceptance of Sam's positions in the wider land and agrarian studies community sadly failed to give him full credit for his pivotal role in changing the debate about Zimbabwe's land reforms.

Sam was full of life and lived life to the full. He was warm, kind hearted, humble and respectful of every member of staff at CODESRIA. So was he with the countless numbers of younger scholars and colleagues he mentored over the years. We will miss a man of integrity, a committed pan Africanist, a loyal friend, and a great leader.

Ending his short but extremely productive journey in this world in India speaks volumes of Sam's commitment to scholarship and to the cause of the peoples of the Global South. This commitment was much in evidence in his leadership of the Agrarian South Network, a tri-continental research network on agrarian issues he co-founded with colleagues from Africa, Asia and Latin America.

On behalf of the Executive and Scientific Committees, and the staff of CODESRIA, we would like to offer our sincere condolences to Sam's partner Beatrice, his mother Madam Mavis Moyo, his daughters and his wider family and friends, the staff of the Harare based *Africa Institute of Agrarian Studies* that he founded and led for many years, and to the entire CODESRIA community, which was his extended family.

Hamba Kahle, Sam. Go well.

Researcher and Institutional Builder

In my current state of shock I cannot write much by way of an intellectual tribute to Sam Moyo and his rich life. Such an undertaking will have to wait.

Thandika Mkandawire

heard on critical matters relating to Africa and his belief that this demanded rigorous work and institutional backing. And finally there was keenness to link African research to research elsewhere in the "Global South".

I met Sam in the late 1970s in Dakar at the IDEP library – IDEP was at the time run by Samir Amin and was a veritable pan-African intellectual magnet. Sam had an uncle who lived in Dakar so he spent his holidays from Fourah Bay College (Sierra Leone) with him. A few years later we were to meet again in Harare where I had been seconded by CODESRIA to advise on setting up the Zimbabwe Institute of Development Studies (ZIDS). Sam belonged to the band of young, enthusiastic graduates who had chosen the uncertainty of a job with the new institute over a much more secure job in government.

His position on the land question was principled and no threat of withdrawal of funding of his institute bent his intellectual integrity. He was bitter and disappointed by the de-campaigning of the Institute by fellow scholars with close links to funders.

Sam immediately demonstrated his zest for research and his prodigious working capacity. His involvement with the Institute went beyond doing his own research. He took the task of building the institution very seriously and enthusiastically accepted any tasks demanded of him. And over many years that combination of serious researcher and dedicated institutional builder was to manifest itself on many occasions and in many institutions he was associated with, earning him great esteem.

I once sent him a link to an article in the New York Times citing his work on land in Zimbabwe. This was no minor thing given what had been a systematic effort to blackout the work of his Institute and the financial strangulation it was being subjected to. But he took it all in stride. However I do know for sure that he took pride from the knowledge that he and his team had beaten the media blackout. He also knew he had won the intellectual battle.

One memorable characteristic of Sam was his intellectual tenacity to delve into a subject with all the energy he could muster. The "Land Question" in Zimbabwe took huge amounts of his time and energy. There were four aspects to his preoccupation. The first aspect was a passion for social justice. The second aspect was simply intellectual drive to understand one of the most important social processes in the Third World – the land reform in Zimbabwe – whose significance was being downplayed by scholars from an amazing range of ideological persuasions for whom the massive transfer of property was reduced to something about "Mugabe and his cronies". The third aspect was his insistence on having African voices

Towards the end of his life he had shifted his interests towards two new concerns. One was the productivity of the newly acquired farms and the other was the emerging social differentiation in the new agrarian dispensations. These are two questions that arise after any major land reform such as the one that Zimbabwe carried out. He had problems raising funds for this research programme. It is sad that death has denied him the time to pursue research in these areas.

His departure has deprived us not only of a major scholar but also of one of the outstanding pillars of the African social sciences institutional architecture.

Sam loved the research community and was generous with his time as many scholars visiting Harare will testify.

Sam and I became close family friends. Members of my family and I will miss his humility, care, warmth and kindness.

An intellectual Tour de Force

Walter Chambati

Dear Colleagues

It is with a heavy heart that I write to inform you of the passing on of Professor Sam Moyo early this morning in New Delhi, India after a tragic car accident on Friday evening. We are all shocked and devastated beyond measure. An intellectual tour de force, source of inspiration and humanist with a big heart has passed on.

Regards.



Selfless, Committed and Totally Reliable

Mahmood Mamdani

I no longer recall when exactly I met Sam. Maybe it was in the late 70s at CODESRIA, or in the early 80s at the Zimbabwe Institute of Development Studies.

The late 1990s, though, was the time we truly got to work together, closely and intensely. The two of us were at the helm of CODESRIA's leadership, as President and Vice President. The next two years were a time of deep and sharp differences in policy, and it often seemed as if there was no end in sight.

I remember a particularly difficult episode a year down the line. We had an emergency meeting in Dakar but Sam said he could not be there because he was to have a delicate operation in a few days. I explained what was at stake and asked if he could postpone the operation by a week. He warned me that he would not be able to sit for long in his current state. But the next day, he was in Dakar. During the meeting, he kept on shifting the weight of his body from one side to the other, now leaning on one buttock, then on another. He was obviously in great pain, but it never showed on his smiling face.

That was Sam, selfless, committed to a fault, totally reliable. He was the person you would want by your side if you expected hard times ahead. But no matter how difficult the times, as during those years, I never saw him turn vindictive against anyone. Later, we would look back on that period as something of a crossroads in the history of CODESRIA. Then, however, it was hard and painful. It was the kind of ordeal that can forge enduring friendships. Sam was that kind of a friend.

In those years, I also learnt that Sam was a mathematical genius. As soon as we would land in Dakar, he would head for the Accounts office, take charge of all the books, and go through them meticulously. No matter how long it took, 12 or 24 hours, Sam would work until he would have a report ready for discussion between the two of us. Soon, word went around that it would be foolhardy for anyone to try and pull a fast one on Sam.

Students and scholars came to CODESRIA for different reasons, some for the thrill of travel, others to be part of a Pan-African conversation on issues of the day, and yet others to access otherwise scarce resources for research. Sam shared all those motives but, above all, he was among the few who unfailingly gave more than he received. When it came to facing temptation or intimidation, his was a towering presence. Sam stood for integrity and steadfastness, a calm intelligence and a cool deliberation, a level head in a crisis situation, and a free spirit in a party that was sure to follow every difficult episode.

Sam was one of the few who presented a seamless blend of this capacity for sobriety, integrity and joy that marked the CODESRIA crowd – all with a cigarette in one hand no matter the time of day, and a glass of beer at the end of the day. The ground on which this companionship was nurtured was the city of Dakar. We came to it from different corners of the continent, all marginal in one way or another, all looking for freedom, most of all the freedom of expression, as if gasping for oxygen. Out of that common endeavor were born close associations and lasting comradeships.

Sam's major scholarship was in the field of agrarian studies. Always unassuming, he seldom talked of his own scholarly work unless someone raised it first. For me that

occasion came in 2008 when the *London Review of Books* invited me to write a piece on Zimbabwe. The land reform was the big issue at the time. I pulled together whatever studies on the subject I could lay my hands on. Three sources stood above all others as original and reliable: one from the Institute of Development Studies at Sussex, another from the University of Western Cape and then Sam's work at the African Institute of Agrarian Studies in Harare. As I read these sources, and the press reports on their findings, I learnt something about the politics of knowledge production and its recognition in the public sphere. Two facts were crystal clear to me: one, that Sam had been several steps ahead of the others; and, two, that his work was the last to be recognized. It was almost as if the press went by a rule of thumb: when it came to ideas, the chain had to originate in a Western University, and the link go through a South African institution, before it came to an African researcher.

I discussed this with Sam. He smiled, as if to say, what's new? At home, his critics were at pains to paint him as partisan. If he showed that the land reform had improved the lot of a large number of the landless, those in the opposition discounted it as the claim of someone with the regime. But if he refused to give blanket support to the regime, those with it said he must have hidden links to the opposition. When it came to public policy, Sam took the cue from his research, always fearless, unafraid, and hopeful. He was a voice listened to by all, especially when he was the target of criticism. Whatever their disagreement, all knew that Sam was not susceptible to corruption, and that he would not offer an opinion unless it was informed by deep research.

The last time I saw Sam was at the CODESRIA General Assembly in Dakar in June. Only two months before, we had been together in the city of Hangzhou in China at a conference organized by the Inter-Asia School to celebrate the 60th anniversary of Bandung. The hospitality was overwhelming. Every meal was like a banquet; every plate on the table was renewed before it could be empty; wine and drinks flowed. Sam was relaxed, as he reminisced of our efforts to build CODESRIA over the past decades, and reflected about future plans for the African Institute of Agrarian Studies. I recall this as if it was yesterday: Sam, smiling, trusting, reassuring, strong, purposeful, and thoughtful, yet again doing what he was best at, charting a road none had travelled before, but at the same time taking you along.

This is one journey, dear Sam, that you take alone. You leave this world as you came into it, alone, but this world is a better place, and we are better off, because we had the privilege of being part of your world. The loss is great and the heart is heavy, and it is hard and painful to say good-bye. As we grieve for our loss, we also celebrate your life.

In Memory of Prof Sam Moyo: A Committed Freedom Fighter

I would like to express my deepest condolences to the family, friends and colleagues of Professor Samson Moyo. His untimely passing was a great shock to me and to other South Africans who knew him. I feel his loss very deeply as he was a friend as well as a collaborator in various projects. He was wrenched from us at the height of his powers as a leading African intellectual, an activist and an institution builder.

I knew Sam for many years – from the time of our liberation struggle against apartheid in the mid-1980s. I met him through the SAPES network led by Dr Ibbo Mandaza. He had fought for the liberation of Zimbabwe and he was committed to the cause of a free, democratic, independent and prosperous African continent. His dedication continued throughout his life.

