

“Book Publishers for a Pan-African World”: Drum and Spear Press and Tanzania’s Ujamaa Ideology

by Seth Markle

Books can break down the isolation of our lives and provide us with a friend wherever we may be. I think we have to try very hard in Tanzania to cultivate the habit of reading among our young people and among our newly literate citizens. It is a fact which we must recognize, that in dealing with the modern world, children in Europe have two big advantages over our own children. One is the familiarity with mechanical things, the other, and perhaps even more important one, is familiarity with books.¹

— Julius Nyerere,
President of Tanzania 1962-1985

Ideologically and Politically we’re trying to break our total dependence upon European and Euro-American publishers and distributors. To publish our own books and to disseminate them in our own communities is one road toward self determination and self definition... The name of the game is control and if we do not control our product from manuscript to book to readers we are, in the final analysis, just talking to the wind.²

— Don L. Lee (Haki Madhubuti),
Founder of Third World Press

Introduction: Reading for the Revolution

DURING THE BLACK POWER MOVEMENT of the 1960s and 1970s, when the concept of armed revolution became a critical point of debate among movement activists, picking up the book was figuratively equivalent to picking up the gun. Black book publishers, in particular, viewed the act of reading not as a leisure exercise, but as arming the black community with knowledge of their history, culture and Third World radical ideas. Meanwhile, newly independent African states were

following a similar trend, developing their book trade sectors in order to spread the idea of nationalism among their citizens. Given such similarities, one especially generative place to explore the movements of political ideas and moments of Pan-African collaboration and institution building is in the arena of book publishing.

Drum and Spear Press was established in Washington, D.C. in 1968 by a group of former organizers of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC). Its mission was to act as an alternative source of communication between Africa and the African Diaspora by publishing texts that emphasized the importance of cultural liberation and race consciousness. Through utilizing the Tanzanian state’s ideology of Ujamaa (i.e. African Socialism), Drum and Spear developed a distinctive global Pan-African ideology. Ideological identification with Ujamaa led the press to set up an office in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania’s capitol, and collaborate with the Tanzania Publishing House, a government-owned company that fashioned a publishing strategy committed to the country’s policy of African socialism.

Tanganyika was first colonized by Germany (1891-1920) and then Britain (1920-1961) after Germany was defeated in World War I. The Tanganyika African National Union (TANU) used a nonviolent constitutional reformist approach to win independence in 1961. Under the charismatic and principled leadership of Tanganyika President Julius Nyerere, a union was formed between Tanganyika and the offshore island of Zanzibar in April 1964. This new nation would be called the Republic of Tanzania. Three years later, the government began

pursuing an African socialist policy termed in Swahili, *Ujamaa na Kujitegemea* (Socialism and Self-reliance).³ Presented as an ideological alternative to capitalism and Western forms of socialism, Ujamaa revealed to the international community a nation attempting to embark on its own independent path of economic and human development.⁴ With the state's adoption of a progressive foreign policy that supported African national liberation movements,⁵ nonalignment and continental unification at a time of intense Cold War conflict, Tanzania's vanguard image was solidified in the black political imagination. Indeed, Tanzania gradually found itself as the leading independent state in Africa of the global Pan-Africanist movement. In 1971, the Tanzanian government passed a resolution to "establish fraternal revolutionary relations with those (black) American citizens fighting for justice and human equality."⁶

AFRICAN AMERICANS regarded Tanzania as a new strategic ally to be won and Ujamaa as a new ideological source for nation formation to be appropriated and reconfigured to further the objectives of the black freedom struggle. International travel to Tanzania became an indispensable practice for deepening one's knowledge on the question of African liberation. Drum and Spear Press experienced difficulties in developing a sustainable political praxis in Tanzania, forcing it to rethink its strategy of universalizing Ujamaa ideology in the name of global Pan-African unity.

For the Tanzanian government, cultivating "revolutionary relations" with activists of the black freedom movement posed an equally challenging problem. On the one hand, the state perceived black Americans as valued loyal supporters not only because of their technical skills, but also because their nationalist sentiments ensured an ideological commitment to its socialist policy. On the other hand, aware that blacks wielded very little political power in the U.S. government, or economic power as a "nation within a nation," the government was left to wonder whether the practical consequences and outcomes in pursuing such Pan-African projects could help meet immediate nation-building needs.

