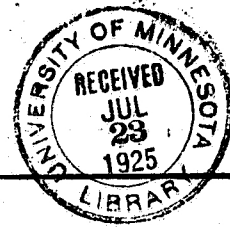


LET'S PUT IT OVER



The Indispensable Weekly
The Voice of the Awakened Negro

THE Negro World

Reaching the Mass of Negroes
The Best Advertising Medium

A Newspaper Devoted Solely to the Interests of the Negro Race

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BANISH VAIN DESIRES OF BECOMING PRESIDENTS OF FRANCE AND AMERICA; AIM AT THE POSSIBLE IN AFRICA

Fellow Men of the Negro Race, Greeting:

This week I propose to continue my talk to you on the necessity of getting a sane and settled outlook if we are to establish ourselves in the world and make an independent contribution to civilization.

The Negro is not happy; but, to the contrary, is extremely miserable. He is miserable because the world is closing fast around him, and if he does not strike out now for his own preservation it is only a question of a few more decades when he will be completely outdone in a world of strenuous competition for a place among the fittest of God's creation.

The Negro is dying out, and he is going to die faster and more rapidly in the next fifty years than he has in the past three hundred years. There is only one thing to save the Negro, and that is an immediate realization of his own responsibilities. Unfortunately, we are the most careless and indifferent people in the world! We are shiftless and irresponsible, and that is why we find ourselves the wards of an inherited materialism that has lost its soul and its conscience.

Building on Sand

You talk about the progress we have made in America and elsewhere among the people of our acquaintance. But what progress is it? A progress that can be snatched away from you in forty-eight hours, because it has been built upon sand.

Can you blame the white man for thinking when red and yellow men are knocking at his door? Can you blame the tiger for being on the defensive when the lion approaches? And thus we find that generations ago, where the Negro was not given a thought as a world competitor, he is now regarded as an encumbrance in a civilization to which he has materially contributed little. Men do not build for others; they build for themselves. The age and our religion demand it. What are you going to expect—that white men are going to build up in America and elsewhere and hand it over to us? If we are expecting that, we are crazy, we have lost our reason.

Misguided by the Unscrupulous

The laws of self-preservation force every human group to look after itself and protect its own interest, hence so long as the American white man or any other white man, for that matter, realizes his responsibility, he is bound to struggle to protect that which is his and his own, and I feel that the Negro today who has been led by the unscrupulous of our race has

IT IS FOOLISH TO BELIEVE A DESPISED NEGRO MINORITY WILL BE ALLOWED TO RULE A PROUD WHITE MAJORITY

WOULD-BE NEGRO LEADERS WHO BELIEVE OTHERWISE ARE DECEIVERS

ALL MEN BUILD FOR THEMSELVES, AND THE NEGRO MUST MAKE UP HIS MIND TO BUILD FOR HIMSELF IN AFRICA

U. N. I. A. WILL SPEAK THE TRUTH, COST WHAT IT MAY

been grossly misguided in the direction of expecting too much from the civilization of others. No camouflage and no promise of goodwill will solve the problem. What guarantee have we, what lease have we on the future that the man who treats us kindly today will perpetuate it through his son or his grandson tomorrow?

Ability to Protect Self

Races and peoples are only safeguarded when they are strong enough to protect themselves, and that is why we appeal to the four hundred million Negroes of the world to come together for self-protection and self-preservation. We do not want what belongs to the great white race or the yellow race. We want only those things that belong to the black race. Africa is ours. To win Africa we will give up America; we will give up our claim in all other parts of the world; but we must have Africa. We will give up the vain desire of having a seat in the White House of America, of having a seat in the House of Lords in England, of being President of France for the chance and opportunity of filling these positions in a country of our own.

That is how the Universal Negro Improvement Association differs from other organizations. Other organizations, especially in America, are fighting for a political equality which they will never get, and never win, in the face of a majority opposition. We win so much today and lose so much tomorrow. We will lose our political strength in the North in another few years, as we lost it in the South during reconstruction. We fill one position today, but lose two tomorrow, and so we drift on and on until we have been completely obliterated from Western civilization.

Changes Among Negroes

You may ask me what good has the Universal Negro Improvement Association done, what it has accomplished within the last six years? We will point to you the great changes that have taken place in Africa, the West Indies and America. In the West Indies black men have been elevated to high positions, by the British Government so as to offset and counteract the sweeping influence of the Universal Negro Improvement Association. Several of the colonies have been given larger constitutional rights. In Africa the entire West Coast has been benefited. Self-government has been given to several of the African colonies, and native Africans have been elevated to higher positions, so as to offset the sweeping spirit of the Universal

Negro Improvement Association throughout the Continent of Africa. In America several of our men have been given prominent positions; Negro commissions have been appointed to attend to affairs of state; Negro Consuls have also been appointed. Things that happened in America within the last six years to advance the political status, the social and industrial status of the Negro were never experienced before. All that is traceable to the Universal Negro Improvement Association within the last six years.

Negro Thought Better Of Today

In the great game of politics you do not see the immediate results at your door, but those who are observant will be able to trace the good that is being done from the many directions whence it comes. If you were to take a survey of the whole world today of Negroes you will find that we are more highly thought of in 1925 than we were in 1914. England, France and the European and Colonial powers regard the Universal Negro Improvement Association with a certain amount of suspicion because they believe that we are antagonistic. But we are not. We are not antagonistic to France, to England or Italy, nor any of the white powers in Europe. We are only demanding a square deal for our race.

Let Us Be Fair

As we deliberate in our local conventions on the many problems confronting us during the month of August, let us not lose control of ourselves; let us not forget that we are the mouthpiece of four hundred millions; let us not forget that it is our duty to so act as to help humanity everywhere, whether it be black or white. So, let no prejudice cause us to say or do anything against the interest of the white man or the yellow man; let us realize that the white man has the right to live, the yellow man has the right to live, and all that we desire to do is to impress them with the fact that we also have the right to live.

The Cry from the Cane Fields

My firm purpose, my one purpose in life, is to work for the salvation of my race. Because of the cries from the grave—I hear the cry of 300 years, the cry of my great-grandparents in the cotton and cane fields; I see the hard taskmaster drawing his lash across their backs; I hear them cry out in mortal agony: "It pains; it pains; it pains!" I see them fall under the lash; I see them fall to the ground; I see them buried, and I hear the wailing souls from heaven and from the regions below. I hear the cry of my mother and father and of the millions of Negroes who have been brutalized: "Go on, Garvey! Go on! Go on!" And so, fellow men, because of that cry that comes from the grave I have given up all material desires; I have given up all temporal pleasures and have dedicated myself to the sacred principles of the U. N. I. A., the emancipation of the Negro race and a free and redeemed Africa.

Liberty or Death!

It may not come today; it may not come tomorrow; it may not come for five, ten, twenty or fifty years from now. But sooner or later it will come to those who desire liberty. With the rest of the members of the U. N. I. A., I repeat the historic words of Patrick Henry: "I care not what others may say, but as for me, give me liberty or give me death." And because we of the Universal Negro Improvement Association want the Negro to live that is why we are preparing him for nationhood in Africa so that he can stand firm in his creation that God Almighty has given us and enjoy its beauties and its benefits co-equal with the rest of God's people.

I have the honor to be,

Your obedient servant,
MARCUS GARVEY,

Founder and President-General,
Universal Negro Improvement Association.