This is demonstrated by all his work and more especially his intellectual work for the benefit of our continent. Sam was held in high esteem by the intellectual community in Africa and beyond. He served for many years in CODESRIA, the Council for the Development of Social Research in Africa, successively as a Member of the Executive Committee, Vice President, and finally, from 2009 to 2011 as President

Sam's specific areas of interest was agrarian studies, in particular policy regarding agriculture, food, land reform and the environment. After working in these fields as a professor at the University of Zimbabwe and as a government advisor,

Dr BE Nzimande,
MP, South African Minister of
Higher Education and Training

he demonstrated his social entrepreneurship and institution-building skills when he established the African Institute of Agrarian Studies.

Sam was a true internationalist. His very passing in India, on a work assignment far away from his home, is testament to his internationalism and his understanding that the challenges that face humanity are universal. His internationalism is also demonstrated by his contributions in South Africa. Several years ago, I decided to establish a National Institute for Humanities and Social Sciences and asked him to assist us and to bring with him his experiences and deep knowledge of social science research across the continent. He accepted my request without hesitation and when the Institute was formally established two years ago, Sam became a valued, useful and influential member of its Board.

Despite all his accomplishments, Sam remained modest and unassuming. He was a kind and gentle person and had an easy way with people. He was the type of individual that you very quickly felt at ease with.

My grief at his loss is shared by the South African government and all South Africans who knew Sam Moyo. Our grief is profound and sincere; we will do all we can to ensure that the path that he trod will be followed by others and especially by younger academics and the youth.

Hamba kahle, Sam, brother and friend..

A Pan-Africanist

In deep sorrow we mourn the sudden and untimely death of Sam Moyo, profound scholar and progressive activist, beloved comrade, Member of the Executive Committee of IDEAs. Sam was in New Delhi, India to participate in a conference on "Labour Questions in the Global South" when a car he was travelling in was involved in a terrible accident. Two other friends and colleagues (Marcelo Rosa and Paris Yeros) were injured but Sam was very critically hurt. After a valiant struggle for survival, he passed away in the early hours of 22 November 2015.

Sam was much more than a guiding spirit in many of our activities. He illuminated our lives and work with his sharp intellect, passionate commitment, exemplary integrity and extraordinary energy. His strong sense of Pan African consciousness and wider South solidarity enriched his and our academic endeavour and public dissemination. His analytical insights always provided a fresh and penetrating

Jayati Ghosh and IDEAs Team

perspective that enabled us to better understand the complexities of agrarian change and economic realities in Africa and elsewhere.

His death leaves a void that is impossible to fill. We will miss his warmth, affection, generosity and humour and of course his irresistible charm that could disarm the keenest adversary. In particular we will always cherish his ability to live life to the fullest, even in adverse circumstances. Our hearts go out to his family and his innumerable friends in Zimbabwe and across the world. For many of us, this cannot be farewell. A bit of Sam has enriched us forever and will live on inside us.

We hope to have more on Sam Moyo in the days ahead, to honour him and celebrate his extraordinary life. Please send your tributes, memories and other contributions to:

webmaster@networkideas.org and jayati@networkideas.org

An Erudite Scholar and a Fine Gentleman

Enna Sukutai Gudhlanga
(Zimbabwe)

I am deeply saddened by Prof Sam Moyo's passing on in India where he was attending a conference on the Labour Question in the Global South. The academic fraternity has really been robbed of a giant who was eager to mentor both seasoned and upcoming scholars. We have been deprived of an erudite scholar and a fine gentleman. I will never forget the assistance he gave to our CODESRIA CRN Team, the project culminated in a book which was published in 2015 by CODESRIA titled: *Gender, Politics and Land Use in Zimbabwe, 1980-2012*. The Land and Agrarian Studies question will never be the same without Prof Sam Moyo. We have been privileged to know and learn from the prolific Professor par excellence of our time. Fare thee well Prof Sam Moyo, may your soul rest in eternal peace. May your family, the AIAS family, the CODESRIA family and the whole academic fraternity be comforted.

A Fighter for a more Equal World

Teresa Cruz e Silva
Former President of CODESRIA
Centro de Estudos Africanos
Universidade Eduardo Mondlane

With a lot of sadness and apprehension, during the last weekend we received the news of the car accident in New Delhi, your struggle for life and the heavier news that you were not anymore among us. It was and, still is so hard to believe in the new reality of your physical absence!

It is difficult to accept that a fighter for a more equal world, a friend always cheerful and generous, or that an academic always worried with the reality of our continent has left us. However, we have the joy of knowing that the spread of your wisdom among different generations of scholars, young people and your daughters, will immortalize your life.

To your family, your friends, to CODESRIA to whom you gave an important part of your knowledge, and to the entire academic community, we would like to express our deepest solidarity and our deepest condolences in this difficult moment.

A Luta Continua!

Sam Moyo will live forever!

A Scholar and Social Crusader

Emmanuel Yenshu Vubo

This news of Sam Moyo came as a veritable shock indeed. Sam died on the battlefield of science as he travelled to attend this conference on issues that were not only an intellectual passion for him but a social crusade in which he was engaged. But how horrible such a death. Let us pray the very good All-knowing and Almighty God that He would grant repose to Sam's soul in His bosom. We will surely miss his critical insights, commitment and devotion to the cause that he served with us and the entire African social science community. Adieu Sam.

A Tribute to our Colleague and Friend, Sam Moyo

Fatima Harrak

It was such a shock to hear about Sam's passing.

Sam was a brother, a friend, a scholar, a dedicated pan-Africanist and a person who infected everyone with his great spirit.

From our first meeting in Yaounde, Cameroun, where he was elected as President of CODESRIA to working by his side as his deputy for three years, Sam Moyo always had about him a passionate dignity that made him an inspiring leader and a great human being to be around. Energy, commitment, integrity are all words that captured the moral fiber of this man.

In addition to his renowned scholarly contribution to the study of peasant social movements, agrarian reform and land struggle in Africa and his exceptional leadership abilities, Sam was also a caring, generous and selfless person who loved life and believed in the goodness of people. I experienced his kindness as I succeeded him at the head of CODESRIA when he offered his unconditional support and advice.

Sam was one of a kind and will be sorely missed as a colleague, scholar and friend but never will he be forgotten by those who were fortunate enough to have known him!

Une grande perte pour l'Afrique

B. Elmorchid
Marrakech University

Cher(e)s collègues

Je tiens à m'associer à votre peine et apporter tout mon soutien à ses proches et à ses amis en ces durs moments que la vie nous impose. L'Afrique vient de perdre l'un de ses plus grands chercheurs en sciences sociales.

Veuillez accepter mes plus sincères condoléances.

Tributes

An Independent Intellectual

William Martin (Bill)

My gratitude to Tendai and Fred, for reminding us, warming us, with these difficult summations of Sam in a time when thinking much less writing is so very difficult to do. Surely the flood of warm memories will cohere as we gather everywhere to celebrate Sam's inestimable gifts to us and our unimaginable loss. What Fred, Tendai and others highlight was really a key source of Sam's gentle, persistent greatness: his deep, unrivaled commitment to an independent African intellectual life and community, and his corresponding eschewing of the easy slide into the traducing hands of those who possess intellectual, much less state, inducements and rewards. May his example continue to inspire us in our weaker moments – and the next generation.

An Inspiration

Rama Salla Dieng
Member of CODESRIA
SOAS-University of London

Dear Fellow members of CODESRIA,

Please accept my condolences for the loss of our Professor Sam Moyo. I am writing the word 'loss' unwillingly. It is so hard to accept the news. I had turned to land studies because of his great passion and commitment at the first Pan-African land grab conference in 2013 in Addis, because of his writings, those of Prof Tsikata, Prof Olukoshi and Prof Amanor. It is because of him that I later focused most of my research at SOAS on land, proud to quote his brilliant analysis of the "African Land Question". And it is because of him that I am now doing my PhD on "land grabbing in Senegal"

I met him again at the third PanAfrican land conference in Harare in September 2015!

The last day of the conference, I was sitting with Prof Moyo listening to his advice, preaching the need to have a Global South approach. I can still hear him telling me to be Qondi's old sister in London, at SOAS when I return.

I was supposed to see him again in January 2016 at the AIAS Summit and was working towards finalising my paper.

So soon!! We have lost a GIANT. May God console us and welcome him in Paradise. May his soul rest in Perfect peace.

We need to keep reading him, engage with his work, furthering it (a difficult venture!) but the best way to pay a tribute to his rigor!

A luta continua

A Committed Pan-Africanist

Tendai Murisa
Executive Director, TrustAfrica

This is so sad and obviously very tragic. We have lost a committed Pan-African intellectual. He was bigger than Zimbabwe.

Sam's reach was global but he remained very grounded and engaged in local debates.

For some of us who have been his students he was always available to mentor, read our various versions/drafts of thesis, direct us to new debates and helped in the process to understand his very dense work. I will miss him so much.

We only take comfort in two things – he has left us with a great heritage of scholarship and rigor and he also perished whilst still engaged – he did not for whatever reason abandon the struggle despite the many opportunities for cooptation by the state. I am sure you are also aware that he turned down a number of top regional positions in many donor organizations because he chose to remain true to his intellectual calling despite the every day challenges of donor politics etc.

We are poorer without Sam.

L'Afrique et le monde intellectuel en deuil

Baba Maal
Artiste / Musicien

C'est une grande perte pour l'Afrique et le monde intellectuel.

Paix à son âme.

Que le Seigneur l'accueille dans son paradis !



An Ode in Memory of Chimusoro Sam Moyo

An unimaginable loss has happened. Our phenomenal intellectual pan African giant on land issues,

Bella Matambanadzo

Professor Sam Moyo, has died following injuries sustained during a terrible car accident in New Delhi, India. We are in disbelief. We are waiting for him to come home. We feel ripped apart with pain.

We grew up following you in our townships. We nicknamed you Sekuru 'Chimusoro', the one with the very big head. All our parents wanted us to be exactly like you. At the end of every school term, you would come home with a report card full of number ones. Your arms would be laden with trophies and certificates for best student in this subject; outstanding record in that.

Your mother, Gogo Mavis Moyo's face would beam with enough joy to light up the whole continent. She was a woman of her own accolades, a pioneer black female broadcaster at a time when radio was segregated by racism. But somehow your achievements made her glow in the way that only a mother can do.

