

SoTa vadalkoria



Istorilis mecnierebaTa doqtori, profesori SoTa II las Ze vadalkoria daiba da 1951 wl ls 20 Ivniss I anCxuTis raloni s sofel WanileTSI. 1966 wl s daamTavra sof, WanileTSI arasrul I, xol o 1968 wl s sof. akeTis saSual o skol a. 1977 wl s wa rCi nebit daamTavra Ivj avaxxl SvI ls saxel obis Tbil Iisis saxel mwifo universi te-tis Istorilis fakul teti. 1979 wl s muSaoba da wyo sagarTvel os mecnierebaTa akademiasTan arsebul xal xTa negobri bls muzeumSi. 2000_ 2006 wl ebSi muSaobda I have akademiasTan arsebul pol i tol oglis ins titutiS Iwanyani mecnier... TanamSromi ls Tanandebobaze. 2007 wl idan dRemde Ivj avaxxl SvI ls saxel obis Istorilisa da eTho

I oglis Institutlis mTavari mecnier... TanamSromi la wl ebis manZI ze dedaqal apis svadaxava umarI es sawawi ebi ebSi ewocda pedagogur saplinobas. 1986 wl s dal cva Istorilis mecnierebaTa kandidatis, xol o, 2002 wl s Istorilis mecnierebaTa doqtoris xariksi. Intensurad IkvI eva qarTvel I pol i tiki kuri azrovnebis da sagarTvel os uaxl esl periodis pol i tiki kuri Istorilis aqtual ur sakl Txels, gamoqveynul I aqvs 120-ze meti samecniero naSromi. aqedan 24 wigni da broSura, romel Tagan 9 monograflaa. 1)erovnul I saxel mwifoebris sakiTxI qarTvel pol i tiki kur azrovnebaSi. nauveTi I. (1917_ 1918 wl); 2)erovnul I saxel mwifoebris sakiTxI qarTvel pol i tiki kur azrovnebaSi. (1921_ 1923 wl); 3)sagarTvel o somxeTis urTlerTobis sakiTxI qarTvel pol i tiki kur azrovnebaSi 1918_ 1920 wl); 4)qarTvel I social _ demokratia 1917_ 1921 wl ebSi; 5)sagarTvel os pol i tiki kuri Istorilis sakiTxel. (XX sauküne) wl gni I; 6)ebrael Ta sakiTxI da qarTvel I si namdvi e (1921_ 1940); 7)sagarTvel os pol i tiki kuri Istorilis sakiTxel. (XX sauküne) wl gni II; 8)kodori's xeobis di lma da qarTvel I sazogadoebriy pol i tiki kur azri (1993_ 2014); 9)qarTvel I eposi dan amozidul I I egenda (val odia goguaze).

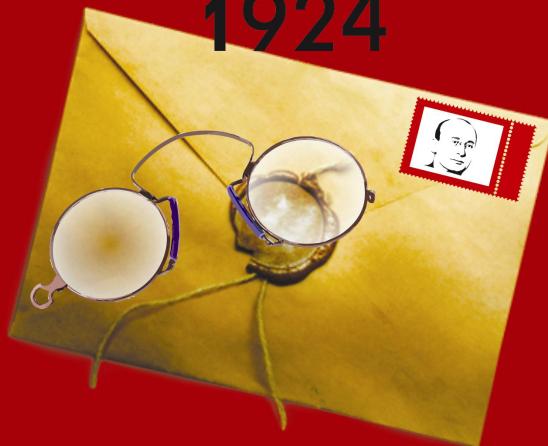
გოთა კადაქებორისი

ხეილარებული აჯანყების

სამხედრო გეგმის გაცემის

ღაზუსთაბისათვის

1924



noe Jordaniās instituti
Iv. Javaxi Svilis istoriisa da eTnol ogiis instituti

SoTa vadaWkoria

Sei ar aRebul i aj anyebi s
samxedro gegmi s gacemi s
dazustebi saTvi s

1924

**UDC (uak) 323.27(479.22)`1924~+94(479.22)
v-126**

saarqivo masal ebze dayrdnobi T, naSr omSi ganxil ul ia da saf užvl i anadaa gaanal izebul i: 1)vj uRel i sa da al .zaqari-
azis avtorobi T Seqmni l i `Sei ararRebul i aj anyebis samxedro
gegmis- mni Svnel oba da adgil i sabWouri rejimi s wi naaRmdeg
aj anyebis mosamzadebl ad; 2)dokumentur masal aze dayrdnobi T,
dasabuTebul ia, Tu ra di di sačuqri moumzada saqar Tvel os
uSi Sr oebris maRaL Ci nosnebs, am gegmis Čeka-- sadmi gadamzavni s
pol i tikuri ms ofl mxedvel oba da partiul i warmomavl oba.

**redkol egia: qr istine faRava- bul ezl
Sarl ureviči
stiven j onsi
nato sonRul aSvili**

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Sesaval I

saqar Tvel os Zal datanebi Ti gasabWoebi sa da monobis ruzul i uRI is dadgmis sawysi safexuri danve, Tavi sufl ebi s dabruneba da Rirsebi s Senarcuneba, qar Tvel obam nomer pi rvel amocanad dai saxa. am mi mar Tui ebi T gaweul i saqmianoba, ero-vnul - gammaTavi sufl ebel i moZraobi s droSi T mmdinareobda. masSi monawi l e adamianebi s mi zans, qveynis teritoris deokupacia warmoadgenda. saqar Tvel os pi rvel i respubli kis (1028 dRe i arseba) xel isufal Ta mxridan, qar Tvel Ta modgmi s sasargebl od gatarebul ma ekonomi kurma da pol itikurma reformebma, 117 wl is manzil ze dakargul i da Sel axul i Rirseba aRudgina qar Tvel ers. 1921 – 1924 wl ebi s erovnul - gammaTavi sufl ebel i moZraoba, swored RirsebaRdgeni l eris mrishanebi T `naTqvami si tyva- iyo.

dRevandel i gadasaxedi dan, roca erovnul i cnobiereba dambl adacemul mdgomareobaSia da `pol itikuri el itis-safiqral s, mxol od mil i onebis Sovna da ganuzomel i raodenobi T uZravi qonebi s Sezena warmoadgens, am fonze, XX sau-kuni s 20- iani wl ebi s qar Tvel Ta Tavdadeba samSobl os wi-naSe, gansakuTrebul pativi scemas imsaxurebs. ra doneze unda yvareboda im adamianebs Tavisufl eba da saqar Tvel o, pi radi si coxle Segnebul ad mis samsxverpl oze rom mi qonda. maTi mxridan daRvri l i yovel i wreTi sisxl i, dampyobel i wi naSe momaval i Taobebi s ardaCoqebi s mowodebi s anTebul Cirardans warmoadgens. am Wri l Si unda movaxdi noT 1921- 1924 wl ebi s erovnul - gammaTavi sufl ebel moZraobaSi monawi l eTa Rvawl is dafaseba. dauSvebl ad mi maCnia, 1922- 1925 wl ebSi da-xreti l Ta mar T, sxvadasxva saxi s damaci rebel i epi Tetebi s gamoyeneba. Cemi aseTi pozicisi mi uxedavad, erovnul - gamma-Tavi sufl ebel i moZraobi s xazi T daSvebul i nebi smieri Se-cdoma, mkvl evarma yuradRebi s centrSi unda moaqcios da Sesabamisi anal izis Semdeg moaxdinos misi mi udgomel i Sefaseba. dasaxul i amocanis gadasawyvetad, mis mier pi rvel rigSi unda iqnas garkveul i: 1)ar sebul i Seccoma, Segnebul ad gadadgmul nabij s efuZneboda Tu unebl i e qmedebi T iyo ganpi r obebui i; 2)romel i qmedeba SeiZI eba Cai Tval os mi ute-vebel clanaSaul ad: a)Tavi sufl ebi s mopovebi s mi zni T, okupanti qveyni s wi naaRmdeg Seiar aRebul i aj anyebi s momzadeba- ganxo-

rciel eba, Tu b)im ave aj anyebis samxedro gegmis gacema_ Cekasadmi gadagzavna. dampyrobel i sadmi aj anyebis gegmis yvel an uansi s gacnobi s xel Semwyobi safexuris Seqma?

aseTi zRvaris gavl eba unda daedos amosaval safuzvl ad, ama Tu im pirovnebis an pol itikuri partiis mier daSvebul SecdomebTan mir TebaSi gakeTebul Sefasebebs. wi namdebare naSromi s amocanaa, mki Txvel sazogadoebas učenos: 1)ra Rirebul ebis dokuments warmoadgenda vj uRel i- al .zaqariaZis saxel iT cnobil i SeiaraRebul i aj anyebis samxedro gema da nisi gacemi T, ra didi saCuqari moumzada am gegmis gacemna Ceka- s maRal Cinosnebs; 2)vñin gasca, Ceka s vñin gadaugzavna SeiaraRebul i aj anyebis samxedro gema. romel i pol itikuri partia iyo dainteresebul i am danaSaul ebrivi qmedebis aRsrul ebi T da ratom. dasmul i saki Txebi sadmi pasuxis gacemis mcdel obas Sei cavs wi namdebare naSromi, romel ic Ziri Tedad saarqi vo masal ebs emyar eba.

\$. 1. Sei ar aRebul i aj anyebis samxedro gegma

saqar Tvel os pi rvel i respubl iki s gadasar Cenad qar Tvel i eris er Tsul ovnebam da Tavdadebam daadastura: 1)qar Tvel Ta cnobierebaSi erovnul i saxel mwi fos arseboba si Rrmi seul ad iyo Cakirul i; 2)mi si Senar Cunebi saTvis TavSewi rva, yvel a qar Tvel i saTvis si amayis gamovl i nebis demonstri rebad aRiqmeboda roca pirovneba, pirad keTil dReobaze maRI a samSobl os interesebis ayenebis da momaval i Taobebis wi naSe gansakuTrebul pasuxi smgebl obas i Cens, Zal momreobi s gzi T mi si damorcil eba SeuZl ebel i xdeba. aseTi erovnul i cnobierebis mqone qar Tvel obas Tan qonda saqme gasul i saukuni s 20-ian wl ebSi sabWoTa ruseTs. mar Tal ia, 1921 wl is Teberval - martis movl enebi qar Tvel Ta damar cxebiT da ruseTs saqar Tvel oSi meored dabrunebi T dan Tavrda, magram, monobis uRel s qar Tvel oba da gansakuTrebi T pol itikuri el ita ar Seri gebia, mxedvel obaSi maqvs saqar Tvel os gasab Woebis dRi dan qveyanaSi midinare erovnul - ganma Tavi sufl ebel i moZraobis aRmavl obis procesi. aRni Snul probl emas Tan mimar TebaSi qar Tvel i istorikosebis mier sakmao raodenobis samecniero xasi Tis weril ebi da monografiebia dabeWdi l i. mi uxedadav amisa, mTel i rigi umni Svnel ovanesi saki Txebi si Rrmi seul i kvl evis auci l ebl obas eqyemdebareba. wi namde bare naSromic am xarvezis garkveul i formiT amovsebi s mcdel obas warmoadgens. saqme exeba Sei ar aRebul i aj anyebis gegmas. mar Tal ia, Cemi kol egebi am gegmis arsebobaze mi uTi-Teben, magram; 1) arafers amboben Tu ra principi Taa i gi Sedgeni l i da qveynis gan Tavi sufl ebis ra forme bzea masSi Zi ri Tadi yurad Reba gadatanil i; 2) dokumentis yovel i debul eba ra konkretul monacemebs emyareba; 3) ra gzi T xdeboda gegmis Semdgenev avtor Ta mier motanil i faqtebis mopoveba da a.s.

am Tval sazrisiT, Cemi yurad Reba orma umni Svnel ovanesma dokumentma mii qcacia. mxedvel obaSi maqvs val iko j uRel is da gani bal is (al eqsandre zaqariaZe) samxedro moxsenebebi. pi rvel i maTgani 1922 wl is 10 ivnisi T, xol o meore, imave wl is 7 seqtembri Taa da Tari Rebul i. orive dokumenti xel is manqanaze dabelWdi l 42 gverds Sei cavs da grifi_ `srul i ad

sai duml o- adevs. dokumentebs aj anyebis gegmis Sesatyvi-sobaSi moyvani l i ori feradi ruka da osmal eTis armiis raodenobis, samxedro SeiaraRebis da disl okaciis adgil ebis dawrili ebi Ti monacemebi agvs dar Tul i. aRni Snul i faqto-brivi masal is gaTval i swinebi dan gamomdinare, osmal eTis armiisgan mosl ochnel i safrTxeebi, orive moxsenebaSi ma-qsimal uradaa gaTval i swinebul i. rac Seexeba ganibal is moxsenebas, Jurnal ma `mxedarma,~ publ ikaciis avtoris dasaxel e-bisa da komentarebis gareSe 1992 wel s dabeWda. teqstSi Semokl ebul i formiT motanil i saxel wodebebi da momxsenebl is fsevdonimi gauSi fravi datova. aRni Snul i da sxva xarvezebis gamo, publ ikacia mki Txvel ze nakl eb efektur zemoqmedebas axdens. es arcaa gasakviri, radgan igi saerTo gegmis mxol od ert nawil s warmoadgens. es faqtori misi samecniero brunvaSi arSemotanis ZiriTad ganmapirobel mi zezad unda mivichioT.

vj uRel i sa da al .zaqariaZis zemoaRni Snul i moxsenebebi dan, specifi urobi sTval sazrisiT, vj uRel i samxedro moxseneba gamoirceva. igi pirobi Tad or nawil ad SeiZI eba gai yos: a)pol i tikur da b)samxedrod. xol o al .zaqariaZis moxseneba wmi nda samxedro xasiaTisaa marTal ia, am dokumentebis Seqmni s Sual edi 2 Tvea, magram i saki Txebi, roml ebic samxedro ku-Txi Taa ganxil ul i, masSi motanil i ZiriTadi debul ebebi erTmaneTs avsebs. aqdan gamomdinare, pirvel i moxsenebi sgan meoris xel ovnurat gamoyofa da cal - cal ke ganxil va_yovl ad dauSvebel ia.

rac Seexeba vj uRel i moxsenebis pirvel nawil s, saqrTvel os okupaciis Semdeg qveyanaSi Seqmni l i umZimesi pol i tikuri da ekonomikuri situacia kargadaa danaxul i da obieqtur adaa Sefasebul i. gansakuTrebui i yuradReba eris sul ieri aRmav i obis proceszea gadatani l i da misadmi droul ad mi Svel eba, pi rvel xarisxovan amocanadaa mi Cneul i. dokumentis am nawil i avtoris (vj uRel i) mtkicebi T, Tuki es momenti xel idan iqneboda gaSvebul i da qarTvel i eris Si nagan cnobierebaSi ui medoba dai sadgurebda, erovnul Tavi sufbebaze figrs qarTvel oba di di xniT unda gamoTxoveboda. dampyrobl i wi naaRmdeg qarTvel xal xSi im etapze ukansknel i Zal ebiis mokrebiis Si nagani procesis mi mdinareobis wi naa pl anze wamowevi T, qveynis ganTavi sufI ebiis

saki Txis droul ad dasmas v.j uRel i gadaudebel amocanad mi i Cnevda. es dokumenti gansakuTrebil yuradRebas imi Tac iqcevs, rom mis pi rvel nawil Si konkretul adaa dasmul i saki Txi_ SeiZI eboda Tu ara mSvi dobi ani gzi T saqarTvel osaTvis Tavisufi ebi s mopoveba. evropi sa da ruseTis masStabi T mimdi nare pol itikuri procesebis si Rrmi seul i anal i-zi dan gamondinare, **sagarTvel os ganTavisufi ebi s 4 ZiriTadi SesaZI ebl obaa** dokumentSi ganxil ul i da dasabuTebul i formi Taa naCvenebi Ti Toeul i maTganis efeqtianobis done.

I. saqarTvel os ganTavisufi ebi s pi rvel i SesaZI ebl oba:
1)evropi s daxmaraeba: dokumentis am nawil Si konkretul adaa mi Ti Tebul i evropi sgan saqarTvel osadmi Tanadgomis sam ZiriTad_ di pl omatiur, pol itikuri da material ur SesaZI ebl obebz. rac Seexeba SeiaraRebul i Zal iT daxmarebas-anu intervencias, evropi s sazogadoebri-v pol itikuri azris sawi naaRmdego damoki debul ebi dan gamondinare, im etapze aseTi nabij i s gadadgma maTi mxridan gamoricxul i iyo. mili si daSveba mxol od im SemTxvevaSi gaxdeboda SesaZI ebel i, Tuki ruseTi evropi s romel im saxel mwi fosTan saomar mdgomareobaSi aRmoCndeboda. genui s konferenci i s Sedgebi s analizis gaTval i swinebi T, dokumentSi daskvnis saxi T savsebi T sworadaa mi TI Tebul i, rom di pl omatilis gzi T, saqarTvel odan saokupacio j arebis gayvanis li uzlis tyveobi dan, qarTul i pol itikuri el its mesveurebi samudamod unda **ganTavisufi ebul iyo**. mi Tumetes, a)mimdi nare pol itikuri procesebis gaTval i swinebi T, im etapze saqarTvel o imaze mets verafers mi i Rebda, rac genui s konferenci am misci; b)imave konferenci i s msvl el obam daadastura, rom evropi s saxel mwi-foebis mi zans, ruseTTan mor i geba da wi aRi seul i simdidre-ebis dapatroneba warmoadgenda; g)es procesi, rogorc dokumentSi aRni Snul i, droTa gammavli obaSi ki dev ufro gai zrde-boda da evropel i pol itikosebis saqmianobis dRis wesrigi-dan saqarTvel os saki Txi ukana pl anze gadai weoda.

II. saqarTvel os ganTavisufi ebi s meore SesaZI ebl oba:
2)muSaTa saerTaSoriso International i: saqarTvel os ganTavisufi ebi s saqmeebSi am organizaciis Careva, mxol od ideol ogiuri da propagandistul i Tval sazrisiT iqneboda garkveul i efeqtis momtani. qveyni s deokupacias da ruseTis jaris gayvanas i gi ver uzrunvel yofda. berl inis konfe-

rencia da cxraTa komisiis daSl a amis naTel i dadastureba iyo.

