



September 2019

Okasamafo

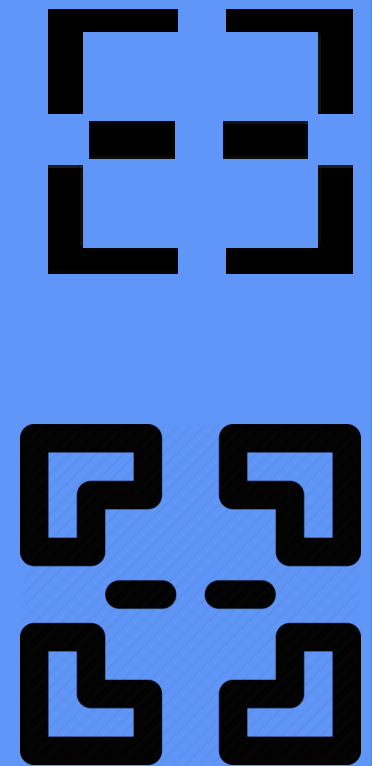
The communicator

Akwaaba

In this issue, we take an historical approach. Our feature article reviews the contemporary history of Afrikan spiritual practices in America, written by Bofour Nana Kwabena Brown. We also have our Sankofa! section which will highlight bits of Afrikan history that directly relate to our experiences here. I hope you enjoy.

Woda ase pii for your support of our Akom Kɛse 2019! The energy was just as lively as the discussions. We ended with a common mission and tools to accomplish that mission. Keep an eye on our FB group to continue many of the discussions and to be a part of our continued growth as a community. As always, please do continue to share your thoughts, suggestions, concerns, and stories with us via email and/or our FB page Akom Kɛse. We look forward to hearing from and sharing with you.

Okomfo Akosua Baakan



Woforo Dua Pa A

*Support, Cooperation &
Encouragement*

Up Coming Events:

NY / NJ

October 12, Odwira Festival, Onipa Abusia. See flyer.

November 2, Nana Adade Kofi Afahye, Bonafo location TBD

DC / MD

September 15, Water Ritual & Appreciation Day, Temple of Nyame

September 7, Make and Take Rollberball class. Sew Creative Lounge. Contact Yeboah Duku for more information (202) 413 - 4393

October 5 and 10, Children's Emotions Tapping Workshop, Sew Creative Lounge. Contact Okomfo Yeboah Duku for more information (202) 413 - 4393

December 7, Children's Holiday Expo, Adinkra Cultural Arts Studio. Contact Okomfo Yeboah Duku for more information (202) 413 - 4393

Ghana

September 26 - October 3
Nanna Akonnedi Afahye

Dewuru bo pa pa ne yo

Special announcements

Nana Serwaa Anokye's great niece Dasia Asantewaa Bandy won the National Military Youth of the Year, a division of the Boys & Girls Club of America on August 15th. Prior to this, she won the State of Virginia and the Southeast Regional Division for the Military Division. Dasia now competes on September 24 for the overall National Championship of the Boys & Girls Club.

Each year, one exceptional Club member is selected to be the National Youth of the Year, serving as an ambassador for Boys & Girls Club youth as well as a voice for all of our nation's young people. Applicant are required to write an essay detailing personal brand, military youth experience, youth club experience and vision for today's youth; interviews and public speaking. Dasia's essay include a bio of Nana Yaa Asantewa.

She has won a total of \$65K in college scholarships so far. Mo! Mo! Mo!



African Religion in North America

By Bofour Nana Kwabena Brown, as printed in *The Encyclopedia of African Religion*

The European slave trade from the 15th to the 19th centuries brought to the Americas millions of Africans along with their religious and cultural practices. Examples of these religious and cultural practices are putting broken cups and dishes belonging to the deceased on top of the grave; not moving or making any noise during a thunderstorm; divination and spiritual readings; giving communication with the dead and “spiritual causality” as the reason for some phenomenon; and the healing technique — documented in 1976 in rural North Carolina — of putting a sick person into a hole, sacrificing an animal in the hole, pulling the person out, and quickly burying the sickness and thus healing the person. Many more African cultural and religious practices have continued uninterrupted up to the present day.

The traditional Black church displays the following African retentions and modalities: poly-rhythmic music and antiphonal singing; call-and-response; spirit transcendence; prophecy and spiritual readings; the minister as “chief”; the deacons as “council of elders”; the women as “the power behind the throne”; speaking in tongues; blessing with holy oils and candles; prophecy; exorcisms and dispelling; spiritual cleansings; and “Deity” as immanent, personal, and friendly, as well as the dispenser of “eleventh-hour” miracles. Those families and communities that have persisted with and still practice their “Africanisms” are participants in what may be referred to as old school African cultural and religious practices.