THE STUDY OF PAN-AFRICANISM in the decolonization era should never discount the nature of the relationship between diaspora political movements and independent African governments. Pioneering scholars such as V.B. Thompson, St. Clair Drake, and Ronald Walters have convincingly argued that independence from colonial rule transformed Africa into the primary arena of struggle: the fate of global Pan-African unity came to rest in the hands of independent African states and presidents assumed the role of theorists and spokesmen of new visions of Pan-Africanism.⁷ As a consequence, the most significant new feature of the Pan-African movement of the postwar era was the dominant role African states played in shaping the Pan-Africanist politics of diaspora political communities. Their responses to national liberation in Africa underscore the importance of the conflicting and overlapping expectations of black movement activists in the West and those of African governments.⁸

Because African Americans' and the Tanzanian state's interest in book publishing as an effective means through which to build nationalist consciousness revealed parallel aims, this essay takes a closer look at the unexplored international and intersecting dimensions of postcolonial Tanzanian and postwar African American history. I argue that the medium of print culture allowed Drum and Spear to utilize Kiswahili and other ideological tenets of Ujamaa to both transform African American cultural politics by developing an ideology of Pan-Africanism. It is a glimpse into how Tanzania served as an ideological source and progressive site that shaped black political communities' anti-imperialist politics, and how race, culture, and nationalism inform diasporic conceptions of the African state, and how informal patron-client networks of solidarity were established.

Communication and Self-Defense

FOUNDED IN 1961 in the aftermath of the student sit-in movement, the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) was on the forefront of the Southern civil rights struggle against racial oppression in the United States. During the early

1960s the founding members of Drum and Spear Press worked in various leadership capacities: from helping to organize the March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom in 1963, to the massive voter registration campaign in Mississippi, known as Freedom Summer, in 1964, to the Lowndes County Freedom Organization (LCFO) of Alabama in 1965. Committed to the task of fighting for racial equality and black self-determination, it was within this movement and unique organization that core members of Drum and Spear gained invaluable experiences in grassroots organizing.⁹

Between 1966 and 1968 SNCC underwent rapid transformation. Internal tensions erupted over much needed debates over organizational structure, the strategy of non-violence, membership eligibility, and Black Nationalist ideology. The perceived de-radicalization of Southern civil rights activism by federally funded anti-poverty programs further compelled SNCC to test the activist waters in the explosive urban North. SNCC veteran Charlie Cobb, who joined SNCC in 1962 as a field secretary and was a principal figure in the formation of Drum and Spear, took part in this northern migration of activists from the South.¹⁰ However, Cobb's route to the urban North entailed a crucial international detour. In the summer of 1967, he traveled to Cambodia and Sweden as a SNCC delegate to Bertrand Russell's War Crimes Tribunal on U.S. military atrocities in Vietnam,¹¹ and then spent a short time in Senegal, Guinea, Morocco, and Liberia with fellow SNCC veteran Courtland Cox. It was after these sojourns, while in Paris visiting the *Présence Africaine* bookstore, that the Drum and Spear idea was cemented. "It seemed to me was that you needed something like that: a bookstore," Cobb recalled, "an information institution that really began to give people what they needed in terms of information about African people."¹²

COBB RETURNED to Washington D.C., whose population was 60 percent black at the time, to form Afro-American Resources (AAR), a nonprofit organization that would act as a governing body of its various Pan-Africanist oriented projects. SNCC

activists such as Cox, Ralph Featherstone, Carolyn Carter, Marvin Holloway, Tony Gittens, Judy Richardson, Jennifer Lawson, among many others, made AAR a local, national, and international resource center about the African and African Diaspora experience. After receiving a \$10,000 grant from the United Church Commission for Racial Justice, Drum and Spear bookstore opened up for business a few days before the D.C. rebellion in the spring of 1968. The Center for Black Education and Drum and Spear Press soon followed. All three operations were strategically located in the 14th street area—"Washington's Harlem"—the hub of black economic and social activity.

