

მოთა ვალეკორია

**საპატია რასეტთან
საერთოებოს
დამარცხების ზოგიერთი
ფაქტორის
დაზესტებისათვის**

(1921 წლის თებერვალ- მარტი)

ivj avaxi Svi l is saxel obis istoriisa da eTnol ogi is
instituti

SoTa vadaWkoria

sabWoTa ruseTTan
saqarTvel os damarcxebi s
zogi erTi faqtoris
dazustebi saTvis

(1921 wl is Teberval - marti)

naSromSi dokumentur masal aze dayrdnobiT gaanal izebul ia: 1)waj eq- ukuj eqis is politikuri kursi, romel ic dasavl eT evropis saxel mwifoebma saqarTvel osTan mimarTebaSi 1919 wl is gazafxul idan 1921 wl is martamde gamoicina (iaraRis, amunicisi, sursatlis drouli ad armiyida, ful is arsesxeba); 2)naCvenebia, rom am qmedebiT, evropis saxel mwifoebma, qarTul i jaris gadai aRebas da sabrZol o masal iT (rusul i vaznebi, zarbaznis Wurvebi) momaragebas SeuSal a xel i. 3)saarqivo masal ebze dayrdnobiT wi na pl anzea wamoweul i 1921 wl is Teberval _ martis sabrZol o moqmedebebTan dkavSi rebul i umni Synel ovanesi momentebi. dasabuTebul ia, rom saqarTvel os SeiaraRebul i Zal ebi, XI armias kustarul ad datenil i rusul i vaznebiT Sexvda. safuzvl ianadaa gaanal izebul i is taqtikuri Secdomebi, romel ic saqarTvel os SeiaraRebul i Zal ebis sardl obis mier iqna daSvebul i da mterTan generluri brZol is gamarTvis xel Semsi eli i faqtori gaxda. Sesabamis dokumentur masal aze dayrdnobiT, gamotqmuli a mosazreba, rom baTumis okrugSi osmal eTis saokupacioj aris Sesvl a, saqarTvel os kanonieri xel isufi ebis `mipatiJe- biT- ki ara, ruseT- osmal eTis winasvari garigebiT ganxorciel da da mas `maraTonul rbenaze- dafuznebul i daswrebis kursi edo safuzvl ad.

redaqtori oTar janeli Ze
istoriis mecnierebaTa doqtori, profesori

recenzenti nato sonrul aSvi i
istoriis doqtori, profesori

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Sesaval i

saqarTvel os uaxl esi istoriis erT- erT umni Snel ovanes monakveTs 1918- 1921 wl ebi warmoadgens. am mcire periodis gansakuTrebul i adgil i imiT aris ganpi robebul i, rom igi ruseTiS kol oniuri uRI i sgan qarTvel Ta TavdaRwevas da Cvens si namdviL eSi pirvel i demokratiul i respubl ikis Seqmnas ukavSi rdeba. vi nc safuZvl i anad i cnobs am probl ematikisadmi mi ZRvnil uaxl es samecniero i literaturas, udaod dameTanxmeba, rom saqarTvel os pirvel i respubl ika, mefis ruseTiS mier ekonomikurad dacemul, finansurad gaZar c-vul da samxreT kavkasi i s regoniS garSemo mi mdi nare pol i-tikurad umZimesi procesebiS epi centrSi aRmocenda. vi sac saxel mwifos mSenebl obisa da qveyniS Tavdacvi Ti meqani z-miS SeqmnisTviS saWi ro finansuri da ekonomikuri Sesazi e-bl obebiS mni Snel oba srul fasovnad aqvs gacnobierebul i, miS wi naSe bunebrividai smeba ki Txva_ rogor iarseba 1028 dRiS ganmavl obaSi qarTul ma saxel mwifom?... mi Tumetes, dRevandel i gadasaxedi dan, saqarTvel os mesame respubl ikis mTavrobebs, ucxo saxel mwifoebi aTeul obiT mil iardis daxmarebas azI evdnen da azI even. mi uxedadavd ami sa, qveyniS ekonomika, nul ovani ni Snul i dan, saSual o donis mimarTul ebiT erTi safexuriT wi n ver wagvi wevia, xol o saxel mwifos srul fasovnad damcavi da teritoriul i mTI i anobiS aRmdgeni cocxal i meqani zmi, 2015 wel sac ver Segvi qmnia. tendenci urad dweril i sabWouri i literaturis da saqarTvel os pirvel i respubl ikis xel i sufl ebis wevrebze ganawyenebul i pirovnebebiS mier tyuil ebiT damZimebul i, simarTI i dan zarbaznis erTi gasrol iT dacil ebul i memuarul i i literaturis tyveobaSi moqceul zogierT Cems kol egas, an ki dev, istoriul mecnierebaSi ucxo saxel mwifota dakveTiT Semoxi znul adami anebs Segnebul ad ar surs im udi desi sirTul eebis gacnobiereba, romel ic axl ad aRmocenebul i saxel mwifos xvedria. mi Tumetes, Tuki ucxo qveynebi dan finansuri daxmareba ar eqneba. Tu ramdenad did sirTul eebTanaa dakavSi-rebul i saxel mwifos aRmSenebl obiS procesi, amiS saukeTe-so ni muSs dRevandel i saqarTvel os yofa warmoadgens. `donori organi zaci ebi dan- N raodenobiS daxmarebiS mi uxedadavd, dRevandel i saqarTvel o ekonomikurad dacemul i a da

teritoriul ad daçexi I mdgomareobaSia am mZime procesebs, afxazeTi dan da Si da qarTI is mTiani zoni dan_ `samxreT oseTi dan~ 400 aTasi devnili i emateba. am fonze Tuki SevafasebT saqarTvel os pirvel i respUBL iki s mTavrobiS saqmi anobas, i gi I anZRva- ginebas ki ara, qebaTa- qebas imsaxurebs. mxedvel obaSi maqvs; 1)sabWoTa ruseTiS mier waqzebul i da maRaL doneze dafinansebul i separatistebis safuZvl - i anad al agmva; 2)afxazeTsa da Si da qarTI is mTian zona- Si qarTvel Ta interesebis Rirseul ad dacva, mama- papeul samkvi drebel ze damagreba da devnili ebad arqceva; 3)saer- TaSoRiso arenaze qarTvel Ta RirsebiS maRaL doneze dacva (mar to kol bis antiqarTul i notisadmi pasuxi c sakmari- si a); 4)evropi sgan Sepirebul i daxmarebiS armi RebiS mi uxeadavat, mezobel i qveynebiS gan (ruseTi, azerbaijan, somxe- Ti) 1918- 1920 wl ebis agresiul i qmedebebis Rirseul ad mogerieba; 5)saqarTvel os teritoriis mis istoriul sazRvreb- Si ZiriTadad aRdgena; 6)qveyniS ekonomi ki s sabWoTa ruseTze, azerbaijanze da somxeTze aTgzis ukeTes mdgomareobaSi Cayeneba...

am CamonaTval is fonze, saqarTvel os pirvel i respUBL iki s mTavrobiS biol ogi urad moZul e adami anebis wi naSe vsvam ki Txvas: 1)ucxo saxel mwi foebi dan daxmarebiS gareSe, romel i pol itikuri Zal a SeZl ebda qveyniS SigniT refor- mebiS ukeTesaD gatarebas, rac saqarTvel os social - demokratiiul i partiis I iderebma SeZl es 1028 dRiS ganmav- l obaSi? 2)ratom i viwyeben, qarTvel Ta yvel aze kritikul momentSi, erovnul - demokratiiul i partiis I iderebma qve- yniS wi naSe pasuxi smgebl obas Tavi rom aari da saqarTve- l os pirvel i respUBL iki s koaliciur mTavrobaSi Sesvi - aze uari ganacxada? maT msgavsaD qarTvel i social - demokratebi (menSevi kebi) rom moqceul iyvnen, qveyanas ruseTiS kounisturi partiis (b) wevri qarTvel i renegatebi daepa- troneboda da saqarTvel os damouki debi obi s saki TxS wer- till i maSi nve daesmeboda; 3)evropiS qveynebiS pol itikur moRvaweebTan urTierTobiS dasamyarebl ad, saxel mwi foeb- rivad arari arebul saqarTvel oSi, romel i pol itikuri pa- rtiebis I iderebs gaaçnda im donis avtoriteti da dafa- seba, rac karl o CxeiZes, irakl i wereTel s, evgeni gegeWkors, akaki Cxenkel s... qonda evropaSi?; 4)ingl i si sa da safrange-

Tis premier ministrebTan da sagareo saqmeTa ministrebT-an, romel i pol i tiki partiebis i iderebi SeZI ebda ukeT urTierTobas? ai, is el ementarul i ki Txvebi, romel sac saRad moazrovne istorikosebma, i literaturaTmcodneebma, Jurnal istebma... dasabuTebul i pasuxi unda gasces. mxol od amis Semdeg mi ecema zneobrivi ufl eba, il aparakos saqarTvel os pirvel i respubl iki s mTavrobi s Secdomebze. samwuxarod, maTi i eqsikis arsenal Si si tyva mi Rweva ar arsebobs. yovel SemTxvevaSi, 1918- 1921 wl ebi s xel i sufl ebi s mimarT- mi Rwevas arsad ar iyeneben. afeti Seben mxol od i pol i tiku Zal as, romel mac, rogorc zemoTac mqonda aRni S-nul i, saqarTvel os pirvel i respubl iki s saxel mwifos mSenebl obi s sarzikvel ze, Tavi si wi l i aguris dadebaze da misi daSenebi s xarisxis pasuxismgebl obaze uari oficial - urad ganacxada.

am sinamdvil i s gaTval i swineba nebi smieri saRad moazrovne istorikosi saTvis auci l ebel ia. Cemi aseTi pozici i s mi uxeadavat, savsebi T i ogikurad da mi zanSewoni l ad mi maCni a saqarTvel os pirvel i respubl iki s mTavrobi s zogierTi wevrebis mxri dan daSvebul i Secdomebi s aRni Svna da misi ganmapirobobel i mizezebi s dasabuTebul i formiT wi na pl anze wamoweva.

Cemi kol egebis garkveul i j gufis mier, saqarTvel os pirvel i respubl iki s mTavrobi s augad moi xseni ebi s erT- erT ganmapirobobel mizezad, sabWoTa ruseTTan 1921 wl i s Teberval - marti s saomari moqmedebebis wagebaa dasaxel ebul i. maT Zi ri Tad arguments, saqarTvel os garSemo warmoqmnii i rusul i safiTxi s ignorireba, reagirebis droul ad vergakeTeba, qarTul i jaris saWi roebi samebr ar, an ver Seiar-aRebaa mi Cneul i. tendenciuri xasi aTis memuarul i literaturaze dayrdnobi T, es adami anebi iseT fons qmni an, saqarTvel os pirvel i respubl iki s pol i tiki el ita Ti Tqos mxarTezoze iyo wamowol il i da saRaTas Zi l iT gaTangul i. qveni s wi naSe aisi bergi s msgavsad wamomarTul da daZrul safiTxes ver, an ar acnobierebda. Tu ramdenad marTebul ia am mimarTul ebi T maTi mxri dan saqarTvel os pirvel i respubl iki s mTavrobi s dadanaSaul eba da usistemod yvel a brunvaSi moxseni eba, saarqi vo dokumentebze dayrdnobi T daweril i am naSr omis bol omde waki Txvi s Semdeg, saRad mo-

azrovne mki Txvel ma Tavadve gansaj os.

Cems mier gakeTebul i es gancxadeba ar exeba grigol oni-anis msgavs adami anebs, radgan maTTvis arqivi da saarqivo dokumenturi masal a pirvel wyaros ki ara, zedmet danamats warmoadgens. i sini mxol od tendenci urad Seqmni l i memuaru-l i literaturi T `ikvebebi an- da masze dayrdnobi T cdil - oben gaafeti Son saqarTvel os pirvel i respubl iki s damouki debi obi s dauZinebel i mtrebi (i.stal ini, s.orj oni ki Ze, S.el i ava, f.maxaraZe...). saqarTvel os pirvel i respubl iki s damouki debi obi sadmi maTi siZul vil is warmoCenis srul - fasovan dokumentad, i.stal inis mier s.orj oni ki Zi sadmi 1921 wl is 15 Teberval s gagzavnil i sayovel Taod cnobi l i depe-Sis teqsti gamodgeba, romel sac gr.oniani mki Txvel sazogadoebas sagangebod umal avs. **`axl a gadmogcem cekas daS-i frul pasuxs, -vki Txul obT dokumentSi- agreTve wi nadadebas gaZl ev exl ave Seutio, dasturia, ai Re qal aqi ~ (stal i-ni.)** gr.oniani s gansakuTrebul i tendenci uroba i maSi ac vl indeba, rom misi `mtki cebi T,~ sabWoTa ruseTis dampyrobl uri pol i tiki s saqarTvel os wi naaRmdeg amoqmedebi s danaSaul e-brivi mi zezTa- mizezi, Turme saqarTvel os pirvel i respubl iki s mTavroba yofil a.

am tyuil is simarTI ed gasaRebis mi zni T, cnobi l i istorikosis z.aval i Svil is mogonebebis Sesaval nawil s i Sve- l iebs da Sesabamisi ci tatac moaqvs. mis mier motanil i amonaweris mixedvi T, saqarTvel os sazRvrebtan mdgomi `angel ozad- qmnii l i sabWoTa ruseTis XI armi s nawil ebTan si tuaci s garTul ebaSi da saomari moqmedebebis dawyebaSi, Turme saqarTvel os pirvel i respubl iki s xel i sufl eba yofil a damnaSave. iqve, saqarTvel os mTavrobi sadmi umka-cresi sayveduria gamoTqmuli i imasTan dakavSi rebi T, rom man, qveyni s Tavdavci s el ementarul i pirobebis Seqmnaze ar i zruna da sabWoTa ruseTis I aSqars `Seiararebul i xal xi- ki ara, `partiul i bel adebis j gufi... da maTTan erTad er-Tgul i miuridebis mcire razmi ~ daaxvedra. z.aval i Svil is es pozicia, XI armi s wi naaRmdeg mebrZol i qarTvel i gmi re-bis Seuracmyofel ia, istoriis fal sif kaci s Sesani Snavi ni muSia da saqarTvel os pirvel i respubl iki s xel i sufl ebi s admi usafuZvl o cil i swamebi Taa datvirTul i. aseTi fo-nis Seqmni dan gamodinare, 1917- 1921 wl ebi s istoriis prob-

I emati kas Tan mimar TebaSi arsebul i saarqivo dokumentebis si Rrmi seul ad mcodne yvel a obieqturi mkvl evaris wi naSe principul ad ismeba ki Txva: ra mi zezebma ganapi roba zaval i-Svil is im doneze ganawyeneba, rom mis mier daweril mogonebebSi, saqar Tvel os mTavrobi saqmi anobi Sefasebebi, Cveni qveyni s okupaciisa da aneqsiis erT- erTi Semoqmedis_ Sal -va el iavas mosawoni rom gamxdariyo? am saki Txze pasuxis gacemi s mi zni T, harvardis universitetisa da I evil is unikal ur saarqivo masal ebSi dadasturebul i uamravi faqtebi dan, mxol od erT maTganze SevaCereb mki Txvel is yuradRebas. saqme exeba saqar Tvel os war momadgenl obis mier dasavl eT evropis qveynebSi iaraRis, amunicisi, sursaTis da a.S. SeZenis mi zni T, saqar Tvel os sagangebo del egaciis Tavdadebul da titanur Sromas, romel Si ac zaval i-Svil ic aqtiurad monawi l eobda. i gi ve dokumentebi, saqar Tvel os mTavrobi sadmi misi ganawyenebi sa da tendenci ur obis Sesazi o ganapi robebel mi zezebzedac mi ani Snebs. mxedvel obaSi maqvs parizSi myofi saqar Tvel os sazavo del egaciis (di pl omatiuri, ekonomikuri, samxedro) gaer Ti anebul sxdomebze (1920 wl is 18, 29 mai si, 2, 8 i vni si) kCxei Zi s, kkandel aki s, kgvarj al aZi s iv.gobeCi as, d.RambaSi Zi s, gen. il .odi Sel i Zi s, gen. al .eri sTavi s... mxri dan gamoTqmul i is gamanadgurebel i kritika, romel ic somxebTan er Tad iaraRis SeZenastan dakavSi rebi T, zaval i-Svil is mier I ondonSi Tvi Tneburad xel mowerril i xel Sekrul ebi s mimarT iqna dafiqsirebul i. am faqtis Sesaxeb, dwrril ebi T naSromis pirvel paragrafSi meqneba saubari.

zemoaRni Snul i dan da saarqivo dokumentebi T dadasturebul i sxva faqtebis gaTval i swi nebi dan gamodinare, zaval i-Svil is mogonebebis ukritikod da saarqivo masal ebTan Sedarebis gareSe mi Reba yovl ad dauSvebel ia. mi Tumetes, obieqturi mkvl evaris gan pi rvel rigSi a gasaTval i swi nebel i, rom es mogonebebi, sabWoTa xel isufi ebi sTvi s aRmoCnda mi saRebi. i gi Targmna, wi nasi tyvaoba daur To da gamosacemad moamzada Sal va el iavam. i mave mTargmnel is (Sel iava) mier iqna 1929 wel s dabeWdil i. wi gni A 4 formatis mocl obisaa da 250 gverds Seicavs.

Cems mier motani l i faqtebi, b.n. gr.oni ani sTvi s meaTased xarisxovania, Torem mis wi naSe pirvel rigSi dai smeboda ki Txva: ratom daar Rvia sabWoTa ruseTma 1920 wl is 7 mai-

sis xel Sekrul eba da ra esaqmeboda XI armias saqar Tvel o-Si. I ogikuri azrovnebis kategoriaSi moqceul am ki Txvas, man gverdi Segnebul ad auara. saqar Tvel os pirvel i respublikis istoriis fal sifakac iT da sinamdvil is Tavdayira dayenebi T damZimebul i Sefasebebi SesTavaza mki Txvel saogadoebas. Tavisi `mignebebi Ta~ da `mecnieriul i mi Rwevebit- gaTamamebul i, istoriul i sinamdvil is zRvars maqsimail urad acda da 1918- 1921 wl ebis monakveTis Semswavl el i qar Tvel i istorikosebis misamarTiT cil ismwamebl uri sibinzure isrol a da Tanac urcxvad ganacxada: `sircxvil ia, rodesac istorikosi dol aris safasurad istorias ayal b-ebs da Savs TeTrad warmoaCens.- (gr.oniani. stal ini da menSevi kuri mTavroba. ix. gaz. `saqar Tvel o da msofi io- 2015 w. #21) marTI ac da sircxvil ia, roca istoriul mecnierebaSi Semoxi znul i da 1918- 1921 wl ebis unikal uri saarqivo masal ebis kl asikuri donis ucodinari pirovneba, saqar Tvel os pirvel i respublikis uaRresad rTl i istoriis problematikis kvl evaze da Sefasebaze pretenzias rom acxadebs. aTgjis sircxvil ad unda Cai Tval os is faqt, roca saqar Tvel os teritoris danakuwebis bral debis sibinZres, gr.oniani saqar Tvel os pirvel i respublikis mTavrobas mZivebi vi T kiserze rom ki debs. saubedurod, istoriul i faqtebis amneziaqmnili s ar axsendeba: a)sabWoTa ruseTsa da osmal eTs Soris moskovSi xel moweril i (1921 wl is 16 marti) xel Sekrul eba da saqar Tvel os samxreT- dasavl eTis teritoriebis gasxvi seba; b)am danaSaul ebrivi qmedebisTvis samarTI ebrivi saxis micemis mi zni T, 1921 wl is 13 oqtombers yarsSi xel moweril i xel Sekrul eba da saqar Tvel os central uri aRmasrul ebel i komitetis sagangebo sesiaze (1922 wl is 14 april i) misi ratifikacia; g)Segnebul ad i viwyeb 1921_ 1936 wl ebSi, i oseb stal inisa da sergo orj oniki Zi s mi er, saqar Tvel os teritoriebiT mezobel i respublikebis dasaCuqrебis faqtebs. (ix. ruka # 1 da # 2). b.n. gr.onians unda Sevaxseno, rom istoriul i mecniereba, dil etantebis `saj il dao qvasar warmoadgens da igi memuarul i literaturiT ki ara, saarqivo dokumenturi masal ebis si Rrmiseul i anal izis safuzvel ze i wereba. sabednierod, es masal ebi yvel a mkvl evari-sTvisaa xel misawvdomi da gr.oniani msgavsi adami anebis `Sexedul ebebis~ sawi naaRmdegos RaRadeben.

\$ 1. evropi sgan mi zanmi marTul ad motyuebul i saqarTvel os pirvel i respublika

saqarTvel os pirvel i respublika is istoriis erT- erT umni Svnel ovanes saki Txs, qarTul i jaris SeiaraRebasTan dakavSi rebi T warmoqmni i probl emebis dazusteba da am saki TxTan mimar TebaSi Tanamedrove istoriografiasSi gavr-cel ebil i Tval sazrisis gadaxedva imi Tac aris ganpi robebul i rom istorikosTa erTi nawil i memuarul I literaturaze dayrdnobi T mki Txvel sazogadoebas araswor debul e-bebs sTavazobs da cdil obs daarmunos, ruseT- saqarTvel os omis dros (1921 wl is Teberval - marti), Tbilisis arse-nal i Ti Tqos iaraRiT da amuniciaT iyo savse.

am saki TxTan mimar TebaSi, WeSmaritebis dasadgenad, auci-l ebl ad mimaCnia ganxil ul i iqnas Semdegi saki Txebi: 1)ra finansuri baza gaaCnda saqarTvel os, damouki debel saxel - mwi fod gamocxadebis pirvel safexurze; 2)qarTul i jaris Sesaqmnel ad, Tbilisis arsenal Si arsebobda Tu ara saWiro raodenobis iaraRiT da samxedro amunicia; 3)riT iyo ganpi robebul i qarTul i jaris gadai ararebis aucil ebl oba; 4)ra damoki debul eba gamoavl i na evropul ma saxel mwi foebma saqarTvel os pirvel i respublika sadmi iaraRis miydvas-Tan mimar TebaSi.

rac Seexeba saqarTvel os pirvel i respublika is finansur SesaZI ebl obebs, am mxriv igi urTul es mdgomareobaSi aR-moCnda. samwuxarod, zogierTi Cemi kol ega ar i Tval i swinebs im garemoebas, rom mefis xel isufl ebam 1914_ 1916 wl ebSi, saqarTvel os xazina oqros maragi sgan safuzvl i anad gawminda da ruseTSi gaitana. amas isic daerTo, rom saqarTvel o-Si Camosaxl ebul i rusi moxel eebis uzarmazari `armia-, adgi-l obriv mosaxl eobas daawa sarCenad. es ori faqtori, regionSi umZimes finansur garemos qmni da da saqarTvel os saxe-l mwi foebri vi warmonaqmni Sesaqmnel ad, mosamzadebel i safexurisaTvis Semaferxebel bariers warmoadgenda.

samecniero I literaturaSi dadasturebul i a, rom im etapze moqmedma pol i tikuri partiebisa da samoqal aqo speqtris I iderebis umetesobam, Seqmni i mdgomareoba sworad Seafasa da Sesabamisi pragmatul i nabij ic gadadga. mxedvel o-

baSi maqvs kafxazisa da d.ni JaraZis mier axl ad arceul i saqarTvel os erovnul i sabWosadmi Tbilisi da quTaisis guberniebis TavadaznaurTa qonebis gadacemis faqt. dokumenturi masal iT dadasturebul ia, rom es qoneba, saqarTvel os erovnul i fondis Seqmnas daedo safuzvl ad. isic cnobil ia, rom aRniSnul i fondis mi zans, saqarTvel os damouki debi obisa da regionSi Seqmnill i urTul esi pol itikuri si taci idan gamosaval i safexuris momzadeba warmoadgenda.

qarTul i pol itikuri el itis warmoadgen ebs kargad qondaT gacnobierebul i, rom erovnul i saxel mwifos formireba da misi damcavi meqani znis_ SeiaraRebul i Zal ebis Seqmna Ti Tqmisi paralel ur reJi mSi unda momxdariyo. wi naaRmdeg SemTxvevaSi, samxreT kavkasi is geopolitikuri si vrcis specifi ki dan gamomdinare, axl adSeqmnill i saxel mwifos arseboba xanmokl e aRmoChdeboda. am real obidan gamomdinare, saqarTvel os erovnul i sabWos aRmasrul ebel i komitetis wevrebi qarTul i jaris Seqmna- SeiaraRebi saTvis Sesabamisi saSual ebebis gamoZebnas maqsimal urad cdil obdnen. am is dadasturebas, saqarTvel os erovnul i sabWos aRmasrul ebel i komitetis 1917 wl is 8 dekembri sxdomis stenografiul i angariSi warmoadgens. dokumentid dan irkveva, rom am sxdomas aSS-i, inglisis, safrangeTi, itali iis saxel mwifoebis el Cebi eswreboden. maTi mxridan erT- erT umTavres saki Txad, qarTul i jaris Seqmna da ruseT- osmal eTis jer ki dev momqmedi frontis xazis dacvis aucil ebl oba iqna dasmul i. rac Seexeba saqarTvel os pol itikuri el itis warmoadgen Ta pozicias, stenografiul i angariSi mixedvit Tuki vi msj el ebT, n.Jordani amigi Semdegi formiT Camoyal iba: `Cven jarim e gveyol eba... magram iaraRi ar gvaqvs sakmao. iaraRi Tqven mogveciT, Cven davicavT Cvens territorias. Cven rom osmal eTs win davudgeT, ganmar toebiT xom ar davrCebiT, an mokavSi reebi ra gvaris daxmarebas gagvi wen... Cven iaraRi gvWiri a.~ am amonawer i dan kargad Cans saqarTvel os pol itikuri speqtris I iderTa pirdapiri da gaxsnill i pozicia. am faqtma antantis qveynebis warmoadgen ebi izul ebul i gaxada qarTul i mxaris mxridan wamoWril saki Txebze konkretul i pasuxi gaeca. imave sxdomis stenografiul i angariSi dan irkveva, rom evropel ebi saqarTvel os mxol od ful iT da evropel i samxedro oficreibis

mi Svel ebi T daexmareboda rac Seexeba iaraRs, mi s mi wodeba-ze uars acxadebdnen.¹ arc i mas akonkretebdnen, Tu rogor da ra gziT unda momxdariyo axl ad Seqmnil i qarTul i jaris SeiaraReba. aRni Snul i faqti imis naTel i dadas-turebaa, rom dasavl eT evropis qveynebi, qarTvel ebi sadmi iaraRis mi wodebaze, qarTul i saj ariso SenaerTebi s Seqmnis pirvel i safexuri danve i kavebdnen Tavs. es i mas ni Snavda, rom saqarTvel os erovnul sabWos, rusul i iaraRis SeZenaze ezcruna da imave (ukve gasabWoebul i) qveynis mier warmoebul i iaraRis momxmarebl ad darCenil iyo. Tuki qarTul istoriografiaSi dRemde gabatonebul i Tval-sazrisiT_ samxedro sawyobebi Ti Tqos iaraRiT iyo savse-vixel mZRvanel ebT, maSin evropis qveynebis gan saqarTvel osadmi iaraRis armi yi dva did tragediad ar unda Cai Tval os. aRni Snul i natyuari informaci a gen. g.mazni aSvI i s memuarebi dan i Rebs saTaves da misi gaziareba dRemde ukri t kod xdeboda. am SemTxvevaSi, yuradRebis mi Rma yvel aze mni Svnel ovani faqtori iyo datovebul i. mxedvel obaSi maqvs g.mazni aSvI i s memuarebis sabWoTa xel i sufl ebi s period-Si dawerisa da mTavI itis cenzuris gavl is Semdeg 1927 wel s stamburad dabeWvis faqti. bunebrivia, am garemoebema Tavisi uaryofiT i daRi daasva aRni Snul memuarebs. mxedvel obaSi maqvs samxedro sawyobebSi iaraRis da tansacme-i is arsebobi s Sesaxeb motanil i fantastikuri cifrebi. samwuxarod, misi sandoobis saki TxI dRemde eWvis qveS aravis dauyenebia. CemTvi s saintereso saki TxTan dakavSi rebi T imave memuarebSi vki Txul obT: `iaraRi, mokazmuli oba da mTavar sursaTi s maragi sawyobebSi imdeni iyo, rom Sesazi ebel i iyo qarTul i I aSqrilis Tund 50 aTasi kaci s SeiaraReba, mokazmva da gamokveba aTi wl i s gammavI obaSi.² an ki dev: `1921 wl i s maisSi, Cvens sawyobebSi darCenil i tansacml i T me SevZel i Semosva Tavi dan fexebamde 17 aTasi kaci sgan Semdgari wi Tel i armi i sa. es ar kmara: saqarTvel os sabWo-Ta mTavroba, dRid an Tbil i sSi Semosvi i sa, ori kviri s gammavI obaSi hkvebavda ufasod mTel i qal aqis mcxovrebl ebs sami ni stros sawyobebi dan.³

am amonawerebSi motanil i faqtebi, sabWoTa xel i sufl ebi s maRal Ci nosnebis mi Ti Tebi T rom aris Cadebul i iqedanac Cans, rom wi na gverdze i give g.mazni aSvI i Sefarvi Ti formiT

wers: `mal e gamoirkva, rom saindendato sawyobebSi ac ar iyo tansacmel i da mokazmul oba, rac mTavaria, Tofebi c.⁴ am SemTxvevaSi principul ad ismeba ki Txva: 1)Tuki saindendanto sawyobebSi tansacmel i, mokazmul oba da Tofebi ar iyo, ra gzi T unda momxdariyo 50 aTasi kacis Sei arReba, an cariel i sawyobebis Semyure g.mazni aSvill ma rogor SeZl o 17 aTas kaci an qarTul i wiTel i l aSqrts Seqmna? sad ambobs simarTI es da sad tyuis igi? 2)rac Seexeba imave g.mazni aSvill is mier mi Ti Tebul sursaTis marags, igi konkretuI ad ar asaxel ebs skvebi produqtebis im saxeobas, roml iT-ac 50 aTsi j ariskacis 10 wl iT gamokvebas varaudobda. xazgasmi T immda aRvni Sno, rom amierkavkasi aSi da mi Tumetes Tbil isis samxedro sawyobebSi, sursaTis (xorci, kartofil i, lobio, konservis qil ebi, Zexvi ...) ara Tu 10 wl iT, aramed 2 wl iT Senaxvi saTvis Sesabamisi teqnol ogiuri saSual ebebi ar arsebobda; 3)dokumenturi masal iT dadasturebul ia, rom pi rvel i msofl io omis dawyebisa da misi mi mdinareobis paral el urad, ruseTi dan etapobrivid amierkavkasi aSi frontisTvis Semotani l i produqtis dani Snul ebis mimarTul ebi T gagzavnas, amierkavkasi i frontis mTavarsardl oba kuri rebda. es procesi ruseTis droebi Ti mTavrobis periodSi ac gagr-Zel da misi Sewyveta, 1917 wl is oqtombris saxel mwifo gada-trial ebas da frontis xazidan j aris demobil izacias ukavSi reba. smecniero i literaturaSi dasabuTebul ia, rom 1918 wl is ianvar- Tebervl is CaTvl iT, osmal eTis frontidan wamosul i gabol Sevi kebul i rusul i eSel onebis, gansakuTrebi T bol o eSel onis sursaTiT uzrunvel yofa, samxedro sawyobebis sicariel i s game, amierkavkasi i komisariatma udi desi Zal isxmevis Sedegad moaxerxa.

roca saqarTvel os pi rvel i respubl iki s sursaTis sarez-
ervo fondis Sesaxeb vsaubrobT, pi rvel rigSi a gasaTval -
i swinebel i: a)1918_ 1920 wl ebis monakveTSi bol Sevi kuri
aj anyebebis sal i kvi dacio da mezobel i saxel mwifo ebi dan
Tavdasxmebis moyeriebi Ti saomari operaciebi, roml ebmac
di di raodenobi T finansebi da qveynis sasursaTo maragi
Sei wova; b)dasavl eT evropis saxel mwifo Ta l i derebis
mxri dan saqarTvel osadmi sursaTis mi wodebis danapi reb-
is arSesrul eba; g)sasofl o- sameurneo produqci i s war-
moebis mxriv qveyanaSi im etapze arsebul i si namdvi l e. yo-

vel i ve aRni Snul i s gaTval i swi nebi dan gamomdi nare, 1921 wl i s 20 i anvr amde saqarTvel oSi sursaTis Tundac 2 wl i an sarez-
ervo maragze saubaric ki SeuZl ebel i a. mTel i pasuxismge-
bl obiT SemiZl i a ganvacxado: 1)samxedro tansacmel i s, moka-
zmul obis, Tofebis, sursaTis (xorci, kartofil i, l obio,
konservis qil ebi, Zexvi...) saxeobebisgan sawyobebi dacari-
el ebul i iyo. rac Seexeba xorbal s, i gi umni Svnel o raode-
nobas warmoadgenda. 2)arqivsacavebSi Cems mier mikvl eul i
dokumenturi masal ebiT dasturdeba, rom Tbilisis sawyo-
bebis xorbl iT Sevseba, 1921 wl i s 20 i anvris Semdeg_ Teber-
I i s pirvel r i cxvebSi gaxda Sesazl ebel i. am SemTxvevaSi
gansakuTreb ul i rol i saqarTvel os xel i sufl ebis mier
ni u- i orkis savawro saxl Tan_ `Sabier morel iko-sTan
1919 wl i s noemberSi gaaformebul ma xel Sekrul ebam Seas-
rul a. am dokumentis mixedviT, saqarTvel os mTavrobas, aRni-
Snul i firmisadmi 100 aTasi kil o abreSumis parki an maty-
l i (1 kg. abreSumis parkis sanacvl od 5 kg. matyl i) unda
m i eca. saqarTvel os momaragebis saministros Zal i sxmeviT,
1920 wl i s dekembri dasawyissi, ni u- i orkis firma `Sabier
morel iko-s, pirvel safexurze 62400 kil o abreSumis pa-
rki gaugzavnes (gem `frigze~ 40 aTasi kg. dai tvirTa, xo-
l o gem `todl aze~ 22 aTas 400 kg.). zemoaRni Sul i firma
danarcen 37600 kil o parks mxol od mas Semdeg mi i Rebda,
roca xel Sekrul ebiT gaTval i swinebul i 1350 tona xorba-
l i saqarTvel oSi srul yofil ad iqneboda Semotanil i. i ave
dokumenturi masal ebis mixedviT, Sepirebul i xorbal i fo-
Tis portSi 1921 wl i s i anvaris pirvel naxevarSi Semovi da.
misi gemebi dan gadmotvirTva, mi wonva, matarebl i s vagoneb-
Si ganTvseba (76 vagoni Seadgi na), mi Rebul i produqci i s
srul fasovnad Sefaseba da mi Reba_ Cabarebis aqtze xel m-
owera 1921 wl i s 20 i anvars dasrul da. am umni Svnel ovane-
si dokumentis mixedviT, abreSumis parki sa da matyl i s safas-
urad, saqarTvel om 80,184 fUTI (1313456 kg. e.i. 1313,5 tona)
xorbal i Sei syida. es faqti, Sesabamisi uwyebebis warmoma-
dgenl ebis xel mowerebiT da bewdebi Taa (saqarTvel os mTa-
vroba, saq. resp. momaragebis saministro, firma `Sabien mo-
rel iko- da foTis porti) dadasturebul i. xorbl i s danis-
nul ebisamebr gagzavna da moxmarebis mizni T misi damuSave-
bis procesi, mxol od am operaci i s damTavrebis Semdeg

(1921 wl is 20 ianvari) gaxda Sesazi ebel i. saqar Tvel oSi im etapze arsebul i sarkinigzo mimosvl is Sesazi ebl obebs da Sesabamis teqnol ogiur pirobebs Tu gavi Tval i swinebT, fotis portidan xorbl is transportireba da sawyobebSi srul fasovnad dabi naveba, Tebervl amde ver moxer xdeboda. rac Seexeba danarCen 36,5 tona xorbal s, i gi imave firmis mier 1921 wl is 16 Teberval s baTumSi iqna Semotanil i da misi miwonva- dabi naveba adgi I zeve ganxorciel da.

xazgasmi T minda aRvni Sno, rom 1921 wl is ianvar_ Teberval Si saqar Tvel oSi 1350 tona xorbl is Semotanis zemoaRni Snul i umni Svnel ovanesi faqt (Semotanis dro), Seuzi ebel i ia g.mazni aSvil is donis maRI Cinosani saTvis ucnobis yofil iyo. miuxedavad amisa, i gi am saki Txs gverds uvl is da mki Txvel sazogadoebas arsebul si namdvil es iseTi formiT sTavazobs, TiTqos 1921 wl is 20 ianvramde sawyobebi xorbl is maragiT iyo savse da amis Sesaxeb saqar Tvel os xel i sufl ebas el ementarul i informacia ar gaaCnda. imasac Tu gavi Tval i swinebT, rom sabWoTa ruseTma saomari moqmedebebi somxeTi dan 1921 wl is 11 Teberval s, xol o azerbaijani dan 16 Teberval s dai wyo, gamoricxul i ara, drois am mcire monakveTSi (31 ianvi_11 Tebervl i), xorbl is pirvel i partiis dafqvac rom ver ganxorciel ebul iyo. firma `Sabier morel iko-- s mier saqar Tvel oSi 1921 wl is ianvar_ Teberval Si Semotanil zemoaRni Snul xorbal s unda gul isxmobdes g.mazni aSvil i, roca Tavis mogonebebSi sursaTis `10 wl i ani maragis- Sesaxeb saubrobs.

sawmwxaroa, magram faqtia, rom giorgi mazni aSvil is memuarebSi motanil i pirvel i safexuri is tyuil is sazogadoebi sadmi miwodebam, ideol ogiuri Tval sazrisiT, sabWoTa xel i sufl ebis mesveurtTa Canafiqri maRal doneze Seasruli a. mxedvel obaSi maqvs, qarTvel i generl is mxridan saqarTvel os pirvel i respUBL iki s xel i sufl ebis diskredi taciis mcodel oba. sabWoTa periodi dan moki debul i dReis CaTv-1 iT, istorikosebi, i tetaturaTmcodneebi da publ icistebi, arsenal Si iaraRis TiTqosda arsebobis Sesaxeb g.mazni aSvil is memuarebSi motanil cifrobri v monacemebs eyrdnobden da dacariel ebul samxedro sawyobebis, raodenobi s iaraRiT aRvsil ad acxadebdnen. am cru informaciam, ki devufro `damaj erebel i - saxe mas Semdeg mi i Ro, roca g.mazni a-

Svil is memuarebSi motanil i tyuil i, rezo gabaSvi l ma `mx-atvrul ferebSi Camosxmul i~ miawoda mki Txvel sazogadoebas, xol o saqarTvel os xel i sufl eba upasuxi smgebl o-baSi daadanaSaul a da anaTemas gadasca. `Tbil i si s samxedro sawyobebi- wers r.gabaSvi l - dauSretel i (radgan naxevar mil ionze meti jaris central uri amuniciisa iyo)- i se daniel da, rom SemTxvevi T gadarCenil idan (an ver mi gnebul idan)_ 1921 wl is omis Semdegac, bol Sevi kebs darCaT 17000 axal i Tofi (quTaisSi 300 xel uxl ebi tyvi is mfrqvevel i) da... `mTavrobam~ (?) yurebi gamouWeda qveyanas: `iaraRi ar gvqonda da jari rogor unda Segveqmma, an riTi Segveiar-aRebi na-- o.⁻⁵ r.gabaSvi l is es da sxva kl asikuri donis tyui l ebi, saarqi vo masal ebTan Sej erebis gareSe bn. gr.oni anma dai mowma. misi simarTI ed gashaRebi sa da gafeti Sebis mi zni T, ekaterine gabaSvi l is saxel is spekul irebas Seecada. `revaz gabaSvi l i- wers gr.oniani- aris cnobil i qarTvel i mwerl is ekaterine gabaSvi l is ufrosi vaJi.⁻⁶ am SemTxveva-Si gr.onianma iseTi foni Seqmma, rom ekaterine gabaSvi l is Svi l i- r.gabaSvi l i tyuil s ar ikadrebda da misi mogonebebidan motanil i faqtobrivi masal is amonari di, Ti Tqos simarTI es warmoadgenda, xol o yovel i wi nadadeba saarqi vo dokumentebze maRI a idga. qveyanas harvardis universiteti-sa da I evil is unikal uri saarqi vo dokumentebi qondes da istoriul mecnierebaSi Semoxiznul i adami anebi, sazogadoebas r.gabaSvi l is tyuill ebi T `kvebavdes,~ rbi l ad rom vTqa, istoriul i mecnierebis gamasxaravebis mcdeI oba da imave sazogadoebis upativcemul obaa. mi Tumetes, r.gabaSvi l is tyui l ebi da antisaxel mwifoebri azrovneba, safuzvl i anad amxi- l a erovnul - demokratiul i partiis erT- erTma l i derma, Rrmad ganswavl ul maiuristma da r.gabaSvi l ze aTgzi s maRI a mdgomma pol itikurma moRvawem giorgi gvazavam. mxedvel o-baSi maqvs imave g.gvazavas mi er parizSi 1929 wel s dabeWdi- l i broSura `saqarTvel o da erovnul - demokratiul i partia.- es naSromi gansakuTrebul yuradRebas imiTaci iqcevs, rom misi avtori, 1917- 1921 wl ebis mimdinare pol itikuri procesebis avangardSi idga, yvel a movl enis aqtiani monawi l e da Tvi Tmxil vel i iyo. sabednierod, i gi simarTI es ar Ral atobs. saqarTvel os pirvel i respubliki s mTavrobis saqmianobis r.gabaSvi l i sa da d.vaCnaZi seul Sefasebebs, isto-

riul i sinamdvil is Tavdayi rad dayenebas, RmerTgamwyal i da tvingamocl il i adamiani nebis naazrevad mi i Cnevs. es gamonaTqvamebi mi utevebel cil i swamebad rom ar CameTval os, i mave broSur i dan Sesabami s amonawerebs SevTavazeb mki Txvel sazogadoebas: g.gvazava- `ai amazea naTqvami: `RmerTi rom kacs gauwyreba, pi rvel ad tvins gamoacl iso.~ (gv.14) an ki dev, `ai marTI a Tavdayira dayeneba yovel i Semecnebis: ufl ebi s da moral is, val debul ebi s da sindisi s.~ (gv.15) gana ami s Semdeg, r.gabaSvi l is `rac maxsovs~- Si motanil i faqtebi, saRad moazrovne da saarqivo dokumentebis safuZvi i anad mcodne adami anima SeiZl eba ki, sarwmunod mi i Cni os?

yovel i ve zemoTqmull is gaTval i swinebi dan gamomdinare xazgasmi T minda aRvni Sno: roca saubar i rusul Tofebze da tyvi amfrqvevbe, r.gabaSvi l sa da arc `gabaSvi l istebs-erTxel ar dausvams saki Txi_ rusul i vaznebis raodenobis, an misi saTadarigo fondis arsebobi s Sesaxeb. arc imaze ufiqriaT, Sesatyvisi vaznebis gareSe darCenil i nebi smieri SaSxana Tu tyvi amfrqvevi, gadaWri l i wyal sadeni mil is ufunqcio mdgomareobaSi rom aRmoCndeboda. am mimarTul ebi T saki Txi ar dausvamT imi tom, rom saqarTvel os pi rvel i respubli kis mTavrobis I anZRva- ginebi T i ynen da arian garTul ni. WeSmari tebis dadgena srul ebi T ar ainteresebT, wi naaRmdeg SemTxvevaSi, harvardi dan da I evi l i dan Camotani l dokumentur masal ebs safuZvi i anad Cauj debodhen da si Rrmiseul ad Sei swavl i dnen. es rom moendomebi naT, r.gabaSvi l is zemoaRni Snul da sxva uamrav tyuil ebs farda aexdeboda. ami sTvis TavauRebel i da mZime Sroma iyo saWi ro. samecni-ero sferosi i ol i gziT `moseirne- adami anebs, istoriul mecnierebaSi damkvidrebul i dRevandel i ganuki Txaoba, samwuxarod ami s Sesazi ebl obas aZl evs. aseTi mkacri Sefasebi dan gamomdinare, simarTI i s dasabuTebas, Sesabami si saarqivo dokumentebi T Sevecdebi. arqivsacavebSi Cems mier moppovebul i pi rvel adi dokumenturi masal ebi Tirkveva, rom saqarTvel os teritoriale arsebul samxedro sawyobebSi Tavmoyril i rusul i warmoebi s sabrzol o iaraRi da amunicia, 1914 wl is sabrzol o moqmedebebi dan gamomdinare, 1915_1916 wl ebSi saqarTvel odan maqsimal urad iqna gatani l i sariyami Ssa da al eqsandropol Si. rusul i samxedro Sena-Tebis mier ruseT_ osmal etis frontis datovebis Sem-

deg, aRni Snul samxedro sawyobebze kontrol s 1918 wl is i anvridan somxeTis erovnul i sabWo axorciel ebda. dokumenturi masal iT dadasturebul ia, rom amierkavkasi i s komisiariatis Zal i sxmevi T, 1918 wl is martis Sua ricxvebSi al eqsandropol i dan da sari yami si dan saqar Tvel os erovnu-
l ma sabWom mxol od 6 vagoni tyvi amfrqvevis vaznebis, 24 vagoni zarbaznis yumbarebis wamoReba da Tbll i sis arse-
nal Si ganTavseba SesZI o. amis Semdeg, somxebs qar Tvel eb-
isaTvis arcerTi saxeobis vazna ar mi ucia. 1918 wl is i an-
ris monacemebiT, Tbll i sis arsenal Si arsebul i SaSxaneb-
is raodenoba 18 aTas cal s Seadgenda. amierkavkasi i s komi-
sariatis dadgenil ebiT, i gi samad (qar Tvel ebi sTvis, somx-
ebisTvis da azerbaij anel ebi sTvis) ganawi l da da saqar Tve-
l os samxedro Senaer Tebs 6000 er Teul i SaSxana gadaeca.

rac Seexeba quTaisi s samxedro sawyobebSi darCenil i a-
raRs, mis sakutrebaze pretenzias quTaisSi disl ocirebu-
l i rusul i samxedro SenaertI acxadebda. am saki TxTan
dakavSirebi T, saqar Tvel os erovnul i sabWos aRmasrul ebe-
l i komi tetis 1917 wl is 10 dekembri s sxdomaze i oseb gedeva-
ni Svi l i xazgasmi T ambobda: `quTaisis rusis jaris qoneba
Cvens jaris unda gadmoeces, magram sal daTebi qonebas ar
i ZI evian, Cveni a da Tan unda wavi RoTo.~ am faqts ukeTebda
ra anal i zs, i give i gedevani Svi l i dasZenda: `Segvi ZI i an
mivi RoT Zal iT, magram arasasurvel Sedegs moitans.~⁷ aq
garkvevi Taa naTqvami, rom rusis jaris sadmi iaraRis Zal i-
smieri gzi T warTmevis mcdel oba, qveyanaSi samoqal aqo omis
dawyebis safuZvel i SeiZI eba gamxdariyo. aseT situacia-
Si gadamwyveti rol i mSvi dobiani gzi T mol aparakebas unda
Seesrul ebina. mxedvel obaSi maqvs ori faqtori: 1)rusul i
jaris sardl obis mxridan `keTII i nebis- gamoCenis SemTx-
vevaSi qar Tvel ebisaTvis iaraRis datoveba da 2)evropel eb-
i sgan Sepirebul i ful iT, am iaraRis Sesiydvis SesaZI e-
bl oba. aseT kritikul situaciaSi gadamwyvet rol s drois
faqtori gansazRvravda. evropel Ta mxridan 1917 wl is 8
dekembers saqar Tvel os erovnul i sabWos prezidiumi sadmi
Sepirebul i ful iT daxmareba, ara Tu 1918 wel s, aramed 1921
wl is Teberval Siac ar ganxorciel ebul a.

amierkavkasi i s regionSi mimdinare umZimesi politikuri
procesebis fonze, saqar Tvel os damouki debi obis gamocxa-

deba da osmal eTis dampyrobl uri qmedebebi s SeCereba, j er ki dev arSemdgari qveyni sTvis finansuri daxmarebi s auci l ebl obas saWi roebda. Cems xel T arsebul i saarqivo masal eb i s mixedvi T Tuki vimsj el ebT, am sapasuxi smgebl o nabij i s gadadgmi sas, qarTvel i pol i tiko sebi finansurad dasayr den safexurs `saqarTvel os erovnul fondSi- Cadebul qoneba Si da imave fondi sadmi Semowirul obis safuZvel ze dagrovi l TanxaSi xedavdhen. marTal i a, sawyi si safexuri sTvis fonds garkveul i formiT saxel mwifos xazinis funci i s Sesrul eba SeeZl o, magram i gi ver gawdeboda: a)damouki -debel i qveyni sTvis auci l ebel i urTul esi reformebisa da b)osmal eTis mier Tavsmoxveul i sabrZol o moqmedebebi s daf i nansebas. auci l ebl oba, garedan daxmarebas saWi roebda. mi Tumetes, mefis ruseTis moxel eTa Semweobi T, saqarTve l os ekonomika `momakvdavi adami anis- dones utol deboda. samwuxarod, Cemi kol egebi s umetesobis mxridan zemoaRni S nul i faqtebi mi zanmi marTul adda i gnori rebul i. arada, oqr os maragis an sazRvargareTis qveynebi s finansuri dauxmare bl obis gareSe (gansakuTrebiT pirvel safexurze) saxel mwifos faqturi formireba war moudgenel ia. qarTul i pol i tikuri el ita Tuki am siZnel eebis met nakl ebad dazi evas axer xebda, i gi mis Rir sebad unda iqnas aRi arebul i. rac Seexe ba samxedro da sxva reformebis srul yofil ad vergata rebas, qveyni s mmartvel i pol i tikuri Zal i s Secdomebi T ki ara, Ziri Tadad uful obiT da iaraRis uqonl obiT iyo ganpi robebul i. saarqivo masal ebi T dasturdeba, rom **saqarTve l** os erovnul i sabWos mier 1918 wl i s martSi damtki cebu l i proeqtis _ qarTul i jaris reorganizaci i s Sesaxebs safexurebrivad bol omde ver ganxorciel eba, ful i s, iaraRis da amunici i s uqonl obam ganapi roba. anal ogiuri bedi xvda wi l ad saqarTvel os erovnul i sabWosa da saqarTvel - os mTavrobis mier 1918 wl i s 20 agvistos mi Rebul kanonebs.⁸

qveyni sakanonmdebl o organosTan arsebul i samxedro komisi i sgan, saqarTvel os mTavrobis 1918 wl i s 20 dekembris sxdomaze wardgeni l i angariSi dan irkveva, rom Tavdacvis uwyebi sadmi daqvemdebarebul sawyobebSi arsebul i rusu l i vaznebi da qvemexi s Wurvebi umni Svnel o raodenobas war moadgenda. am xarvezis dauyovnebl i v aRmofxvris mi zni T, imave sxdomaze mi Rebul i dadgeni l ebi T dai sva saki Tx i _ evro-

pis qveynebi dan sabrZol o masal is dauyovnebl ivi SeZenis, uki dures SemTxvevaSi, saqarTvel oSi misi damzadebis mi zanSewoni obis Sesaxeb. am saki TxTan dakavSi rebi T, uaRresad sayuradRebo informacias Seicavs pol kovnik kol onel o kartel is mier saqarTvel os samxedro samnistros mTavari Stabisadmi gagzavnili i (1919 wl is 9 noemberi) weril i. am dokumenti dan irkveva: 1)saqarTvel os mTavrobas, germaniis xel isufi ebisaTvis Txovni T mumarTavs, rom daxmareba gaewi a rusul i vaznebi sa da yumbarebis, samxedro tansacml isa da fexsacml is, tel egrafisa da radiotel egrafisTvis saWiro mowyobil obis SesaZenad. 2)m SemTxvevaSi Tuki qarTul i jaris SeiaraRebisTvis saWiro sabrZol o masal a germaniis samxedro sawyobebSi ar aRmoCndeboda, rusul i vaznebi sa da Wurvebis dasamzadebel i qarxanis aSeneba saqarTvel oSi moexdinaT. imave weril Si konkretul adaa mi TiTebul i pirveli i moTxovnisadmi uaris Tqmis ganmapirobebel i ZiriTadi mi zezebi. rac Seexebe vaznebi sa da Wurvebis damamzadebel i qarxnis saqarTvel oSi mSenebl obas, k.kartel is mtkecebi T, i gi garkveul sirTul eebTan iyo dakavSi rebul i. mxedvel obaSi maqvs qarxnis gadaiaraReba, rac Sesabamisi Carxebi sa da yal i bebis damzadebis auci l ebl obas saWiroebda. meore mxriv, am mimarTul ebi T samuSaos Catareba, kapi tal istebi saTvis damaxasiaTebel komerciul interessebs ukavSi rebedoba. aRni Snul is gaTval i swinebi dan gamodinare, k.kartel i wi naswari monacemebis saxiT moi Txovda: a)ra raodenobis masal is Semotana iyo auci l ebel i saqarTvel oSi; b)konkretuli ad ratipis da ra raodenobis unda yofil iyo qarxnis mier warmoebul i produqcia, romel ic saqarTvel os swi rdebedoba. evropaSi mimdinare rTul i pol itikuri procesebis gamo, am saki Txis momdevno safexurze gansaxil vel ad gatana SeuZI ebel i gaxda. mi uxavedavd amisa, aRni Snul i faqtimaze mi gvani Snebs, rom im etapze saqarTvel os xel isufi eba, saj ari so SenaerTebis SesaiaraRebl ad da qveynis Tavdacvis sunari anobi asamaRI ebl ad, misTvis xel misawvdomi yvel a SesazI ebl obis gamoyenebas cdil obda.