III. saqarTvel os ganTavisufl eblis mesame SesaZl ebl oba:
3)kremi is dacema, Si da saxeel mwi foebri vi gadatrial eba:
es procesi qarTvel i erisTvis yvel aze metad iyo misaRebi,
radgan mas qveynis damouki debi obis aRdgena moyveboda.
arsebul i sinamdvil idan gamomdinare, imetapze am saki TxTan
dakavSi rebi T fiqui, rogorc dokumentSi a mi Ti Tebul i- fuW
ocnebas warroadgenda.

saqarTvel os SesaZl o ganTavisufl eblis zemoT CamoTvl il i
samiye formebis anal i zi's Sedegad, dokumentSi vki Txul obT:
`arcertI zemoaRni Snul i gza ar aris srul iad saimedo da
utyuari. zogi maTgani susti da uzluria da zogic metad
probl ematuri. magram, ni Snavs Tu ara es, rom qarTvel ma xal
xma sasowarkveTil ebas mieces... dakargos aqturi
perspektiva da istoriis inercias danebdes? srul iadac ara,
vinai dan r'ceba ki dev meoTxe da ukanasknel i gza.-

IV. saqarTvel os ganTavisufl eblis meoTxe SesaZl ebl oba:
4)ukanasknel i gza_ SetaraRebul i aj anyeba, mis mi zans,
mezobel respubl ikebTan (saqarTvel o, somxeTi, azerbaijani,
daRestani) erTad sayovel Tao aj anyeba, erovnul i Zal eblis
srul i darazmva warroadgenda. dokumentebis Semgenel Ta
(vj uRel i, al .zaqariaZe) azriT, es gza umZimesi da ukiduresi
forma iyo, magram Tavisufl eblis mosapovebl ad qarTvel ers
sxva gamosaval i ar qonda. maTi ve mtkecebi T, am gzaze Rirse-
ul ad gavl amxol od in ers SeeZl o, romel sac srul fasovnad
hqonbel Segnebul i da gacnobierebul i saxel mwi fo interesebebi.
mi Tumetes, damarcxebis SemTxvevaSi sabWoTa xel i sufl eba
aj anyebul eblis sadmi umkacresi RonisZieebis gatarebas moaxde-
nda. es Cven yovel Tvis kargad unda gvaxsovdes_vki Txul obT
dokumentSi_da aj anyebis saki Txis ganxil vis dros ar unda
davmayofil deT mar to saqarTvel os viwro fargl ebi T, mxed-
vvel obaSi unda mi vi RoT rogorc ruseTi saerTo mdgomare-
oba, i se evropis Cvendami damoki debul eba.-

am SemTxvevaSi saki Txis sworad iyo dasmul i. evropis
qveynebi dan samxedro Zal iT dauxmarebl obis da ruseTi
potenciuri SesaZl ebl obebis gaTval i swinebi dan gamomdinare,
aj anyebis mosawyobad Sesabamisi safexuris maRal doneze
momzadebis auci l ebl obas dokumentebis gansakuTrebui i

yuradReba aqvs daTmobil i. xazgasmi Taa mi Ti Tebul i im qonebrivi da fizikuri msxverpl is gaRebis gardaval obaze, romel ic mterze gamarj vebas unda dadeboda safuZvl ad. dasabuTebul ia, rom kavkasiis masStabi T aj anyebis mowyobis iniciativa da xel mZRvanel oba saqarTvel os unda etvirTa. am mimarTul ebiT pragmatul i gadawyvetil ebiS mi Reba da Sesabani si nabij is gadadgma mxol od im SemTxvevaSi iqneboda gamarTl ebul i, Tuki: a)evropis saxel mwifoebi iaraRiTa da ful iT aj anyebul ebi sadmi daxmarebas uzrunvel yofda; b)aj anyebis dawyeba, ruseTis did saomar moqmedebebSi Caebmis, an qeynis SigniT saxel mwifo gadatrial ebiS SemTxvevaSi ac CaiTvl eboda mi zanSewonil ad; g)osmal eTis mxridan neitral itetis dacva wi naswar iqneboda garantirebul i. dokumentebis Semdgenel Ta mtkicebiT, osmal eTis mxridan neitral itetze da Tanxmeba Semdegi pi robebis gaTval i swinebiT gaxdeboda SesaZl ebel i: 1)ruseTis nacvl ad, iaraRiT SeZenis garantias osmal eTi dasavl eT evropis saxel mwifoebi dan Tuki mi Reba da 2)someTis xel isufl eba, `osmal eTis somxeTis sadmi- gansakuTrebul pretenziebs moxsni da; rac Seexeba osmal eTis mier gacemul i neitral itetis sadmi ndobas, mxol od evropis romel im Zl ieri saxel mwifos pasuxi smgebl obis aRebis SemTxvevaSi iyo dasaSvebi. amis aucil ebl obas ganapi robebda: a)osmal eTi sabWoTa ruseTis `megobar da mokavSire- qveynad iTvl eboda; b)osmal eTis parlamentis 1920 wl is 28 i anvis `erovnul i paqtis- meore muxl is Tanaxmad, osmal eTi baTumis okrugze mdinare Col oqamde axcadebda pretenzias. am fagtorebis gaTval i swinebiT, saqarTvel os sazRvrispira perimetrize ganl agebul i 30 aTasi osmal o jariskacis saqarTvel os mimarTul ebiT daZvra real obas warmoadgenda. osmal Ta neitral itetis safuZvel ze Tuki aj anyebul Ta zurgis usafrTxoebis garantia Seiqmneboda, es fagtori, aj anyebis monawil eTa moqmedebas met gabedul ebas SesZenda.

srul iad kavkasiis masStabi T aj anyebis ganxorciel ebiS SemTxvevaSi, dokumentebis avtorTa mtkicebiT, xel mZRvanel i samxedro centri Tbil isSi unda ganTavsebul iyo misi strukturis ageba Semdegnairad iyo gaTval i swinebul i: 1)centris ZiriTadi dasayrdeni baza, Zvel i gvardiis organizaciebi da samxedro Zal ebi iqneboda; 2)organizaciis xel mZRva-

nel is funqciás mTavari Stabi Seasrul ebda, romel ic Sesabamis mi Ti Tebebs pol i tikuri centridan mi i Rebda; 3)aj anyebis mowyoba da xel mZRvanel oba mTavar Stabs daeval eboda, roml is Semadgenl obaSi pol i tikuri moRvaweebi da samxedro special istebi Sevi dodhen; 4)aRni Snul i organi zaci is Stabebi, im momentSi mTel i saqar Tvel os teritoriazə_ yovel mazraSi unda yofil iyo ganTavsebul i dokumentebSi motanil i statistikuri monacemebiT, centris daqvemdebarebaSi 20 aTasamde kaci iyo navaraudebi, romel Tagan 16 aTasi SeiaraRebul i iqneboda.

samxedro centris mier **'OKA-s** (kavkasiis sagangebo armia) Semadgenl obaSi Segzavnili adamianebisgan mi Rebul i informaciis safuzvel ze, dokumentebis Semdgenl ebi saTvis cnobil i iyo: 1)ra raodenobis Zal ebi da SesaZl ebl obebi gaañnda sabWoTa ruseTs saqar Tvel oSi da 2)mtrisadmi dasapi-rispirebl ad ra Zal ebi sagoyvana dasWirddeboda samxedro centrs. 1922 wl is martis monacemebiT, kavkasiis oTxive respublikaSi **'OKA-s** saj ariso Senaer Tebi, Ziri Tadar komunistebsa da wi Tel armiel ebs warmoadgenda. misi raodenoba 40 aTas kacss Sedgenda da Ziri Tadi birTvi (22 aTasi) saqar Tvel oSi iyo disl ocirebul i da Stabis xel mZRvanel obac Tbili isSi imyofeboda rc Seexeba aRni Snul i samxedro Senaer Tebis kavkasiis masStabiT oTxive respublikaSi raodenobrivad gadanawl ebas, sabWoTa ruseTi sadmi mosal odnel i safr Txeebis gaTval i swinebas emyreboda. (**lx. cxrII l # 1;**

rusul i saj ariso Senaer Tebis kavkasiis masStabiT ganl aqebis, punqtebisa da ricxobri vi raodenobis dazustebis Semaj amebel i anal izis Semdeg, dokumentebSi principul adaa dasmul i saki Txii: 1)momaval i SeiaraRebul i aj anyebi saTvis ramdenad momzadebul i iyo somxeTi, azerbaijani da daRestani; 2)Ti Toeul respublika yavda Tu ara sakmarisi raodenobis sando da maRal kval ificiuri oficerib. am mxriv, rogorc dokumentebsi a aRni Snul i, i sin umZimes mdgomareobaSi imyofebodnen. rac Seexeba saqar Tvel os, im etapze 3000-ze meti profesional i da saimedo oficeri yavda. aqedan gamoddinare, mezobel i respublikaebi sadmi dasaxmirebl ad 500 oficeris gagzavnas varaudobden. imave dokumentebSi oTxive respublika is samxedro potenciuri SesaZl ebl obebia dzustebul i da xazgasmi Taa mi Ti Tebul i, rom amierkavkasiis regionSi

disl ocirebul i 40 aTasi rusul i samxedro SenaerTi saTvis, im etapze 65 aTasi kavkasiel i meamboxis dapi rispireba iyo Sesazl ebel i gansakuTrebul i aqcenti am SemTxvevaSi saqarTveoza gakeTebul i, radgan 1922 wl is 1 ivnisi s monacemebiT, `OKA~-s wi naaRmdeg saqarTvel os 22 aTasi, xol o kavkasiis oTxive respubl ikas 55000 aj anyebul is gamoyvana Seezl o (**Ix. cxrili # 2**; dokumentebis Semdgeln eblis mier aRmosavl eT da dasavl eT saqarTvel oSi aj anyebaSi monawil eTa savaraudio raodenobis is statistikuri monacemebi, romel ic Cems mier Sedgeni l # 3- e cxril Sia motanil i, okupanti qveyni sadmi qarTvel i j ariskacebis, oficrebi sa da mosaxl eobi s damoki-debul ebazea dafuznebul i. am fonze, mterze gamarj vebis umni Svnel ovanes pi robad, aj anyebul Ta erTdrooul ad moqmedeba da si swrafea dasaxel ebul i. gegmi T gaTval i swinebul i moTxovnebis maqsimal urad dacvis Sedegad, saqarTvel os monobis uRel i unda gadaegdo da mezobel i respubl ikebis sadmi drooul i daxmareba gaewia. dauyovnebl iv Caeketa mexadi risa da dar ubandis `Wi Skari`.

dasaxul i amocanis warmatebi T Sesasrul ebl ad, aj anyebis momzadebisa da misi ganxorciel eblis gemga, dokumentebi **Sam ZiriTad** nawil adaa dayofil i: 1)aj anyebis **wi naswari samzadisi**; 2)TviT aj anyeba da 3)aj anyebis gamarj vebis meore dRe_ Semdegi etapi.

1)wi naswari samzadisi: dokumentebis mi xedvi T, aj anyebis wi naswar samzadiss eqvemdebareboda: 1)oTxive respubl ikis (saqarTvel o, somxeTi, azerbaijan, daRestani) Zal eblis mobilizaci a, sabrZol o mzadyofnaSi moyvana da maT Soris mtkice kavSi ri s damyareba; 2)ramdeni me gamocdil i da maRal i donis organi zaciul i RonisZiebebis gatarebis Sesazl ebl obebis mqone pi rovnebi sgan (viwro wrisgan) mtkice xel mZRvanel i Stabebis Seqmna da kavkasiis aj anyebis Zafebis maT xel Si Tavmoyna; 3)aj anyebis xel mZRvanel i mTavari Stabis TbilisiSi ganTavseba; 4)aj anyebi sadmi farTo da masStaburi xasiaTiS misacemad, azerbaijanSi, somxeTSi, mTaSi (daRestani), yubanSi da soWi s okrugSi Stabebis mosawyobad saimedo warmomadgeni eblis samuSaod wi naswar gagzava; 5)TiToeul i ol qisa da raionis Stabebis mier, adgil obri vi specifiki sadmi mor gebuli i aj anyebis gegmi s Sedgena, centrTan misi SeTanxmeba da moqmedebis erTdrooul ad dawyebis uzrunvel yofa; 6)crdi l o

kavkasi aSi aj anyebis droul ad verdawyebis SemTxvevaSi, pi rvel rigSi im strategiul i gzebis gafuWeba (rostovi s rki nizis xi dis afeTqeba) unda moexdi naT, romel sac moskovi, kavkasi i s aj anyebul. Ta sawi naaRmdegod, rusul i Sei ararRebul i Zal ebi s gadasayvanad gamoi yenebda.

es dokumentebi, aj anyebi s mTel i samzadisi s 4- 5 TveSi damTavrebas i Tval i swi nebda. dasaxul i mi zni s misaRwevd, yvel a saxeobi s SesaZi ebi obebi maqsimal urad unda yofili yo gamoyenebul i da moul odnel i dartymi T, qveyana dampyrobli ebi sagan gaenTavi sufl ebinat. Tu saSemodgomod es samzadisi ver movaTaveT- vki Txul obT dokumentSi, aj anyebi s ukana sknel vadaT unda Cai Tval os momaval i [wl is S.v.] gazafxul i da Tu ver c maSiN movawyveT es aj anyeba, cxadi i qneba, rom misi SeZi eba aRar gvagvs da Cvens sakuTar Zal ebze xel i unda avlRoT, istoriul i inercl i uslccoxl o tal Rebs unda mi vendoT. es i qneboda Cveni sikotris da srul i uzurebis maCvenebi i.-

am amonawer i dan kargad Cans, rom aRniSnul i gegma drois SezRudul monakveTze iyo gaTvl i l i. moqmedebi s dawyebas 1922 wl is gvi ani Semodgomid dan, an maqsimum 1923 wl is adre gazafxul i dan i Tval i swi nebda. dasaxul i mi znis ganxociel ebi s aseT mkacr CarCoSi moqceva, im etapze arsebul saer TaSori so (ganskutTrebi T sabWoTa ruseTi) pol i tikur da ekonomi kur faktorebs emyareboda mosal odnel i Secdomebi sgan dazRvevi s mi zni T, aj anyebi s gegmis Semdgeni ebs safuZvl i nad hqondaT Seswavl i l i da maqsimal urad gaTval i swi nebul i ukraini s aj anyebul. Ta damarcxebi s gamapi robebel i mi zezebi. aqedan gamomdi nare, gasatarebel Roniszieb-aTa nuxxaSi, pi rvel i rigi s amocanad iyo Setanil i; 1)samxedro operaciis dawyebande, yvel a ni uansi s gaTval i swi nebi T moexdi naT Tbil i sis Seswavl a da daedginaT mtris Zal ebi s ganl ageba; 2)aj anyebis xel mZRvanel i centris daval ebi s maRal doneze Semsrul ebel i samxedro dargi s profesional i xel mZRvanel ebi, Tbil i sis samxedro rai onebSi da ubnebSi, dasaxul i gegmis dawyebande ramdenime dRiT adre unda daeni-SnaT; 3)konspiraciis dacvis mi zni T, 200 -mde gadacmul i mt-kice mebrZol i, sacxovrebel i rai onebisi mixedvi T unda SeeyvanaT Tbil i sSi, romel sac 400- mde adgil obrivi meamboxe SeuerTdeboda; 4)am 600 kaciani razmis wevrebs, Tbil i sSi

myofi ramdenime aTasi mebrZol is SekavSireba, maTdami sa-TaveSi Cadgoma da brZol is xel mZRvanel oba eval eboda.

2)aj anyeba: rac Seexeba aj anyebis xel mZRvanel ebs da damwyeb organi zatorebs, wi naswar unda gaeTval i swi nebl naT Semdegi garemoebibi: 1)Tbil i sis topografiul specifikaSTan er Tad, misi geografiul i mdebareoba da mdi nare mtkvrisgan or na-wil ad gancal keveba. dokumentebSi motanil i fagtobrivi masal is anal izidan gamodinare, ramdenadac gasabWoebul i saqarTvel os mTel i pol itikuri da administraciul i centri mdinari is marj vena mxares iyo ganl agebul i, xol o samxedro yazarmebis da j aris ZiriTadi nawil i marcxena mxares, es faqtori, Tbil iisis centriss xel Si Cagdebis real ur Sesazi e-bl obas qmni da. am operaciis warmatebiT ganxorciel eba, Tbil iisis marcxena napiris bedsac gadawayetda; 2)Tbil iisis aReba erTi xel is dakvriT unda momxdariyo. dauyovnebl iv gane-xorciel ebinat strategiul i mniSven obis punqtebis (saxko-msabWos, cekas, 'Ceka-- s, 'OKA--s Stabebis) dakeveba da maTi xel mZRvanel ebsi daptimreba. paral el urad daekavebinat fosta-tel egrafis, tel efonis sadguris, rkinigzis sadguris gameobi da radios Senobebi. gaenTavi sufl ebinat cixis patimrebi. imavdroul ad daptatronebodenj j avSni an avtomobili ebsa da j avSni an matarebl ebs. im SemTxevaSi, Tuki romel imej avSnosani is damorcil eba SeuZl ebel i gaxdeboda, igi dauyovnebl iv unda aefetqebinaT. dokumentebSi motanil i statistikuri monacemebis mi xedviT, am operaciis dawyebis momentSi, aj anyebul Ta da mtris Zal Ta raodenoba Ti Tqmisi Tanabari iyo (**lx. cxrII I # 3**); 3)aj anyeba RamiT unda dawyebul iyo da wi naswari gegmis Sesabamis sad, zemoaRni Snul punqtebTan er Tad, xel mZRvanel i Stabis mi Ti Tebi T. aj anyebul ebs Tbil iisis (qal aqis) garSemo arsebul i strategiul i mniSven obis simaRI eebis droul ad dakaveba unda ganexorciel ebin (**lx. cxrII I # 4**); 4)aj anyebul Tbil iss, gaTenebisas qal aqis gareubnis 2000 kaciani aj anyebul Ta razmi daexmar eboda. rac Seexeba aj anyebul Ta 450 kacian rezervs, yazarmebSi myof bol SevikTa rceul Zal ebze mouI odnel i Tavdsxmi T, maTi srul i ganiaraReba qonda daval ebul i; 5)Tbil iisis paral el urad (imave Rames) aj anyeba unda dawyebul iyo quTa-iSi, baTumSi, soxumiSi da sxva qal aqebSi. saqarTvel oSi aj anyebis damTavreba 4-5 dReSi iyo navaraudevi. gamarj vebis

SemTxvevaSi, mezobel i respublikebis aj anyebul ebs saqarTvel o garkveul daxmarebas gauwevda; 6)aj anyebis centraluri Stabis miTiTebiT, imave dResve Tu ara, meore dResaj anyebibi unda dawyebul iyo er evanSi, baqoSi da Crdil oeT kavkasiSi. maT ZiriTad amocanas Seadgenda: **a)`CKBO--s (rostovSi arsebul i Crdil oeT kavkasi is samxedro ol qis Stabi**) wevrTa dapati mreba; b)strategi ul i mniSvnel obis obieqtebis xel Si Cagdeba da g)adgil obrivi garnizonebis Tvis amier kavkasi is mimarTul ebiT gadaadgil ebis maqsimal urad SezRudvis mcdel oba. rogorc dokumentebSi a miTiTebul i, aj anyebis cecxl i unda danTebul iyo- **rostovi_yizi_ari_baqo_ l engorani_ erezani_ baTumi_ soCa** sivrcesi da mTavar i RerZis funqcia saqrTvel os-Tbil iss Seesrul ebina. **(ix ruka # 1)** amasTan dakaySi rebiT imave dokumentebSi vkiTxul obT: `kavkasi is gammaTavisufI ebel i moZraobi s mizani unda i yos aj anyebis cecxl is danTeba rostovi dan l engoranamde da yi zl ari dan vi dre baTumamde. magram mTavar i ReRZi da Zal Ta moZraobi s unda i qnes amier kavkasia saqrTvel os meTaurobiT. yvel aze umj obesi da sasurvel ia er TbaSad moxdes **`CKBO--s** srul i gani arAReba da damorciI eba. magram Tu es erTi dakvriT ar moxerxda, pi rvel xanebSi sakmarisi iqneba, Crdil oeT kavkasi is sxvadasxva kuTxeebSi moxdes iseTi cal ke aj anyebibi, roml ebic adgil obrivi mtris Zal ebis dezorgani zacias gamoi wveven da maTi daZvra amier kavkasi is wi naaRmdeg SeuZl ebel i iqneba da ise daaziani eben ruseTi dan momaval strategi ul gzebs, romj arebis gadmoyvanas metad gaaZnel eben. aseT pi robedSi, amier kavkasia SeiZl eba gaxdes im TavSesafrad, sadac Tavs moi yris da moRonier deba antibol Sevikuri mebrZol i Zal a, romel ic Semdeg aqturad da exmaraeba meamboxe Crdil oeT kavkasi as da sabol ood masac ganadevni nebs okupantebs.-

am vrcel i amonaweri dan kar gad Cans, rom dokumentebis Semdgeni ebi, dampyrobI ebi sgan saqrTvel os ganTavisufI ebi saki TxS gani xil avnden ara viwro karCaketil i formiT, aramed arsebul i probl emis warmatebiT gadaWris SesaZl ebl obas, srul iad kavkasi is (Crdil o da samxreTi kavkasia) respublikebis erTobl ivi Zal ebis koordinirebul moqmedebaSi xedavchen. mi Tumetes, gamarj vebis SemTxvevaSi, mopovebul i warmatebis SenarCuneba gansakuTrebul sirTul eebTan

i qneboda dakavSi rebul i. es uaRresad mni Svnel ovani faqtori, zemoaRni Snul i dokumentebis Semdgenel i avtorebis mier safuzvl i anadaa gaTval i swinebul i. amis utyuar dadasturebas i mave dokumentebis erT- erTi queTavi_ `aj anyebis gamarj vebis meore dRe- warmoadgens.