We always marveled at the shiny silver cups with your name on them. Playfully, you would fill them with cherry plum juice and serve us to drink along with candy cakes. The pink icing would crease between our fingers. Domestic chores, serving those around you, never bothered you. You had such a deep sense of the hospitality of food, and the power of sharing drinks with those you loved, that we always felt welcome to your side. Our great tree that bore so much fruit. Yes we would laugh, but you would steer us to talk about the thing that mattered most to you; and even if we did not know it then, to us. How to fully reclaim the land that was stolen by the colonial forces.

Throughout your life, you carried your intellectual smarts with so much ease. In your later years, when your trophies had turned to degrees, you would seek us out so we could sit in your seminars. At that time I think you were at the Zimbabwe Institute of Development Studies (ZIDS). Later on you moved to SAPES and taught the SARIPS Masters Programme with radical feminists like Dr Patricia Macfadden you made our brains sweat. In the beginning we would all look at each other unable to write down some of the big words and theories you used. And yet you persisted. Sharing your know-ledge with us, crafting an epistemology around land and agrarian rights. Together you showed us why land was a critical resource for women to have ownership and control over.

When we tried to call you Prof, you would smile and say, 'vafana vangu, ndinonzi Sam - my youngsters, I am just Sam.' It didn't matter that you had 'eaten many books' as the saying used to go. You would listen to our elementary theories, nurture us with love and suggest, 'let's write a policy brief on this subject. That's how we will change the world'.

You lent your brilliance to the environmental think tank Zero, pulled us into the Senegal based CODESRIA and introduced

us to people who wore Dashiki shirts as a form of political expression. People whose papers you had photo-copied for us to read. This was before computers. It was the time of typewriters. Your scrawl was impossible to decipher, but we knew that if we didn't figure out your handwriting, there would be trouble. You could not abide intellectual laziness.

On Boodle Road, in Harare's Eastlea suburb you set up the African Institute of Agrarian Studies (AIAS). It was nothing short of a bold move. This was Zimbabwe in the early 2000s when land invasions were at their apex. Nothing could deter you. Not physical threats, nor slurs to your name. And who can forget the raid of your home office in Borrowdale. You put your ubiquitous cigarette to your mouth and shock your head. 'Why did they have to mess my papers up? I had order here'. I would look at the piles and piles of papers you had and wonder what kind of order you meant. Your office was a project for a neat freak.

Last year, we danced until dawn in your front garden. Your lawn groaned underfoot of our stampede. It was your 60th birthday party. Food, music, friends and land politics. The delicious chocolate cake was a creative meme of your desk. Cellphone, books on land with the spine carrying your name. And of course your friends from all over the world filled your yard. Or skype feed.

By your side was your sweetheart and partner, the top human rights lawyer Beatrice Mtetwa. We marveled at how possible it was for two wonderful, strong and brilliant human beings to love each other so much. It made us feel good to see you dancing. It was as if no one else was around as you smiled at each other and twirled each other to Hugh Masekela's trumpet. Power couples that publicly show each other affection and validation are so very rare in our activist civil society worlds. We were hoping for a huge international African wedding and had decided we were going to be in the bridal party. I don't know how we will comfort you Beatrice. I don't know how we will comfort Gogo Moyo. What will we do for Sibongile and her sisters?

On the days I forgot to call to check on you, you would ring. And demand our company. 'Is Nancy (Kachingwe) around? Where is Saru? Let me make you Oxtail. Bring your friends over'. You always offered your home to us, whether you were there or not.

Thank you for giving us so much of you Sekuru Chimusoro.

Siyabonga Moyondizvo. We will forever carry you in our hearts. Broken as they are by your untimely and devastatingly painful death. Alone, so far away from the homeland you fought so hard for.

Tributes

A jamais dans mes travaux et dans ma mémoire

Ahmat Hessana
Membre du CODESRIA

Je suis profondément choqué par la nouvelle de la disparition du Pr SAM MOYO.

Il a forgé en moi une méthodologie spécifique aux études foncières, après ma participation à l'Institut sur le genre 2014.

En rentrant à Yaoundé dans l'avion, j'ai dévoré passion-nément son ouvrage qui a fait de moi un chercheur du foncier.

C'est ce que je retiens de lui, bien que je ne l'aie pas ren-contré une seule fois.

Je vais le citer dans mes travaux sur le foncier.

Au CODESRIA, ma proposition: imprimons son portrait sur fond de la dernière des couvertures des ouvrages quenous produirons et sur nos badges ; ceci pendant le nombre de jours prochains qui sera égal à l'âge auquel il est décédé.

Tu es à jamais dans mes travaux et dans ma mémoire.

Cruel Death

Solani Ngobeni
Director: Publications
Human Sciences Research Council

It was tragic to receive the news of Prof. Moyo's passing. I cannot come to terms with the fact that the same sage with whom we attended the CODESRIA General Assembly this past June in Dakar, Senegal is no more. We also attended the South African Association of Political Sciences Colloquium at the University of Johannesburg in August. How can death be so cruel?

May His Soul Rest in Peace!
Regards.

A wonderfull Generous Friend

Jimi Adesina

The sense of utter desolation that one feels at the news of the loss of Sam is beyond words. Sam was a wonderful and generous friend, an inspiring colleague, an immensely active and courageous scholar, and a remarkably dedicated member of CODESRIA and one of its leading lights.

Fighting for Equality and Justice

Isabel Casimiro

Dear comrade, activist of several struggles in Zimbabwe, African continent and the world I am still in shock, not wanting to believe. We know we all die. But even so it is always hard to deal with death, and of someone so committed with land and so many other issues that divide human beings.

We met in Harare long ago, in the 90's at the Hivos Advisory Group (HAG) and then with the Sapem activities, board, conferences.

And we met at CODESRIA.

We will go on fighting for equality and justice!

Condolences to the family!
See you Sam.

A luta continua!

Sam Moyo nos acompañará siempre en las luchas por un mundo más, humano e igualitario

Pablo Gentili
CLACSO / Secretario Ejecutivo

Queridos amigos y amigas,

Recibimos la triste noticia de la prematura muerte de **Sam Moyo**, miembro del Comité Ejecutivo de IDEAs y ex presidente del Consejo para el Desarrollo de la Investigación en Ciencias Sociales (CODESRIA), la institución hermana de CLACSO en África.

Sam fue un destacado estudioso de la economía política en Zimbabwe. Se encontraba en Nueva Delhi, India, para participar en una conferencia sobre "Cuestiones laborales en el Sur g lobal", cuando el auto en el que viajaba sufrió un grave accidente. Luchó hasta ultimo momento por la vida, pero falleció ayer, 22 de noviembre de 2015.

Sus temas de estudio fueron la ecología política, las nuevas ruralidades, las organizaciones no gubernamentales y los movimientos sociales. Publicó varios artículos, capítulos de libros y los siguientes libros (como autor, co-autor o co-editor): *La cuestión agraria en Zimbabwe; El proceso de adquisición de tierras en Zimbabwe 1997/8: impactos Socio-Económicos y Políticos; La Reforma Agraria bajo el ajuste estructural en Zimbabwe; Las ONG, el Estado y la política en Zimbabwe; Política Energética y Planificación en el Sur de África; Seguridad Ambiental en el Sur de África; Organizaciones campesinas y democratización en África; La recuperación de la Nación: El retorno de la cuestión nacional en África, Asia y América;* entre otros.

Sam fue un activo colaborador del **Programa Sur-Sur** de CLACSO y CODESRIA. Su obra: *Recuperando la tierra. El resurgimiento de movimientos rurales en África, Asia y América Latina* fue publicada por nuestras instituciones y está disponible para descargar completa en nuestra Librería Latinoamericana de Ciencias Sociales.

(http://www.clacso.org.ar/libreria-latinoamericana/buscar_libro_detalle.php?id_libro=69&campo=autor&texto=moyo)

Su fuerte sentido del panafricanismo y su solidaridad con los pueblos del Sur nos han enriquecido permanentemente y nos acompañarán siempre.

CLACSO despidе a nuestro querido y admirado **Sam Moyo**, sabiendo que esté donde esté, nos acompañará siempre en las luchas por un mundo más justo, humano e igualitario.

Respected Intellectual

Patrick Bond

Greetings, with tragic news from Ebrima, whom you remember is the secretary of the Council for the Development of Social Science Research in Africa:

We just received this evening the sad news of the passing away of Professor Sam Moyo, former President of CODESRIA. Sam was in India for a conference and got caught up in a bad car accident and got seriously injured. We've been getting regular updates about his condition all day from our colleagues in Delhi. Unfortunately he didn't survive the serious injuries he sustained. May his soul rest in peace.

Sam was from a peasant background and rose to become one of Zimbabwe's - and Africa's - most respected intellectuals. You will all remember him from Hong Kong and Chongqing/Chengdu video in commemoration of Vinod:<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=zJoDhMGTkA&feature=youtu.be>

At 10:30 in this wonderful video tribute to Vinod, you find Sam, briefly expressing gratitude for the experience. The skillful film-maker found him in several other places which bring back such warm memories.

At our Centre for Civil Society here in Durban, Sam played such a wonderful role, especially since he started visiting in 2012 and co-supervising our PhD students in 2014. He was one of our Honorary Professors, and there is some information about his career here:

<http://ccs.ukzn.ac.za/default.asp?10,86,8,164>

It was the trip to Chongqing that allowed us to arrange that position, one of many reasons I always look back four years, with such admiration for our hosts.

I was last with Sam in Harare in August, at an excellent talk he gave about Zimbabwe's agricultural sector: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=q-Y6iB13BOE> and this is a great explanation of his theory of the tri-modal land structure in Africa: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=p5--ZntJGh4>

In June, he was awarded for his enormous contributions to Marxian political economy at the World Association for Political Economy conference in Johannesburg; he was also made a vice-chairperson of that organisation.

For those interested, see attached for a list of Google-Scholar citations of his most popular works and more YouTube links. Below is the beginning of what I think is the last article he published, and his last interview. If you would like more of his published work, at least some of his articles and a book that I can send as files, just let me know.

This is all very rough, just a chance to say that we are losing an exceptionally important intellectual and comrade this weekend, and we owe it to ourselves and our tradition – and to all who struggle to fuse knowledge and social progress, wherever we may be – to keep reminding ourselves of Sam's legacy. And his generosity of spirit. We will be posting further memorial statements about his work and remarkable life at <http://ccs.ukzn.ac.za> this week

Sadly.