saqarTvel os pirvel i respublikis mTavrobis mesveurebs kar gad qondaT gacnobierebul i, rom qveynis Tavdacvis sistemaSi Seqmnili i urTul esi mdgomareobis aRmofxvra, qarTul i jaris gadaiaraReba (**rusul i warmoebis iaraRis evro-**

pul i T Canacvl eba) mxol od antantis saxel mwi foebis dax-marebis gareSe SeuZl ebel i iqneboda. am mi zni T, dasavl eT evropaSi sagangebo del egacia i qna gagzavnil i. maTi warmatebul i saqmi anobi s xel is SemSi el ad ori faqtori moqmedebda; 1)evropis qveynebi dan im etapze saqarTvel os, rogorc damouki debel i pol itikuri erTeul is ar ari areba. i sini saqarTvel os, `demokratiul i ruseTis~ Semadgenel nawi l ad moi azrebdnen; 2)daSnakcuTiunis partiis I iderTa mxridan, 1919 wl idan saqarTvel os saxel mwi foebri obis wi naaRmdeg mi zanmi marTul i far TomasStabi ani kampani is gaCaReba. am saki TxTan dakavSi rebi T dokumentur masal aze dayndobi T, akaki kvi tai Svi l i werda: `1919 wel s gaimarTa kampania saqarTvel os wi naaRmdeg dasavl eTSi, gansakuTrebi T ki ingl i-sursa da nawi l obri v frangul presaSi. presis kampaniaSi did rol s TamaSobda yofil i ruseTis mefis dipl omatia general denikinis karnaxiT. amave dros frangul ad dai be-Wda daSnakel Ta warmomadgenel is vardani anis wi gni saTau-ri T `somex- qarTvel Ta konfl iqt i da kavkasi i s omi.~ wi gni aRsasFoTebel i, gaborotebul i, Tavi dan bol omde aRsavse cil i swamebebi T saqarTvel os wi naaRmdeg... wi gni dauri gda antantis umaRI esi sabWos wevrebsa da erTa l i gis meTaur- ebs. aseT mowaml ul garemoSi mouxda muSaoba qarTul del e-gaci as. gansakuTrebi T ingl i sel ebi i yvnen Cvens wi naaRmdeg, roml ebic im dros i yvnen saqmis faqturi gadamwyetni.⁹

saqarTvel os saxel mwi fos wi naaRmdeg evropis masStabi T amuSavebul i somxuri `ideol ogiuri manqanis- da misi mxardamWer i (somxuri diaspori sgan mosyidul i) ingl isurenovan Jurnal istebi sgan presis furcl ebze gavrcel ebul i cil i swamebl uri informaci i s daZl eva, gaRatakebul i qar-Tvel ebi saTvis udides sirTul eebTan iyo dakavSi rebul i. saqarTvel os saxel mwi fos warmomadgenl obas evropis qvey-nebSi gansakuTrebul i Zal i sxmeva dasWinda, rom somxur-ingl i suri antiqarTul i `propagandistul i manqana- nawi l - obri v SeeCerebi na. amis mi Rweva mxol od meore internacio-nal i s sapropagando saSual ebebi s gamoyenebi T gaxda Sesaz- l ebel i. mxedvel obaSi maqvs, daSnakcuTiunis partiis sazR-vargareTul i warmomadgenl ebi s tyui l ebSi mxil eba da evropel i social - demokratTa I iderebis mxridan, evropul i presis saSual ebi T zemoaRni Snul i saki Txis gapi areba. am

urTul esi samuSaos Catarebis Semdeg SeZl o qarTul ma del egaci am, antantis umaRI esi sabWos warmoadgenl ebTan Sexvedra. am mxriv, gansakuTrebi T safrangeTis premier ministr kl emansosTan saqarTvel os di pl omatiuri korpusis Sexvedris faqt i qcevs gansakuTrebil yuradRebas. rogorc cnobil ia, saqarTvel os del egaci is mesveurebma mas sagangebo memorandumi gadasca. am dokumentSi qarTvel Ta moTxovna Semdegi formiT iyo Camoyal i bebul i: `Cven vi TxovT davyovnebl iv daxmarebas imitom, rom viciT, rac ufro Zl ieri vi qnebiT da momzadebul i, miT ufro gaadvil deba bol Sevi kebis Semosevis Tavi dan acil eba.¹⁰

zemoaRni Snul i `Segonebis- mi uxedavad, safrangeTis da evropis sxva qveynebis xel isufal T, saqarTvel osadmi Sepirebul i daxmarebis (iaraRi, ful i, amuni cia, sursaTi) Sesasru- l ebl ad iotisodena nabij i ar gadaudgams. arada, saqarTve- l os garSemo mimidinare rTul i pol itikuri procesebi, qarTu- l i jaris davyovnebl iv gadai ararebas, rusul i warmoebis aRWurvil obi sgan ganTavi sufl ebas da saqarTvel os Seiara- Rebul i Zal ebis raodenobrivid zrdi auci l ebl obas moi Tx- ovda. savsebi T sworad aRni Snavda akvi tai Svi l i, rom qarTul i jaris ricxobriv raodenobas `sazRvravda iaraRis raode- noba da ara survil ebi!... evropi sgan mitovebul i saqarTve- l o Tavis Sinaur mterze damoki debul i, mainc axer xebs mci re SeiaraRebul i I aSqari iyol i os.¹¹ mdgomareobas isic arTul ebda, rom bol Sevi kebis gan yubanis ol qis daWerisa da misi gasabWoebis gamo, puris Sesiyidvi s SesaZl ebl obebi saqarTvel os gadaeketa. jaris raodenobrivi zrdisaTvis iaraRTan da tansacmel Tan erTad, puris maragic auci l eb- l obas warmoadgenda. marTal ia, saqarTvel os mier xorbl - is didi raodenobis partia argentinaSi iyo Sesiyidul i, magram misi dani Snul ebi samebr transportireba, saqarTvel - os saxel mwifos wasaqcevad mosurne Zal ebis zemoqmedebi- dan gamondi nare i gvi anebda.

am fonze, ki dev ufro mi uRebel i Canda baTumis ol qSi az- erbaij anel Ta antiqarTul i saqmi anobi sadmi ingl i sel Ta mxar- daWera. mi Tumetes, bol Sevikuri safrTxe daZrul i aisberg- i viT uaxl ovdeboda saqarTvel os. es saSi Sroeba qarTul i pol itikuri el itis mesveurT si Rrmiseul ad qonda gacno- biebul i da moaxl oebul i katastrofisgan TavdaRwevis

er Tader T meqani zms, evropis saxel mwi foebis mxri dan Sepirebul daxmarebaSi xedavda. amis Sesani Snav dadasturebas, egegewkoris mier parizSi myofi k.Cxei Zi sa da ak.Cxenkel i sadmi 1920 wl is 19 marts gaggzvni l i weril i warmoadgens. `antantis gan aRTqmul i daxmareba iaraRiT da sursaTiT ar mi gvi Ri a da arc viciT rodis mi vi RebT da mi vi RebT Tu ara saer Tod. I odini ki am pirobebSi SeuZl ebel ia... dauyovnebl iv unda gagvewi os iaraRiT da sursaTiT daxmareba moaxl oebul i bol SevikTa wi naaRmdeg sabrZol vel ad. mdgomareoba i sea garTul ebul i rom yoymani da I odini SeuZl ebel ia.~ samxreT kavkasi i regionis pol itikuri mdgomareobi s gansakuTrebul ma garTul ebam da saqarTvel osadmi evropis qveynebi dan daxmarebis Sesaxeb avansad gacemul ma tyuil ma ganapi roba inglis, safrangeTi s, aSS- is, ital iis dipl omatiuri warmomadgenl ebi sadmi n.Jordanias mier 1920 wl is 20 marts gadacemul i weril obiT gancxadeba. dipl omatiuri etiketis dacviT, masSi safuZvl i anadaa mxil ebul i dasavl eTi s saxel mwi foTa mxri dan saqarTvel osadmi mi cemul i dapi rebebis Seusrul ebl oba. `Cven gansakuTrebiT Cagvca I axvari Tanxmobis qveynebi s damoki debul ebam- vki Txul obT dokumentSi. Cveni Crdil o sazRvrebi s dacvi s saqmeSi, sai danac Cveni saxel mwi fos dangrevis mi zniT bol Sevikkebi moemarTebian. Cven ar aerTxel aRvZariT Suamdgoml oba am brZol a-Si amuni ci iT da sursaTiT mxardawer i saTvi s. mxardaweras dagvpi rdnien, Cven vel odiT moTmi nebiT magram ver mi vi ReT Tqvengen vicerTi vazna, vicerTi funti puri. axl a daga momenti, rodesac meti I odini SeuZl ebel ia da dapi rebebiT ver davkmayofili debiT... me mwared unda aRvni Sno, rom ise, rogorc gasul i s wina wel s, Cven i sev martoni da-vrciT, an i mis gamo, rom Tqveni mTavrobebi arasakmar i sad arian Caxedul ni, an ki dev bol Sevikuri ruseTi s mier Cveni respubliki s dangreva aRmosavl eTSi Tqveni interesebis xel yofad ar i Tvl eba.¹² es vrcel i amonaweri evropis saxel mwi foTa i iderebi s tyuil ze dafuZnebul i Sepirebebis mxil ebi s saukeTeso ni muSs warmoadgens. aseTi mkacri ganaCenis mi uxedadav, dasavl eT evropis saxel mwi foebis, zemoaRni Snul i danapi rebi s Sesasrul ebl ad Tavi ar Seuwux-ebi aT.

antantis qveynebi sgan gacemul i danapi rebi sadmi upasuxi-

smgebl o damoki debul eba qonda mxedvel obaSi e.gegewkors, roca parizSi, romSi da konstantinopol Si myofi saqarTve-
I os warmomadgenl ebi sadmi gagzavnil weril Si (1920 wl is
24 marti) xazgasmi T rom mi uTi Tebda Crdil oeTi dan moaxl -
oebul i safrTxis garduval obaze da dasZenda: `aseT fri-
ad gammwavebul pirobebSi Cven araeTxeL migvimarTavs
mokavSireTa warmomadgenl ebi sadmi ... araeTxeL vTxoveT
maT daxmareba sursaTiT da samxedro iaraRiT, magram mra-
val j er ganmeorebul i dapi rebis garda j er- j erobiT aravi-
Tari daxmareba ar migvi Ri... aucil ebl ad saWi roa, raTa
Tqveni mxriv mi iRoT yovel gvari zomebi rom mokavSireebma
rac SelZI eba saCqarod mogvawodon real uri daxmareba
sursaTiT, samxedro iaraRiT... Tu evropa marTI a dagvexma-
ra sursaTiT da iaraRiT, Cven ufro gabedul aT davel apa-
rakebiT bol Sevi kebs da imedi gvaqvs uki dures SemTxeva-
Si SevZI ebT maTTan gamkl avebas da Cveni damouki debl o-
bis dacvas.~

am vrcel i amonaweri dan kargad Cans, rom qarTul i pol i-
tikuri el ita da qveyni s mmartvel i wreibi, bol Sevi kebTan
ukompromiso brZol is dawyebisTvis iyvnen mzad da saqarTve-
I os damouki debl obis gadarCenas, evropi s saxel mwi foebis
umaRI esi eSel onebisgan gacemul i si tyvis argatexaSi da
danapi rebis Sesrul ebaSi xedavdnen. ramdenadac antantis
qveynebi s maRal Cinosnebi pol i tikuri meZavis gzas daadgnen
da danapi rebis droul ad Sesrul ebaze ar fiqrobden, es
faqt, saqarTvel os xel isufl ebas Si da resursebze dayrd-
nobiT gamosaval i gzebi s Ziebi sken ubi Zgebda. Cems mier mi kvl e-
ul i saarqivo masal ebi s mi xedvi T, iaraRis, amunicii s da su-
rsaTs deficitis mi uxedadavad, saqarTvel os xel isufl eba adgi-
l obriv resursebze dayrdnobiT, moaxl oebul i safrTxis
neitral izebis mi zni T Tadarigs iWerda. mxedvel obaSi maqvs
saqarTvel os sasazRvro zol is gamagrebasTan dakavSi rebi-
iT general il i a odi Sel iZis mier qveyni s Tavdacvis sabWo-
sadmi 1920 wl is 4 Teberval s moxsenebis saxiT wardgenil i
proeqti. es uaRresad sayuradRebo dokumenti maqsimal ur-
ad i Tval i swinebda yvel a im safrTxes, romel ic Crdil oe-
Ti dan (ruseTi) da samxreT- dasavl eTi dan (osmal eTi) emuq-
reboda saqarTvel os masSi samxedro specifikaTvis dama-
xasi aTebel i motxovnebis gaTval i swinebiT iyo gaweril i:

1)i m strategiul i punqtebis dakavebis auci l ebl oba, romel i c saomari moqmedebebis dawyebis SemTxvevaSi qarTul i j aris nawil ebs upiratesobas SeunarCunebda; 2)qarTul i j aris raodenobri vad gazrdi s, misi Sei ar aRebi sa da umni Svn el ovanes strategiul sasazRv ro poziciebze batal i onebi s raodenobi s ganl ageba; 3)proeqti Tavdacvi TTan er Tad, Setevi Ti xasi aTi s operaci ebi s Casatareb el umni Svn el ovanes ni uansebasac i Tval i swinebda.¹³

am proeqtis yvel aze didi nakl i imaSi mdgomareobs, rom masSi dasmul i saki Txebi s gadawayetis mi zni T, Sesabami si samuSaos Casatareb el ad mi axl oe biTi xarj TaRri cxvac ar iyo gaTval i swinebul i. i m etapze ar sebul i dokumenturi masal ebi s mixedvi T Tuki vimsj el ebT, nebi smieri proeqti srul fasovnad mxol od i m SemTxvevaSi i Tvl eboda, Tuki misi ganxorciel ebisaTvi s saWi ro xarj TaRri cxvis 80% - i ani j amuri monacemebi eqneboda darTul i. qveynis finansebTan dakavSi rebul am umni Svn el ovanes faktors, qarTvel i generl ebi s umetesoba xSi rad yuradRebi s mi Rma tovebda. angariSS ar uwedva saqarTvel os saxel mwi fos bi uj etis Sesaz- l ebl obebs. arc i mas i Tval i swinebda, rom 1918 _dan 1921 wl is Tebervl amde, daxmarebi s saxiT dasavl eT evropi dan saqarTvel os arcerTi centi, arcerTi cal i vazna da gramipuri rom ar mi uRia. yovel i umni Svn el ovanesi wamowyeba mxol od Si da emisi aze iyo dafuznebul i.

aRni Snul i nakl i s mi ux edavad, es proeqti imi s naTel i dadas turebaa, rom saqarTvel os xel i sufl ebas, qveyni s usaf- rTxoebaze zrunva da misi droul ad mowesrigeba nomer pi- rvel amocanad mi aCnda. xazgasmi T minda aRvn i Sno, rom Cems mier mikyl eul i dokumenturi masal iTirkveva, rom i m etapze Tavdacvi s uwyebi sadmi daqvemdebarebul sawyobebSi ar sebul i Sei ar aRebi sa da amuni ci i s (Tofebi, vaznebi, yumbarebi, tansacmel i, sursaTi...) maragi i mdenad umni Svn el o iyo, rom i gi i .odi Sel i Zis mier SemuSavebul i proeqti s nawil obri- vad ganxorciel ebasac ver uzrunvel yofda. evropul i saxe- l mwi foebis l i derTa dapir ebebi s Semyure saqarTvel os mdgomareoba ki dev ufro garTul da azerbaij anisa (1920 wl is 28 apri l i) da somxeTi s (1920 wl is 29 noemberi) gasabWoebi s Semdeg. momxdari faqt i T, i .odi Sel i Zis proeqtSi damatebi- Ti cvl il ebebi s Setana auci l ebel i Sei qmna. am proceduris

ganxorci el eba, dafinansebis Tval sazrisiT garkveul i formiT koreqtivs sawiroebda. marTal ia, saqarTvel os damfuZnebel i krebis 1920 wl is 15 ivnisis # 24- e sxdomis mier mi-Rebul i dekretiT Tavdacvis fonds 400 milioni maneTi gamo-eyo, magram igi minimal uradac ver wvdeboda im urTul esi probl emis mogvarebas, romel ic qarTul i jaris Seiar-aRebasTan iyo dakavSirebul i. ki dev ufro Seusrul ebadi aRmoCnda saqarTvel os mTavrobis 1920 wl is noembiris dadgenil eba_ qarTul i jaris damatebit 40 aTasi kaciT gazrd-iS Sesaxeb. misi ganmapirobel i mizezebi pirvel adi teqnikuri da finansuri saSual ebebis (iaraRi, tansacmel i, sur-saTi, ful i...) uqonl obiT iyo gamowveul i. isic gasaTval is-winebel ia, rom rusul i warmoebis vaznebiTa da yumbarebiT, samxedro sawyobebis im etapze Sevseba SeuZI ebel i xdebo-da. am saki TxTan dakavSi rebiT, general i al eqsandre zaqariaze mogvianebiT gul istkivil iT werda: `Cveni ocneba iyo ramanairad samoci aTasi jaris Segveqmna, magram uiaraRobis gamo es ocneba ocnebad darCa (mi uxedavad imisa, rom momzadebul jariskacTa ricxvi saqarTvel oSi aRemateboda orasi aTass. saTanado sardl obac mzad iyo).~¹⁴

xazgasmiT minda aRvni Sno, rom vaznebi sa da yumbarebis is maragi, romel ic sariyamiSi dan da al eqsandropol idan iqna Camotanil i (1918 wl is marti), 1918_ 1920 wl ebSi mim-dinare saomarima operaci ebma STanTqa. mxedvel obaSi maqvs: 1)osmal eTTan omi (1918 wl is marti _april i); 2)bol Sevikebis mier 1918 wel s mowyobil i 20- mde gi exTa SeiaraRebul i aj anyeba; 3)somxeTTan 1918 wl is oqtomber_ dekemberis saomari operaci ebi; 4)bol Sevikebis 1919 wel s aj anyebebi; 5)deni kinis wi naaRmdeg 1919 wel s Catarebul i sabrZol o moqmedebebi; 6)sabWoTa ruseTi sa da gasabWoebul i azerbajani s mier 1920 wel s ganxorciel ebi i Tavdasxma saqarTvel oze da misi mogerieba; 7)osebi s 1920 wl is aj anyeba da a.S. yovel i ve es, axi adSeqmnili i saqarTvel os saxel mwifos xazinas aTeul obiT mil iardi dauj da. xol o Tavdacvis uwyebi sadmi daqvemdebarebul i sawyobebi rusul i warmoebis vaznebi sa da yumbarebis maragi sgan Ti Tqmisi dacariel da.

Cems mier zemoT motanil i faqtebi qonda mxedvel obaSi memarcxene social ist_ federal istTa partiis erT- erT

I iders Tedore RI onts, roca i mave partiis pirvel yri-
I obaze (1921 wl is 30 oqtomberi) ambobda: `3 wl is ganmav-
I obaSi, rac saqarTvel o damouki debel i yyo, Cven ar vici T
arcertTi sami Tve, rom gagvetarebinos uomrad, aj anyebis
gareSe. omi ki, mi T ufro sistematuri omi, Tvi T aRa- maxmad
xanis reJmze uaresia.- nebismi erma mkvl evarma, romel ic
saqarTvel os pirvel i respubl ikis Tavdacvis unari anobis
SesaZI ebl obebs Seexeba, pirvel rigSi unda gai Tval i swi-
nos: 1)zemoaRni Snul i procesebi dan gamomdinare, qveynis
finansurad da ekonomikurad damangrevel i Sedegebi; 2)pa-
suxi unda gaeces ki Txvas; 1918_ 1920 wl ebSi rac saqarTve-
I os pirvel ma respubl ikam gadai tana, ra mdgomareobaSi aR-
moCndeboda nebismi eri sxva qveyana (gnebavT i give evr opu-
l i) Tuki i mave evropul i saxel mwi foebis gan finansur dax-
marebas ver mi i Rebda. am Fonze, al ogi kurad moCans gen. gi orgi
kvi ni taZis memuar ebSi gakeTebul i gancxadeba_ saqarTvel os
Sei ar aRebul Zal ebs, 1920 wl is mais- ivni sSi Ti Tqos ami erk-
avkasi i s gammaTavi sufl ebel i misi i s Sesrul eba SeeZI o `es
i yo er Tad_ er Ti uaRresad xel sayrel i SemTxveva_ wers
g.kvi ni taZe_ azerbaij anisa da somxeTis gasanTavi sufl ebl ad
bol Sevi ki dampyrobl ebi sagan. Cven SegveZI o bol Sevi kebi-
sagan mTel i kavksi i s gawmenda da iqneb daRestni sac. es i yo
1920 wel i, nodesac pol oneTi oms awarmoebda ruseTTan da
general i vrangel i daZrul i iyo yiri mi dan.~ er Ti Sexedvi T
es gegma mimi dvel i Cans, magram Tuki yvel a aspeqtis gaTval -
i swi nebi T ganvi xil avT, misi ganxorciel eba saqarTvel os kata-
strofas daaCqarebda. roca g.kvi ni taZe somxeTis ganTavi su-
fl ebaze I aparakobs, i gi j er ki dev damouki debel saxel m-
wi fos war moadgenda. misi gasabWoeba, rogorc zemoTac mqonda
aRni Snul i, mxol od 1920 wl is 29 noemberSi ganxorciel da.
1)i m SemTxvevaSi Tu general g.kvi ni taZis mier SeTavazebu-
I i gegmi T imoqmedebdn, saqrTvel os xel i sufl ebas azer-
baij anel Ta da somexTa mxri dan qarTul i jaris usafrTx-
oebi s garantia unda qonoda. azerbaij anel ebi sgan amis mi R-
weva SeuZI ebel i iyo im ubral o mizezis gamo, rom bol Sevi-
kebs qveyana Ti Tqmisi YubrZol vel ad Caabar a. rac Seexeba so-
mxeTs, i gi xel sayrel i si tuaci i s Seqmni s Tanave mis mi er `sa-
daod- qceul i qarTul i mi webi s mi tacebas Seecdeboda. aRni S-
nul i dan gamomdinare, qarTul i mxedrobi sadmi azerbaij ane-

I Ta Ziri Tadi Zal ebis da prorusul i orientaciis mqone somexTa Tanadgoma saTaveSi ve iyo gamoricxul i. es imas ni-Snavda, rom Tuki saqarTvel o, ami erkavkasi i s `ganmaTavisu-fI ebel i s~ funcias i kisrebda, i gi riskis pol itikis gzas unda dadgomoda. damfuZnebel i krebis 1920 wl i s 25 ivnisis sxdomaze oponentTa misamarTi T v.Tevzai a ambobda: `azerbaij anis xal xi gagveTavisufl ebia ucxo Zal isagan... aseT mi znebs saqarTvel os respubl i ka ver gai ziarebs... i s vinc fiqrobs, rom unda Caerios sxvis saqmeebSi... Sesul iyo maT dedaqal aqSi, gaeyara yvel a misi mokavSire el ementebi... ase-Ti pol itika respubl i kas ar qonia da arc eqneboda.~ i mave saki TxTan dakavSi rebiT akaki Cxenkel ma ganacxada: `Cveni mdgomareoba rTul ia, Cveni ıngvl iv rkal Semortymul i varT... Cveni mTavrobac ar awarmoebda riskis pol itikas da yvel a i s rasac aq b-ni veSapel i brZanebda, aris riskis pol itika. Cven risks ver wawarmoebT sanam vgrZnobT pasuxi smgebl o-bas Cveni eris, Cveni demokratiis wi naSe.~ 2)`omi s gagrZel ebi s momxreni - yuradRebis mi Rma tovebdnen yvel aze mni Svnel o-van ki Txvas; SeZl ebda Tu ara saqarTvel os ekonomi ka xang-rZl i vi omis xarj ebi s gadafarvas da ra mdgomareobaSi aR-moCndeboda qveynis finansebi. mi Tumetes, 14 dRiani omi saqarTvel os bi uj ets mil iard naxevari qarTul i boni dauj - da. 3)i sini arc imas ki Txul obdnen, Tu ra mdgomareoba iyo samxedro sawyobebSi i ariRis, vaznebi s, yumbarebi s, tansacm- l i sa da sursaTi Tval sazrisiT. Tavdacvis sabWos gasai du- ml oebul i monacemebis mixedvi T, 1920 wl i s ivnisis bol o-sTvis, samxedro sawyobebSi mxol od 1 mil ion 800 aTasi rusul i warmoebis vaznebi s maragi iyo. azerbaij anis `ganmaTavisufl ebel ~ misiasTan dakavSi rebul i saomari moqmede-bebi s ganxorciel ebi s SemTxvevaSi, saqarTvel os samxedro Seiararebul Zal ebs minimum 2 mil ion 500 aTasi vazna da-swirdeboda. gaurkvevel ia, Tu ra raodenobi s zarbazni s Wurvebi da sursaTi i qneboda sawiro qarTul i j ari s br-Zol i sunarianobi s SesnarCunebl ad da mis gamosakvebad. am mxriv, samxedro sawyobebis sarezervo maragi Ti Tqmisi amowurul i iyo. es imas ni Snavs, rom kritikul momentSi, qarTul i j ari rusul i warmoebis vaznebi s, yumbarebi s da sakvebi s gareSe darceboda. Tuki es moxdeboda, saqarTve- l os saxel mwifos katastrofa garduval i iyo da rac mTa-

varia, vaznebis gareSe darCenil i qarTul i jari, osebis 1920 wl is ivnisiS aj anyebasac ver gaumkl avdeboda da os bol Sevikebs, Tbili issi Tofis gasrol is gareSe Semosvili is Sesazi ebl oba mi ecemoda. es aris mware sinamdvil e, roml isadmi angariSiS gaweva nebi smieri mkvl evarisadmi auciI ebl obas warmoadgens. 4)mxedvel obaSi a misaRebi 1918 wl is dasawyissi,DsomxeTisa da azerbaij anis interessebis dasacavad, saqarTvel os Tavgamodebi dan gamomdinare mi Rebul i mware gamocdiI eba. aRni Snul i pol itikuri kursi, erovnul i sabWos 1918 wl is 16 seqtembris sxdomaze, erovnul _ demokratma i maWavar i anma `ocoboco~ pol itikad Seafasa da mmarTvel pol itikur partias mkacri toniT miuTiTa: `daanebeT Tavi ocobocodias, daadeqiT real uri pol itikis gzas, daanebeT Tavi msofl i oze zrunvas... ai Cveni pasuxi sagareo pol itikaze.- azerbaij anis `ganmaTavisufI ebel i- misi is warumatebl obis SemTxvevaSi, qveyni s mmarTvel i pol itikuri partia, i mave erovnul - demokratebi dan anal ogiuri Cawi xvi is mdgomareobaSi aRmoCndeboda. erTi ram udaod SeiZI eba iTqvas, opoziciuri partiebisa da samxedro uwye- bis arcerT maRal Cinosans, g.kvi ni taZiS zemoaRni Snul i geg- mis Sesazi o warmatebis dasabuTeba an mosal odnel i Sedeg- gebis pasuxi smgebl obis aRebis Sesaxeb, rai me saxis dokumenti mTavrobi saTvis im etapze ar warudgenia. amMSemTxve- vaSi, saqarTvel os xel isufI ebam i moqmeda Tavdacvis sisteme- mas daqvemdebarebul smxedro sawyobebSi arsebul i Sesazi ebl obi dan da saxel mwifos interessebi dan gamomdinare. samxedro sawyobebSi rusul i vaznebis maragiS amowurvis gamo, roca mis Sevsebas kustarul ad damzadebul i vaznebiT cdiI oben, am fonze, bol Sevikebi sgan azerbaij anis ganTavisufI ebiS rai me gegmebz saubari yovl ad dauSvebel ia. Cems mier arqivsacavebSi mkvl eul i dokumentiT dasturdeba, rom saqarTvel os mTavrobi 1920 wl is 24 Tebervl is dadgeni- l ebiT, rusul i warmoebis vaznebis gasatenad (kustarul i wesiT dasamzadebl ad) da mwyobridan gamosul i Tofebis SesakeTebl ad, special uri saxel osnoebis mowyobi saTvis 9,440000 maneTi iqna gamoyofil i. i mave saarqivo masal ebiT dasturdeba, rom rusul i warmoebis SaSxanebisTvis Sesabam- iSi nawil ebiS dasamzadebl ad, zemoaRni Snul i ful iT 7 sa- xarato Carxi da erTi frezeris sistemis dazga SeiZines,

romel i c dani Snul ebi samebr 1921 wl i s 24 i anvars arsenal - Si gadai tanes. rac Sexeba vaznebis kustarul ad damzadebis i ideas, Tu vi sgan momdinareobda i gi, amis Sesaxeb sayuradRebo informaci as akvi tai Svi l i s naSromi iZI eva. am sak-i TxTan dakavSirebi T masSi vki Txul obT: `saqar Tvel os general uri Stabis ufrosi general i zaqariaze Tavis `Cveneba~-Si ambobs: `vaznebis maragi friad cota. ra vqnaT? gamosaval s Ti Tqmis ver vxedavT! erT dRes Semovi da CemTan general i quTaTel aZe da meubneba: me maqvs erTi idea, dami-Wire mxari da vaznebs gavaCeno. me mas mi vuge: wi n da wi n gi- Wer mxars! raSia saqme? ai ra mi pasuxa man: arsenal Si mi l - ionobi T hyria cariel i vaznebi da gavtenoT waml iT!_ nikeli is tyviebs sad Soul ob?- vki Txe me. _nikel is tyviebi aris arsenal Si. es TaTrul i vaznebia, rac auarebel ia arsenal - Si. maT Cven amovaZrobT da gavukeTebT rusul vaznebs! rasakvirvel ia, maT Soris gansxvavebaa da ZI ier gavl enas i qoni ebs srrol is si zusteze, magram masirebul i cecxl is dros Sedegi mai nc daaxl oebi T erTi da i give i qnebao. gen. quTaTel aZi s wi nadadeba si srul eSi moviyaneT.¹⁵ am faqtis Sesaxeb gen al .zaqari aZi s mogonebebSi vki Txul obT: `arsenal Si davivyeT vaznebis xel iT awyoba. Cvenma gamoCenil ma artil eristebma Ren. quTaTel aZem da yazbegma es moaxerxes, magram ramdeni gveqneboda da rodis gveqneboda saTanado Tadarigi? mxol od 1920 wl i s Semdeg avi yaneT dRiuri ricxvi ase awyobil i vaznebis ocdaaTi aTasamde, arc amisTvis sawiro masal i s Tadarigi iyo usazRvro.¹⁶

rusul i sabrZol o vaznebis damzadebis gazz dasTan dakavSirebi T, gen. al .zaqariaZi s mogonebebi dan motanil i zemo-aRni Snul i informaci is siswores, Tavdacvis sabWos 1920 wl i s 13 noembri dadgenil ebac adasturebs. am dokumentis mi xedvi T, sxdomas sagangebod ganuxil avs saki Txi_ `vaznebis aRsawurvel saxel osnos Sromi s nayofierebis gaumj obesebis Sesaxeb.~ mi Rebul i dadgenil ebi T, dasaxul i mi znis gansaxorciel ebl ad, Tavdacvis fondidan 7,706000 maneti i qna gamoyofil i. imave Tavdacvis sabWos 1921 wl i s 11 i anvris sxdomam, rusul i SaSxanebisTvis gaTval i swinebul i `xi Stebis~ maketi moiwona da dasamzadebl ad Sesabami si nebar Tva gasca.

Cems mier motanil i zemoaRni Snul i faqtebi or Ziri Tad

garemoebaze mi gvani Snebs: 1)rusul i warmoebis SaSxanebi-saTvis samxedro sawyobebSi vaznebi sa da sxva nawil ebis maragis ukmarisobaze, misi kustarul ad gasaduml oebul formebsi damzadebis gzi T Sevsebis mcdel obaze; 2)Tavdacvis sabWos maRal Cinosnebis mxol od ramdenime pi rovnebas gaaCnda srul fasovani informacia, ra raodenobas Selcavda Tavdacvis sistemi sadmi daqvemdebarebul samxedro sawyobebSi im etapze arsebul i iaraRi. aqedan gamodinare, qarTul istoriografiaSi da zogierTi memuarul i literaturis avtoris mier gavrcel ebul i mosazreba, Ti Tqos saqarTvel os xel isufl ebis Sesabamisi uwyebis maRal Cinosnebma ar icodnen Tu ra `qoneba- iyo Senaxul i arsenal Si, mcdar informaciacea damyarebul i da sinamdvil es ar Seesabameba.

arsebul i umZimesi mdgomareobi dan gamodinare, iaraRi sada sabrZol o masal is SeZenis saki TxTan dakavSi rebi T, saqarTvel os mTavrobis 1920 wl is 18 martis dadgeni l ebi T, safrangeTSi momuSave qarTul i del egaciis dasaxmarebl ad, gen. il ia odiSel iZis xel mZRvanel obiT special uri komisia gai gzavna. **isic cnobil ia, rom saqarTvel os warmomadgeni obam sagangebo memorandumiT mimarTa safrangeTis xeli isufl ebas.** `Cven vi TxovT_vkiTxul obiT dokumentSi_dauyovnebl iv daxmarebas... rac ufro Zi ieri viqnebi T da mzadebul i, mi T ufro gaadvil deba bol Sevikebis Semosevis Tavi dan acil eba.~ rac Seexeba safraangeTis premierministrs kl emansos, konkretul i gadawyetil ebis mi RebasTan mimarTebaSi garkveul i mizezebis gamo Tavs ikavebda. dokumentur masal aze dayrdnobi T, am saki TxTan dakavSi rebi T a.kvi tai Svi l i wers: `premier ministri kl emanso Seeki Txa del egaci as- iaraRi da amunicia rom gamogi gzavnoT... maTac i give bedi xom ar eweva, rogorc denikini saTvis gagzavnili s; mas bevri gavugzavneT da bol os yvel a es iaraRi bol Sevikebis xel Si gadavi dao.~ del egaci am mas saTanado Sesaf erisi pasuxi misca. am TaTbiris Sedegi iyo dapi reba iaraRi s mi cemi sa.¹⁷

samwuxarod, es dapi rebac Seusrul ebel i darCa. Tuki gen. a.zaqari iZis mogonebebs daveyrdnobi T, mokavSi re saxel mwi foebis umaRI es sabWos, general vrangel i saTvis daval eba mi ucia, rom konstantinopol is sawyobebSi arsebul i misi

yofil i jaris naqoni iaraRi qarTvel ebi saTvis gadaeca. imave azaqariaZis informaciiT, am saki TxTan dakavSi rebi T konstantinopol Si `gai gzavna komisia Ren. quTaTel aZis da Saqro mdivnis Semadgeni obi T. ramdenime dRe gaatara am del egaci am iq, magram arc erTi Tofi Cven maTgan ar mi gvi Ria... rusul sabWos Ren. vrangel is meTaurobiT gamoutani a dadgeni l eba, rom yovel nairi zomebi yofil iyo mi Rebul i, raTa qarTvel ebs iaraRi ar miscemoda.¹⁸

erTi ram dabej iTebi T SeiZl eba iTqvas; ramdenadac vrangel i da denikini antantis saxel mwi foebi sgan finansdeboda da maTi mi Ti Tebebis Semsrul ebl ebi iyvnen, gansakuTrebi T ingl isisa da safrangeTis xel isufal Ta gareSe, saqarTveI os sawi naaRmdegod veranair gadawyvetil ebas ver mi i Rebdnen. mi Tumetes, stambol is samxedro sawyobSi Tavmoyril i vrangel is naqoni iaraRi, safrangeTis saxel mwi fos sakuTrebas warmoadgenda. am SemTxvevaSi, gadamwyeti si tyva, safrangeTis premier-ministr kl emansos unda eTqva. rogorc zemo-Tac mqonda aRni Snul i, ramdenadac mas orWoful i_waj equkuj eqis pozicia eWira, ami T gen. vrangel i sargebl obda da misi naqoni iaraRis vargisi anobiS Semowmebis ufl ebasac ar aZl evda qarTul mxares. arc isaa gamori cxul i, rom igive kl emanso, evropel i maRal Cinosnebi sadmi damaxasia TebeI i orpirovani ianusis rol s rom TamaSobda. Torem, mis mier gacemul i brZanebis Sesrul eba- arSesrul ebaSi Carevas, rusul i sabWo da gen. vrangel i namdvil ad ver gabeledava. am SemTxvevaSi gadamwyet si tyvas evropel Ta interesebi gansazRvravda. mxedvel obaSi maqvs maTi mxridan saqarTveI os sazianod Cafiqrebul i samomavl o Ronisz eba. kerZod, saqarTvel osgan teritoriebis CamoWris safuZvel ze axal i fsevdo `saxel mwi fos- Seqmnis mcdel obis faqt. am mimarTul ebi T pirvel i qmedi Ti nabij i ingl isisa da safrangeTis xel isufal Ta Zal isxmevit 1920 wl is 25 Teberval s gadiiga da erTa l igis mandatiT, baTumi porto-frankod official urad iqna gamocxadebul i. baTumsa da mis garSemo arsebul i teritoriebis bazaze saqarTvel osgan gancal kevebiT, `patara damouki debel i saxel mwi fos- Seqmnis saki Txi, mokavSire saxel mwi foTa umarI esi sabWos 27 Tebervl is Londonis sxdomaze sagangebod gani xil es. evropel Ta es veragul i gegma, qarTvel pol i tikozebs mxedvel obi dan ar

gamorčenia da adeqvaturi nabij i s gadasadgmel ad Sesabami - si safexuris momzadebas Seecadnen. ami s dadasturebas noe rami Svil i s mier parizSi myofi k.Cxei Zisa da ir.wereTel i sa- dmi gagzavn i weril i warmoadgens, romel ic 1920 wl i s 22 marti Taa daTariRebul i. am dokumentis gansakuTrebui Rirebul eba imaSi mdgomareobs, rom masSi gamoaSkaravebu- l i a qarTul i saxel mwifos teritoriul i mTI ianobis wi- naaRmdeg dagegmi i ingl i sis xel i sufal Ta mi znebi da amo- canebi. meore mxriv, saqarTvel os samxreT_dasavl eTis isto- riul i teritoriis CamosaWrel ad, ingl i sur- somxuri al ian- sis Sesaxeb_ xazgasmi Taa mi Ti Tebul i. aRni Snul Tan dakav- Si rebi T dokumentSi vki Txul obT: `ingl i sel ebi cdil obs... dai kavon baTumi s ol qi da Semdeg gaiyvanon rkinigza baTu- mi dan ar taani T yarsamde... aseTi gegma warmoadgens ganmeo- rebas im gegmisas, rac erTxel moxda Zvel saqarTvel oSi. samcxe_ saaTabagos mowyvetiT davkargeT ekonomiuri Zal a- gavl ena da Semdeg pol itikuri suvereniteti. **ami tom vibrZ-** vi T ase energiul ad am gegmis wi naaRmdeg. artaani_ baTu- mi s xazi savsebi T Cveni unda Sei qnes. rogorc ar Segvi- Zi i a baTumi s ol qis daTmoba, aseve ar Segvi Zi i arc arta- anis ol qis somxebi saTvis gadacema... somxebi i brZvi an arta- anis ol qid dan gai kafon vi wro gza baTumi sken. gaJI i ton iq mcxovrebni, rogorc exl a JI eten artaanis ol qis aRmosa- vi eT nawi l i s musl i manebs arti l eri iT da qmni an sufTa derefans.^{~19} am dokumentis gacnobis Semdeg gasagebi unda i yos: 1)saxel mwifoebrivad ra maRaL doneze azrovnebda Cv- eni winaprebi da somexTa moTxovnebSi, saqarTvel os teriti- oriul i mTI ianobis dasarRvevad ra did safrTxeebs xeda- vda; 2)i mave dokumentiT aSkar ad ikveTeba, Tu ratom uWerda mxars ingl i sis warmomadgenl oba san- remos konferenci aze somxebis usafuZvi o da mtacebl ur moTxovnebs. i sic sayura- dReboa, rom **antantis saxel mwifoebis mxridan baTumi s po- rto- frankod gamocxadebas, n.rami Svil ma karikaturul i** saxel mwifos Seqmnis mcdel oba uwoda da principul ad daayena saki Txi mis wi naaRmdeg energiul i zomebis mi Rebis aucil ebl obis Sesaxeb. i mavdroul ad ingl i sis xel i sufl eb- i s saqarTvel osken Sesazi o Semobrunebis faqtorebis wi n wamowevazedac mi uTi Ta. amasTan dakavSi rebi T i mave weril - Si vki Txul obT: `Cven vfifqrobT, Sei Zi eba ingl i sis xel mZR-

vanel wreeds advil ad davumtkicoT, rom Zi ieri saqar Tvel o sworeT maT interesebSi a da maT pol i tikaS mTel kavkasiaSi da Sua aziaSi amtkicebs. ami tom, saWi roa saqar Tvel - os interesTa uzrunvel yofa.~

n.rami Svi l is es weril i imi Tacaa sayuradRebo, rom masSi zaqaTal as ol qis azerbaij anis sazRvrebSi datovebis SeuZl ebl obaze da am saki TxTan dakavSi rebi T antantis saxel mwi foTa mxardaWeris mi Rebazea yuradReba gamaxvil ebul i. rogorc Cans, am saki Txze azerbaij anel ebs evropul i saxe- l mwi foebis mxridan garkveul i formiT qonda l obireba. `mesame saki Txi es aris zaqaTal as ol qi. yovl ad SeuZl ebel - ia_vki Txul obT dokumentSi_ am ol qis azerbaij anis farg- l ebSi datoveba. ekonomi urad i s gadaj aWvul ia Tbil iSTan. saWi roa am saki TxSi mi imxroT mokavSi reni. es mi T ufro SeiZl eba, rom azerbaij anis gaZl ierebas saqar Tvel os xarj ze ar moi surveben. saer Tod, **drea sazRvrebis saki Txi pirvel rigSi daayenoT.** modis gen. odi Sel i Ze. man Cveni azri icis da saWi roa misi erudici i s savsebi T gamoyeneba. i medi maqvs, Tqven SeZl ebT am ukansknel dabrkol ebaTa daZl evas.~

dokumenturi masal iT dasturdeba, rom l ondoni s konfrenCi i s monawil e saxel mwi foebma, saqar Tvel os Tan mi mar TebaSi srul i siyru e gamoi Ci na. qar Tvel Ta gasaWi ri, misi yovel i wi nadadeba ignorirebul i i qna. aseTi ve damoki debul eba gamoavl i na saqar Tvel osadmi iaraRi s mi yi dvasTan mi mar TebaSi ac. mar Tal ia, saqar Tvel os warmoadgenl obas oficial urad uars ar eubneboden, magram arc danapi rebs asrul ebdnen. es garemoeba qonda mxedvel obaSi ak.Cxenkel s, roca gr.rc-xil aZi sadmi gagzavnil weril Si (1920 wl i s 21 marti), ingl - i sis xel i sufl ebi s misamartiT gul i swyromiT rom werda: `Cven ar vTxovT maT j ars, ar vTxovT mowyal ebas, gvin da mxol od megobrul ad mogvepyran. gamogvi gzavnon iaraRi, sursaTi, mogvcen saSual eba medgrad SevebrZol oT anarqias, rogorc garedan i se Si gni T.~ i ave ak.Cxenkel i s mtkicebi T, ramdenadac saqar Tvel o evropasa da azias Sori s saaRebm i cemo xi ds warmoadgenda, misTvi s gaugebari rCeboda i ngl i sis antiqar Tul i pol i tiki kursi. mi Tumetes, aRni Snul saki-TxTan mi mar TebaSi saqar Tvel os gansakuTreb ul i funqci a eki sreboda. am fonze, gr.rcxil aZi s wi naSe ak.Cxenkel i savsebi T kanonzomi erad svamda ki Txvas: `vis i Sovis ingl isi

ukeTess, gana mTel s aziaSi aris ki dev i seTi eri, rogorc qarTvel i, romel ic momwi febul ia pol itikuraT, sur s evropul ad icxovros da mTel is arsebi Taa dainteresebul i didi britaneTi s gverdi T, misi patara megobris saxiT Seasrul os Tavisi istoriul i misia? Tbil isi gegemonia amierkavkasi i sa, is erTgvari sul ieri simagrea, romel zedac dayrdnoba ingl isisTvis metad saxeir roa. rac ufro ZI ieri varT Cven, pol itikuraT da ekonomikuraT, miT ufro kargia TviT ingl isisaTvis. amiT mis gavl enas daeqvemdebareba mTel i kavkasia... ratom ar esmis mas es garemoeba, ratom unda amierkavkasia bol Sevikebis saTel ad gaxados?... es pol itika... TviT ingl isis sasicocxl o interesebis Ral atia... gTxovT imoqmedoT mTel is Zal RoniT. CaagoneT mag xal xs namdvil i maTi interes, nu gvRupaven Cven, nu Ral atoben TviT ingl iss.-

am vrcel i amonaweridan kargad Cans, Tu ra maRal doneze qonda ak.Cxenkel s gacnobi erebul i kavkasi i s regionSi saqarTvel os geopolitikuri mni Svnel oba da i s mosal odnel i safrTxeebi, romel ebic Crdil oeTidan da samxreTidan emuqreboda Cvens qveyanas. meore mxriv, masSi xazgasmi Taa miT i Tebul i ingl isis gansakuTreb ul rol ze, rogorc damcav meqani zmze saqarTvel os Tan mi mar TebaSi. samwuxarod, ingl isis xel i sufl ebaze zemoqmedebis moxdena, ara Tu gr.rcxil aZes, aramed masze ufro maRal i rangisa da didi saxel mwi fos warmomadgenel sac ar SeeZI o. im etapze ingl isis xel i sufl eba ruseTis bunebriv simdi dreze fi qrobda da wurbel asaviT misi amowovis meqani zmis SemuSavebiT iyo dakavebul i. amfonze, saqarTvel o da samxreT kavkasia misTvis nakl ebad Rirebul geografiul cnebad gadai qca. saqarTvel os xvalindel i dRisTvis ingl i sel Ta es damRupvel i kursi, qarTul pol itikur el i tas mxedvel obis mi Rma ar darCenia da masTan mi mar TebaSi, adeqvaturi nabij i s gadadgmi s aucil ebl o bas ayenebda. amis utyuar dadasturebad, e.gegewkoris mi er 1920 wl i s 24 marts parizSi, romSi da konstantinopol Si myofi saqarTvel os warmomadgenl ebi sadmi gagzavnili i werili i gamodgeba. `Cven eWwi gvaqvs- vki Txul obT dokumentSi, rom ingl i sel ebi Cvens zurgsukan saiduml od mol aparakebas awarmoeben sabWoTa mTavrobasTan... Tu i si ni bol Sevikebis gan mi i Reben mandats sparseT- indoeTi sTvis, amierkavka-

si as advil ad daTmoben. aseT mdgomareobaSi, arsebul i pi robebi Cven sxvas arafers gvi karnaxebs Tu ara saswrafod energiul moqmedebas. mTavrobas gadawyvetil i aqvs dai cvas respubliki s damouki debi oba Tu is saWi ro iqneba i ar aRiT xel Si.-~ ingl i si s sandoobasTan mimar TebaSi, e.gegewkori ar tyuoda dokumenturi masal iT dadasturebul ia, rom im etapze sabWoTa ruseTsa da ingl iss Soris ekonomikuri urTier-Tobi s saki TxebTan mimar TebaSi mol aparakeba da Sesabami si xel Sekrul ebi s teqstis momzadebaze muSaoba marTI ac mimi-dinareobda. aRni Snul is gaTval i swinebi T, mxol od ingl isze dayrdhoba da dasaxul i mi zni s Sesasrul ebl ad sxva qveynebisken argaxedva, an saTanado nabij is argadadgma da axal i safexuris armosinj va, di di pol itikuri Secdoma iqneboda. am mxriv, qarTul i saxel mwi fos mmartvel wrebs safuZvl i-ani gamocdi l eba da mimi dinare procesebi sadmi al Ros aRebis Sesani Snavi intuicia gaaCnda. amis udao dadasturebas i mave dokumentebiSi motanil i fagtebi iZl eva. am masal ebi s Seswavl is Sedegad irkveva, rom ingl i si sgan gadamwyeti pasuxis droSi Segnebul ad gaWi anurebi s gamo, i ar aRis SeZen-nasTan mimar TebaSi dawyebul i saqmianobis Ziri Tadi kursi, saqarTvel os di pl omatiurma korpusma i tal ia_ safrange-Tis mimarTul ebi T ai Ro. roca saqarTvel os del egaciis mier am qveynebi dan i ar aRis SeZen-nasTan dakavSi rebi T gaweul saqmianobas vexebi T, Cvens wi naSe principul ad i smeba ki Txava_ samxedro aRWurvil obis SesaZen nusxaSi Setanil i yo Tu ara saqarTvel os Tavdacvis sami ni strosadmi daqvemdebarebul i tal iuri sabrZol o Tvi Tmfrinavebi satis saWi ro sawavis Sesyi dva. es saki Txi gansakuTrebul aqtual obas i m Tval sazrisi Tac iZens, rom r.gabaSvi l is mogonebebis safuZvel ze, istorikosTa garkveul wrebsi, `eqsper tebSi-da Jurnal istebSi dRemde mcdari Sexedul ebba `gabatonebul i,~_ saqarTvel os xel i sufl ebam Ti Tqos ar izruna da Tvi Tmfrinavebi satis sawavis SesaZenad arcerTi TeTri ar gaimeta. i sini gazepirebul i I eqsivit i meoreben r.gabaSvi -I is mogonebebis sarkazmi T Sezavebul teqsts. `sad i yo 12, saukeTeso i tal iuri haeropl ani, romel Tagan_wers r.gaba-Svi l i_ vercerTi ver afrinda, mi uxedavad saukeTeso qarTvel i mfrinavebi satis (mayaSvi l ebi, bogomol ovi da ssv.), radgan Cvenma `mzrunvel ma- xazeinma_ aucil ebel `gargoil isatis-

ful i ver gaimeta: Zvirial.. ubral o zeTi ixmareTo da bol Sevikuri erTaderTi haeropl ani Tu `panikasa~ hqmni da Cvens mamac gvardiaSi, warmoi dgi neT, ra entuziazms gamoi wvevda maTSi da SiSi s zars bol SevikebSi._ Cvens 12 haeropl ans Camoegdo maTi es erTaderTi da efrina mtris Tavze... giind marato Jordani as qvada gunda Camoeyara, an gegeWkoris marqsistul i `rCevebi ~ marqsistul save rigebsi?~ (gv.316)

vinc am amonawers yvel a niuansi T si Rrmiseul ad gani xil - avs, udaod dameTanxmeba, rom igi tyuil ebi Taa damZimebul i da saqarTvel os mTavrobi sadmi biol ogi urad mozul e adamani s mi eraa daweril i. am teqtis avtors, 1918 wl is mai si s umZi mesi dReebi unda gaxsenoda, roca man da misma Tanapartiel ebma, saqarTvel os pirvel i respublikis koaliciur mTavrobaSi Sesvl aze da qveyni s xaval indel i dRi s pasuxi smgeb - l obaze, upasuxi smgebl o gadawyvetil eba rom mi i Ro da `qandaraze Semomj dari - gul gril i mayurebel i opozicioneris rol Si yofna amj obina. es aris mware simarTl e da mas vercerTi istorikosi ver gaeqceva.

rac Seexeba ital iuri warmoebis Tvi Tmfri navebis sawavisTvis ful is TiTqos `vergametebas,~ am tyuil is mxil ebi s uamravi dokumentia dacul i harvardis universitetisa da I evil is saarqivo masal ebi s Sesabamis fondebSi. i mave masal ebSi dacul i informaciis mixedvi T, samxedro aRWur - vi l obasTan er Tad, aRni Snul i sawavi ital iis Tavdacvis uwyebi dan unda mi eRo saqarTvel os. am da sxva saki Txebi s mogvareba ital iaSi sagangebod mi vli nebul gen. i gedevani Svi l s qonda daval ebil i. saqarTvel os del egaci is (pol i - tikuri, ekonomikuri, samxedro) 1920 wl is 1 mai si s sxdomis stenografiul i angariSi dan irkveva, rom, saqarTvel os warmomadgenl obis imedebi ital iis xel isufl ebam ver gaama - rTl a. xel SemSI el faqtorad sakiTxis pol i tikur Wri l - Si gadatana da al iebis (al iansi s saxel mwi foebis) mier gamocemul i brZaneba i qna dasaxel ebil i. es dokumenti, kavkasi i s da mcire aziis teritoriae, iaraRisa da nebis mieri sabrZol o saSual ebebi sTvis gankuTvni l i nawarmi s Setanas krZal - avda. aRni Snul i s gaTval i swinebi dan gamomdi nare, saqarTvel os di pl omatiuri korpusi s mesveurebma, qveyni sTvis Tavdacvi Ti sabrZol o masal i s Sovna `Semovl iTi gzi Tac - mosi - nj es. am SemTxvevaSi mat mizans, qarTul i j aris Seiar aReba

da respubl iki s damouki debi s gadarCena warmoadgenda.