3)aj anyebis gamarj vebis meore dRe: dokumentebis Semdgeni ebi s samarTl iani mtki cebi T, yvel aze rTul i momenti gamarj vebis meore dRidan, mopovebul i warmatebis SesanarCunebl ad dai wyeboda. mi Tumetes, ruseTi damarcxebas ar Seuri gdeboda da meamboxe respubl ikebi s wi naaRmdeg sadamsj el o Roni sZiebas ganaxor ciel ebda. am faqtoris maqsimal urad gaTval i swinebi dan gamomdi nare, aj anyebis dawyebis konkretul drod, Semodgoma da gazafxul ia dasaxel ebul i. im momenti saTv s upi ratesoba gvi an Semodgomas aqvs mi ni Webul i da igi Semdegi argumentebi Taa dasabuTebul i: 1)Sua seqtembridan kavkasi oni s uRel texi l ebi Tovl i T i fareba da gzebis bunebrivi Caketva, mtris Semotevis Semaferxebel i barieri gaxcleboda. ukidures SemTxvevaSi mowi naaRmdegis gadaadgi- l ebas maqsimal urad SezRudavda; 2)gvian Semodgomaze mdi nare vol ga iyi neba da samxedro amunici i s gadazi dvis mTel i simzime mxol od ruseTis rkini gzas daaweboda; 3)Semodgomil dan ruseTis rkini gzebi sazamTro monaragebis gadazi dvebi T i yo dakevbul i da samxedro eSel onebi s gadaadgi l ebi s procesebis dawyeba, urTierT xel SemSi el da droSi di dad Semaferxebel faqtora d gada qceoda; 4)Semodgomis meore naxevridan saqar Tvel osi gl exobas mosaval i dabi navebul i aqvs, xal xi ufro Tavisufal ia da mtris wi naaRmdeg sabrZo- l vel ad meti SemarTebi T gamovi doda.

yovel i ve zemoaRni Snul i s gaTval i swinebi dan gamomdi nare, aj anyebul regi onebze ruseTi mouI odnel dar tymas ver ganaxor ciel ebda. es upi ratesoba aj anyebis xel mZRvanel ebs maqsimal urad unda gamoyenебиna da aj anyebul Ta rigebis raodenobi vad gazrdil i kontingenti iaraRiT uzrunvel eyo. gamarj vebis SemTxvevaSi, aj anyebis gegmis avtorTa monacemebi T, mtris j ariskacebis gani ararRebi T da samxedro sawyobebis daufl ebi T, aj anyebul ebs iaraRis saxi T darCeboda: 60 aTasi Tofi, 100 zarbazani, 500 tyvi amfrqvevi, 12 j avSnosani avtomobil i, 5 j avSnosani matarebel i, 20 milioni vazna. am raodenobi s iaraRiT, saqar Tvel os 40 aTasamde mebrZol i s

uzrunvel yofa SeeZI o.

aRni Snul i dokumentebis mi xedvi T, aj anyebi s xel mZRvanel centrs, gamarj vebis pirvel i ve dRidanve unda moexdina aj anyebul ebi sadmi mxardamWer i wi Tel i j aris daçqarebul i tempiT gaorkeeba, misi raodenobis 40 batal ionamde (Ti To-eul Si 750 kaci) gazar da qar Tul i Sei araraRebul i Zal ebi s raodenobrivid 30 aTas mebrZol ande ayana. am mi marTul ebi T qmedi Ti nabij i s gadadgma, sabWoTa ruseTi dan ganmeorebi Ti dartymis garduval obiT iyo ganpi robebul i dasaxul i amo-canis warmatebi T gadasawyvetad, rogorc dokumentebis a mi Ti Tebul i, saqar Tvel os Sesabamisi potencial i gaçnda. mxedvel obaSi maqvs: 1)maRal kval ificiuri donis 3 aTasze meti oficeri; 2)sami aTasze meti artil eristi; 3)2500 kaval eristi; 4)3000 metyi amfrqeve; 5)j avSniani matarebl ebi s avtomobil ebi s specifikis 500-ze meti mcodne. yovel i ve zemoTqmul i dan gamomdi nare, dasmul i probl emi s mogvareba or kviraSi unda damTavrebul iyo da ruseTi dan amierkavkasi-aSi Semosasvi el i yvel a gzi s dauyovnebl i vi gamagreba momxdariyo. (**ix. cxrili # 5**) am pirvel adi Tavdacvi Ti samuSaos Catarebi s Semdeg, erT TveSi amierkavkasi as 100 aTasze meti meomris dayeneba SeeZI o TofqveS. mi si iaraRiT uzrunvel yofa, sabWoTuri samxedro sawyobebi dan ganxorciel deboda. rac Seexeba axal i mobil izaci iT mTel i kavkasi s masStabi T jarSi gawveul Ta raodenobas, 200 aTas kacamde iyo navraudevi. axal weul Ta Sei araraReba mxol od dasavl eT evropis saxel mwi foTa daxmarebi T unda momxdariyo. xazgasni T Sei-ZI eba i Tqvash, rom orive dokumenti, yovel gvari il uziebisganaa dazRveul i da pragmatul i xedvi T gansaazRvrav s evropis saxel mwi foTa SesaZI o daxmarebi s gamapi robebel Ziri Tad faqtorebs. mxedvel obaSi maqvs is konkretul i mi-Ti Tebebi, romel ic pirdapir mi an Snejeda, Tu ra SemTxvevaSi SeeZI o evropas, kavkasi s respubli kebi sadmi daxmarebi s msxverpl is- gaReba, am saki TxTan dakavSi rebi T dokumentSi garkevi Taa naTqvami, rom evropa daxmarebi s nabij s mxol od ma-Sin gadadgamda Tuki: 1)kavkasi s respubli kebis 100 aTasi aj anyebul i, sabWoTa ruseTi s ganaxl ebul ieriSS 2- 3 Tvis ganmavl obaSi gaumkl avdeboda da aj anyebul Ta mxridan gamarj vebis perspektivas Seqmida; 2)kavkasi s bunebrivi wi-aRiseul i simdidris ruseTi s xel i dan gamogl ej i s da mi sadmi

dapatronebis SesaZI ebl obebi real obad daesaxebeda.

dasavI eT evropis saxel mwi foebi sadmi mi saRebi wi napi robi s Seqmnis Ziri Tad safexurad, dokumentebi s Semdgenl ebs, aj a-nyebis dawyebis pirvel i etapi danve `CKBO-s` da `OKA-s` Sei ararRebul i Zal ebi s safuZvi i ani gani araraReba mi aCnda. Tuki am amocanas warmatebi T gadawayet dnen, ami er kavkasi i s Sei-ararRebul i Zal ebi s dasapi ri spi rebl ad, sabWoTa ruseTs, Cr-di l o kavkasi aSi 200 aTasi j ariskacis Tavmoyna dasWi rdebo-da. am mi zni s ganxorciel ebas (mTel i Tavisi mowyobil obi T da sursaTi) ruseTi or Tveze adre ver SeZI ebda. ami s Se-saxeb imave dokumentebi vki Txul obT: es aris srul iad real uri da Seuryevel i angariSi... maSasadame, aj anyebul i kavkasi i sru l gankargul ebaSi Ti Tqmisi ori Tve iqneba da am xni s gammal obaSi, man unda SeZI os axial i Zal ebi s darazma, maTi mowesrigeba, Sei ararReba da gamokveba, yovel i ve es moxdeba ucxoeTi sasual ebi T... ucxoeTi, romel ic dRes aseTi si fr-Txi l iT da uxal isod gvel aparakeba,... mas ar sj era Cveni Zal a da momaval i.igi mxurval ed da erTgul ad dagvexmaraeba Tuki sakutari teritoriebi gavanTavisufi eT da uamravi simdi dris baton patroni gavxdi T. es Cven mtki ced unda SevignoT da mavne II uzlebs droze davaRwi oT Tavi. Cven unda gavigoT, rom avansad, laraRs da ful s aravin mogvems. ami sTv i saWi roa faqturi batonoba sakutari teritoriaze. roca kavkasi i s didi nawil i Cvens gankargul ebaSi iqneba, roca baqos, groznoS, WiaturiS, tyvarcel i s da mal kopis saxel iT II aparakebs ara krasini, aramed ganTavisufi ebul i kavkasia, Cven advil ad vi SoviT ful s da ful i sasual ebi T saWi ro laraRs da mowyobil obas.-

Cems mier motanil am vrcel amonawerSi kargadaa danaxul i s real uri gzebi, romel ic kavkasi i s bunebrivi simdi dris evropis saxel mwi foTa dainteresebas ganapi robebeda. evropas i Zul ebul s gaxdida, Tavisufi ebi saTvis mebrZol i kavkasis xal xebisaTvis ful iT, iaraRiT da sursaTi T real uri daxmar eba aRmoeCina. xol o maTi mxridan gaRebul i `msxve-rpl i s- sanacvl od, i s bunebrivi wi aRiseul i simdidre mieRo, roml i Tac evropa `si Rari bes- gani cdi da.

i Zul ebi dan gamomdinare, sabWoTa ruseTi sgan Seqmnis i zemoaRni Snul i orTvi ani Sual edi, kavkasi i s respubl i kebs (saqa-rTvel o, somxeTi, azerbaijani, daRestni) 200 aTasi ani j aris

formi rebisaTvis unda gamoeyenebi na. am i SesaZl ebl obas kavkasi i xal xebis fizikuri potencial i iZl eoda. dasaxul i amocani s warmatebi T gadawyvetis SemTxvevaSi, Zal. Ta bal ansi gawonasworebul i (200 aTasi - 200 aTasis wi naaRmdeg) i qneboda. es faqtori, ruseTs iZul ebil s gaxdida aj anyebul i da ganTavisufl ebul i kavkasis xel axl a dasaprobod 300- 350 aTasiani jari Seekriba. am mi marTul ebi T nabi j i s gadadgma moskovis mxridan axal i omi Tvis mzadeba i qneboda, romel ic damatebi T xarj ebs da cocxal i Zal i s mobil i zaci as moi Txovda. im SemTxvevaSi Tuki es faqtori amoqmeddeboda, moskovi iZul ebul i gaxdeboda, kavkasi s respubl i kebTan komproni sze wasul iyo. amasTan dakavSi rebi T dokumentebis Semdgenl ebi xazgasni T mi uTi Tebdnen: `ityian, rom ruseTi veras gzi T ver daTmobs kavkasis da kerZoT baqoso. nebi T rasavirvel ia ar daTmobs, magram Zal ii T man daTmo revel i, riga, besarabia da vi adivastoki! Cvenc am Zal as unda daveyrdnoT da Tu Zal a gveqna bol Sevi kebi did daTmobaze wamovl en.- swored am `daTmobi s- saki TxTan mimarTebaSi unda Seesrul ebina dasavl eT evropis saxel mwifoebs arbitris rol i.

yovel i ve zemoTmul is gaTval i swi nebi dan gamondinare, rogorc zemoTac mqonda mi Ti Tebul i, dokumentebis Semdgenl ebi, aj anyebi s Tvis saWi ro mosamzadebel i samuSaoebi s 4-5 TveSi damTavrebas, mTel i kavkasi s da gansakuTrebi T amierkavkasi s (daRestani s CaTvl iT) brZol i sunariani mosaxl eobis droul ad fezxe dayenebis aucil ebl obas moi Txovdnen. `dRei dan es unda iyo Cveni mi zani da aqeT unda mi vmar ToT yvel a Cveni Zal ebi. wi naaRmdeg SemTxvevaSi- vkl Txul obT dokumentSi- Cveni saqme an wagebul la, an dldi xnl T dasarebul ad unda CaTval os. Tu am naxavar wel i wadSi ver SevZel iT CvenSi bol Sevi zmls i ikvi dacla, SemdegSi es saqme TandaTan gaZnel deba. bol Sevi zml TandaTan marj vnl v dal wevs da dldi daTmobis wyal obiT Sesari gebel kompromiss gamonaxavs burJuazlul evropasTan. ruseTTan mori gebul evropas, TandaTan mi avi wydeba kavkasi ac da saqar Tvel I oc. am i tom... dayovneba Cven ar gvargebi.

dasaxul i amocni s warmatebi T gadawyvetis #1 probl emad, dokumentebis Semdgenl ebs finansuri saki Txis mogvareba mi aCnda. maTive mtki cebi T, samxedro centri im etapze uki-duresad mZime finansur krizi ss gani cdi da. `saqar Tvel oSi

mebrZol ma amxanagebma- vki Txul obT dokumentebSi - muSaobi s Sesafebni adagze dasayenebl ad da mezobl ebTan mtkice kavSiris gasabmel ad, TveSi 68 aTasi Turqul i qaRal dis lira mogvTxoves. Cven kargad viciT, rom am Tanxis Sovna Cen ar Segvi ZI ia, amasTanave i sic kargad viciT, rom am muSaobi saTvis TveSi ara nakl eb 20 aTasi lira aris saWiro. Cven arc es ful i gvaqvs, da swored im dros, roca gaZl ierebul i da gadidebul i muSaobaa saWiro, Cven uful obis gamo iZul ebul i varT, ki dev ufro SevamciroT da SevboWoT Cveni muSaoba. es ki mTel i dawyebul i saqmisi CaSi as udris.- aRniSnul is gaTval i swi nebi dan gamomdinare, dokumentebis Semdgeni ebi kategorioi i formiT ayenebdnen sakiTxs: **‘Cven unda gavxeTqoT miwa da ramdenime millioni franki aucil ebl ad unda vi SovoT!‘**

Cems mier motanili i amonawerebi dan kargad Cans, rom aj anyebis zemoaRni Snul i gegmis mi xedvi T Sesabami si samuSaos ga grZel eba da dawyebul i saqmisi bol onde mi yvana, ful iS SovnassTan da finansuri krisisis daZl evasTan iyo dakavSi rebul i. Tuki qarTul i emi gracia am uaRresad mni Svnel ovan probl emas moxsnida, aj anyebis samxedro centri dasaxul i mi zni sken svl as warmatebiT gaagrZel ebda. es imas ni Snavda, rom aj anyebis Tvis saWiro yvel a safexuris srul yofil ad momzadebis SemTxvevaSi, msi dawyeba ori mni Svnel ovani faqtoriaTvis unda daekavSi rebi naT. mxedvel obaSi maqvs: 1)saqarTvel os sasargebl od xel sayrel i saerTaSoriso situaciis Seqmna da 2)ruseTis Sinauri mdgomareobis maqsimal urad garTul eba. aRniSnul i xel Semwyobi procesebis arSeqmnis SemTxvevaSi, i ave dokumentis Semqnnel ebi gamafrTxil ebel i formiT mi uTi Tebdnen: ‘Tu saerTaSoriso urTierToba Cvens wi naaRmdeg moewyo da imavdroul ad bol Sevi kebi TviT ruseTSi ganmtki cdnen, cxadia, ami erkavkasi i s aj anyeba mi utevebel avanturad Cai Tvl eba:- 3)samxedro komisiis wi naSe, vj uRel i s mier 1923 wl i s 15 Teberval s parizSi gakeTebul i moxsenebi Tirkveva, rom anti sabWouri i gamosvl ebis zemoaRni Snul i gegma Zal aSi rCebi da. masSi mxol od, 1923 wl i s ianvris monacemebi Tirkveva: okas- daqvemdebarebaSi arsebul i rusul i samxedro Senaertebis raodenoba iyo dazustebul i.