The areas in North America that seem to have the greatest conscious and continuous African retentions, and recognizable practices, structures, and forms, are the Georgia and South Carolina Sea Islands and neighboring coastal areas, Louisiana, Mississippi, Alabama, and other pockets throughout the rural Deep South. In the South Carolina and Georgia Sea Island areas, there are linguistic, dietary, and magicoreligious practices and passage ceremonies clearly of Angolan and Sierra Leonean origin. Louisiana has a strong historical and cultural connection to Haiti. The majority of the Blacks who migrated to Louisiana from Haiti — after their successful revolution in the late 1700s — were descendants of the Ewe and Fon peoples of West Africa whose religion was called Vodun (which means God or gods). Its Western adaptation and practice is called Vodou, and it is believed in and widely practiced by thousands of inhabitants of Louisiana and other parts of the Deep South.

African religion, spirituality, and culture have had a tremendous impact and influence on the Euro-American culture of North America — particularly in the South. This is a result of there being intimate and continuous contact for more than 300 years. The impact has been on food and diet, etiquette, gentleness, hospitality, linguistics, music, and spiritual-religious understandings, beliefs, and behaviors. The dominant Euro-American culture since the enslavement of Africans has devalued, suppressed, and distorted much of African culture and spirituality. Because Africans were considered

inferior, so too were their contributions in terms of aesthetics and culture. What is paradoxical is that Euro-American culture has absorbed, adopted, and adapted key elements of African religious and cultural practices. This has produced key components of what has come to be identified as traditional southern culture. A visit to the Bonaventure Cemetery in Savannah, Georgia, corroborates this. This is the antebellum cemetery of the white southern elite and has been segregated by law and tradition since its founding. The following can be observed there: food and money offerings left at the various grave sites and mausoleums; beads, food, and money offerings left at and on grave statues; and persons pouring libations and making prayer petitions to their ancestors buried there. These are socially acceptable practices — although not necessarily shared with outsiders — conducted by white southern Christians and adopted from centuries of close association with a culturally African population.

These beliefs and behaviors have existed with varying degrees of openness and public awareness; most often, they took place within families and closed communities. A new movement, however, began to emerge in the 1920s and 1930s that has extended to the present day. This movement may be labeled the new school African and religious and cultural practices. Some of the luminaries of this movement are Zora Neale Hurston, renowned writer and anthropologist; Katherine Dunham, famous choreographer, dancer, and anthropologist; and Pearl Primus, premier dancer, choreographer, and anthropologist. Hurston investigated African cultural retentions and religious practices in Haiti, Jamaica, and the Deep South. She transferred and transformed some of her material into novels, plays, and

articles for popular reading. Some of her other materials were directed toward scholarly publications. Dunham and Primus presented to the American public performances and presentations from the following cultural areas: West African, Central African, Afro-Jamaican, Afro-Trinidadian, and Afro-Haitian. These authentic performances were presentations of the matrix of song, dance, and drumming, which are at the core of African culture, religion, and spirituality. Authentic spirit possessions are often manifested during the performances. For the first time — in North America — African religion and culture were openly and publicly presented and elevated for the appreciation of believers and nonbelievers alike. In the early 1950s, Dizzy Gillespie and other jazz musicians also began to show an interest in Afro-Cuban music and musicians. Gillespie was instrumental in promoting and introducing them to the jazz medium and the American public.

Yoruba Orisha and Ifa Traditions

With the Afro-Cuban music came an infusion of the African gods (orisha), whose rhythms are the foundation for what is called the Latin sound. It was common to hear Cuban — and other Latin performers — give honor to the African orisha in song during their performances. The Cuban band leader, actor, and TV personality Desi Arnaz frequently sang to the African orisha of sickness and healing, Babaluaye, during his performances. These immigrants, although they would give honor in music and song, were private and secretive. They avoided public displays and involvement in their African rites and rituals. It was the African Americans, who came through the lineages of Dunham and Primus, who were open and public with their African rituals and cultur-

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al presentations. These “new school practitioners” opened up cultural centers that taught the following: African languages, dance, drumming, dress and attire, foods and recipes, religion, culture, and spirituality in its many diasporic manifestations.

Oba Oseijaman Adefumi I, the founder and chief priest of the Yoruba Temple of New York and Oba (King) of the Yoruba Village in Sheldon, South Carolina, came out of the Dunham School. He was a dancer in Dunham’s company who traveled with her to Haiti and other places in the diaspora. In 1959, he decided to go to Mantanzas, Cuba, where he was initiated as a priest of the Yoruba orisha of creation Obatala. In 1972, he went to Nigeria, West Africa, and became initiated as a priest of the oracle Ifa and received the title of Babalawo (father of the secrets). Upon returning to the United States, he spent years initiating dozens of African Americans into orisha throughout the country. In the District of Columbia, he initiated Iya-Nifa Mother Taylor of the thriving Yoruba Temple of Spiritual Elevation and Enlightenment to the orisha Obatala. He is definitely the father of Ifa and orisha worship for African Americans.