Seqmnii i urTul esi si tuaci i s gaTval i swinebi dan gamomdinare, evropaSi qarTul i misi i s warmomadgenl ebma, moqmedebi s erT- erT safexurad, sayovel Taod cnobi l i pol i t kuri formul ireba_ `mizani amarTI ebs saSual ebas- gamoyenebac scades. i sini i tal i i s kerzo savaWro sazogadoebi s `ICTA-- s xel mZRvanel s daukavSi rdnen da masTan i ar aRi s SeZena_ transport irebaze mol aparakebi s garkveul i safexuri Seamzades. aRni Snul saki TxTan mi mar TebaSi gansakuTrebui yura- dRebas gr.rcxil aZi s mier 1920 wl i s 17 i anvars e.gegeWko- ri sadmi gagzavnii i weri l i iqcevs. CvenTvi s saintereso saki TxTan dakavSi rebi T dokumentSi vki Txul obT: `erTi i ta- li el i vaWari romel i c droebi T i myofeba aq, rogorc war- momadgenel i ital iuri savaWro sazogadoebi s `ICTA~, wi na- dadebas iZI eva Seitanos saqarTvel oSi yovel nairi samxe- dro i ar aRi, Tofebi, zorbaznebi, aeropl anebi, patronebi, yum- barebi da sxva. misi si tyvi T, yvel aferi es SeiZI eba i Sovos saqarTvel os mTavrobam i tal i aSi kerzo mwarmoebl ebi s da vaWrebi sgan. foTAmde mi tanas i ki sreben gadamyidvel ebi. sa- Wi roa mxol od wi naswar i codnen, SeiZI eba Tu ara am saqmeze pi r dapi ri I aparaki i tal i i s mTavrobam ver gai gos. am saki Tx i s Se- saxe b me davpi rdi pasuxs ori kvi r i s ganmavl obaSi da ami t- om gTxovT vi dre es vada gavi dodes macnoboT Tqveni Sexed- ul eba.-

Sesabam i s saarqi vo masal ebi s Seswavl i s mi ux edavad, aRni S- nul saki TxTan mi mar TebaSi raime saxi s gadawyveti l ebi s mi Rebi s damadasturebel dokument s ver mi vakvl ie. rogorc Cans, zemoaRni Snul i kanoni s gaTval i swinebi dan gamomdinare, i tal i i dan aral egarul ad i ar aRi s gamotana di d riskTan iyo dakavSi rebul i. mi Tumetes, i metapze xmel TaSua zRvi sa da Savi zRvi s umni Svnel ovanes navsadgurebs da Tvi T bosforis srutes konstantinopol i TurT_ ingl i sis saj ar i so Se- naer Tebi akontrol ebda. saqarTvel osadmi i ar aRi s mi yi dva- sTan mi mar TebaSi ingl i sis waj eq- ukuj eqi s pozici as Tuki gavi Tval i swinebT, bosforis sruteSi i tal i i dan aral egarul ad wamoRebul i i ar aRi s gatarebas ingl i si ar avi Tar SemTxv- evaSi ar dauSvebda. aqedan gamomdinare, saqarTvel os saer T- aSor i so mdgomareoba ki dev ufr o damZi mdeboda.

ramdenadac iaraRis aral egarul ad transportireba did riskTan da mosal odnel saerTaSori so skandal Tan iyo dakavSi rebul i, saqarTvel os mTavrobam am nabi j i s gadadgmi sgan, rogorc Cans Tavi Sei kava. saarqivo masal ebi dan irkveva, rom saqarTvel os dipl omatiurma warmomadgenl obam, iaraRis SeZen is optimal ur formad, qarxnis mepatroneebTan mol aparakeba mi i Cni a. am mxriv saintereso informaciaa dacu-
I i n.j ayel i s mier e.gegeWkor i sadmi 1920 wl i s 30 i vni ss gagzavnili weril Si. am dokumenti s mi xedvi T, n.j ayel i da i.ge-
devani Svil i sagangebod Casul an qal aq mi l anSi raTa enax-
aT i tal i i s metal urgiul i qarxnebis mmarTvel i wrebi da
uSual od maTTan moexdinaT i tal iuri warmoebis iaraRis
Sesyi dvasTan dakavSi rebi T mol aparakeba. ramdenadac es mc-
del oba warumatebl ad damTavrda, qarTul i dipl omatiuri
korpusi s warmomadgebnl ebi i Zul ebul i gaxdnen, del egaci-
i s winaSe mdgom i saki Txebi s mogvarebas i sev I ondonSi
cdil i yvnen. samwuxarod, maTi es misiac uSedego gamodga.

yovel i ve zemoTqmuli dan gamodinare, principul ad i s-
meba ki Txva: romel qveyanaSi apirebda r.gabaSvil i Tvi Tm-
frinavebi sTvis sawvavis SeZen as da Tuki aseTi saxel m-
wi fo egul eboda, es saiduml o ratom droul ad ar gaumx-
il a i mave komisi i s wevrebs? roca am Seki Txvas zogieTi
`gabaSvil isti~ Cemi kol ega damaj erebel pasuxs gascems,
am i s Semdeg mi ecema moral uri da zneobrivi ufl eba gaakri-
tikos da anaTemasac gadasces xel i sufl ebis i s mesveurni,
roml ebmac r.gabaSvil i sgan mi kvl eul i Tvi Tmfrinavis
`sawvavis sabados~ aTvi sebaze uari rom ganacxada.

qarTul i j arisTvis iaraRis SesaZenad gaweul i saqmi anobi dan, gansakuTreb ul interess gr.rcxi l aZi s mier e.gegeWko-
ri sadmi 1920 wl i s 4 maiss gagzavnili i radio depeSa i qcevs.
am dokumenti dan irkveva, rom ingl i sis, safrangeTi s da i tal -
i i s qveynebi s maRa l komisreb Tan Sexvedraze, gr.rcxi l aZes
principul ad dausvams saki Txi: `rodis SeiZi eba mi vi RoT
dapi rebul i amunicia. rogorc mosal odnel i iyo- wers i gi-
gadawri Ti pasuxi arcerTma ar momca. mi Txres, es saki Txi
Tvi T Cvenma mTavrobam unda gadawyvi toso da dampi rdnen,
rom gaugzavnili dnen depeSebs Tavi anT sagareo saqmeTa sami n-
istroebs am saqmeze. me vcdil obdi gamegebi nebi na maTTvis,
rom daxmareba swored exl aa saWi ro, radgan baqoS i bol Se-

vi kebi s gamočeni s Semdeg, saqarTvel o Tavdacvis samzadi s-Sia.- samwuxarod, maTi mxridan qarTul i probl emi sadmi civida indiferentul i damoki debul eba i grZnoboda. i seTi STabeWdi l eba iqmnoboda, rom i sini qarTvel ebs gansakuTrebul informacias umal avdnen. qamel eonis pol i tikkur ni Rabs amofarebul ni, mxol od zedapirul i dapi rebebiT ifargl e-bodnen. amis Sesani Snav dadasturebad, saqarTvel os sazavo del egaci i s 1920 wl i s 4 mai s is sxdomis stenografiul angariSSi dacul i informacia gamodgeba. dokumenti dan i rkveva, rom k.gvarj al azis mier frangi pol kovnikis JorJi sadmi micemul Seki Txvaze_ `Cven gvida vi codeT... iaraRs Tu mi vi RebT, vi RebT marto safraangeTidan Tu sxvebi danac.- respondentma (JorJma) am kanonzomieri Seki Txvi sadmi konkretul pasuxs Tavi aari da. **rac Sexebe i mave k.gvarj al azis saubars kremerTan**, mas k.gvarj al azis aTvis yovel gvari Sefarvis gareSe uTqvams: `Tu gindaT marTal i giTxraT, maSin azri aseTia,... iaraRi Tqven ar mogecemaT, radganac Tqven erTi meores wyetT.- am SemTxvevaSi mas somex- azerbaij anel Ta si sxl i ani dapi ri spireba qonda mxedvel obaSi. samwuxarod, es danaSaul ebrivi qmedeba bral debis saxiT qarTvel ebze gadmoqondaT. anal ogiuri pozicia eWi ra qarTvel ebTan mimarTebaSi grenarsac. rogorc Cans, somxebis mxridan orive maTgans qarTvel Ta sawi naaRmdegod yal bi informacia qonda mi wodebul i. iyi qarTvel ebi s simartI esa da udanSaul obaSi mas Semdeg darwmunda, roca de- marte- l i s depeSas gaecno. am dokumentSi xazgasmit iyo mi Ti Tebul i: `saqarTvel os energiul i Carevis wyal obiT, mowveu- l i iqna konferencia sami respubl iki s da omi SeCerebu- l i a somex- azerbaij anel Ta Soris.

Cems mier motanil i fagtebi imis naTel i dadasturebaa, Tu ramdenad maRal doneze muSaobda mezobel i qveynebis (somxeTi, azerbaij ani) war momadgenl ebi qarTvel ebi s wi naaRmdeg yal bi informaciis gavrcel ebi s mi zni T. maT kar gad moaxerxes saqarTvel osadmi evropis l i derTa garkveul i nawi l - i s undobl obaSi darwmuneba. iaraRi s SeZen i s saki TxSi qarTul i di pl omatiis warumatebel i saqmianobis safuzvel Ta- fuZvel i evropis masStabiT qarTvel ebi sadmi somexTa gapi- arebul i yal bi bral debebi iyo. am saki TxTan dakavSi rebiT, saqarTvel os del egaci i s da ekonomi kuri komisi i s 1920 wl i s

1 mai si s gaer Ti anebul sxdomaze, k.Cxei Ze xazgasmi T mi uTi Tebda: `del egaci am iaraRis SeZenis saki Txis gamorkvevisTvis di di Sroma gaswi a, magram saubedurod j er mi zans ver mi aRwi a.- am SemTxvevaSi k.Cxei Zes ital iaSi da ingl isSi qarTu- l i del egaci is warumatebel i saqmi anoba qonda mxedvel o- baSi. mi uxeda vad i misa, rom ingl isSi Ti Tqmisi yvel a pasux- ismgebel i pi rovneba iqna naxul i, isini qarTvel ebs iar- aRis Sesyi dvasTan dakavSi rebi T erT da imave pasuxs aZI evd- nen: `principul i mosazrebi T SeuZI ebel ia j er- j ero bi T saki Txis sisrul eSi moyvana da a.S.-

ingl isi s war momadgenl obis mxri dan aseTi pozici i s daWe- ra, moaxl oebul i safr Txis wi naSe mdgomi saqarTvel osadmi momakvdinebel dar tymas warmoadgenda. mi Tumetes, samxreT kavkasi i s garSemo pol i tiki ri si tuaci i s gamwvavebi s fonze, saqarTvel o umZimes mdgomareobaSi imyofeboda. qveyanas sabrZol o iaraRi swirdeboda da am aucil ebel damcav instruments, dapi rebi s mi uxeda vad, dasavl eT evropi s saxel m- wi foebi ver imetebda. am real obis gaTval i swinebi dan ga- momdinare, parizSi, romSi, berl inSi, bernSi, LondonSi, kon- stantinopol Si myofi saqarTvel os dipl omatiuri warmo- madgenl ebi sadmi 1920 wl is 18 april s gagzavnii radiode- peSaSi e.gegewkori garkvevi T mi uTi Tebda: `Cven SevZI ebT Tavdacvas sakuTari Zal ebi T, yovel SemTxvevaSi er Txans gaumkl avdebi T mters. ra Tqma unda Cveni mdgomareoba ufr o imedi ani iqneboda, rom mokavSi reTagan Sepi rebul i daxma- reba mi gveRo. yovel dRe gpi rdebi an, magram j er arafe ri gamougzavni aT.- am fonze, ganskutrebul yuradRebas iqcevs imave e.gegewkori s mi er evropi s qveynebSi saqarTvel os wa- rmomadgenl obis admi 1920 wl is 30 april s gagzavnii radi- odepeSa. `Cven gvWi ria- vki Txul obT dokumentSi- iaraRi, amuni cia da sursaTi. mokavSi reTa mi siebi gpi rdebi an daxma- rebas, Tumca j er es dapi reba ar ausrul ebi aT... Tqven iq unda mi i RoT yovel i zoma, rom es daxmareba Tuki cariel i si tyva ar aris, maTi dapi reba dauyovnebl iv mogvades.- evropi s qveynebis I iderebi dan sicru eze dafuznebul i wa- j eq- ukuj eqi s pol i tiki dan gamodinare, saqarTvel os del e- gaci i s wi naSe principul ad dai sva saki Txis im arsebi Ti me- qani zmis wi na pl anze wamowevi s aucil ebl obis Sesaxeb, romel - ic dasavl eT evropi s saxel mwi foTa I iderebs daaintere-

sebda am mxriv, gansakuTrebül yuradRebas n.nikol aZis mier SeTavazebul i wi nadadeba iqcevs. n.nikol aZis azri T, ramdenadac bol Sevi kebi s mier baqos okupacia ganxorciel da, misi ganTavi sufl ebis motivaci iT, qarTul mxares antantis qveynebi dan iaraRis mi yidva unda moeTxova. am saki TxTan dakavSi rebi T qarTul mxares gen. foSi sadmi dasabuTebul i formiT Sesabamisi moxseneba unda war edgi na. er Ti Sexedvi T es wi nadadeba im Tval sazrisiT Canda mi saRebi, rom aRni Snul saki TxTan mimar TebaSi, navTobze daxarbeb ul ingl isisa da saf rangeTi s xel isufal T Sei Zi eba marT I ac gasCenodaT garkveul i interes. meore mxriv, bol Sevi kebi s gan baqos ganTavi sufl ebis aTvis saomari moqmedebeb is dawyeba, sabWoTa ruseTi sadmi omis gamocxadebas ni Snavda. is iaraRi (vaznebi, yumbarebi ...) roml ebsac evropis qveynebi dan qarTul i mxare marganecis safasurad mi i Rebda, evropis qveynebis interesebi saTvis sabWoTa ruseTTan omis dros dai xarj eboda da qarTul i jari i sev ui aRaRod darCeboda. am procesebs qarTvel Ta cooxal i Zal is msxverp I ad Sewi rvastan er Tad, saqarTvel os ekonomikis srul i ganadgureba da misi saxel mwifoebris obis dacema moyveboda. aqedan gamodinare, n.nikol aZis zemoaRni Snul i wi nadadeba, im periodis qarTul i si namdvil i sadmi mi uRebel i iyo. Tundac im el ementarul i mizezis gamo, rom iaraRis sanacvl od ruseTan dapi ri spi rebi T, saqarTvel o evropis saxeI mwifoebis interesTa zvaraki gaxdeboda.

Cems mier arqivsacavebSi mikl eul i dokumenturi masal - is mixedvi T Tuki vimsj el ebT, antantis saxel mwifoebi ruseTTan omSi saqarTvel os Cabmi T martI ac iyvnen dainteresebul ni. amis Sesaxeb, gr.rcxi l aZis mier 1920 wl is 21 i anvars parizSi myofi saqarTvel os del egaci is winaSe gakeTebul moxsenebaSi, ingl isis admiral di- robekTan saubris sayuradRebo faqtebia motanil i. `di- robekis nal aparakevi dan- vki Txul obT dokumentSi- gamoir kva, rom antantas ganzraxul i aqvs Cveni CaTreva omSi bol Sevi kebi s wi naaRmdeg. di- robekis TqmiT, mdgomareoba Txoul obs, rom saqarTvel o awarmoebdes bol Sevi kebTan ara mar to Tavdavci T pol i ticas da mzad i yos mogeri ebi Ti omisTvis, aramed i masac, rom saqarTvel o daexmaros moxal i seebs yubani s ol qSi bol Sevi kebi s uk an gadasrol i sTvis... j er unda gamo-

i Ci nos saqarTvel om faqturad aqtivoba bol Sevi kebi s wi-naaRmdeg da maSi n mi i Rebs iaraRso.~ di- robekis aRni Snul i pozicia gakvirvebas ar iwevs, radgan i gi parizi s konferenci i s monawi l e saxel mwi foebi s mier mi Rebul i dadgeni l ebi dan gamomdi nareobda. am SemTxevaSi misi `damsaxureba- imaSi mdgomareobs, rom ingl i sel ebi s Tvis damaxasi aTebel i `daxurul i kartis- TamaSi s principi daaRvi a da saqarTvel os warmomadgenel s pir dapi r mani Sna_ antantis qveynebs saqarTvel o da misi mosaxl eoba mxol od da mxol od `sazarbazne xorcad- sWi rde boda. ami s dadasturebas, kavkasi i s qveynebTan mi mar TebaSi parizi s konferenci aze mi Rebul i dadgeni l ebi s teqtis gr.rcxil aZi sadmi gacnoba warmoadgenda. am dokumentSi xazgasmi T iyo aRni Snul i: `materialuri daxmareba gaewios kavkasi i s respubl i kebs i mave pirobi T, rogorc moxal i seTa armi as.~ es faqt i maze-dac mi gvari Snebs, rom antantis qveynebi, saqarTvel os respubl i kas ara saxel mwi foebri v, aramed moxal i seTa armi i s doneze gani xi l avdnen. Cems mier zemoT motani l i faqtebi s anal i zi dan gamomdi nare, varaudis doneze Sei Zi eba i Tqvas, rom saqarTvel osadmi iaraRi s mi yi dvastan mi mar TebaSi, antantis qveynebi s i i derTa TavSekaveba, ruseTTan saomar moqmedebaSi saqarTvel os mxri dan monawi l eobi s mi Rebaze ofici aluri gancxadebi s argakeTebi T rom yofil iyo ganpi robebul i.

rac Seexeba azerbaijani s gasabWoebi s pol i tikuri mani pul i rebi s Sesazi ebl obas, es faqtori, rogorc i odisel i Ze aRni Snavda, saqarTvel osadmi mosal odnel i safiTxis fonze, qarTul i dipl omatiuri korpusi s mxri dan wi na pl anze unda yofil iyo wamoweul i da ingl i si dan an safrangeTi dan i ar-aRi s mi Rebi s saSual ebad eqciat. es garemoeba qonda mxed-vel obaSi e.gegewkors, roca parizi s myofi saqarTvel os del egaci i s Tavmj domaris k.CxeiZi s saxel ze gagzavn i we-ri l Si principul i formi T rom ayenebda saki Txs: `es weri- l i minda gavaTavo imi T, rom iaraRiT daxmareba mogvcen. ar vTxoul obT ufasod. mogvyi don! nuTu saqarTvel om es mai nc ver dai msaxura maT Tval Si?~ i give e.gegewkori evropaSi (parizi, romi, berl ini, berni, stambol i) saqarTvel os warmomadgenl obebi sadmi 1920 wl i s 19 ivniss gagzavn i Setyobi nebaSi principul ad moi Txovda: `amasTanave saWi roa

iaraRisa da amuni ci i saki Txis gadaWris daCqareba. iaraRi Tu gveqna, Cven gaumkl avdebi T yovel gvar safrTxes.-

azerbaij anSi bol Sevikebis Semosevam, ingl isis xel isuf-al Ta mesveurni saqarTvel osTan mi mar TebaSi garkveul `kompromisze- waiyvana. mxedvel obaSi maqvs b.vansi ttartis mier z.avl iSvil i sadmi SeTavazebul i wi nadadeba_ qarTul mx-ares ingl isis xel isufI ebi sadmi iaraRis moTxovna somxe- bTan erTad waredgina. saqarTvel os del egaci i s meTaurma k.Cxei Zem, am saki TxTan mi mar TebaSi 1920 wl i s 8 maisis sxdomaze uaryofi Ti pozicia daafiqsira. i gi sxdomis monawil e- ebs Seaxsenebda, rom, somxebTan erTad iaraRis moTxovna da transportireba, `erTgvari pol itikuri demonstracia iqne- ba azerbaij anis winaaRmdeg, rac cud STabeWdil ebas i qo- niebs da amave dros isic ar viciT, am pol itikuri demon- straci i s samagiero kompensacia Tu rogori iqneba.-

k.CxeiZi s es pozicia pol itikuri Tval sazrisiT mar Tebu- l i yo da amierkavkasi i s regionSi Seqmnil urTul es si tu- acias savsebi T Seesabameboda. rac Seexeba riskze wasvl as, Tu ra saxi s `kompensaci as- mi Rebda amisTvis saqarTvel o, es saki Tx i mave del egaci i s 1920 wl i s 29 maisis da 2 i vni- s i s sxdomebis sagangebo msj el obi s sagani gaxda. i mave sxdo- mebis stenografiul i angari Sebi dan i rkveva, rom somxeT- Tan erTad saqarTvel os mxridan iaraRis waRebis saki Txis gadawayet i sas, sxdomis monawil eebi pirvel rigSi ruseTT- an dadebul xel Sekrul ebas da osmal eTis argaRizianebis faqtors iTval i swinebdnen. `yvel a eseni erTad qmnis im mdgomareobas- ambobda k.Cxei Ze- romel i c gvaiZul ebs metis- metad frTxil ad moveqceT am saki Txs.- anal ogiuri pozi- cia daiWira k.kandel akma, roca I ondonSi myofi saqarTve- l os ekonomi kuri komisi i s mxri dan vansi ttartis sadmi mi cemul pi robaze_ somxebTan erTad iaraRis Sesyi dva- transportire- baze daTanxmebas uaryofi Ti Sefaseba rom misca. mi si sama- rTI i ani mtki cebi T, es saki Tx i pol itikuri xasiaTi s matar- ebel i yo da z.aval iSvil s i gi pol itikur del egaciasTan unda SeeTanxmebina. i gi ve k.kandel aki, z.aval iSvil i s zemoa- Rni Snul Tvi Tnebur gadawayetil ebas da vansi ttartTan Se- Tanxmebas naCqarevad mi i Cnevda. `saqme imaSi ki ar ar i s- ambo- bda k.kandel aki, - rom Cven somxebTan erTad mi gvaqvs iaraRi, pol itikuri safrTxe am saki Txis imaSi mdgomareobs, Tu

rogor gavuSvaT es iaraRi Cvens teritoriaze... me ar mesmis
aseTi gul ubryvill oba. zaval iSviI s unda gaego vansi t-
tartis winadadeba, somxebTan erTad iaraRis moTxovna da
am iaraRis gaSveba Cvens teritoriaze ras ni Snavda. dRes
saki Txi ase dgas... pol i tikuri mxriT, rom foTSi Casul i
iaraRi SeiZI eba ar iqnes mi Rebul i Cvenebis mier.~ aqedan
gamomdinare, k.kandel aki savsebiT kanonzomi erad moi Txovda,
zaval iSviI is mier xel moweril i xel Sekrul ebiS SeCereb-
iS aucil ebl obas. amiS saWi roebas gen. il .odi Sel iZec xe-
davda. misi mtki cebiT, ramdenadac saki Txi pol i tikuri iyo,
i gi sxdomis monawiI eebS Seaxsenebda: `iaraRis CataniT sarge-
bol biS magier SeiZI eba vneba movutanoT Cvens qveyanas.~
anal ogiuri mosazreba gamoTqva i.gobeCi amac. `zaval iSviI i-
ganacxada man- mudam zerel ed uyurebda am saki TxS. man mi-
aRwi a imas, rom somxebTan erTad gamosul iyo am saki TxSi...
es misTvis umTavresia. danarCeni... ar aintereSebs. Cven xel -
Sekrul eba gvaqvs bol SevikebTan. iaraRis gaSveba ar iqneba
dar Rveva nei tral i tetis? meoreT, rogor gindaT, gvardia
daTanxmdes_ somxebs mi vceT 75 % da danarCeni 25 % Cven da-
vi tovoT.~ am SemTxvevaSi saki Txi sworad iyo dasmul i. mi Tu-
metes, iaraRis umni Svnel o nawil is (3- dan 1 Tofi), sanacvl -
od, saqarTvel o gamousworebel pol i tikur dar tymas Rebu-
l obda. amasTan dakavSi rebiT, del egaci iS wevrebis wi naSe
k.CxeiZe princi pul ad ayenebda saki TxS: Rirda Tu ara aTi
aTasi TofisTvis somxebTan erTad gamosvl a da qveynisTvis
pol i tikur ad zianis mi yeneba. misive mtki cebiT, somex-
qarTvel Ta erTobl ivi gamosvl a sxva saki TxebSi ufro meti
sargebl iS momtani iqneboda vi nem iaraRis erTobl ivi trans-
portireba. magram ingl isel Ta mxardaWeriT gaTamamebul i
somxebi, saqarTvel osadmi mezobel i qveynebiS dasapi ri spire-
bel i safexuriS Sesaqmnel ad moqmedebdnem. `yvel aze ufro-
ambobda k.CxeiZe- somxebs Cveni erTad gamosvl a aintere-
sebs... Cvens teritoriaze iaraRis gatareba, faqtur ad
samxedro kavSi ri gamodis somxebTan azerbaijanis wi naaRm-
deg. ase erTad gamosvl as me vamj obineb cal ke vi qneT am
SemTxvevaSi.~

saki Txi sworad iyo dasmul i Tundac im el ementarul i
mizezis gamo, rom aRniSnul i faqtiT sabWoTa ruseTi 1920
wl is 7 maisis xel Sekrul ebiS saqarTvel os mxridan darR-

vevi s apel i rebas moaxdenda da bol Sevi kuri provokaci ebi s ganxorc i el ebi s Sesal ebl oba mi scemoda. aqedan gamomdinare, umni Svenel o i araRis mi Rebi s safasurad da evropul i dapi-rebebi s Semzure saqarTvel o, sabWoTa ruseTTan da azerbaijanTan ganaxl ebul i samxedro dapi ri spirebi s wi naSe aRmo-Cndeboda. mi Tumetes, ingl i sisa da safrangeTi s xel i sufal ni waj eq- ukuj eqis pol i tiku r kurss adga da 1920 wl i s ivni-sisTvis sac gaugebari iyo. Tu ra gadawyvetil ebas mi i Rebda Ti Toeul i maTgani saqarTvel os Tan mi marTebaSi. ami s saukeTe-so dadasturebas saqarTvel os del egaci i s 1920 wl i s 8 ivni-sis sxdomis stenografi ul i angari Si warmoadgens. es dokumenti imi Tac aris saintereso, rom general ma al erisTavma, sxdomis monawil eebs pol kovnik JorJTan (frangi oficeri) saubri s Sinaarsi gaacno. misi Tqm T, safrangeTi s mTavrobas somxebi sTvis i araRis mi cemis gadawyvetil eba mi uRia da es iaraRi somxeTSi foTi s sazRvao portiT unda gagzavnil - iyo. rac Seexeba saqarTvel os, i mave pol kovnik JorJs gau-nucxadeebi a, rom baTumis garSemo Seqmnii i probl emi dan gamomdinare, `safrangeTi s mTavrobas ar surs waaxdinos damoki debul eba ingl i sTan, rac i sedac ar aris karg mdgomareobaSi ingl i sis mier krasinis mi Rebi s gamo... safrange-Ti s samxedro saministro daJinebi T moi Txovs saqarTvel osTvis i araRis mi cemas. magram mas sagareo saqmeTa samini-s-tros dauki Txavad es ar Seuzl ia. es ukansknel i ki j er-j erobi T gadawyvetil ebi s mi rebas ver bedavs ingl i sis gamo.~ am amonawer i dan aSkarad Cans, rom evropi s qveynebi dan, Tug-ind safrangeTi dan saqarTvel osTvis i araRis mi yi dvi s saki Txis dadebi Tad gadawyvetas, mxol od ingl i sis xel i su-fal Ta guneba- ganwyoba gansazRvravda. mi Tumetes, i m etapze yvel a sazRvao navsadgurs ingl i si akontrol ebda. aqedan gamomdinare, saqarTvel os sasi keTod nebi smieri saki Txis mowesri geba ingl i sis xel i sufal Ta neba- survil ze iyo damoki debul i. aRni Snul Tan dakavSi rebi T, i mave sxdomaze k.gvarj al aZem gul i swyromi T ganacxada: `ingl i sma Cven aRg-vi Tqva, rom sawi naaRmdego arafeli eqneboda, Tu amerikaSi Sevi Zendi T i araRs. da dRes ki wi naaRmdegne ar i an safrangeT-ma rom mogvces. me mgoni aq raRac pol i tika unda iyes somxebi s mier nawarmoebi. maT undaT aqac mogvmarTon, rom iaraRi Cvens teritori aze gavataroT.~ ki dev ufro mkacri

i yo i mave sxdomaze k.Cxei Zi s mi er gakeTebul i gancxadeba: `wi naT gveubneboden, rom iaraRis SeZena SeI ZI eba ufu-
l od da Cvenc am mi marTul ebi T vmoqmedebdi T... Semdeg gvi-
Txres, iaraRis SesaZenad mxol od ful ia saWi roo. davi wy-
eT am mimarTul ebi T moqmedeba. exl a ki i sev gveubnebi an,
rom uful od SegviZI ia mi vi RoT. Zal i an kargi, amas raRa
sj obia Tuki egre iqneba. Cven unda mi vi RoT yovel i zomebi,
rom mogvcen es iaraRi. rac Seexeba somxebs, me SemiZI ia
vTqva, rom ar mesmis maTi saqme. ingl isel ebi, Cveni mfarvel ebi
somxebs aZI even iaraRs, safrangeTic da ital i ac. raSia
saqme? somxebis saSual ebi T xom ar surT dagvRupon?~

Cems mier motanil i am amonawer ebi dan kargad Cans ingl i-
sis xel isufal Ta pol i tikurad gameZavebul i da orpiro-
vani i anusis ni Rbi T SefuTul i antiqarTul i kursi. meore
mxriv, somexTa mier qarTvel Ta sawinaaRmdegod Catarebui
farul i muSaobis Sedegebi. dokumenturi masal iT irkveva,
rom evropel Ta mxridan gacemul i dapi rebebis gamudmebu-
l i cval ebabobi dan gamomdinare, parizSi myofi saqarTve-
l os del egacia umZimes mdgomareobaSi aRmoCnda. maT mier
gaweul i titanuri Srroma, romel ic iaraRis SeZenas ukav-
Si rdeboda, evropis saxel mwi foTa maRal Cinosnebis orpiro-
bis wyal obiT, unayofo gamodga. am SemTxvevaSi, qarTul ma-
del egaci am Cixi dan gamosvl is erTaderT saSual ebad i ar-
aRis ingl isel ebi sgan SeZena CaTval a mi zanSewoni l ad.
rogorc dokumenturi masal i dan irkveva, k.Cxei Zes ingl i se-
l i pol kovnikis griboni sadmi mi umarTavs. am ukansknel s
pirndapir dausvams saki Txi_ saqarTvel os SeeZI o Tu ara
iaraRis SesaZenad ful is gadaxda. im SemTxvevaSi Tu qarTul i
mxare ful s gai Rebda, gen. mil nis gankargul ebaSi myofi
iaraRiT datvirTul i gemi saqarTvel os gadaecemoda. mar-
Tal ia, es wi nadadeba erTi SexedviT mimzidvel i Canda, ma-
gram qarTul i mxarisTvis ucnobirCeboda Tu ra saxeobis,
ramdenad maRal xarisxiani da brZol istVis vargisiani iyo
es iaraRi. meore mxriv, misi SeZenis nebarTvis oficial u-
rad dadastureba da transportireba, ingl i sis xel isufi ebi s
Sesabamisi uwyebis mxridan gacemul i dokumentis Semdeg
gaxdeboda SesazI ebel i. biurokratiul i barieris drou-
l ad daZI evi s mi zni T, saqarTvel os dipl omatiuri korpu-
sis war momadgenl ebs, daxmar ebi sTvis ingl i sis sagareo saqme-

Ta saministros erT- erTi maRaL Ci nosanisTvis- I ord hart-
ingisTvis mi umarTavs. imavdroul ad, im mosal odnel i sa-
frTxis Sesaxebac gaumaxvil ebi aT yuradReba, romel ic
saqarTvel os, sabWoTa ruseTid dan emuqreboda. aqedan gamom-
dinare, saqarTvel osTvis iaraRis mi yidvi s droul i gadaw-
yvetil ebi s mi Reba, qveyni s sasi cocxl o interesebi saTvis
daukavSi rebi aT. imave masal ebi s mi xedvi T, am mni Svnel ovan
saki TxTan mimarTebaSi, I ord hartings indiferentul i
damoki debul eba gamoucenia da ganucxadebi a: `rodesac Sei qm-
neba aseTi situacia, romel zedac exl a Tqven I aparakobT,
maSi n SeiZI eba xel meoreT davsvaT eg saki Txi.- misi aseTi
pozicia gakvirvebas ar i wvevs imdenad, ramdenadac im etapze
inglis is xel isufl eba sabWoTa ruseTTan savaWro xel Sek-
rul ebi s teqtis detal ebs azustebda da ruseTisadmi sa-
qarTvel os `daTmobis- da kavkasi i s regioni T `ardaintere-
sebis- sanacvl od, garkveul SeRavaTebs el odeboda. mi ux-
edavad ami sa, saqarTvel os di pl omatiuri korpusis war mood-
genl ebi imeds ar kargavda da iaraRis Sesyi dvi s saki Txis
dadebi Tad gadawyetas i sev ingl isis daxmarebi T cdil ob-
da. amis erT- erT dadasturebas, parizSi myofi saqarTvel -
os del egaci i s (di pl omatiuri, ekonomikuri, samxedro mi-
siebi) gafarToebul i sxdoma (1920 wl i s 18 mai si) war moodg-
ens. iaraRis SeZenasTan dakavSi rebi T imave sxdomaze mi Reb-
ul dadgenil ebaSi vki Txul obT: `iaraRi SeZenil i iqnas ingl -
isi dan. Tu mosaxer xebel ia mil ni dan. ekonomi urma komisi am
gai Ros erTi da naxevari ($1 \frac{1}{2}$) mil ion franki da mieweros
mTavrobas, rom manac gai Ros erTi da naxevari ($1 \frac{1}{2}$) mil ion
i franki.-

imave dokumenturi masal iTirkveva, rom am dadgenil ebi s
safuzvel ze, ful is gamoyofisa da mil nis mier ramdenime
dRiT adre gacemul i dapi rebi s mi ux edavad, saki Txi adgil -
i dan ar daZrul a. ingl isuri mxare, saqarTvel osTvis am sa-
si cocxl o mni Svnel obis probl emis mi zanmimarTul ad mi-
fuCeCebas Seecada. Seqmnil ma mdgomareobam, qarTul i del e-
gaci i s meTauri k.CxeiZe i Zul ebul i gaxada, yovel gvari di p-
l omatiuri reveransebis gareSe evropel ebi saTvis saTqmeli
i pir dapi r etqva. amis dadasturebas saqarvel os del eg-
aci i s 1920 wl i s 12 ivnisi s sxdomi s stenografiul i angar-
i Si war moodgens. am dokumenti dan i rkveva, rom safrangeT-

is sagareo saqmeTa saministros maRaL Ci nosan moxel eebT-an grenaRTan da I aroSTan, k.Cxei Zi sa da k.gvarj al aZis Sexvedris dros, qarTul mxares principul ad dausvams saki Txi_ Tuki somxebs aZI evdnen iaraRs, qarTvel ebTan mimar TebaSi ra mi zni T axdendnen TavSekavebas. amasTan dakav-Sirebi T I aroSS upasuxia: `marTal ia,somxebze aris I aparki da CvenTvis saWi roa vi codeT, Tqven gauSvebT Tu ara Tqvens teritoriae iaraRso.~ am Seki Txvaze k.gvarj al aZes del egaci i s saxel iT ganuxadebi a: `erT Tofs ar gavuSvebT manamde, sanam Cvenc ar mogvcemen iaraRs. SeuZl ebel ia davuSvaT, rom Cvens irgvI iv yvel a Seiarardes, maSin rode-sac Cven uiaraRod vrCebi T!- aseTi principul i xasi aTi s gancxadebis gamo, I aroSi izul ebul i gamxdara, qarTvel di pl omatTan `vaWrobis- garkveul i forma gamoeyenebi na da Seki Txvis saxi T misTvis mi umarTavs: `Tqven rom mogceT naxevari maSin gauSvebT?~ safrangeTis warmomadgenl is mxri dan aseT kompromisze wasvl a imdenad mouI odnel i iyo, rom k.gvarj al aZes konkretul i psauxi saTvis Tavi au-ridebia_ `me ar Semi Zl ia am saki Txze garkveul ad gi pasu-xoT, radganac arc Tqven da arc Cven ar vi ci T Tu rogori mdgomareobaa iq (kavkasiaSi S.v.) daeki TxeT de- martel s Tqvens warmomadgenel s da im cnobebi s mi xedvi T i moqmedeT, xol o Cven ki erT Tofs ar gavuSvebT manam, sanam iaraRs Cvenc ar mi vi RebT.~ pozicii s ase mka crad gamoTqmii T, qarTul - ma mxarem safrangeTis warmomadgenl obas pi r dapi r mi ani Sna, rom i sini Sesani Snavad erkveodnen mi mdinare pol i tikur procesebSi da maTi mxri dan SefiTul i formiT Cafiqrebul nebi smier veragul qmedebas, qarTul di pl omatiur korpu ss ver gamoaparebdnen. swored ami s Semdeg gaxda Sesazl ebel i, rom I aroSS nabij i ukan gadaedga da qarTul i mxari sTvis varnaSi (bul gareTi) arsebul i iaraRi SeeTavazebina. mi si Tqmii T, antantas SeeZl o am iaraRis qarTvel ebi sTvis mi yi dva, magram wi naswar ainteresebda iaraRis transport ireba Sesazl ebel i gaxdeboda Tu ara baTumis navsadguri T. ramdena-dac im etapze baTumSi saqarTvel os iurisdiqcia ar vr-cel deboda da ingl isel ebi batonobdnen, k.gvarj al aZem am SemTxvevaSi upiratesoba foTis navsadgurs mi ani Wa da i que dasZi na: `transportis saqmes qarTul i mxare moagvarebda, oRond maT iaraRis micemis gadawyvetil eba daCqarebi T

mi eRoT, radgan amas di di mni Svnel oba eqneboda saqar Tvel osaTvls. I aroSi qarTul mxares Sepi nda, rom am saki Txis Sesaxebs masal ebs Sekrebda da probl emis saCqarod gadasawyvetad yvel a zomebs mi i Rebda.-

mi uxedavad imisa, rom qarTul i mxare iaraRis Sesi dvis SemTxvevaSi mis transport irebaze i Rebda pasuxi smgebl obas, safrangeTis Sesabamis uwyebebs saqar Tvel osTvis iaraRis mi yidvis pragmatul i gadawyetil eba 1920 wl is 20 ivl isisTvis sac mi Rebul i ar qonda da saki Tximxol od ma-Ral CinosanTa saubris doneze darCa. amis dadasturebas parizSi myofi saqar Tvel os del egaci is 1920 wl is 21 ivl - isis gaerTianebul i (dipl omatiuri, ekonomikuri, samxedro) sxdomis stenografiul i angariSi warmoadgens. am dokumentis mixedviT, general ma al erisTavma bul gareTis samxedro sawyobebSi arsebul i safrangeTis kuTvnii i iaraRis saqar Tvel osTvis mi yidvis Sesaxebs, safrangeTis mTavrobis Tanxmobaze gaamaxvill a yur adReba. rac Seexebs iaraRis safasurs, igi saqar Tvel os mTavrobasa da frang pol kovnik korbel s Soris mol aparakebis Sedegad unda gadawyetil iyo. imave sxdomaze k.gvarj al azem oficial urad ganacxada, rom safrangeTis sagareo saqmeTa saministroSi pol k. deroziem igi daaimeda, rom safrangeTi 5 aTas Tofsa da 10 mil ion vznas mi yidda saqar Tvel os.

dokumenturi masal iTirkveva, rom safrangeTis ma-Ral CinosanTa mxridan saqar Tvel osadmi iaraRis mi yidvis Tanxmobas, mxol od somxuri interessebi dan gamomdinare faktori gansazRrvavda. amis dadasturebas pol k. derozies mier k.gvarj al azi sadmi micemul Seki Txvaze_ `SeuzI ia Tuara qarTvel ebs bul gareTSi Sesi dul i iaraRi somxebTan erTad gai tanos,_ warmoadgens. am saki TxTan dakavSi rebi T, saqar Tvel os interessebi dan gamomdinare, dipl omatiuri etiketis dacviT, k.gvarj al azem upasuxa: `es pol itikuri saki-Txi a... neba momeciT frTxil ad viqne da gadawyetil i pasuxi ar mogceT. mi Tumetes, gemi romel ic iaraRs wai Rebs, Cveni nedl i masal iT datvirTul i dabru ndebe uk an. am SemTxvevaSi j obia mxol od Cveni iaraRi midiodes. me vTxove, rom iaraRis mocemiS Sesaxebs asl i moecaT CvenTvis, rom gagvecno Cveni kurierisaTvis.~ am amonaweri dan kargad Cans, rom somxebTan erTad qarTvel ebiS mxridan iaraRis waReba pol i-

tikuri Tval sazri si T dauSvebel i yo, mi Tumetes, i mave gams iaraRis safasur ad saqarTvel odan nedl i masal a (wi aRiseul i) unda waeRo. amitom iyo, rom qarTul i mxare, bul gareTi dan iaraRis qarTvel ebi sTvis cal ke gamogzavna s rom moi Txovda.

gr.rcxil aZis mier e.gegewkorisadmi 1920 wl is 15 ivl - iss gagzavnil weril Si, iaraRis bul gareTi dan Sesyidvis zemoaRni Snul gegmasTan dakavSi rebi T Seqmnili si tuacia dawrili ebi Taa aRwerili. i mave dokumenti dan irkveva, rom i.odi Sel i Zi saTvis `frangebs uTqvams, iaraRis wamosaRebad ukve gaugzavni aT gemi qal aq varnaSi, sadac datvirTva unda moxdes. detal urad am saqmes gi ambobs Tvi T odi sel - iZe.~ Cems mier mi kvl eul i saarqivo dokumentebi dan das turdeba, rom es danapi rebic qarTvel ebi sTvis ui Rbl o aRmoCnda. safrangeTi s samxedro misi s warmomadgenl is mier konstantinopol i dan e.gegewkorisadmi 1920 wl is 27 ivl - iss gamogzavnil tel egramaSi vki Txul obT: `varnas navsad guris muSebma uari ganacxades iaraRis datvirTvaze saqarTvel osTvis da somxeTi sTvis. am mouI odnel i dabr-koli ebi T aixsneboda `borisis- foTSi misvl is dagvi aneba.~ aseve Seusrul ebel i darCa ingl i sel i komisaris mier saqarTvel osTvis Sepirebul i 30 aTasi Tofis miyidva. am saki TxTan dakavSi rebi T gr.rcxil aZis i mave weril Si vki Txul obT: `ingl i si komisarma Tqva, rom i mis garda rasac frangebi sgan mi i RebT da somxebi sTvis dagrovil i iaraRi danac rac gergebaT, damatebi T mi i RebT am Tavad 30 aTasi Tofis ingl i si sgan da Semdegac bri taneTi s mTavroba mi eSvel eba saqarTvel os saWi roebis mi xedvi T.~ marTal ia es dapi reba erTi Sexedvi T imedi s momcemi iyo, magram evropel ebi sgan mraval - gzi s motyuebul ma qarTul ma mxarem misi sandoobi s gadamowmeba gen. mi l nTan moaxdina. rogorc gr.rcxil aZe wers, `meore dRes gen. odi Sel i ZesTan erTad vi naxul e gen. mi l ni, romel mac Tavazianad mi gvi Ro, magram Tqva, rom 30 aTasi Tofis Sesaxeb mas j er araferi cnoba ar aqvs... Cemis azri T, am saqmis wi n wasawevad saWi roa wi naswar i cnobebi s gagzavna I ondonSi, radgan aq mi l ns amis Sesaxeb cnobebi ar aqvs. I ondonSi unda gamoi rkves rodis da ra gzi T mi vi RebT ingli si dan am dapi rebul iaraRs. Sesazi ebel ia britaneTi s warmomadgenl i sgan Tbil i sSi I uki saganac Sevi tyoT rai me

cnobebi am 30 aTasi Tofis Sesaxeb~.

saqarTvel osTvis es umni Svnel ovanesi sakiTxi, ramdenad-
ac adgil idan ar iZvroda da drois faqtori qartul i sax-
el mwi fos sazianod musaobda, e.gegeWkorma sagangebo daval eba
misca gr.rcxil aZes, raTa sabol ood gaerkvia, ingl isi aZl evda
Tu ara Sepirebul iaraRs saqarTvel os. am sakiTxtan dakav-
Si rebi T Cemi yuradReba gr.rcxil aZis mier 1920 wl is 13
seqtembers e.gegeWkorisadmi gagzavnili ma weril ma mi i pyro.
`Tanaxmad Tqveni daval ebisa- vki Txul obT dokumentSi-
admiral di- robeks xel axl a vTxove daxmareba iaraRiT
saqarTvel osaTvis im sabuTiT, rom mosal odhel ia mdgomar-
eobis garTul eba somxeTi dan mustafa- qemal - faSas j aris
mxriv da rom saerTod samxedro Tval sazrisi T Cveni qvey-
nis garSemo myudroeba ar aris. di- robekma sTqva, rom am
saganze xel axl a tel egramis gagzavna I ondonSi j er Sei-
zl eba usargebl o iyoso da umj obesia movucadoT stokss,
uordropis magier saqarTvel oSi maRaI komisrad danis-
nul s, gavigoT misgan ukansknel i informacia da amis Sesaf-
erisad gadavdgaT axal i nabij io. stokssi daaxl oebiT am
Tvis 15-s iqneba konstantinopol Si.-

saarqivo masal ebis mi ukvl evl obis gamo, j er- j erobi T
SeuZl ebel i xdeba i mis garkveva, ra pozicia daiWi ra ingl i-
sis mier saqarTvel oSi gamogzavnili ma axal ma umarI esma
komisarma stokssma. erTi ram dabej i Tebi T SeiZl eba iTqvas,
rom ingl isel ebis gan iaraRis SeZenas,qarTul i dipl omati-
uri korpusis warmomadgenl ebi 1920 wl is noembri meore
naxevarSi ac Seecadnen. mxedvel obaSi maqvs ingl isis xel isu-
fl ebis mier konstantinopol idan samxedro SenaerTebis
gayvani s gadawyvetil ebis mi Reba da am faqtis iaraRis Sesaf-
Zenad gamoyenebis mcdeI oba. am saki TxTan dakavSi rebi T, gan-
sakuTrebil yuradRebas saqarTvel os warmomadgenel is
i.gogo-l aSvi l is mier stambol idan k.sabaxtarasvi l isadmi
1920 wl is 15 noembers gamogzavnili i weril i iqcevs. `exl a
gavi ge- vki Txul obT dokumentSi,- rom ingl isel ebi ori Tvis
ganmavl obaSi konstantinopol s stoveben. e.i. j arebi gayavT
aqedan da bosforSi stoveben mxol od Tavis `dr endoutebs.-
nawi l i j arebi sa daaxl oebiT erTi divizia ukve wavi da aqedan,
danarCensac wynarad ukeTeben evakuacias. ori Tvis ganmavl -
obaSi auci l ebl ad unda moaxdinon l i kvi dacia im amuni ci i-

sa, romel ic damzadebul i qondaT aq vrangel i saTvis. aq mo-i poveba rasakvirvel ia Tofebic da patronebic, agreTve sx-va samxedro masal ac. yvel afers yidian iaf fasebSi da SeiZI eba Cvenc SeviZinot Tu damaval ebT centrobankis ganyof-il ebis saSual ebi T.~ am dokumenti, sagareo saqmeTa minist-riis moadgil em k.sabaxtarasvili ma Semdegi saxis rezol uc-ia daado: `saCqarod Seeki Txet samxedro samnistros. k.saba-xtaraSvili ~ rac Seexeba i mave i.gogol aSvili is mier 1920 wl is 19 noembriT daTariRebul meore weril s, masSi xazga-smiT iyo mi Ti Tebul i: `umorcil esad gTxovT macnoboT depe-Si T SeiZI eba Tu ara davi wyo muSaoba iaraRis da patroneb-is Sovnis Sesaxeb.~ am saki Txis Semdgom msvl el obasTan da-kavSi rebi T, Sesabamis dokumentur masal as j er- j erobi T ver mi vakuvi e. erTi ram dabej i Tebi T SeiZI eba i Tqvas, rom qarTul ma mxarem ingl isel ebi sgan stambol Si vicereti saxeobis iaraRi ver Sei syida. am i s Ziri Tadi ganmapi robebe-ll i mizezi somxeTis gasabWoebaSi (1920 wl is 29 noemberi) unda vezi oT. rogorc zemoTac mqonda aRni Snul i, ingl isi da safrangeTi, saqarTvel osTvis iaraRis miyi dvis im SemTx-vevaSi Tanxmdeboden, Tuki am iaraRs somxebTan er Tad Sei-Zendnen, transportirebas erTi gemi T moaxdenden da somxe-bisTvis gankuTvnii iaraRs saqarTvel os teritoriaz e up-robl emod gaatarebdnen. ramdenadac somxeTis gasabWoeba, ingl isi s j aris mier konstantinopol is sabol ood datove-bamde moxda, gamoricxul i araa, rom es faqtori ingl isel ebi sgan saqarTvel osTvis iaraRis miyi dvis uaris Tqmisi safuz-vel i gamxdariyo. aseTi mosazrebis gamoTqmisi SesaZI ebl o-bis safuzvel s ingl isi sda safrangeTis xel isufal Ta mxridan saqarTvel osTvis iaraRis miyi dvis gacemul i piro-bis Ti Tqmisi davi wyebis faqti iZI eva.