amrigad, Cems mier motanili i faqtobrivi masal is anal izi dan gamomdinare i rkveva: 1)saqarTvel osi Seqmni i

mZime pol i tikiuri da ekonomikuri situaciis fonze, qarTvel i xal xis erovnul i Tavisufi ebi saken swrafvis aRmavil o-bis procesi, warmodgenil dokumentebSi maqsimal uradaa gaTval i swinebul i; 2) dasavl eT evropasa da ruseTs Soris mimdinare ekonomikuri daaxi oebis ganmapirobel i faktorebis siRmi seul i anal izis fonze, saqarTvel os ganTavisufi ebi s mSvi dobiani gza (evropis mxridan SeiaraRebul i ZI IT daxmareba, muSaTa saerTaSoriso International is Zal isxmeva da kreml is dacema) uperspektivod da II uziadaa miCneul i; 3)srul i ad kavkasiis masStabi T SeiaraRebul i aj anyebi sacmi prioritetis mi cema da am saqmeSi saqarTvel osadmi xel mZRvanel is funciis dakisreba, dokumentebis Semdgenel Ta mxridan damaj erebel i argumentebi Taa warmodgenil i, konkretil adaa mi TiTebul i aj anyebi s mosamzadebel i safexurebis da misi srul ad ganxorciel ebi-saTvis saWiro Roni sZlebi s Sesaxebs; 4)aj anyebi s gamarj vebis SemTxvevaSi, sabWoTa ruseTis morigi agresi isagan damcavil meqani zmis is saSual ebebi, romi ebi c dokumentebSi a warmodgenil i, im periodis (pol i tikiuri, samxedro strategiul i, finansuri, kavkasiis respublikebis erTobi ivi moqmedebi s potenciuri SesaZI ebl obebi da a.S.) moTxovnebs srul ad pasuxobda. es dokumentebi, SelaraRebul i aj anyebi s momzadebisa da misi ganxorciel ebi s mokl evadjan (1922 wl is gvi anl Semodgoma_ 1923 wl is adre gazafxul i) srul fasovan gegmad unda Sefasdes. ml Tumetes, dasaxul i mi znis misaRwevad gasatarebel i Roni sZlebebi s yvel a ni uansi, maqsimal uradaa gaTval i swinebul i.

cxrlli # 1

kavkasis respubl IkebSi disl ocirebul i `OKA-- s
 (kavkasis sagangebo armia) Semadgenl oba da SelaraReba
 (1922 wl is martis monacemebi T).

| jaris Se madgenl o bis dasax el xel eba | jar iska cTa rao den- oba | iaraRi dasaxel ebaA | iaraR is ra aoden oba | agedan saqar Tvel oSi iyo | jaris Semadge nl bis dasaxe l eba | jar iska kac Ta rao den- oba | iara Ri s dasa xel eba | iara Ri s dasa xel eba |
|--|--|---------------------------|--------------------------------|--------------------------------------|---|--|---------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| 1.komunist uri Sema- dgenl oba | 3330 | tyvi amf r qvi | 534 | komuni sturi Semadge nl oba | 2100 | tyvi amf r qvevi | 274 | |
| 2.wi Tel ar miel ebi | 36630 | zar baza ni | 104 | wi Tel a rmiel e bi | 20339 | zarbaz ani | 64 | |
| sul | 39960 | | | sul | 22439 | | | |
| sul | 400 00 | | | sul | 220 00 | | | |

| `OKA-- s samxedro nawil eblis disl okaciis adgil ebi | | `OKA-- s samxedro nawil eblis wevrTa raodenoba | |
|---|--|--|--|
| 1. sqarTvel o | | | |
| a)Tbilisi | | 9000 | |
| b)baTumi | | 4000 | |
| g)quTaisi | | 3000 | |
| d)I ore | | 3000 | |
| e)sxva adgil ebi | | 3000 | |
| 2. azerbaijanl | | 8000 | |
| 3. daRestani | | 6000 | |
| 4. somxeTi | | 4000 | |
| sul | | 40000 | |

cxrili # 2

| | | |
|--|---|--------------------------|
| ‘OKA-- s SelaraRebul i Zal eblis wi naaRmdeg mebrZol i kavkasis respubl Ikeblis samxedro potencial i (1922 wl is 1 lvnisis monacemeblT) | | |
| respubl Ikebl | j aris Semadgeni - oba | J ariskacTa raodenoba |
| 1.saqarTvel o | qarTul i wiTel i I aSqari | 5000 |
| | mil icia da sxva razmebi | 3000 |
| | sakuTari farul i samxedro organizacia | 14000 |
| | sul | 22000 |
| 2.azerbalj anl | wiTel i I aSqari da adgil obrivi razm- ebi | 5000 |
| | sakuTari Zal ebi pi- rvel i dazaxebiSta- nave | 8000 |
| | sul | 13000 |
| | somxeTi somxeTi wiTel i I aSqari | 6000 |
| 3.somxeTi | farul i samxedro organizacia | 10000 |
| | sul | 16000 |
| 4.mTa (daResta- nl) | sakuTari pirvel i dakvris Zal ebi | 4000 |
| | sul | 55000 |
| ‘OKA-- s 40000 J ariskacs daupi rispiredeboda kavkasis respubl Ikeblis 55000 aj anyebul i | | |

cxIII | # 3

| rusl okupantebis wi naaRmdeg mebrZol I saqarTvel os saldu-ml o samxedro organi zaci s mxardanWerI Zal Ta raodenoba (1922 wl is 1 i vni si s monacemebi) | | | |
|---|--------------------------|------------------------------------|--------------------------|
| dasavI eT saqarTvel o | | aRmosavI eT saqarTvel o | |
| qal aqebi, mazrebi da regionebi | j ariskacTa raodenoba | qal aqebi, mazrebi da regionebi | j ariskacTa raodenoba |
| 1. soxumi s ol qi | 1000 | 1. xaSuris rai oni | 500 |
| 2. zugdi dis mazra | 700 | 2. axal ci xi s mazra | 400 |
| 3. senakis mazra | 800 | 3. axal qal aqis mazra | 300 |
| 4. foTi | 400 | 4. goris mazra | 1000 |
| 5. baTumi | 400 | 5. mangl i sis rai oni | 300 |
| 6. guria | 1800 | 6. borCal os mazra | 400 |
| 7. samtredia | 1000 | 7. duSeTi s rai oni | 800 |
| 8. quTasi | 700 | 8. yazbegi s rai oni | 400 |
| 9. I eCxumi | 500 | 9. TianeTi s mazra | 300 |
| 10. rawa | 300 | 10. Tbili sis gareu- bani | 2000 |
| 11. svaneTi | 1500 | 11. gare kaxeti | 1000 |
| 12. Sorapnis mazra | 1600 | 12. Tel avis mazra | 800 |
| | | 13. si RnaRi s mazra | 1000 |
| sul | 10700 | sul | 9200 |
| ori ve regionSi dimatebi T 2-3 aTasi qarTul I jari da 3-4 aTasi qarTul I mi l icia Segrovdeba erTianobaSi aj anyebul Ta raodenoba 22000 iqneba. | | | |

mebrZol I saqarTvel os Zal Ta Semadgeni oba Tbili IsSi (1922 wl is 1 i vni si s monacemebi T)

sawyl si etapi saTvis aj anyebul ebs SeeZi o gamoeyvana:

| j aris saxeoba | aj anyebul Ta raodenoba | mtris raodenoba |
|---|-------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| 1. farul i samxedro organi zaci a | 1500 | 4000 aqturad momqmedi j ariskaci |
| 2. qarTul i i aSqa- ri | 1500 | |
| 3. rkini gzi s da qa- l aqis mi l icia | 1000 | |
| 4. sul | 4000 | |
| mtris pi rvel i da- rtymi saTvis | 3000 | |

cxrili # 4

| | |
|--|--|
| aj anyebul Ta mler Tbilisis ar- ebisa da pirvel i dartymisat- vis saWiro Zal Ta ganawil eblis gegma (1922 wl is seqtemberi) dasakavebel i strateglul i simaRI eebisa da obleqtebis dasaxel eba | |
| 1.ZmaTa sasaf-lao | dasakavebel i obieqt-eblis mixedviT, aj anyebul Ta SelaraRebul i Zal eblis raododenobrivad gadanawil eba |
| 2.maxaTa da ferdobi | 1000 |
| 3.botanikuri baRi | |
| 4.mamadavi Ti da mTawminda | |
| sxvadasxva mimar Tul eba | 2000 |
| 1.saxal xo komisiariati, ceka, kavbiuro, `OKA-- s Stabi, `Ceka- | 150 |
| 2.cixis ganTa-visufl eba | 100 |
| 3.fosta, tel e-grafii, tel efonii da radio | 100 |
| 4.j avSniani matarebl ebi, j avSniani avtomobil ebi, tankebi | 200 |
| sul | 3550 |
| aj anyebul Ta rezervi | 450 kaci daniSnul e-bisamebr iqneboda gamoyenebul i gaTenebisas Tbiliss, qal aqis gareubnidan 2000 aj anyebul i gauwevda daxmarebas. |

| |
|--------------|
| aj anye |
| daxmar |
| Ti...) S |
| gamoey |
| respub |
| dasaxe |
| 1.saqar |
| 2.somxe |
| 3.azert |
| 4.mTa. (ani) |
| sul |

cxrII I # 5

| | | | |
|--|----------------------------------|--|------------------------------------|
| aj anyebis gamarj vebis da evropis saxel mwifoto daxmarebis (finansebi, laraRI, amuni cia, sursati...) SemTxvevaSi, kavkasi i s 4 respubl i kas SeeZI o gamoevana (1922 wl i s ivnisi s monacemebiT): | | | |
| respubl i keblis dasaxel eba | coxcal i Zal i s raodenoba | strategiul i mni Svnel obis punqtebis gamagreba | coxcal i Zal i s ganawil eba |
| 1.saqar Tvel o | 120000 | dasaxel eba | coxcal i Zal i s raodenoba |
| 2.somxeTi | 60000 | 1.darubandi s | 50000 |
| 3.azerbalj ani | 30000 | Wi Skaris da | |
| 4.mTa. (daRest-ani) | 10000 | daRestanis dacva | |
| sul | 220000 | 2.Savi zRvis sanapir os gamagreba | 20000 |
| | | 3.darial i s xeobis Caket-va | 10000 |
| | | 4.mamisonis uRel texi- l i s Caketva | 5000 |
| | | 5.Crdil oeTis sxva gadasas- vl el ebis Ca- ketva | 10000 |
| | | 6.samxreTis sazRvaris dacva | 30000 |
| | | sul | 125000 |
| | | rezervSi darCeboda da saWi roebi sa- mebr i qnebo- da gamoyene- bul i | 55000 |

\$. 2. 1924 wl is SeiaraRebul i aj anyebis samxedro gegmis gacemis dazustebi saTvis

saqar Tvel os okupaciis Semdeg dawyebul i erovnul - ganmaTavisufI ebel i moZraobis istoriis Sesaxeb daweril samecniero da publ icisturi xasiaTis SromebSi dawvriI ebi Taa arWeril i 1922_1924 wl ebi monakeTSi SeiaraRebul i aj anyebis mzadebis mimiдинare procesebis da `samxedro centr-i-s gacemis faqti. magram, gamokveTil i formiT araa mocul i:
1)aj anyebis dasawayebad gadawyetiI ebis mi Rebis dros, `damko-mi sa- da `samxedro centr-i-s warmomadgenel Ta mier gaTval i- swinebul i iqna Tu ara sazRvar gareT momzadebul i da qarTve- l i samxedro special istebisgan mowonebul i aj anyebis samxe-dro gegmaSi mocemul i yvel a moTxovna; 2)pol i tikuri parti-ebis mxridan, arsebobda Tu ara piradi ambi ciebisa da part- iul i interesebi sadmi aj anyebis daqvemdebar ebiS mcdel oba;
3)SeiaraRebul i aj anyebis ori gegmidan (1. vj uRel i -al zaqariaZe; 2. r.musxel iSvil i), romel i maTgani iqna gacemul i da es qmedeba, romel i pol i tikuri partiis warmomadgenel Ta interesebSi Sedioda.

arada aRni Snul i saki Txebis srul fasovnad arwarmoCena, ama Tu im pol i tikuri mimiдинareobisa da TviT pol i tikur moRvaweTa mier gaweul qmedebasTan mi mar TebaSi, obiecturi Sefasebebi s gakeTebiS SeuZl ebl obas qmisi. am saki TxiT Cemi mxridan gansakuTrebui i daintereseba harvardisa da I evi- l is saarqivo fondebis safuZvi iani Seswavl is Sedegad mikvl eul ma masal ebma ganapiroba. meore mxriv, yuradRebis centrSi vj uRel i sa da al zaqariaZiS avtorobiT SeqmnIl aj anyebis samxedro gegmaSi dasmul i ZiriTadl debul ebebi moeqca, romel ic safuzvl ad da saxel mZRvanel od unda da-deboda SeiaraRebul i aj anyebis samzadiss. smwuxarod, es procesi pirvel safexurzeve iqna SeCerebul i misi ignorireba mas Semdeg ganaxorciel es, roca am gegmis mxardamWerebi mi zanmi marTul ad iqna pol i tikuri sarbiel idan Camocil ebu- l i. am faqtorebis gauTval i swinebl obis SemTxvevaSi, nebi smi- eri mikvl evari tendenci ur obis tyveobaSi moeqceva da obiecturi Sefasebebi s gakeTebas ver SeZl ebs. am mxriv, gansaku-Trebui pretenzia arc me gamačni a, magram, yvel a saxeobiS

saarqi vo masal is anal izi dan gamomdinare, Sevecdebi erTi uki duresobi dan meoreSi ar aRmovCnde.

CemTvis xel mi sawwdomi saarqi vo masal ebi s mi xedvi Tirkveva, rom `samxedro centri- sasurvel informacijas sabWoTa j arebis general uri Stabidan i Rebda maTTvis cnobi l i yo, rom xel isufl ebisa da mi sadmi qvendebare uSi Sr oebis komi tetis mi zans, unkacresi represiebis gasatareb el sababad, saqarTvel oSi anarqi is gamwavebis gamoyeneba warmoadgenda. aRni Snul is gaTval i swinebi dan gamomdinare, madoneris fsevdonimi T Teimurazi sadmi (n.rami Svil i) gagzavnil daSifrul weril Si gamaf rTxil ebel i formiT iyo mi TiTebul i, rom `samxedro centris- xel mZRvanel obas, gasabWoebul i saqarTvel os xel isufl ebis provokaciebis aRmkveTi RoniszLiebebi droul ad gaetarebina. am pozicijas saqarTvel oSi aral egarul ad moqmedi social - demokratiul i partiis xel mZRvanelli obac i zi arebda. amis udao dadasturebas, saqarTvel os social - demokratiul i partiis cekas prezidiumis mdivnis mier sandros fsevdonimi T parizSi myofi saqarTvel os mTavrobi sadmi gagzavnil i weril i warmoadgens. dasmuli saki-TxTan mi mar TebaSi, am dokumentSi vki Txul obT: `Tqven unda i codeT, rom Cven nabij s ar gadavdgamT Tu amisTvis garkveul i perspektiva ar gvegneba da Tu ar viqenit darwmunebul i gamarj vebaSi. es ki ASesaZI ebel ia maSin, roca ruseTSi da kavkasi aSi gar Tul deba mdgomareoba da imave dros, Tqven Tu mogycemT imas, rasac gTxovT da rac auci l ebel ia maSin. am amonawer i dan kargad Cans, rom saokupacio reJi mis wi naaRmdeg gamosvi as, saqarTvel os social - demokratiul i partiis mesveurebi mxol od im SemTxvevaSi mi i Chevda mi zanSewoni l ad, Tuki: 1)sabWoTa ruseTSi _ gansakuTrebi T kavkasi aSi pol i tiku ri da ekonomi kuri mdgomareoba damZimdeboda; 2)dasavl eT evropaSi saqarTvel osadmi mxardamWer i real uri pirobebi Sei qmneboda; 3)gambarj vebis perspektivaSi darwmunebul ni iqneboden. aseTi pozicii s mi uxedavad, imave weril is avtori, aj anyebi sTvis wi naswar mzadebas auci l ebl obad mi i Chevda Tundac im el ementarul i mizezi dan gamomdinare, rom qveyanaSi mouli odnel ad Seqmili i xel sayrel i si tuacia magzial urad yofil iyo gamoyenebul i. dasaxul i amocanis Sesrul ebisaTvis Sesabamisi safexuris momzadebis Ziri Tad pirobad, dafina nsebis sakiTxis droul i mogvareba iyo mi Cheul i. am Sem-

TxvevaSi gadamwyeti si tyva dasavl eT evropis saxel mwi foobs unda eTqva. Tuki evropis qveynebi okupirebul i saqarTvel os devnili kanonier xel isufl ebas finansur daxmarebas ar aRmoucenda, erovnul - gammaTavi sufl ebel i moZraoba saqarTvel oSi aRmavil obis process Sewyvetda, xol o dasavl eT evropa, nebsiT Tu unebl i eT sabWoTa ruseTis sasargebl o saqmes gaakeTebda. aRniSnul i faqtebi qonda mxedvel obaSi saqarTvel os social - demokratiul i partiis central ur komi tets, roca 1923 wl is mowodebaSi `qarTvel sazogadoebas- saokupacio reJi mis wi naaRmdeg brZol is dawyebi sas windaxedul ebi sa da gonierebi s gmočeni sken rom mouwodebda. `okupantebTan brZol a _ vki Txul obT dokumentSi_ windaxedul i, organizačiul i, pol i tiki, gonierebi Ta da ganTavi sufl ebi s ideal i T unda iyos gaSuqebul i! erideT mtris provokacias, ar wamoegoT mis ankess, ar ayveT gabrazebul gul isTqmas. Čven veb- rZvi T ara pirovnebebs, aramed reJims, ara erT romel imē ja- l aTs, aramed yvel a ja aTebs. maTTan angariSis gasworebis dro mal e dagvi dgeba.~