These three interdependent institutions, known collectively as the "Drum and Spear Complex," largely grew out of a concern over both the access to and type of education for black youth and adults. As a result, the Black Power era would usher in an unprecedented increase in book publishing activity, whereby the content of these books invoked a spirit of African cultural pride and political awareness among black people.¹³ The bookstore and press were named after two symbols of African cultural resistance meant to convey the belief that the book industry was one of many areas of struggle for black liberation. "The drum in the African world is a way of carrying information, the spear a method of defense," Cox told a reporter for *The Washington Post*, "so the idea was the defense of the mind defending information."¹⁴ Through building independent black-run institutions, especially in an urban community that was systematically ignored by local and state governments, Drum and Spear was determined to move against white-controlled institutions of communication, their monopolization of the industry and their reckless projection of degrading images of black people, by making accessible books written by black authors that refuted these reproduced racist ideologies.¹⁵

THE PRESS PLANNED to publish six books a year, making available "books of historical significance, which generally sell at prohibitive prices, to the majority of the Black community." Its motto read: "Book Publish-

Ujamaa and the Tanzanian Initiative

ers for the Pan-African World."¹⁶ One could find Drum and Spear ads and glowing reviews of its books in independent black journals such as the *Liberator*, *Black World*, *The Black Scholar*, and *Black Books Bulletin*. Drum and Spear set up tables at teacher conferences and book fairs, and advertised its books over its weekly radio program for children. The newly established Black Studies programs—products of the nationwide black student protest movement—were Drum and Spear's major sources of revenue. Black Studies programs at Cornell University, Stanford University, UC Berkeley, and Howard University, for example, all bought their books from Drum and Spear bookstore, which helped to fund the press.¹⁷

Although men and women on full-time, part-time and volunteer basis staffed the "Drum and Spear Complex," women played prominent roles in every aspect of the day-to-day operations of the bookstore and press. As to the female staff of the press, Anne Forrester was its first managing editor; Jennifer Lawson was its art director and illustrator, and later a Drum and Spear representative in Tanzania; and Judy Richardson was the children's books editor.¹⁸ Forrester remembered that there was "equality in terms of male and female roles" and men in Drum and Spear did a fairly good job in keeping "their chauvinism in check."¹⁹

DRUM AND SPEAR published books in genres such as education, poetry, children's literature, and history and politics.²⁰ Drum and Spear strongly believed that a new cultural consciousness was needed in order to fight the psychological inferiority complexes created by centuries of white supremacy. In doing so, Tanzania's Ujamaa ideology proved to be an effective way in freeing black minds. Indeed, the press's first publication was the reissuing of C.L.R. James's *A History of Negro Revolt* (1969), which James updated with an essay on Tanzania and Ujamaa. According to James, whose career as a black radical intellectual and activist spanned decades, Ujamaa embodied the political and cultural revolutionary spirit of Africans and people of African descent.²¹

TANZANIA'S turn to socialism began in 1967 after the drafting of the Arusha Declaration, which set down in detail the principles that were to guide the country towards *Ujamaa na Kujitegemea* (Socialism and Self-reliance). President Julius K. Nyerere, a former schoolteacher, was the primary architect of Ujamaa. Mwalimu (teacher), his popular nickname, called for an emphasis on the needs of the peasantry and workers, for radical agrarian reform, the embrace of Kiswahili as a national language to help curb ethnic and class conflict, and an end to a colonial-style, elitist educational system. This could be accomplished through the adoption of a "socialist attitude of mind" based on the African traditions of democracy and communal social relations.²² The state, run by committed socialist leaders of TANU, was anointed the leading instigator for bringing about this egalitarian socialist society, and thus embarked on the critical task of Ujamaa's ideological consolidation.

African American movement activists gained access to Ujamaa ideology through Nyerere's *Uhuru na Ujamaa (Freedom and Socialism)*, published by Oxford University Press in 1968. Though Ujamaa was an expression of Tanzanian nationalism, Drum and Spear was easily won over by the universalistic quality of its concepts. Concepts like unity (*umoja*) and self-reliance (*kujitegemea*) spoke directly to the press's aspirations. Ujamaa was proof that Africans could be autonomous agents of radical social change devoid of an ideological dependence on Western liberal or communist traditions.²³ Nyerere's "Education for Self-Reliance," an insightful analysis of the pitfalls of colonial education and a call for community-run schools, made a significant impression on Drum and Spear. The Ujamaa notion that the development of people took precedence over development of the means of production, in many ways, reiterated the vital role books were to play in building a new nation, especially books written in Kiswahili.