Cems mier zemoT motanil i saarqivo masal ebi imis utyuari dadasturebaa, rom 1920 wl is monakveTSi, saqarTvel os xe-l i sufl ebam, misma di pl omatiurma korpusma, evropis qveyne-bi dan iaraRis Sesiydvis yvel a gza da saSual eba mosinj a. am mimarTul ebi T warmatebis mi uRwevl oba, saqarTvel os xe-l i sufl ebris umoqmedobi T ki araa, evropis qveynebis maRal Ci-nosanta tyuil ebi T damZimebul i dapi rebebi T iyo ganpi robebul i. evropis qveynebis I i derebi sgan pragmatul i gadaw-yvetil ebis mi uRebl obis gamo, saqarTvel osTan mimarTebaSi

Seqmnii l i urTul esi si tuacia, konkretul i RonisZi ebebi s gatarebas saWi roebda da qveyni s damouki debl obi s Sesanar-Cunebl ad Sesabami si gzebi s Zi ebi s aucil ebl obas moi Txovda. mi Tumetes, ami erkavkasi i s regeonSi saqarTvel os damouki debel saxel mwifod arseboba, sabWoTa ruseTi sgan xel SemSi el faktorad iyo moazrebul i. aqedan gamomdinare, rusi da qarTvel i bol Sevikebi mis gasasabWoebi ad yvel a saSuaI ebebi s maqsimal urad amoqmedebas cdil obda. ami s erTerT dadasturebas, s.orj oniki Zi sa da s.kir ovis mi er skp ck-i s yvel a wevrisa da I.trocki sadmi 1921 wl i s 2 i anvars gagzani l i saiduml o weril i war moadgens. am dokumenti s merve da mecxre punqtebis mi xedvi T, saqarTvel os gasabWoeba Zal - i smieri formiT unda ganxorciel ebul iyo. am pozici i s das-abuTebas, weril i s avtorebi Semdegi mosazrebebi T cdil obden; **merve.** i mis i medi, rom TviT saqarTvel oSi Signi dan moxdeba gadamwyeti afeTqeba, vki Txul obT dokumentSi- ar unda gvqondes. amas amtkicebs i s ambebi, rac saqarTvel oSi xdeba. saqarTvel os, Cvens dauxmarebl ad gasabWoeba ar Zal uZs. **mecxre.** sababi saqarTvel os saqmeebSi Cveni Carevi-sTvis gvaqvs. saami sod saWi ro ar aris aSkarad Tavs davesxaT saqarTvel os, **gvaqvs SesaZi** ebl oba, rom davi wyoT **moZraoba** **afxazeTSi**, **aWaraSi**, **borCal** os **mazraSi**, sadac saami so ni adagia. am mxriv Cveni daxmareba SeuZi ia agreTve TurqeT- sa da somxeTs da SesaZi ebel ia **Sei qmnas i seTi vi Tar eba**, rom mxsnel ad movevl i noT saqarTvel os, romel ic ixrwneba da anarqias eZi eva.

dasasrul saWi roa ki dev erTxel xazgasmi T aRvni SnoT, rom Tu **mTel i ami erkavkasia** ar gavasabWoebiT, veravi Tar SemTxvevaSi mtkiced ver vi grZhobT Tavs Crdil o kavkasi asa da azerbaijanSi. da Tu yubansa da Tergze Sedarebi T simSvi idea, es mxol od pi rvel SemTxvevamde, vidre kazakoba gons movides Cengan mi yenebul i gadamwyeti dar tymebs mere, xol o saqarTvel os mTavroba yvel afers i Ronebs, raTa kazakobas da mTel ebs daexmaros Cvens wi naaRmdeg gamol aSqrebaSi. am amonawerSi garkvevi Taa mi Ti Tebul i, rom anarqi i s xel ovnurad agorebis SemTxvevaSi, sabWoTa ruseTs `mxsnel i s motivaci iT saqarTvel oSi Sei ar aRebul i Zal ebi s Semoyvanis da adgil obrivi mosaxl eobi sadmi i seTi `gadamwyeti dar tymebs mi yenebi s- SesaZi ebl oba mi ecemoda, rom kazake-

bis msgavsad, karga xnis ganmavl obaSi gons ver mosul iyo.
es garduval i safrTxe, gansakuTrebi T 1920 wl is dekembris
Sua ricxvebSi warmočnda. mxedvel obaSi maqvs evropis sax-
el mwifoebisgan iaraRis da finansuri daxmarebis mi uRe-
bl oba. am fonze, saqarTvel o im `dasakl av xars- daemgvana,
roml is Tavis warsakveTad `Crdil oeTis meyafses- gal e-
sil i maxvil i SemarTul i qonda da misTvis sasurvel i proce-
duris Casatarebl ad xel sayrel pol itikur situacias rom
el oda. Seqmnii i urTul esi mdgomareobisa da safrangeTis
maRal Cinosnebis dapi rebebis Seusrul ebl obidan gamodinare,
saqarTvel os dipl omatiuri korpusis mesveurebi, isev ing-
I iisis xel isufi ebas mi ubrundnen da saqarTvel osadmi adre
mi cemul i danapi rebebis erTxel ki dev Sexsenabas Seecadnen.
amis dokumenturad dadasturebas, egegewkoris mier agugu-
Svi I sadmi I ondonSi gagzavnii weril i (1920 wl is 31
dekemberi) warmoadgens. CvenTvis saintereso saki TxTan dakav-
Si rebi T masSi vki Txul obT: `am weril i mi Rebi s Tanave, dauy-
ovnebl iv midi ser j on til Tan da I j orj is mdi van Tan ke-
r Tan da orives gadaeci Cemi saxel iT Semdegi: dadga wami,
rodesac saqarTvel os swirdeba real uri daxmareba finan-
surad da iaraRiT. kers gaxseneT, rom misi e.i. keris Tanda-
swrebi T I j orj ma me pi radad dapi reba momca, rom igi mzad
aris daexmaros saqarTvel os. nebac momca, misi saxel iT es
mecnobebi na Cemi mTavrobi saTvis. exl a me veki Txebi maT, rCe-
ba Tu ara misi dapi reba Zal aSi da Tu rCeba, SeuZl ia Tu
ara mas am mxriv e.i. finansurad (aseTi saWiroa umTavresad
puris SesaZenad) da iaraRiT dauyovnebl iv daexmaros saqa-
rTvel os... erTi si tyviT, dauyovnebl iv da dauzarl ad Sea-
srul eT Cemi daval eba da dawvriI ebiT macnobeT Sedegebi.~
samwuxarod, qarTul i mxaris es mcdel obac warumatebl ad
damTavrda. ramdenadac dasavl eT evropi dan daxmarebis saxiT
pragmatul i nabij ebi ar idgmeboda, tyuil iT damZimebul i
dapi rebebis amara myofi saqarTvel o_ real uri safrTxis
winase dadga. arsebul i situaciis gaanal izebis Sedegad
mi Rebul i daskvnebis safuzvel ze, saqarTvel os pi rvel i re-
spubl iki s mTavrobi s Tavmj domare iZul ebul i gaxda, sabWo-
Ta ruseTTan garkveul kompromisze wasvl is mzadyofna ga-
moeTqva. am uki dures nabij s i gi mxol od im SemTxvevaSi
gadadgamda, Tuki saqarTvel oSi wiTel i armia ar Semovi do-

da, eris damouki debi oba da suvereni teti iqneboda dacu-
l i. es pozicia, misi mxridan moskovi s samxedro warmomad-
genel tol stoistTan da sabWoTa ruseTis atasestan gene-
ral I ebedinskisTan saidumI o Sexvedraze (1920 wl is de-
kembbris bol o) iqna gamoTqmuli. gamoricxul i araa, rom am
informaciT sargebl obda v.l enini, roca s.orj onikiZi sadmi
gagzavniI weril Si (1921 wl is 2 marti) miuti Tebda: `uaR-
resad di di mni SvnI oba aqvs imas, rom gamoinaxos misaRebi
kompromisi bl okisTvis Jordani asTan, an mis msgavs qarTv-
el menSevi kebTan, roml ebi cjer ki dev (l oreSi S.v.) aj anye-
bamde absol uturad mtrul ad ar iyvnen ganwyobiI ni gar kveu-
l i pirobebiT saqar Tvel oSi sabWoTa wyobil ebi s damyareb-
i s azri sadmi. aseTi kompromisul i pozicia, rogorc zemo-
Tac mqonda mi Ti Tebul i, l ores `aj anyebamde- da saqar Tvel o-
Si XI armi iS Semosvl amde n.Jordani as marTI ac qonda, mag-
ram qveyni s okupaci iS Semdeg, sabWoTa ruseTTan raime daTm-
obaze wasvl a dauSvebl ad mi aCnda. es quTaisis 1921 wl is
17- 18 marti s mol aparakebebmac daadastura, roml is Sesaxeb
dawrili ebiT naSromi s meore paragrafSi meqneba sabari.

xazgasmi T minda aRvni Sno, rom I ebedinskisTan n.Jordani as
Sexvedris da I enini s zemoaRni Snul weril Si motani l i
faqtebis gaanal i zebisas, zogierTi Cemi kol egas mier soci-
al istobi s terminol ogi i s mani pul i rebiT, n.Jordani a sabW-
oTa ruseTis motrifial edaa- gamocxadebul i. maTi mxrid-
an daviwyebasaa mi cemul i imave n.Jordanias mier 1918 wel s
gakeTebul gancxadeba: `aRmosavl eTis fanatikosebs dasavl -
eTis imperial i stebi mi rCevnial- meore mxriv, isini ar i Tval -
i swineben i momakvdinobel da fsiqol ogiur dar tymas, romel -
ic evropi s qveynebma 1920 wl is dekembbris bol omde mi ayena
saqar Tvel os. mxedvel obaSi maqvs: 1)1920 wl is 16 dekember s
saqar Tvel os erTa I i gaSi armi Reba da ingl is mxridan, sa-
mxreT kvkasi i s regioniT ar da in teresebis official urad ru-
seTis wi naSe dadastureba; 2)evropi s qveynebi s mier, saqar Tve-
l osTvis arcerTi saxeobi s iaraRis armi yidva; 3)sabWoTa
ruseTis mier azerbaijanisa da somxeTis gasabWoeba, pol o-
neTTan droebiTi dazaveba da vrangel i s ganadgureba.

yovel i ve zemoTqmuli s gaTval i swinebi dan gamodinare, ma-
rtod- marto dar cenil i saqar Tvel o, sabWoTa ruseTs namd-
vil ad ver gaumkl avdeboda. am real obi s gaTval i swinebi T,

a)n.Jordani aseul i kompromisi, saqarTvel os srul i damouki debi obis da suvereni tetis SenarCunebaze, b)saqarTvel oSi sabWoTa ruseTis marbiel i wiTel i I aSqaris ar SemoSvebaze da qarTul i j aris samarTI ebrivi statusis xel Seuxebi o-baze iyo gaTvl il i. Tuki amis mi Rweva Sesazi ebel i gaxdeboda, **saqme nakl eb borotebasTan gveqneboda.** misi Sedegi i qneboda: 1)ruseT- saqarTvel os 1920 wl is 7 maisis xel Sekrul ebi dan da qveynis suvereni tetis aRi arebis gaTval i swinebi dan gamodinare, ruseT- osmal eTis 1921 wl is 16 martis moskovis xel Sekrul ebaSi Setanil i saqarTvel o- osmal e-Tis sazRvris cvl il ebebi, saqarTvel os mTavrobisa da damfuZnebel i krebis dauki Txavad ver ganxorciel deboda; 2)**saqarTvel oSi wi Tel i armi is aryofnis SemTxvevaSi**, afxazur da osur sakiTxebTan mimar TebaSi, sabWoTa ruseTis Carevis Sesazi ebl oba maqsimal urad SeizRudeboda da saqarTvel os mTavrobis pirvandel i kursi bol omde i qneboda miyvani l i. vimeoreb, amis mi Rweva mxol od im SemTxvevaSi gaxdeboda Sesazi ebel i, Tuki saqarTvel os, damouki debi oba da erovnul i j ar SeunarCundeboda, qveynis Signi T rusul i wiTel i armia ar Semovi doda. zemoT CamoTvl il i garemoebabis gaTval i swi neba edo safuzvl ad I ebedinski sTan n.Jordani as saiduml o Sexvedras da ara sabWoTa xel isufl ebi strfial i.

Cems mier arqivsacavebSi mopovebul i masal ebi s mi xedvi Tirkveva, rom zemoaRni Snul i Sesazi ebl obebis mosinj vis paral el urad, Tavdacvis sistemi s gasazi ierebl ad, saqarTvel os xel isufl eba qveynis ekonomi kuri potencial is maqsimal urad gamoyenebas cdil obda. mxedvel obaSi maqvs saqarTvel os mTavrobis 1920 wl is 27 april is dadgenil eba, roml is Zal iTac respublikis Tavdacvis sabWo Seiqmna. imave sx-domam `respublikis Tavdacvis sabWos- debul eba daamtkica. meore umni Svnel ovanesi RoniszI eba, romel ic saqarTvel os mTavrobis mier iqna gatar ebul i, 1921 wl is 6 ianvis dadgenil ebi s amoqmedeba iyo. am dokumenti T, qarTul i j aristvis iaraRis Sesiydvis mi zni T, Tavdacvis sabWos, sami mil iardi maneTi gamoeyo.

sarezervo finansuri bazis oficial urad arsebobam, saqarTvel os sagareo saqmeTa ministrs e.gegeWkors evropis sa-xel mwi foTa warmomadgenl ebi sadmi iaraRis SeZenis Taoba-

ze konkretul i moTxovnebis daeyenebis Sesazi ebl oba misca. amis dadasturebas, i mave e.gegeWkoris mier stambol Si saqarTvel os general uri konsul is i.gogol aSvil i sadmi 1921 wl is 29 i anvars gagzavnii i depeSa warmoadgens. `yve-
l a saWi ro cnobebi Tu ra gwirdeba exl ave pirvel i rigis
jaris mosawyobad_ vki Txul obT dokumentSi_ ukve gadave-
ci adgil obriv ingl isis da safrangeTi s warmomadgenel T.
amaT es cnobebi daugzavnes Tavi anT mTavrobebs. Cven es
movi TxoveT da amis dapi rebac mi vi ReT. saWi roa yvel a zo-
mebis mi Reba, rom pirvel rigSi moTxovni i sagnebi rac
SeiZI eba saCqaroT mogvawdi noT.-

ramdenadac aRni Snul depeSas Tan mimar TebaSi pasuxi i gvi-
anebda, saqarTvel os sagareo saqmeTa ministris moadgil em
k.sabaxtarasvi l ma morigi daSifrul i depeSa gaugzavna (1921
wl is 14 Teberval i) konstantinopol Si myof saqarTvel os
general ur konsul s i.gogol aSvil s. am dokumentis mi xed-
vi T vgebul obT, rom iaraRis SeZenis saki TxTan dakavSi re-
biT, saqarTvel os mTavrobis daval ebiT konstantinopol Si
gagzavnii i iqna general i kir.quTaTel aZe da napol eon kax-
iani. rac Seexeba general kir.quTaTel aZes, mas saqarvel o-
Si myofi safrangeTi s warmomadgenel Seval i es sagangebo
Suamdgoml obis baraTi mi qonda frang general pel esTan.
i give dokumenti i.gogol aSvil s saqmis kurssi ayenebda im
mxrivac, rom iaraRis mi yi dvi s Sesaxeb safrangeTi s mTavrobam
principial uri i Tanxmobla ganacxada mogvyid os egreTwode-
bul i vrangel is Tadarigi dan, xol o saWi roa general ma pel em
mi i Ros saTanado gankargul eba safrangeTi s mTavrobi sgan.
b-nma Seval i em gaugzavna depeSa Tavis mTavrobas, raTa ukan-
asknel ma depeSi Tve misces aseTi gankargul eba general pel -
es. iaraRis gadmocema unda moxdes rac SeiZI eba daki ebil
fasebSi da... wi ndawi nve SeTanxmebul pirobebSi.^{~20} im saar-
qivo masal ebis mi xedvi T, romel i c Cems mier iqna mi kvl eul i,
irkveva, rom iaraRis saqarTvel osadmi mi yi dvi s procesis
sabol ood dasrul eba kus nabij ebiT mi mdinareobda. am mxriv
gansakuTrebiT safrangeTi s xel i sufl eba iCenda i ner tul -
obas. amis Sesaxeb, konstantinopol Si myofi e.gegeWkoris mi-
er parizSi ak.Cxenkel i sadmi 1921 wl is 20 Teberval s gagzav-
ni i depeSaSi xazgasmi Taa mi Ti Tebul i. `bol Sevi kebi s regu-
larul ma j arma- vki Txul obT dokumentSi- dai wyo Seteva

saqarTvel os wi naaRmdeg, mdgomareoba seriozul ia... mosTx-oveT (safrangeTis S.v.) sami nistros misces brZaneba konstantinopol Si komisars, mogvces rac gwiria.~ dokumenturi masal iT dasturdeba, rom saqarTvel os warmomadgen-
l obis mxridan iaraRis saki TxTan dakavSi rebi T pa-suxis
mi Rebaze gauTavebel ma moTxovnebma, safrangeTis xel i-su-
fl ebas marganecze iaraRis saqarTvel osaTvis mi yi dvi s gada-
wyetil eba mi aRebi na. am saki TxTan dakavSi rebi T, parizi dan
ak.Cxenkel is mier e.gegewkor isadmi gamogzavni l weri -l Si
(1921 wl is 21 Teberval i) vki Txul obT: `guSin win ki dev,
sanam Sen stambol idan gaxvi dodi, me gamomi gzavnes saqaro
depeSa iaraRis Sesaxeb aqve... sai danac gavige,... Cveni mol a-
parakebi sa marganecze iaraRis SeZenis Sesaxeb. aqaurma
mTavrobam gauSva iaraRi stambol idan mTavrobi s saxel ze
j er xanad, sami Tvi T... saqonl is Semowmeba ukve dawyebul ia.-
mi uxedavad ami sa, garkveul i dabrkol ebebi s gamo, saqmi s daC-
qareba SeuZI ebel i xdeboda. qarTul i mxaris daJinebi Ti
moTxovni dan gamomdinare, safrangeTis mTavrobam 1921 wl is
25 Teberval s damatebi Ti brZaneba gamosca. ami s Sesaxeb sa-
qarTvel os mTavrobi s Tavmj domaris saxel ze akaki Cxenke-
l is mier parizi dan 1921 wl is 27 Teberval s gamogzavni l
daSi frul depeSaSi vki Txul obT: `brZaneba gacemul ia 25
Teberval s ficxl av iaraRis gamosagzavnad.

am Tanxmobas qarTul ma mxarem mas Semdeg mi aRwi a, roca
safrangeTis mTavrobam sakontraqto moTxovnebis nusxis
SemuSaveba daamTavra da qarTul mxares masze xel mowera
SesTavaza. amasTan dakavSi rebi T, ak.Cxenkel is mier parizi-
dan 1921 wl is 22 Teberval s gamogzavni l daSi frul depeSa-
Si vki Txul obT; `konraqti samxedro pastavkebi s safrangeT-
i dan mandatorebi s saSual ebi T 10 mil ion i frankisa el is
mxol od xel is moweras. ami s garda safrangeTis mTavroba
iZI eva stambol idan dauyovnebl iv Tofebs, patronebs, mi-
traiozebs samasi aTasi frankisas, rogorc ki xel s moawer-
iT sami Tvis vadian veqsil s. masal a Sefasebul ia orj er
ufro iafad, vidre namdvil i misi Rirebul eba. exl ave auci l -
ebi ad saWi roa viyol ioT masal is misaRebad erTi aficeri
stambol Si da erTi parizSi. iqneb davtovoT droebiT afx-
azi.~

am dokumentis mi xedvi T Tuki vi msj el ebT, saqarTvel osa-

Tvis iaraRis mi yi dvi s Sesaxeb safrangeTis mTavrobis gada-wyetil eba Zal aSi mxol od 1921 wl is 25 Teberval s Sevi-da. rac Seexeba iaraRze orj r metad fasdakl ebas, ak.Cxen-kel is mxridan naCqarev Sefasebas warmoadgenda. Cems mier motanil i dokumenturi masal ebi dan gamomdinare, or Zi ri-Tad ki Txvas unda gaece pasuxi: 1)1919 wl is gazafxul ze Sepirebul i iaraRis saqarTvel osTvis miyi dvi da misi transportirebis gadawayetil ebis mi Reba, evropis saxel m-wi foebma, konkretul ad safrangeTma, ra pol itikur si tucas daamTxvia; 2)ramdenad xarisxiani iyo es iaraRi da ak-mayofil ebda Tu ara im etapze sabrZol o moqmedebebi sa-Tvis el ementarul moTxovnebs.

zemoaRni Snul i saarqivo masal ebis mixedvi T Tuki vim-sj el ebT, safrangeTis mTavrobam saqarTvel osTvis iaraRis miyi dvi s gadawayetil eba 1921 wl is 14 Teberval s mi Ro, xo-lo stambol Si arsebul i vrangel is naqoni iaraRis mi Tvl - is, misi vargisianobis Semowmebis nebarTva, imave wl is 21 Teberval s dauSva. rac Seexeba transportirebas, rogorc zemoTac mqonda mi Ti Tebul i, Sesabami si brZaneba 25 Teber-val s iqna gamocemul i. Cems mier motanil ricxvebs (14_25 Teberval i) Tuki im etapze sabWoTa ruseTis mxridan damouki debel i saqarTvel os winaaRmdeg ganxorciel ebul samxedro moqmedebebs SevufardebT, aRmoCndeba, rom drois im monakeTSi: a)damouki debel i saqarTvel os samxedro SenaerTebi, sabWoTa ruseTis SeiaraRebul Zal ebs Tbil isis misadgomebTan erkin neboda; b)sabWoTa ruseTis XI armia Tbil isSi Semovi da da saqarTvel oSi sabWoTa xel isufl eb-is `gamarj veba~ gamoacxada; g)Ti Tqmisi uiaraRod darCeni- l i qarTul i jaris nawil ebi, suramis uRel texil ze mtris SeCerebas cdil obda. imasac Tu mi vi RebT mxedvel obaSi, rom stambol Si arsebul safrangeTis kuTvnil samxedro sawyobebSi Senaxul i iaraRis mi Tvl as, mis daxarisxebas (vargisianobis Tval sazrisiT), SefuTvas da transportirebas dro swirdeboda, safrangeTis xel isufl ebis mier saqar-Tvel osaTvis mi sayidat gametebul i iaraRi, saqarTvel os damouki debi obis gadasarCenad qarTul jars ver mi uswrebd-a.

imas Tan dakavSi rebi T, Tu ramdenad vargisiani iyo safrange-Tis mier saqarTvel osTvis miyi dul i vrangel is naqoni iar-

aRi, pi r dapi r unda iTqvas; i gi brZol i saTvis i m etapze gamousadegar i yo da safuZvl i an SekeTebas saWi roebda. am i s damadasturebl ad Cems mier arqivsacavebSi mi kvl eul i dokumentebi gamodgeba. stambol Si saqarTvel os general uri konsul i s i.gogol aSvill i s mier 1921 wl i s 28 Teberval s ak.Cxenkel i sadmi parizSi gagzavnill daSi frul depeSaSi vki-Txul obT: `stambol Si frangebi s aq mxol od TxuTmeti aTasi Tofi da oriaTas samoci pul emi ot i daJangul ia. exl ave brZol i saTvis gamousadegaria. arc patronebi da arc yumbarebia. mdgomareoba kritikul ia. j ars masal a Semoakl - da. saWi roa saCqarod daxmareba mandedan.~ aRni Snul i depeSi s sapasuxod, ak.Cxenkr i saqarTvel os mTavrobis Tavmj - domares n.Jordani as 1921 wl i s 5 marts or depeSas (# 486, # 490) ugzavni s. pirvel maTganSi (# 486) garkvevi Taa mi Ti Tebul i, rom `iaraRs da sxva saWi ro masal as agzavni s safra- ngeTi.~ rac Seexeba meore depeSas (# 490), romel i c pirvel i s gan ramdenime saaTis Semdegaa gamogzavnill i, vki Txul obT: `mi Rebul ia yvel a zoma, iaraRs usaTuod mogvaSvel eben frangebi.~ i m SeWi rvebis Jams Tu ra donis iaraRi mogvaSve- l i safrangeTi s xel i sufl ebam, es kargad Cans 1921 wl i s 6 marts i.gogol aSvill i s mier ak.Cxenkel i sadmi gagzavnill depeSaSi. CvenTvis saintereso saki TxTan dakavSi rebi T masSi vki Txul obT: `gavagzavne Teqvsmeti aTasi Tofi da asormo- cdarva pul emi ot i, mi l i oni patrona. iaraRi daJangul ia, Se- keTeba swiria. gamodgeba sami meoTxedi. saCqarod saWi roa saTanado nawi l ebi an- l ui ebi s pul emi otebi saTvis. pariz- i dan unebarTvod ar gvaZl even. **aq meti araferia.** Zi ier saWi roa saCqarod rusul i Tofebi s patronebi da sam di umi- ani yumbarebi. mi i ReT zomebi.~ al bad aRni Snul i faqt i qonda mxedvel obaSi g.mazni aSvill s, roca mogvi anebi T daweril me- muarebSi mi uTi Tebda: `ar vici, i yi des es iaraRi, Tu romel - i me saxel mwifom aCuqa i gi, sai danac Cans, rom sazRvargare- Ti dan mosul i 9 aTasi Tofi dan, saxmarad gamosadegi aRmo- Cnda mxol od 183 Tofi.~²¹ dokumenturi masal i T i rkveva, rom baTumis portSi Semosul i es uvargisi iaraRi, sabWoTa xe- l i sufl ebis mesveurebma Tbll i sSi gadmoitana da arsenali Si ganaTavsa. XX saukuni s 90- i an wl ebi dan, Tbll i s i s yo- fil i arsenal i s sawyobebi s gaxsnis da masSi Catarebul i samuSaoebi s Sedegad, vr angel i s naqoni zemoaRni Snul i j ar-

Tad qceul i iaraRis `aRmoCeni I i-narCenebi da g.mazni aSvi I is memuarebSi motani I i cnobebi gaxda i mis safuZvel i, rom zogierT istorikoss mcdari gancxadeba gaekeTebi na; Ti Tqos arsenal i iaraRiT iyo savse da maSindel ma xel i sufl ebam es `simdi dre- dan Smul ebi samebr ver gamoi yenao. rac Seexeba misi Cuqebisa Tu Sesiydvis saki TxS, xazgasmi T minda aRvnI Sno, rom safrangeTi s xel i sufl ebam es iaraRi, marganecis mopovebis ufl ebi sanacvl od misca saqarTvel os. i mavdroul ad mis SesakeTebI ad Sesabamis nawil ebsac Sehpirda. smwuxarod, es danapi rebi Seusrul ebel i darCa. aRni S-nul i faqtI erTxel ki dev dasturdeba, rom Crdi I oeTi dan kar smomdgari safrTxisadmi qarTvel i xal xis Rirseul ad daxvedrisa da misi Tavdacvisunarianobis amaRI ebi saTvis evropis saxel mwifoebi, maT Soris safrangeTi s xel i sufl eba dai nteresbul i ar iyo. 1919 wl is gazafxul ze maTi mxridan gacemul i danapi rebis Sesrul ebi sadmi sasxvaTaSoriso damoki debul ebi T iyo ganpi robebul i, e.gegelkoris mier parizSi myofi ak.Cxenkel i sadmi 1921 wl is 7 marts gamwyral i formis Sinaarsi T gagzvnI i daSifrul i depeSa: `saCqar-oT gamogzavneT iaraRi. stambol Si iaraRi sakmarisi ar aRmoCnda.²²

Cems mier motani I i dokumentebi T dasturdeba, rom safrangeTi s xel i sufl ebi s mier saqarTvel osTvis mi sayidat gametebul i iaraRi uvargisi, SekeTebis gareSe brZol i sTvis gamousadegari da ja Tad qceul i iyo. es faqtI, mogvianebi T (1923 wl is 7 seqtemberi) erT- erTi frangi oficris mierac iqna dadasturebul i. am saki TxTan dakavSi rebi T, stambol i dan saqarTvel os warmmadgenl i sadmi parizSi gagzvnI weriI Si k.gvarj al aZe werda: `dRes CemTan movida frangebis oficeri da Semeiki Txa Tu wavi Rebdi T im iaraRs, romel ic CvenTvis inaxeboda aq (stambol Si S.v.). es iaraRi, rogorc i ciT, arafrad mosaxmari da gamosadegari aRar aris... Tofebs akl ia iseTi nawil ebi, roml ebic xel axl ad unda gakeTdes, Torem maTi Sovna Znel ia. es Tofebi rusul i Tofebia. tyvi is mfrqvevel ni c yvel a daJangul i da wamxdarni arian. maTi gamoyeneba SeiZI eba mxol od... Tu gadavadnobdi T. es sad SegviZI ia Cven! me Tvi Ton frangebis oficers Seveki Txe da maTi azriT am iaraRis gamoyeneba am saxi T SeuZI ebel iao. me maT ganucxade, ramdenadac am

iaraRis Senaxva aq Znel i da SeuZl ebel ia, iZul ebul i varT mis mi Rebaze uari vTqvaT. iaraRs Tvi Ton wai Reben da am uvargis rameSi amden ful s aRar gadagvaxdevi neben.~ Zne-
I i dasaj erebel ia, safrangeTi s samxedro uwyebi s maRal - Ci nosnebs im etapze ar scodnoda, Tu ra donis iaraRi ina-
xeboda stambol Si_safrangeTi s kuTvni l samxedro sawy-
obSi. zemoaRni Snul i faqtebi dn gamodinare, arsebul i si-
namdvi l e (mxedvel obaSi maqvs saqarTvel osaTvi s uvargisi
iaraRis mi yi dvi s gaWi anurebul i procesi), ramdenime saxi s
varaудi s gamoTqm i Sesazl ebl obas iZl eva: 1)safrangeTi s
xel i sui fl ebi s maRal Ci nosnebi s mier saqarTvel osTvi s iaraRis
mi yi dvi s droSi gaWi anureba da Semdeg etapze uvargi
si iaraRis_ gadadnobas daqvemdebarebul i jarTi s SeTa-
vazebi s pi rvel i safexuris faqt, droi s gayvani sa da aRni S-
nul i saki Tx i s Tavi dan dawyebi s aRZvris taqtikis STabeW-
di l ebas tovebs; 2)arc i saa gamoricxul i, rom saqarTve-
l osadmi mtrul ad ganwyobil ma osmal eTi s, rusul i erovnu-
l i sabWosa da vrangel i s warmomadgenl ebma, romi ebi c
iaraRis saqarTvel osTvi s mi yi dvi s wi naaRmdegni i ynen, i gi
Segnebul ad rom daazianes. Cemi es mosazreba varaудi s
doneze darCeba manam, sanam ami s damadasturebel i saarqi vo
dokumenti ar aRmoCndebea.

xazgasmi T unda aRi ni Snos, rom saqarTvel os xel i sufl ebi s
maRal Ci nosnebi s yovel gvari mcdel oba, samxedro masal i sa
da sursaTi s 1919 wl i s meore naxevidan 1921 wl i s Tebervl -
amde evropi s qveynebidan droul ad mi Rebi s Sesaxeb_ uSede-
god damTavrda. arada, saqarTvel os sagareo saqmeTa minist-
ris moadgil e k.sabaxtarasVi l i, konstantinopol Si myofi
saqarTvel os general uri konsul i s igogol aSvi l i sadmi 1921
wl i s 28 Teberval s gagzavn i daSi frul depeSaSi werda:
`mdgomareoba kritikul ia, gagrasi didi Zal a moawva. Cveni
razmi aq sul gawyda. uaxl ovdebian soxums. samxedro masal e-
bi Semogvel i a. frangebi aq arafers gvaZl even. jar i uiar-
aRod i brZvi s.²³ i mave k.sabaxtarasVi l i mier gagzavn i meore
depeSaSi, romel i c iaraRis dauyovnebl i v Sesyi dvi s mogvare-
bas exeba, Ti Tqm i s brZanebi s forma iyo gamoyenebul i. `saWi roa
am saqmi s daCqarebi T damTavreba, dro ar i Tmens. Tqven gev-
al ebaT am saqmeSi aqtiani monawi l eoba mi i RoT da
saswrafod Seasrul oT es saqme.~ samwuxarod, saqmi s drou-

I i Sesrul eba ara i gogol aSvi l ze, aramed safrangeTis xe-
I i sufl ebi s mxridan mi Rebul gadawyvetil ebebze iyo damo-
kdebul i. dokumenturi masal iT dadasturebul ia, rom qar Tu-
I i mxare protests gamoTqvamda, aRni Snul i iaraRis gamogz-
avni s saqmeSi osmal ebi s Carevis gamo. amasTan dakavSi rebi T,
gansakuTreb ul yuradRebas al .asaTiani s xel moweti T arse-
bul i weril i iqcevs. masSi garkvevi Taa mi Ti Tebul i, rom
`samxedro daxmareba Cven unda mogveces pirdapir da ara
saTaTreTis saSual ebi T. CvenTvis yovl ad mouixer xebel ia,
rom Cven saTaTreTis saapekunod gavxdeT.~

ramdenadac safrangeTis xel isufl eba im etapze waj eq-
ukuj eqis kurss adga, iaraRis Sesyidvis saki Txis dasmas,
saqarTvel os dipl omatiuri korpusis mesveurebi saerTa-
Soriso konferenciaze Seecada. aRni Snul saki TxTan dakav-
Si rebi T gansakuTreb ul yuradRebas ak.Cxenkel is mier I ondoni s konferenciis (1921 wl is 21 Tebervl idan 14 marti)
monawi l e qveynebi sadmi (ingl isi, safrangeTi, ital ia, bel gia,
saberZneTi) wardgeni l i sagangebo mimarTva iqcevs. Sesabam-
isi saarqivo masal is miukvl evl obis gamo, am etapze Seu-
Zl ebel i xdeba imis garkveva_ gani xi l a Tu ara es dokumen-
ti I ondoni s konferenciam. Cems xel T arsebul i masal ebi s
mixedvi T Tuki vimsj el ebT, 1)ingl issa da sabWoTa ruseTs
Soris jer kidev 1920 wl is oqtomberSi momzadebul i savaWro
ekonomikuri xel Sekrul ebi s sabol oo teqsti amier kavkasi-
i s respubl i kebi T ardainteresebis Sesaxeb Cadebul i muxl -
idan gamomdinare, ingl isi s mxridan saqarTvel os Tan mimar-
TebaSi daxmarebaze dadebi Ti gadawyvetil ebi s mi Reba gamo-
ixkul i iyo. mi Tumetes, I oid- j orij is mTavari mrCevel i
fr-f. uazi, sabWoTa ruseTis agenti gamodga da man 1923
wl idan sabWoTa saxel mwifos Sesabam is uwyebaSi gaagrZe-
l a saqmi anoba. es faqt, saqarTvel os damouki debi obis komi-
tetisadmi n.Jordani as mier 1923 wl is 9 apri l s gamogzavn-
il weril Sia dadasturebul i; 2)rac Seexeba germanias, saqa-
rTvel o-germanias Soris ur Tier Tobis saki TxebTan mimar-
TebaSi momzadebul i xel Sekrul ebi s teqsti (1918 wl is 3 oq-
tomberi), jaris mosawyobad da finansurad saqarTvel osTvis
daxmrebas iTval i swi nebda. mi mdinare pol i tikuri proces-
ebi s cvl ebabobam (germani s omSi damarcxeba, mTavrobaSi
momxdari cvl il ebebi da noembris movl enebi), am dokumentze

xel mowera da germani is parl amentSi gatana Seaferxa. meore mxriv, versal is sazavo xel Sekrul ebam (1919 wl is 28 ivnisi) germania maqsimal urad SeboWa im Tval sazrisiT, rom iaraRis damzadebis ufl ebas, mokavSi re saxel mwifoebi mxol od I imitirebul i raodenobi T aZI evda. am faqtorebi dan gamomdinare, iaraRis Sesyi dvasTan dakavSi rebi T, erTaderT imedad i sev safrangeTi rCeboda.

qarTul i mxaris safuZvl iani moTxovnebi da pretenziebi, rogorc dokumenturi masal ebidan irkveva, safrangeTi sTavrobam Sei smina da mis teritoriae arsebul i samxedro sawyobi dan brZol isTvis vargisi iaraRis saqarTvel osTvis mi yi dvaze Tanxmoba mxol od 1921 wl is 17 marts ganacxada. es faqt, saqarTvel os damouki debi obis dasrul ebas ukavSi reba. mxedvel obaSi maqvs: 1)damouki debel i saqarTvel os warmomadgenel grigol I orTqi fani Zesa da gasabWoebul i saqarTvel os xel isufl ebis mesveurebs Soris quTaisSi 17 marts mi Rueul i SeTanxmeba_ saomari moqmedebebis Sewyettis Sesaxeb (Sesabamis dokuments xel i oficial urad 18 marts moewera) da 2)saqarTvel os kanonieri sTavrobis mier 17 marts qveynis teritoriis datoveba. **yovel i ve zemoaRni S-nul i dan gamomdinare, dabej iTebiT SeiZI eba iTqvas, rom saqarvel osTvis 1919 wl is gazafxul ze Sepirebill i iaraRi, amunicia, sursaTi da ful adi daxmareba, dasavl eT evropam droul ad ver gai meta. TiTqmis uiaraRod darCenil i saqarTvel o, Crdil oeTi veSaps Casayl apavad mi ugdo.**

Cems mier zemoT motanil i saarqivo masal ebi da misi anal -izi srul yofil suraTs iZI eva im Zal isxmevis Sesaxeb, romel sac saqarTvel os pirvel i respubliki s xel isufl ebis mesveurebi eweodnen evropis saxel mwifoebi dan iaraRis Sesasyidat da qarTul i jaris sabrZol o masal iT uzrunve -I sayofad. am fonze, zogierTi Cemi kol egas mxri dan saqarTvel os sTavrobis dadanaSaul eba, Crdil oeTi dan moaxl -oebul safrTxesTan mi mar TebaSi da Tavdacvis sabWoze (1921 wl is 3 ianvari) gakeTebul moxsenebaSi i odi Sel iZis mier qarTul i jaris (rezervis CaTvl iT) 75 aTas kacamde gazrdis aucil ebl obis moTxovnaze, TiTqos mmartvel ma pol i t -ikurma el itam droul i reagireba ar gaakeTa_ usafuZvl o bral debas warmoadgens.

amis Sesani Snav dadasturebas, dasavl eT evropis saxel m-

wi foebi dan iaraRis Sesyi dvi s mi zni T, par i zSi myofi saqarTve-
I os del egaci i s gaerTi anebul i (di pl omatiuri, ekonomi kuri,
samxedro) sxdomebis (1920 wl i s 1, 2, 4, 18, 29 mai si, 8 ivnisi)
stenografiul i angari Sebi warmoadgens. i mave dokumenteb-
i s mixedvi T, aRni Snul sxdomebis eswrebodyen da dasmul pr-
obl ematikasTan mi mar TebaSi gamarTul di skusiebSi aqtur
monawi l eobas i Rebdnen: generl ebi_ il .odi Sel i Ze da al .eri-
sTavi , k.Cxei Ze, k.kandel aki , k.gvarj al aZe, d.Rambasi Ze, n.ni kol aZe,
i v.gobeCi a. aqedan gamomdinare, i .odi Sel i ZisaTvis cnobi l i
gaxda i s udi desi sirTul eebi, romel ic iaraRis SeZenasTan
dakavSi rebi T del egaci i s wi naSe aRimarTa. i mave dokument-
i s mixedvi T, del egaci i s sxva wvrebTan er Tad, garkveul i
rekomendaci ebi s SemuSavebaSi i gi aqtur monawi l eobas i R-
ebda. rac Seexeba i .odi Sel i Zis zemoaRni Snul moxsenebas,
masSi gamokveTi l i formi Taa mi Ti Tebul i, rom saqarTve-
I os si namdvil i dan gamomdinare, **iaraRis, tansacmel i s, sur-**
saTi sa da sxva saWi ro aRWurvil obi s SeZena sazRvargare-
Ti s qveynebi dan unda momxdari yo. dokumenti i m udi des fi-
nansur xarj ebsac i Tval i swinebda, roml i s gaReba, iaraRis
SeZen i s SemTxvevaSi mouwevda saqarTvel os.

xazgasmi T unda i Tqvas, rom evropidan finansuri daxma-
rebis mi uRebl obi s SemTxvevaSi, i m periodis saqarTvel os
bi uj eti, i .odi Sel i Zis moxsenebaSi arsebul i moTxovnebis
pirvel i safexuri sTvis val utiT gaTval i swinebul saWi ro
xarj ebs minimal uradac ver gawdeboda. meore mxriv, i gi ve
i .odi Sel i Ze, saqarTvel os SeiaraRebul i Zal ebisaTvis sa-
Wi ro iaraRis SeZenas, konstantinopol Si varaudobda. mi si-
ve mtkicebi T, dasaxul i amocanis warmatebi T gadawyeta,
konstantinopol Si ganTavsebul i antantis saokupacio j a-
rebisa da vrangel i s armi i s naqoni iaraRis maragi s baza-
ze advil ad iyo Sesazl ebel i.²⁴ aRni Snul i moxsenebi dan sami
Tvis Semdeg, i .odi Sel i Zis xel mZRvanel obi T evropaSi
samxedro misi i s saqmi anobi s Sedegebi dan gamomdinare, mi sT-
vis dResavi T gaxda naTel i: a)ra didi pol i tikuri Zal i sx-
xmeva da barierebis daZl eva iyo saWi ro, Tavdacvis sabWo-
sadmi wardgenil moxsenebaSi (1920 wl i s i anvari) dasmul i
saki Txebis gadasawyvetad; b)gi imasiac darwmunda, rom dasav-
I eT evropis saxel mwifota I iderebi, roml ebic sabWoTa
ruseTTan `pol i tikuri kekl ucobi Ta~ da merkantil izmis

kursis axal i formebis damuSavebi T i ynen garTul ni, Crdi-I oeTis veSapi sgan saqarTvel os gadarCena nakl ebad ainterebebdaT. rac Seexeba konstantinopol Si arsebul i safrangeTi s kuTvni l samxedro sawyobebSi i mave i odi Sel i Zis moxsenebi T nagul i sxmey vrangel i s naqoni i araRis vargi si-anobas, ami s Sesaxeb zemoT dawrili ebi T mqonda saubar i da si tyvas ar gavagrZel eb. mxol od aRvni Snav, rom Cems mier motani l i umZimesi saarqivo dokumenturi masal i s anal i z-i s fonze, Seusabamod moCans saqarTvel os pirvel i respubliki s mTavro obis Sefasebas Tan mmar TebaSi b-n. a.CaCxianis mier gakeTebul i daskvna: `maSin, 1920 wl i s bol os da 1921 wl i s dasawyisiSi, saqarTvel os demokratiul i respubliki s mTavro pol i tiku rad i tam adeqvaturad ver i moqmeda. man ki dev erTxel ar daugdo yuri simarTi i s xmas. mi sma udi debul esoba istoriam ki, sul sxvanai rad gansaj a... general odi Sel i Zis mier Tavdacvis sabWosa da saqarTvel os mTavro bi sadmi wayenbul i es kategoriul i moTxovnebi ki, samwuxa-rod darCa `xmad mRaRadebl i sa udabnosa Si na... Tumca es ukve sul sxva istoria...²⁵ di ax, mi sma udi debul esoba istoriam, am istoriis sazogadoebi sadmi mi mwodebel ma WeSmari-tma istorikosma da obieqturma mkvl evarma pir dapi r unda Tqvas maSin del i evropis pol i tiku rad gameZavebul i l iderebis tyuil ze dafuznebul i dapi rebebis Sesaxeb. 1)ar unda dai vi wyos, rom ruseTis bunebriv simdi dreze daxarbebul ma evropis saxel mwi foTa pirvel ma pirebma, saqarTvel o gasa-wi rad gaimeta da 1919 wl i dan 1921 wl i s 25 Tebervl amde, saqarTvel osaTvis i araRis mi ydvis pragmatul i gadawyvetil ebi s mi Reba Segnebul ad gaaWianura; 2)maTi mxri dan saqarTve-l osTvis yvel aze kritikul momentSi marganecis sanacvl - od mi ydul i iaraRi, im etapze brZol i sTvis uvargisi da j arTad qceul i iyo; 3)1920 wl i s martSi gamgzavrebul i saqa-rTvel os ekonomikuri misi i sadmi (k.kandel aki (xel mZRvane- l i), f.gogi Cai Svi l i (saxel mwi fo kontrol iori), n.nikol aZe, z.aval i Svi l i, m.sumbaTaSvi l i), dasavl eT evropis saxel mwi-foebis i iderebis (ital ia, safrangeTi, ingl isi) mxri dan dapi rebul i daxmarebis Sesasrul ebl ad konkretul i gadawyvetil ebi s mi Rebis nacvl ad, maTi pasuxi mxol od _`moicadeT~, `dagvacadeT~ formatiT Semoifargl a. dokumenturi masal iT dadasturebul ia, rom evropis saxel mwi foTa

I iderebi sgan saqar Tvel osadmi finansuri da ekonomi kuri daxmarebis rekomenaci ebi s gacema da gadawyvetil ebi s mi Reba, zemoaRni Snul i misiis 7 Tvi ani Tavdadebul i muSaobi s Semdeg (1920 wl is oqtomber_ noemberi), gaxda SesaZl ebel i. mxedvel obaSi maqvs ital iur firma `il vasTan~ (oqtomberi), safrangeTi s firma `ferran gentranTan~ (noembris dasawyisi) da rac mTavaria, marganecis xarj ze, bri taneTi s sagareo vaWrobi s bankTan (noembris bol os) 1,5 mil ion i girtvanqa sterl ingi s sesxad aRebi s Sesaxeb xel Sekrul ebebi s gaformeba. am dokumentebSi Cadebul i pi robedi s amoqmedeba 1921 wl is zafxul i dan iyo gaTval i swinebul i.

yovel i ve zemoaRni Snul i dan gamondinare, roca saqar Tvel os pirvel i respubl iki s mTavrobi s saqmi anobi s Sefasebas vcdil obT, gansakuTrebui i si frTxil ea saWi ro. mimdi nare pol itikuri si tuaci i sa da axl adSeqmni l i saqar Tvel os saxel mwifos ekonomi kuri SesaZl ebl obebi s evropi s qveynebi dan ar daxmarebis fonze, yvel a saxeobi s dokumenti erTianobaSi unda iqnas ganxit ul i, moxdes maTi urTi erT Sepi r-i spireba da sinTezuri anal i zi. mxol od ami s Semdeg Sei-Zl eba gakeTdes Sefasebi Ti daskvna. i sic gasaTval i swinebel ia, rom saqarvel os pirvel i respubl iki s mTavroba damfuZnebel i krebis mier iyo arceul i da damtki cebul i, xol o qveyni sakanonmdebl o organo, srul i ad saqar Tvel os mosaxl eobam aircia da mis saxes warmoadgenda. ami tom, zemoaRni Snul i faqtorebi s gauTval i swinebl obiT, saqar Tvel os pirvel i respubl iki s mTavrobi s survil i samebr `abur Taveba, naCqarevad gakeTebul i daumsaxurebul i bral debebi T `Semosva_ ganqi qeba da mezobel i qveynebi s fal si fikatori istorikosebi sadmi `fotnasi T~ msuye I ukmis SeTavazeba_ yovi ad dauSvebel ia.

xazgasmi T unda iTqvas, rom, ramdenadac 1919- 1920 wl ebi s monakveTSi evropi s saxel mwifoebma saqar Tvel os iaraRi ar mi yi da, es faqt i sabWoTa ruseTi s xel i sufal T saqar Tvel - os wi naaRmdeg moqmedebi s stimul s aZl evda. maT kargad i codnen, rom saqar Tvel o gaWianurebul i omebi s warmoebas ver SeZl ebda. ami s Ziri Tad safuzvel s, saTadar i go iaraRi s (rusul i vaznebi sa da yumbarebi s) uqonl oba qmni da. am daskvnamde misasvl el ad sabWoTa ruseTi s di di sadazvervo samuSaoebi s Sesrul eba ar swirdeboda. mi Tumetes, rusul i warmoebi s

iaraRis momxmarerebel i qarTul i j arisTvis, imave iaraRisTvis Sesatyvisi vaznebi sa da yumbarebis Sesyi dva mxol od origzi T: a)sabWoTa ruseTSi da b)evropaSi (safrangeTSi) iyo SesaZI ebel i. aqedan gamomdinare, maTematikis saSual o donis mcodne samxedro dargis maRaL Cinosanic advil ad mi xv-deboda, rom saqarTvel o iaraRis sarezervo fondis gareSe iyo darCenil i.

amrigad, 1)qarTul i pol itikuri el itis mcdeI oba, erovnuli i saxel mwifos formirebis paral el urad qarTul i j aris Sesatyvisi raodenobiT da srul yofil i Sei aRaRebiT Seqmna moexdi na, finansebi sa da iaraRis uqonl obam Seafexa. qarTul istoriografiasi dRemde gavrcel ebul i mosazreba _saqarTvel oSi arsebul samxedro sawyobebSi TTiTqos N raodenobi iaraRi iyo, natyuar informacias emyareba da si namdviI es ar Seesabameba; 2)dasavl eT evropis saxel mwifoebi sgan 1919 wl is gazafxul ze Sepirebul i daxmarebis (iaraRi, amunicia, sursaTi, ful i) droul ad mi Rebi s mcdeI oba, 1921 wl is 25 Tebervl amde uSedego aRmoCnda. naSromSi motanil i dokumenturi masal ebi adasturebs, rom zemo-aRni Snul i danapi rebis Sesasrul ebl ad, safrangeTi xel i-sufl ebam pirvel i qmedi Ti nabij i mxol od 1921 wl is 25 Teberval s gadadga. stambol Si arsebul i safrangeTi ku-Tvnili i samxedro sawyobebi dan saqarTvel osadmi mi yiduli i vrangel is naqoni iaraRi, uvargisi da im etapze sabrzol o moqmedebebisaTvis gamousadegari iyo; 3)vargisiani iaraRis saqarTvel osTvis miyidvis gadawyetil eba, safrangeTi xel i-sufl ebis mxridan mxol od 1921 wl is 17 marts i qna mi Rebul i. es faqt, saqarTvel os kanonieri mTavrobisa da gasabWoebul i saqarTvel os warmomadgenl ebs Soris (gr.I orTqi faniZe, m.oraxel aSvili i abenuqiZe, S.el iava) brzol is Sewyvetis Sesaxeb quTaisSi mi Rweul SeTanxmebas, da saqarTvel os pirvel i respubliki s xel i-sufl ebis mier qveynis teritoriis datovebas (17 marti) daemTxva. dasavl eT evropis saxel mwifoTa waj eq-ukuj eqis pol itikuri kursidan gamomdinare, saqarTvel os pirvel i respubliki s Sei aRaRebul i Zal ebi, gasabWoebul i ruseTi 1921 wl is Teberval - marti agresias, arsenal Si kustarul ad damzadebuli i rusul i vaznebi Ta da sagangebod SeqmniI saxel osnobSi SekeTebul i SaSxanebi T Sexvda.