Cems mier motanil i amonawerebis miedvi T Tuki vijsj el ebT, saqarTvel oSi mogmedi social - demokratiul i partiis I ider-Ta pozicia, aučqarebl obze, mtris wi naaRmdeg brZol i- sTvis safuzvl ianad momzadebaze, saerTaSoriso da ruseTSi Seqmni i xel sayrel i pol i tiki- ekonomikuri situaciis maqsimal urad gaTval i swinebis moTxovnebze iyo gaTvl il i. amis Sesaxeb vj uRel i sa da al .zaqariaZis mier Sedgenil aj anyebi s samxdro gegmaSi dawrıl ebi Taa saubari. garkvevi Taa mi ni Snebul i Tu ra faqteobi SeiZl eba mičneul iyo aj anyebi sTvis xel sayrel ad² im SemTxvevaSi, Tuki antisabWoTa aj anyebi s momzadebaze da saWi roebis SemTxvevaSi Zal ismieri gzi T saokupacio reJi mis uRI is mocil ebaze figri Secdomas warmoagdenga, maSin, Secdomad unda iqnas mičneul i damkomi sa da samxdro centris Seqmisi faqtebi, kritikis sagnad, mxol od social - demokratiis erT- erTi I ideri n xomeriki ki ar unda iqnas mi zanSi amoRebul i, aramed, es kritika yve- l a i pol i tiki Zal is warmoagdgenel Ta mimart (ganurCe- vli ad social uri warmomaval obisa) unda gavrcel des, vinc sabWouri reJi mis damxobas Zal ismieri formebis gamoyenebi T Tvl ida SesaZl ebl ad. samwuxarod, es principi ratomRac xSi rad irRveva da bral debebis mTel i wyeba erT pirovnebaze

gadaaqvT. mxedvel obaSi maqvs n.xomerikis mier sabWoTa xel isufI ebi s sawi naaRmdegod ganxorci el ebul i pragmatu l i xasi aTi s Roni sZiebebi s eqstremistul _ avantiuristul i da erovnul i saSi Sroebi s mi marTul ebad gamocxadebi s faqt³. am Sexedul ebi s gasamyarebl ad, prof. g.ciciSvi l i eyrdnoba n.qar ci vaZi s mier damkomi s erT- erT sxdomaze gakeTebul gancxadebas, roml is Sinaarsi gr.rcxil azis 1924 wl is 21 noembri s CvenebaSia warmodgenil i. `nikol oz qarcivaZem- vki Txul obT gr.rcxil azis CvenebaSi,- erT- erT sxdomaze ganacxada, menSevikTa partiam damaki sra gansaxil vel ad davsa saki Txi, Tu ra xasi aTi eqneba amier idan damouki debl obi s komi tetis muSaobaso. mas mi aCndi, rom saqarTvel os damouki debl obi s mosamzadebl ad da aRsadgenad, gaurkvevel i da ucnob i vadi T muSaoba arafers mogvi tans, rom saWi ro davTqvaT rai me vada, davukavSi roT i gi moxerxebul saerTaSori so vi- Tarebas, am droi saTvis movamzadoT mTel i Zal ebi, rac ki SeiZI eba gvyavdes da am dResve daTqmul dros gavSal oT saqmi anoba. es vada, mi si azritt SeiZI eba ufr o gvi anac dagve- Tqva i ni sda mi xedvi T Tu rogori iqneboda vi Tar eba. magram am vadi s fiqsacia warmatebul i mzadebi s saWi ro wanamZRvr ad ar mi aCndi.⁴

mi uxedavad imisa, rom es Cveneba sapyrobi l eSi da sukis TanamSromel Ta zewol is qveS i wereboda, Zi ri Tadi yuradReba damkomi s momaval saqmianobazea gamaxvil ebul i. imavdroul ad gasdagebada naTqvami: 1)saqarTvel os damouki debl obi s aRsadgenad auci l ebul i iyo wi naswari safuzvl iani samzadisi da Zal Ta maqsimal uri mobil i zacia; 2)mTel i Zal ebi s mza- dyofnaSi moyvana da xel sayrel i saerTaSori so vi Tarebi s Seqmi s Tanave moqmedebla. aRni Snul is gaTval i swinebi dan gamo- mdi nare, anti sabWo ur i Zal ebi s moqmedebi s konkretul i dro dasaxel ebul i ar iyo; 3)aj anyebi s dawyeba, warmatebul i mza- debi T ar unda ganesazRvr aT. konkretul ad ras ni Snavda xel sayrel i si tuaci i s Seqma da Zal Ta maqsimal uri mobil i- zacia, ami s Sesaxe b.vj uReI i sa da al .zaqariaZi s mier SemuSa- vebul aj anyebi s samxedro gegmaSia saubari da masze yura- dRebas ar SevaCereb, avRni Shav mxol od, rom gr.rcxil azis Cvenebi dan Cems mier motanil amonawerSi, avantiuri zmisa da eqstremi zmi s el ementebi ar aris. aqedan gamoddinare, n.xome- rikisadmi wayenebul i umkacresi bral debebis damada-

sturebl ad aRniSnul i dokumenti ar gamodgeba. im SemTxevaSi, Tuki erovnul - ganmaTavi sufl ebel i moZraobisa da Tavisufl ebi s mosapovebl ad brZol i s samzadisi avantiurizmi da eqstremi zmia, maSin, Sors rom ar wavi deT, mTel i XIX saukunis da XX saukunis dasawyisis saqar Tvel os istoria, avantiurizmi Ta da eqstremistul i qmedebebi T yofil a damZimebul i. Sefasebi s aseTi formis gamoyeneba imaze mi gvanis Snebs, rom monobaSi myofma erma, Tavisufl ebi s mosapovebl ad ar unda i brZol os da STamomavl obas, monobi s uRel i xel Seuxebi ad samudamod dautovos, rac Seexeba pi radad nxomeriks, misi Zal isxmeviT gaxda Sesazl ebel i sabWouri represiebis Sedegad (1921- 1922 wl ebi) mi Zinebul i da sul TmobrZavis sarecel ze garTxmul i antisabWouri saqmi anobi s gamoco-cxl eba.

im masal ebi s mixedviT, romel ic l j iqias aqvs motanil i Tavis naSrromSi, aSkaraT i kveTeba aral egarul i muSaobi s is saocari specifiuri da organizaciul i formeibi, romel ic umkacresi konspiraciis dacvis mi zniT nxomerikma Semoi Ro. xazgasmi T minda aRvni Sno, rom mtkece organizaciul i discipli nisa da maRal i pasuxismgebl obis moTxovnebi s damkv-drebiT, man Seszl o im aral egerul i `institutis- amuSaveba, roml is ZiriTad amocanas, mowi naaRmdege mxaris samoqmedo gegmis, mi znebi sa da amocanebi s Sesaxeb dawrili ebi Ti informaciis mopoveba warmoadgenda. muSaobi s am meTodis gamoyenebi T, i gi Seqmnil i situaciis Sesatyvisi pragmatul i gadawayetil ebebi s mi Rebas axer xebda.⁵

aseT formaze daafuZna man antisabWouri konspiraciul i muSaoba gasabWoebul saqar Tvel oSi. amis udao dadasturebas nki rTaZis mier suki s argivebi dan motanil i masal ebi warroadgens. aRniSnul saki TxTan mi mar TebaSi, am dokumeentebSi gamokvetil i formi Taa mi Ti Tebul i, rom nxomerikis saqar Tvel oSi Camosvl an (1922 wl is noemberi) `gamoARviZa da kvl avac sabrZol od ganawyo indiferentul i ganwyobiT mocupl i partiul - pol i tikuri cxovreba. isev amoZravda paritetul i struktura_damkomi, romel Tanac swored nxomerikis iniciativiT aqturad amuSavda a xl ad reorganizebul i `samxedro komisia... xomeriki Ti Tqmis erTpironvnul i wi namZrol i Seiqma qarTul pol i tikur wrebsi axal i saaj anyebo ganwyobi l ebi sa da mzadebi s saqmi anobaSi. i gi Ti Tqmis damo-

uki debi ad... i yenebda yvel afers; bell davda da aqveynebda, rac undoda. kavSi rebs amyarebda mazrebTan, sofI ebTan; damkomi c Ti Tqmisi sakuTar aparata d gai xada. Tvi Ton menSevi kuri partiis saorganizaci o saqmianobasac ganagebda erTp rovnu l ad.⁶

am vrcel i amonawer i dan aSkarad i kveTeba n.xomerikis organi zatorisa da praqtikosis saxe. romel mac 1922 wl is represiebis Sedegad, rogorc zemoTac mqonda aRni Snul i, Ti-Tqmisi dambl adacemul mdgomareobaSi myofi erovnul i moZraoba gamoacocxl a, ri Tac antisabWouri saqmianoba saqarTvel oSi axal safexurze aiyvana. misi Zal isxmeviT, antisabWoTa kavkasiuri frontis Sesaqmnel ad, aRdgenil i iqna urTi erToba Crdil o kavkasiisa da azerbaijani erovnul - gammaTavisufl ebel i moZraobi l iderебTan. aRni Snul i faqtebis si swores, n.kir TaZlsa da I j iqas samecniero monografiebSi motani i dokumenturi masal ebi c adasturebs.

rac Seexeba damkomi s `sakut ar aparata d- gadaqcevas, misi es qmedeba, damkomi wevreibis adnobl obiT, sasi cocxl o mni Svnel obis gasatarebel i RonisZiebebis maqsimal urad gasadiuml oebis motivaci iT unda yofil iyo ganpi robebul i. n.xomerikis mxridan aseTi `gadamebul i- si frTxil is daWeris mizanSewoni l oba Semdegi periodis ganvi Tarebul ma movl ebebmac daadastura, roml is Sesaxebac qvemoT meqneba saubari.

yovel i ve zemoaRni Snul i dan gamodinare, aSkarad i kveTeba, rom Cavardnil i aral egarul i saqmianobis fexze wamosayennebi ad saWiRo RonisZiebebis gatarebis da safexurebrivad Semdgom etapze gazRoi is mZime tvirTis tarebis Tavis Tavze aRebiT, nebsiT Tu unebl ieT, n.xomeriki l ideris funqci is ampl uaSi aRmoCnda. es srul ebi Tac ar ni Snavs, rom n.xomerikis samxedro diqtatoroba da avantiurizmi amoZravebda, an`eqstremistebis avantiuristul mi swrafabebs asazrdoebda, rogorc amas prof. gciciSvil i wers.⁷ samwuxar od, i gi daewlebis gareSe mxol od im pol i tikuri partiis warmomadgenl ebi s daki Txvis Cvenebabs eyrdnoba, roml ebi c n.xomerikis pirovnebas Tavi danve odi ozurad aRi qvamden. Tumca, aseTi sababis Seqmnas n.xomeriki maqsimal urad gaurboda. mxedvel obaSi a misaRebi, `samxedro komisi aSi- mj avaxi Svil is `marj vena xe- l ad- misgan gamoxadebi s faqti. aseTi ndobi s official urad

aRiar ebris mi uxedavad, erovnul - demokratebis garkeul i nawi lisaTvis n.xomerikis pirovneba mi uRebel i darca ori garemoebis gamo: 1) n.xomerikis mxridan umkacresi konspiraciis clamvi drebis formi T aral egarul i saqmanobis gaqtitureba, social - demokratiul i partiis warsul is gamocdil ebas emyar eboda. am mmarTul ebiT gaweul i muSaoba, pol itikuri situacis Sesatyvisi pragmatul i gadawyetil ebebis mi Rebas, xSirad individual urad iTval i swinebda. es faqtori, n.xomerikis, rogorc pol itikuri figuris avtoritetis safurebrivid amarI ebashxvad. misi aseTi nabij i mj avaxiSvil isTvisac mi uRebel i unda yofil iyo. mi Tumetes, rogorc prof. g.ciciSvil i wers, mj avaxiSvil i `erovnul - demokratebis ck da kerZod misi prezidiumis yvel aze Wkviani da dinj i pol itikosi - iyo.⁸ Tuki es faqti simarTl es Seesabameba, erovnul - demokratiul i partiis I iderebs udi desi pol itikuri Secdoma dauSviaT, `yvel aze Wkviani da dinj i pol itikosi - mj avaxiSvil i, Tavis droze erovnul i sabWos (1917 wl is noemberi) wevrobisa da damfiZhebel i krebis kandidatasiis (1919 wl is 29 ianvari) aTeul Si romar daasaxel es. misi pol itikuri niWiereba, saqarTvel os pirvel i respubliki s saxel mwi foebribi mSenebl obas romar moaxmires. mj avaxiSvil is aqtiuri pol itikuri saqmanoba, 1918 wl is 26 mai sidan 1921 wl is 25 Tebervl amde, 1028 dRis ganmavli obaSi, dokumenturi masal iT ar dasturdeba. aqtiur pol itikur sarbiel ze misi gamoCena, saqarTvel os gasabWoebis Semdeg safexur Tanaa dakaVSirebul i 2)n.xomeriki social - demokrati iyo da erovnul - ganmaTavisufi ebel moZraobaSi misi yovel i warmatebul i nabij i, erovnul - demokratiul i partiis avtoriteti Crdil avda. am garemoebas, aRniSnul i pol itikuri partiis zogierTi I ideri i `mZimed- aRiqvamda.

rac Seexeba dasavl eT evropis saxel mwi foebis gan saqarTvel osadmi daxmarebis SesaZl ebl obas, ami s Sesaxeb n.xomerikma paritetul i komitetis sxdomaze waki Txul moxsenebaSi garkvevi T Tqva: `Tu SevZel iT saqarTvel os aj anyeba da erTi ori Tvec gavZel iT, maSin aris imedi dasavl eT evropis saxel mwi foTa mxridan dipl omatiuri Carevis da ful iT daxmarebisa.⁹ xazgasmi T unda iTqvas, rom n.xomerikis es gancxadeba, v.j uRel isa da al .zaqariaZis xel mZRvanel obiT SemuSavebul i da parizis pol itikuri komisiis (samxedro

special istebTad erTad) mowonebul i aj anyebis samxedro gegmis erT- erTi debul ebaTagania, romel ic n.xomerikma si-tyvasi tyvi T galmeora parizis pol i tikiuri komisiis sxdombebis saoqmo Canawer ebi s miedvi T, mauzeris sistemis 1000 reovervel is Sesi dva pol oneTSi iyo gaTval i swinebul i. am informaciaze dayrchnobi T, 1923 wl is 24 Teberval s markis fsevdoni mi T sagarTvel os emigraciu l i mTavr obi sadmi gagzavnii weil Si vki Txul obT: 'Tu ..pol onel ebi sgan i ararisi dapi reba Sesr ul deba, maSin aucil ebl ad unda davkr aT.¹⁰ i mave pol i tikiuri komisiis momdevno sxdombebis stenografiul i angariSebis mixedvi T, Ti Tqmis gadawyvetil i saki Txis bol onde miyvana SeuZl ebel i gaxda pol oneTSi garTul ebul i pol i tikiuri procesebis gamo. Tuki am faqtebs gavi Tval i swinebT, prof. g.ciciSvil is gancxadeba: 'Cven ki vxedavT, rom n.xomerikma amj eradac icruba-' simarTl es ar Seesabameba radgan, n.xomeriki, pol oneTis xel isufi ebi s maRal CinosanTa mxri dan gacemul dapi rebas emyar eboda. samwuxaroa, roca k.misabl i-Svil isa da mj avaxiSvil is qomagobis fonze, n.xomerikis pol i tikiuri figuris damcrobis mcdel obiT, i gi iseTi fonis Seqmnas cdil obs, rom `samxedro centris- gacemisa da 1924 wl is aj anyebis damarcxebis ganmapirobel i mizezebi I amis n.xomeriks gadaabral os.

im saarqivo masal ebi s mixedvi T, romel ic Cems mier iqna mopovebul i, social - demokratiul i partiis l iderebis mxri dan saokupacio rejimi s wi naaRmdeg sabrZol vel ad Sesabami si bazis safuZvl i an i monzadebis aucil ebl obaze mi uTi-Tebis. Am mxri v gansakuTrebul yuradRebas n.rami Svil is mier 1923 wl is 22 agvistos sagarTvel os social - demokratiul i partiis cekasadmi gagzavnii i weril i iqcevs, am dokumentebSi gansakuTrebul i yuradReba taqtikur saki Txebzea gadatanili i da xazgasmi Taa mi Ti Tebul i_ evropisa da ruseTis pol i tikiur- ekonomikuri mdgomareobis gaTval i swinebis aucil ebl oba am fonze, n.rami Svil i sagarTvel os social - demokratiul i partiis cekas wevrebs principul i formi T mimarTavda: 'arc aqareba arc dagvianebe, aseTi unda iyos Cveni l ozungi. aqareba ganadgurebas gvinzadebs, rogorc avantiuristul i gamosvl a. **saki Txis dadebi Tad gadasaWrel ad sami pl robaa saWiro: 1)umTavresla qarTvel i xal xis unarl.** Igi sakmaod gatyda, gansakuTrebit pol i tikiuri organiza-

ciebis Zvel i wvrebni. xel sayrel i momentis Seqmni sTanave, qarTvel i eris amoZraveba aucil ebel i pirobaa; 2)meore pirobaa_saqarTvel os gancal kevebi T gamosvl a ar SeuZl ia. aucil ebel i a ruseTs mTel i kavkasi daupiri spindes; 3)mesame pirobaa_ evropis daxmareba, ful iT, iaraRiT. es Cveni kategoriu i daskvnaa- anal ogluri saxi s gamafRTxil ebel i da saprogramo miTi Tebaa l mave n.rami Svil is 1924 wl i svnilsisa da lvi lsi s weril ebSi, romi ebic saqarTvel os social - demokratiul i partiis cekasa da damkomi sadmi iqna gagzavni i. am dikumentebSi xazgasmi Taa mi Ti Tebul i, rom saakupacio reJimi s wi naaRmdeg brZol is dawyeba Semdegi faqtorebisTvis daekavSi rebinaT: 1)sagarTvel oSi antisabWouri gamosvl ebi, ruseTSi masobrivi ukmayofil ebis aRmavl o- bis moments unda damTxvoda; 2)am gamosvl ebSi qarTvel i eris yvel a aqturi Zal is CarTvis uzrunvel yofa momxdariyo; 3)antisabWouri gamosvl ebisTvis iseTi momenti SeerCiaT, roca Tbil iSi qarTvel oba srul yofil ad iqneboda Tavmoyril i; 4)sagarTvel oSi mxovreb somxebSi Sesabamisi muSaoba CaetarebinaT, raTa gamosvl ebis dros, maTi mxridan neitral i teti yofil iyo dacul i; 5)azerbaj anisa da antisabWourad amoZravbul i kavkasisi gamo, osmal eTi neitral i tets dai cavda, am faqtorebis gaTval i swinebidi gamondinare, qarTvel oficrebs azerbaij anel oficrebTan moqmedebis saerTo gegmis SesamuSavebl ad mol aparakeba dauyovnebl iv unda daewyoT. aRni Snul saki TxebTan mimar TebaSi, ert- ert Semaj amebel weril Si i give n.rami Svil i xazgasmi T werda: `am **faqtebs** unda mi vaqci oT Cveni yuradReba da maT garSemo wavar moomT agi tacia. ruseTSi SInaur cxovrebaSi usaTuod eqneba adgil i garTul ebebs da am movl enebs Cven mzaT da organizebul i sImagrit unda davxvdeT. Cveni muSaoba kavkasi s masStabiT unda xdebodes, amaze i aparaki aRar aris sawi ro da am s Sesaxeb araeRTxel momiwerla.-

Cems mier motanil i faqtebi imis utyuvar dadasturebas war moadgens, rom social - demokratiul i partiis erT- erTi i ideri da saqarTvel os devnil i mTavrobis wetri n.rami Svil i, sabWouri okupaci s wi naaRmdeg brZol as, safuZvl iani momzadebis, ruseTSi mimdinare pol i tikuri procesebis maqsimal urad gaTval i swinebis da xel sayrel i momentisadmi dal o-debis taqtikuri kursi s aRebas moi Txovda. meore mxriv, sru-