ORIGINALLY a coastal trading language of Bantu origin, Kiswahili spread into the interior as a result of colonial policy.²⁴ It became Tanzania's national language in

1962. The promotion of Kiswahili helped Drum and Spear Press sharpen its own cultural nationalist, anti-imperialist perspective during an exciting period of an Africa-centered cultural renaissance in North America, partially characterized by people adopting African names, wearing African clothes, and speaking African languages.²⁵ Drum and Spear's interest in Kiswahili was twofold. Firstly, it was a non-European language and secondly, it was spoken in numerous African regions across colonial and national territories. Its lure lay with how it transcended ethnic and class boundaries, particularly in Tanzania, which comprised over 120 different ethnic groups. By possessing a Pan-African quality, Kiswahili, as a language of communication of the "Pan-African world," was given further politico-cultural validity.

Drum and Spear's publication of Bernard Muganda's *Kusema Kiswahili (Speaking Kiswahili)* best illustrates the press's ideological engagement with Kiswahili and Ujamaa ideology. In the book's introduction, the editor Anne Forrester, who was at the time also pursuing her doctorate in African history at Howard University, cogently explains Drum and Spear's ideological investment in the language:

In the rising thrust of African peoples towards liberation from the cultural influences of varying European states, Swahili has been in the forefront of forging a language of nationalism...At this point in the history of African peoples, it is important that such a language, Swahili, is increasingly spoken by us. For its lingual contribution helps both to engender and to define our own efforts towards political consciousness and understanding of cultural priorities.²⁶

Speaking Kiswahili was not solely a basic introduction to Kiswahili words and phrases. Muganda, a Tanzanian Kiswahili professor at Howard, asserted that the book's objective was to "acquaint the Swahili student with the current and up-to-date African political ideologies, African history, education and economic philosophy."²⁷

IN SECTION TWO of the book, excerpts of speeches and writings, mostly by Nyerere, are republished and followed by a set of questions ranging in linguistic and conceptual difficulty. One of the first exercises of this

kind centers on the role TANU, mainland Tanzania's ruling party, in bringing about a socialist society:

Umoja ni nini?
Shabaha ya kuunda TANU ilikuwa nini?
Kazi ya TANU ya leo ni nini?

What does unity mean?
What were the goals of TANU?
What type of work is TANU doing now?²⁸

In another exercise based on a different Nyerere speech, the questions that follow seek to offer its readers a clearer definition of Tanzania's version of socialism and how it differs from and is more suitable to Tanzanians than European models.²⁹ As these lessons suggest, learning Kiswahili became closely interwoven with the political discourses emanating out of Tanzania. The information provided in Muganda's book affirms the legitimacy of the interventionist role of state in carry out the country's socialist strategy. But Drum and Spear took it a step further by presenting Ujamaa as a nation-building model for the Black Power movement. *Kusema Kiswahili* was used to shape black conceptions of African culture, nationalism, and the nation-state, familiarizing African Americans with such concepts as the political uses and cultural value of Kiswahili, one-party state democracy, and African socialism.³⁰ For Drum and Spear, Ujamaa became a source of knowledge that offered both alternative cultural and political concepts such as one-party state democracy, active civil society, and socialism.

DRUM AND SPEAR did not want to cater strictly to the cultural nationalist aspirations of African Americans. After all, the political atmosphere in Tanzania was buzzing. Radicals of various political outlooks from across the globe flocked there, contributing to the making of socialist Tanzania. Through Muganda, whose contacts in the Tanzanian government went all the way to the president's office, Drum and Spear connected with Walter Bgoya of Tanzania's Ministry of External Affairs, as well as Benjamin Mkapa³¹ and Ferdinand Ruhinda, editors of TANU's daily newspaper, *The Nationalist*, all of whom were members of the youth

wing of the ruling party: the TANU Youth League. In August 1969, they all met in Dar es Salaam a few weeks after Drum and Spear attended the Pan-African Cultural Festival in Algeria. A few months later, the press resumed discussions with Bgoya during his visit to the U.S. as a Tanzanian delegate to the U.N. General Assembly.