**\$ 2. qarTvel i sardl ebis taqtikuri
Secdomebi da sabWoTa ruseTTan
damarcxebis ganmapi robebel i mi zezebi**

saqarTvel os pirvel respublikas qubedad dalyva mezobel i saxel mwi foebis gan qarTvel. Ta istoriul i sacxovrisi sadmi teritorial i pretenziebi. axl adaRmocenebul i da fexze wamosadgmel ad gamzadebul i qarTul i saxel mwi fos wasaqcevad, samxreTidan, aRmosavl eTidan da CrTiI oeTidan wamosul i mumi is, 1918_1920 wl ebSi mogerieba metnakl ebad Sesazi ebel i gaxda. yvel asgan mi tovebul i qarTvel oba, gonivru i gadawyetil ebebisa da `mkl avis siZl ieris~ amara aRmoCnda gamZvinvarnebul i mtrebis piri spir. gansakuTrebi T mZime mdgomareoba Sei qmna azerbaijanisa (1920 wl is 28 april i) da somxeTis (1920 wl is 29 noemberi) gasabWoebis Semdeg. ramdenadac, samxreT kavkasi i regionSi sabWoTa ruseTis xel SemSI el ad saqarTvel o moiazreboda, mis `gasawi TI ebl ad- Sesabamisi safexuris Semzadebi saTvis provokaci ebi i ramdenime saxeoba i qna SemuSavebul i. erT- erT maTgans, somxebis mi er sadaod qceul i sazRvris_borCal os mazris neutraluri zonis probl emis da masTan dakavSi rebi T wi nassar Sedgeni l i pirobebis SefuTul i formiT wi n wamoweva war moadgenda. istoriografiaSi dadasturebul ia, rom ingi l i- safraangeTis xel isufal Ta Zal i sxmevi T, borCal os mazra sam nawi l ad (1919 wl is i anvari) gaiyo: 1)borCal os mazris samxreTi nawi l i mieca somxeTs; 2)centraluri nawi l i_ i ores rai oni neutral ur zonad gamocxadda; 3)borCal os mazris CrdiI oeTi nawi l i saqarTvel os kuTvni l ebad gamoacxades. saqarTvel os pirvel i respublika xel isufl eba kargad acnobierebda, rom i ores neutral ur zonad datovebas Cveni qveyni sTvis denTis kasris funciis Sesrul eba SeeZl o. aqedan gamodinare, xel isufl ebi s marTvel i wrebi maqsimal urad cdiI obdnem aRni Snul i saki Txis droul ad gadawayetas. or mezobel qveyanas Soris umZimesi situaciis ganimuxtvis erTaderT saSual ebad, qarTul - somxuri del egaciis mol aparakebi s magidasTan daj doma da Sesabamisi dokumentis momzadeba i qna mi Cneul i. am mxriv gansakuTrebi T qarTul i mxare aqtetur obda. mxedvel obaSi maqvs saqarTvel

I os mTavrobis 1920 wl is 2 seqtembris sxdomis saoqmo Canaweri. am dokumenti dan irkveva, rom sxdomis monawi l eTa msj el obis Ziri Tad sagans, somxeT- saqarTvel os Soris neutral uri zonis gauqmebis da administraciul i sazRvrvis oficial urad dawesebis Sesaxeb, Sesabamisi xel Sekrul ebi s momzadeba warmoadgenda. amasTan dakavSi rebiT, imave sxdomis mier miRebul dadgenil ebaSi vki Txul obT: `mi endos gareSe saqmeTa ministris moadgil es xel ismowera im xel Sekrul ebaze, romel ic dadebul i iqneba somxeTsa da saqarTvel os Soris, am or respublika Ta Sua neutral uri zonis gauqmebisa da administraciul i sazRvrvis dawesebis Sesaxeb. proeqti xel Sekrul ebisa xel is moweramde moxsendes mTavrobis.~ samwuxarod, dokumentSi mi Ti Tebul i ar aris, qarTul i mxari dan konkretul ad vis unda ewarmoebi na somxur del egaciasTan mol aparakeba da aRni Snul saki TxTan mima rTebaSi vin unda yofil iyo pasuxismgebel i. es xarvezi mogvianebi T, saqarTvel os mTavrobis 1920 wl is 21 oqtombris sxdomaze iqna gamosworebul i. Sinagan saqmeTa ministris n.rami Svil is moxsenebis safuzvel ze miRebul i dadgenil ebiT, somxeTis del egaciasTan mosal aparakebl ad, qarTul i mxaris warmomadgenl ebad n.rami Svil i, s.mdivani da gr.l oTqi-fani Ze iqna damtkicebul i.

arqivsacavebSi Cems mier mikvl eul i masal ebi dan irkveva, rom qarTul i j aris neutral ur zonaSi garkveul i droiT (3 Tvi T) Seyvanas, somxuri mxare mxol od mas Semdeg da Tanxmda, roca osmal ebi sgan am zonis okupaciis real uri safr-Txe Sei qmna. es faqtori daedo safuzvl ad saqarTvel os Tadvacvis sabWos 1920 wl is 12 noembris dadgenil ebas_ qarTul i j aris mier neutral uri zonis dauyovnebl iv dakavebas. amasTan dakavSi rebiT imave dokumentSi vki Txul obT: `borCa l os mazris samxreTi nawil i axl ave iqnas dakavebul i da gamocxaddes samxedro wesebi. adgil obriv mcxovrebT ec nobos, rom Cven SevediT iq osmal Ta mosal odnel i Semosevi-sagan maTi dacvis mi zni T.- saqarTvel os mTavrobis es qmedeba, saqarTvel o- somxeTs Soris 1920 wl is 13 noembers xel mowerril i Se Tanxmebi T iqna samarTI ebrivad dadasturebul i. dokumentis mi xedvi T, qarTul i j aris neutral ur zonaSi 3 Tvis ganmavl obaSi darCeboda. Tuki im periodSi neutral - uri teritoriis sazRvrvis gamij vni saki Txl ver gadawyde-

boda, saqar Tvel os SeiaraRebul i zal ebi aRni Snul zonas datovebda da adrindel i Sereul i administraciul i mmarTvel oba aRdgeboda.²⁶ erTi ram xazgasmi T unda aRini Snos, somxebis aseT `kompromissze- wasvl a, osmal eTis mxri dan somxebis wi naaRmdeg warmatebul i samxedro operaci ebi T iyo ganpi robebul i. es faqti, saqar Tvel os Tavdacvis sabWos 1920 wl i s 19 noembris sxdomis saoqmo CanawerebSi ac ai saxa. i mave dokumenti dan i rkveva, rom zemoT dasaxel ebul i xe-
I Sekrul ebi s Sesaxeb, gen. i odi Sel i Zes sagangebo moxsene-
ba gaukeTebia, xol o sxdomas Sesabami si dadgenil ebac mi u-
Ria. `j er- j erobi T- vki Txul obT dokumentSi- Cveni j arebi
darces nei tral ur zonaSi, xol o im SemTxvevaSi Tu osmal e-
bma dai kaves karakl isi da gamoCndnen bezomdal is uRel te-
xil ze da amave dros somxeTis j ari gadayvani l i iqna borC-
arCal os mazris samxreT nawi l i dan, Cveni j ari s mier dakaveb-
ul i iqnas es rai oni mazris samxreT sazRvramdis waevi T.-

am amonaweris mixedviT borCal os mazris nei tral ur zo-
naSi Seyvani l qarTul i j ari s nawi l ebs aqturi moqmedebis
funqcia qonda dakisrebul i. maT amocanas osmal o dampy-
robl ebi sadmi Rirseul i winaaRmdegobis gaweva da nei tra-
l uri zonis srul ad gakontrol eba warmoadgenda. dasaxu-
l i miznis ganxorciel ebi s erT- erT pirobad, i mave dokumentis me- 4 punqtis Tanaxmad, borCal os mazraSi saxal xo
gvardi i s nawi l ebi iqna dauyovnebl iv gagzavn i. saqar Tve-
l os xel i sufl ebi s mier ganxorciel ebul i es RonisZi eba,
meore mni Svnel ovani faqtoriTac iyo ganpi robebul i. mixed-
vel obaSi maqvs somexi oficrebi sa da j ari skacebi sagan qvey-
nis teritoriul i sazRvris darRveva da SeiaraRebul fo-
rmebSi axal qal aqis mazris sofl ebSi Tvi Tneburad Semos-
vl a. maTi es qmedeba, ucxo qveyni sgan agentebis Semogzavni sa
da dazvervi Ti procesis STabeWdi l ebas tovebda. aRni Snu-
l i s gaTval i swinebi dan gamodinare, es saki Txi Tavdacvis
sabWos 1920 wl i s 9 da 12 noembris sxdomebze sagangebo ms-
j el obi s sagani gaxda. amasTan dakavSi rebi T mi Rebul dadge-
nil ebaSi vki Txul obT: `xsenebul pirebs aeyaros iaraRi,
oficrebi gai gzavnos borj omSi, xol o j ari skacebi ganawi-
l ebul i iqnan sofl ebi s adgil obrivi administraci i s meTva-
l yureobi s qveS. CamorTmeul i iaraRi gadatani l i iqnas ax-
al cixeSi.-

somxeTTan dadebul ma zemoaRni Snul ma xel Sekrul ebam da qarTul i saj ariso SenaerTebis mier neitral ur zonaSi Tavdacvi Ti poziciebis daWeram, saqarTvel os sazRvrebiSi somexi SeiaraRebul i oficrebi sa da j ariskacebis Tvi Tneburi Semosvl a, mxol od somxetis gasabWoebamde SeaCera. samxreT kavkasi i s regionSi mmdinare pol itikuri procesebis gaTval i swinebi dan gamodinare, samxreT- dasavl eT, ganskakTrebiT samxreT- aRmosavl eT da aRmosavl eT saqarTvel os sasazRvro zol i s gamagrebis aucil ebl oba qveyni s xel i sufl ebisaTvis prioritetur sakiTxs warmoadgenda. am mimarTul ebiT im etapze i seTi qmedi Ti nabij i unda gadadgmul iyo, risi SesaZl ebl obac evropis qveynebi dan zurgSeqceul, motyuebul da yal bi dapi rebebi s Semyure saqarTvel os sinamdvil i s gaTval i swinebi s fonze iyo SesaZl ebel i meore mxri v, qveyni s garSemo Seqmni l i safrTxeebis gaTval - i swinebi dan gamodinare, saqarTvel os SeiaraRebul i Zal ebi s sardl ad i seTi pirovneba unda daniSnul iyo, romel sac sxvebTan SedarebiT momqmedi armi i s rigebsi yvel a safexuri qonda gavl II i da msxvii i samxedro SenaerTebis marTvis didi gamocdi l eba gaaCnda. imavdroul ad, samxedro operaciebis ganskakTrebul i warmatebi saTvis umaRI esi xarisxis samxedro wodebis da ordenebis mfl obel i i qneboda. im etapze, qarTul sinamdvil eSi aseT pirovnebas gen. i.odi Sel i Ze warmoadgenda.

yovel i ve zemoTqmul i s gaTval i swinebi dan gamodinare, respubl i kis Tavdacvis sabWos 1920 wl i s 22 noembris (oqmi # 22) sxdomis dadgeni l ebiT, gen. i.odi Sel i Zes saqarTvel os SeiaraRebul i Zal ebi s mTavarsardl i s moval eobis Sesrul eba daeval a, xol o i mage wl i s 13 dekembris dadgeni l ebiT, respubl i kis SeiaraRebul i Zal ebi s mTavarsardl ad dai ni Sna. rac Seexeba samxreT- aRmosavl eTis fronts, i.odi Sel i Zis rekomenaci iT (22 noemberi), misi xel mZRvanel oba gen. i.gedevani Svi l s mi andves. am fapti dan 15 dRis Semdeg, Tavdacvis sabWos 1920 wl i s 6 dekembris dadgeni l ebiT, axial qal aqi- axial cixe- artaanis rai onebsi ganl agebul i qarTul i j aris yvel a saxeobis sardl oba gen. v.wul ukiZes Caabares.

j er- j erobiT SeuZl ebel i gaxda i seTi saarqivo dokumentis mikvl eva, romel ic safuzvl i anad warmoadcenda im Roni sz-

i ebebi s nusxas, romel i c axl ad dani Snul sardl ebs, maT-dami daqvemdebarebul i j aris nawil ebSi unda gaetarebi na. mi Tumetes, samxreT- aRmosacl eTis mimarTul eba, yvel aze rTul sasazRvro monakveTs warmoadgenda. mdgomareobas somxeTis gasabWoeba (1920 wl i s 29 noemberi) ki dev ufro ar-Tul ebda. mi Tumetes, gekker i s moxsenebi dan gamomdi nare, sab-WoTa ruseTis gegmebi saqarTvel os xel i sufl ebi saTvis cnobil i iyo. es faqtı, qveyni s Sei ar aRebul i Zal ebi s sardl o-bas gansakuTrebul i pasuxi smgebl obi s wi naSe ayenebda da mi sgan Sesabamisi RonisZi ebebi s dauyovnebl i v gatarebas moi Txovda. am mxri v gansakuTrebul yuradRebas saqarTve-l os Tavdacvis sabWos 1920 wl i s 3 dekembri s sxdomi s amsax-vel i masal ebi iqcevs. genstab i ufrosis moadgil i s mier saer To mdgomareobi s Sesaxe b gakeTebul i moxsenebi s safuz-vel ze mi Rebul dadgenil ebaSi vki Txul obt: `1) a) yvel a frontze myof j aris ufrosebs mieces wi nadadeba, rom somx-eTSi sabWoTa mTavrobi s gamocxaedebi T, respubl i kis sazR-varze Seqmnii l i mdgomareobi s gamo, mi i Ron zomebi meti si-frTxil i saTvis. moeridon adgil obriv mcxovrebl ebTan raim konfl iqts da Tu mezobel i saxel mwi foebi sgan mi i Res raim wi nadadebebi dauyovnebl i v acnобон Tavdacvis sabWos. b) bo-rCal os mazraSi da tfil i sis mazris samxreT- aRmosavl e-Tis nawil Si mi Rebul i iqnes samxedro wesebi da general - gubernatoris ufl eban i am rai onSi mi eni Wos samxreT- aRmosavl eTis j arebi s sardal s i gedevani Svi l s.~ es dokumenti qveyni s Sei ar aRebul i Zal ebi s da samxreT- aRmosavl eTis frontis sardl obas, mosal odnel i safrTxid dan gamomdi nare, sasazRvro strategi ul i punqtebi s gamagrebas Tan er ad, gar-duval i provokaciebis droul ad aRmosafxvrel ad wi naswari Tadarigis daWeris aucil ebl obaze mi ani Snejda. dokumentSi motanil i wi nadadeba-`mi i Ron zomebi meti si frTxil - i saTvis,~ j aris nawil ebi s saomar mdgomareobaSi Cayenebas da rac mTavaria, yvel a saj ariso qvedanayofSi discipli-ni s umaRI es safexurze ayvanas i Tval i swinebda.

ramdenadac borCal os mazra, rogorc zemoTac mqonda aR-ni Snul i, sasazRvro zol i s yvel aze rTul monakveTs war-moadgenda, respubl i kis Tavdacvis sabWo mi sadmi gansakuTrebul yuradRebas i Cenda. amis dadasturebas i mage sabWos 1920 wl i s 16 dekembri s sxdomi s saoqmo Canawerebi warmoad-

gens. am dokumenti dan irkveva, rom borçal os mazraSi dabanakebul i qarTul i j aris mdgomareoba qveyni s mTavar-sardal s Seumowmebi a da mi Rebul i STabeWdi l ebebi sabWos wevrebi saTvi s moxsenebi s saxi T warudgeni a. aRni Snul sak-i TxTan dakavSirebi T imave sxdomi s mier mi Rebul dadgeni l ebaSi vki Txul obT: `a)neba mieces samxreT- aRmosavl e-Ti s frontis j arebi s sardal s ganai aRaRos sofI ebi uzun-iliari, axpati da Sinaxi; b)Tu borçal os mazri s nei tral uri zoni s administraciaSi an rkingzis mosamsaxureTa Soris aRmoCndeba Tanamdebobi s Seuferebel i pirni, neba eZl eva samxreT- aRmosavl e-Ti s frontis j arebi s sardal s, gadaay-enos aseTebi Tanamdebobi dan; g)samxreT- aRmosavl e-Ti s frontis sardal s Tavdcvis fondi dan mieces 200000 man. dazvervis saWi roebi saTvi s. imave Tavdacvi s sabWos 1920 wl is 18 dekembri s sxdomaze, samxreT- aRmosavl e-Ti s frontis j arebi s sardl is mier gakeTebul i moxsenebebi dan gamomdinare, mдинare debeda- Cai ze xi dis asagebad 643500 maneTi i qna gamoyofil i.

Cems mier motani l i faqtebi, qveyni s Tavdacvi sunari anobi s gaumj obesebasTan da mtris mosal odnel i Tavdasxmis SemTx-vevaSi, mi sadmi Rirseul ad daxvedris aucil ebl obaze iyo gaTvi il i. saj ariso SenaerTebis marTvi s specifi ki dan gamomdinare, gadawyveti rol i frontis sardl obas ekisrebo-da. mxedvel obaSi maqvs arsebul i sirTul eebi sadmi Rirseul ad Tavis garTmeva da rac mTavaria, saqarTvel os sazR-var Tan aRmarTul i `aisbergi s- Sesacerebel i, uki dures SemTx-vevaSi mi sadmi Rirseul ad daxvedris ramdenime saxeobi s me-qani zmi s SemuSavebi s aucil ebl oba, rac saj ariso qvedanay-ofebi s mzadyofnaSi moyvanasTan i qneboda dakavSirebul i. am mi marTul ebi T pragmatul i gadawyvetil ebi s mi Reba i mi-Tac iyo aucil ebel i, rom wiTel i armi i s nawi l ebi Tvi Tneburad arRvednen saqarTvel os sazRvars da adgil obrivi sofI ebi s mosaxl eobi s Zarcvas eweodnen. respubliki s Tavdacvi s sabWom (1920 wl is 13 dekemberi), arsebul i mdgomareobi s gamsasworebl ad di pl omatiuri gza airCi a da Sesabam-i si Ronisz ebi s gatareba sagareo saqmeTa saministros daaval a. `daeval os gareSe saqmeTa ministri s- vki Txul obT dokumenti- gagzavnos moskovSi da evropaSi protestis nota i mis Sesaxeb, rom a)sabWoTa wiTel i armi i s moTareSe naw-

il ebma gadmol axa Cveni sazRvari da borçal os mazris sof-
I ebs daeca.~ mi uxedavad ami sa, sabWoTa ruseTis mxridan
anal ogiuri saxis provokaciebi Semdgom etapzedac gagr-
Zel da. ami s dadasturebas Tavdacvis sabWos 1920 wl is 22
dekembris sxdomis masal ebi warmoadgens. dokumenti dan
irkveva, rom samxreT- aRmosavl eTis frontis j arebis sard-
l is mier gakeTebul moxsenebaSi ami s Sesaxeb konkretul ad
iyo saubari. mi Rebul dadgenil ebaSi garkvevi Ti qna aRni S-
nul i: `a)daeval os general uri Stabis ufross moel apara-
kos sabWoTa ruseTis samxedro atasEs wiTel armi el Ta
mier Cveni sazRvrebis gadmol axvisa da adgil obrivi mcx-
ovrebl ebis Zarcvis gamo.~

samxreT- aRmosavl eTis frontis xazze Seqmnili i vi Tare-
ba, sardl obis winaSe, samxedro xel ovnebisTvis auci l ebe-
l i specifi kisa da adgil obrivi bunebrivi pirobebis Ses-
tyvisi Tavdacvi Ti samoqmedo gegmis SemuSavebis auci l e-
bl obas moi Txovda. dokumenturi masal iT irkveva rom am
mimarTul ebi T adgil obriv sardl obas individual urad Ti-
Tqmisi aranai ri konkretul i gadawyvetil eba ar mi uRia da
igi Tavdacvis sabWos mi Ti Tebebis Semyure darca. Seqmnili i
vi Tareba, borçal os mazris neutral uri zonis sofl ebi
somxuri mosaxl eobi s dauyovnebl iv gani ar aRebas saWi roebda.
ami s Sesaxeb Tavdacvis sabWos mier sagangebo dadgenil eba
(1920 wl is 29 dekemberi) i qna mi Rebul i. `daeval os samxreT-
aRmosavl eTis j arebis sardal s- vki Txul obT dokumentSi-
ganai ar aRos borçal os mazris mTel i neutral uri zonis
mcxovrebl ebi. pirvel rigSi ganai ar aRos sofl ebi uzun-
l aris, axpatis, Si nixi s mcxovrebl ebi.~ saomari moqmedebeb-
i s dawyebi sas, sarkinigzo transportis Seuferebel ad muSao-
bi s SenarCunebi s mi zni T, samxreT_ aRmosavl eTis frontis
sardal s, borçal os mazris neutral ur zonaSi rkini gzi s
admi nistraciaSi mosamsaxure saeWvo da Seuferebel i pi re-
bi s gadayenebi s ufl eba eZl eoda. wi naswari Tadari gis da
usafr Txoebis garantii Seqmnas iTval i swinebda Tavdacvis
sabWos 1920 wl is 22 dekembris dadgenil ebi s **(b)** punqti.
`b)somxeTis rkini gzi s mosamsaxuren da tel egrafistebi –
vki Txul obT dokumentSi- moxsnili ni iqnen rkini gzi s i an-
dagid dan da vidre maTi mdgomareoba saer Tod gamoir kveo-
des gai gzavnon: pirvel ni_ respubli kis saxazino rkini gzi s

ufrosis gankargul ebaSi da meoreni fostra- tel egrafis ufrosis gankargul ebaSi; g)borCal os mazraSi dabanakebu- l i j aristvis sursaT- sanovages mi sawodebl ad dai ni Snos gzaTa deparmentis gankargul ebiT ori orTqaval i vagonebis saTanado ricxvi T, erTi sadgur sandaraze da meore sadgur sanainze.

samxreT- aRmosavl eTi dan mosal odnel safrTxesTan mi- marTebaSi, aRniSnul i dadgenil ebebi erTi SexedviT safuZ- vi i ani mzadebis garegnul STabeWdiI ebas tovebs. anal o- giuri saxis damoki debul eba iqna gamovl enil i saqar Tve- l o- azerbaijani sazRvris perimetritan mimarTebaSi ac. mxed- vel obaSi maqvs Tavdacvis sabWos 1920 wl is 6 dekembris dadgenil eba. es dokumenti qveynis interessebi dan gamomdinare, yarai azis tyis zonaSi Tvi Tneburad Semosul i azerbaij anel Ta- `aral egarul i formiT mimosvl is- akrZal vas kategoriu- l ad moi Txovda. es gadawyvetil eba saqar Tvel os saxel mwifos interessebSi srul ad Tavsdeboda Tundac im el ementa- rul i mizezis gamo, rom im etapze, azerbaijani ruseTis mi- er iyo gasabWoebul i da es ori qveyana saqar Tvel oze Tav- dasxmis myar safexurs amzadebda. amasTan dakavSirebiT, sa- qar Tvel os respublikiis Tavdacvis sabWos 1920 wl is 13 de- kembries dadgenil ebis (**b**) da (**g**) punqtebSi xazgasmit iyo miTiTebul i im antisaxel mwifoebri vi qmedebebisi Sesaxeb, romel ic azerbaij anma da sabWoTa ruseTma saqar Tvel o- sTan mimarTebaSi erTobl i ovad rom ganaxorciel a. mxedvel obaSi maqvs: 1)baqodan navTis saqar Tvel osadmi miwodebis umi zezod Sewyveta da 2)foil os xidis midamoebSi wiTel i armiis nawiI ebiis Tavmoyra, sangrebis gaTxra da zarbaznebi- is dadgma. es Roniszi ebebi imdenad gamokveTil i da gamom- wvevi formiT mimdinareobda, rom nebismi eri saSual o donis samxedro pirisa da pol itikosisTvis sac misaxvedri iqnebo- da, rom sabWoTa ruseTi mizammarTul ad da safexurebri- vad saqar Tvel oze TavdasxmisTvis emzadeboda. es faqt, samxedro uwyebis mesveurT, adeqvaturi Roniszi ebebiis dauy- ovnebl ivi gatarebis aucil ebl obas aval ebda. mi Tumetes, Tavdacvis sabWos (eswrebonen: gr.I orTqi fani Ze_ sxdomis Tavmj domare, n.rami Svi I i, i.odis Sel iZe, v.j uRel i, i.gedevani Si I i, al .Tayai Svi I i, al .dgebuaZe. al .zaqariaZe) 1920 wl is 24 noem-

bris dadgenil ebiT, foil os xidze asafeTqebel i masal a iqna moxsnil i. `Tavdacvis sabWo- vki Txul obT dokumentSi- Sesazi ebl ad sTvl is moxsnas xidi dan asafeTqebel i masal a mxol od impirobiT, rom asafeTqi mavTul ebi darCeba da neutraluri zonis sakontrol o komisiis muSaobiS dasrul ebiSTanave, Tanaxmad xel Sekrul ebi sa dauyovnebl iv iqneba aRdgenil i sadgur SaqrI i anSi.~

pol i tikuri procesebis swrafad cval ebabobam, zemoaRni Snul i dadgenil ebiS 9 dReSi Secvi is aucil ebl oba daayena. mxedvel obaSi maqvs Tavdacvis sabWos 1920 wl is 2 dekembris sxdoma, romel mac foil os xidis midamoebSi Seqmni- l i mdgomareobiS Sesaxeb, mTavrobis Tavmj domaris rwmunebul is gr.cincabaZis da genStabis ufrosis al .zaqariaZis moxsenebebi moi smina. saqar Tvel os sazRvrebTan Seqmnill i umZimesi mdgomareobiS anal i zi dan gamomdinare, i mave sxdomaze mi Rebul dadgenil ebaSi vki Txul obT; '1. b) foil os xidze da mi s midamoebSi sastikad iqnes dacul i samxedro wesebi da aravis ar mieces xidze mimosvl a adgil obrivi samxedro ufrosis nebadaur Tvel ad; 4. a)dauyovnebl iv gamagrebul i iqnas foil os da wi Tel i xi debi da maT dasacavad dani Snul i iqnes sakmao ricxvi j arebis a arti eri iT. orive xidi i yos damzadebul i ucbad asafeTqebel ad.~ am dokumentis mi Rebi dan meore dRes (3 dekemberi), Tavdacvis sabWom meore umni Sveni ovanesi dadgenil eba mi i Ro, romel ic saWi roebiS Se- mTxvevaSi rkini gziT jaris Seuferxebl ad gadaadgil ebasa da dani Snul adgil ze misi momaragebiS uzrunvel yofas iTva- l i swi nebda. amasTan dakavSi rebiT i mave dokumentSi vki Txu- l obT; 'wi nadadeba mieces gzaTa departaments mi i Ros zome- bi samxedro matarebl ebiS mimosvl is dasaqarebl ad, jaris gadasayyanad dani Snul i raodenobiS zamTris pi roebiS mi xed- viT mosawyobaT da saTanado sadgurebze jaris saWi roebi- saTvis cxel i wyl is dasamzadebl ad. yvel a am zomebiS asas- rul ebl ad saWi ro Tanxa moTxovni l iqnes gzaTa depar- mentis mier Tavdacvis fondi dan.~

am dokumentSi dasmul i saki Txebis Sesrul ebiS procedu- ra, Tavdacvis saministros dabali i rgol is Sesabami si uwye- biS Cimovnikebisa da frontis mowinave xazis sardl obiS prerogativas warmoadgenda. mi Tumetes, pol i tikuri proces- ebiS swrafad cval ebabobam da sasazRvro zol ze mezobe-

I i qveynis mxridan Seqmnil ma real urma safrTxeebma, Tavdacvis xazis gasamagrebl ad adre arsebul i xarvezebis dauyovnebl iv aRmofxvra moi Txova. mxedvel obaSi maqvs fo il osa da wi Tel i xi debis im doneze danaRmva, rom saWi roebis SemTxvevaSi misi srul fasovnad afeTqeba da mtris garkveul i droiT SeCereba yofil iyo SesaZl ebel i. zemoaRni Snul i dadgenil ebiT gaTval i swinebul i RoniszI ebebis ma-Ral doneze Sesrul eba -arSesrul ebiS mi mdi nare procesebis zedamxedvel obis pasuxi smgebl oba_ qveynis mTavar-sardal sa da mis xel qwei Tebs_ frontis mowinave xazis xel - mZRvanel obas eki sreboda. maT unda uzrunvel eyoT dokumentSi dasmul i saki Txebis Sesabamis qvemdebare rgol amde davvana, konkretul i pirovnebebi sadmi daval ebiS mi cema da mi-mdi nare praqtkul i samuSaos Sesrul ebiS xarisxze umkac-resi kontrol i s daweseba. samwuxarod, saqarTvel os Seiar-aRebul i Zal ebiS sandl oba, qveynisTvis kritikul momentSi srul fasovnad mobil ur mdgomareobaSi ver aRmoCnda da mis wi naSe mouI odnel ad amozi dul i probl emebi sadmi Tavis garTmeva gauWi nda. amiS dadasturebas Cems mier arqivsa-cavebSi mopovebul i masal ebi war moodgens, roml i s mi xedvi-Tac i rkveva, rom Tavdacvis sabWos zemoaRni Snul i dadgenil ebebis garkveul i nawil i Seusrul ebel i darCa, ramac Tavi I oreSi, foil osa da wi Tel i xi debis mi damoebSi gamar Tu-l i brZol ebiS dros iCina Tavi. amiS Sesaxeb qvemoT dawri-i ebiT meqneba saubari, magram amj erad principul ad davs-vam ki Txvas: mefis ruseTis armi iS Seiar-aRebul i Zal ebiS sandl iS brZanebis an Tavdacvis sabWos dadgenil ebiS Sesrul ebiS aucil ebl obas, qarTvel i generl ebi da oficrebi saval debul od Tuki mi iCnevden, riT unda aixsnas maTi mxridan anal ogiuri brZanebis an dadgenil ebiS Seusrul ebl o-ba qarTul i j aris Semadgenl obaSi samsaxuris dros? am ki-Txvaze srul fasovani pasuxis gacema mxol od Sesabamis kvl eviTi samuSos Catarebis Semdeg gaxdeba SesaZl ebel i. amiS naTel dadasturebas saqarTvel o- somxeTis sazRvarze I ores saomari moqmedebebi war moodgens.

qarTul istoriografias i dadasturebul ia, rom somxeT-saqarTvel os zemoaRni Snul i xel Sekrul ebiS (1920 wl iS 13 noemberi) mi uxedavad, gasabWoebul i somxeTis mTavrobam, nei-tral uri teritoriidan qarTul i j aris dauyovnebl iv gay-

vana moi Txova. mi uxedavad i misa, rom qarTul i mxare mezobe-
l i respubl i kis xel i sufal T probl emis mSvi dobi anad gada-
wyetis wi nadadebas sTavazobda, rkp (b) central uri komi-
tetis kavbi uros mi Ti Tebi T, somxebi pirobebz Tanxmobas
Segnebul ad aWi anurebda da mi zanmi marTul ad arTul ebda.
am faqtan dakavSi rebi T, k.sabaxtarasVi l is mier im etapze
evropaSi myofi e.gegeWkorisadmi 1921 wl is 12 Teberval s
gagzavn l weril Si vki Txul obT: `somxeTma sabWoTa mTavro-
bis gamocxadebi sTanave mogvTxova borCal os mazridan Cve-
ni j arebis gayvana. Cven amazed pirdapi r uari ar gvi Tqvams
da wi nadadeba mi veci T amis Taobazed mol aparakeba gagve-
marTa. somxeTis mTavroba dagvTanjmda da novel odi T mis
warmomadgenl ebs momaval qarTul - somxur konferenci az-
ed. Cven imedi gvqonda, rom borCal os mazris saki Txs mSvi d-
obi anad movagvarebdi T.- xazgasmi T unda aRi ni Snos, rom ar-
sebul i probl emis mSvi dobi ani gzi T mogvareba, sabWoTa ru-
seTi s interesebSi ar Tavsdeboda. maT mi er SemuSavebul i
gegmis mixedvi T, I ores saki Txi, saqarTvel os gasabWoebis
xel Semwyob faqtorad unda yofil iyo gamoyenebul i. arc
isaa gamoricxul i, rom dasaxul i amocanis warmatebi T ganxo-
rciel ebis da am saqmeSi somxeTis gansakuTrebul i mxardaw-
eris SemTxvevaSi, rkp (b) central uri komitetis kavbi uros
xel mZRvanel obam, I ores neutral uri zonis saqarTvel o-
saTvis CamoWris wi naswari piroba rom misca somxeTis xe-
l i sufal Ta mesveurebs.

aseTi mosazrebis gamoTqmis Sesazl ebl obas, I ores prob-
l emis somxur- qarTul konferenci aze mSvi dobi anad gadaw-
yetic Sesaxeb, somxeTis xel i sufl ebi s mxridan gacemul i
pirobis mouI odnel ad `daviwyeba- iZl eva. Tu riT iyo gan-
pirobekul i SeTanjmebis vadis amowurvamde ori dRiT adre-
saomari moqmedebebis dawyeba, amis Sesaxeb, saintreso mos-
zrebaa gamoTqmul i k.sabaxtarasVi l is mier 1921 wl is 12 Te-
berval s e.gegeWkorisadmi gagzavn l weril Si. `j er- j ero-
bi T am ieriSi s mizani – vki Txul obT dokumentSi- CvenTvis
naTl ad gamokveTil i ar aris. SeiZl eba vi fiqroT, rom somx-
ebs srul i imedi hqondaT borCal os mazraSi mZl avri aj an-
yeba moewyoT, izul ebul i gavexadeT dagvetovebi na i gi da...
daveyenebi neT Sesrul ebul i faqtis winaSe. mi T umetes... Zvel i
somxeTis mTavrobasTan xel Sekrul ebi s Zal iT, Cven j arebs

borçal os mazraSi yofni s vada xval 13 Teberval s gadis-~ es mosazreba angari Sgasawevi a im Tval sazrasi Tac, rom Tuki I ores saki TxTan mimar TebaSi zemoaRni Snul i SeTanjmebis Sesabami sad somex- qarTvel Ta konferencia gai mar Teboda, somxebi mokarnaxi s momgebi an rol Si aRmoCndeboda da qarTu- l i mxarisadmi maqsimal uri moTxovnebi s Sesazi e- bl oba miecmoda. aRni Snul is gaTval i swi nebi dan gamomdi nare, saqarTvel os xel isufl ebis erT- erT prioritetul amocanad, im etapze I ores `incidentis- saswrafo I okal izacia warroadgenda. amasTan dakavSirebi T, imave k.sabaxtar aSvi- l is mier e.gegewkorisadmi gagzavnil weril Si vki Txul obT: `es garTul eba borçal os mazraSi erTob seriozul movl e- nad unda Cai Tval os... Cveni mizania am saqmisi I okal izacia da Tanac rac SeiZI eba I ikvidaci a Cqara movaxdinoT.- samwuxarod, qarTvel i sardl ebis mier daSvebul i sabedi swe- ro Secdomebis gamo, saqarTvel os xel isufl ebam dasaxul i mi znis Sesrul eba ver SeiZI o. xazgasmi T minda aRvni Sno, rom borçal os mazraSi XI armi is nawil ebis 11 Teberval s Selira, omisTvis saqarTvel os mzadyofni sa da qarTul i j aris brZol i sunarianobi s Semowmebis safexurs warroadgenda.

I ores rai onSi qarTul i j aris sardl oba mowodebi s si- maRI eze rom yofil iyo da mowinaarmdeges Rirseul ad dax- vedroda, azerbaijani dan XI armi is nawil ebis 16 Teberval s saqarTvel oze Tavdasxmis gadadeba gamoricxul i ar iyo. I oreSi qarTvel Ta katastrofam, mowinaarmdeges moqmedebi s stimul i misca. samecniero da memuarul I literaturaSi erTxmadaa aRiarebul i, rom borçal os mazraSi qarTul i j aris ucveul o ganl agebi T da wesrigis verdamyarebi T, gen. i.odi Sel i Zem momakvdinebel i Secdomebi dauSva. mxed- vel obaSi maqvs: 1)borçal os mazraSi da azerbaijani sasazRvro zol ze qarTul i j aris nawil ebis araswori ganl ageba; 2)uprincipoba; 3)j aris nawil ebSi udiscipli- noba da vakxanal iiis umaRI es xarisxSi ayvana.

i.odi Sel i Zis mimar T Cems mier CamoTvl il i nakl ovani mxareebi miutevebel bral debad rom ar CameTval os, sami ve sa- ki TxTan mimar TebaSi im periodis samxedro da samoqal aqo pi rebi s mier gamotqmul mosazrebebs movi tan da Tavad mki Tx- vel ma gansaj os misi avkargianoba.

1)qarTul i j aris ganl ageba: a)somxeTi s sazRvarTan, bor-

Cal os mazraSi qarTul i j ari Semdegnairad iyo ganl agebul i: 1)voroncovka- j al al - oRI i_ 4 gvardiis quei Ti batal ion; ori saartil erio batarea, ori cxenosani eskadroni, ori j avSan- avtomobil i (pol kovniki CxeiZe, S.imna-iSvili); 2)bambakis xeoba_ sanain- Sagal is mimarTul eba _ meore saarmio brigada, sami quei Ti aTaseul i, ori batarea, ori cxeenosani eskadroni (gen. sumbaTaSvili); 3)bobkini s mTa_ ori quei Ti batal ion (pol kovniki giorgi ximSiaSvili); b)azerbaij anis sazRvarTan: 1)wiTel i xidis mimarTul eba_ erTi quei Ti batal ion (mai ori xomeriki); 2)fol- I os xidTan_ ori quei Ti batal ion, erTi batarea, erTi cxeenosani eskadroni, erTi sanapiro aseul i, mesangreTa mwyobri da j avSnosani matarebel i # 4 (pol kovniki kodua).²⁷

qarTul i j aris nawil ebis somxeT_ azerbaij anis 110 koliometrian sasazRvro perimetrze aseT danawil ebis, im periodis samxedro dargis special istebi did Secdomad mi- iCnevnden im Tval sazrisiT, rom frontis am vrcel i monakve- Tis saSual o doneze uzrunvel yofas, minimum 80 aTasi j ariskaci dasWirddeboda. am raodenobis cocxal i Zal is gamoyvana saqarTvel os im etapze ar SeeZI o Tundac im el ementaru- l i mizezis gamo, rom evropis qveynebidan Sepirebul i dax- marebis mi uRebl obis gamo, misi srul fasovnad Seiararebis uzrunvel yofas ver moaxerxebda. **meore di di strategiul i Secdoma** imasi mdgomareobda, rom gen. i oseb gedevani Svil is brZanebis Sesabamisad, qarTul i j aris meore quei Ti brigada bambakis xeobaSi Seiyvanes da somxur sofi ebSi patar- patara j gufebad daanawi es. am qmedebis Ziri Tad motivs, sofi - is somxuri mosaxl eobidan i arari amoReba da aj anyebis mcdel obis neutral i zeba warmoadgenda. Cems mier motanil zemoaRni Snul faqtebs ukeTebda ra anal i zs, g.kvi ni taZe das- Zenda; `mTavarsardal s (i.odi Sel i Zes S.v.) am Zal ebis gan- l ageba zustad unda scodnoda, mi Tumetes j ari iq ukve di di xania idga. Tu es ganl ageba ar eWaSni keboda, an saer- Tod arasworad miaCnda, unda Careul iyo da gamoesworebi na Tavisi Sexedul ebi samebr.²⁸ mi Tumetes, qarTul i dazvervis mier mopovebul i XI armiis ufrosis gekkeris moxseneba_ sabWoTa ruseTis mxri dan saqarTvel oze Tavdasxmisi Sesax- eb, i.odi Sel i ZisaTvis cnobil i iyo. j er- j erobi TiseTi sa- xiis dokuments ver mi vakvl ie, romel ic daadasturebda, qarTu-

I i j aris sofl ebSi gadanawi l ebi s i gedevani Svi l i s zemo-aRni Snul i mcdar i gadawyvetil ebi sadmi i .odi Sel i Zi s kri t-i kul damoki debul ebas da misi drooul ad gamosworebisaTvis rai me qmedi Ti Roni sZi ebi s gatarebas. am mi mar Tul ebi T mTavarsardl i s mxri dan drooul i reagirebi s argakeTeba da konkretul i Roni sZi ebi s argatareba maf i qrebi nebs, rom drois i m monakveTSi, i .odi Sel i Ze j aris gadaadgi l ebi s i gedevani Svi - l i seul gadawyvetil ebebs i zi ar ebda.

mar Tal ia, mogvi anebi T momzadebul `moxsenebaSi,~ Tavis mar TI ebi s mi zni T bral debebis Ziri Tadi mi mar Tul eba gen. i .gedevani Svi l i s `Tvi Tnebur~ qmedebazea gadatani l i, magram, er Ti si tyavac ar aris naxsenebi omis dawyebamde am `Tvi Tnebur i ~ qmedebi s misi mxri dn gamosworebi s mcdel obi s Sesaxebs.

2)uprinci poba: i m peri odi s cnobi l i samxedro da pol i - tikuri moRvaweebi er Txmad mi uTi Teben i .odi Sel i Zi s uprinci pobaze. aRni Snul saki TxTan dakavSi rebi T gansakuTrebul yuradRebas gen. g.kvi ni taZi s mogonebebi s meore wigni i qcevs. masSi dawvril ebi Taa ganxi l ul i i .odi Sel i Zi s zemo-aRni Snul i `moxseneba- da umni Svnel ovanesi saki Txebi s mi mar T, di skusi i s vrcel i mi moxi l vaa warmodgeni l i. i quea dbe-Wdi l i i .odi Sel i Zi s Tvi sebebTan mi mar TebaSi ama Tu i m pi ro-vnebebi s mxri dan gakeTebul i Sef asebebi c. ni muSi saTvis, maTi mxri dan i .odi Sel i Zi s Tandaswrebi T warmoTqmul i si tyvebi dan, Sesabami s amonari ds SevTavazeb mki Txvel sazogadoe- bas. **n.xomeriki:** `general i odi Sel i Ze garkvevi T arasodes ar afers ambobda da arc sakuTar mosazrebebs i cavda, ami t- om i qmneboda STabeWdi l eba, rom Tavis moTxovnebs mai ncd- amainc did mni Svnel obas ar ani Webda.~ **v.j uRel i:** `xSi rad SeuZI ebel i xdeboda er TmaneTi sgan gagerciaT mni Svnel o- vani da umni Svnel o moTxovnebi... sakmarisi iyo Jordani as an rami Svi l i s sawi naaRmdego eTqvaT, rom general i odi Sel i Ze xmas gakmendda xol me. saqmec ase wydeboda.... raSi ac Jordani as sdebT bral s, Tqven Tvi Ton xarT damnaSave, rad- gan garkvevi T da dajinebi T arasodes ar mogi xsenebi aT. sa- swrafod eTanxmebodi T yvel as yvel aferSi. ai batonebo ro- gor xdeboda: warmodgens moxsenebas general i odi Sel i Ze, Sevedavebi _ dameTanxmeba; mere gamova dgebuaze, romel i c xSi- rad mewi naaRmdgegeboda, general i axl a dgebuaze s eTanxmeba. modi T da gaarkvi eT... ra undoda general odi Sel i Zes. mudam

ase iyo, yvel a saki TxTan dakavSi rebi T.²⁹ **auStrovi:** `batono il ia, komisi idan an sabWodan gamosul ebs arasodes ar gvsmenia, ra gindodaT; Tqven arasodes ar qoni aT garkveu-
l i azri, yovel Tvis yvel as eTANxmebodi T.~ i.odi Sel i ZesTan
mimar TebaSi anal ogiuri saxi s pozici a uWi ravs g.kvi ni taZesac.
erTi ram dabej i Tebi T Sei Zi eba i Tqvas, rom zemoaRni Snul i
uprinci pobi s Tvis sebebi, i.odi Sel i Zes adre rom qonoda,
ruseTi s armi aSi, erovnebi T qarTvel i, generl obamde da armi i s
sardl obamde ver amaRI deboda. Tuki amas mi aRwi a, saj ari-
so Senaer Tebis mar Tvis, mtkice xasi aTis, ama Tu im gadawyve-
til ebebis sworad mi RebaSi da Tavis pozici i s dasabuTe-
bul i formiT dacvaSi, rus oficrobaze al bad 10 Tavi T
maRI a idga.