I iad kavkasi s dapyrobi l i xal xebis qarTvel Ta mxardamxar brZol a da gaerTianebul i Zal ebi T sabWoTa ruseTi sadmi dapi ri spireba, mas gamarj vebis erT- erT pirobad mi aCnda. wi naaRmdeg SemTxevaSi, mar to qarTvel ebi s gamosvl as, ga- rduval damarcxebas uwi naswarmetyvel ebda. **es i dea, ki dev ufro vrcel i da dasabuTebul i formi Taa warmodgeni l i imave nrami Svi l is mier abesal omi sadmi gagzavn i saprogramo weril Si. Igi gamafrTxil ebel i formiT kategoriu l ad svamda sakiTx s, sisxl isgan dacl li i qarTvel i eris fizikuri msxverpl i umi znod Sewirvi s dauSvebl obis Se- saxe b.**

Tuki yovel i ve zemoTqmul s, vj uRel i sa da al .zaqariazis mier SemuSavebul i aj anyebis samxedro gegmis ZiriTad debul ebebTan SevadarebT, misi identuroba aSkarad warmoCnde ba. es imas ni Snavs, rom nrami Svi l, saqarTvel oSi i atakqeSeTSi moqmedi pol i tikiuri Zal ebi sa da organi zaci ebi s xel mZRvane- l obas, am gegmis maqsimal urad dacvis moTxovnebs uyenebda. wi naaRmdeg SemTxevaSi, nebi smieri nabij i mas danaSaul ebriv qmedebad mi aCnda. aqedan gamomdinare, social - demokratiul i partiis aqtiani wevris noe xomeriks aral egarul i saqmianoba, im saprogramo kursis Semadgenel i nawil i s praqtilkul ad real izaciis mcdel obas war moadgenda, romel ic zemoaRni- Snul i gegmi T iyo gaTval i swinebul i. meore mxriv, yovel gvari rekl amisa da xmauris gareSe, am gegmis ZiriTadi debul ebebi mas maqsimal urad unda daecva, radgan amis aucil ebl oba, parizis pol i tikiuri komisiis sxdomam daaval a nxomeriks da imave sxdomis dadgeni l ebi T iqna i gi saqarTvel oSi gamogzavn i.

rac Seexeba SeiaraRebul i gamosvl i sadmi damoki debul ebas, amas Tan mimarTebaSi damkoms gamokveTil i pozicia eWira. mxedvel obaSi maqvs 1924 wl i s marti, roca damkomis kursi SeiaraRebul i aj anyebis aucil ebl obisken iyo mimarTul i. amis Sesani Snav dadasturebas devnil obaSi myofi saqarTve- l os mTavr obi sadmi damkoms Tavnj domaris kandroni kaSvi- l i s mier saqarTvel odan gagzavn i weril i war moadgens. igi stambol Si 1924 wl i s 2 april s iqna mi Rebul i. am dokumenti s mi xedvi T Tuki vi msj el ebT, kandronikaSvi l i mtki- cebi T: 1)im periodis saerTaSori so vi Tareba, saqarTvel os erovnul - ganmaTavi sufl ebel i moZraobi s sasargebl od iyo

marTul i; 2)saqarTvel oSi da ruseTSi Seqnnil i xel sayrel i momentis argamoyeneba `udi desi danaSaul i iqneboda erisa da istoriis wi naSe;- 3)saqmisi dasawyebad, 25- 30 aTasi I i-ras saqarTvel oSi dauyovnebl iv gagzavna aucil ebul obas wrmoadgenda. am `mtki cebul ebebis- fonze, igi devnil obaSi myof xel isufi ebas sayedur obda: `damkomi gamoTqvams Tavis gakvi rvebas, rom mTavrobas aseTi momentis aTvis ar qonebia momaragebul i gansakuTrebul i Tanxa- marTal ia, es sayeduri savsebi T samarTI i ani iyo, magram i sic gasaTval i swinebel ia, rom evr opis qweynebis maRal Cinosnebis mxridan, saqarTvel os xel isufi ebi sadmi finansuri daxmarebis saqarTvel os pirvel i respubliki droindet i val ebis gadaxdis gacemul i piroba, ingl isis mTavrobisgan Seusru ebel i darCa. am faqtorma gansazRvra saqarTvel os damkomisadmi ful is droul ad miwodebis SeuZl ebl oba.

marTal ia, saqarTvel os damkoms aj anyebis kursi qonda aRebul i, magram am mimarTul ebiT aqcarebul i nabij is gadadgmas, rogorc zemoTac mqonda mi Ti Tebul i, social - demokratiul i partiis erT- erTi I ideri nramiSvi l i sastikad ewi naaRmdegeboda. mi uxedadav amisa, abesal omis (fsevdonimia) saxel ze gagzavnii weril Si, bol Sevikebi s dacemis momentis maqsimal urad gamoyenebas da saxel isufi ebo Zal aufl ebis dapatronebas igi aucil ebl obad miiCnevda. aseTi sarisko nabij is gadasadgmel ad, garkeul i dozi T Sesabamisi samzadisis Catarebas saval debul od Tvl i da, dasaxul i mi znis mi Rwevis erT- erT pirlobad, qarTvel oficriebasTan saiduml o kavSiris damyarebas mi iCnevda. amasTan dakavSi rebi T i have dokumentSi vki Txul obT: "Cveni mi zania arsebul i qarTul i I aSqr is gadaqceva damouki debel i demokratiul i respubli i-kis mTavar berketad da mi T Cveni brZol is gaadvil eba. saWi ro iqneba dauyovnebl iv I aSqr is xel mZRvanel Ta gawmenda mobol Seviko da faSistur- reaqcionuri el ementebi sagan. unda veridoT gvardiis msgavsi razmebis Seqmnas. piriqi T, Tavi danve SevecadoT yvel a moxal iseTa razmi I aSqr Si CavricxoT da sastik disciplinas davumorcil oT, rom gadaltrial ebi sas qeyni s baton- patroni demokratia Sei qnes da ara faSisturi reaqcionul i el ementebi...aqedanve unda moavaxdinot moxal iseTa Cum iArixcva. amisTvis srul i adac aris saWi ro maTi Tav moyra da mTel i nebarTvis mi Reba,

aramed var audi T movaxdinoT zedmeti saxel is wodebi T Cveni momxreebis sai dumI o aRicxva. es gansakuTrebi T saWi roa Tbil isSi, sadac unda viyol ioT sakmao Zal a im SemTxve-vi saTvis.~ am amonaweris mixedvi T, gamokveTil ad moCans n.rami-Svil is damoki debul eba im Roni sZi ebebi s gatarebasTan mi marTebaSi, romel ic saokupacio reJimi s wi naaRmdeg mi marTul samzadisTan unda yofil iyo dakavSi rebul i. more mxriv, dasaxul i mi znis mi Rwevi s umni Snel ovanes pirobad konspiraciul i muSaobis maRal doneze dayeneba aucil ebl obadaa mi Cneul i. rac Seexeba bol SevikebTan mol aparakebas, imave n.ramiSvil is kategoriul i moTxovni T, igi mxol od erT saki TxTan_ saokupacio j aris saqarTvel odan gayvanis pirobebi s Sesaxeb SeiZI eboda Semdgariyo.

dasavl eT evropaSi mimidinare pol itikuri procesebis swrafad cval ebabobi dan gamomdinare, dasavl eTi sazogadoebri-pol itikuri azris warmomadgenl ebTan permanentul i saqmi ani urTi erToba da maTi saqarTvel oTi daintereuba aucil ebl obas warmoadgenda, am mi zni T, muSaobis iseTi formis gamoZebna iyo saWi ro, romel ic saqarTvel osTan mimar TebaSi amomuravi informaciis srul ad Tavmoyras da maRal doneze gadamuSavebul i saxiT dasavl eTi sazogadoebi sadmi mi wodebi s SesaZI ebl obas Seqmida, am mi zni T, saqarTvel oSi aral egarul ad moqmed partiebsa da organi zaciebs, parizSi myofi saqarTvel os mTavr obis warmomadgenl ebTan mudmi vi weril obiTi sainformacio kontaqti unda qonoda. konkretul ad Tu ra saki Txebi T SeiZI eboda dasavl eT evropis pol itikuri wreebis daintereuba da maTi mxridan saqarTvel osdmi sarsgebl o mxardamWeri poziciis oficial urad dafiqsireba, amis Sesaxeb dawrili ebiTaa saubari n.ramiSvil is mier saqarTvel oSi gamogzavnI weril Si, romel ic dasaTaurebul ia: `abesal omis sayuradReboT.~ am dokumentis mixedvi T, saqarTvel odan gagzavnI informacias, centris monacemebTan erTad, provinciebic unda moecva da gansakuTrebul i yurdReba Semdeg Zi riTad saki Txebz yofil iyo gadatani I i:
1) plrvel yovl lsa represla da terori: vinaa datusaRebul i, sad da ra mi zni T. vinaa gasaxl ebul i_ ra mizeziT da sad imyofeba. CekaSi wamebul Ta vi Tareba, ra saxisaad wameba da ra mizeziT aris gamowveul i. cnoba unda iyo swori da dawrili ebi Ti;
2) muSaTa mdgomareoba: ramden saaTs amuSaveben,

ramdenia xel fasi, xel fass aZl even Tu ara dani Snul droSi, ra sanovagis yidva SeuZl ia muSas am xel fasi T, SeadareT exl andel i xel fasi mefis droindel xel fasTan; **3)gl exobis mdgomareoba:** A)ra Rirs gl exis nawarmi (matyl i, abreSumi, puri, simindi, bambi, Rvino, Txil i da sxva) exl a ra Rinda omis win. ras Seizens axl andel i xel fasi T gl exi; b)pirvel i saWi roebis saganTa fasebi: tansacmel i, fexsacmel i da sxva. ra Rirs exl a da ra Rinda omis win; **4)gadasaxadl:** ra saxisa gadasaxadebi. raodenoba mefis dros da bol Sevikebis reJimi s periodSi. ngoror xdeba gadasaxadebi s akrefa. arTmeven Tu ara gl exs WurWel s, Sinaur oTxfexs da sxva; **5)skol a:** ras aswavl ian. codnis done exl a, mefis dros da saqarTvel os damouki debel respublikaSi. rogoria maswawl ebel Ta kadri da maTi momzadeba. ras warmoadgens-Zl ierdeba Tu ara pionerebi, komsomol ebi da maTi organizaciebi; **6)ekl esi i s mdgomareoba:** grZel deba Tu ara ekl esi i msaxurTa devna, mRvdel mTavarTa dapati mreba_ gadasaxl eba (maTi vi naoba). ramdeni ekl esia dangreul i. xel s uSl ian Tu ara mRvdel msaxurebas. warmoebs Tu ara a morwmuneebze dacinva. devnian Tu ara somexTa da musl imanTa ekl esia. meCeTebi s msaxurT. am saganze cnoba rom mi vi RoT saWi roa sakaTal ikoso sabWo-Tan gavabaT kavSi ri.

i qoni eT saxeSi is garemoeba, rom ingl isSi Cveni el Cis sasual ebi T dakavSi rebul i varT pi rdiapir kenterberis arqi-epi skoposTan, xol o romSi papTan gvyav s gansakuTrebui i warmomadgenel i (ingil o) ivanicki... sakaTal ikoso sabWom unda mogvawodos yovel gvari cnobebi rac ekl esias exeba. evropasi amas metad didi mni Svnel oba aqvs.⁻¹²

es vrcel i amonaweri srul ad asaxavs emigraci aSi myofi saqarTvel os xel isufi ebi s warmomadgenel Ta mier ideol o-ogiur frontze Cafiqrebul i saqmi anobis Ziri Tad mimarTu-1 ebas. Znel ia mis Tqma Tu ramdenad axer xebda zemoaRni Snul saki TxebTan mimar TebaSi srul fasovani informaci i s mi wodebas saqarTvel oSi aral egarul ad moqmeli pol i tikuri organizaciebi. erTi ram dabej i Tebi T Sei Zl eba i Tqvas, rom Cems mier mikvl eul i masal ebi s mixedvi T Tuki vi msj el ebT, saqarTvel os emigraci u i mTavrobi s wevr Ta saxel ze gagzavn i weri l ebsa da moxsenebebSi garkeul i dozi Taa warmodgeni l i zemoaRni Snul saki TxebTan mimar TebaSi mopovebul i informa-

ciul i xasiaTis masal a. marTal ia, am mi marTul ebi T muSaobis Catareba garkveul finansebTan iyo dakavSi rebul i, magram, umZimesi ekonomi kuri siduxWiris miuxedavad, arsebul i siZne- l eebis daZl eva ZiriTadad enTuziaznis bazaze xdeboda. aqedan gamoddinare, Cems mier zemoT dasaxel ebul dokumentebSi motanil i faqtebi, qveyanaSi midi nare umZimesi procesebis amomwuravad asaxvis pretenzias ar acxadebda. mi ux- davad ami sa, masze dayrdnobi T, saqarTvel os emi graciul i mTavroba Rirseul ad umkl avdeboda sabWoTa propagandistul Semotevebs. es masal ebi dResac umni Svnel ovanes wyaros warroadgens 20- 30- iani wl ebi s gasabWoebul i saqarTvel os obieqturi suraTis aRsadgenad.

rac Seexeba SeiaraRebul i aj anyebi sTvis mzadebas, pi rvel etapze, sabWoTa xel isufI ebi s Sesabami s uwyebas, garkveul i informacia gaaCnda damkomisa da samxedro centris aral e- garul saqmi anobasTan mi mar TebaSi. maTi mi znebi sa da amoca- nebis srul ad gamosamJRavnebl ad, saqarTvel oSi mTel i datvi- rTvi T amoqmedda j er ki dev 1921 wl is 26 Teberval s Seqnnil i saqarTvel os sagangebo komisiis Semadgeni oba. mi sma muSaobam gansakuTrebul i warmatebul i sake mas Semdeg mi Ro, roca am komisiis Tavmj domaris moadgil ed (1922 wl is miwurul i) I.beria dai ni Sna. dokumenturi masal iT dadasturebul ia, rom am komisiis saqmianobis erT- erT safexurs, aral ega- rul ad moqmedi pol itikuri partiebisa da damkomis Semadge- ni obaSi uSi Sroebis TanamSroml ebi s Segzavna warroadgenda. mi zani ara marti informaciis mopovebaSi, aramed provokaci- ebi s mowyobi sadmi xel SewyobaSi, ama Tu im organi zaci i srul ad gamomJRavnebaSi mdgomareobda. sabWoTa specsamsa- xurebis mxri dan mosal odnel i garTul eebis Sesaxeb, soci- al - demokratiul i partiis I iderTa garkveul i nawil i saqmis kursSi iyo da partiis xel mZRvanel obas droul ad afrTxil ebda. amis dadasturebas, 1924 wl is 10 seqtembrit daTariRebul i kgvarj al azis weril i warroadgens. CemTvis saintereso saki TxTan mimar TebaSi am dokumentSi vki Txu- l obT: `roca CvenSi xSiri daWerebi dai wyo, aman Zl ier da- maeWva, rom provokaciis qsel Si ar vyofil i yavi T gabmuli ni. Cems 18 da 30 ivnisis, 17 da 31 ivl isis, 6 da 13 agvistos weri- l ebSi am provokaciis saSi Sroebaze mi vuTi Tebdi Cvenebs. erT am weril Si imasac ki vwerdi, rom Cemi rwmeniT bol Sevi-

kebma i cian mTel i Tqveni asaval - dasaval i da ucdian moxerxebul dros, rom mTel i Cveni organi zaci a daangri on Tqo. ami tom ufrTxil di T da erTnairi reorganizaci a moaxdin eT rogorc Cveni partiul i organi zaci ebi s damoki debul ebaSi samxedro organi zaciebTan Tqo, wverdi maT. Cems Si Ss ami s Sesaxeb orive noes wverdi.- es gafrTxil eba, garkveul informacias emyreboda. meore mxriv, aral egarul ad moqmed partiul organi zaciebSi aSkarad Seini Sneboda uSiSroebs mier Segzavnili pirebis aqturi moqmedeba, romel Ta Ziri Tad mi zans organi zaci i s wevTa provociri eba warmoadgenda. am faqtan dakavSirebi T imave kqvarj al azis weril Si vki Txuli obT: `metad da far Tod gaidga provokaciam fexi Cvens organi zaciebSi da maT irgvli v bol o xanebSi. masiuri Wera daiwyo. yel as al baT provokaci i s saSiSroeba moel oda.. sul advil i Sesazi ebel ia provokaci ul i mizni Tac aqezebdnien Cvens organi zaciebSi SeWril i gamyi dvel ebi s gamosvilebs.⁻¹³ uSiSroebs mxridan ja SuSTA qsel i s gaaqtuirebaze da provokaci ebze roca vsaurbobT, yuradRebis mi Rma ar unda davtoT yvel aze mni Svnel ovani faqtori. mxedvel obaSi maqvs saqar Tvel o_ stambol i_ parizi s damakavSi rebel i gza_ awaris regioni. saarqi vo masal ebi T dasturdeba, rom sagar Tvel odan evropis mimarTul ebi T gagzavnili i weril obiT informacia, kuriers awaris regioni s gavl iT osmal eTSi unda gaetana da amis Semdeg xdeboda Sesazi ebel i misi stambol Si Catana. stambol i s pol i tikuri komisia pirdapir parizi ukavSirdeoba. Tuki im garemoebasac gavi Tval i swinebT, rom osmal eTi sabWoTa ruseTi s megobar saxel mwi fod aRiqmебeda da mis teritoriazee sabWoTa ruseTi s dazverva aqturad moqmedeba, am faqtorebi dan gamondi nare, saqar Tvel odan an parizi dan nebi smieri informaciis `gaJoni s- di di al baToba arsebobda. gamori cxul i araa, rom sabWoTa uSiSroebs warmonadgen ebi s mxridan awaris mosaxl eobaze gansaku-Trebul i zewol a da maTTvis jaSuSobis funqciis Sesru i ebi s daval ebi s micema, am faqtori T rom yofil iyo ganpi robebul i. am saki TxTan dakavSirebi T, stambol idan giorgis fsevdonim i T parizi s gagzavnili weril Si vki Txuli obT: `baTumi s mosazRvre sofi ebi s mcxovrebl ebi baTumSi dai bares da sastik gancxadebaze moawerines xel i. yel as jaSuSoba daaval es da Tanac daxvreti T daemuqrnen.- im saarqi vo

masal ebi s mixedvi T, romel ic Cems mier iqna mopovebul i da sabWoTa uSi Sroebis mxridan pol i tikuri Zal ebi s mosyi dvi s mcdel obas exeba, gansakuTreb ul yuradRebas n.rami Svil is mier abesal omisadmi saqarTvel oSi gagzavni l i saprogramo weril i iqcevs. am dokumentis mixedvi T, erovnul - demokratiul i partiis mTel i rigi wevrebi sabWoTa uSi Sr oebas Tan dakavSi rebul pir ovnebebadaa gamoxcadebul i. am faqts igi imdenad aniWebs gansakuTreb ul mni Svnel obas, ramdenadac saer TaSoriso arenaze sabWoTa ruseTi s sawi naaRmdego bl okis Sekvis procesi warmatebul ad mi mdi nareobda. aRni Snul Tan dakavSi rebit, imave weril Si vki Txul obiT: 'ruseTi savsebi T gariyul ia. antirusul i bl okis mowyoba Cqari tempi T mimi dina reobs. ingl isi ar moisvenebs sanam ruseTs ar daaqumcabebs. aSET xel sayrel momentSi Cven axal i mteri gagvi Cnda. es aris faSistTa j gufi, romel sac meTauroben spiridon kedia, al eqsandre asaTiani, I eo keresel iZe, general i kvini taZe,... kote komaxi Ze (yofil i social ist-federalisti) da mikako wereTel i, xol o pol oneTSi general i CxeiZe da pol kovniki inJineri kandel aki. maT aiyl ies erovnul - demokratiul i partiis mimi devari axal gazrdoba da mi znaT dai saxes Cveni partiisa da social istebis dasamareba. mTel i es j gufi dakavSi rebul la ful iT da sagmi T Sal va qarumi ZesTan, romel ic Cekas agentia. axal gazar daTa Soris uTuod bevria Cekas agenti, Tumca asaTiani da keresel iZe malnc, Tu sxvebl ara bol SevikTa agentebi s STabeWdil ebabs toveben.