Akan-Guan Traditions

Nana Dinizulu was a close and intimate friend and colleague of Oba Oseijaman for more than 40 years. He was an accomplished drummer and choreographer; in the 1950s, he was a devotee of the African orisha-vodu Damballa Wedo. It is quite likely that Baba Oseijaman may have regularly shared this experience with him. Nana Dinizulu made his first trip to Ghana in 1965 through the help of a Ghanaian friend, Afutu Arist Nequay. Nequay helped introduce him of Okomfohene Akua Oparebea of Larteh, Akwapim, Ghana, West Africa. She

was the most renowned and one of the most powerful priests in all of Ghana. She gave him three of her abasom (spirits) from this Guan cultural area to bring back to America: Nana Esi, Adade Kofi, and Nana Asuo Gyebi. This was the beginning of the practice of the Akan-Guan religion and culture in America. Nana Dinizulu’s temple, Bosum Dzemawodzi, was the first official abasom (plural of obosom) shrine established and authorized by Nana Oparebea in America. The second was the Temple of Nyame and Asuo-Gyebi and Tegare Shrines of Washington, D.C., headed by Nana Kwabena Aboagye Brown; the third was the Asona Aberade Shrine of Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, headed by Nana Afoh (a.k.a. Arthur Hall) of the famous Ilé-Ifè Cultural Center. The priestess who is presently in charge in Philadelphia is Nana Okomfohema Korantema Ayebofo. Almost all of the Akan houses in North America can trace themselves to one of these three original houses. Nana Oparebea eventually gave the great Guan god of Larteh, Akonnedi Abena, to Nana Dinizulu and bestowed on him the titles of Okomfohene and Omanhene, Chief Priest and Paramount Chief of the Akans of North America. He is unquestionably the founder and father of the Akan-Guan religious and cultural movement for African Americans.

Asuarian (Osirian) Traditions

The Asuar Auset Society was founded in September 1973 by Ra Un Nefer Amen. His title is Shekum Ur Shekum (i.e., King of Kings). The line of descent (succession) of his kingship is through the Agogo state of the Ashanti region of Ghana, West Africa. He is enstooled and fully recognized there as a king and leader. He has developed a unique and complete religious system and practice based on both di-

vine kingship and the pre-Christian and pre-Judaic Ausarian religion of ancient Kemet (a.k.a. Egypt). He has aligned the Kemetian-Asuarian *neter ru* (spirits) with the Yoruba *orisha* so that one-to-one correlations are clearly seen. He has integrated into the Asuar Auset structure the *Paut Neteru*, which is the Kemetic Tree of Life. The latter is also referred to as the *kabala* and is the basis of the organization's understanding and interpretation of the universe and life. It serves as an important pillar in its powerful divination system. The uniqueness of the Asuar Auset Society is that it is not an imported religious system or organization. Rather, it is an African-based system and organization completely conceived and developed in America. It has hundreds of members throughout the United States and several international chapters.

The Vodou Tradition

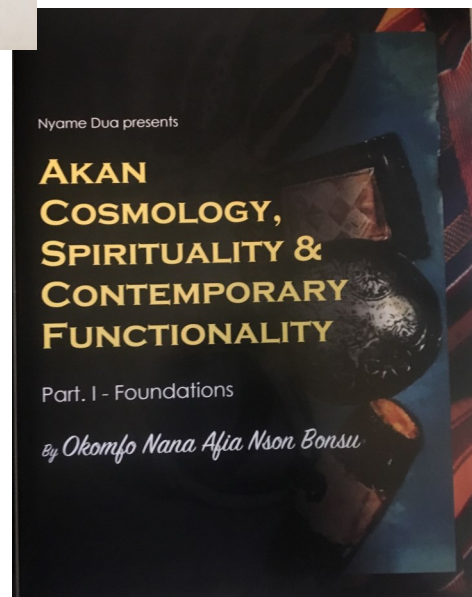
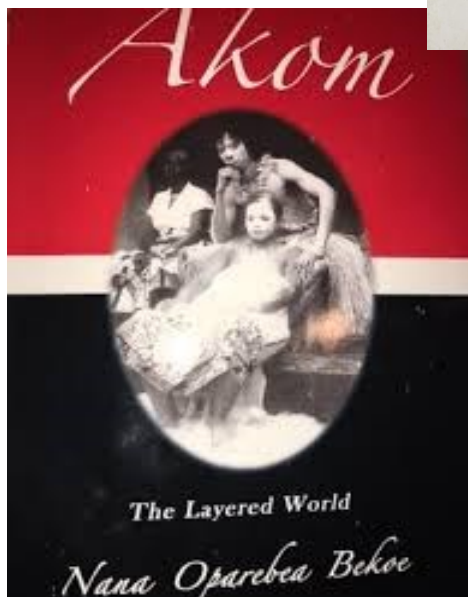
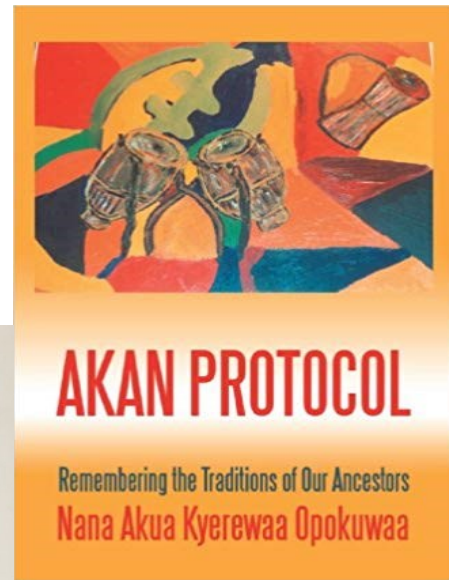
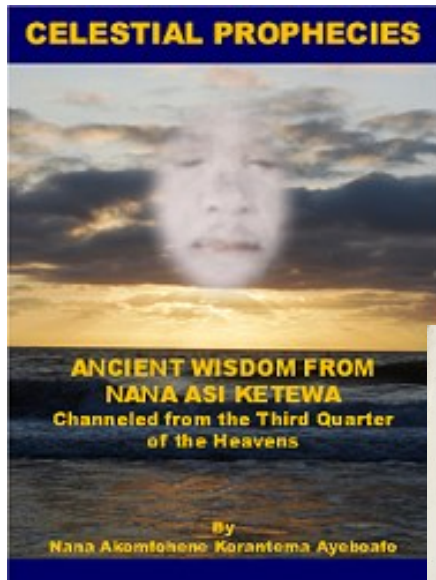
The Vodou Haitian *Peristyle* in Philadelphia was organized in 1981 by Gro Mambo Angela Novanyon Idizo. She made her first trip to Haiti in 1978 and another in 1981 to become a Mambo and subsequently opened her *hounfort* (spiritual house) in Philadelphia. In 1983 — after further initiations and training in Haiti — she received the title and position of Gro Mambo (i.e., High Priestess). Her primary *loa* (*abasom*, *orisha*, *Dzemawodzi*, etc.) is Mali Louise, who, like the Yoruba *orisha Oya*, rules over the grave-yard. Mambo is respected as a powerful and knowledgeable priest with a large following who is working tirelessly to unify African-based priests internationally. It is important to mention that, prior to 1978, Gro Mambo Angela was training to become a priest (*okomfo*) of the Akan-Guan traditions of the great *obosom Asuo-Gyebi*. She was a