3)j aris nawi l ebSi disciplinis verdamyareba: i.odi Se-
l i Zis generl obamde da armi i sardl obamde amaRI ebi s yve-
l aze xel SemSI el faqtord, jarSi mtkice disciplinis
verdamyareba da saomari moqmedebebi s dawyebi s procesSi
saRi azrovnebi s dakargvis da dabneul obi s Tvis sebebi gada-
iqceoda. Tuki es nakl ovani mxareebi ruseTi s armi aSi sam-
saxuris dros misTvis damaxasi aTebel i ar iyo, qarTul i
jaris sardl obis as, sadac qveyni s xval indel i dRis bedi
unda gadawyvetil iyo, zemoaRni Snul ma manki erma mxareebma
maRal doneze iCina Tavi. mxedvel obaSi maqvs i ores nei t-
ral ur zonaSi ganl agebul i qarTul i saj ariso Senaer Teb-
is rigebsi damkvidreibul i srul i vakxanal ia. am faqtTan
dakavSi rebi T XI armi i s samxedro komisari da i ores samxe-
dro operaci i s erT- erTi xel mZRvanet i i.l aziani 1936 wel s
daweril mogonebebSi, bambaki s xeobaSi qarTvel Ta samarcx-
vino damarcxebas Semdegnairad aRwers: `...mTavar i mni Svnel o-
vani saqme aj anyebi s mowyobaSi iyo Sagal i s operacia; rac
unda dagyj domoda, unda gadar Cenil iyo Sagal i s xidi, romel -
i c danaRmul i iyo (qarTvel ebi s mier); im xids qonda gan-
sakuTrebul i mni Svnel oba; am saqmi s mowyobi s Tvis gai gzav-
na yofil i Stabskapi tani stepani ani, romel mac wai yvana bevr-
ri samxedro special isti. stepani anma da sxvebma Cai cves
i tol vil ebi s tani samosi, maT gaxsnes Sagal Si samiki tnoe-
bi, savse Rvi ni Ta, aryi Ta da koni aki T. ami T i sini dauaxl ovd-
nen qarTvel j ariskacebs da oficrebs; iyo qeifi da dros
tareba. gai ges rogori wesit iyo xidi danaRmul i. maT gam-

oimuSaves xi dis xel Si Cagdebis gegma. merme 12 Teberval s uecrad daecnen xids, xel T i gdes i gi da maT daepatronen.³⁰ ramdenadac aq motanil i faqtebi sabWoTa generl is mog-onebebs warmoadgens, mki Txvel ma Sei ZI eba misi sandooba eWvi s qveS daayenos. samwuxarod, i gi simarTI es Seesabameba. amis naTel dadasturebas Tvi T i .odi Sel i Zi s mier dawer- il i `moxseneba- warmoadgens. zemoaRni Snul faqtTan dakav-Sirebi T masSi vki Txul obT: `rac Seexeba aTaseul i s daRupvas (mexuTe da merve aTaseul i), j ariskacebi da oficroba am aTaseul ebisa daumegobrdnen somxebs, qei fobdnен maTTan da bavSvebs unaTI avdnen; i mave dros ki naTI imamebi naTI i- ebs umzadebdnen daRupvas. am aTaseul ebs rom ar eqeifat da bavSvebi ar enaTI aT da yofil iyvnen fxizi ad Tavis saguSagoze_ es ambavi ar moxdeboda. **aq i yo usaTuod kol eq- tiuri borotmoqmedeba.**³¹ am saki TxTan dakavSi rebi T a.kvitai Svi l i savsebi T kanonzomierad svams ki Txvas: `sad aris sardl obis Tval i? sad aris `Cveni~ (ufro ki maTi) kontr-Spi onaji?~ unda vaRiaroT, rom i m sabedi swero momentSi i .odi Sel i Zem, i .gedevani Svi l ma, g.sumbaTaSvi l ma da sxebma, roml ebic borCal os mazraSi ganl agebul i qarTul i j aris nawil ebs sardl obdnen, srul i uunaroba gamoi Ci na da qarTu- l i SeiaraRebul i Zal ebis katastrofas Seuwy o xel i. am faqts Tvi T i .odi Sel i Zec aRia rebs. `mTavari mizezi Cemi gadayenebi sa mTavarsardl obidan-wers i gi- Sagal i s xi d-Tan momxdari moul odnel i katastrofa iyo... i ciT ra mox- da? mtris agentebma I xini gaumar Tes Sagal i s frontze myof j ariskacebs, daaTvres. Rami T Sagal i s xi dz e SeumCne- vl ad `moxsnes- Cveni daraj i, gadmovi dnen xi diT da Tofis gausrol el ad Cai gdes mTvral i mZinare Ti Tqmis Cveni Zal e- bi.- es aris saqar Tvel os pi rvel i respubl i kis SeiaraRebu- l i Zal ebis mTavarsardl i s gen. i .odi Sel i Zi s aRia rebi Ti Cveneba. j aris nawil ebSi damkvi drebul i aseTi vakxanal i- i dan gamomdinare, nebi smi er qveyanaSi ara Tu Tanamdebo- bi dan gadayenebas dasj erdeboden, mas pi rvel rigSi wode- bri vad Camoaqvei Tebdnen da tribunal s gadascemdnen.

exeboda ra borCal os mazraSi qarTul i j aris sabedi s- wero da samarcxvi no damarcxebis ganmapi robebel mi zeze- bs, grigol urataZe gul i swyromi T savsebi T kanonzomier- ad dasZenda, rom borCal os mazraSi momxdari `kol eqtiu-

ri borotebis Sedegi iyo `mTel i armis naxevaris~ ubrZol vel ad ganadgureba. aman ra Tqma unda, daangri a Cveni Tavdacvis saqme, dascal a strategiul i punqtebi da gaaZI iera mtris gamarj vebis Sansebi.~ amas i sic daemata, rom darCenil i jaris nawil ebi usardl od aRmoCnda da maTi bedi, mxol od TiToeul i qvedanayofis xel mZRvanel i s gadawyetil ebebze i qna damoki debul i.

borCal os mazraSi 1921 wl i s 12 dan 15 Tebervl i s CaTv-
I i T ganxorciel ebul i sabrZol o operaciebTan mimarTeba-
Si arsebul i fagtebis anal izidan gamodinare, a.kvi tai Svi l i
wers: `12_16 Tebervl amde qarTul j ars namdvil i patroni
ar hyavs. aqa- iq gancal kevebul i jarisa da gvardiis naw-
il ebi gadadian Setevaze. mi Rwevebic aqvT, magram radganac
maTi moqmedeba ar aris SeTanxmebul i da ar Cans sardl i s
nebi syofa, romel mac unda moaxdinos maTi moqmedebi s koor-
dinacia, marcxdebi an.~ amis Ziri Tadi ganmapirobel i mize-
zebi gen. i.odi Sel iZis umoqmedobaSi unda veZi oT. am sak-
i TxTan dakavSirebit, i.odi Sel iZis zemoaRni Snul i `mox-
senebis- ganxil vis dros, v.j uRel ma daufaravad ganacxa-
da: `frontze pirvel i gasrol i s Tanave general i odi Sel -
i Ze i se dai bna, rom saomari moqmedebi s warmarTvis yovel -
gvari unari dakarga, j ars aravi Tari mi Ti Teba ar mi uRia
da yovel i nawil i, rasac undoda i mas akeTebda.³² e.i. jaris
koordinrebul i marTvis el ementarul i formebl iyo dar-
Rveul i. mdgomareobas i sic arTul ebda, rom im momentsi
i.odi Sel i Ze arsebul i situaciis droul da swor Sefaseb-
as ver axdenda. amis damadasturebl ad Semdegi faqt gam-
odgeba. roca rusebma foil os xi dTan ganl agebul i saqa-
rTvel os saj ariso SenaerTi s sawinaaRmdegod pozici ebze
ramdeni me qvemexi gamoi tana, qarTul i jaris erT- erTi ko-
l onis meTauri pirdapiri mavTul iT i.odi Sel iZes dael ap-
arak; `mteri amaRam aucil ebl ad gadmova Setevaze. neba
momeci T xidi avafeTqo.~ aRni Snul Tan dakavSirebit i.odi-
Sel i Zem upasuxa: `Cven vi myofebiT megobrul ganwyobil eb-
aSi sabWoTa ruseTTan. dauSvebel ia Cveni mxridan mtrul i
moqmedeba. erideT provokacias.~ aseT brZanebas iZI eva sa-
rdal i, romel sac rusul _ somxurma samxedro SenaerTebma,
12 dan 15 Tebervl i s CaTvl iT jaris ori mesame di gaunadg-
ura da omis samomavl o bedi qarTul mxares 3/4%-iT wa-

agebi na³⁴mi Tumetes, foil os xi dis aufeTqebL oba, taqtikuri
Tval sazri si T i .odi Sel iZis mxri dan morig gamousworebel
Secdomas warmoadgenda. am xi dis moqmedunari anobi s Senar-
Cuneba, rogorc g.kvi ni taZe wers, `mowi naaRmdeges rkini gzaze
Tavi sufl ad moZraobi s saSual ebas aZI evda. i gi Tavi suf-
l ad gadai yvanda j ars, advil ad mi awodebda iaraRs, sursaTs,
bol os da bol os j avSanmatarebl iT moqmedebas SeZI eb-
da.³³ yovel i ve aRni Snul idan gamomdinare, foil os xi dis
afeTqeba pirvel xarisxovan amocanas warmoadgenda, Tundac
im el ementarul i mizezis gamo, rom mis aRdgenamde, XI armi-
is nawi l ebs, rkini gzi s (im etapze yvel aze xel sayrel i da
efeqturi satransport o saSual eba) gamoyenebi s Sesazi e-
bl oba Seekveceboda. aqedan gamomdinare, iZul ebul i gaxde-
boda mTel i yuradReba wi Tel i xi dis mimarTul ebi T gada-
etana. Tumca, misi gadaadgil ebisa da Sesabami si samxedro
masal iT droul ad momaragebi s procesebi s mxol od SezRu-
dul formebSi ganxorci el ebas SeZI ebda. samwuxarod, saqa-
rTvel os SeiaraRebul i Zal ebi s sardl obam es umni Svenel
ovanesi Sansi droul ad ver gamoi yena. mxedvel obaSi maqvs
i mave xi dis mogvi anebi T arasru l fasovnad afeTqebi s faqt i.
Seqmni l i umZimesi mdgomareobi dan da mTavarsardl is_ i .odi-
Sel iZis umoqmedobi dan, arsebul i si tuaci i s Sesatyvi si ta-
qtikuri xasiaTi s RonisZieebi s argatarebi dan gamomdi nare,
wi Tel xi dTan qarTul i j aris nawi l ebma marcx i gani ca-
da. aRni Snul saki TxTan dakavSi rebi T arsebul i memuar ul i
da samecniero l iteraturi T ar dastur deba, rom i .odi Sel i Ze
wi Tel i da foil os xi debi s mimarTul ebi T usistemod `gada-
srol il i ~ qvedanayofebi s erT muStad Sekvras cdil iyo. am
SemTxvevaSi man borCal os mazraSi_ l oreSi daSvebul i
taqtikuri Secdoma gai meora.

wi Tel i xi dis mimarTul ebi T qarTul i saj ariso Senaer Te-
bi s dafantul i formiT ganl agebi s suraTi mki Txvel i s mier-
srul ad rom iqnas aRqmul i, am mi zni T a.kvi tai Svi l i s naSr-
omi dan Sesabami s amonawers movi tan. `ai rogor iyo guriis
batal ion i ganawi l ebul i wi Tel xi dze: **pirvel i aseul i da**
mzveravTa gundi_ dgas wi Tel xi dze; **meore_** mdi nare xramisa
da mtkvris Sesar TavTan; **mesame_** mdi nare al geTisa da mtk-
vris Sesar TavTan; meore aseul i pirvel i aseul i sgan 7 ki-
l ometri Taa daSorebul i, rogor unda uSvel on am aseul ebma

brZol is dros erTmaneTs?...

sofel sarvanSi dgas Tbil isis mesame batal ioni. sofel obel ianovkaSi ki Tbil isis pirvel i batal ioni... Tu am ori batal ionis amocana iyo mi Svel eboda wi Tel xidze mdgom Cvenebs_ es xom Znel i asasrul ebel ia_ ocdaxuTi kil ometris gasavl el ad saWiroa xuTi- eqvsi saaTi... sanam Tbil isis batal ionebma mi i Res brZaneba wi Tel i xidi sken gaqanebul iyvnen, guriis batal ioni ukve ganadgurebul i iyo.³⁴

zemoaRni Snul ma taqtikurma Secdomebma erTobl iobaSi gamanadgurebul i dartyma mi ayena saqar Tvel os SeiaraRebul Zal ebs, xol o XI armiis nawil ebs brZol isa da Setevi Ti operaciebis gagrZel ebis `xal isi- da rac mTavaria, gamarj vebis imedi Causaxa. aseT umZimes si tuaci aSi ganxorciel da naxevrad ganadgurebul i qarTul i j aris mTavarsardl is Secvl a. saqar Tvel os mTavrobi sa da Tavdacvis sabWos gadawayetil ebis Tanaxmad, i.odi Sel iZis nacvl ad mTavarsardl ad gkvini taze dai ni Sna. gen. al .zaqariaZe am cvl ii ebas i.odi Sel iZis avadmyofobi T xsnis da gverds uvil is im taqtikur Secdomebs, roml ebic 11- dan 15 Tebervl is CaTvl iT i.odi Sel iZis mTavarsardl obis periodSi iqna daSvebul i da rusul - somxuri SeiaraRebul i Zal ebis warmatebis gamapi roobel i fatori gaxda.

ramdenadac 1919 wl is 13 seqtembris teraqtis dros i.odi- Sel iZem (saxeSi dai Wra) mZime kontuzia mi i Ro, savara audioa, rom misi srul yofil ad gamoj anmrTel eba im etapze ver moixerxda. mi Rebul i fsi qikuri Soki, nervi ul i sistemis daZabul obis SemTxvevaSi, rogorc Cans `Tavs axsenebda- am faqtoris gaTval iswi nebi dan gamod dinare Tuki mi vudgebi T saki Txs, igi marTI ac avad unda yofil iyo. wi naaRmd- eg SemTxvevaSi: 1)yovl ad dauSvebel ia, rusul j arSi general - I ei tenantis safexuramde (1914 wl is 11 oqtomberi) da dasavl eTis frontis me- 3 armiis (1917 wl is 12 seqtemberi), xol o imave wl is 2 oqtombridan kavkasi is rusul i armiis sardl obamde amaRI ebul pirovnebas, ruseTi s saxe- I mwifos Ti Tqmisi yvel a umaRI esi xarisxis ordenebis (wminda stani ssI avskis I da III xarisxis, wmi nda anas I, II da III xarisxis, wmi nda VI adimiris III da IV xarisxis, wmi nda giorgis IV xarisxis, oqros iaraRi warweriT- `mamacobi sa- Tvis-) mfl obel s, saqar Tvel os pirvel i respubliki s yof-

na- aryofni s gadamwyvet **momentSi**, samxedro dargis profesional i maRaL Cinosni saTvis warmoudgenel i da qarTu-
l i SeiararaRebul i Zal ebi s Ti Tqmisi ganadgurebis xel Semw-
yobi taqtikuri Secdomebi daeSva; 2)i.odi Sel iZi s samxedro
ganaTI ebisa da mefis ruseTi s armiaSi safexurebri vad
gavl ii i udi desi praqtilkul i gamocdil ebi s fonze, a gekkeri
da i.l aziani samxedro saqmisi dil etantebad SeiZi eba Cai T-
val os. (a.gekkeri_ 1909 wel s samxedro saswavl ebel i da-
amTavra, xol o 1917 wel s, gasabWoebul i ruseTi s genStabis
samxedro akademias Tan Seqmnili i daCqarebul i kursebi gai a-
ra; i.l aziani_ aso Tamwyobi, gasabWoebul i somxeTi s jaris
pol i tganyofili ebi s ufrosi). am doni sardl ebTan moux-
da gen. i.odi Sel iZes 1921 wl i s 11 Tebervl i dan 16 Tebervl -
i s CaTvi iT dapi ri spireba. im SemTxvevaSi, Tuki drois am
monakveTSi mi mdi nare sabrZol o moqmedebebi s Sesaxeb g.kvi-
ni taZi s mogonebebSi motanil faqtobrivi masal as sarwmun-
od mi vi CnevT, Cvens wi naSe saqarTvel os SeiararaRebul Zal ebT-
an mimar TebaSi katastroful i suraTi warmoCndeba.

qarTul i sardl obis mier daSvebul i umZimesi Secdome-
bi dan gamomdinare, XI armi s gaTamamebul xel mZRvanel obas,
saqarTvel os dedaqal aqis aReba ukve real obad esaxeboda.
am amocanis Sesrul ebi s mi zni T, brZol aSi Caabes: 1)Svi di
qvei Ti divizia, 2)xuTi c xenosani divizia, 3)saarmi o mZi me ar-
til eria # 12, 4)satanko razmi # 2, 5)j avSnosani avtomo-
bil ebi s razmi # 55, 6)gasabWoebul i somxeTi s me- 5 da me- 6
pol kebi, 7)j avSnosani matarebl ebi # 5, 7, 61, 77, 94.

rac Seexeba saqarTvel os Tavdacvis uwyebas, gen. g.kvi ni ta-
Zem mis daqvemdebarebaSi arsebul i samxedro Zal ebi Tbil i-
sis dasacavad sam Ziri Tad seqtorad gadaanawi l a: 1)**marj ve-**
na seqtori_ koj ori- Savnabadas monasteris xazi. am
monakveTs gen, andronikaSvi l i sardl obda. mis daqvemde-
barebaSi Sedi oda: a)meaTe aTaseul i, b)pirvel i aTaseul i,
g)samxedro skol is erTi batal ion, romel Siac Sedi oda
i unkrebis erTi aseul i da nacval Ta sami aseul i, d)meoTxe
aTaseul i. mogvianebi T mas daemata gvardi i s 4 batal ion,
axl adSeqmnili i mexuTe aTaseul i da mosangreTa aTaseul i;
2)**Sua seqtori_ Savnabadadan- sadgur navTI uRamde, mdi nare**
mtkvris sanapi romde. misi dacva gen. g.mazniaSvi l s qonda
daval ebul i. im etapze mis gankargul ebaSi i myofeboda:

a)aspini s mecxre aTaseul i, b)meSvi de aTaseul i, g)sadaraj o aTaseul i, d)sanapiro batal ion, e)qarTI is ori batal ion, v)gvardiis erTi batal ion, z)gvardiis mZime metyvia mfrqve-veTa batal ion, T)xuTi saartil erio batarea, i)j avSni an avtomobil Ta erTeul i da k)j avSni an matarebel i # 3; 3)orxevis seqtori_mdinare mtkvris marcxena sanapiro rodan- sofel araj ana pavl ias mTande sofel I il os CaTvl iT. am xazis dacvis uzrunvel yofa gen. j ij ixias qonda mindobil i. mis gankargul ebaSi imyofeboda: a)imereTis meore batal ion, b)zugdidi s batal ion, g)rezervSi idga duSeTis gvardiis batal ion, d)savel e batarea #5 da e)samTo batarea, v)cxenosanTa brigadis ori pol ki, romel ic sof. I il oSi idga.³⁵

samecniero da memuarul I literaturaSi erTxmadaa aRi-arebul i, rom g.kvini taZiseul majaris ganl agebis zemoaRni S-nul ma taqtikam gaamarTI a. 18 Tebervl idan 22 Tebervl is CaTvl iT XI armi is yvel a Semotevebi warmatebiT iqna mogeriebul i. qarTul i j aris nawi l ebi Setevazedac gadavi da da mowi naaRmdeges gamanadgurebel i dar tymebe mi ayena. mi uxeadavad ami sa, qarTul i Sei arRebnul i Zal ebi s imdroindel i mdgomareobi dan gamomdinare (iaraRisa da qarxnul i wrmoebis vaznebis uqonl oba), saqarTvel o gaWi anurebul i omis warmoebas ver gauZI ebda. es faqtori saqarTvel os xel i sufl ebis maRal Cinosnebs kargad qondaT gacnobierebul i. amis naTel dadasturebas, ruseTis agresiis SesaCerebl ad qarTve- l i dipl omatebi sagan evropis saxel mwi foebis Carevis mcde- l obebi warmoadgens. am mxriv gansakuTrebui yuradRebas, i tal iaSi myofi akaki Cxenkel is mier berl insi saqarTve- l os warmomadgenl is I ado axmetel isadmi 23 Teberval s gagzavnil i weril i iqcevs. am dokumentSi garkvevi Taa mi- Ti Tebul i, rom I ado axmetiel i maqsimal urad cdil iyo, raTa berl ins garkveul i gavl ena moexdina moskovze, rom mas saqa- rTvel os wi naaRmdeg agresiul i qmedebebi SeeCerebi na. `es mol aparakeba rogorc berl insi, i se moskovSi_vki Txul obT dokumentSi_ unda xdebodes srul iad saiduml od. Tvi T Seni nabi j ebi saiduml od unda Seinaxo, amxanagebsac ar unda ga- ando. j er unda Sei tyo, aris Tu ara rai me Zafi berl insa da moskovs Soris. sul erTia, oficial uri Tu araofficial -uri. unda gai go, saTaveSi vis uWi ravs es Zafi da mere imo- qmedo. CvenTvis araa sasargebl o parizSi an sxvagan i cod-

nen, rom berl ini cdil obs CvenTvis. unda dausuraTxato mand, ramdenad aucil ebel ia da sasargebl o germaniisaTvis Cveni gza, mas Semdeg rac mesopotamiaSi fexi amoakveTines. unda daai medo, rom baqos da er evni s ganTavisufI ebac drois saki Txia. maSasadame, berl ins SeuZl ia dabej iTebi T Caagonos moskovs, nu mtrobs saqarTvel os romel ic Sesazl oa komerciul i kari gaxdes TviT baqosTvis evropaSi.~ am amonaweri-dan kargad Cans i s Ziri Tadi mimarTul ebebi, romel ic qarTu-l i dipl omatiuri korpusis warmomadgenl ebi s muSaobas germaniis xel i sufl ebasTan safuZvl ad unda dadeboda. mxed-vel obaSi maqvs germaniis mxri dan saqarTvel osadmi I obirebis mizni T, sabWoTa ruseTze zemoqmedebi s berketebi s amo-qmedebi saTvis Sesabami si safexuris mosamzadebel i samuSaoe-bis Catarebis aucil ebl oba. Tu ramdenad i qna gaTval i swi nebul i ak.Cxenkel i s zemoaRni Snul i moTxovnebi berl insi myofi saqarTvel os warmomadgenl i s I .axmetel isganamis Sesaxeb srul informacias iZl eva i mave I .axmetel i s mier ukve I ondonSi myofi akaki Cxenkel i sadmi gagzavnili i werili i (1921 wl i s 28 Teberval i). am dokumenti dan kargad Cans: 1)germani-is samTavrobo wreebTan mol apara kebaSi germaniis social-demokratiul i muSaTa partiis I iderebis aqturad CarTvis procesi; 2)i mave pol i tikuri partiis I iderebis Zal i sxmevi T, germaniis prezi dent erbertTan, I .axmetel i s Sexvedris fa-qtyi. am Ronisz i ebi s Ziri Tad mi zans, qveyni s prezi denti sadmi Txovna warmoadgenda, raTa, garkveul i zemoqmedeba moexdina germaniis mTavrobaze, i m Tval sazrisiT, rom Sesabami s uwye-bas saiduml o kavSi rebi gaeba sabWoTa ruseTis umaRI es eSel onebTan da ruseT- saqarTvel os saomari moqmedebebis SeCerebis aucil ebl obaSi daerwmunebina. i mave Sexvedraze I .axmetel ma germaniis prezident erberts sam muxl i ani mo-Txovna warudgi na: 1)dauyovnebl i v moexdinaT berl insi myofi sabWoTa warmomadgenel i s gaweva da i mavdroul ad mi ecaT wi nadadeba, rom moskovi sTvis omis saswrafod SeCerebis aucil ebl obi s Setyobi neba gadaeca; 2)moskovSi myofi germaniis warmomadgenel i saTvis ecnobebinaT, rom mas garkveul i for-mi T gavl ena moexdina I ondonze, raTa i ngli sis mxri danac yofil iyo moTxovna omis SeCerebis Sesaxeb; 3)ecnobos ul-rix rausers, rom mas germaniis saxel i T emeqmeda omis SesaCerebl ad.

imave weril is mixedvi T, germaniis prezidents erberts, qarTvel i di pl omatebisadmi micemul i dapi reba Seusrul ebia da germaniis mTavrobis kabinetis 1921 wl is 25 Tebervl is sxdomaze zemoaRni Snul i samive saki TxI princi pul ad dausvams. isic dasturdeba, rom qarTul i mxaris wi nadadebebi, imave sxdomis wevrebis mier gaziarebul i iqna. Sesabamisi masal ebi s miukvl evl obis gamo, jerj erobi T SeuZl ebel i xdeba imis garkveva, saqarTvel osTan mimar TebaSi Semdegi safexurebrivi nabij i gadadga Tu ara germaniis mTavrobam da konkretul ad ra formiT Semoifargl aigi. imave arqivs-acavebSi mikvl eul i masal ebi s mixedvi T, qarTul i di pl omatiuri korpusis warmomadgenl ebi, sabWoTa ruseTi sadmi safrangeTi s meSveobi T osmal eTi dasapi ri spirebl adac mu-Saobden. amis udao dadasturebas, parizSi myofi saqarTvel os warmomadgenl obis TaTbiris (1921 wl is 19 marti) oqmi warmoadgens. am dokumentis mixedvi Tirkveva, rom aRni Snul i sxdoma im saki TxTa SeTanxmebas uZRoda win, romel ic safrangeTi s sagareo saqmeTa ministr Tan ak.Cxenkel is Sex-vedrissas, qarTul mxares unda daesva. 1)osmal eTs uari unda eTqva saqarTvel os teritoriis mitacebaze da 1914 wl is monacemebi T arsebul i sazRvrebi eRiarebina; 2)osmal eTi kavkasiaze gabatonebis survil s sabol ood gamoTxoveboda da am saqmeSi arbitris rol i erTa l i gas Seesrul ebina; 3)saqarTvel os samxedro daxmareba unda mieRo ara osmal eTi sasual ebi T (osmal eTi s Cvendami apekunoba yovl ad mi-uRebel ia), aramed pirdapir safrangeTi dan; 4)yvel a zoma unda yofil iyo miRebul i raTa safrangeTi s mTavrobis Carevi T da antantis saxel mwifoTa garantii T, osmal eTi saqarTvel osTan erTad ruseTi s wi naaRmdeg gamosul iyo. marTal ia, aq CamoTvl il i saki Txebi imave sxdomis monawil eTa mier mowonebul i da miRebul i iqna, magram misi praqtikul ad ganx-orciel eba ori ZiriTadi faqtoris gamo iyo SeuZl ebel i: 1)osmal eTi s parlamentis mier 1920 wl is 28 ianvars miRebul i `erovnul i paqtidan- gamodinare, osmal eTi s saxel mwifos sazRvrebi gansazRvrul i da dadgenil i iyo; 2)moskovis 1921 wl is 16 martis ruseT- osmal eTi s `megobrobi s xel Sekrul ebi s- oficial uri teqsti, ruseTTan dapi ri spirebis SesaZl ebl obas osmal eTs ar aZl evda. meore mxriv, imave xel Sekrul ebi T sabol ood iqna `dadgenil i- osma-

I eT-saqar Tvel os Soris gamaval i saxel mwi fo sazRvari. aqedan gamomdinare, osmal eTi's mxridan rai me kompromisze wasvl a, evropis saxel mwi foebi dan mxol od gansaku Trebuli pol itikuri zewol iT iqneboda SesaZI ebel i; 3) ruseT-saqar Tvel os saomari moqmedebebi da evropis saxel mwi-foebis mxridan mayurebl is poziciis daWera, osmal eTs, mitacebul i teritoriebis Senarcunebis myar garantias uqmni da. mi Tumetes, 1921 wl is 22 Tebervl is ul timatumis Semdeg, saqar Tvel o izul ebul i gaxda ardagani sa da ar Tvinis ol qebi ubrZol vel ad daeTmo. xazgasmi T unda iTqvas, rom osmal eTi's xel isufi ebam, zemoaRni Snul i nabij i mas Semdeg gadadga, roca qarTul i jaris nawil ebma XI armias gamanadgurebel i dar tyma miayena. am fonze osmal eTma, sa-mxreT-dasavl eTi dan saqar Tvel os axal i probl emebi Seuqmna, xol o sabWoTa ruseTs aqturi moqmedebis meti SesaZI ebl obebi misca. imave dokumenturi masal iTirkveva, rom n.Jordani as mier 1921 wl is 22 Teberval s ak.Cxenkel isadmi gamogzavnili depeSaSi dasmul i motxovna, ak.Cxenkel i sgan Sesrul ebul i iqna. amasTan dakavSirebiT parizi dan imave ak.Cxenkel is mier mTavrobi s Tavmj domaris saxel ze 1921 wl is 27 Teberval s gagzavnili depeSaSi vkiTxul obT; `mi vdi var I ondonSi, angoras Sesaxeb... protesti formal uri ganvacxade I ondonSi. etyoba SeTanxmeba moxda antantas da angoras Soris, am SemTxvevaSi SesaZI ebel ia gavl enis moxdena angoraze. dasmul ia somxeTi saki Txii, vecdebi dai svas Cveni saki Txii.~ am mimarTul ebiT qarTvel di pl omatTa mcdeI obebi uSedego aRmoCnda. es gakvirvebas ar i wvevs, radgan im etapze inglisis pol itikurad gameZavebul xel isufi ebas, savaWro-ekonomikuri xel Sekrul ebi sabol oo teqsti sabWoTa ruseTTan jer ki dev 1920 wl is meore naxevarSi qonda momzadebul i. oqros moxveWiT daxarbebul inglisis burJuazias, qarTvel i eris saxel mwi foebri obis dakargva Ciris fasadac ar uRirida. zemoaRni Snul i xel Sekrul ebiT (official urad xel i 1921 wl is 16 marts moewera) inglisi, ami er kavkasia sabWoTa ruseTs gadaul oca. mxedvel obaSi maqvs imave xel Sekrul ebaSi Cadebul i sagangebo muxl i, roml iTac kavkasi i saqmeebSi ar da interesebul mxared inglisi official urad acxadebda Tavs. aqedan gamomdinare, inglisi-sa da misi satel iti qveynebi sgan saqar Tvel osadmi

raime formiT mxardaWeraze fiqri_il uzi as warmoadgenda.
sazRvar gareTis qveynebi dan dauxmarebl obis mi uxedavad,
Tbil isis misadgomebTan qarTul i j aris gmirul ma brZol e-
bl ma da mtris didi danakargiT damarcxebam, qarTul i di p-
I omatiuri korpusis warmomadgenl ebs mterze gamarj vebis
rwmena gauormaga. amis dadasturebas parizSi myofi ak.Cxe-
nkel is mier berl inSi l ado axmetel isadmi gagzavnil i we-
ril i warmoadgens. saqarTvel odan mi Rebul i `ukanasknel i
cnobebi- vki Txul obT dokumentSi- damamSvi debel ia. omi
movigeT, vfigrobT rom borCal os saki Txi sabol ood gadaw-
yeba Cvenda sasargebl od.- qarTul i di pl omatiis am opti-
mizs ori faqtori ganapi robebda: 1)1921 wl is 22 Tebervl i-
dan 24 Tebervl is CaTvl iT, saqarTvel os SeiaraRebul Zal ebs
yvel a strategiul i dani Snul ebi s si maRI e qonda dakavebu-
l i; 2)sabWoTa xel isufi ebi s wi naaRmdeg aj anyebul ma somx-
urma mosaxl eobam, qal aqi erevani ai Ro. imavdroul ad aj an-
yeba azerbaijanSi- TauzSi dai wyo. Tuki gmazni aSvi l s, akvi ta-
i Svi l s, v.TevzaZes da sxvebs verwmunebi T, XI armi is sard-
I oba ukansknel Zal ebs i krebda da Tbil isis aRebas maqsim-
al urad Cqarobda. mis amocanas, j aris nawil ebSi omis msvl -
el obis gaWi anrebi T warmoqnni l i ukmayofil ebi s mi nimumam-
de dayvana, somxeTsa da azerbaijanSi dawyebul i aj anyebi T,
XI armi isadmi zurgSi Seqmnii l i mosal odnel i safiTxis
gazi ierebisadmi daswreba warmoadgenda. gamouval mdgomam-
reobaSi myofma gekkerma, samxedro xel ovnebaSi damkvi drebu-
l i eSmakobi s formas mimarta. mxdvel obaSi maqvs gener-
al uri brZol is imitaciis Seqmnia da am saqmeSi JI obas
XII cxenosani diviziis moixerxebul ad gamoyenebis faqt. i
samxedro dargis special istebis monacemebi T, g.kvi ni taZem
kargad auRo al Ro Seqmnii l si tuacias da andronikaSvi l is,
mazni aSvi l is, j ij ixias Tavdacvis seqtorebs, 24 Teberval s
meoTxe seqtori_ patara l il odan kus tbamde xazi dauma-
ta. samwuxarod, mis xel mZRvanel ad pol kovnik i nikol oz
gedevani Svi l i iqna dani Snul i. marTal ia, Teoriul ad igi
maRaI doneze iyo momzadebul i, magram, akvi tai Svi l is si-
tyvebi T rom vTqvaT, `yovl ad uargisi gamodga praqtkul
brZol aSi- did SenaerTTa xel mZRvanel obisaTvis.~ i have akvi-
tai Svi l is monacemebi T, pol kovnik n.gedevani Svi l is da
cxenosani j aris brigadis meTauris pol kovnik si damon-

erisTavis daudevrobidan gamomdinare, mtris mcireodenma
mxedrobam, patara I II os Tavdacvis xazs Semouara da
mosaxl eobaSi pani kis Seqmnis mizniT, avWal is rkini gzs
sadguris mimarTul ebiT `patara TareSi~ ganaxorciel a.
am faqtis siswores, gen. Cxei Zisadmi daweril pasuxSi, j avS-
nosani matarebel is meTauri val odia goguaZec adasturebs.
`j avSnosani matarebl iT avWal isken gaveSure, mtris mcire
gundi garekil i iqna, mil icia da sadguris mosamsaxuren
Tavis adgil ze aRvadgi neT.³⁶ xazgasmi T unda aRini Snos, rom
saqarTvel os gasabWoebis Semdeg, pol kovni ki si damon
erisTavi moskovSi iqna gadayvani l i da wl ebiS gammavl o-
baSi kreml Si_i stal inis `oxrankaSi~ msaxurobda. rac
Seexeba Tavdacvis meoTxe seqtoris xel mZRvanel pol kovnik
n.gedevani SviI s, akvi tai SviI is mtkicebi T`al Ro verafers
ver auRo da pani ki T mocol ma miatova Tavis ubani, gaeqana
mTavar StabSi mdgomareobis `asaxsnel ad.- swored am pani-
kurma `axsna- ganmar tebam i TamaSa sabedi swero rol i Tbil i-
sis mitovebaSi.³⁷ am faqtis siswores pol kovni ki v.TevzaZec
adasturebs. `pol kovnik gedevani SviI is dabrunebam Teber-
vI is 24- Si, didad dagvafiqra. is dRisiT dani Snul i iqna
frTazed moqmed jarTa ufrosad. misi arasrul i Sefasebi T
mteri marcxena qveiTta j arisa da artiI eriis garRveiT
gvemuqreboda.³⁸ am monacemebis mi xedvi T, 24 Teerval s dRisiT
sardl ad dani Snul i pirovneba, saRamos StabSi garbis, j ar-
sa da Tavdacvis xazs meTauris gareSe upatronod tovebs
da mis mier mi tanil i informaciiT, Stabis wevrebSi pani kas
qmnis. arada, n.gedevani SviI is pirvel xarisxovan amocanas,
c xenosani j aris unariani marTva da arsebul i situaciis
Sesatyvisi gadawyvetil ebabis droul i miReba warmoadgen-
da. am SemTxevaSi, meoTxe seqtoris sardl is moval eobis
nacvl ad, n.gedevani SviI ma informantorisadmi dakisrebul i
funcia Seasrul a. pani ki T Sezavebul i formiT, mis mier
StabSi mi tanil i cnobebi gaxda mTavar sardl is mxridan
Tbil i sis dasatovebl ad gadawyvetil ebiS mi Rebis erT- erTi
myari safuzvel i. Tuki frontis mowinave xaxis central uri
seqtoris sardal is g.mazniaSviI is memuarebSi motanil i
monacemebis mi xedvi T vi msj el ebT, mdgomareoba arCTu sa-
gangaSo iyo. amasTan dakavSi rebiT i gi garkveiT wers: `fron-
tis mdgomareoba ki 24 Teerval s aseTi iyo: mowi naaRmdegis

ieri Sebi yvel a rai onSi moyeriebul ni iqnen da darwminebul i viyavi, rom mTel i dRis brZol iT daqancul i mowi naaRmdege Ramis ieri Sebs ar moaxdenda, xol o dil iT, radganac mowi naaRmdege idga mTis gaSI il ferdobze da xevSi, Cveni kargad mowyobil i poziciebis pirispire, iZul ebul i gaxdeboda an iaraRi aeyara, an da Tu vini cobaa ukana dai xevda, mTl ad gawydeboda, I egi onebis ufrosebTan tel efonebi T I a parakis dros es Cemi azri TandaTan mtkicdeboda.~ mi Tumetes, saintendant da saartil erio sawyobebi dan Tavdacvis uwyebam 24 Teberval s g.mazniasvili is seqtorSi sanovagisa da vaznebis di di maragi Sei tana. aRni Snul i fagtebi natyuari informacia rom iyos, i gi sxva samxedro maRal Cinosnebis mxridan umkacresi kritikis sagani gaxdeboda. Tumca, g.kvi nitaze, al zaqariaZe da sxvebi, Tavis marTl ebis mizni T, arsebul situacias ise warmosaxaven, Ti Tqos mdgomareoba katastroful i iyo da Tbil isis datovebis garda sxva gamosaval i ar arsebobda. xazgasmi T minda aRvni Sno, rom am saki Tx-Tan mumarTebaSi, utyuar dokumentur masal aze dayrdnobi T, samxedro dargis special istebis mxridan si Rrmi seul i samecniero kvl evi Ti samuSaos Cataereba da Sesabami si saxeobis rukebis (dawrili ebi Ti monacemebis darTvi T) Sedgena pirvel i rigis amocanas warmoadgens. mxedvel obaSi maqvs: a) yvel a sabrZol o operaciis (Tavdacva da Seteva); b) qarTul i jarisa da mtris samxedro SenaerTebis 1921 wl is 24 Tebervl is monacemebi T ganl agebis; g) imave saj ariso SenaerTebis mier 24 Tebervl isTvis dakavebul i punqtebis, simaRI eebisa da xevebis topografiul i saxis dawrili ebi Ti rukebis Sedgena; d) somxeTsa da azerbaijanSi dawyebul i aj anyebebis (monawili eTa raodenobis garkveva) moqmedebis sivrcis Sesabami si rukebis Sedgena. yovel i ve aRni Snul is erTobl i obaSi ganxil va, mi udgomel i da safuzvl iani sinTezuri anal izi SesaZI ebl obas mogvcems swori daskvna gavakeToT, Tu ramdenad kanonzomi eri iyo general g.kvi nitazis #131- e brZanebis safuzvel ze Tbil isis ubrZol vel ad datoveba.

sawuxarod, zemoaRni Snul i brZanebis avtorobas zogier-Ti pol i tikuri moRvawe n.Jordanias abral ebs. mxedvel obaSi maqvs r.gabaSvili is memuarеби, sadac vki Txul obT; `Jordanias` mTavrobis- brZanebi T Tbil isi unda mi gvetovebina da evakuacia xdeboda. amis damadasturebel sabuTad is

‘kuri ozi ~ mai nc gamodgeba... rom benia Cxi kvi Svil ma... rogorc
`qal aqis Tavma,~ Tu Tbil issis `gubernatorma~ Reneral - gu-
bernatoroba,- daTa vaCnaZes gadasca yvel a Tavi si xarisxe-
bi da moval eobani: `Tbil iss upatroneTo~ da Tvi Ton,~ ba-
TumSi gadavi da Reneral - gubernatorad.~³⁹ im momentSi Tu
ara, memuarebis daweris dros r.gabaSvil ma Sesani Snavad
i coda g.kvini taZis (qveynis mTavarsardal i) xel moweriT
oficial urad gamocemul i zemoaRni Snul i #131- e brZaneb-
is arseboba. XX saukunis 30- i an wl ebSi , emigraciaSi myofi
samxedro dargis maRal Cinosnebi, presaSi garkveiT werd-
nen, rom Tbil issis datovebis saki Txil TavdaciVis sabWos sx-
domam gadawyvi ta da ara piradad n.Jordaniam. amis Sesaxeb
dawrili ebi Taa saubar i g.kvini taZis, al .zaqari aZis, k.i mnaZisa
da sxvaTa memuarebSi . vi nc am pirovnebaTa mogonebebs gaec-
noba darwmundeba, rom TavdaciVis sabWos sxdomaze Tbil i-
sis datovebis saki Txil dasmis iniciatori g.kvini taZe iyo.
amis Sesaxeb al .zaqariaZe garkveiT wers: `TavdaciVis sab-
Wos sxdoma gai xsna saRamos Svid saaTze Cems kabi netSi.
mTavarsardal ma (g.kvini taZem S.v.) gaukeTa mas (n.Jordanias
S.v.) dawrili ebi Ti moxseneba Seqmnili i mdgomareobis Sesax-
eb da miawoda... frontebis meTaurTa azri, rom xval gameo-
rebul bol Sevikebis ieriSebs i sini veRar gauZI ebdnen...
mTavarsardal i askvni da: xval i dan an brZol a al yaSemort-
ymul Tbil issi... anda daxeva mcxeTi s poziciebze.⁴⁰ aRni Sn-
ul faqts g.kvini taZe Semdegnirad gadmoscems: `saRamos 5-
6 saaTi saTvis mTavr obis Tavmj domares movaxsene Cemi gada-
wyvetil eba ukandaxeviS Sesaxeb. brZol i s yvel a saSual eba
amovwureT da al yaSi moqceva gvemuqreboda. 9 saaTi saTvis
es brZaneba (saubar i #131- e brZanebaze S.v.) gadaeca j ars,
romel sac ukandaxeva Ramis 12 saaTze unda daewyo... Cemi
brZanebiS Tanaxmad j ars sam kol onad unda daexia ukana.⁴¹
momdevno gverdze i give g.kvini taZe wers: `Tbil issis datove-
bis saki Txil saxel mwifo TavdaciVis sabWos ki serzea, romel -
mac orj er principul ad gadawyvi ta i s, anu dedaqal aqis
datoveba brZol i s Sewyvetad da qveynis damarcxebad ar
mi i Cnia... gadawyvetil eba droul i iyo. mxol od 25 Tebervl a-
mde Sei ZI eboda j aris gadarCena.⁴²

k.i mnaZe, romel i c TavdaciVis sabWos im sabedi swero sxdo-
mas eswreboda, dawrili ebi T aRwers sxdomis mi mdi nare pro-

cess. imavdroul ad xazgasmi T mi uTi Tebs, Tu ramdenad uary-ofiT zemoqmedeba moaxdina g.kvi ni taZeze Tbil isis dacvis marcxena seqtoris sardl is gen. j ij ixias mier satel e-fono xazi T mowodebul ma sasi xarul o informaciam_ mtris sastikad damarcxebis da pir vandel i sawysi strategiul i mni Svnel obis poziciebis dakavebis Sesaxebs. rogorc k.imnaZe wers, Tavdacvis sabWos sxdomi sadmi mis mier mi wodebul ma am informaciam g.kvi ni taZe gansakuTrebil gaanerviul a da mTavrobi s Tavmj domares gadadgomiT daemuqra. i gi `gaeqana mTavrobi s Tavmj domarisken da ganucxada: `ia otstupai u!-es ori si tyva iq myoft mexivi T daatyda Tavze... mTavrobi s Tavmj domarem saTval e moixsna da gaocebui gamometryve- I ebi T Seeki Txa mTavarsardal s:- rogor, ra moxda... uk an daxeva aucil ebel ia?!. diax!... -gesmi T aseTi nabi j is pasuxi-smgebl oba da Rebul obT am pasuxi smgebl obas Tavze?_ diax!... da Seudga am moul odnel i gadawyvetil ebi s dasabuTebas.⁴³ Cems mier motani l i am amonaweri dan gamokvetil i formi Taa naCvenebi: a)g.kvi ni taZis mxri dan Tavdacvis sabWos sxdomaze Tbil isis datovebi s kategoriul i motxovna; b)gen.j ij ixias seqtori dan mi Rebul i sasi xarul o informaci i dan gamomdi-nare misi gansakuTrebil i ganerviul eba. es faqt, gakvirvebas ar iwevs, radgan: 1)Tavdacvis sabWosadmi SeTavazebul i misi wi nadadebi s si sworis dasabuTebis myar argumentad, g.kvi ni taZe marj vena seqtorze gen. j ij ixias warumatebl obas iyenebda; 2)i ave gen. j ij ixias mier dRis meore naxevarSi mtris sastikad damarcxebis da gansakuTrebil i mni Svne- I obis strategiul i simaRI eebi s dakavebi s faqtma, g.kvi ni- taZis debul ebebi safuzvl i anad Searyia. yovel i ve es, r.gabaSvi l isaTvis cnobi l i yo, magram, saqar Tvel os mTavro- bi sa da misi l iderebi sadmi bi ol ogiuri si Zul vil is gamo- tyuil ebi s gza aircia. samxedro xel ovnebi s sferosi das- vebul i Secdomebi dan gamomdinare, qarTvel i generl ebi sad- mi wasayenebel i bral debebi s nusxa, samoqal aqo seqtorSi gadmoi tana, n.Jordani asa da mTavrobi s sxva wevrebs mZi vebi- vi T Camohki da ki serze. misi gansakuTrebil i tendenci uroba i maSi ac vl indeba, rom i .odi Sel i Zis, g.kvi ni taZis, i gedevani- Svi l is, n.gedevani Svi l is da sxva samxedro maRal ci nosnebi s mier daSvebul momakvdi nebel Secdomebze Segnebul ad xu- Wavs Tval s da sabWoTa ruseTTan damarcxebi s ganmapi robebel

mi zezebs, r.gabaSvi l i s si tyvebi T rom vTqvaT mxol od `menSe-vikur mTavr obaSi ~ eZebs. erTi ram dabej i Tebi T Sei ZI eba i Tqvas: g.kvi ni taZis mier Cafiqrebul i `manevri ~_ Tbil i sSi mtris `Semotyueba,~ mcxeTaSi gamagreba da iqedan genera-luri brZol is dawyeba, gamanadgurebel i dartymebi T Tbil i-sis i sev uk an dabru neba_ kraxiT damTavrda. es arcaa gasakvi-ri, radgan masSi Semdegi uaryofi Ti faqtorebi iyo Cadebu-l i: 1)qarTvel Ta fsiqol ogiuri ganwyobi s argaTval i swine-ba, romel ic safuZvl ad daedo saqarTvel os saj ariso Sennaer Tebis sabrZol o aRmafreni s moul odnel ad Caqrobas. Tbil i s is `dakargvam- qarTul i j aris nawil ebze dambl adamcemi fsiqol ogiuri zemoqmedeba moaxdina da ui medobi dan gamomdinare, misi brZol i sunari anoba Ti Tqm i s nul amde dai y-vana; 2)Tbil i s Si 25 Teberval s Semosul i bol Sevi kebi, rom-1 ebmac saqarTvel oSi sabWoTa xel i sufl ebi s damyareba oficial urad gamoacxada, saqarTvel os dedaqal aqs advil ad ar Seel eoda. yovel i qucisa da sadarbazos SesanarCunebl - ad samkvdro- sasicocxl o brZol ebs gamar Tavda. uki dures SemTxvevaSi, I .trockis si tyvebi T rom vTqvaT, Tbil i s is karebs i se mZl avrad mi axeTqebda, rom Tbil i si dan `erTi ag-uric ki aRar darCeboda.~ amis gakeTeba maT ar gauWi rdebo-daT, radgan Sesabami si praqti ka maRaI doneze qondaT gav-1 il i; 3)Tbil i s is muzeumebSi da sxva dawesebul ebebSi darCe-ni l i erovnul i simdidris, Tundac metnakl ebad Ri rebul is, maqsimal urad Tavmoyras da saqarTvel odan dauyovnebl i v-gatanas moaxdendnen.

yovel i ve zemoTqm ul i dan gamomdinare, Tbil i s is i sev `dab-runebis- da XI armi is damarcxebis g.kvi ni taZi seul i gegma qarTul si namdvil esTan SeusabamobaSi iyo. Cemi azri T, amj e-rad savsebi T marTal i iyo i.odi Sel i Ze, stambol Si waki Tx-ul moxsenebaSi (1922 wl i s 22 marti) rom ambobda: `mTavari mi zezi Cveni j aris demoral izaci is da yvel a frontebis gaxrwnis iyo daxeva Tbil i si dan uecari da gaugebari, rogorc j arisTvis ise xal xisTvis. dawyebul i avWal i dan Cveni j aris gaxrwnas xel s uw yobda pasiuri uk an daxevi Ti taqtika axa-1 i mTavarsardl i sa.~ xazgasmi T minda aRvn i Sno, rom Seqmni-1 i mdgomareoba, XI armi is sardl obam maqsimal urad gam-oijena da ukandaxeul i qarTul i j aris nawil ebs `amosu-nTqv i s- saSual eba ar mi sca. meore mxriv, gaTamamebul i formiT

sabrZol o moqmedebebi merve, mecxre da mecamete armiebis Sesabamisma divizi ebma gaaZl ieres. 25 Teberval s mami sonis uRel texil i gadmol axa 33- e samTo- msrol el i diviziis 38- e brigadam, xol o 28 Teberval s, mterma Trusos uRel - texil isa da xeobis dakaveba SeZl o. soWi- soxumiis mimarTul ebiT aqturi moqmedeba dai wyo gen. I evandovski s sardl obiT IX armiis samma qveiTma da erTma cxenosanma divizi ebma, roml ebsac general i arTmel aZe Rirseul ad umkl avdeboda 7 martamde manam, sanam sabrZol o masal ebi Semoel eoda.

rac Seexeba Cveni qveynis samxreT- dasavl eTel mezobel _ osmal eTs, sabWoTa ruseTiS Rirseul mokavSi res, saqar Tvel os wi naaRmdeg saomari moqmedebebis gaaqtireba dai wyo. qarTul i andazis ar iyos_ `Sendebodes Seewie, iqceodes waesie-- s mdgomareobaSi aRmoCnda saqar Tvel os pirvel i respublika 1921 wl is 25 Tebervl is Semdeg. somxeTi, azerbaijani, ruseTi da osmal eTi, erTmaneTTan `Sexmatkbi l ebul ni- moqmedebdnan saqar Tvel os saxel mwi foebri obis wi naaRmdeg da Ti Toeul i maTgani damsaxurebisda mi xedvi T qarTvel Ta istoriul i sacxovrisidan msuye teritoriul CamonaWrebs el oda. am mxriv, saer TaSori so doneze pirvel i gabedul i nabij i sabWoTa ruseTma 1921 wl is 16 marts gadadga. mxedvel obaSi maqvs sabWoTa ruseTsa da osmal eTs Soris moskovSi xel moweril i `Zmobisa da megobrobis~ xel Sekrul eba. am dokumentis pirvel i muxl iT, osmal eTiS Crdil - oeTiS sasazRvro xazi im formiT i qna gatarebul i, rom arTvinis, artaanisa da ol Tisis okrugebi osmal eTiS Semadgeni obaSi moeqca. rac Seexeba imave xel Sekrul ebiS meore muxl s, osmal eTi keTil nebas i Cenda da baTumis okrugs siuzerenitetis ufl ebiT uTmobda saqar Tvel os.⁴⁴

aRni Snul i xel Sekrul ebiS oficial urad gamoqveynebul i teqstiS mi xedvi T, saqar Tvel o_ osmal eTs Soris gavl ebul i sazRvari samarTI ebriv CarCoSi rom Camj dariyo, sabWoTa saqar Tvel os warmomadgenel is saxel iT, saqar Tvel os sazRvris saki TxTan dakavSi rebiT, **Sesabamisi komisiis sxdomis oqmze xel i mixa cxakai am moawera.** zemoaRni Snul i dokumentis meore muxl iT da damatebis I (A) nawi I iT, osmaI eT_ saqar Tvel os sazRvari mdinare WoroxTan i qna gavl ebul i da baTumis okrugi saqar Tvel os sazRvrebSi moaq-

cies. aqedan gamomdi nare, baTumis okrugSi 9 marts Sesul osmal eTis jaris nawil ebs aRni Snul i teritoria dauyovnebl iv unda dacl a. amis sanacvl od, baTumSi Sesul ma osmal eTis jarabis sardal ma qiazim- beim 17 marts Tavi qal aqis gubernatorad gamoacxada. am qmedebiT, osmal ebma moskovi 16 martis xel Sekrul ebi s Sesabami si muxl ebi daa-Rvia. osmal Ta mxridan aseTi gaTavxedebul i formiT mo-qmedeba, mi si mokavSi re sabWoTa ruseTi sadmi da zemoaRni Snul i xel Sekrul ebi sadmi angariSi s argaweva, momxdari faqtisadmi sabWoTa ruseTi sagareo saqmeTa saministros mxridan Sesabami si reagi rebi s argakeTeba, bevr ki Txvi T ni Sans aCens. Cemi azriT, masze pasuxis gacemis mxol od nawil obrivi formiT Sesazi ebl obas, saqarTvel os demokratiul i respubli kisa da gasabWoebul i saqarTvel os warmomadgen- I ebi s (gr.I orTqi faniZe, moraxel aSvi l i, al .svani Ze, abenuqi Ze) quTaisi 17 martis mol aparakebi s stenografiul i angari-Si iZI eva.