faSistTa j gufi gadabmul la rus monarqi stebTan da mzaada dakmayofili des avtonomi iT, oRond Tavl dan moi Soros social istebi. isinl agreTve yvel gan daTareSoben da cdi-l oben amlerkavkasi aSi i tal ia Semolyvanon da misi mandati daaweson. rogorc xedavT, faSistTa j gufi Cvens ers avauturas umzadebs. isinl aSkarad amzadeben i tal lis daxma-rebit aj anyebas, rac Cvens ers fizikur ganadgurebas ugadis, xol o more mxrliv, mas axal samoqal aqo oms umzadebs. sa-Wiroa Tqven mTel i xal xl darazmoT faSistTa da maT mosal odnel mokavSi reTa wi naaRmdeg. pirvel rigSi SeecadeT xal xs zepirad gadasceT srul i sinamdvil e da faSistTa meTaurebs xal xis Tval Si saxel i gavutexoT. am mi zni T auciil ebel ia: 1)yvel a pol i tikur partias da sxva organi-

zaci ebs (studentTa kavSiri, mwer al Ta kavSiri da sxva) am-
cnoT faSistTa forma da maTi bnel i mi zani; 2) xal xis farTo
wrem unda gai gos, rom faSistebl uTanxmdiebl an qarTvel i
eris zurgs uk an rus monarqistebs da ital iel faSistebs
da es SeTanxmeba ers Tavze daatexs axal ubedurebas;
3) l egal uri da sxva gzi T faSistebma da maTma mi mdevrebma
TavianT nacnob- megobar- naTesavTagan unda gai gon weril ebi s
saSual ebi T, rom mTel i eri aRSfoTebul ia faSistTa mier
erovnul i frontis garRveiT, maT mier erovnul i mTavrobis
uaryofiT da iseTi moRal aturi saqciel iT, rogoricaa rus
monarqistebTan da ital iel faSistebl kavSiri. aseTive
weril ebi Tavsi anebisa da nacnob- megobr ebi sgan unda mi i Ron
parizSi myofma nacional ist- studentebma. ukeT rom Cavfu-
SoT avantiuristTa gegma, aucil ebel ia SevqmnaT damouki de-
bl obis (an ganmaTavisufl ebel i) komi teti (pariteti) sami
pirisagan: social - demokratebis partia, social ist- federal-
listTa partia da mTl iani frontis momxre erovnul - demo-
kratebi (amirej ib_ gvazavas j gufi). sxva partiebi ar arsebo-
ben, gansakuTrebiT 'sxivel ebi- da isini ar unda gavberiT.
es komi teti SeiZl eba Tu sxvagan ar moixerdeba Sens axl os
moewyos. Cveni cnobiT, erovnul - demokratiul i partia metad
sustia. mas central uri komi teti ar hyavs. saWiroa misi
centri Seiqmnas da uk anasknel ma zurgi gaumagros amirej ibsa
da gvazavas. Tu sxvagan ar moixerdeba, sadac Sen iqnebi,
axl os moawyobine es centri.¹⁴

Cems mier motanil i es vrcel i amonaweri, erovnul - demokratiul i partiis wevrebis garkveul i j gufis mimarT seriozul bral debas Seicav. xazgasmiT minda aRvi Sno, rom n.ramiSvl i im pol i tikur moRvaweTa ricxvs ar ganekuTvnebo-
da, romel ic ana Tu im pirovnebis mimarT zedapirul i gancxa-
deba rom gaekeTebina. mi Tumetes: 1) saqme exeboda sabWoTa
uSiSroebasTan, ital iel faSistebl kavSiri s bral debas;
2)aRniSnul Tan mimarTebaSi n.ramiSvl s xel CasalWi di masal ebi
rom ar qonoda: a)SeuZl ebel i iqneboda mis mier dasaxel e-
bul i sami ZiriTadi mimarTul ebiT saagi tacio- propagandi-
stul i saqmi anobis dasawyebad pragmatul i nabij is gadadgma;
b)n.ramiSvl i s mier erovnul - demokratebis erTi j gufis admi
wayenebul i bral debebi im kategoriaTa ricxvs ganekuTvne-

boda, roml is tyuil ze dafuzneba SeuZl ebel i iyo Tundac im el ementarul i mizezis gamo, rom dadanaSaul ebul mxares simarTl is droul ad garkva ar gauWi rdeboda, natyuar cil i-swamebas far da Camoexsneboda da social - demokratebs bumerrangi vi T uk an mwareT daubrundeboda; g)tyuil ze dafuznebul bral debas erovnul - demokratebis zemoaRni Snul i j gufi, social - demokratiul i partiis I iderTa avertitetis (gansakuTrebiT maTTvis moZul e n.rami Svil is) pol itikurad dasasamarebl ad warmatebul ad gamoiyenebda da social - demokratebis saagi tacio-propagandistul i saqmianobi dan qasqvaze ar datovebda; 3)SemTxevi Tobi Tar iyo ganpi robebul i, erovnul - demokratiul i partiis Samirej ib_ g.vazavas j gufisadmi n.rami Svil is mier gansakuTrebui i yuradRebis gama-xvil eba, dokumenturi masal iT dadasturebul ia, rom Samirej ib_ g.vazavas j gufi zemoT CamoTvI il i adamianeblis Sexedull ebebs da praqtkul saqmianobas gaemij na. saqarTvel os deokupaciis da saxel mwi foebrivi damouki debl obis aRdgenis saki TxTan mmar TebaSi, maTdamii umkacresi kritikis formebis gamoyenebasac ar erideboda; 4)pol itikur Zal Ta konsol idaciis da faSi sturi daj gufebebis Semotevebis mosageriebl ad, organizaciis gawevi smznit, sami pol itikuri partiis (social - demokratebi, erovnul - demokratebi, social ist-federal istebi) TiTo warmomadgenl iT n.rami Svil i paritetul i komitetis Seqmnis saki Txs ayenebda.

yovel iye zemoTqmul idan gamomdi nar e, n.rami Svil is weril s im etapze ara marto organi zaciul i, aramed pol itikurideol ogiuri xasiaTis datvirTvac gaaCnda. igi saqarTvel oSi aral egarul ad moqmedi social - demokratiul i partiisa da sxva antisabWouri mimi di nar eobebs saprogramo dokumentis pozicii idan unda Sefasdes. mxedvel obaSi maqvs sabWouri provokaciebis acil ebris maqsimal uri mcdel obebi da saqarTvel os mosaxl eobis wi naaRmdeg represiebis axal i tal Ris agorebis xel Semwyobi mi zezebis ar Seqma. am mxriv, social - demokratiul i partiis I iderTa umetesoba windaxedul ebas iCenda da erovnul - ganmaTavisufI ebel i moZraobis gaRrma-vebis smznit, Sesabamisi gadawayetil ebebis mi Rebisas gansakuTrebui i si frTxII iT iqceoda. amis erT- erT dadasturebas imave n.rami Svil is mier social - demokratiul i partiis cekasadmi 1924 wl is 10 ivl iss gagzavnI i weril i warmoadgens.

sagarTvel odan mi Rebul informaciaze dayrdnobi T, i gi kategoriuL i formiT moi Txovda: vj uRel is saqarTvel oSi yofna adgil obri vi mosaxl eobis represiebis mizezi rom ar gamxdariyo, nrami Svil i adgil obri v organizacias winadadebas sTavazobda, raTa misi uk an gawvevis saki Txi droul ad daeyenebi naA'scans, rom val iko imdenad aRar aris iq saWi ro- vki Txul obT dokumentSi.- SeiZI eba mi sma iq yofnam represiebi gamoiwi os, ami tom an sadme mTebSi wavydes da mi imal os, anda ukeTesi a uk an gadmovi des sazRvar ze.- amis aucil ebl oba imi Tac iyo ganpi robebul i, rom sagarTvel oSi Camosvl is sawyi s etapze, vj uRel isa da bCxiki Svil is praqtkul i saqmianobis dawyeba SeuZI ebel i xdeboda uSi-Sroebis mxridan umkacresi dazvervi Ti da samZebro samuSa-oebis gatarebi s gamo. amis Sesaxeb damkomi s mier sagarTvel os mTavrobisadmi 1924 wl is 2 april s gagzavnil weril Si xazgasmi Taa mi Ti Tebul i. `maTi aq yofni s Sesaxeb- vki Txul obT dokumentSi- Cekas mxol od ewvi aqys da gaSmagebi T daeZebs da am ZebnaSi gzadzagza axdenen masiur Weras.-

represiebisa da sisxl is Rvris sawinaaRmdego poziciis erT-ert damadasturebel dokumentad, 1924 wl is agvistos aj anyebis wl is Tavis aRsani Snavad social - demokratiul i partiis cekas mier gamocemul i mowodeba (1925 wl is agvisto) gamodgeba. masSi vki Txul obT: `Cvens partias ar SeeZI o okupaciis wi naaRmdeg brZol isTvis ar moewodebina mTel i erisTvis da am moZraobas saTaveSi ar moqceoda. magram social - demokratia imTavi Tve gaurboda saki Txis i ararIT gadaWras da is okupantebis wi naaRmdeg brZol as ideuraT da masobriv- organizaciul ad dapi rispirebis formas aZI evda. qarTvel i eris social uri kl asebi gaerTi andnen anti-sabWoTa frontze, ersa da dampyrobet Ta Soris amouvsebi ufskrul i gai Txara... ucxo xi Stebze dayrdnobil ma moqal a-qeebma, occdaaT vercxl ad Sesiyidul ma iuda iskariotel ebma, mTel i qarTvel i eri undobl obis queS daayenes da mas sastiki brZol a gamoucxades.-

mi uxedadavd imisa, rom social - demokratiul i partiis I iderebis umetesobas, momentis Sesabami sobidan gamondinare garkveul etapze 'brZol is mSvi dobi ani kursi- qonda aRebul i, magram, saWi roebis SemTxvevaSi Sei ararRebul aj anyebazedac ar ambobdnen uars. amis utyuvar dadasturebas vj uRel isa

da al .zaqariaZis xel mZRvanel obiT momzadebul i SeiaraRebul i aj anyebis samxedro gegma warmoadgens. gamarj vebis SemTxvevaSi, Tu ra saxis konkretul i RonisZi ebebi unda gaetarebi na aj anyebis xel mZRvanel birTvs, amis Sesaxeb dawrili ebiTaa saubari n.ramiSvil is mier abesal omi sadmi gagzavnil saprogramo weril Si. am dokumentis mi xedvi T: 1)bol SeviZmis dacemisTanave Zal aufl ebash demokratiis mxardamWer i Zal ebi (social - demokratiul i partia, social ist- federal istebis partia da erovnul - demokratiul i partiis_Samirej ib-g.vazavas mxardamWer i) unda dapatroneboda; 2)okupaciis ganTavisufl ebul i saqarTvel os droebiTi mTavroba, zemoaRniSnul i sami pol i tikkuri partiis warmomadgeni ebis bazaze unda Seqmnil iyo; 3)axl adCamoyal i bebul i droebiTi mTavrobis pirvel i rigis amocana unda yofil iyo jaris nawi l ebiT saqarTvel os mTel i teritoriis dakaveba; 4)saqarTvel os teritoriis gawmenda bil Sevikebisa da faSisti el ementebi sagan; 5)qal aqebsa da mazrebSi srul i wesrigis aRdgena da droebiTi gangeobebi Sedgena; 6)pol i cia safuZvl ianad unda gawmendi iyo mobol Seviko da saellvo pirebi sagan. amasTan dakovSi rebiT, n.ramiSvil i kategorul i formiT moi Txovda: `mi i ReT zomebi, rom arcerTi reaqcioneri da faSisti mil iclaSi ar Segveparos da saer Tod, arcerT sapasuxi smgebl o postze isini ar gavaWallanoT;~ 7)ucxoeTi dan n.Jordani as kanonieri mTavrobis saqarTvel oSi dabrunebi-sTanave, axl adarCeul i saqarTvel os droebiTi mTavroba dauyovnebi iv unda gadamdgariyo, raTa axal i saparl amento arCevnebis dan Svnka kanonieri gziT momxdariyo.

xazgasmiT minda aRvnisno, rom am SemTxvevaSi, n.ramiSvil mis ZiriTadi debul ebebi gaimora, romel ic pol i tikkur partiata SeTanxmebas daedo safuZvl ad da saqarTvel oSi moqmedi social - demokratiul i partiis xel mZRvanel i birTvisgan, mis Sesrul ebash saval debul od mi i Cnevdha.

mar Tal ia, aj anyebis momzadebaze da dawyebis saki TxTan mi mar TebaSi sakmao raodenobis samecniero statiebi da monografiebia daweril i, magram, TiTqmis pasuxgaucemel ia kiTxva_ riT iyo ganpi roebul i emigraciul i mTavrobis da social - demokratiis i iderebis saqmis kursSi Cayenebis gareSe aj anyebis mouI odnel i dawyeba. yovel SemTxvevaSi, momxdari faqti soci al - demokratebis did umravl esobaSi

gakvi rvebas i wwevda. amis erT- erT dadasturebas k.gvarj a-
l azis weril i (1924 wl is 10 seqtemberi) warmoadgens. `CvenTvis
stambol Si myofTaTvis, es moZraoba- vki Txul obT dokumentSi-
moul odnel i iyo... n.Jordania Tavis cnobiI weril Si
ZI ier afrTxil ebda Cvenebs da urCevda moZraoba ruseTSi
garTul ebul i momentisaTvis daekavSirebi naT.- i mave k.gvarj a-
l azis mtkicebiT, sami Tvis gannavl obaSi n.Jordanias mxri dan
mraval gzs gafrTxil ebis mi uxedadavd `SeiaraRebul i gamos-
vl ebi mainc moxda. ra iyo mi zezi, raSi iyo saqme, j er amis
Sesaxeb araferi viciT. muxameda gwers, rom xal xis aRel vebis
da aj anyebi s sababi... cnobiI i pirebis daxvreta i yovo. vi naa
es cnobiI i pirebi, amas ki ar gvisaxel ebs.- rac Seexeba gi-
orgis fsevdonimi T stambol idan parizSi 1924 wl is agvistSi
gagzavnii weril s, masSi agvistos SeiaraRebul i gamosvl ebi
xal xis mier moTmnebis dakargvis mi zezi Taa axsnil i. Ti Tqmisi
anal ogiuri debul ebaa gameorebul i 1925 wl is agvistSi
gamocemul mowodebaSi_ `ukvdavi agvisto.- am dokumentis
teqtis Semdgeli ebi aj anyebi s dawyebi s ZiriTad mizezad
sabWoTa xel i sufl ebis mxridan referendumis Catarebaze
uaris Tqmas da xal xis damcrobas axaxel ebs. aseTi argume-
ntebis mi uxedadavd, nakl ebad damaj erebel ia imis mtkiceba,
rom SeiaraRebul i gamosvl ebi moTmnebadakargul i xal xis
mier gadadgmul nabij s warmoadgenda. Tuki aseT faqts
adgil i eqneboda, maSin procesi umar Tavi gaxdeboda. samecn-
ero i literaturiT da dokumenturi masal iT dadasturebul ia,
rom 1924 wl is agvistos gamosvl ebi ara moTmnebadakargul i
xal xis, aramed damkomis zogierTi wevrisa da partizanul i
razmebis xel mZRvanel Ta Tvi Tneburia da individual uri ga-
dawyvetil ebebis Sedegad daiwo. aRniSnul saki TxTan da-
kavSirebiT saintereso faqtebia motanil i k.gvarj al azis
mier n.Jordaniasadmi 1924 wl is 18 seqtembers gagzavnii
weril Si. `Cvenebi s cnobebi s mixedvi T_ vki Txul obT dokumentSi_
moZraoba naadrevadaa dawyebul i, radgan xal xma
Tavi ver Sei kavao. aqedan advil i warmosadgenia, Tu ra mzl avri
da xal xuri iqneboda es moZraoba, is rom aseTi stiqiuri
xasiati s ar yofil iyo da mas meti xel mZRvanel oba qonoda.
rac Tavi daTavia, mTel i Cveni organizaciebi Tavi dan bol onde
provokaciis qsel Si yofil an gabmul ni. amis Sesaxeb araer-
Txel gami frTxil ebia Cvenebi... or- samj er parizSi dac ki