member of the *Asona Aberade Asuo Gyebi* shrine in Philadelphia established by Nana *Oparebea of Larteh* of Ghana, West Africa. There are several Vodou houses throughout the United States. There are two unique things about the *Peristyle* in Philadelphia. They are one of the few — outside of the old school African religious and cultural practitioners of the Southern United States — headed by an African American and also one of the few with a predominantly African-American membership. The majority of the Vodou temples have sprung up over the last 20 years as a result of the mass migration of Haitians to the United States. One such temple is the Temple of *Yahweh*, which was founded in Washington, D.C., in 1996 by a Haitian named Max G. Beauvoir. There is a branch in New York City, and the members in both cities travel to Haiti regularly to spend time with their leader, who has returned there. The group advocates a cultural, ancestral, ethical, and moral way of living, which is guided by the *loas* (i.e., the Vodou-Vodou spirits). They see Vodou as the link between the New World Blacks of the West and the Old World Blacks of Africa. There are an estimated 30 to 50 members between Washington, D.C., and New York.

Bantu Religious Traditions

There is a small but growing group of Bantu spiritual practitioners in the Washington, D.C. – Baltimore, Maryland, area. There is presently at least one person in New York who belongs to the Baltimore house. The person most responsible for this being introduced into the Washington, D.C.–Baltimore area is Makosi Zina Dueze-EI. She is a native of South Africa who moved into the abovementioned area in 2003. Soon after moving into