Irreparable Loss

Gladys Lechini

Dear Ebrima

So long without getting in contact with you. I hope you are both well

I am writing to you this time just to share my regrets and sorrow for the demise of our friend Sam Moyo.

Although we have not met for a long time, since I had to leave CLACSO, I have the best remembrances of the old times together.

My sincere and profound condolences for this irreparable loss.

Toujours le même

El Hadj SANE
Human Resources Director
atlantic.sn

Cher Ebrima,

C'est avec grande stupéfaction que je viens d'apprendre le décès accidentel de notre ami le Professeur Sam Moyo. Je voudrais vous présenter à toi, Bayo, Francine, l'ensemble du personnel du Codesria et à la famille de Sam mes condoléances les plus attristées.

Ce que je retiens surtout de Sam c'est de le trouver à chaque rencontre avec toujours son calme, la bonne humeur et un petit sourire à l'endroit de tous. Une grande perte pour le Codesria. Que le bon dieu l'accueille dans son paradis.

Reçois toutes mes amitiés.

Tributes

Astute Intellectual

Prof Puleng LenkaBula

Dear Claudio and colleagues,

What a loss... I think these are the words I can humbly share with you now. It is really a sad situation to lose a colleague who was full of life, loved his work and was intellectually astute with a broad footprint in many disciplines and particularly on the land questions and agrarian issues, in very detailed way... I am saddened by the loss. May his soul rest in peace.

Kindest regards.

Giant of a Scholar

Jessie Kabwila Ph. D.
Department English, Chancellor
College, University of Malawi

I am still trying to get to terms with this devastating piece of news. The loss of Professor Sam Moyo has really shocked me and reminded me that life is too short. We have really lost one giant of a scholar. Very sad for the CODESRIA family.

Friend and Comrade

Rémy Herrera

Dear all,

This is a so hard news... so sad to hear it...

Sam was a so wonderful friend-comrade-brother.

We will all continue his struggle, together.

Fraternité,

Simplicity Without Ambiguity

Evans Osabuohien

The death of Sam is a great loss to Africa in particular and the generality of the Global South.

The few times I had one-on-one discussions with him, I was greatly humbled by his simplicity cum humility void of any ambiguity.

The important lesson we all should learn from him is that 'it is honorable to pursue a course we believe in to the very end.

This did Sam.

As they will say in the military, he died in the very active service better.

Adieu, our beloved Sam

He impacted our Humanity

Lesiba Teffo

Colleagues,

Big Brother Sam Moyo touched us and impacted our humanity, and influenced our intellectual growth in a profound way. I align myself with the sentiments that seek to honour him. Keep thinking on the best way how, and I will convene a meeting in January to chart the way forward. I am also thinking about a *estschrift*. Sis Thoko Didiza has some suggestions as well.

In the arena of human life the honours and rewards fall to those who show their good qualities in action (Aristotle).

Regards.

In Memory of Sam Moyo

Abdul Raufu Mustapha,
University of Oxford, England

It is hard to think of Sam in the past tense. It is deeply saddening to come to terms with the loss of this illustrious academic and son of Africa. The last time I saw Sam was at the CODESRIA General Assembly in June 2015, in Dakar. Sam was his usual warm and generous self. Clear in his commitments, perceptive in his observations, and gentle in making his point. We spent many a moment slipping out of the sessions to have a cigarette outside the hotel. Sam, a seasoned smoker; I, a serial quitter. Those were moments of chit-chat, comparing notes, exchanging views, and generally enjoying each other's company. I will forever miss the warmth and friendship of this kind soul.

Sam was also a profound academic. He invited me once to teach at the Summer School in Agrarian Studies that his institute in Zimbabwe organized. He assembled academics from Brazil, India, and different parts of Africa at Rhodes University in Grahamstown, South Africa. I learnt so much at this gathering that I was supposed to be teaching in! Sam's personal work on Zimbabwe's multi-faceted land reform process is a study in academic courage, integrity, and commitment. He trusted himself, stuck to the truth as he saw it, and dirtied his hands in doing difficult fieldwork. He was

characteristically generous to others when they finally saw the light and came over to his way of seeing the issues.

Sam was also a Pan-Africanist of the highest calibre. His Pan-Africanism was not shown in bombastic phrases, but in practical, real-life, ways. He never failed to answer any question one had about goings-on in Zimbabwe. He stuck to the key issues; I don't ever remember Sam having a bad word to say about anybody. Occasionally he would make a point, followed by a chuckle. His commitment was to the long suffering peasantry of Zimbabwe. He was also frequently refreshing his knowledge of Nigeria by seizing the opportunity of our infrequent meetings to ask questions about friends, people, and events. Now and again, he would switch to Nigerian pidgin-English to relish a point. He might have left Nigeria many years ago, but he never let go of the country. In his heart and concerns, Sam remained one of us. Above all, Sam's Pan-Africanism shone brightly in the invaluable duty he did for African academia by helping to steer the ship of CODESRIA at a very critical period in the life of this important institution.

I will sorely miss you Sam – courageous academic, and selfless scholar in the cause of Africa. Above all, I will miss a friend I have come to trust and respect. Our meetings will never be the same without you.

My deepest condolences to his family, especially his mother, his children, and his close relations. May you all, and his colleagues at the Agrarian Institute, carry on the work where Sam left off.

Riche et impressionante production scientifique

Abdelatif Rebah

Chers amis,

C'est une bien triste nouvelle que celle de la disparition tragique du Professeur Sam Moyo, chercheur et spécialiste des questions agraires et économiques de notre continent. C'est une perte que la communauté des chercheurs engagés dans les luttes libératrices de leurs peuples ne peut que ressentir. Personnellement, sans avoir eu l'honneur de le connaître, j'ai pu en prendre l'immense mesure en prenant connaissance de sa riche et impressionnante production scientifique. Et c'est dans la continuation de ce combat d'idées pour l'émancipation nationale et sociale des peuples, je pense, que le meilleur hommage peut lui être rendu. Merci à vous tous de Our Global University de m'avoir permis de partager cet hommage. All the best !

Researcher and Enlightened Political Analyst

Victor Hugo Jijon
Movement Pachakutik from Ecuador

Dear friends,

The tragic accident that took the life of Professor Sam Moyo has deprived us of a great researcher and enlightened political analyst on the agrarian question in Africa that has contributed significantly to the orientation of liberation struggles. I have not been lucky enough to know him personally, but reading his books and his many articles helped me a lot to know and spread in my country, Ecuador, and in several forums in Latin America, social unrest and political conflicts in several African countries.

Sam has undertaken a great flight, but his departure is only physical because his thoughts and expectations of emancipatory political transformation will remain an essential reference in all continents.

An Intellectual not a Farmer; An Academic not a Politician

Fred Hendricks
Rhodes University
Grahamstown, South Africa

The news of Sam's death reached me on my arrival in Johannesburg yesterday morning. While it was not unexpected, given the extent of his injuries, I still hoped that he would somehow survive. Just before I boarded the plane in Delhi on Saturday night, Praveen sent me an sms saying, "Sam is sinking further"

I feel bereft beyond words by his untimely departure and by how very close he was to us in the Guest House when the accident happened. On our way to Praveen's house for dinner, we saw the damaged car of his fatal accident. Since the news we received about the extent of the injuries was understandably unclear at the time, it did not immediately appear that this was serious because they were actually taken to the hospital in a famous Delhi three-wheeler. But, when I saw the car, and how damaged it was I became inwardly worried and jittery.

My last memory of Sam, a very appropriate one at that, was in the car on our way to the conference on Friday morning, when he announced that Praveen had stocked his fridge with a tray of beers which he invited us to share that Friday night. We will never ever have the joy of sharing a drink with him again and there are so many other never evens, that I just can't think straight today, in the knowledge that he is not with us any more.

Tributes

I met Sam about 30 years ago at a conference and we've been in touch ever since because our research interest coincided. Most recently he was a key member in our SANPAD project which produced the book, "The Promise of Land". Our paths also crossed in the Committee designed to prepare the way for the establishment of the National Institute for the Humanities and Social Sciences and of course in the Agrarian South Network as well as in CODESRIA.

There are two aspects of Sam that impressed me most about his integrity: (i) He was offered a farm as part of the Fast Track Land reform Programme, which he refused saying that he was an intellectual not a farmer. (ii) He was also offered a ministerial job, which he refused saying he was an academic not a politician. These are rare and admirable qualities.

Let us honour the memory of his life and work in appropriate ways across the world.

With deeply felt sadness.

Tireless and Unwavering

Praveen Jha
Centre for Economic Studies and
Planning Jawaharlal Nehru University

To mourn Sam is impossibly difficult for me. It seems like a most cruel and twisted nightmare. Nightmare is not even the right word – as nightmares end but this will not.

As some of you know, for well over a decade I was fortunate to be very close to him, both professionally and personally. Along with a network of comrades from different parts of the world, particularly the Global South, Sam was tireless and unwavering in his quest for a humane and just social order. One of the institutional expressions of our shared dreams, journeys and at times hunting together has been the Agrarian South Network. He was not only the cementing force of it but also its heart. The heart has been wrenched away and we gasping for breath.

I can speak forever for the great scholar, activist and everything else about Sam that has been shared in the massive outpouring of grief from all over the world. But I am speechless at the loss of my brother Sam. Let me hide behind a few words from a Neruda poem titled "So Many Different Lengths of Time" which have been haunting me since the early horrible hours of 22 November 2015.

" So how long does a man live, finally?
And how much does he live while he lives?
We fret, and ask so many questions-
then when it comes to us
the answer is so simple
A man lives for as long as we carry him inside us
for as long as we carry the harvest of his dreams
for as long as we ourselves live

holding memories in common, a man lives.
His lover will carry his man's scent, his touch
His children will carry the weight of his love
One friend will carry his arguments
Another will hum favourite tunes
Another will share his terrors
And the days will pass will baffled faces
Finally a day comes when he will have
ceased to be separated by death
So how long does a man live after all?
A man lives for many different lengths of time."

I only wish the longest possible life for Sam, through his hugs, touches, arguments, inspiration and his inexorable quest for a progressive social order, that many of us experienced in our interactions with him. We will never give up on you Brother Sam.