Tuki am dokuments gul dasmi T gavecnobi T, i seTi STabeWdil eba Sei qmneba, rom gasabWoebul i saqarTvel os warmomadgenl ebi (abenuqi Ze, moraxel aSvi l i, al .svani Ze) wi naswar `dawer il i scenariT~ moqmedebdnен. mxedvel obaSi maqvs ba-Tumis okrugis saqarTvel os Semadgenl obaSi darCeni sadmi mxardaWeris sanacvl od, gasabWoebul i saqarTvel os xel i sufl ebi s aRi arebi sa da mi si I egit imaci i s mcdel oba. maT kargad esmodaT, rom osmal eTis saokupacio j arebi s baTumis okrugi dan gasadevnad, erT- erTi mni Svnel ovani rol i XI armi i s samxedro Senaer Tebs unda Seesrul ebi na. gasabWoebul i saqarTvel os `mTavr obi s- (revkomis) mesveurebTan SeT-anxmebaze, demokratiul i saqarTvel os warmomadgenel i uars Tu ganacxadebda, qveyni s kanonieri xel i sufl ebi s mxridan baTumis okrugis osmal eTi sadmi gadacemis bral debis i deo- I ogi ur bazas, bol Sevi kebi advi l ad Seqmni dnen da warmatebul adac gamoi yenebdnen. es da sxva danarCeni faqtebi, rom- I i s Sesaxebac qvemoT meqneba saubar i, saqarTvel os kanonieri xel i sufl ebi s warmomadgenel ze zemoqmedebi s meqani z- mis xel ovnurad Seqmnas i saxavda mi znid. qarTvel i bol Sevi kebi s moqmedeba, osmal eTTan gasai duml oebul i formiT wi naswari garigebi s STabeWdil ebas tovebda. mi Tumetes, mo- I aparakebi s procesSi, abenuqi Zem ruseT- osmal eTi s xel Sek-

rul ebazec gaamaxvil a yuradReba da baTumi s okrugis saqarTvel os Semadgenl obaSi darCenas sagangebod gausva xazi. i mavdroul ad gr.l orTqi bani Zes sabWoTa mTavrobi s aRi areba mosTxova. anal ogi ur pozici as Tavgamodebi T i cavda m.moraxel aSvi l i. misi `mtki cebi T~: 1)erT teritoriaz e ori mTavrobi s arseboba SeuZl ebel i iyo da uzenaesoba erT (sabWoTa) mTavrobas unda qonoda miniWebul i; 2)sabWoTa mTavrobi s sasargebl od unda gadawyvetil iyo Tu vis daeqvemdebareboda demokratiul i saqarTvel osa da XI armi s saj ariso Senaer Tebi; 3)saqarTvel oSi saxel isufi ebo gadatrial ebi dan gamomdinare, `Cveni pirvel i moTxovni l eba aris ambobda m.oraxel aSvi l i,- meore mxarem scnos gadatrial eba saqarTvel oSi da aRiaros damouki debel i saqarTvel os social - isturi sabWoTa respubl ika da misi dRevandel i... revol uciuri komiteti... Tu es ar iqneba mi Rebul i, rasakvirvel ia sxva detal ebis mi Reba zedmeti iqneba... umTavresi moTxovni l eba Cveni pl atformisa aris cnoba baTumi s mTavrobi s (n.Jordanias S.v.) mier saqarTvel os revol uciuri komiteti sa da aRi areba saqarTvel os damouki debel i sabWoTa respubl i kisa. am saki TxSi Tu SevTanxmdebi T... danarCen saki-TxebSi SeTanxmbebi s niadagi ukve gamorkveul i iqneba da gagvi -advil ebs saqmes... Tuki dResve iqneba ariarebul i sabWoTa gadatrial eba saqarTvel oSi da am gadatrial ebi dan gamosul i saqarTvel os revol uciuri komiteti.-

am vrcel i amonaweri dan kargad Cans, rom baTumi s okrugis saqarTvel os Semadgenl obaSi darCenisatvis mxardaweris sanacvl od, `baTumi s xel isufi ebi sgan- (n.Jordanias mTavrobi sgan S.v.) m.oraxel aSvi l i Tvi TI i kvidaci i s gamocxadebas moi Txovda, romel ic axal i xel isufi ebi s I egitimacias daedeboda safuzvl ad; 4)saqarTvel os demokratiul i respubl iki s mTavrobi s mier, misi kontrol irebad i teritoriis Zal dautanebl ad `sabWoTa mTavrobi sadmi - gadacema, osmal ebi s safrTxis gan momdinareobda, magram i gi Tavis Tavs gauqmebul ad ar acxadebda. ar sebul i real oba ki `mas ukarnaxebs- ambobda m.oraxel aSvi l i- gadadges da adgil i dauTmos meore mTa-vrobas... yovl ad SeuZl ebel ia teritorias wmin davdes da i mavdroul ad acxadebdes_ Cven vi yavi T da vrCebi T kanonier mTavrobaTo. es CvenTvis mi uRebel ia.- Tu ratom, am ki Txvaze pasuxs al .svani Ze iZl eva. `saqarTvel os

demokratiul i mTavroba i tovebs mudam ufl ebas da rode-sac Sesaferis SemTxvevas i povis Tavs gamoacxadebs mTavrobod.~ am SesaZI ebl obis SenarCuneba iyo mi uRebel i qar Tve-
l i bol Sevi kebi saTvis. maT mi zans, saqarTvel os demokrati-
ul i respubli kis mTavrobi saTvis samarTl ebrivi statusis
CamorTmevis mi Rweva war oadgenda. am amocanis gadasawyvetad,
baTumis okrugSi osmal o askerebis yofnis gamoyenebas maqsi-
mal urad cdil obdnen.

i mave dokumentidan kargad Cans, rom gr.I orTqi fani Zem
Rirseul i pasuxi gasca mis oponentebs (m.oraxel aSvi I i, ab.en-
uqi Ze, al .svani Ze) da dausabuTa: 1)ramdenadac saqarTvel oSi
Sinauri gadatrial eba ar ganxorciel ebul a da saxel i su-
fI ebo cvl il eba ucxo qveynis samxedro SenaerTebma moax-
dina,Zal momreobaze dafuZnebul i mTavrobi s I egitimacias,
saqarTvel os demokratiul i respubli kis mTavroba ver moax-
denda; 2)saqarTvel os mTavrobas Zal aufl ebi s gadacema sxvi-
sTvis ar SeeZI o, radgan am ufl ebi s wyaros saqarTvel os
damfuZnebul i kreba warmoadgenda, romel ic saqarTvel os
mosaxl eobis mier iyo arCeul i; 3)saqarTvel os mTavroba
iyo da rCe boda kanonier mTavrobod. igi im etapze mxol od
`axal i mTavrobi s sasargebl od, mis mier kontrol irebad
teritorias Tmobda mxol od im pirobi T, rom XI armi is na-
wil ebi saqarTvel osTvis baTumis okrugis SenarCunebas Se-
ZI ebda; 4)ramdenadac saqarTvel os sabWoTa xel i sufI eba
xal xis mier ar iyo arCeul i, igi fiqtiur saxes atarebda.
rac Seexeba sabWoebi s da SemdegSi misi arCevnebis Catarebis,
samomavl o proeqts warmoadgenda. gr.I orTqi fani Zi s aseTi
poziciis mi ux edavad, saqarTvel os teritoriul i mTl iano-
bi s SenarCunebis interesebi dan gamomdinare, igi xazgasmi T
mi uTi Tebda: `saqarTvel os demokratiul i respubli kis mTa-
vrobam gadawyvi ta, saqarTvel os teritoriis SesanarCune-
bl ad omis I i kvidacia moaxdinos. xel i Seuwyos da yovel -
gvari saSual eba ixmaros, rom baTumis okrugi darces saqa-
rTvel os sazRvrebSi da es teritoria gadaeces im xel i su-
fI ebas, romel ic dRes aq aris warmodgeni l i.~ i mave doku-
mentidan irkveva, rom m.oraxel aSvi I i da sxdomis sxva wevrebi,
izul ebul ni gaxdnen, gr.I orTqi fani Zi s wi nadadebas da Tanxme-
boden. mTumet es, baTumis okrugSi qiazim bei sa da osma-
l o asker ebi s Tar eSi s f aqt i s, gasabWoebul i saqarTvel os

revkomi s sal egi timaci od gamoyenebi s maTi mcdel oba- uSe-dego aRmoCnda. am SemTxvevaSi gadamwyeti rol i gr.l orTqi-fani Zi s saRma azrovnebam da l ogikuri msj el obis maRal ma donem Seasrul a. am faqtorma, sabWoTa xel isufl ebis mesv-urebi iZul ebul i gaxada, mis mier SeTavazebul wi nadadebebs daTanxmeboden. 18 mart s xel moweril i 17 punqti ani SeTan-xmebis_ pirvel i dan meeqvse muxl is CaTvl iT, sabWoTa xel i-sufl ebis baTumi s okrugis teritoriis gakontrol ebis, xo- l o XI armiis nawil ebs Tavisufl ad gadaadgil ebisa da ba-TumSi uprobl emod Sesvl is ufl eba miera. mar Tal ia, am do-kumentis VI punqti orive mxaris saj ariso SenaerTebis os-mal o askerebis winaaRmdeg erTobl iv moqmedebas iTval i s-winebda, magram, i gi sabWoTa xel isufl ebis mesveurTa mxri-dan Seusrul ebel i darCa. amas garkveul i ganmapirobebel i mi zezebi qonda. am mimarTul ebiT srul fasovani pasuxis gacema mxol od mas Semdeg gaxdeba SesaZI ebel i, roca gava-rkvevT, baTumi s okrugi damouki debel i saqarTvel os xel isufl ebam gadasca osmal eTs Tu, am saki TxiT sabWoTa ruseTi mani pul i rebda da ruseT- osmal eTs Soris Sesabami si wi na-swari garigebebi arsebobda. am saki TxS pirvel ad yuradReba prof. I .ToiZem miaqcia. man savsebi T kanonzomierad das-va ki Txva, Tu riT iyo ganpi robebul i osmal eTi s xel isufl ebis mxridan moskovis 1921 wl is 16 martis xel Sekrul eb- is pirvel i da meore muxl ebis, damatebi Ti pirvel i (A) punq-tis darRveva. amas Tan dakavSirebiT mis mier gamoTqmul i iqna mosazreba, imis Sesaxeb, rom Tuki osmal eTi baTumi s ok-rugSi sabWoTa ruseTs j aris Seyvanas daaswrebda, mis wi naaRm-deg ruseTi iaraRs ar gamoiyenebda da amaSi qiazim- bei da-imedebul i iyo. am mosazrebis sasargebl o argumentad, ruseT- osmal eTi s mokavSi reoba da saberZneTi s wi naaRmdeg osma- l eTi sadmi sabWoTa ruseTi s daxmareba daasaxel a.⁴⁵ varau-dis doneze gamoTqva axal i mosazreba imis Sesaxeb, rom de-mokratiul i saqarTvel os mTavrobam, Ti Tqos wi naswari garigebebi T baTumi s okrugSi osmal ebi mdinare Col oqamde Semo-uSva. am SemTxvevaSi I .ToiZe saqarTvel os demokratiul i respubliki s erT erTi yofil i moxel is, baTumi s cixis yofi- l i komendantis i furcel azis mogonebebs eyrdnoba, roml is nawyveti v.nozaZi s wi gnSi a dabeWdil i.⁴⁶ Ti Tqmis anal ogiuri pozicia uWi ravs g.mazni aSvi l sac. misi Tqmis, `qiazim- bei s

tkbil i zRaprebi T~ gabruebul ma saqar Tvel os xel isufl e-
bam `dauTmo osmal eTs... j er axal cixis mazris nawil i da
mTel i ardagani sa da arTvinis ol qebi.⁴⁷

xazgasmi T minda aRvi Sno: 1)am saki TxTan mimar TebaSi i.fur-
rcel azisa da g.mazni aSvi l i s mogonebebi, XX saukunis 20_
30- i ani wl ebi s monakveTSi daiwera da i m per i odi s sabWoTa
ideol ogi i T gaTval i swinebul moTxovnebs pasuxobs. es araa
gasakvi ri imdenad, ramdenadac orive pirovneba, saqar Tvel os
gasabWoebi s Semdeg, garkveul i mosazrebebi dan gamomdi nare,
sabWoTa j arSi sapasuxismgebl o Tanamdebobebze muSaobda.
maTi pozicia garegnul ad sabWoTa ideol ogi i T gaTval i s-
winebul propagandas unda damTxveoda. amis aucil ebl obas
i m etapze saqar Tvel OSi m mindinare pol i t kuri procesebi
moi Txovda. rac Seexeba ardagani sa da arTvinis okrugebi s
osmal eTis aTvis `daTmobas,~ es nabi j i qazim- bei s `tkbil i
zRaprebi T~ ki ar iyo ganpi robebul i, aramed, rogorc zemo-
Tac mqonda aRni Snul i iZul ebi dan gamomdi nareobda da amis
Sesaxeb Sesabami si dokumenturi masal ac arsebobs; 2)saqar Tve-
l os pirvel i respubl ikis mTavrobi s mxridan baTu mis ok-
ruggis osmal eTis admi `daTmobis~ dabral ebi s ideol ogiuri
saFexuris Semqmnel i f.maxaraZea. mis mier gazeT komunist-
Si ~ 1921 wl i s 26 marts gamoqveynebul ma weril ma_ `risTvis
gai qcnen?~ zemoaRni Snul i yal bi Sexedul ebi s damkvi drebias
daudo saTave. `Jordania- rami Svi l i s yofil ma mTavrobam-
wers i gi- ukansknel Jams osmal eTis askerebs gauRo baTu
mis karebi; magram rogorc vici T aqac maTi Ral ati droze
i qna gamoaSkaravebul i da dauyovnebl ivi zomebis mi Rebi T
mis Sedegi gabaTil ebul i i qna... gaqceul i yofil i mTavro-
bi s Savi ganzraxva aSkaraa. aSkaraa isic Tu ra bedi ewia
i maT moral atur, danaSaul ebriv avanturas.~

saqar Tvel os pirvel i respubl ikis mTavrobi s f.maxaraZi-
seul i es daxasi Teba, gasabWoebul i saqar Tvel os mmar Tve-
l i wrebi s ideol ogi i s erT- erT dasayr den nawil ad iqca.
isic faqtia, rom sabWouri istoriografia mis ganvrcobasa
da dakanonebas cdil obda. i.furcel azisa da g.mazni aSvi l i s
mogonebebi s di di nawil i, Sesabami si uwyebi s zemoqmedebebi dan
gamomdi nare, am ideol ogiuri Carlos moTxovnebi s Sesabami-
sobaSi a moyvanil i. wi naaRmdeg SemTxvevaSi g.mazni aSvi l i
nebi T namdvil ad ar dawerda: `Tu mTavrobi s wevrebi mar-

Tal ni iyvnen, ratom ar unda darçenil iyvnen CvenTan da ratom ar unda gaezi arebi naT CvenTan erTad damarcxebul - Ta bedi?~⁴⁸ damouki debel i saqarTvel os mTavrobis wevrebi s.orj oni ki Zes da sabWour `Cekas- xel Si rom Cavardnoda, advil i warmosadgenia ra yofaSi aRmoñdeboda i sini. mi Tu-metes, rogorc zemoTac mqonda mi Ti Tebul i, bol Sevi kebi s mi zans, saqarTvel os kanonieri xel i sufl ebi sgan kapi tul aci- is official urad aRi arebis mi Rweva warmoadgenda. am SemTx- vevaSi qarTvel i bol Sevi kebi saqarTvel os kompartiis centraluri komitetis 1921 wl is 12 martis dadgenil ebi T mo- qmedebdn. am dokumentis mi xedvi T, `menSevi kebi ~ da sxva pol i tiki partiebi Tuki official urad aRi arebdnen gas- abWoebul i saqarTvel os mTavrobis, maTi warmomadgenel ebi revkomisa da saxel mwifo xel i sufl ebis umaRI esi organoebis Semadgeni obaSi iqneboda daSvebul i. aRni Snul i da- dgenil ebis saj arod gaxmovaneba or ZiriTad datvirTvas atarebda: 1)qarTvel i bol Sevi kebis marionetul xel i sufl e- bas, saqarTvel os pirvel i respubl iki s mmarTvel i pol i tiki partii is i iderebis ZiriTadi nawil i satyuar ankesze wamogebea hqondaT mi znad dasaxul i. Tuki saqarTvel oSi maT darçenas SeZI ebdnen, sabWouri wamebis araadami anuri meTo- debis gamoyenebi T, revkomTa xel i sufl ebis official urad aRi areba da `samarTI ebriv CarCoSi - moqceva advil ad gaxdeb- oda SesaZI ebel i; 2)saqarTvel os pirvel i respubl iki s damar- cxebul i mmarTvel i pol i tiki Zal i s mimarT, adgil ob- riv mosaxl eobaSi undobl obis el ementebis Setanis paral e- l urad, axal i xel i sufl ebis `kompromisul i ~ da `humanuri- pol i tiki kursi, garkveul i formiT i deol ogi urad wi na pl anze unda yofil iyo wamoweul i.

rac Seexeba baTumi s okrugis osmal eTi sadmi `nebayofl o- bi T- daTmobas, ami s Sesaxeb zemoaRni Snul pirovnebaTa mog- onebebi s garda, bral debi s damadasturebel i saarqi vo doku- menti j erj erobi T arcerT mkvl evars ar warmoudgenia. arc i mis anal izi gaukeTebiaT, ramdenad iyo SesaZI ebel i, qiazi m _bei s Tan si tyvieri SeTanjmebis safuZvel ze, saqarTvel os teritoriis osmal eTi sadmi samarTI ebrivad gadacema. ase- Ti saki Txebis qiazi m - bei s doneze gadawyeta SeuZI ebel i iyo. misi ganxorciel eba mxol od ori saxel mwifos mTavro- baTa meTaurebis an sagareo saqmeTa ministrebis official u-

rad xel mōwerili i dokumentiT unda momxdariyo, sadac orive
mxaris garkveul i val debul ebebi da masTan Sesabami sobaSi
moyvani l i pirobebi iqneboda warmodgenil i. sanam mkvl e-
varTa mxridan saxel mwi foebri v doneze Seqmnill i aseTi
saxis saarqivo dokumenti ar iqneba mikvl eul i, sabWoTa
ideol ogi i swnexis qveS moqceul i generl ebisa da ofi-
crebis memuarebze dayrdnobi T qveynis teritoriis gasxvi-
sebaSi saqarTvel os pirvel i respubl iki s mTavrobis dadan-
aSaul eba, fmaxaraZi seul i gzi s gagrZel ebad da istoriis
fal sififikasi s morig mcdel obad unda Cai Tval os. mi Tu-
metes, am gzi s mi mdevarTa mxridan dRemde pasuxgaucemel i
rCeba: 1)Tuki saqarTvel os pirvel i respubl iki s mTavrobam
baTumis okrugi osmal eTs gadasca, maSin ra mi zans emsax-
ureboda saqarTvel os mTavrobis Tavmj domaris n.Jordani as
1921 wl i s 16 martis brZaneba_ qal aqis Tvi TmmarTvel obi-
sadmi baTumis xel i sufl ebi s gadacemis, ci xi dan 1000 bol Se-
vi ki patimrisa da maTi meTaurebi s ganTavi sufl eba, baTu-
mis okrugis komisaris g.gi orgaZi sadmi daval ebi s mi cema_
bol Sevi kebTan mol aparakebi s gamarTvi sa da okrugis masSta-
bi T maTi mxridan Zal aufl ebi s dauyovnebl iv xel Si aReb-
i s Sesaxeb?; 2)ramdenad sandoa patimrobi dan 17 marts gan-
Tavi sufl ebul i TJRentis mier g.mazni aSvi l i sadmi mi wode-
bul i informacia_ `gacceul i mTavrobis nebar Tvi T, ramde-
ni me dRi s wi naT, baTumSi Semovi dnen osmal ebi s ja rebi_~
sal dan i coda TJRentma, osmal ebi baTumSi 9 marts `nebar-
Tvi T- Semovi dnen Tu unebar Tvod? i gi 17 martamde xom ci-
xeSi ij da da `gare samyarosTan- nakl ebi urTierToba qo-
nda?; 3)saqarTvel os kanonier xel i sufl ebas baTumis ok-
rugis da Tvi T baTumi osmal eTisTvis rom gadaeca, sabWoTa
xel i sufl ebi s maRal Ci nosnebis (m.oraxel aSvi l i, S.el i ava,
ab.enuqi Ze) wi naSe, baTumis okrugis saqarTvel os Semadgen-
i obaSi darCenis kategoriul i formiT dayenebas gr.l o-
rTqi fni Ze namdvil ad ver SeZi ebda. mi Tumetes, saqarTve-
l os revkomis mesveurni, momxdar faqts quTaisis 17 mart-
is mol aparakebaze sagangebo msj el obis sagnad gaxdi da
da gr.l orTqi fani Zi s wi naaRmdeg warmatebul ad gamoi yeneb-
da. i ave sxdomis stenografiul CanawerebSi dadasture-
bul i a, rom qiazim- beis da osmal o askerebis mxridan baTu-
mis okrugis da Tvi T baTumi dakaveba, sxdomis Tavmj do-

mar em abenuqi Zem ki ar dagmo, ar amed mi s gamar TI ebas Seecada da Tavisi pozici i s dasasabuTebel Ziri Tad argumentad, antantis qveynebi dan baTumTan mi mar TebaSi mosal odnel i safrTxe daasaxel a. amas Tan dakavSi rebi T i mave doku-mentSi vki Txul obT: `osmal eTis j arebi s ufross -ganacxada abenuqi Zem_ sxvadasxva pi robebi ... ukarnaxebs i mas, rom i sargebl os i mi T, rom antanta mudmivi da dauZi nebel i mteria ruseTisa. i sargebl a Zal i T, rom baTumi dai sakuTros.~ am amonaweri dan kargad Cans, rom baTumi s okrugi s osmal eTis mxri dan dakaveba, antantis saxel mwi foebi sgan ruseTi sad-mi dauZi nebel i mtrobis motivaci i T da Zal i smieri meTod-i s gamoyenebi T ganxorcziel da; 4)Cems mi er arqivsacavebSi mikvl eul dokumentur masal ebSi garkveul i formi Taa war-modgenil i arTvin- ardagani s okrugebi dan qarTul i j aris gamoyvan i s ganmapi robebel i iZul ebi Ti garemoebibi. i mave dokumentebSi safuZvi i ani Si Sia gamoTqmul i im mosal odnel i safrTxeebis Sesaxeb, romel ic osmal ebis mxri dan axal ci xi s mazrasa da baTumi s okrugs emuqreboda. am saki-TxTan dakavSi rebi T, n.Jordani as mi er parizSi myofi ak.Cxenkel i sadmi 1921 wl i s 22 Teberval s gagzavn i depeSaSi vki Txul obT: `dRes ocdaor Teberval s mi vi ReT angori s mTavrobi sgan nota, roml i Tac gvacnobeben, rom xval oc-dasami Tebervl i dan i Weren ardagani sa da arTvin i s ol qebs. Cven exi a wi naaRmdegobas ver gavuwevT. faqt i uraT Semo-uSvebT, xol o xel s ar movuwyobT. gveSini a baTumi da axa-l ci xe ar dai kavon. waradgi neT dasabuTebul i protesti i londoni s konferenci i s winaSe.~ ardagani sa da arTvin i s okrugebSi osmal ebis `SemoSveba- rogorc aRni Snul i mqonda, samxreti s fronti s argaxsnit da saomari moqmedebebi sad-mi Tavis ari debiT, baTumi s okrugi sa da axal ci xi s mazri s gadarCeni s mi zni T i yo ganpi robebul i. meore mxriv, es i mi-sTvis sac gakeTda, rom 22 Teberval s qarTul ma Sei araRebul ma Zal ebma brwyinval e gamarj veba moi pova XI armi i s saj ari-so Senaer Tebze da qarTul i j aris sardl oba 23_24 Teber-val s XI armi i sgan general uri Setevi s dawyebas el odebo-da. am umZimes si tuaciaSi, osmal eTis mxri dan axal i fronti s oficial urad gaxsna qarTul i j aris aTvi s momakvdinebel i dartyma i qneboda. i m SemTxvevaSi, Tuki saqarTvel os mTavrobi s mi er gadadgmul am nabij s Cemi kol egebi dai-

wuneben, keTil i inebon da daasabuTon, rom evropi sgan mi-tovebul i da Ti Tqmisi uiaraRod darCenil i saqarTvel o, oTxi saxel mwifos (ruseTi, somxeTi, azerbaijani, osmal e-Ti) wi naaRmdeg brZol as gaumkl avdeboda.

saarqivo masal ebi dan i rkveva, rom saqarTvel os xel i sufl ebi s mesveurni, osmal eTis gan zemoaRni Snul i okrugebis (ardagani, arTvi ni) mi tacebas ar egueboda da xel sayrel i pol itikuri situaci is SeqmniSTanave, misi dabrunebi s sak-i Txis dauyovnebl iv dasmas axdenda. amis dadastur ebas saqarTvel os mTavrobis Tavj domari sadmi ak.Cxenkel is mier 1921 wl i s 12 marts parizi dan gamogzavnii i daSifril i depeSa warmoadgens. `SeTanxmeba angorasa da antantas Soris mi Rweul ia, mxol od sabol oo ar aris. amitom, aqturi gamosvl a angoras CvenTan, j er ui medoa. di di Secdoma iqnebo-da dauTmoT angoras Tugind artaani, manam, sanam saerTo SeTanxmeba ar moxdeba Cveni angoras Tan- artaanis monawi- l eobi T. Cveni safuzvel i unda darces ruset- osmal eTis 1914 wl i s sazRvrebi.~ aq garkvevi Taa naTqvami, Tu ra CarCo-Si unda moqceul iyo saqarTvel os teritoria. im SemTxveva-Si, Tuki artaanis saki Txi dai smeboda dRis wesrigSi, misi bedi artaanis pol itikur el itasTan erTobl ivi SeTanxme- bis safuzvel ze unda gadawyvetil iyo.

osmal eTis saokupacio qmedebasTan qarTul i mxaris Seu- rigebl obas da am saqmeSi safrangeTi s xel i sufl ebi s aqturad Carevis mcdel obebze mi uTi Tebs k.sabaxtarasVi l is mier 1921 wl i s 13 marts ak.Cxenkel i sadmi parizSi gagzavnii i depeSa. `dRes Seval iestan er Tad Cavedi konstantinopol Si, Cveni j aris xazia Sorapani, rioni, zugdidi. mTavroba baTum-Sia. **cxra marts qemal is j arebi baTumSi Semovi da.** vcdi- l obT Tu saWi ro iqneba brZol a gavagrzel oT baTumi s ol qSiac, risTvisac saWi roa qemal istebma xel i ar Segvi S- al on. unda vecadoT qemal istebis mier samxedro okupaci- iT dakavebul Cvens ol qebSi Sevinar CunoT Cveni suvereno- ba safrangeTi s mandati T. amis Sesaxeb dRes meqneba l apar- kali general pel estan. vi medovneb, pel ec da Seval iec mxars dami Weren da saTanado depeSasac gavugzavn si safrangeTi s mTavrobas.~ am dokumentis mi xedvi T, baTumSi osmal Ta j are- bi s Sesvi a.saqarTvel os mTavrobis `mi pati Jebi T~ rom momx- dari yo, sagareo saqmeTa ministris moadgil e k.sabaxtarasVi l i

si tyva **Semovi das** nacvl ad, **Semovi yvaneT-** dawerda, da rac
mTavar ia, osmal ebi s j aris mier dakavebul **saqarTvel** os
kuTvni l okrugebs_ okupi rebul ad ar gamoacxadebda. rac
Seexeba osmal o askerebi s qmedebi sadmi i m etapze dumil i T
Sexvedras, i gi iZul ebi Ti faqtorebit meore frontis ar-
gaxsniT da XI armi s nawi l ebTan meomari qarTul i j aris
qvedanayofebi s ardanakuwebiT iyo ganpi robebul i. aRni Sn-
ul dokumentSi es garkvevi Taa mi Ti Tebul i.

baTumi s okrugSi osmal eTis j arebi s `mi pati Jeba- saqarTve-
l os mTavrobas rom moexdina, es faqt i osmal eTis armi s
yofil i sardl i s vexib- faSasTvi sac da berl i nSi saqarTve-
l os di pl omatiuri warmomadgenel is I ado axmetel isTvi sac
cnobi l i i qneboda. am formiT saki Txis dasma i m iT aris
ganpi robebul i, rom Cems mier arqivebSi mi kvl eul i dokument-
is mixedvi T, pol oneTSi saqarTvel os di pl omatiuri misi-
is mrCevel i da i mJamad berl i nSi myofi vl .baqraZe, I ado
axmetel is Txovni T, 1921 wl i s 16 marts, saRamos 5 saaTze
val ter bernSteinis binaSi vexib- faSas Sexvda. rogorc
moxsenebi s tegsti dan irkveva, saubari Ziri Tada d saqarTve-
l os mdgomareobas Seexo. i m ave dokumentis mixedvi T, `vexib-
faSam i l aparaka ki dev Rimi l iT `patara Secdomebze- rom-
I ebi c vi Tom dauSva saqarTvel os mTavrobam. am Secdomebi s
Sedegia sxvaTa Soris vexib- faSas azri T is mdgomareoba,
romel Si dac Cavarda exl a saqarTvel o. yovel SemTxvevaSi
saqmis gamosworeba ki dev SeiZl eba... me mi vdivar ramdenime
dRi s Semdeg romSi, sadac Sevvdebi Cvens (angoras) del eg-
acias, I ondoni dan angoraSi mimaval s. me Semizl ia wagi y-
vanoT Tqven da SexvdeT Cvens del egacias. **saqarTvel osTvis,**
sTqva man, aris exl a erTaderTi gamosaval i, Tavis nebi T
xel i ai Ros baTumze da baTumi s ol qze da dakmayofil des
i m teritoriis fargl ebSi romel i c mas ekuTvni s mis mier
dadebul (?!) xel Sekrul ebi s (al bad baTumi s 1918 wl i s 4
ivnis, roml i s ratifikacia saqarTvel os parl amentma ar
moaxdina S.v.) Zal iT. maSi n Cvens Soris megobrul i kavSiri
damyardeba da Cven dagexmarabi T. Tu j erj erobi T aSkar ad
ara, farul ad mainc bol Sevi kebTan brZol aSi. Semdeg dai w-
yo mtki ceba, Cven bol Sevi kebi ar varT, bol Sevi kebi mxol od
droebi T mokavSireni arian Cveni da bol omdis maTTan siaru-
l i ar Sedis... Cvens gegmaSi. bol Sevikuri `sistema_ Rimi-

I iT da ironiul i kil oTi Tqva man, _CvenTvis srul i ad mi-
uRebel ia. Cveni gzebi mal e erTmaneTs daSor deba.~ am vrce-
l i amonaweridan kargad Cans baTumis okrugis sadmi vexib-
faSas damoki debul eba. **Tuki saqarTvel os xel isufi ebam**
baTumis okrugis osmal ebs 9 marts nebayofl obiT martI ac
gadasca, maSin raSi dasWi rda i mave vexib- faSas `momxdari
faqtid dan- erTi kviris Semdeg baTumis okrugis osmal eTi-
sadmi gadacemis aucil ebl obis xel meored dasma. xol o
am operaciis osmal eTis sasargebl od warmatebiT gadaw-
yvetis SemTxvevaSi, saqarTvel os xval indel i dRis `ukeTe-
sobi sken- Semobrunebis, saqarTvel o- osmal eTis megobru-
l i urTierTobis SesaZI o gaRrma vebis da bol Sevi kuri
ruseTis winaaRmdeg brZol aSi daxmar ebis dapi rebebis ma-
ni pul ireba?

rac Seexeba TviT qiazi m- bei s, igi saqarTvel os garSemo
Seqmnili umZimesi pol i tiki ri si tuaci iT sargebl obda da
zRvars gadaci l ebul TviTnebur qmedebebs ewo da. ami s erT-
erT saukeTeso nimu ss, mis mier 1921 wl is 17 marts qal aq
baTumSi gavrcel ebul i prokl amacia warmoadgens. `uka-
nasknel dros_ vki Txul obT dokumentSi _ saqarTvel os
mTavrobis **TanxmobiT**, baTumis mxare da axal qal aqisa da
axal cixis ol qebi Cveni j arebi s mier iqmn en dakavebul i.
osmal eTis didi erovnul i krebis mTavrobis dadgeni l ebi T,
romel ic emyareba sxva da sxva drois xel Sekrul ebebi T
maval j er dadasturebul erovnul ufl ebebs, es mxareebi
dRei dan br undebi an samSobl os sazRvrebSi da pol i tiku-
dac, da admini straci ul adac eqvemdebar ebi an osmal ur ero-
vnul mTavrobas.~⁴⁹ am amonaweridan kargad Cans osmal eTis
mi znebi da amocanebi saqarTvel os Tan mmar TebaSi, magram am
prokl amaciis paral el urad qiazi m- beim ratom ar gamoaci-
na is `Tanxmobi s- dokumenti, romel ic saqarTvel os mTavrobam
vi Tom rom misca osmal eTis warmomadgenel s? mki Txvel s
Sevaxseneb n.Jordani as 22 Tebervl is depeSi s erT monakveTs:
`gveSini a baTumi da axal cixe ar dai kavon- osmal ebma. xaz-
gasmi T minda aRvni Sno, rom qiazi m- bei s, saqarTvel os xe-
l isufi ebis mxri dan baTumis okrugis da TviT qal aq baTu-
mis, axal qal aqisa da axal cixis osmal eTi sadmi gadacemis,
an osmal eTis jaris Semoyvanis `Tanxmobi s- rai me xel Cas-
Widi sabuTi rom qonoda, yovel gvari moridebis gareSe, ba-

Tumis revkomis Tavmj domares da imave revkomis wevrebs aufrial ebda da Tavis pretenziasac samarTI ebrivid dasbuTebul formas miscemda. imavdroul ad, osmal eTis parlamentis gan 1920 wl is 28 i anvars mi Rebul i `erovnul i paqtis-meore muxl is (roml is mixedvi Tac osmal eTis sazRvari mdinare Col oqze gadis)- saerTaSori so samarTI is safuz-vel ze amoqmedebis saki TxSac daayenebda.

osmal o okupantebis TavaSvebul i qmedebebi sadmi saqar Tve-
I os mTavrobam Tu ra damoki debul eba gamoavl ina, es kar-
gad Cans e.gegeWkoris 1921 wl is 23 martiT daTariRebul i
depeSi T. `ukanasknel dReebSi osmal ebi iseT zomebs i Rebd-
nen- vki Txul obT dokumentSi, - rom SeuZI ebel i Seiqmna omis
gagrZel eba. 17 marts qiazim- beim Tavisi Tavi gamoacxada
baTumis general - gubernatorad, baTumis ol qis aneqsi iT
SeerTebul ad. mTavrobas wi nadadeba misca jarisTvis iara-
Ri agveyara da mTavroba wasul iyo. mTavroba iZul ebul i
gaxda ul timatum uareyo. moexsna fronti da Seewyvi ta
wi naaRmdegoba bol Sevi kebi saTvis.~ am dokumentis mi xedvi T
Tuki vi msj el ebT, quTaisis mol aparakeba, bol Sevi kebTan
Sesabamisi SeTanxmebis gaformeba da XI armiisaTvis baTu-
mis mimarTul ebiT gzas gaxsna, roml is Sesaxeb zemoTac
mqonda saubari, mxol od da mxol od baTumis okrugis daka-
rgvis safrTxiT iyo ganpi robebul i da ara bol Sevi kebi-
sadmi simpaTiIT.

4) prof. I. ToiZem gansakuTrebui i yuradReba 1921 wl is 16
martis moskovis xel Sekrul ebi pirvel i, meore muxl ebisa
da damatebis pirvel i (A) punqtis osmal eTis mxridan Seus-
rul ebl obas, ruseT- osmal eTis saj ariso SenaerTebi sgan
baTumis dakavebisTvis daswrebis gamoyenebis da mxareebis
faqtis winaSe dayenebis mcdel obas miaqcia.⁵⁰ Tu riT iyo
ganpi robebul i maTi mxridan `maraTonul i siswrafiT- ba-
TumSi Sesvl is survili, amis Sesaxeb uaRresad angaris-
gasawevi faqtia motanil i Sal va maRI akel iZis mogonebeb-
Si. masSi dawvril ebiTaa saubari xaSuri- borj omi- axal -
cixis gziT, goderZis uRel texil iT baTumi sken wamosul i
JI obas cxenosani diviziisadmi dakisrebul i amocanis Sesax-
eb. imave S.maRI akel iZis mtki cebiT, moskovis konferenci is
gaxsnamde (1921 wl is 9 marti), osmal o askerebi saTvis baTum-
Si Sesvl a JI obas unda daeswro. amasTn dakavSi rebiT mis

memuarebSi vki Txul obT: `JI oba ver gadmovida goderZis uRel texil ze, di di Tovl i ido. amdenad Wkvi ani iyo I eni-ni. baTumi rom ar dakargoda JI obas mi ando_ xaSurs rogorc mi aRwevdnen, borj omis gziT axal ci xeSi unda gaWriI iyo, gasul iyo goderZis uRel texil ze da pirvel i Casul iyo baTumSi, im tom rom xel Sekrul eba aqvs I enins TurqeTTan saqarTvel os gayofaze-, romel teritoriasac dai kavebs TurqeTi, misi iqneba da JI obas mi ando, rom daaswros Turqebs, magram di di Tovl oba iyo da ver gadmovida, Turqebma daswres da baTumi dai kaves. ami tomac dResac `seatos~ da `sentos~ organizacia baTums xmel TaSuazRvi s paqtiT Turqe-Tisad Tvl is, magram bol Sevi kebma es saki TxI gadai tanes ise, rom menSevi kebma gadmovidnen Cvens mxarezeo. tyui I ! menSevi kebma baTumi rom wagvar Tveso.~ v.rcxii aZis Seki Txvaze_ `marTI a xom qarTul ma j arma gandevna Turqebi?~ S.maRI akel i Zem upasuxa: `di ax, menSevi kebma gandevnes da marTaI i arian Turqebi. Cven menSevi kebma gagvdevna, Tqvenma mtreb-mao da Cven SeTanxmebul i vi yaviT: romel sac Cven davikavebT, Cven gvrCebao da romel sac Tqven dai kavebT is Tqven grCe-baTo. pirdapir weria saiduml o mol aparakebaSi I eninsa da aTa- Turqs Soris, rom `vse zeml i v rezul tate vaini, kotorie budut zaniati I ibo Castiami tureckimi, I ibo sovetskimi, im prenadl ejat eti samie zeml i...~ JI oba meub-neba: `mi svami oba pogibl i!- ratom- Tqo_ Seveki Txe, `ni kog-da ne prastit mne etovo!~ e.i. baTumi ver davikaveo. `gl av-noe, papaSa ne prastit.~ papaSao e.i. I eninio. oriveni i sev movbrundi T uk an baTumSi, sastumroSi. JI obasgan gavi ge me, rom ruseTsa da TurqeTs daunawiI ebi aT Turme saqarTve- l o. e.i. saiduml o samxedro SeTanxmeba yofil a ruseTsa da TurqeTs Soris, ingl i sel ebi s dasturiT.⁵¹

im SemTxvevaSi, Tuki zogierTi Cemi kol ega f.maxaraZis zemoaRni Snul sagazeTo statiaSi, g.mazni aSviI i sa da i.furce- l aZis memuarebSi motanil faqtebs ucxadebs ndobas, analogiuri damoki debul eba ratom ar unda gamoviCinoT general S.maRI akel i ZesTan mimar TebaSi? mi Tumetes, mis mi er mowodebul i informacia, sabWoTa xel i sufl ebis samxedro maRaI CinosaNTa korpusis gamoCenil i warmomadgenel i sgancxenosani diviziis sardl i sgan qonda mi Rebul i. S.maRI akel i zemoaRni Snul i informaciis namdviI obis mxar daW-

eraze metyvel ebs I .ToiZis mier motanil i faqtebi: 1)go--
derZis uRel texil ze JI obas winsvl is Sesacerebl ad qiaz-
im- beis mier daqiravebul i xal xisgan gavrcel ebul i natyu-
ari informacia, Ti Tqos baTumi ingl is- safrangeTis j ars
da sazRvao fl ots qonda dakavebul i da rusis j ars ba-
TumSi xafangs umzadebdnen.⁵² am faqtma da didTovl obam,
JI obaze garkveul i zemoqmedeba moaxdina da goderZis uRe-
l texil ze gadasvl a droebiT gadaafi qrebina; 2)roca ser-
go orj oni kizes acnobes JI obas gadawyvetil eba, ganrisxe-
bul ma `sergo orj oni ki Zem maSinve aparattan moi xmo cx-
enosani armi is samxedro komi sari, romel sac ubrzana, brZa-
nebis Seusrul ebl obisaTvis daepatimrebina JI oba da pira-
dad gazRol oda armias win baTumi saken. es brZaneba JI obam-
ac moi smina. daSinebul i, Tvi Ton wauZRva armias, di di Tovl -
is gadal axvis SeuZl ebl obis SesaxeB krintic ar dauZravs
da uRel texil ic warmatebiT gadal axa,⁵³ magram dagvianebeiT.
osmal ebi 9 martidan ukve baTumSi iyo Sesul i. S.maRI akel i-
Zis mier motanil i zemoaRni Snul i `daswrebis- faqtis sasa-
rgebl od metyvel ebs v.l eninis mier g.Cicerini sadmi gagzav-
nil i weril i: `amx. CiCerin! metad SeSfoTebul i varT, rom
Turqebi aWi anureben baTumi s SesaxeB SeTanxmebis xel mowe-
ras, dros i geben, sanam maTi ja rebi baTumi sken midian. aseTi
gaWinurebis saSual eba ar unda mivceT... moskovis 16 mart-
is ruseT- osmal eTis xel Sekrul ebi s samxedro sai duml o
nawil Si `daswrebis- muxl is arseboba rom ara, osmal ebi
baTumi sken wi naswar jaris gadaadgi l ebas da xel sayrel i
`sastarto pozici ebi s- daWeras ar moaxdendnen. mi Tumetes,
rogorc aRni Snul i mqonda, am dokumentis Ziri Tadi teqsti
orive mxarisTvis Sesabami si damatebiTi muxl ebiT 1920 wl is
dekembridan cnobil i iyo. mi uxedavad imisa, rom xel Sek-
rul ebi s meore muxl iT, baTumi s okrugi saqarTvel os rCeb-
oda, baTumSi myofma osmal ebma, wi Tel i armis 33- e divizi-
is 292- e pol kis qal aqSi SeSvebaze 17 marts uari ganacxa-
da. maTi es qmedeba wi naswar gaTvl il ideol ogiur samzad-
iss efuzneboda. mxedvel obaSi maqvs osmal eTis Sesabami si
uwyebi s mesveurTa mxridan, evropis qveynebi s l iderebi sa
da imave qveynebSi myofi saqarTvel os el Cebis darwmunebi s
mcdel oba_ baTumi da misi okrugi saqarTvel os kanoni erma
xel isufi ebam Ti Tqos osmal eTs gadasca. am mi marTul ebi T

gaweul i propagandistul i saqmanobi T i seTi foni Seqmnes, rom osmal eTis mier baTumis dakavebas, ruseT_ osmal eTis saiduml o gari geba ki ara, saqarTvel os xel isufl ebi sgan osmal ebi s `mi patiJeba- edo safuzvl ad. amis erT- erT dasturebad, ingl isSi myofi saqarTvel os el Cis akCxenkel i sa da I ord kerzonis Sexvedra_ saubris stenografiul i angariSi warmoadgens. am dokumentis mixedviT, I ord kerzons akCxenkel i saTvis uTqvams: `rogorc gavige, saqarTvel os mTavrobam Tvi Ton moi wvi a osmal ebi baTumSi... Cveni cnobebi da sami - bei s naTqvami eTanxmeba erTmaneTs imaSi, rom saqarTveI os mTavrobam moi wvi a osmal ebi.~ amasTan dakavSi rebiT, saqarTvel os mTavrobis Tavmj domari sgan official urad adre gamogzavnil dokumentze dayrdnobiT, akCxenkel ma, I ord kerzons dasabuTebul i formiT upasuxa: `ara, me macnoba mTavrobiS Tavmj domarem, rom osmal ebi Cvens nebadaurTvel ad Semovidnen j er artaanSi da arTvinSi da Semdeg baTumSi. vi nai dan Cven ruseTi yovel i mxri dan gvebrZoda, iZul ebul i vi yavi T ubrZol vel ad dagvetovebin a xsenebul i adgil ebi... me am ori dRis wi naTac mi vi Re stambol i dan depeSa, damadasturebel i imisa, rac mogakseneT. sami _ bei m mec mi Txra, rom osmal eTis j ari TiTqos saqarTvel os mTavrobis TanxmobiT Sesul iyo baTumSi da iq osmal os sardl obas TiTqos daetovebinos saqarTvel os mTavrobis uzenaesoba da misi moxel eni.~

stenogramis am amonawerSi garkvevi Taa naTqvami: a)I ord kerzonis sadmi mi wodebul i informacia, mxol od osmal ur wyroebs eyrdnoboda da natyuari iyo; b)am dokumentSi garkvevi Taa mi ni Snebul i_ osmal eTis xel isufl ebi s namoqmedaris gamarTI ebi s mi zni T, saerTaSoriso arenaze ra maRaI i aqti urobiT moqmedebda osmal eTis warmomadgenel i sami-bei. rac Seexeba sabWoTa ruseTi neutral itets baTumTan mimarTebaSi da mi mdi nare procesebi sadmi Soridan mayurebi is ampl uaSi yofnas, I ogikuri kategoriis arcerT formaSi ar Tavsdeba. Tundac im el ementarul i mizezis gamo, rom: 1)1921 wl is 25 Tebervl idan, sabWoTa ruseTi saqarTveI os pirvel i respubliki s xel isufl ebas kanonierad aRar cnobda. am fonze, gakvirvebas iwevs fsevdo `mi patiJebi s- osmal Ta mxri dan wina pl anze wamoweva da umaRI es `samartI ebriv- kategori amde ayvanis mcdel obi s faqt; 2)mosk-

ovis 1921 wl is 16 martis oficial uri xel Sekrul ebiT, sazRvris aRsadgenad sabWoTa ruseTi val debul i iyo, osmal eTis winaaRmdeg Zal ismieri meTodis gamoyenebisTvis mi emarTa. ramdenadac am mimarTul ebiT adeqvaturi nabij i ar gadadga, momxdari faqti gvafi qrebi nebs, rom aq gadamwyeti rol i im `maraTonul ma gadarbenam- Seasrul a, romel - ic teritoriis dakavebasTan dakavSi rebiT, osmal o askerebma JI obas cxenosan divizi as mougo. am faqtis Sesaxebs i mave I .ToiZis mier motanil dokumentSi vkiTxul obT: Sal va dadi anTan misul 292- e pol kis meTauri ganucxadebia, rom mas mi Rebul i aqvs `saqarTvel oSi sabWoTa ruseTi warmomadgenel is Seimani s brZaneba, Sevi des baTumSi da gadavi des samxedro sabWos gankargul ebaSi, magram Turqi askerebi amis saSual ebas ar aZl even. Sal va dadi anTi da 292- e pol kis meTauri qiazi m- bei s ewvi vnen mosal aparakebl ad. qiazi m- bei m kategoriul i uari ganucxada baTumSi 292-e pol kis SeSveba-ze. darCa erTi gamosaval i: Setakeba. asec moxda. Sal va dadi anTi brZanebiT qarTul i Sei araraRebul i razmebi daiZra 292- e pol kTan Sesaer Tebl ad. askerebma wi naaRmdegoba gauswies. orsaaTi anTi si sxl i smRvrel i brZol ebi s Semdeg... Turqebi gandevnes TavianTi poziciebi dan da 18 marts 292- e pol - ki baTumSi Sevi da... am brZol ebSi qarTul ma j arma di di danakl isi gani cada.

sul mal e askerebma Tavi mouyares TavianT Zal ebs, fortebTan cecxl i gauxsnes qarTul j ars da ganavi Tares Seteva barcxana- mi xail ovos yazarmebze. qarTul ma mxedrobam brZaneba mi i Ro, fexosnebi ca da cxenosnebi c kontrSetevaze gadasul i yvnen da Turqebi baTumi dan gandevnaT. es amocana brwyinval ed Seasrul a qarTul ma mxedrobam i se, rom wi Te- l i armi s 33- e divizi s 292- e pol ks aravi Tari sabrZol o monawi l eoba ar mi uRia. amave qarTul ma mxedrobam dai kava gandevni l i Turqi askerebis poziciebi da fortebi...⁵⁴

am vrcel amonawerSi kargadaa warmoCenil i damouki debe- l i saqarTvel os pirvel i respUBL i kis saj ariso Senaer Te- bis Tavgamodebul i brZol i s faqtebi osmal o dampyrobL ebs i s winaaRmdeg. i mavdroul ad i sicaa naCvenebi, Tu ra pasi ur mdgomareobaSi i myofeboda wi Tel i armi s meomrebi (292- e pol ki, JI obas 3000 kaciani cxenosani divizia) osmal o dampyrobL ebTan mimarTebaSi. Tuki XI armi s nawi l ebi s aseTi TavSe-

kaveba moskovis 1921 wl i s 16 martis `megobrul i - xel Sekru-
l ebi s oficial uri teqsti dan gamodinare obda, i mave teqs-
tis (# 1, 2 muxl ebi da l (A) punqt) mixedvi T, osmal eTis ja-
ris nawil ebs baTumi s okrugi uprobl emod unda daetovebi-
na, radgan xel Sekrul ebi s oficial uri teqsti T, baTumi s
okrugi saqar Tvel os kuTvnil ebadaa aRi arebul i da sazR-
vari mdinare WoroxTanaa gavl ebul i. arsebul probl emas-
Tan mimar TebaSi obieqturi daskvni s gakeTebi s mi zni T, Cemi
azri T Semdegi Ziri Tadi faqtorebi unda iqnas gaTval i swineb-
ul i: 1)osmal eTis mxridan xel Sekrul ebi s oficial uri
teqsti sadmi daumorci l ebl oba; 2)sabWoTa ruseTi s sagareo
saqmeTa saxal xo komisariatisgan osmal eTis sadmi oficial -
uri protestis argagzavna; 3)wi Tel i armi i saj ariso Sena-
er Tebi s osmal o askereb Tan saomar procesebSi arCabma da
maqsimal urad Tavis Sekaveba. mi Tumetes, saqar Tvel oSi rsf-
sr srul ufl ebi ani warmoadgenel i s a.Sei mani sagan, 292- e
pol kis sardl obas baTumi s Sesvl a qonda nabrZanebi ; 4)yove-
l i ve zemoaRni Snul Tan er Tad, qia zim- bei s Tavxeduri qmede-
bebi sadmi baTumi s nevkomis wevr Ta gansakuTrebul i moride-
bul i damoki debul eba, myar safuZvel s qmnis i mi saTvi s, rom
Sal va maRI akel i Zi s mogonebebSi JI obas naambobze dayrd-
nobi T, moskovis 1921 wl i s 16 martis xel Sekrul ebi s samxedro
nawil Si- baTumi s okrugSi Sesvl i daswrebi s sai duml o
muxl i arseboba_ si namdvi l ed iqnas mi Cheul i. es garemoe-
ba srul SesaZl ebl obas iZl eva ganvacxado: a)moskovis 1921
wl i s 16 martis xel Sekrul ebi s teqsti Sesabamisi damate-
bebi T, rogorc zemoTac mqonda aRni Snul i, ramdenadac
1920 wl i s dekembris aTvi s iyo mzad, masSi Cadebul i yvel a
debul eba, sabWoTa da osmal o maRaL Ci nosnebi s garkveul i
wri saTvi s sai duml oebas ar warmoadgenda. swored ami tom
aCqarebda s.orj oni ki Ze baTumi s Sesasvl el ad JI obas. rac
Seexeba am dokumentze oficial urad xel moweras, orive
mxare mxol od xel sayrel i pol i tiki ri situaci i s Seqm-
nas_ ruseTi s mxridan saqar Tvel os wi naaRmdeg saomari
moqmedebebi s dawyebas el odeboda; b)osmal o askerebi s ba-
Tumi s okrugSi, Tvi T baTumi s da axal ci xeSi Sesvl as, sa-
qar Tvel os pi rvel i respubl i kis mTavr obi sgan `mi pati Je-
ba-, ki ara, aRni Snul i xel Sekrul ebi s damatebi T nawil Si
Caweril i pi robebi s okrugSi Sesvl i saTvi s daswreba_ `ma-

raTonul i rbena- edo safuzvl ad. arc isaa gamoricxul i, rom quTaisis mol aparakebis dros, sabWoTa xel isufi ebi s warmomadgenl ebi s mier, saqarTvel os kanonieri mTavrobi s mxridan kapi tul aci i s oficial urad gamocxadebi s mi Rewis mcdel oba, am garemoebi T yofil iyo nakarnaxevi; g)rogorc zemoTac mqonda mi Ti Tebul i, amj eradac erTxel ki dev xazgasmi T minda aRvni Sno, rom saqarTvel os pirvel i respubliki s mTavrobi s mxridan osmal ebi s baTumSi `mi patijeba- rom momxdariyo, es umni Svnel ovanesi faqti, m.o raxel aSvll sa da S.el i avas yuradRebis mi Rma ar darCeboda da da 17 marts quTaisSi gamarTul i mol aparakebis dros, gr.I orTqi faniZesTan diskusi i s procesSi warmatebul ad gamoi yenebdnen.