Bgoya, who participated in local civil rights struggles and experienced American racism first-hand as a college student at the University of Kansas in the early 1960s, was impressed with Drum and Spear members and eager to utilize their skills. "That was a special and specific relationship we were thinking," Bgoya later recalled. "If these people—black people in America—with these skills, with these kind of resources, were to put some of these resources in Africa, it would probably have an impact on Africa."³² Based on these planning meetings, Drum and Spear's goal was to replicate "the Drum and Spear complex" in Dar es Salaam for what was to be called an "Information Village." The immediate task of the press was to publish books in Kiswahili. Cobb and Lawson, who joined the Drum and Spear collective in 1969,³³ served as the press's representatives in Tanzania. By the fall of 1971, *Blacks Book Bulletin* was pleased to report that "in line with its Pan-African ideology" Drum and Spear Press was working in Tanzania.³⁴

DRUM AND SPEAR'S TANZANIA initiative coincided with an intense period of national development activity. From 1969 to 1974 Tanzania was immersed in its Second Five-Year Development Plan, which intended to expand the state's control over its national surplus through the nationalization of key businesses.³⁵ Nationalization allowed the government to address the economic, political and cultural imperatives of the state. Control over its book industry, for instance, would lessen the state's dependence on the world capitalist economy and aid it in the mass dissemination of Ujamaa ideology.³⁶ Nyerere had always expressed his feelings toward book publishing, oftentimes clothing the issue in the language of postcolonial modernization. In order for Tanzania to deal with the cultures of modernity throughout

the world, Nyerere argued, a "habit of reading among our young people and among our newly literate citizens" was of primary importance.³⁷ As Tanzania's Minister of Information later put it:

Since we are in the long march towards socialism it is true that the ideology could only be shaped in the minds of people through reading books which are relevant and conducive to the country's policy of socialism and self reliance.³⁸

The state had put forth an argument about the nation-building role of books, and though raising literacy rates was enthusiastically pursued, building and stocking libraries, schools, and bookstores, and creating profitable publishing companies never took precedence over increasing agricultural production in the countryside. Nevertheless, the first decade of independence witnessed some considerable accomplishments for the book trade and education sectors. As of 1961, illiteracy in Tanzania was over 90 percent, but by 1974 it dropped to 39 percent.³⁹ Tanzania's Library Services steadily increased its book stocks and attempted to make books available by establishing local libraries in all of Tanzania's major towns and "mobile libraries" for the countryside. Printpak, Tanzania's oldest printing company, was equipped with new technology to quicken the production process, and publishing companies regularly sponsored writing competitions and workshops for local Kiswahili writers.⁴⁰ Despite such developments, the shortage of Kiswahili publications and the lack of technical expertise and skills training continued to signify a "book famine" in Tanzania.⁴¹

DURING THEIR FIRST FEW MONTHS in the country, Lawson and Cobb built contacts, learned Kiswahili at the University of Dar es Salaam, and applied for land from the government for the future site of the "Information Village." They became more knowledgeable about Tanzania's book needs after conducting a general survey of the books available in and around Dar es Salaam. Upon visiting the public libraries and bookstores they were angered to find Kiswahili literature largely being produced and distributed by Europeans (mainly missionaries). This constituted an act of colonizing Kiswahili that explicitly undermined its symbolic function as a non-

European national language. In framing the problem as a manifestation of cultural imperialism with far-reaching political consequences, Drum and Spear thought it imperative to translate its 1970 children's book, *Children of Africa: A Coloring Book*, into Kiswahili. "The definition of language in its grammatical structure is totally in the hands of Europeans," Cobb lamented in a staff meeting held back in Washington, D.C. "The point is that the...book we're producing in Swahili implies that Africa is still controlled by Europeans."⁴²

The choice to translate and republish *Children of Africa* came at a time when there was increasing interest in children's literature about Africa as well. The new trend was a moving away from a singular obsession with Africa's wildlife to an emphasis on the peoples who populated the continent.⁴³ In Tanzania, however, a dearth of children's literature remained, due to the fact that most books available were written in English while primary education in the country was taught in Kiswahili.⁴⁴ The Tanzanian government expressed concern that children were becoming "estranged" from their African cultural heritage. For these very reasons, circumstances seemed highly favorable for a popular reception of the book.