If the metaphor of 'Gods Own Good Man' is an apposite one – it certainly holds for Sam.

For Inter-Asia School: In memory of Professor Sam Moyo (1954-2015)

Pr. Kuan-Hsing Chen,
National Chiao Tung University
Hsinch, Taiwan

My last contact with Prof. Sam Moyo was on September 18, 2015. The e-mail exchanges were about concrete steps to open channels of intellectual interaction between Africa and Asia after the Hangzhou (China) Forum on "Bandung/Third World 60 Years". Like always, Sam responded quickly and enthusiastically, listing a series of possible programs such as translation of essays and books, summer school and exchange for postgraduate students, and biannual intellectual forum. Now, with his sudden departure from us, I am not certain to what extent we will be able to implement and continue what he has suggested but will have to try our best to continue his "will to organize".

Sam was a new friend. Most of us involved in the Inter-Asia School project only met him very recently in the Hangzhou gathering in April 2015. But Sam has immediately become an old friend once we were with him. His warm personality, open-endedness, honesty, ability to act on the spot, and of course love of beer and cigarette have won friendship and respect from anyone around him. I wonder whether he always travels lightly with a carry on bag; once landed in Hangzhou, with huge jet lag, he began to work and tune in smoothly. Over the dining tables and post conference tour to the tea field and West Lake, we all further learned about his erudite knowledge, infinite curiosity of popular life, and immense sense of humor.

Before Sam left Hangzhou for home, he proactively initiated the idea for some of us from Asia to join CODESRIA's Assembly to happen in June. Two months later, Ikegami Yushihiko and I (representing the Inter-Asia School) landed in Dakar. For this reunion, Sam became the host of Africa to welcome

the two first time visitors from Asia. In his hotel room, before the Assembly started, we did a long and engaging interview with Sam on the formation of CODESRIA from the 1970s onwards. He generously shared with us his reflexive analysis and introduced us to several core members of the organization to talk to in the following days to come. During this most intense meeting ever, from morning till evening every day for five days, we as outsiders began to have a sense of great achievement this African circle of thought, which has nurtured and produced brilliant scholars like Sam, and in turn Sam and others has contributed to build a community of trust for the next generations to grow. In the past 40 some years, CODESRIA's Pan-Africanism is able to construct a solid modern intellectual tradition capable of analyzing difficult issues and troublesome problems from a continental perspective, breaking down the barriers of the nation-state boundary, and in dialogue with global community of knowledge. Sam's kind invitation created a precious occasion for us to see what we need to learn from the African intellectual community and what is absent in Asia and beyond, though we understand the formation of CODESRIA has had its own unique conditions. Prof. Sam Moyo has left us with the friendship of a genuine human being for us, living in Asia and having the privilege to work with him as a comrade, to treasure for rest of our life, but, most importantly, a legacy of his tri-continental work, to which he has been committed and we will need to uphold. Sam will always be with us if we will continue the incomplete intellectual project of Africa, Asia and Latin-America links.

A Poem for Sam Moyo

Kofi Anyidoho

There was this thing about **Sam Moyo**:
 A forever sparkle in his eyes
 A certain gliding motion in his walk
 A heart the size of Love
 forever trembling with care and tenderness
 A voice that soothes even in rage-
 amidst CODESRIA's countless arguments
 his voice comes home with a soothing balm
 A mind the pointed sharpness of laser beams
 A Soul firmly Rooted in Ancestral Agrarian Soils
 And oh! even the Smoke from his Serial Cigarettes
 Curls into a Slender Prayer
 Reaching out to God.

Accra, Ghana. Nov. 25, 2015

I come not to Mourn you

Issa Shivji
 University of Dar Es Salaam, Tanzania

I come not to mourn you, Comrade
 I'll shed no tear, my friend
 I refuse to say 'pole'; to say 'sorry'
 Why should I?
 I refuse to bury you
 How can I?
 For you live
 You live in me
 You live in many across the globe
 Who loved you
 Whose lives you touched
 Whose hearts you cuddled
 Whose minds you tickled
 I come to celebrate your living, Comrade
 I'll toast to your ideas, my friend
 Over a glass of sahara, and a plate of 'nyama choma'
 In Rose Garden, in Sao Paulo, in New Delhi
 I'll sing praises of Sahara, that unites the continent
 As you did
 I'll pontificate on Sahara, that embraces civilizations
 As you preached and practiced
 I know this is not a poem, nor a flowery prose
 Porojo it may be
 Who cares?
 It's for my friend and comrade
 For my compassionate companion
 Straight from my heart and soul
 Yes, it's for my friend and comrade
 For, he lives

Thank you Sam Moyo

Bridget O'Laughlin

Like many I feel a tremendous sense of personal and collective loss at Sam's passing. There is so much to thank him for: the model he built at the African Institute for Agrarian Studies for politically engaged, nationally based serious academic research in Southern Africa; explaining the complexity of what was going on in Zimbabwe even as mainstream media (and academia) polarised the debate into you are either with Mugabe or you are against him; for his energising contributions to keeping the project of land reform in Southern Africa on the fire; and for his indomitable humanism and empathy. My condolences to his family, his colleagues, his comrades and to us all.

Tributes

I Will Miss Sam

Pierre Sane

Dear Ebrima,

I received your message while in Nigeria. I read it once and immediately shut down my computer. It was so brutal. I was in shock. I was supposed to have a Skype conversation with Sam on the following Wednesday and he had called my office in my absence to confirm he had received the documentation and would be back in Harare by Wednesday.

And then this! For a week at unexpected moments my thoughts would drift towards him and the injustice (the way I felt it) of it all. I came across Sam early after Zimbabwe independence in Harare. I was then at IDRC in Nairobi and my organisation was determined to accompany the research community of nascent Zimbabwe. He was at ZIDS with Tandika and was inseparable from his mate Tom Shoppo who also had an untimely death. Since the early 80s we have kept in touch despite leaving far apart. I enjoyed his company so much. I will miss him.

RIP

A sip, a Laugh, a Legacy: Prof Sam Moyo

Masego Madzwamuse

We sat down for a drink and to catch-up on work. We argued and discussed different projects Sam was busy with at the time. I ordered my usual gin and tonic and he asked for a savanna light; then as if to make it lighter, went on to dilute it with water. We looked at him perplexed and asked why on earth anyone would add water to savanna and his response was: 'I am trying to watch my drink'. Without much debate this was understood by all who sat at the table that night. The subject was closed and we moved on to other pressing and exciting matters. The land question, agrarian reform in Zimbabwe, political transition and the land grabs dogging the continent.

What is but a small blot to a man's image, especially one whose ideas had shaped your thinking for as far you could remember? Studying sociology I had become curious about the land question in Africa. In a conversation with my father, I had asked him about this. We are told the San are the oldest inhabitants of Southern Africa and yet in Gantsi my mother's home area most of the San settlements were to be found on the outskirts of the budding town, on the fringes of national parks, the biggest cattle ranches in the country and so forth. And my father had said the San villages encircle the Gantsi Town, they are observing the movements of the new occupants of their land and one day they will reclaim what is theirs. There a

curiosity was born; I wanted to understand how dispossession of this magnitude takes place and what leads to a state where injustice is really a normalisation of the abnormal. Under the guidance of my mentor and supervisor Dr Onalenna Selowane, I went about reading what I could get my hands on to learn about land, rights, politics, identity and social justice – and right up there were the works of Prof Sam Moyo.

You see Sam was a great thinker and fearless scholar. A political economist of note. At the height of the political crisis in Zimbabwe and the Fast Track Land Reform Programme or invasions if you wish, Sam was amongst the few scholars who acknowledged that land reform in Zimbabwe had benefitted small scale farmers, the rural poor. In his various writings he argued that the popular assumption about failed land reform in Zimbabwe was wrong. Instead, land reform programmes despite benefiting the elite had been redistributive. The poor had gained more than others and the extent of such benefit had been wide enough to trigger significant progressive changes in the agrarian structure.

To quote Prof Moyo writing about the land reform discourse in the early 2000s this is what he had to say; 'the debate has focused on the immediate political motives of the FTLRP, selectively highlighting its aspects of 'violence', 'disorder', and 'chaos', claiming that the ruling Zanu PF elite and the state instrumentalised the FTLRP for electoral support and that only Zanu PF cronies benefited. By neglecting to examine the character and scale of redistribution of the FTLRP, and not looking at it from a longer historical perspective, the literature on Zimbabwe's agrarian reform is deprived of a crucial viewpoint.¹

Prof Moyo drawing over three decades of research went about to set the record straight. This was a highly unpopular view but he stuck to it. Sadly enough it is the work of Ian Scoones that is often cited to tell the story of the success of the land reform in Zimbabwe and its impact on the lives of small-scale farmers. The New York Times even ran a story back in 2012 about the new black tobacco farmers, beneficiaries of the fast track land reform process – the title was 'In Zimbabwe Land Takeover, a Golden Lining'² Sam Moyo did not glorify the fast track land programme though he also critiqued the land reform process and pointed out its flaws, acknowledging the uneven distribution of land among beneficiaries of the land reform programme. He acknowledged that some especially the political elite had received larger allocations than others. This in turn influenced skewed access to farming services and infrastructure. But that said, the bottom line was the peasants had benefitted. While the article in the NYT was celebrated, Scoones widely quoted, Prof Moyo received wide criticism for the same views. We don't acknowledge and celebrate African scholarship enough. We second guess our own and often we are quick to label and discredit them.

The Agrarian Institute was born and Prof Sam Moyo's legacy lives on

But that was Sam's work on Zimbabwe. He dedicated his scholarship to other parts of the continent too. He was a Pan-Africanist of note. He served as the President of the Council for the Development of Social Research in Africa (CODESRIA) from 2009–2011). He was a research professor at the Zimbabwe Institute of Development Studies, and taught at the Universities

of Calabar in Nigeria as well as Zimbabwe and served on the boards of many organisations.