FROM THE MOUTHS AND MINDS OF OUR ELDERS



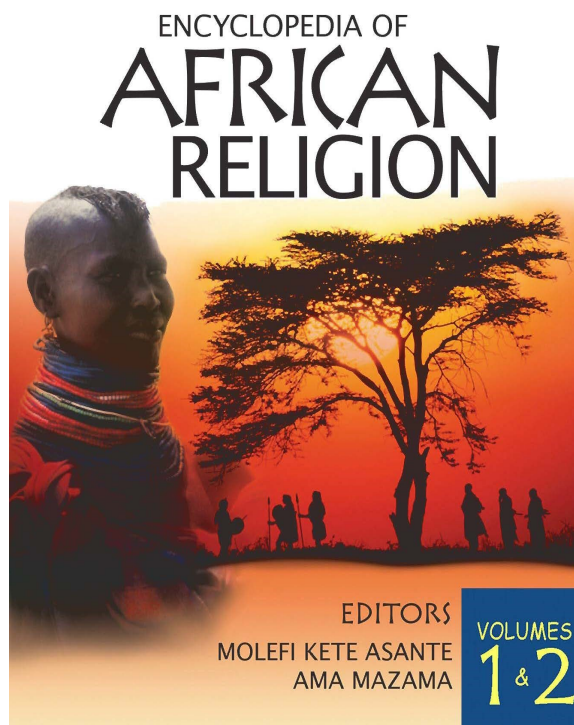
Nyansapo wasne no badwemma

Knots tied by wise men are loosened by wise men

the area, she married Maliku Ali El, an initiated priest and member of the Yoruba Temple of Spiritual Elevations and Enlightenment in Washington, D.C. She introduced the Bantu spiritual path to Nana Korantema Dunyo, an Asuo Gyebi okomfo of the Akan-Guan traditions. In 2005, Nana Korantema went to South Africa and began studying with the Ingoma (medicine person) Gogo Monica. She underwent initiation and is now also an Ingoma. In 2006, she assisted in bringing Baba Shado, a well-known Insangoma (diviner), from South Africa. He stayed in the Washington, D.C.–Baltimore area for approximately 3 months. During his stay, he did the following: He visited with several of the established priests and shrines in the area, lectured on Bantu traditions and spiritual practices, and conducted rituals. This spiritual path is catching the attention of many, including practicing Akans and Yorubas.

The history of the practice of African religion in North America begins with those Africans who brought their culture and spirituality to the New World in the 15th through 19th centuries. Many of the beliefs, practices, and rituals that traveled with them from Africa to America have continued to be practiced by families and communities. These practitioners have passed their knowledge down from generation to generation and are referred to as “old school African religious and cultural practitioners.” In the 1930s, a new, more open wave of interest, elevation, practice, and participation was ushered in by Zora Neale Hurston, Katherine Dunham, Pearl Primus, and others. This new wave has been labeled the “New School African Religious and Cultural Practice.” It was the catalyst and

inspiration for Baba Oseijaman, Nana Dinizulu, and others who followed, from the 1950s to present-day times, to create African-based cultural and religious institutions for African Americans. The movement is growing and looks permanent.



Questions? Comments? Concerns? Feel free to continue this discussion in our Akom Kese group (FB). We look forward to hearing from you.



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Sankofa!

“It is not taboo to ‘Go back and Fetch it!’ ”

Tidbits of Redux about our African histories. – culled and compiled by Brother Bruce

Excerpts from ex-president of Ghana, Kwame Nkrumah’s iconic speech at the inaugural ceremony of the OAU Conference in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia in 1963.

At the first gathering of African Heads of State, to which I had the honour of playing host, there were representatives of eight independent States only. Today, five years later, we meet as the representatives of no less than thirty-two States, the guests of His Imperial Majesty, Haile Selassie, the First, and the Government and people of Ethiopia. To His Imperial Majesty, I wish to express, on behalf of the Government and people of Ghana my deep appreciation for a most cordial welcome and generous hospitality.

The increase in our number in this short space of time is open testimony to the indomitable and irresistible surge of our peoples for independence. It is also a token of the revolutionary speed of world events in the latter half of this century. In the task which is before us of unifying our continent we must fall in with that pace or be left behind. The task cannot be attached in the tempo of any other age than our own. To fall behind the unprecedented momentum of actions and events in our time will be to court failure and our own undoing. A whole continent has imposed a mandate upon us to lay the foundation of our Union at this Conference. It is our responsibility to execute this mandate by creating here and now the formula upon which the requisite superstructure may be erected.

On this continent it has not taken us long to discover that the struggle against colonialism does not end with the attainment of national independence. Independence is only the prelude to a new and more involved struggle for the right to conduct our own economic and social affairs; to construct our society according to our aspirations, unhampered by crushing and humiliating neo-colonialist controls and interference.

As a continent we have emerged into independence in a different age, with imperialism grown stronger, more ruthless and experienced, and more dangerous in its international associations. Our economic advancement demands the end of colonialist and neo-colonialist domination in Africa. In independent Africa we are already re-experiencing the instability and frustration which existed under colonial rule. We are fast learning that political independence is not enough to rid us of the consequences of colonial rule. The movement of the masses of the people of Africa for freedom from that kind of rule was not only a revolt against the conditions which it imposed. Our people supported us in our fight for independence because they believed that African Govern-



ments could cure the ills of the past in a way which could never be accomplished under colonial rule. If, therefore, now that we are independent we allow the same conditions to exist that existed in colonial days, all the resentment which overthrew colonialism will be mobilized against us. The resources are there. It is for us to marshal them in the active service of our people. Unless we do this by our concerted efforts, within the framework of our combined planning, we shall not progress at the tempo demanded by today's events and the mood of our people. The symptoms of our troubles will grow, and the troubles themselves become chronic. It will then be too late even for Pan-African Unity to secure for us stability and tranquility in our labours for a continent of social justice and material well-being. Unless we establish African Unity now, we who are sitting here today shall tomorrow be the victims and martyrs of neo-colonialism. There is evidence on every side that the imperialists have not withdrawn from our affairs. There are times, as in the Congo, when their interference is manifest. But generally it is covered up under the clothing of many agencies, which meddle in our domestic affairs, to foment dissension within our borders and to create an atmosphere of tension and political instability. As long as we do not do away with the root causes of discontent, we lend aid to these neo-colonialist forces, and shall become our own executioners. We cannot ignore the teachings of history.