LAUDED AS A BOOK with "Pan-African and black unity"⁴⁵ themes that brought the parent and child together, *Children of Africa* paints a picture of Africa and its Atlantic diaspora linked by culture and oppression, promoting one of the basic tenets of Pan-Africanism: black people all over the world share a common experience and common struggle as a result of the transatlantic slave trade and its aftermath. The book's Pan-Africanist leanings are best expressed statements such as the following:

We often think our interests and problems as a people are unique to the places in which we now live...All over the world the interests and problems of black people are the same.⁴⁶

Such statements appear on the left-hand side of every page, which contains only written text, to provide adult readers additional information as they accompany a child. The right-hand side of each page contains images and

text that put these statements in simple language children can visualize and understand.

Like the nationalization of Kiswahili, the idea of egalitarian communal relations was another significant Ujamaa theme that shaped the Pan-African politics of Drum and Spear. *Children of Africa* is filled with underlying gestures of appraisal of this idea. For instance, the concept of "family-hood" (the literal meaning of Ujamaa) is best captured in a series of images of intergenerational cooperation, namely between mothers and daughters and fathers and sons. Ultimately, *Children of Africa* can be credited with contributing to the theorization of an African Diaspora of the Black Atlantic, an introduction to the philosophy of Pan-Africanism and, once again, a promotion of Ujamaa as a universal ideology. Indeed, there were not a lot of children's books on the market that spoke about how Africa's liberation struggle did not end with independence.

LAWSON AND COBB translated the book into Kiswahili while the Tanzania Publishing House (TPH) was responsible for its publication. By that time, Bgoya had left the Ministry of External Affairs and became the Editor of TPH, one of the five major book publishers in Tanzania.⁴⁷ Under Bgoya's editorship, TPH was transformed into the mouthpiece of the anti-imperialist struggle in Africa, committing itself to the goals of socialism, non-alignment, and African liberation.⁴⁸ Like Drum and Spear, it too was concerned with developing books for children concerning with political education and thus started publishing children's books in Kiswahili as early as 1970. The republication of *Children of Africa* (renamed to *Watoto wa Afrika*) signaled a new direction for TPH only in the sense that this was its first time working with independent black publishers from the U.S. *Watoto wa Afrika* was one of three children's books TPH published in 1972 at a combined total of thirty-three thousand copies.

By 1974, Tanzania was still experiencing a "book gap" because of a lack of funds, a lack of Kiswahili writers, lack of skilled manpower, and the lack of libraries.⁴⁹ For a host of reasons, Drum and Spear with TPH managed to publish only *Watoto Wa Afrika*. Although *Watoto wa Afrika* met a few of the

expectations expressed by the Tanzanian state by being a Kiswahili publication for children and about Pan-Africanism and African socialism, Drum and Spear had neither the capital nor the manpower to respond effectively to all of the country's book needs. It had neither expected nor asked for Tanzanian government funds for its initiative, solely relying on the small profits largely generated by the bookstore.

DRUM AND SPEAR's failures in functioning at a sustainable, profit-making level also had to do with their own lack of technical expertise. "None of us were business-types. We had the political smarts and even in some cases the intellectual smarts," recalled Forrester. "We kept thinking we had to build a presence, but we never had enough capitalization."⁵⁰ Bgoya agreed. "They were not publishers in the sense that they really understood what publishing would entail," he remembered. "They didn't even have the resources, financial resources, to set up a viable publishing enterprise."⁵¹ By not having "enough capitalization" Drum and Spear encountered numerous obstacles in Pan-African institution building in an unfamiliar cultural and political environment. However, immersion into Tanzania's political culture allowed it both to critique and sharpen its own ideological positions.