With most of his achievements what stood out for me was the African Institute of Agrarian Studies. Prof Moyo set up the Institute in late 2002. The main objective of taking on such a bold step was to influence land and agrarian reform policies through multidisciplinary social science research, policy dialogues, training and information. Sam never lost sight of one thing he was passionate about. This would not be an institute that would do research for the sake of it. He ultimately wanted to mobilise scholars to provide advice and mediate in the policy making processes so as to improve rural livelihoods. He often lamented the limited relevant knowledge and training programmes to tackle the contemporary agrarian crisis that is emerging in the continent. The low agricultural productivity, food insecurity, unemployment, poverty, and unsustainable natural resources utilisation, while redressing the growing loss of rights to land, food and a clean environment. To respond to this challenge, Prof Moyo argued that a critical mass of analysts and civil society advocates needs to be built to influence shifts in the policy environment. This should also promote civil society organisations to better support the advocacy of those whose rights are infringed upon. His argument was the current knowledge production and policy analysis institutions have, due to their limited disciplinary curricula failed to fill this gap. They serve too few potential agrarian analysts and focus on limited market and business models. Their learning processes cater for a narrow range of views and exclude the perspectives of those who use political economy and rights-based approaches to policy making and advocacy.

Out of this critique, the Agrarian Institute was born and its flagship programme the Agrarian Summer School was launched. The Summer School contributes to filling this gap by providing training to postgraduate students and civil society activists in Africa, and promoting research relevant to understanding and addressing agrarian justice and inequitable resource rights on the continent. This programme was a reflection of Sam's commitment to building skills for critical thinking and mentoring young scholars. He drew on his social capital to bring together some of the best brains in the field who spent days of their time teaching young scholars and providing them with feedback on their research. Guest lecturers have included the likes of Prof Paris Yeros University Federal do ABC Brazil, Prof Dzodzi Tsikaka University of Ghana and current President of Codesria, Praveen Jha and Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi among others. Partners in the Agrarian Consortium that emerged out of these efforts include the Rhodes University, Haki Ardhi, University of Dar es Salaam (Tanzania) and Civil Society Organizations, HAKIARDHI The Land Rights Research & Resources Institute (Tanzania), and Trust for Community Outreach and Education (South Africa) and other in research and training of postgraduate students, with the support of key research institutions in Brasil (Federal Universities of ABC and Brasilia) and in India (Jawaharal Nehru University Centre for Economic Studies and Planning). The Agrarian Summer School is widely recognised in the region and internationally, there is growing demand within the Global South for participation in it. Many who have been through his hands have gone off to do great things.

The last time I saw Sam was in August and over a glass of wine, lots of laughter and this time nothing was diluted, we plunged straight into another heated debate over a highly political and controversial issue. That of Cecil the lion. That evening many questions were asked, whose narrative is it? What was the impact of the international campaign on the livelihoods of rural communities who rely on tourism and sustainable use of wildlife resources for their local economies? Where was the voice of the African scholars and practitioners in the conservation field? What do communities have to say, where is the platform? The questions went on and on. That was Sam; there was laughter, sipping and critical thinking.

Sam you are one of whom it can be said that " akekho ofana nawe" (there is none like you). Rest in eternal peace dear brother, colleague, mentor and comrade!!! You planted many ideas and these will live on!

Notes

1. See Moyo, S. Three decades of agrarian reform in Zimbabwe. 2011. In *Journal of Peasant Studies*. Vol. 38, No. 3, July 2011, 493–531
2. See Lydia Polgreen, 2012. In *Zimbabwe Land Take Over*, a Golden Lining. <http://www.nytimes.com/2012/07/21/world/africa/in-zimbabwe-land-takeover...>

An Intellectual and an Activist

Michael West

The singular life that was Sam Moyo has left a legacy that is as sprawling as his labor. As an intellectual and an activist, Sam was identified with multiple causes and movements, in and out of Zimbabwe and Africa. Most conspicuously, though, in the public arena he was associated with the land question. For exactly a century and another quarter this year, the year of Sam's passing, since the cursed implantation in 1890 of British colonialism, land has been the single most persistent theme in the politics, economy and society of Southern Rhodesia turned Rhodesia turned Zimbabwe. All serious students (and even some not-so-serious ones) of Zimbabwe, then and now, whether employing the nonfictional or fictional form, have had to confront in one way or another the land question, or its multiple relations, which is to say every other serious social question. No scholar of Zimbabwe, barring none, writing in whatever field, in whatever era, of whatever political stripe, has matched Sam in dedication, perception and rigor on the land question. More than anyone, too, he globalized the Zimbabwean land question, ensuring its inclusion on the agenda of masses and movements struggling over land anywhere and everywhere in the world. He did so, again, in the face of great odds, his pen arrayed against princes and powers near and far, in and out of Zimbabwe, from state houses to mass media to cloistered academy. His life, labor and legacy stand tall and erect, a monument to scholarship and struggle alike.

The Pan-African World has been Robbed of one of its Finest and Progressive Scholars: A Tribute to Sam Moyo

Nana K. A. Busia, Jr*

Once again Africa has lost one of its finest and progressive towering intellectuals to an accident; yet another robbery.

When the sad and painful news of the death of a brother, comrade, and teacher like Professor Sam Moyo occurs, there is a high temptation of getting into a conspiracy theory mood of some sort. One such theory is the possibility of an invisible hand behind a cleanly hatched plot to take away from us the few Africans who are dedicated to our perennial and protracted struggle. Such conspiracy theories are lent credence by the timing of these incidents; when such dedicated intellectuals are needed the most.

Examples of incidents that make sense only within the context of a conspiracy theory abound in our political history. At the political revolutionary front, no serious observer of the African political landscape is naïve to waste time to debate the issue of whether or not there is a conspiracy and a hidden hand when we lost, as it were, the Samora Machel, Thomas Sankaras, John Garang, Chris Hani et al to "accidents" or seemingly home grown assassinations. Those questions, to all intents and purposes, are settled in the minds of progressives however mysterious they are still made to appear.

But to lose some of our best and finest intellectuals/activists of the likes of Claude Ake, Tajudeen Abdul-Raheem, Sam Moyo, et al, to accidents makes it appear as if these accidents are also planned to rob us of our progressive intellectuals who are carrying out revolution by other means: activist scholarship directed at delivering the desired social justice.

In the midst of the contemporary scramble for land in Africa by trans-national companies under the pretext of extractive sector led growth in the southern African region as whole and South Africa in particular, Africa can ill afford to lose a precious gem like Sam Moyo, our beloved learned guru and passionate scholar of the political economy of land of our time.

Sam Moyo, affectionately called Sam by friends and colleagues, like all great scholars of his stature, you meet and know them before you meet them in person. In other words, I, like many others, read some of his writings and met him several times in footnotes in the usual academic citations: "see Moyo, S.," and also saw his writings quoted copiously by academics, students, and policy makers.

Even though I am not a student of agrarian studies in the formal sense, my interests in all matters pan-Africanist, drew me to his passionate and incisive scholarship in regard to such issues. This "Damascus moment" followed a book I read

as a student in 1989 which I found to be an original thinking in understanding the different typologies of state systems in Africa, especially the peculiarity of state systems in the southern African context. This book was entitled: *Zimbabwe: The Political Economy of Transition*, edited by Ibbo Mandaza and published by CODESRIA, 1987.

This book, in my humble view, built up on an earlier seminal work by Hamza Alavi, "The State in Post-Colonial Societies, *New Left Review*, 1972. The thesis developed by Hamza Alavi unarguably equipped academics and practitioners with a good conceptual framework for analysing and understanding the characteristics of the post-colonial state and even predicting certain scenarios of the same.

In the said book, *Political Economy of Transition*, Mandaza, Moyo et al, persuasively distinguished post white settler colony from the "normal" post-colonial societies. Specifically, they provided a sound paradigm in explaining the political economy of post white settler countries like Rhodesia–Zimbabwe, South West Africa–Namibia, and South Africa.

Sam Moyo's chapter in the book dealt with his favourite theme of his celebrated expertise, the 'Land Question'. It gave the reader a very profound and penetrating analysis of the difficult question of land ownership and its redistribution in a post white settler colony and how the same processes do impact class structure of post independent Zimbabwe and production in the agricultural sector of its economy. This was my own baptism of the land politics in southern Africa and how that spills over into issues of human rights.

The Southern African Regional Institute for Policy Studies (SARIPS) was established during this same period, mid-1980s, and Sam was one of its founding researchers. Informed by the experiences of the region, the Institute produced numerous high quality publications on race, class and gender. Those were the days when one waited for the monthly publication, the SAPEM. Sam wrote numerous articles on land reform and related it to complex issues of development, democracy, and human rights. They were so well written that even "lay persons", like myself, felt we were experts of the land question in southern Africa. Small wonder then that Sam made enormous contribution to the Zimbabwean land reform by heading technical teams that advised the president.

The more I read Sam, the more I respected him as not just *academic qua academic* but a scholar with a clear sense of mission and vision: social justice in Africa. He was against the politics of dominance. Sam believed, as was stated by one of Africa's great thinkers, Thandika Mkandawire, that Africa's sovereignty should be extended to the "realm of scientific mastery of the continent's reality and destiny".

Truly, most of Sam's works exposed mythologies of concepts and notions of land in Africa by "external", especially neo-liberal scholars. He deconstructed a lot of held theories on land as they related to peasants, state intervention, role of the market, who really were the producers food crops and cash crops in post white settler Zimbabwe. He was never shy of debating and exposing contradictions, paradoxes and ironies in arguments by advocates of the *status quo* on land issues in Africa. Above all, he was an empiricist who sustained all his arguments with well researched data.

Encountering Sam Moyo

In 2004 when I was appointed by the United Nations (UN) as a Senior Legal & Policy Advisor to Zimbabwe, effectively I was the advisor on international human rights law in the country. Barely a week after my arrival in the country, I asked my driver to take me to SAPES to try and see Ibbo Mandaza, and Sam Moyo in person having met them only in "books" until then. When I got there, luckily I met Ibbo who was at post. After introducing myself and exchanging pleasantries I was given a visitors book to write in. I stated my admiration for the progressive scholarship as championed by Ibbo and Sam Moyo and wrote about how I met them when I read their book on political economy of transition especially the theory of post white settler colony and the land question. I inquired about Sam, but he had left and a two month effort to track him was in vain.