Our continent is probably the richest in the world for minerals and industrial and agricultural primary materials. From the Congo alone, Western firms exported copper, rubber, cotton, and other goods to the value of 2, 773 billion dollars in the ten years between 1945 and 1955, and from South Africa, Western gold mining companies have drawn a profit, in the four years, between 1947 to 1951, of 814 billion dollars. Our continent certainly exceeds all the others in potential hydroelectric power, which some experts assess as 42 percent of the world's total. What need is there for us to remain hewers for the industrialised areas of the world?

It is said, of course, that we have no capital, no industrial skill, no communications and no internal markets, and that we cannot even agree among ourselves how best to utilise our resources. Yet all the stock exchanges in the world are preoccupied with Africa's gold, diamonds, uranium, platinum, copper and iron ores. Our capital flows out in streams to irrigate the whole system of Western economy. Fifty-two percent of the gold in Fort Knox at this moment, where the U. S. A. stores its bullion, is believed to have originated from our shores. Africa provides more than 60 percent of the world's gold. A great deal of the uranium for nuclear power, of copper for electronics, of titanium for supersonic projectiles, of iron and steel for heavy industries, of other minerals and raw materials for lighter industries – the basic economic might of the foreign Powers – come from our continent. Experts have estimated that the Congo basin alone can produce enough food crops to satisfy the requirements of nearly half the population of the whole world. For centuries Africa has been the milk cow of the Western world. It was our continent that helped the Western world to build up its accumulated wealth.

It is true that we are now throwing off the yoke of colonialism as fast as we can, but our success in this direction is equally matched by an intense effort on the part of imperialism to continue the exploitation of our resources by creating divisions among us. When the colonies of the American Continent sought to free themselves from imperialism in the 18th century there was no threat of neo-colonialism in the sense in which we know it today. The American States were therefore free to form and fashion the unity which was best suited to their needs and to frame a constitution to hold their unity together without any form of interference from external sources. We, however, are having to grapple with outside interventions. How much more, then do we need to come together in the African unity that alone can save us from the clutches of neo-colonialism. We have the resources. It was colonialism in the first place that prevented

Adwuma

Resources

CLASSES / WORKSHOPS

The **Wisdom Wednesday** lecture series aims to draw on the deep well of African history, culture & wisdom in order to engage in Sankofa (the act of remembering what was lost) for the benefit of current and future generations.

We host various presenters on topics related to African history, culture and personal development, and wholistic health. We also host lectures and book signings by various prominent authors. The purpose of Wisdom Wednesdays is to create an environment where participants gain knowledge and insights that will allow them to improve their lives and commit themselves to transforming their communities for the better.

Wisdom Wednesday lectures occur every 3rd Wednesday of the month at the **Thurgood Marshall Building** located at 1816 12th St NW, Washington, DC 20009.

The program is free and open to the public and runs from 7pm to 9pm.

Sep. 18th	Tony Browder	Annual Report on The ASA Restoration Project
Oct. 16th	Friends of the Congo	Break the Silence Week
Nov. 20th	Cerissa "Dayo" O'Neal, Esq.	Keeping It In The Family: Maintaining Intergenerational Ownership of Real Property
Dec. 18th	James Morgan	The Lost Empire - Freemasonry of the Old West

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Introducing of Nana Boama.

Nana Boama, a good friend of Wofa Kwasi, has offered to be the $\text{\textcircled{a}}$ kyerekyerefo $\text{\textcircled{a}}$ for the Akan/Ashanti community in the DMV. Like Wofa, he is very knowledgeable about the language, traditions and practices of our culture. Nana Boama was $\text{\textcircled{a}}$ kyeame to the king of the Akwatia village, the center of the Ghanaian diamond industry, for 20 years. Nana is also Dadehene or a sub-chief, who works closely with the $\text{\textcircled{a}}$ hene. He is the Abusia Panyin, Head of the Oyoko clan in his hometown of Osenase. He has officiated many traditional ceremonies here and in Ghana. His family is the custodian of a Tano shrine. He is lives in Germantown with his wife and 6 children.

us from accumulating the effective capital; but we ourselves have failed to make full use of our power in independence to mobilise our resources for the most effective take-off into thorough going economic and social development. We have been too busy nursing our separate States to understand fully the basic need of our union, rooted in common purpose, common planning and common endeavour. A union that ignores these fundamental necessities will be but a shame. It is only by uniting our productive capacity and the resultant production that we can amass capital. And once we start, the momentum will increase. With capital controlled by our own banks, harnessed to our own true industrial and agricultural development, we shall make our advance. We shall accumulate machinery and establish steel works, iron foundries and factories; we shall link the various States of our continent with communications; we shall astound the world with our hydroelectric power; we shall drain marshes and swamps, clear infested areas, feed the undernourished, and rid our people of parasites and disease. It is within the possibility of science and technology to make even the Sahara bloom into a vast field with verdant vegetation for agricultural and industrial developments. We shall harness the radio, television, giant printing presses to lift our people from the dark recesses of illiteracy.