Cems mier motanil i masal ebi s erTobl i obaSi gaanal izebi s safuzvel ze, arasworad mi maCni a saqarTvel os damfuZnebel i krebis 1921 wl is 16 mart i s sxdomis mier_ ruseTTan saqarTvel os damarcxebi s ganmapi robebel i mi zezebi s Sesaxeb mi Rebul i dadgeni l eba. mki Txvel s Sevakseneb am dokumentis Ziri Tad muxl ebs: `1. mTavroba srul iad moumzadebel i aRmoCnda qveyni s Tavdacvi saTvis, Tumca i coda, rom mteri saqarTvel oze Tavdasxmas amzadebda da Tvi Tonac araer Txel ganucxadebia, rom respubliki s dasacavad yvel a saTanado zoma mi Rebul i aqvs; 2. mTavrobam ver Seqmna respubliki s dasacavad samxedro Zal a da maval i daudevrobisa da Secdomis gamo, srul ad ver gamoi yena Tavdacvis i s Zal ebi, romel i c mis gankargul ebaSi iyo; 3. omis warmoebi s drosac mTavrobam ver gamoi Cina saWi ro simtkice da Seiqmna pani-kisa da arevdarevis wyarod.

damfuZnebel i kreba aRni Snavs, rom Tumca qarTvel ma xal xma yovel i ve mi i tana samSobl os dacvi s samsxverpl oze, dRevandel ma mTavrobam mainc ver SeZi o saqarTvel os damouki debi obisaTvis brZol i s xel mZRvanel oba da ucxadebs mas undobl obas.⁵⁵ am dokumentze xel momweri pol i tikuri parti ebi s (social ist- federal istebi, social ist- revol uci one-rebi, damouki debi i social - demokratebi (sxivel ebi), ero-vnul demokratebi) I iderebi, Cems mier zemoT motanil i saiduml o dokumenturi masal i s 1%- sac ar i chobdnen. aRni S-nul i s gaTval i swinebi dan gamodinare, sbWoTa ruseTTan damarcxebi s ganmapi robebel i mi zezebi s maTi mxridan mxol od

saqarTvel os pirvel i respubl iki s mTavrobi sadmi gadabra -
I ebi s zemoT motanil i samive debul ebi s Zi ri Tadi nawi -
I i _ sinamdvil i s gayal bebi s mcdel obaze dafuZnebul aras -
wor formul irebebs Sei cav.

amrigad, 1)qarTvel i sardl ebi s (i.odi Sel i Ze, i.gedevani Svi -
I i, g.sumbaTaSvi l i) mier daSvebul ma taqtikurma Secdomebma
da saj ariso Senaer TebSi gamefebul ma udiscipl inobam, ba -
mbakis xeobaSi qarTul i j aris samarcxvino damarcxebas, 3/
4 -iT ganadgurebas da XI armi i sardl obis gaTamamebas
Seuwoyo xel i. Tbili isis dasacavad gen. g.kvi ni taZis mier
saj ariso Senaer Tebis seqtorebad gadanawil eba, taqtikuri
Tval sazrisiT swor gadawyvetil ebas warmoadgenda. mis
mier gatarebui i Tavdacvi Ti RonisZieebi, 1921 wl i s 18 -
dan 22 Tebervl i s CaTvl iT, mtris Semotevebi s warmatebi T
moger i ebi s safuZvel i gaxda. 2)IV Tavdacvi Ti seqtoris xe -
l mZRvanel i s - n.gedevani Svi i s mxridan arsebul i situ -
aci i s sworad verSefasebam, genStabSi mis mier mi tanil ma
paniki T aRvsavse informaciam, fsi qol ogiuri teroris fu -
nqci a Seasrul a da Tbili isis Tavdacvi Ti brZol ebi s gagrZe -
l ebaze uaryofi Ti zemoqmedeba moaxdi na. g.kvi ni taZis br -
Zanebi s (# 131) safuZvel ze Tbili isis datoveba, mcxeTaSi
gamagrebi s gegma da generl uri brZol iT Tbili isis i sev -
dabru neba, qarTvel j ariskacTa fsi qol ogiuri ganwyobi s
argaTval i swi nebas warmoadgenda. i gi qarTul si namdvil -
es Tan SeusabamobaSi modi oda, radgan momxdarma faqtma,
qarTul mxedrobaze fsi qol ogiurd dambl adamcemi funq -
cia Seasrul a da maTi brZol i sunari anoba maqsimal urad
daaqvei Ta. 3)saqarTvel os pirvel i respubl iki s mTavrobi s
mxridan, baTumi s okrugis mdinare Col oqamde osmal eTi -
sadmi daTmobis Sesaxe b qarTul istoriografi aSi gamoTqmu -
l i mosazreba, arcerTi saarqivo dokumentiT ar dastur -
deba. am bral debi s Seqmna f.maxaraZisa da T.J.Rentis saxe -
l rbTanaa dakavSi rebul i da man garkveul i formiT sabWo -
Ta ja rSi mosamsaxure samxedro maRa l Cinosnebi s memuareb -
Si ac hpova asaxva. naSromSi motanil i faqtebi s anal i zi
adasturebi s, rom baTumi s okrugSi da Tvi T baTumSi osmal -
ebi s Sesvi a, garkveul i pol i t kuri mosazrebi dan gamomd -
inare, sabWoTa ruseTisa da osmal eTi s maRa l CinosanTa wi -
naswar i garigebi s safexurs Si cavda. damouki debel i saqa -

rTvel os pi rvel i respubl iki s xel i sufl ebi sadmi am faqtis `mi pati Jebis~ formiT gadabral eba,bol Sev i kebi s mxri-dan mis diskreditaci aze l yo gaTvl il i da istoriis fasilifikaci i s morig mcdel obas warmoadgenda.

daskvnebi

saqarTvel os pirvel i respubliki si storiaSi yel aze rTu-
l i monakveTis_ 1921 wl is Teberval - martis movl enebi s
katastrofiT damTavrebi s ganmapir obobel i mi zezebi s gamokv-
l evisa da sazogadoebi sadmi dasabuTebul i formiT swori
informaci i s mi wodebi s mi zni T, Cems mier Seswavl il ma saar-
qivo masal ebma, Semdegi daskvnebi s gakeTebi s SesaZI ebl oba
momca:

1)qarTul i pol i tiki el itis mcdel oba, erovnul i sax-
el mwifos formirebis paral el urad qarTul i jaris Ses-
tyvisi raodenobiT da srul yofil i SeiaraRebiT Seqmna
moexdina, finansebisa da iaraRis uqonl obam Seaferxa.
qarTul istoriografi aSi dRemde gavrcel ebul i mosazreba
_saqarTvel oSi arsebul samxedro sawyobebSi TTiTqos N
raodenobi s iaraRi iyo, natyuar informacias emyareba da
sinamdvil es ar Seesabameba;

2)dasavl eT evropis saxel mwifoebi sgan 1919 wl is gazafx-
ul ze Sepirebul i daxmarebis (iaraRi, amunicia, sursaTi,
ful i) droul ad mi Rebi s mcdel oba, 1921 wl is 25 Teberv-
l amde uSedego aRmočnda. naSrōmSi motanil i dokumenturi
masal ebi adasturebs, rom zemoaRni Snul i danapi rebi s Sesas-
rul ebl ad, safrangeTis xel i sufl ebam pirvel i qmedi Ti
nabij i mxol od 1921 wl is 25 Teberval s gadadga. stambol -
Si arsebul i safrangeTis kuTvnil i samxedro sawyobebi dan
saqarTvel osadmi miyi dul i vrangel is naqoni iaraRi, uvar-
gisi da imetapze sabrzol o moqmedebebi saTvi s gamousade-
gari iyo;

3)vargisi ani iaraRis saqarTvel osTvis miyi dvi s gadawy-
vetil eba, safrangeTis xel i sufl ebis mxridan mxol od 1921
wl is 17 marts i qna mi Rebul i. es faqtı, saqarTvel os kanon-
ieri mTavrobisa da gasabWoebul i saqarTvel os war momad-
genl ebs Soris (gr.I orTqi fani Ze, m.oraxel aSvil i abenuqi Ze,
Seiava) brZol is Sewyvetis Sesaxeb quTaisSi mi Rweul
SeTanxmebas, da saqarTvel os pirvel i respubliki s xel i su-
fl ebis mier qveynis teritoriis datovebas (17 marti) da-
emTxva. dasavl eT evropis saxel mwifoeTa waj eq- ukuj eqis
pol i tiki kursi dan gamomdinare, saqarTvel os pirvel i
respubliki s SeiaraRebul i Zal ebi, gasabWoebul i ruseTis

1921 wl is Teberval - martis agresias, arsenal Si kustaru-
I ad damzadebul i rusul i vaznebi Ta da sagangebod Seqm-
nil saxel osnoebSi SekeTebul i SaSxanebi T Sexvda.

4)qarTvel i sardl ebi s (i.odi Sel iZe, i.gedevani Svi I i, g.su-
mbaTaSvili i) mier daSvebul ma taqtikurma Secdomebma da
saj ariso SenaerTebSi gamefebul ma udisci pl i nobam, bam-
bakis xeobaSi qarTul i jaris samarcxvino damarcxebas, 3/
4 -iT ganadgurebas da XI armi is sardl obis gaTamamebas
Seuwo xel i. Tbilisis dasacavad gen. g.kvi ni taZis mier
saj ariso SenaerTebis seqtorebad gadanawi l eba, taqtikuri
Tval sazrisiT swor gadawyetil ebas warmoadgenda. mis
mier gatarebul i Tavdacvi Ti RonisZieebi, 1921 wl is 18-
dan 22 Tebervi is CaTvl iT, mtris Semotevebis warmatebi T
mogeriebis safuZvel i gaxda.

5)IV Tavdacvi Ti seqtoris xel mZRvanel is- n.gedevani Svi-
I is mxri dan arsebul i situaci is sworad verSefasebam, ge-
nStabSi mis mier mi tanil ma pani ki T aRvsavse informaci am,
fsiqol ogiuri teroris funcia Seasrul a da Tbilisis
Tavdacvi Ti brZol ebi s gagrZel ebaze uaryofiT zemoqmedeba
moaxdina. g.kvi ni taZis brZanebi s (# 131) safuZvel ze Tbil i-
sis datoveba, mcxeTaSi gamagrebi s gegma da generl uri br-
Zol iT Tbilisis i sev dabruneba, qarTvel j ariskacTa fsi-
qol ogiuri ganwyobi s argaTval i swinebas warmoadgenda. i gi
qarTul sinamdvil estan SeusabamobaSi modi oda, radgan
momxdarma faqtma, qarTul mxedrobaze fsiqol ogiurd dam-
bl adamcemi funcia Seasrul a da maTi brZol i sunariano-
ba maqsimal urad daaqvei Ta.

6)saqarTvel os pirvel i respubliki s mTavrobi s mxri dan,
baTumi s okrugis mdinare Col oqamde osmal eTi sadmi daT-
mobis Sesaxeb qarTul istoriografiaSi gamoTqmuli i mo-
sazreba, arcerTi saarqivo dokumentiT ar dasturdeba. am
bral debis Seqmna f.maxaraZi sa da T.J.Rentis saxel rbTanaa
dakavSirebul i da man garkveul i formiT sabWoTa j arSi
mosamsaxure samxedro maRal Cinosnebi s memuarebSi ac hpo-
va asaxva. naSromSi motanil i faqtebis anal izi adasturebs,
rom baTumi s okrugSi da TviT baTumSi osmal ebi s Sesvi a,
garkveul i pol i t kuri mosazrebi dan gamomdinare, sabWo-
Ta ruseTisa da osmal eTi s maRal CinosanTa wi naswari garig-
ebi s safexurs Si cavda. damouki debel i saqarTvel os pirve-

I i respublikis xel isufl ebisadmi am faqtis `mi pati Jeb-
is- formiT gadabral eba, bol Sevikebis mxridan mis dis-
kreditaciaze iyo gaTvl il i da istoriis fal sifikaciis
morig mcdeI obas war moodgenda.

damowmebul i wyaroebi da I iteratura

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2. g.mazni aSvi l i. mogonebebi. baTumi. 1990. gv. 6
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6. gr.oniani. stalini da menSevikuri mTavroba. gaz. `saqarTve-
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1921. Jurn. `mxedari ~ 1994. #1- 4. gv. 55
15. akvitaiSvi l i. ruseT_ saqarTvel os omi 1921 wel s. ix.
Jurn. `ganTiadi ~ 1990. #2. gv. 115
16. a.zaqariaZe. saqarTvel os demokratiul i respublika 1917_
1921. Jurn. `mxedari ~ 1994. #1- 4. gv. 52
17. akvitaiSvi l i. ruseT_ saqarTvel os omi 1921 wel s. ix.
Jurn. `ganTiadi ~ 1990. #2. gv. 116
18. a.zaqariaZe. saqarTvel os demokratiul i respublika 1917_
1921. Jurn. `mxedari ~ 1994. #1- 4 gv. 57
19. scssa. f. 2115. saq. 119. furc. 1
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21. g.mazni aSvi l i. mogonebebi. gv. 155
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24. Jurn. `mxedari ~ 1991. # 3. gv. 62; a.CaCxiani. istoriis
sabedi swero gakvetili ebi_ `Cven momakvdinebel i safiTxi-
si wi naSe vdgevarT...~ ix. axal i da uaxl esi istoriis
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Jurn. `ganTiadi~ 1990. #2. gv. 118- 119
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29. iqve. gv. 268
30. akvi tai Svil i. ruseT_ saqarTvel os omi 1921 wel s. ix.
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33. iqve. gv. 62
34. akvi tai Svil i. ruseT_ saqarTvel os omi 1921 wel s. ix.
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Jurn. `ganTiadi~ 1990. #2. gv. 125; a.zaqariaZe. saqarTvel os demokratiul i respublika 1917_ 1921. Jurn. `mxedari~ 1994. #1- 4. gv. 61; g.kvini taZe. mogonebebi. saqarTvel os damouki debl obis wl ebi 1917_ 1921 wl ebi. II. Tbilisi 1999. gv. 64- 65
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Shota Vadachkoria

For Clarifying of Some Facts of the
Hostilities between Russia and Georgia
in February – March, 1921

Summary

On the basis of the documentary materials in the work it is stated that: 1)the attempt of the Georgian political elite to form Georgian army with adequate amount of warriors and complete armament in parallel with the formation of the national state, was prevented with financial problems and lack of weapons. The still existed in the Georgian historiography viewpoint that there were enormous amount of weapons in the military depot, is based on false information and is not true. 2)Till February, 1921 all attempts to receive in time the aid (weapons, ammunition, food and money) from the Western European states promised in spring, 1919 was impossible. The documents that are given in the work prove that the first effective step to fulfill the promise was made by the French government only in February, 25, 1921. From the military depot in Istanbul that was belonging to France the weapons that were used by Wrangell and sold to Georgia was worthless and out of service at that time. 3)The French government received decision to sell to Georgia weapons fit for military affairs only in March, 17, 1921. This decision was received when the legitimate government of Georgia and the representatives of Soviet Georgia (G. Lordkipanidze, M. Orakhelashvili, A. Enukidze, Sh. Eliava) reached the agreement in Kutaisi and when the government of the first republic of Georgia left the country. Because of this policy of the Western European countries the military forces of the first republic of Georgia met the aggression of Soviet Russia in February – March with Russian, handicraft maid cartridges and Russian rifles mended at specially created workshops. 4)the tactical errors committed by the Georgian commanders (I.Odishelidze, I.Gedevanishvili,

G. Sumbatashvili) and indiscipline that prevailed in military units promoted shameful defeat of the Georgian army in Bambaki gorge, annihilation of the three-quarter of the army and encouraged commanders of the 11th army. General G. Kvinitadze's decision to redistribute military units by sectors for defense of Tbilisi was positive from the point of view of tactics. The measures of defense carried on by him in February 18 – 22 made possible to repulse successfully an attack of the enemy. 5) N. Gedevanishvili, the head of the 4th sector of defense, was unable to assess the given situation properly. The information, which he brought to the General Staff, contained panic. This information had played the role of psychological terror and had a negative impact on the further continuation of defensive military operations for Tbilisi. G. Kvinitadze's order (1131) to leave Tbilisi, strengthen in Mtskheta and return Tbilisi back with battles did not take into account the psychological mood of the Georgian soldiers. It was not relevant with Georgian reality because, the fact psychologically had the impact of paralysis on the army and their combat capability had been completely deteriorated. 6) The fact that the first government of the republic ceded the Ottoman Empire Batumi district till river Choloki, the viewpoint put forward in Georgian historiography, is not proved by a single archive document. The authorship of this accusation is associated with the name of P. Makharadze and somehow it also is reflected in the memoirs of the Soviet high rank army officials. The analyses of the facts given in the work proves that the Ottomans' entry in Batumi district and in Batumi as well was one of the stages of the Soviet Russia– Ottoman high officials transaction which had a certain political background. Shift the blame for this fact on the government of independent Georgia seeks to discredit the government and to falsify history.

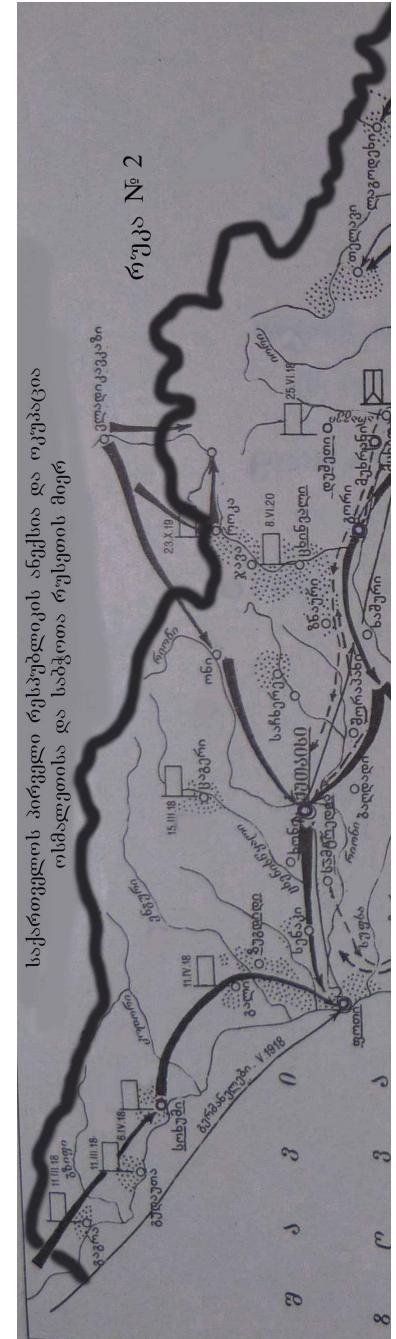
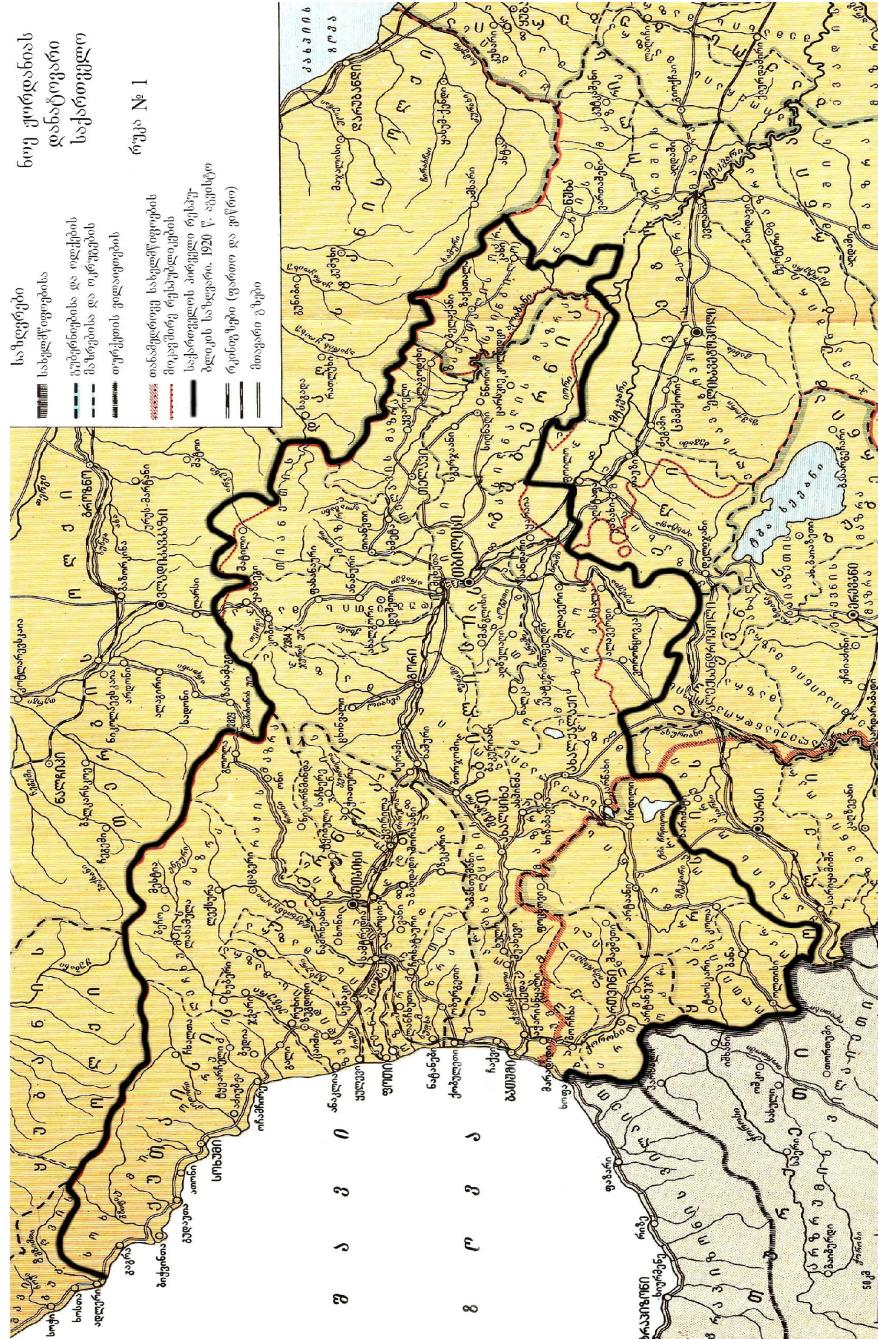
Tbilisi. 2015 wl is 24 ivnisi

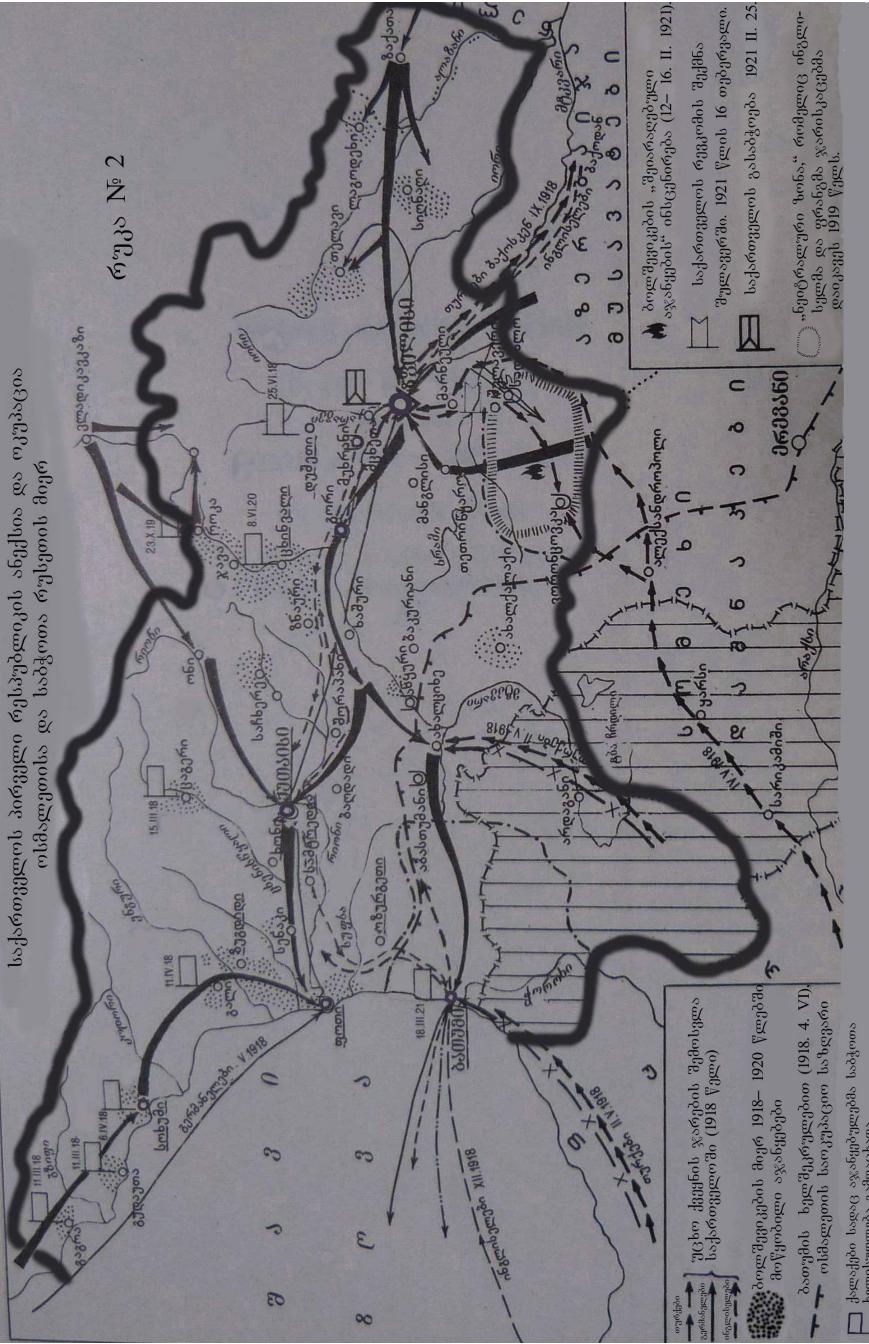
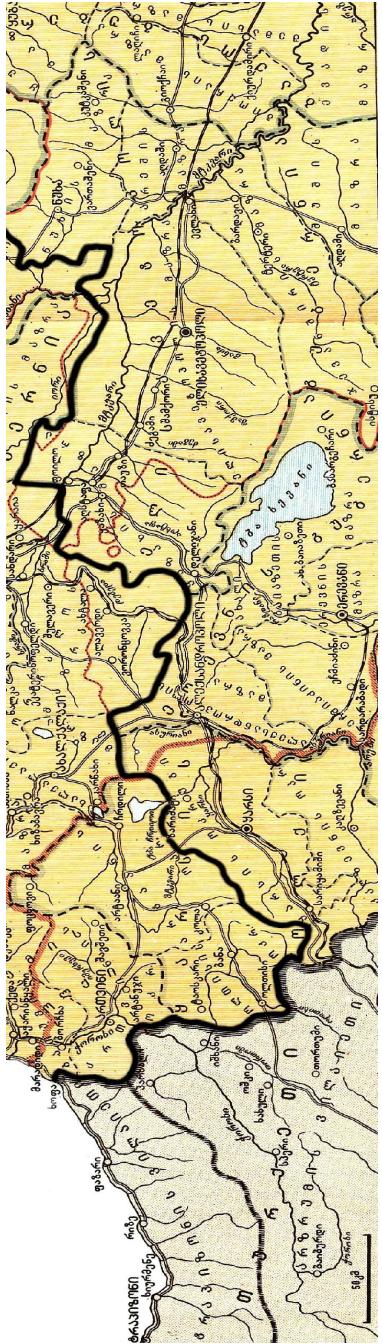
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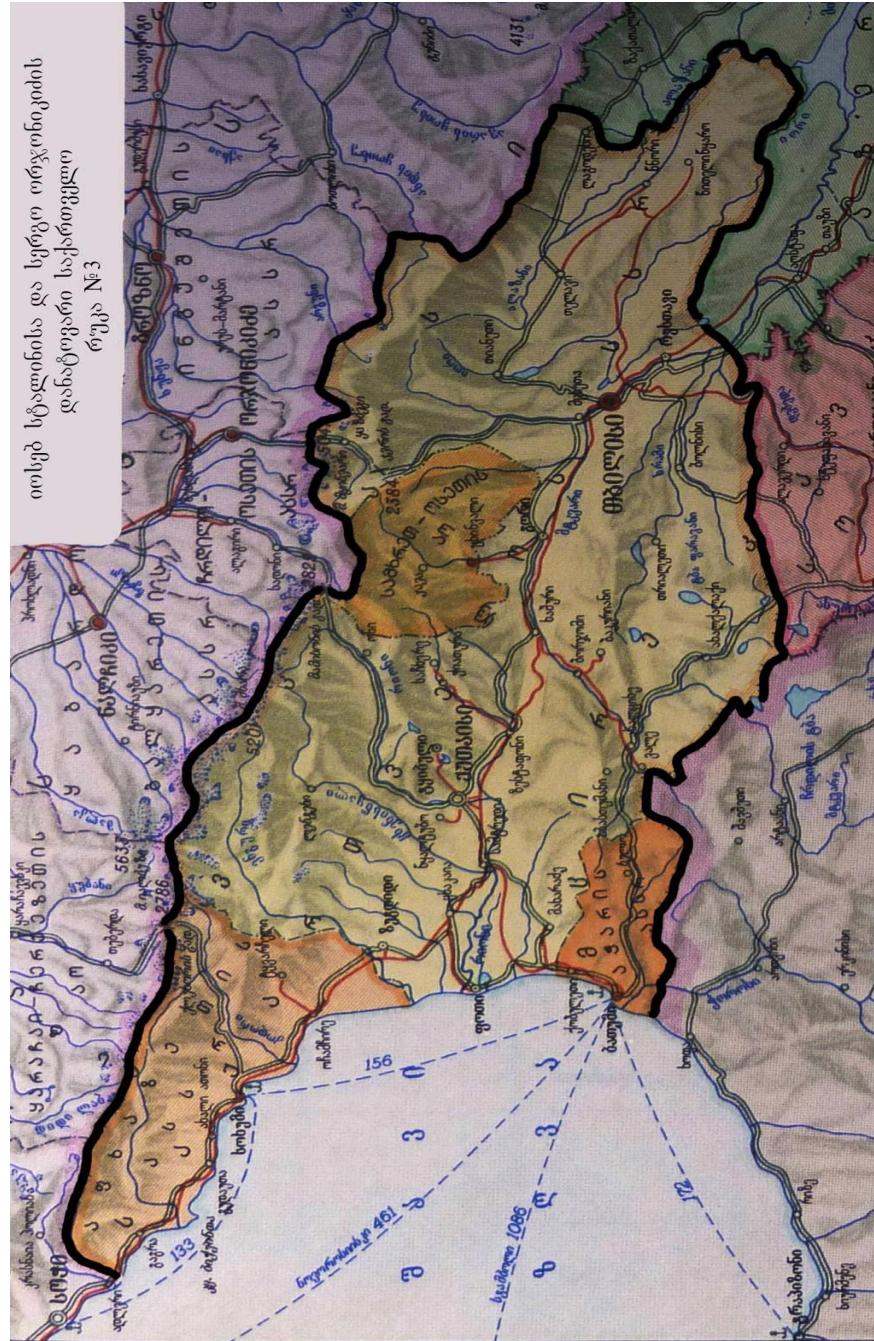
(1920 wl is agvistodan_ 2008 wl is 12 agvisto)

`eris si kvdi l i maSi n iwyeba, roca kuTv-ni l teritorias mowi naaRmdeges nebayof-I obi T uTmobs, an Zal momreobi T mi tacebul i s uk an dabrunebas ar cdil obs!~
napol eon bonaparte.

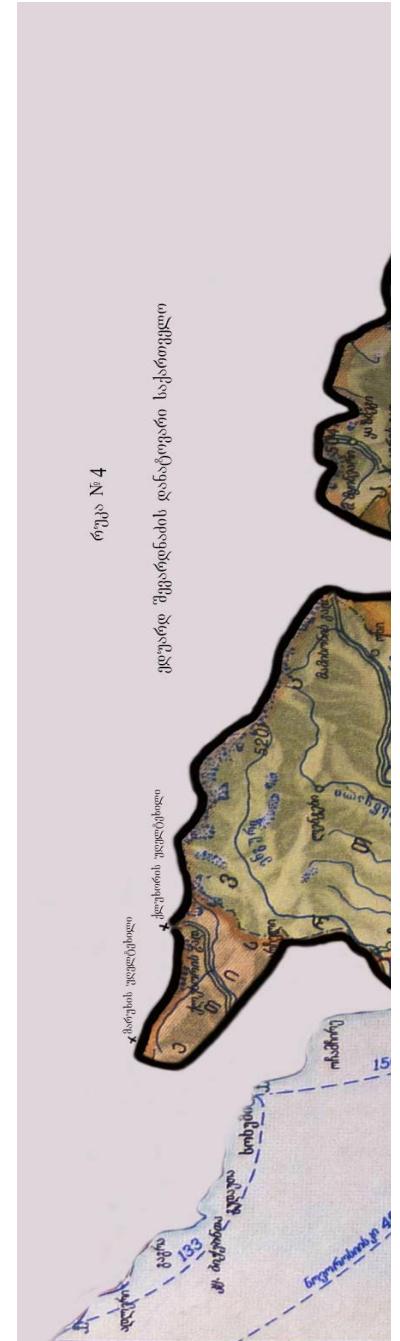
i stor i kosebo! am Segonebi dan da Cveni qveyni s dRe-vandel i yofi dan (400,000 devni l i) gamomdinare, saqar Tve-l os sami ve respubl iki s teritoriul i sazRvrebi s Se-darebi Ti anal izis fonze gansazRvreT: a)romel ma xel i-sufl ebam ukeT upatrona bedkrul i saqar Tvel os qarT-ul mosaxl eobas da b)umoki es droSi (1028 dRe), vi n ukeT SesZI o saqar Tvel os teritoriul i mTI i anobi s i stor iul sazRvrebSi Ziri Tadad aRdgena. mi ukerZoebe-l i pozici i dan SeafaseT- romel i xel i sufl eba imsa-xurebs pativi scemas an Zagebas! saqar Tvel os terito-riis # 1 rukis sazRvrebSi aRmdgeni mTavrobis_ sab-Wouri i stor iografi i sa da r.gabaSvi l i stil Si augad xsenebi s mxardamWer ebs Sevaxseneb: `pol i tika gani zomeba misi Sedegebi T! mi saRebi a mxol od i s pol i tiki kur si, romel i c qveyni s Tvi s sauKeTeso nayofi s momcemi al- (i x. ruka # 1 da ruka # 5) aqedan gamomdinare, Tuki Savi s da TeTris garCeva xel gewi febaT, keTil i inebeT da sami ve respubl iki s xel i sufal Ta mimarT, daskvnebi da Sefasebebi mxol od I ogi kuri kategoriebis umkacresi principis dacvi T, naSromSi motanil i saarqi vo dokumentebisa da aRni Snul i rukebis gaTval i swinebi T gaakeTeT! mi Tumetes, saqar Tvel os teritoriul i sivr-cis, 87 wl i s manZil ze gazafxul i s Tovl iviT daCqa-rebul i tempi T dnoba, qarTvel i eris moaxl oeбуl i si kvdi l i s garduval obaze mi gvanl Snebs. es real uri saSi Sroeba, Cvens wi naSe a isbergi vi Taa aRmarTul i da daZrul i. misi SeCereba mxol od wi napar Ta Rvawl i s dafasebi s kri teriumi s aRdgeni s safuzvel ze, eris ga-j ansaRebul i da swori azrovnebi s Sedegad gaxdeba SesZI ebel i.

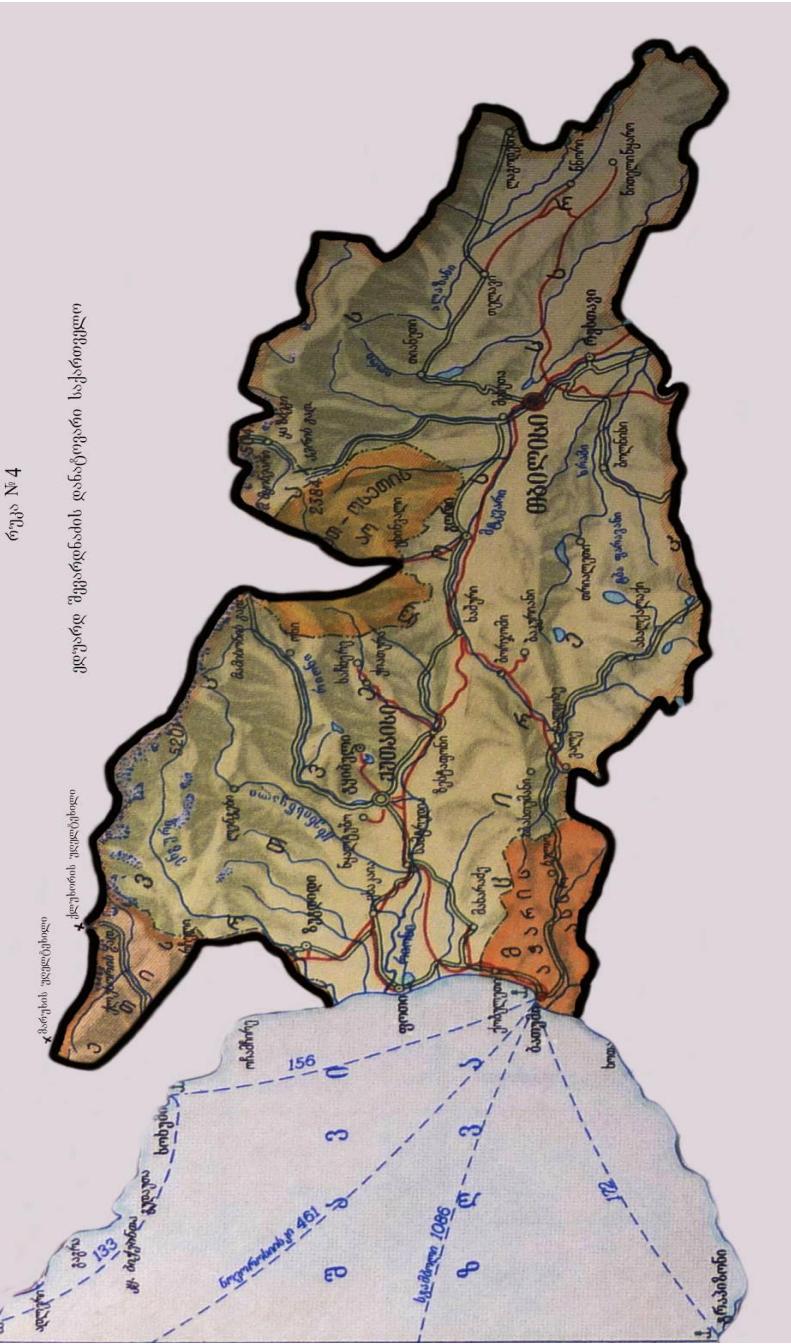


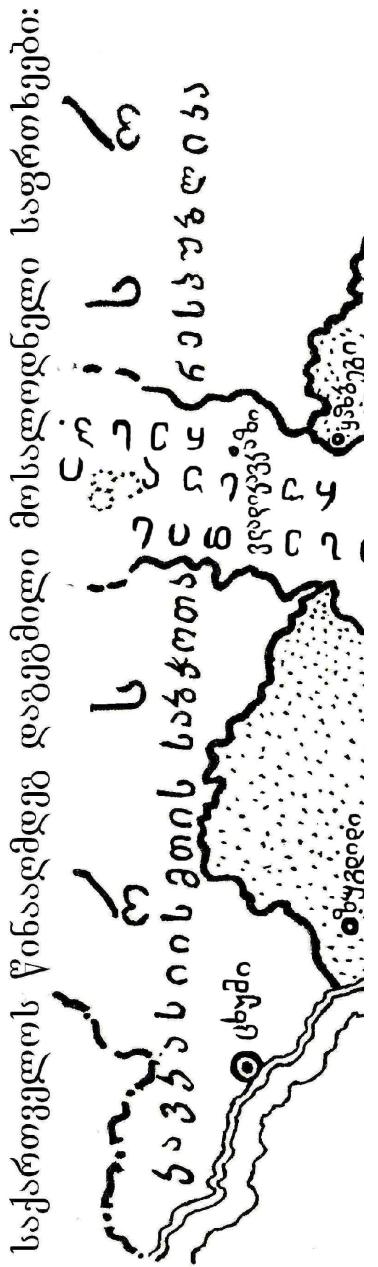




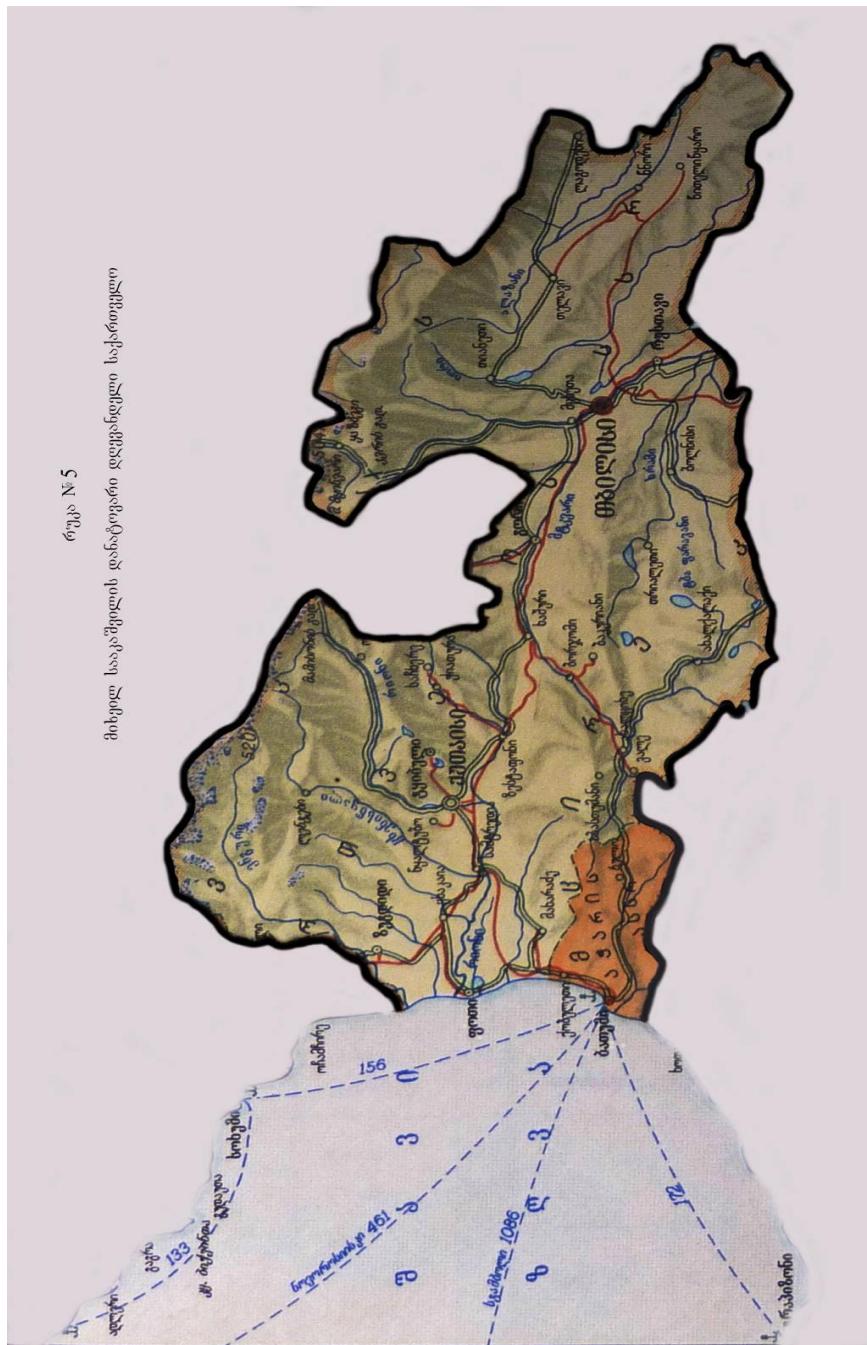
რუკა №4





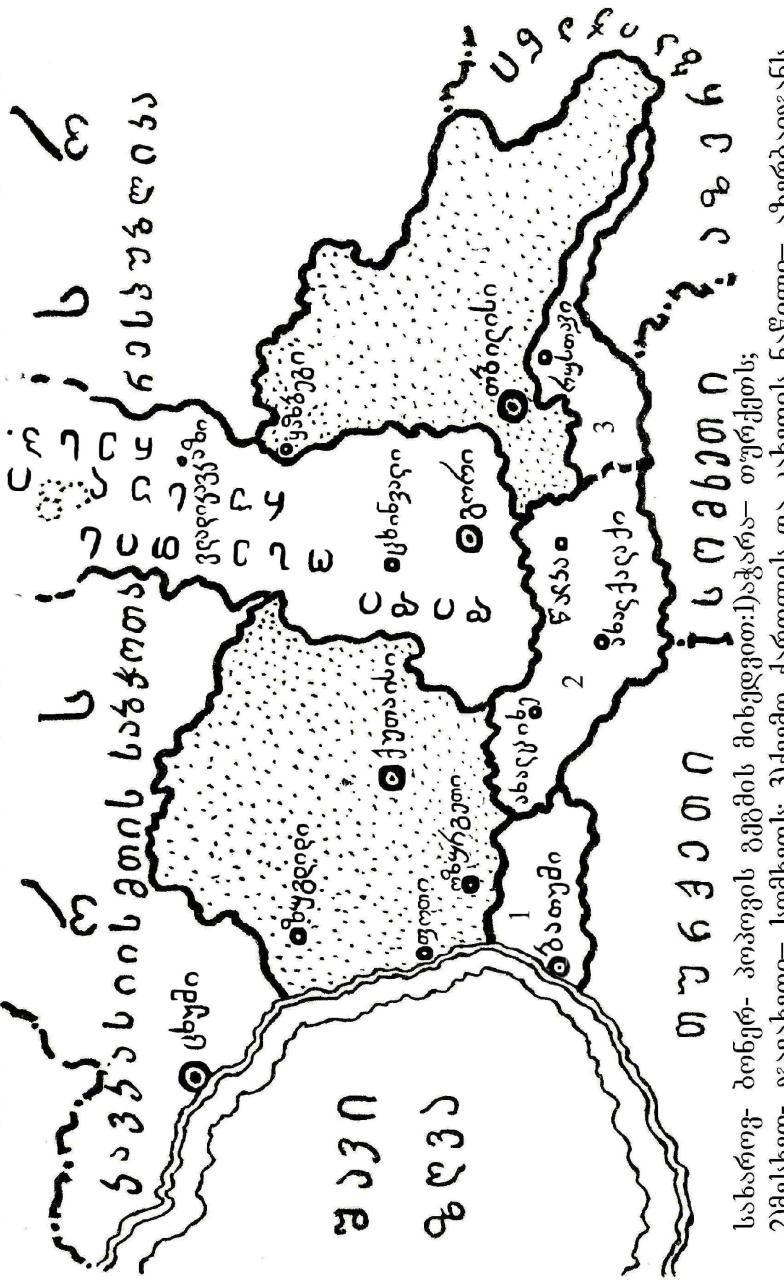


საქართველოს ზონადობები დაგეგმილი მოსალოდნელი საფრთხეები:





იმ მაგალითში ეს უნდა იყოს მოსახლეობის დაცვის მიზანი.



1) ეთნო-კულტურული კონკრეტული გეოგრაფიული დაცვის მიზანი – სამხრეთი ქართველობის დაცვა.

2) ეთნო-კულტურული კონკრეტული გეოგრაფიული დაცვის მიზანი – სამხრეთი ქართველობის დაცვა.

Sinaarsi

Sesaval i _____ 3

\$ 1. evropi sgan mi zanmimartul ad motyuebul i saqarTvel os pirvel i respublika _____ 9

\$ 2. qarTvel i sardl ebis taqtikuri Secdomebi da sabWoTa ruseTTan damarcxebis ganmapirobeli
mi zezebi _____ 69

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rukebi. noe Jordani adan_ mi xei I saakaSvi I amde
(1920 wl is agvistodan_ 2008 wl is 12 agvisto) ____ 128

SoTa II ias Ze vadaWkoria

sabWoTa ruseTTan saqarTvel os damarcxebis
zogierTi faktoris dazustebi saTvis

(1921 wl is Teberval - marti)

Tbilisi

2016

saaRricxvo- sagamomceml o Tabaxi 8

sabeWdi qaRal di 60 X 84 1/16



ისტორიის მეცნიერებათა დოქტორი, პროფესორი შოთა ივლის ტე ვადაჯურია დაბადა 1951 წლის 20 ივნისს ლომისხუთის რაიონის სოფელ ჭაქეთა ში. 1966 წლის დაამთავრა სოფ. ჭაქეთის არასრული, ხოლო 1968 წლის სოფ. აკეთის საშედელ სკოლა. 1977 წლის წარმინგრძით დაამთავრა იყვავის შვილის სახელმისამართის სახელმწიფო უნივერსიტეტის ისტორიის ფაკულტეტი. 1979 წლის მუშაობა დაწყეო საქართველოს მეცნიერებათა აკადემიისთვის არსებულ ხალხთა მეცნიერიბის მუსეუმში. 2000—2006 წლებში მუშაობდა იმავე აკადემიისთვის არსებულ პოლიტილოგიის ინსტიტუტში წამყანი მეცნიერ—თანამშრომლის თანამდებობაზე. 2007 წლიდან დღიმევ იყვავის შვილის სახელმისამართის და ეთნოლოგიის ინსტიტუტის მთავარი მეცნიერ—თანამშრომლია. წლების მანძილზე დადაქალაქის სხვადასახვა უსიღლეს სასწავლებლებში ეწეოდა პედაგოგური საქმიანობა. 1986 წლის დაიცვა ისტორიის მეცნიერებათა კინოდატის, ხოლო, 2002 წლის ისტორიის მეცნიერებათა დოქტორის ხარისხი. ინტენსურუალ იკვლევს ქართველ პოლიტიკური აზროვნებისა და საქართველოს უახლესი პრიორის პოლიტიკური ისტორიის აქტუალურ საკითხებს. გამოქვებებული აქეს 100-ზე მეტი სამეცნიერო ნაშრომი. აქვთ 21 წიგნი და ბრიტური, რომელთაგან 9 მონოგრაფია. 1)ქრისტიანული სახელმწიფოებრივოს საკითხი ქართველ პოლიტიკურ აზროვნებაში. ნაკვეთი I. (1917—1918 წწ); 2)ქრისტიანული სახელმწიფოებრივოს საკითხი ქართველ პოლიტიკურ აზროვნებაში. (1921—1923 წწ); 3)საქართველო—სომხეთის ურთიერთობის საკითხი ქართველ პოლიტიკურ აზროვნებაში 1918—1920 წწ); 4)ქართველ სოციალ-დემოკრატია 1917—1921 წლებში; 5)საქართველოს პოლიტიკური ისტორიის საკითხები. (XX საუკუნე) წიგნი I; 6)ეპრაცესია საკითხი და ქართველი სინამდვივე (1921—1940); 7)საქართველოს პოლიტიკური ისტორიის საკითხები. (XX საუკუნე) წიგნი II; 8)კოდორის ხეობის დილექტი და ქართველი საზოგადოებრივ პოლიტიკური აზრი (1993—2014); 9)ქართველი კორსოდან ამონიდებული დეკემბრი (კალთვის გოგუაძე). პავარ მეცნიერებაზე იმავე შეიძლო და შეიძლო შვილი.