In August of that year, 2004, the government had proposed a Bill to regulate the activities of NGOs. On the face of it, this should have been treated like any other proposed Bill of a legislature. But not in post 2000 Zimbabwe, after the land reform. It was a highly polarized society, with several levels of cleavages but mainly between the government, African missions, especially SADC countries on one hand, and the opposition MDC, donors, and some NGOs on the other hand.

According to the government, the Bill was the best thing that ever happened since it was going to, in its view, regulate the activities of NGOs which were covertly involved in partisan party politics. To the other group, it was a draconian piece of legislation aimed at undermining freedom of association and expression in the country, and therefore a human rights issue. I had the unfortunate task of analysing and advising the UN on the proper line to take on the Bill in line with international and regional human rights standards. I presented the UN's position which was balanced and seen as fair; a win-win situation for all actors.

Consequently, President Mugabe made it known to the Parliament that he was persuaded by the UN argument and will not sign the Bill into law. This situation brought me into contact with a spectrum of the national and international actors in the country, including one Sam Moyo whom I was told, wanted to see me about the NGO Bill. I wondered if it was the same Sam Moyo, whose works I had read and had unsuccessfully tried to track down. It happened to be him! At our meeting, his first reaction was that the legal analysis I had done was contextual, fair and balanced. I told him how pleased I was to meet him in person, an encounter which led to us signing a covenant of brotherhood in our hearts and reaffirming our mutual belief in the pan-Africanism.

Zimbabwe was never the same for me as he became my prop and guided me through a lot of political landmines. Sam was intellectually honest and had made it a point to be on the side of justice. In the polarized Zimbabwe of that time, each group took an absolute position with no room for grey areas. A scholar like Sam would not simplistically and blindly follow any group. He took a fundamental position that land reform was to empower poor peasants and ordinary folks that each group felt he was not on their side.

Sam knew when invocation of human rights was really about the rights of people and when certain national strategic

interests were wrapped up and presented as human rights. He lamented the appropriation of international law and human rights for hegemonic politics in peripheral societies by dominant actors in the global system.

I learnt a lot from Sam. I eventually contracted him as a consultant to develop a framework for a dialogue between NGOs and the government on the difficult and politicised issue of civil society's relationship with the government. To this day, I have not come across any such comprehensive study that presents different typologies of civil society organizations in the country and the complex interface with government, donors and how these factors play themselves out in CSOs work in the country. It was hailed as a masterpiece and blue print which guided our work in the UN then.

With Sam the Professional, Political were also Personal

Feminist scholars in their deconstruction of held notions by patriarchy have taught us many things. To them, no assumption is God/Allah given or natural. One such a case is the divide between the public and the private. For instance, in international human rights law, they concede that there is a private sphere and public realm, but rights are better protected when these separate spheres exist in an organic relationship. Feminist scholars therefore enjoin us to analyse progressives on personal level to test their consistency. To all intents and purposes, Sam passed that test with flying colours.

In recent years, the donor factor has resulted in some African states, civil society, and even academic actors all playing games to survive including shielding scientific truths that in their mind a donor may not like to hear. Sam would have none of this dilemma. Sam as a scholar was first and foremost a scientist who incessantly searched for the truth employing concepts and dispassionate methodologies.

However, his value position was the quest for social justice. Throughout the years that I knew him, he never apologized for that. This explains the principled position he took in favour of land reform in Zimbabwe and his disagreement with the market-driven argument that any state intervention in the land would distort the market. He was always looking out for the poor and the disenfranchised in our societies. I remember engaging him on Goran Hyden's theory of uncaptured peasants and the experience of *Ujama* in Tanzania as an experiment that died at birth because land should not be made available to any poor peasant to "waste" as Goran Hyden et al argued.

This engagement was a deliberate provocation to get his insights about the *status quo* in South Africa and the media-driven sensational discourse on Zimbabwe post 2000 land reform. His answers were always analytical, nuanced and dispassionate. He always arrived at conclusions that had social justice and human rights as the end state and showing that these goals are not inhibitive to efficient agricultural production.

He never, like Amicar Cabral, romanticised the peasants and their abilities and limitations. On the private personal level, Sam was the same; very nice and just person, who took friends,

Tributes

brothers and sisters seriously. His house in Harare became a home and a rendezvous for comrades and brothers, and was very good at entertaining. I was always invited to his house in Harare for an event. And he saw to it that every guest was very happy *chez lui*.

Each time I got visitors such as Tajudeen visiting me in Zimbabwe, I knew the first guest would be Sam. We could discuss intellectual issues until dawn. He was very good with his beers with Taju as I watched on as an amateur. Later, in 2008, when I had to go to Sierra Leone to take up another assignment with the UN, I made sure I advised the UN to get him over to help with land issues in that country, and between 2009 and 2010 he did a brilliant job for the government with policy papers on land reform in that country some of which have already informed new legislation and repeal of others.

Whenever he visited, he stayed with me for some time and as always, his company was joyous with incredible high sense

of humour and satire. I will forever miss Sam's giggles and teases of Africans. Nothing amused him most than pretentious petty bourgeois life style of some of the political classes.

Sam will Live Long After his Death

My personal consolation at this painful hour is that scholars of the stature of Sam never die, for generations to come, no student, serious academic, and policy maker can produce any credible study or policy document on complex issues of land in Africa, without ploughing through the numerous works handed down by Professor Sam Moyo. He did a lot of good for the pan-African world. We will all sorely miss Sam! Viva Sam!

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Professor Sam Moyo's funeral

Today was an incredible day. Zimbabweans came to mourn a beloved son, and were impressed by all the outpourings from around the world. Praveen Jha's tribute had a beautiful Pablo Neruda poem in his tribute which was read at the burial service as was Shivji's poem to Sam. Also read was Madam Zuma's letter. Mourners came from far and near and included members of government in Zimbabwe and South Africa. The academics present were asked to be pallbearers, so we all went and carried Sam's coffin to the hearse. There was a lot of high emotion at different points, but the most difficult was when Quondisile spoke so movingly about her father's love for his daughters. The music was sublime and very comforting.

After the service, we drove to Glen forest, a new private cemetery to bury Sam. Those who wanted to, were invited to put a single white rose in the grave. There was a CODESRIA delegation of eight – myself, the current Executive Secretary, two former executive secretaries, one executive committee member and one former executive committee member, one staff member and a former staff member.

Now we have laid Sam to rest, may the healing process begin and may we begin to work in different ways to be true to his legacy.

Dzodzi Tsikata

Sam's Children were the Light of his Life

Dede Amanor-Wilks

One of the amazing things about Sam Moyo is that though he led a thoroughly professorial life, writing papers, attending conferences and publishing books and articles, Sam always had time for people. He loved people in the greatest sense and that love was returned in equal measure, as shown by the outpouring of emotions since his fatal accident two weeks ago.

From the start of our marriage in 1992, it was apparent that family life was very important to Sam. Every Sunday we visited Gogo (Sam's mother, Mavis Moyo) and some of his siblings in Harare, Lindiwe and Phahla, or Rhey and Julie, or Mabhena and Winnie. Outside Harare, Sam always looked for opportunities to visit Nkosana in London, John and Sharon in Lusaka, and Mike in Gweru, or Josh Nyoni who was practically a brother. Other regular family visits were to Gogo Khethiwe and Khulu Liberty Mhlanga, or to Auntie Sheila, or to the Mubis and Munyatis. Among other close friends who were like family members, Sam considered Chloe Paul as a kindred spirit.

Sam's children were the light of his life. Sibongile, Thabisile, Samantha, Qondisile and Zandile brought him such joy and inspired him to build and keep building for the future. Because of his busy travel schedule, Sam could not attend every school event of his children, but he made time to mentor them. When they were young his mentoring was about monitoring their behaviour and inculcating decent values. As they grew older, it was about their education and professional development. Sam loved going on trips with family and regularly took the girls to Victoria Falls or to places like Bulawayo, Great Zimbabwe, Lake Kariba, Hwange National Park, South Africa, Beira and Chobe National Park.

Equal to Sam's love for people was his love of ideas. By pulling together people and ideas, Sam created great value in the world. He was an institution builder who drew people to his cause. With Yemi Katerere, he had set up the Zimbabwe Environment Research Organisation (ZERO) while on the staff of the Zimbabwe Institute of Development Studies of the University of Zimbabwe. After the SAPES years with Ibbo Mandaza, Sam created the African Institute of Agrarian Studies and a recent great innovation was the establishment of Agrarian South journal. Sam's engagement with Codesria was always pivotal and he valued deeply his relationship with scholars such as Thandika Mkandawire and Adebayo Olukoshi, not to mention the numerous South African scholars whom he visited and was visited by frequently. Among feminist scholars with whom Sam engaged during the 1990s, Elinor Batezat Sisulu, Patricia McFadden, Micere Mugo and Ama Ata Aidoo were important figures. From his youthful days as a student in Sierra Leone during the Rhodesian era and later as a teacher in Nigeria, Sam

continued to nurture relationships with like-minded intellectuals he had connected with outside his home environment, such as with the Trinidadian scholar David Johnson.

Sam's talent for adding value put those who lived or worked with him under great pressure. Anyone who stepped into his home office would be put to work, researching issues, editing documents, staying up till 3am to ensure work would be submitted on time because Sam was always very professional about meeting his deadlines.

Sam's kindness was legendary. He always extended a helping hand and would never reject any plea for assistance. There were weekend invitations for almost everyone he met and at Christmas he would invite development partners who had not been able to make it home. His kindness and his dynamism ensured that there were always people in our home, including many enduring friends who are mourning this week all over the world.

Sam and I enjoyed a fruitful marital and intellectual collaboration for many years. Though our marriage ran aground in the 2000s, we remained great friends, regularly in touch over our mutual interests, primarily the children and also, inevitably, the inexhaustible topic of the political economy of Africa.

Sam Moyo; Our Colleague, Mentor, and Friend

Godwin Murunga

Finally, we rested Sam Moyo; our colleague, mentor, and friend; our inspiration on how to conduct research and make your conclusion irrespective of what political persuasion one wants to pigeon-hole you into. Sam's body was interned at Glen Forest Cemetery, very close to his home. Tears have a way of deciding when to flow liberally and they did today. What can we say, who will we rely on for refined theoretical and conceptual analysis that was located in sound empirical data? It certainly is a tough question to ask; difficult to answer and of course the Daily Nation did not help much with its misplaced title to my column. But at least, at a personal level, I was blessed to walk with a titan when I served on the CODESRIA Executive Committee. Life has afforded me rare privileges in the academy; it continues to afford me those privileges. I can only be grateful. My colleagues Bhengkosi Moyo, Pinkie Mekgwe, Tendai Muriso and Adebayo Olukoshi; my sister Thoko Didiza were present and we were sitting together. There were many others including Ebrima Sall, LenkaBula Puleng, and Mzee Thandika Mkandawire.