There is hardly any African State without frontier problem with its adjacent neighbours. It would be futile or me to enumerate them because they are already familiar to us all. But let me suggest to Your Excellences, that this fatal relic of colonialism will drive us to war against one another as our unplanned and uncoordinated industrial development expands, just as happened in Europe. Unless we succeed in arresting the danger through mutual understanding on fundamental issues and through African Unity, which will render existing boundaries obsolete and superfluous, we shall have fought in vain for independence. Only African Unity can heal this festering sore of boundary disputes between our various States. Your Excellencies, the remedy for these ills is ready to our hand. It stares us in the face at every customs barrier, it shouts to us from every African heart. By creating a true political union of all the independent States of Africa, we can tackle hopefully every emergency, every enemy and every complexity. This is not because we are a race of superman, but because we have emerged in the age of science and technology in which poverty, ignorance and disease are no longer the masters, but the retreating foes of mankind. We have emerged in the age of socialized planning, when production and distribution are not governed by chaos, greed and self-interest, but by social needs. Together with the rest of mankind, we have awakened from Utopian dreams to pursue practical blueprints for progress and social justice. Above all, we have emerged at a time when a continental land mass like Africa with its population approaching three hundred million are necessary to the economic capitalization and profitability of modern productive methods and techniques. Not one of

us working singly and individually can successfully attain the fullest development. Certainly, in the circumstances, it will not be possible to give adequate assistance to sister States trying, against the most difficult conditions, to improve their economic and social structures. Only a united Africa functioning under a Union Government can forcefully mobilize the material and moral resources of our separate countries and apply them efficiently and energetically to bring a rapid change in the conditions of our people. If we do not approach the problems in Africa with a common front and a common purpose, we shall be haggling and wrangling among ourselves until we are colonized again and become the tolls of a far greater colonialism than we suffered hitherto. Instead, many Independent African States are involved by military pacts with the former colonial powers. The stability and security which such devices seek to establish are illusory, for the metropolitan Powers seize the opportunity to support their neo-colonialist controls by direct military involvement. We have seen how the neo-colonialists use their bases to entrench themselves and attack neighbouring independent States. Such bases are centers of tension and potential danger spots of military conflict. They threaten the security not only of the country in which they are situated but of neighbouring countries as well. How can we hope to make Africa a nuclear-free zone and independent of cold war pressure with such military involvement on our continent? Only by counter-balancing a common defense force with a common defense policy based upon our desire for an Africa untrammelled by foreign dictation or military and

nuclear presence. This will require an all-embracing African High Command, especially if the military acts with the imperialists are to be renounced. It is the only way we can break these direct links between the colonialism of the past and the neo-colonialism which disrupts us today.

We do not want nor do we visualize an African High Command in the terms of the power politics that now rule a great part of the world, but as an essential and indispensable instrument for ensuring stability and security in Africa. We need a unified economic planning for Africa. Until the economic power of Africa is in our hands, the masses can have no real concern and no real interest for safeguarding our security, for ensuring the stability of our regimes, and for bending their strength to the fulfilment of our ends. With our united resources, energies and talents we have the means, as soon as we show the will, to transform the economic structures of our individual States from poverty to that of wealth, from, inequality to the satisfaction of popular needs. Only on a continental basis shall we be able to plan the proper utilization of all our resources for the full development of our continent. How else will we retain our own capital for our development? How else will we establish an internal market for our own industries? By belonging to different economic zones, how will we break down the currency and trading barriers between African States, and how will the economically stronger amongst us be able to assist the weaker and less developed States?

It is important to remember that independent financing and independent development cannot take place without an independent currency. A currency system that is backed by the resources of a foreign State is ipso facto subject to the trade and financial arrangements of that foreign



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country.

When the first Congress of the United States met many years ago at Philadelphia, one of the



delegates sounded the first chore of unity by declaring that they had met in a “state of nature” in other words, they were not at Philadelphia as Virginians, or Pennsylvanians, but simply as Americans. This reference to themselves as Americans was in those days a new and strange experience. May I dare to assert equally on this occasion, Your Excellences that we meet here today not as Ghanaians, Guineans, Egyptians, Nigerians, Moroccans, Malians, Liberians, Congolese or Nigerians but as

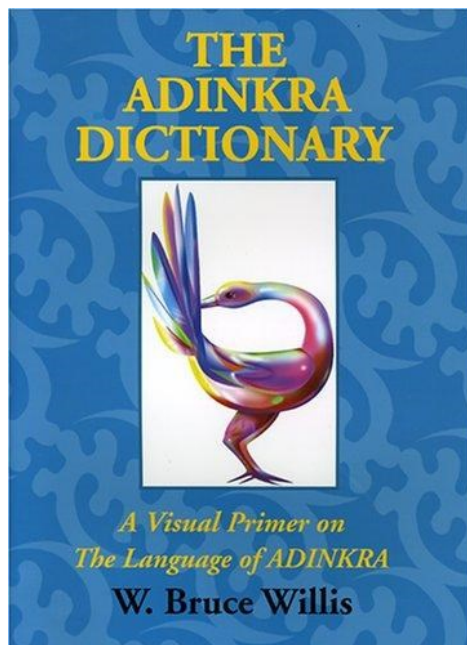
Africans. Africans united in our resolve to remain here until we have agreed on the basic principles of a new compact of unity among ourselves which guarantees for us and future a new arrangement of continental government. If we succeed in establishing a new set of principles as the basis of a new Charter or Statute for the establishment of a Continental Unity of Africa and the creation of social and political progress for our people then, in my view, this Conference should mark the end of our various groupings and regional blocs. But if we fail and let this grand and historic opportunity slip by then we should give way to greater dissension and division among us for which the people of Africa will never forgive us. And the popular and progressive forces and movements within Africa will condemn us. I am sure therefore that we should not fail them.