Cobb's attendance at an Afro-American Resources meeting held back in Washington, D.C. in late 1971 sheds considerable light on this point. The Tanzania initiative forced Afro-American Resources to critically interrogate the impact of African Americans "returning" to their ancestral homeland as political activists, their investment in Ujamaa ideology and the liberationist role of the state in leading the global Pan-Africanism movement. Cobb commented:

The real ideology in Africa would move outside of the nation-state boundaries... One of the weaknesses in the Tanzanian ideology is that it is located totally in the geographical boundaries of Tanzania... They're in a trick of not being able to extend beyond the boundaries that Europe drew for us for arbitrary reasons. African Americans have a commitment to Africa as a continent, and we are ordering ourselves in terms of that commitment. However, our commitments to Africa

don't coincide with the particular interests of the state. In one sense, we're trying to transcend the state. However, wherever we are, we are there because the state is saying it's okay for us to be there.⁵²

To question the implications of its publishing strategy was to confront the issue of how diaspora visions of African unity sometimes ran counter to those of the African states. The ARR meeting illustrates the importance of international travel as a means for obtaining a clearer understanding of Tanzanian conditions and the role of the African Diaspora in the Pan-Africanist movement on the continent.

Conclusion

DRUM AND SPEAR closed down in the mid-1970s, a casualty of urban decay, competition, and mounting debt.⁵³ Through establishing alternative institutions of communication, Drum and Spear helped others to consider the need for the exchange of information between African and its diaspora. It held firm to the notion that publishing books in accordance with its Pan-Africanist beliefs took precedence over the mighty dollar. Such publications helped frame a "Black Power" print culture that explored the themes of African unity, state formation and cultural nationalism. Drum and Spear's embrace of Tanzania's Ujamaa ideology, evidenced in its publication of *Speaking Kiswahili* and *Watoto wa Afrika*, simultaneously met the specific nation-building needs of the Black Freedom Movement and the Tanzanian state. Although black movement activists and the Tanzanian state found mutually reinforcing reasons to collaborate, such a display of solidarity on a practical level revealed the precarious economic and institutional composition that characterized much of the Pan-Africanist movement in the African Diaspora during the decolonization period.

Endnotes

1. Julius Nyerere, *Freedom and Socialism*, London, Oxford University Press, 1968, pp. 108.
2. Don L. Lee, *From Plan to Planet: Life Studies: The Need for Afrikan Minds and Institutions*, Chicago, Institute of Positive Education, 1973, pp. 115-16.

3. Tanganyika African National Union, *The Arusha Declaration and TANU's Policy on Socialism and Self-Reliance*, Dar es Salaam, Publicity Section, TANU, 1967. ; Also see Julius K. Nyerere, "The Arusha Declaration," in *Freedom and Socialism*, pp. 231-250; Julius K. Nyerere, "Ujamaa—The Basis of African Socialism," in *Freedom and Unity*, Oxford, Oxford Press, 1966, pp. 162-171.
4. African Americans read Nyerere's writings religiously during this period, on par with such works as Frantz Fanon's *The Wretched of the Earth* and Malcolm X's *The Autobiography of Malcolm X*. A lot of his speeches and writings were published in black journals such as *The Black Scholar* and *Black World*. For the political writings and speeches of Nyerere, see *Freedom and Unity*; *Education for Self-Reliance*, Dar es Salaam: Government Printer, 1967; *Freedom and Socialism*; *Ujamaa: Essays on Socialism*, Oxford University Press, 1968; *Man and Development*, Dar es Salaam, Oxford University Press, 1974; For an insightful analysis of Nyerere's political thought see Anthony Bogues, "Julius Nyerere: Radical African Humanism, Equality and Decolonization," in *Black Heretics, Black Prophets: Radical Political Intellectuals*, New York, Routledge, 2003, pp. 95-125;
5. The following national liberation movements set up external bases in Tanzania: Front for the Liberation of Mozambique (FRELIMO), African Party for the Independence of Guinea and Cape Verde (PAIGC), Zimbabwe African National Liberation Army (ZANLA), Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZANU), South West People's Organization (SWAPO), Front for the Liberation of Zimbabwe (FROLIZI), Popular Movement for Liberation of Angola (MPLA), African National Congress (ANC) and the Pan African Congress (PAC).
6. *TANU Guidelines*, Dar es Salaam: Government Printer, 1971, p. 6; "Tanzanian Government Invites Black Americans to Join in Nation-Building," *Jet*, 24 (February 1972), p. 21; James N. Kairoki, "Tanzania and the Resurrection of Pan-Africanism," *Review of Black Political Economy* 4, 4 (Summer 1974), pp. 1-26.
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