A la Mémoire de Sam Moyo

Samir Amin et
Bernard Founou-Tchuigoua
Forum du Tiers Monde et Forum
Mondial des Alternatives

La disparition brutale de Sam Moyo nous a laissé sans voix. Sam était un ami personnel très cher.

Sam comptait parmi les fondateurs des activités que nous animons depuis plusieurs dizaines d'années dans le cadre du Forum du Tiers Monde et du Forum Mondial des Alternatives. D'emblée, lorsque nous nous sommes rencontrés, nous avons compris qu'il était, au-delà de ses qualités de chercheur scientifique cultivé et intelligent, un militant courageux et déterminé de la cause des peuples et des nations, de la sienne (le Zimbabwe) et de celles de l'Afrique et du Grand Sud. Notre collaboration étroite n'a donc jamais cessé de nous rapprocher chaque jour davantage.

Les travaux majeurs de Sam s'organisaient autour de la question agraire. Sam avait compris que le déploiement de la stratégie de l'impérialisme ne pouvait rien produire d'autre que la destruction sauvage et tragique des mondes ruraux et paysans en Afrique et en Asie.

Sam avait pris toute la mesure de la mise en œuvre systématique de cette politique criminelle à partir de l'expérience de son propre pays : des millions de paysans expropriés pour donner les terres de leurs ancêtres à quelque milliers de colons. Il en avait saisi le sens dramatique et de ce fait pris résolument parti pour la réforme agraire entreprise par Mugabe, quelles qu'en soient les limites que Sam mesurait, et dénoncé l'hypocrisie de la Grande Bretagne qui se refuse toujours à honorer ses engagements dans ce domaine.

Sam ne se contentait pas d'analyser la réalité et d'en dénoncer la tragédie. Il a apporté une contribution majeure à la formulation de l'alternative humaine en réponse au défi ; et dans cet esprit précisé ce que pourrait être un projet souverain de développement authentiquement national et populaire, porteur d'avancées démocratiques et, dans son cadre, d'un projet de renouveau de la production paysanne. Il savait situer le combat pour l'avancée de cette alternative dans son cadre politique national et international ; il savait que ce combat était indissociable de la lutte des peuples contre l'impérialisme d'hier et d'aujourd'hui. Il avait le courage d'en analyser les tenants et aboutissants et de confronter les propositions qu'il en déduisait aux mauvais arguments des défenseurs du prétendu néolibéralisme.

Sam était devenu un pilier de nos groupes de réflexion sur la question agraire en Afrique et dans le Sud. A ce titre il avait organisé de magnifiques tables rondes – entre autre à l'occasion de nos interventions dans les Forums Sociaux Africains et Mondiaux – permettant aux meilleurs des spécialistes des trois continents, engagés dans les luttes avec leurs peuples et leurs paysans, d'examiner ensemble ce qu'il y avait de particulier à chacune de leur expérience et ce qui les réunissait dans un combat commun pour l'émancipation sociale et politique de toutes les nations concernées. Sam était le Vice

Président du Forum Mondial des Alternatives pour l'Afrique australe. Il était le directeur de l'*African Institute for Agrarian Studies* ; et cette institution majeure comptait elle-même parmi les membres les plus actifs du « réseau de réseaux » que constituent le Forum du Tiers monde et le Forum Mondial des Alternatives.

Les travaux de Sam et de ses collègues ont fait l'objet de nombreuses publications remarquées. Deux ouvrages collectifs parus quelques mois seulement avant la mort tragique de Sam portent l'empreinte de sa magnifique contribution :

The struggle for food sovereignty, Alternative Development and the Renewal of Peasant Society today ed by Remy Herrera and Kin Chi Lau (Publication du Forum Mondial des Alternatives, Pluto Press, London 2015).

Réponses radicales aux crises agraires et rurales africaines, sous la direction de Bernard Founou-Tchuigoua et Abdourahmane Ndiaye (Publication CODESRIA, Dakar 2014).

L'un des auteurs de ce dernier ouvrage, notre ami Issaka Bagayogo est lui également disparu en 2015.

Les textes produits par Sam sont et resteront au centre des préoccupations de tous ceux qui poursuivent son combat pour l'Afrique et ses paysans.

The Grim Reaper came too early for my brother, Sam

Jomo Kwame Sundaram

Sam and I met through Codesria two decades ago, and CODESRIA made possible much of our subsequent camaraderie and even collaboration. There was a special affinity we shared, but I truly admired how he had strived patiently over so many years to advance his nuanced analysis of the Zimbabwe agrarian reforms against the dominant Western narrative of it being an unmitigated disaster. Even his eventual international vindication was due to the Western publication of a UK collaborator's study rather than to appropriate acknowledgement of his own pioneering findings. But as others have noted, Sam put this in perspective and was appreciative of the vindication and did not begrudge the others for a moment.

At the risk of sounding like an unoriginal cliché, Sam truly sought not only to interpret the world, but also to change it. The world has changed and all of us with it.

When I joined the Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) in mid-2012, there were few people I could turn to, who had retained serious interest in agrarian challenges in the face of the changing fads of the last few decades. Thus, as my attention returned to agrarian issues in recent years, I came to rely on his counsel ever more. Consequently, I saw more of Sam than almost any other collaborator.

Years before, we had surveyed the self-destructive trajectory of the major better Western academic journals on agrarian problems, but it was Sam who acted on this analysis with his

initiative, Agrarian South. Sam's commitment was also evident in his efforts over the years, which others can better testify to.

In Ghana last year, while addressing inequality, he articulated – for posterity – a masterly overview of the three main agrarian transformations in Africa with his typical modesty. This year, in Accra again, he sensitized trade union activists in Africa to the agrarian question. Before that, in Hangzhou, a capital of China centuries ago, he spoke to the contemporary relevance of the historic 1955 Afro-Asian solidarity conference. In between, while in Rome, he took time off with my wife to tour historic sites in the eternal city. In Durban in September, we conspired on what we should and would do together next.

El Che spoke of the revolutionary being profoundly inspired by love. Sam loved his daughters and his partner Beatrice, always speaking of them with great affection and pride. He was always loyal to his friends, but also found ways of acknowledging and addressing differences. As an experienced political activist, he painstakingly tried to persuade others to seek compromises in the larger interest. Yet, he also knew when to act decisively.

A luta continua. I believe Sam would echo Joe Hill in saying, don't mourn, organize.

Goodbye Sam: Brother, Comrade, Fighter and Friend

Amina Mama

Kotoka International Airport, Accra, was the last place I ran into Sam, seated in the departure lounge after a workshop on the land questions that he devoted his intellectual life to. We shared a beer, talked with intimacy about his life and mine, how both are inflected with the disparate ancestral and present-day contradictions that typify our generation, and discussed how these might inform both intellectual endeavours and activism. On this occasion, Sam reflected on the early days he spent in Calabar, Nigeria, and how the very different organization of land that he found in West Africa transformed his hitherto Southern African thinking. We reminisced too, recalling earlier visions of what the African scholarly community could become. A favourite we shared is the often-discussed dream of an 'African Bellagio' (which we would name differently, of course), possibly on the shores of Lake Malawi, where African scholars and researchers could overcome the vagaries of our variously precarious conditions, coming together to concentrate our best energies and skills, to re-inspire and re-connect, and to pursue the redistributive transformations that lie ahead, that we know must happen.

A complex personal history may go some way to explaining Sam's remarkable, incisive and visionary intellect, and the manner in which this was coupled with all-embracing generosity of spirit. The rigorous scholarly work he carried out in collaboration with so many was driven by Sam's deep commitment to serving, and facilitating the liberation of oppressed and marginalized peoples, across the South. His roots in rural Zimbabwe as well as in urban township communities lent him profound insight into the land-questions that continue to stall justice and democratization, but which – properly addressed – would end poverty and inequality in Zimbabwe, the rest of Africa, and across the former colonies of the South. His multiple racial and cultural identifications made him a voracious traveller who was able to engage deeply with people across ideological, cultural, national and disciplinary borders, to vigorously debate ideas wherever he went, inspiring and mobilizing across generations.

Few, if any, of us could pass through Harare without being invited home, to 'gist,' to drink and eat the pots of food he would produce with abandon. Sam stirred many things beyond belly-filling food. *Chez Sam*, we ate well, but most of all we feasted on the intense intellectual and political debates he also liked to stir up, stretching our minds as well as our bellies. Few of us will forget the winning embrace of his smile or the warmth of his big brotherly hugs – these earned him the affection that girded the respect colleagues, friends and community felt for him.

The African Institute for Agrarian Studies, established in 2002 was the pioneering initiative that Sam dedicated himself to for the last thirteen years of his energetic career, a remarkable endeavour that grew to span three continents, bringing together people-focused land expertise from African, Latin America and Asia. His death in India, tragic and shocking as it is for us all, occurred when he was doing what he was most committed to, what he most loved. Colleagues and fellow travellers, we owe it to Sam to continue to pursue his vision, and to collectivise the mission he discovered in the course of his brutally foreshortened life, for posterity, for the liberation of the still dispossessed.

Sam was no angel, as the women he has loved in the course of six decades of a life fully lived can surely testify. At the same time, his unadulterated *joie de vivre* was one of his most endearing features – even as we worried about his health at times! We need not have. Death was to take him away from us ahead of his old age, and at the prime of his activist-intellectual life. This tragic end also snatched Sam away from a new chapter in his personal life, with his equally courageous fighter for human rights, Beatrice Mtetwa. Beatrice, my heart goes out to you – your pain must be unimaginable, inconsolable. Know that you have the love and support of us all, and a life to live, people to serve.

Sam will surely live on in our hearts, our ideas, in our actions, and in our vision of a liberated and just Africa.

Goodbye Beloved Comrade.