I have spoken at some length, Your Excellences, because it is necessary for us all to explain not only to one another present here but also to our people who have entrusted to us the fate and destiny of Africa. We must therefore not leave this place until we have set up effective machinery for achieving African Unity. . . .

Only a united Africa with central political direction can successfully give effective material and moral support to our Freedom Fighters in Southern Rhodesia, Angola, Mozambique, South-West Africa, Bechuanaland, Swaziland, Basutoland, Portuguese Guinea, etc., and of course South Africa.”

. . . our (Ghana’s) independence is meaningless unless it is linked up with the total liberation of Africa. Ghana was the first country in sub-Saharan Africa to gain independence post-colonialism.

Ghana became an independent state on March 6, 1957.



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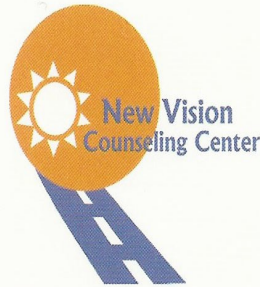
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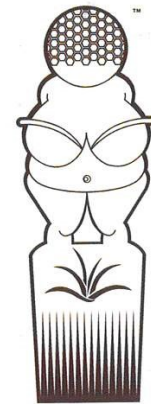
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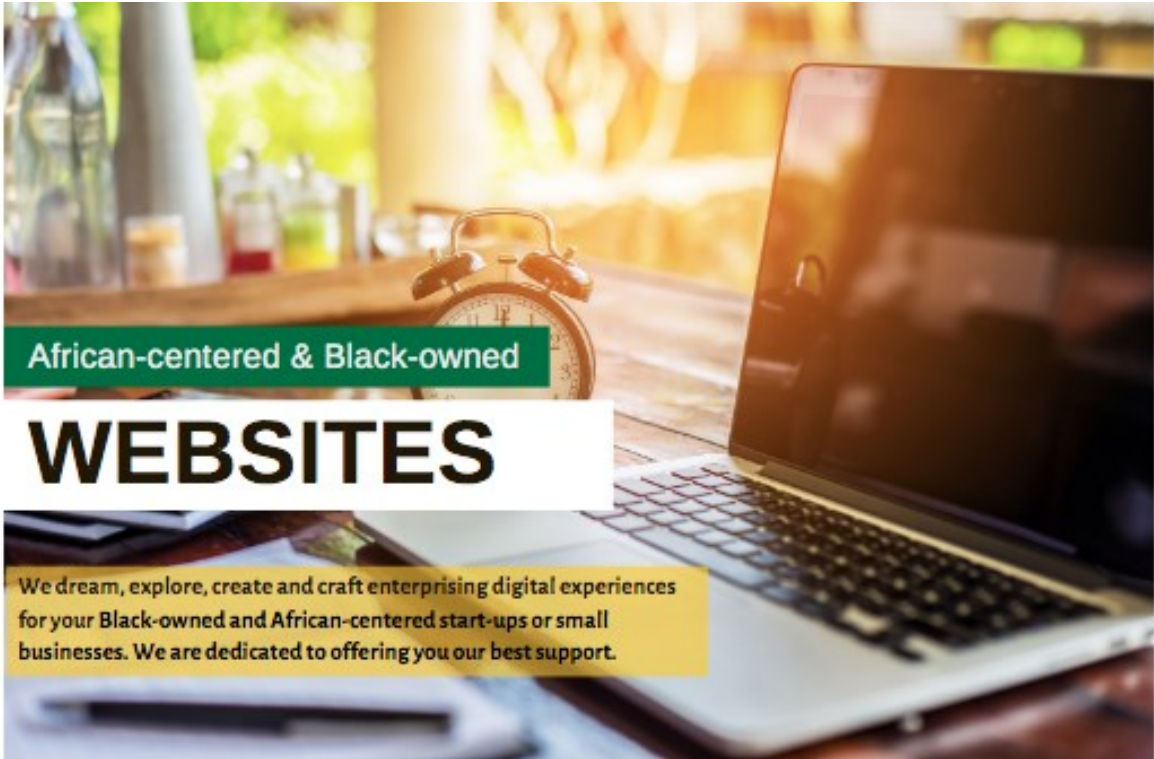
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