

**Mustafa Kemal, Speech to the Congress of the People's Republican Party**  
(a very small excerpt from a six-day speech delivered 15-20 October 1927)

Now, Gentlemen, I will ask you what decision could have been arrived at under such circumstances for salvation?

As I have already explained, there were three propositions that had been put forward:

1. To demand protection from England ;
2. To accept the United States of America as a mandatory Power .

The originators of these two proposals had as their aim the preservation of the Ottoman Empire in its complete integrity and preferred to place it as a whole under the protection of a single Power, rather than allow it to be divided among several States.

3. The third proposal was to deliver the country by allowing each district to act in its own way and according to its own capability . Thus, for instance, certain districts, in opposition to the theory of separation, endeavoured to remain an integral part of the Empire. Others holding a different opinion already appeared to regard the dismemberment of the Empire as an accomplished fact and sought only their own safety.

My above explanations are inclusive of the leading motives of these three kinds of propositions.

I did not think any of these three proposals could be accepted as sagacious, because the arguments and considerations on which they were based were groundless. In reality, the foundations of the Ottoman Empire were themselves shattered at that time. Its existence was threatened with extermination. All the Ottoman districts were practically dismembered. Only the fatherland, affording protection to a mere handful of Turks, still remained, and it was now suggested also to divide this. Such expressions as: the Ottoman Empire, Independence, Padiisah-Caliph, Government - all of them were mere meaningless words.

Whose existence was it essential to save? And with whose help? And how? Therefore, what could be a serious and correct resolution? In these circumstances, one resolution alone was possible, namely, to create a New Turkish State, the sovereignty and independence of which would be unreservedly recognised.

This was the resolution we adopted before we left Istanbul and which we began to put into execution immediately after we set foot on Anadolu soil at Samsun. These were the most logical and most powerful arguments in support of this resolution:

The foundational principle is that the Turkish nation should live in honour and dignity. Such a condition can only be attained by complete independence. No matter how wealthy and prosperous a nation is, if it is deprived of its independence it no longer deserves to be regarded otherwise than as a slave in the eyes of civilised world.

To accept the protectorate of a foreign Power is to admit lack of all human qualities, weakness and incapacity. It is not at all thinkable that those who have never been in such a humiliating state will appoint a foreign master out of their own desire.