miwwere es. cxadia moZraoba udrood aris dawyebul i da
 mas dRevandel pirobebSi damar cxeba moel is Tu is ukve da-
 mar cxebul ad ar CaiTvl eba. dRes Cven vdgevar T erTi faqtis
 wi naSe, romel sac udi desi angariSi unda gaewi os. auarebel i
 mebrZol i xal xi mTebSi da tyeebSi a gaxi znul i da iqedan
 partizanul brZol as awarmoeben. maT ukan daxevac rom mo-
 indomon, amis SesaZl ebl obac aRar aqvt ukve, bol Sevi kebi
 Seecdebi an parl amentarebi mi ugzavnon da Seri gebaze dauwyon
 I aparaki. bol Sevikebis ci nikur cuRI utobas aba vin
 daendobal cxadia, vi nne romc ki `moiani os codvebi - da Se-
 urigdes, rogorc ki Caigdeben xel Si maSi nve daxvreten.
 am amonaweris mi xedvi T kargad Cans, rom aj anyeba sazRva-
 rgareTul centr Tan SeuTanxmebl ad, ruseTSi da dasavl eT
 evropaSi saqarTvel osTVi s araxel sayrel i pirobebis fonze
 i qna dawyebul i. meore mxriv, ramdenadac momxdari faqti
 arseboda, aj anyebul ebs ukan dasaxevi gza moWrii i qonda
 da bol omde unda ebrZol at. samecniero I literaturaSi
 dadast ur ebull i a, romsaokupaci o reJimi s wi naRmdeg aj a-
 nyebi s ori gegma arseboda: 1)v. j uRel i sa da al zaqariaZis
 mi er momzadebul i gegma, romel ic pol titkuri da samxedro
Tval sazrisi T safexurebri vad iyo gaTvl II I. igi pi rvel
 rigSi Tbil isis aRebaze, bol Sevikuri mTavr obis davyo-
 vnebl iv dapati rebaze da amis Semdeg ami er kavkasi is masSta-
 bi T sayovel Tao aj anyebis dawyebaze iyo orientirebul i;
2)rac Seexeba r.musxel ISVi l is gegmas, saqarTvel oSi di-
 sl ocirebul i wiTel i armi is jaris nawil ebi xevsureTi s
 viwro xeobaSi Setyuebas, zurgid mtrisadmi kombi ni rebul
 dar tymebs da iqve srul ad ganadgurebas iTval i swinebda.
 amis Semdeg unda momxdariyo Tbil isis aReba da kavkasi is
 xal xTa ganTavi sufl eba¹⁵ savsebi T sworia prof. g.cici SVi l i
 roca am gegmas fantastikurs uwodebs. ra donis samxedro
 dargi ucodinari unda yofil iyo sabWoTa oficroba, rom
 saqarTvel oSi ganl agebul i wiTel i armi is nawil ebi cxvris
 farasavi T xevsureTi s viwro xeobaSi `Seureka,~ qaqqua col o-
 yaSVi l i sa da sxva partizanul i razmbebis Tavdasxmebs dal o-
 deboda. saqarTvel os im periodis si namdvil is argaTval i-
 swinebi T Sedgeni l i da `romantizmi T- clamZimebul i am gegmis
 mi xedvi T dai wyo Sei araraRebul i gamosvl ebi.
 zemoaRni Snul i ori gegmi dan Tu romel i maTgani Sei cavda

sabWoTa xel i sufl ebi saTvis momakvdi nebel i dar tymis real ur safRTxes, amis Sesaxeb, saqarTvel os komunisturi partiis central uri komitetis samdivnos daxurul TaTbirze I .berias mier waki Txul moxsenebaSi gamokveTiI i formi Taa warmodgenil i. am dokumentis stenogramis Canaweris asl i fanqiTaa Sesrul ebwl i. igi harvardis universitetidan Camotanil saarqivo masal ebSi inaxeba da dedanTan misi namdvil oba Sesabamisi beWdi Taa dadasturebul i. Ceems mier dasmul saki TxTan mimar TebaSi, berias pozicia Semdegi formi Taa Camoyal i bebul i: 'aj anyebis pirvel i gegmi T (vj u-Rel i - al .zaqariaZe S.v.) gamosvl a- ambobda I .beria- unda dawyebul iyo TbI i sidan da Tu es ganxorciel deboda, Cveni mdgomareoba ZI ier rTul i iqneboda, radgan menSevi kebis mTavar i Zal ebi swored TbII issI iynen Tavmoyril ni. nac-ional - demokratebmac kargad i codnen es da i sini cdil ob-dnen meore, e.i. maTi (r.musxel iSviI iS v.) gegmi T dawyebas aj anyebis. e.i. Col oyaSviI ze daydnobiT. asec moxda da Cvenc aj anyebis I .kvi daciac gagviadvil da.¹⁶ Tu ratom moxda aj anyebis dawyeba udrood, amis Sesaxeb saintreso mosazrebas gamoTqvams imave moxsenebaSi I .beria. 'Tqven i ciT, rom aj anyebis dros naci onal - demokratebs surdaT moZra-objis meTauroba da hegemonis xel Si aReba, ani ton i sini ebrZodnen menSevi kebs...- er ovnul - demokratebis pirvel obisaTvis swrafvis mcdel obebi kargad gamovl inda interpartiul Ta-Tbirze da pol i tikuri komisebis sxdombebe. es faqtobi Sesabamisi sxdombebis stenografiul angariSebSi acaa dada-sturebul i.¹⁷ aRni Snul i gaTval i swinebi dan gamomdinare, I .berias naTqvami si namdvil ed unda i qnas miCneul i. saqarTvel os social - demokratiul i partiis cekas da TbII i si s centris mxridan aj anyebis moumzadebl ad ar dawyebis da cal keul i kuTxeebis gamosvl ebiS dauSvebl obis Sesaxeb mraval gziS gafrTxil ebiS miuxedavad, igi xevsureTSi Tvi Tneburad mainc dai wyo da misi sul i scamdgmel i q.col oyaSviI i iyo. am nabij iS gadadgma, `damkomis- da `samxedro centris- gaTval i swinebul i gegmis mixedviT ar momxdara. igi er ovnul - demokratiul i partiis zogierTi wevris Tvi Tnebur i gadawayetil ebiT iyo ganpi robebul i. 1924 wl iS aj anyebis ar arogan-zebul ad dawyeba da samxedro dargis ar aprofesi onal ebi sa-dmi damaxasiTebel i qaoturi formi T warmar Tva, danaSaul iS

tol fas qmedebas Seicavda. mxedvel obaSi maqvs aj anyebul ebi-sadmi xel mZRvanel obis srul fasovnad vergaweva, mebrZol i Zal ebi s erT muStad ver Sekvra da sabWoTa xel isufl ebi s Zal ovani uwyebebis sasar gebl od, cal keul regionebSi daqsa-q sul ad moqmedeba.

aj anyebis xel mZRvanel i bi rTvis dabneul obis mi uxedavad, rogorc samecniero I literaturaSia dadasturebul i, aj anyebul ebma pirvel etapze garkveul warmatebebs miaRwies. amasTan dakavSi rebi T, 1924 wl is 7 seqtembers parizSi gagzavnil depeSaSi k.gvarj al aze werda, rom 3 seqtembrisTvis qu-Taisi da ozurgeTi aj anyebul ebi s xel Si iyo, Tbil isis guberni aSi brZol ebi mimdinareobda. qarTul i j aris nawil ebi aj anyebul ebs miemxro. am faqtis siswores stambol idan parizSi giorgis fsevdonimi T 1924 wl is 18 seqtembers gagzavnil i weril ic adasturebs. masSi xzgasmi Taa mi Ti Tebul i, rom sabWoTa SeiaraRebul i Zal ebi s wi naaRmdeg, ozurgeTi s mazraSi sastiki brZol ebi mimdinareobda. Cems xel T arsebul i saraqivo masal ebi s mixedvi Tirkveva, rom aj anyebul i guriis mosaxl eobis umetesoba, uiaraRo iyo da isini `Si Sveli- xel ebi T daupi rispir daokupantebs. am faqtis siswores adasturebs aj anyebis wl istavze (1925 wel i) gamocemul i mowodeba- `ukvdavi agvisto.- `rusul regul arul j arsvki Txul obT dokumentSi- daupi rispir dnen naxevard uiaraRo razmebi da amboxebis bedic gadawayda.-

i ave dokumentis mixedvi T, saqarTvel o martod- marto aRmoCnda sabWoTa ruseTi pirispire, rom mebrZol i 2 mil ioneri... iaraRaT xel Si SeebrZol a 140 mil ionian... mters da es iyo erT-erTi mkafti da umZafresi periodi im didi gammaTavi-sufl ebel i brZol isa, romel Siac Caeba qarTvel i eri dRidan saqarTvel os dapryrobi sa-

aRni Snul i faqtebi dan gamomdinare, naTel i xdeba, rom sa- okupaci reJinis wi naaRmdeg aj anyeba Sesabamisi safexuris momzadebi s gar eSe dai wyo. samSobl os siyvarul iTa da misi Tavi sufl ebi s mi saRwevad Tavgadadebul i da gul anTebul i mebrZol ebi, fagiurad uiaraRod iyo darCenil i. moore mxriv, rogorc zemoTac mqonda aRni Snul i, saqarTvel o marto ebrZoda Crdil oeTi s moZal ades. arada, vj uRel _ al .zagari- azis samxedro gegmis mi xedvi T, aj anyebis dawyeba mxol od maSi n Cai Tvl eboda mi zanSewoni l ad, Tuki mTel i rigi faqto-

rebis_ (iaraRi, ful i, sursaTi...) uzrunvel yofiT garantiis mi RebasTan erTad, azerbaij ani da Crdil o kavkasiac (daRe-stani) aj anydeboda dampyrobis i wi naaRmdeg, samwuxarod, aj anyebi s dawyeblis organi zatorebma, zemoaRni Snul i gegmiT gaTval i swinebul i moTxovnebis arcerTi muxl i Sesrul ebas ar dael odnen, yovel SemTxvevaSi mis mosamzadebl adac ar iZrunes. swored es garemoeba qonda mxedvel obaSi kgvarj a-
I azes, roca 1924 wl i s 10 seqtembers stambol idan parizSi gagzavnii weril Si wera: 'Tu mar toa Cveni xal xi am brZo-
l aSi, cxadia brZol as wavagebT. Tu azerbaij ani c da mTac
mi i Rebs monawil eobas, maSiN saqme arc ise cudaT iqneba. ra
msvl el obas mi i Rebs movl enebi, amis Tqma agedan Znel ia. magram
rac ar unda moxdes, Cven fagts unda gavuvi oT angariSi da
Tu davmar cxdiT, nakl eb dazaral ebul ad gamosvl as unda
SevecadoT. dRevandel pirobebSi roca evropaSi Cveni saqmisi
vi Tarebaze ar ician da saqarTvel o mTI ad moywyetil ia,
real urad material ur daxmarebaze vi nmesgan zedmetia
I aparak. -¹⁸

am amonaweris mixedviT Tuki vimsj el ebT, ramdenadac evro-
pi dan finansuri daxmareba gamoricxul i yio, xol o azerbaij
ansa da Crdil o kavkasiaSi saqarTvel osadmi mxardamWer-
aj anyebeks adgil i ar qonda, Seqmili i mdgomareobi s fonze,
erTaderT safiqral s, mosal odnel i katastrofidan nakl ebad
dazaral ebul i gamosvl a war moadgenda. Tu ra formiT unda
momxdariyo amis ganxorciel eba, igi cal ke gansj i sagani
iyo. am mimarTul ebiT pragmatul i saxis nabij i gadadgma
aucil ebel i xdeboda im Tval sazrisiTac, rom aj anyebul Ta
mimart aranairi saxis daxmareba ar xorciel deboda. arada,
xal xis sul ieri mxneobi s SesnarCunebl ad, evropi dan mci-
reodeni daxmarebi s wamosvl ac ki sakmarisi iyo. amasTan
dakavSi rebiT, baTumi dan 1924 wl i s 18 seqtembers stambol Si
gagzavnii weril Si vki Txul obT: **daxmareblis saxiT`Tundac
damvreul i krelseri lyos maqedan, xal xi Tavs Seswi ravs,**
Torem Ise sul IT dacemul ni arlan. rac Seexeba kgvarj a-
I azis mier stambol idan parizSi 1924 wl i s 29 seqtembers
gagzavnii weril s, xazgasmit iyo aRni Snul i, rom 'Tu da-
xmareba xal xs droul ad ver mi wawodeT, mdgomareoba pi rdiapi
tragikul i iqneba.- ganskutrebiT mZime mdgomareobaSi guria
aRmoCnda. dokumentur masal ebSi garkvei Taa aRni Snul i, rom

uTanasworo brZol aSi, guria sisxl isgan icl eboda da mas droul ad mi Svel eba swir deboda. samwuxarod, aj anyebis xel mZRvanel i birTvis uniaTo qmedebi dan gamomdinare, okupantebis wi naaRmdeg mebrZol gurul ebs, SaSxanebi sa da vaznebis mi wodebi Tac ver exmarebodnebn.

mtris wi naaRmdeg daqsaqul ad da araorgani zebul ad mebrZol i saqarTvel os kuTxeebi garduval i damarcxebi sTv is iyo ganwirul i. es saki Txi pol i tikuri partiebis warmomadgeni ebTan erTad mTavrobi gaerTianebul i sxdomis (1924 wl is 22 septemberi) msj el obis sagani gaxda. am SemTxvevaSi Cemi yuradReba erovnul - demokratiul i partis erT- erTi i ideris sp.kedias gamosvl am miliqcia. evropis social i-stebis saqarTvel osadmi mxard dasaWerad gamoyenebis saki Txis misi mxridan dasma maqvs mxedvel obaSi. Tuki saqarTvel os pirvel i respubli kis periodis pol i tikuri istoriis Zi riTad momentebis gavi xsenebT, parlamentisa da damfuZnebel i krebis stenografiul angariSebSiac CavixedavT, aSkarad warmoCndebea erovnul - demokratiul i partis i iderTa gamZafrebul i kritika qarTvel i social - demokratisadmi evropis social istebTan kavSiris gamo. istoriis ganvl II ma procesebma daadastura, rom qarTvel i social - demokratebis pol i tikuri kursi am mxriv gamarTi ebul i iyo. mxedvel obaSi maqvs saqarTvel os pirvel i respubli kis periodi da misi okupaciis Semdgomi etapi. evropis qveynebis pol i tikurad gameZavebul i i iderebis gan motyuebul i da zurgSeceul i saqarTvel os xel lusufl ebisadmi Tanadgoma, mxol od evropel ma social istebma iklsra. marto ls rad Rirs, rom yovel gvari safasuris gadaxdis gareSe, maTi presisa da radios meSveobiT, saqarTvel os kanonieri mTavroba, okupirebul saqarTvel oSi mldinare procesebs mTel dasavl eT evropas acnobda. Tuki evropis social istebTan TanamSromi obas 1918- 1921 wl ebSi erovnul - demokratebi samarcxvi nod da qarTul i saxel mwl fosTvis sazlanod Tvl I-dhen (sp.kediat, gr. veSapel I, r. gabaSvI I, S.qarumi Ze...), Turme saqarTvel os megobrebl yofill an. amasTan dakavSi rebi T l'mave sxdomis saoqmo CanawerebSI vklTxul obT: `sp.kedia gamoTqvams survil s, ramdenadac dRes social istebi sxvadasxva mTavrobebSI dld rol s TamaSoben da amasTanave l'sini saqarTvel os megobrebl arilan, unda vi moqmedoT maTze, rom

ufro energi ul ad dagvexmar on... daadgines: gaZl ierebul i lqnas muSaoba deputatTa wreebSi ganurCevl ad partiisa. mTavrobis Tavmj domarem inaxul os bl i umi. radikal Ta partiaSi inaxul on biuros wevrebi da kerzo deputatebeli e.gegewkorma, sp.kediam da i.gobeclam. Tu mosaxerxebel ia, i.gobeclam inaxul os demonzi, n.ramliSviI i miswers vl axmetel s raTa niadagi mosinj os germaniaSi_ SeuZl ia Tu aramaT Caerlon Cven da ruseTs Sua konfl lqtis mosagvarrebl ad.-¹⁹ im masal ebis mixedviT, romel ic Cems mier i qna mikvl eul i, irkveva rom emigraciaSi myofi saqarTvel os xel i sufl ebis mesveur Ta magisimal uri mcdel obisda mi uxedadav, zemoaRni Snul i saki Txebis mosagvarrebl ad gaTval i swinebul i Roni sZiebebi, dasavl eT evropis qveynebis meTaurTa mimxrobi sa da mxardaleris Tval sazrisiT_ dagvianebul i iyo. sabWoTa ruseTs, SeiaraRebul i aj anyebisa da maTi oj axebis mimarT umkacresi represiebi dawyebul i qonda. mdgomareobas i sic arTul ebda, rom sabWoTa ruseTis sainformacio saSual ebebi simarT es mal avda. maT mi zans, qarTvel Ta zemoaRni Snul i aj anyebis sisxl Si CaxSoba warmoadgenda da am faptis mi fuCeCebas cdil obda. dasaxul i amocanis ganxorcziel ebis erT- erT saSual ebad, dasavl eT evropi sken informaciis dabl okva i qna miCneul i. aRni Snul saki TxTan dakavSi rebiT k.gvarj al aZis mier saqarTvel os mTavrobis sadmi 1924 wl is 10 seqtembers gagzavnii weril Si principul ad iyo dasmuli i saki Txi saqarTvel osSi midi nare pol i tikur processebTan mimarTebaSi, dasavl eT evropis qveynebis saqmis kurssSi Cayenebis auciL ebl obis SesaxeB. `me mi Rebul i maqvs zomebiki Txul obT weril Si- aqac da sazRvarzeTac. yovel SemTxvevaSi sanam aq var, gadawyvetil i maqvs bol Sevi kebs da maT ci nikur cnobebs sastiKaT SevebrZol o da namdvil i ambavi Cveni qveyni sa aqaurma evropis sazogadoebrivma azrma i codes. amaSi daTmoba dRes yovl at mi uRebel ia. sxva arafei SegviZl ia da amazdac avi RoT xel i?!

rogorc vxedavT, saki Txi ideol ogi ur frontze midi nare sainformacio brZol as exeba. xazgasmiT unda iTqvas, rom sabWoTa ruseTTan sainformacio dapi ri spiriba udi des si- rTul eebTan iyo dakavSi rebul i. mxedvel obaSi maqvs finansuri Sesazi ebl obebi. am Tval sazrisiT qarTul i mxare `gaRatakebul ~ mdgomareobaSi imyofeboda. Tuki i gi sima-

rTl is gatas dasavl eT evropaSi da saer Tasori so arenaze axdenda, es faqti, evropis social isturi partiebis saiinfo rmacio (presa, radio) saSual ebebebis damsaxureba iyo, rac Seexeba finansur Sesal ebl obebs, emigraciaSi myof saqar-Tvel os mTavrobas, aj anyebul ebi sadmi dasaxmarebel i ful ic ar aRmoCnda. am saki TxTan dakavSi rebi T Cemi yuradReba saqar-Tvel os mTavrobis da damkomis bi uros parizis gaerTi-anebul i sxdomis (1924 wl is 30 seqtemberi) saoqmo Canawerebma mii qcia. am dokumentis mixedvi T, ful is Sovnis mogvareba aSS vasil dumbaZes qonda daval ebul i. imave sxdomis masal ebidan irkveva, rom dawyebul i saqmis warmatebul ad gagrZe-l ebis mi zni T, iki saqar-Tvel os xel i sufl ebi sgan di pl omaturi rwumunebis mandats iTxovda. saoqmo Canawerebis mixedvi T, n.rami Svi l i, sp.kedia, k.kandel aki, dadebi Tad axasi Tebdnen v.dumbaZes da mas namdvil patriotad, niWier da energi ul adami anad mii Cnevnden. aqedan gamodinare, imave sxdomaze mi Rebul dadgenil ebi T, mas dipl omatis rwumunebis mandati mii eca. mi uxedavad amisa, misi mraval gzin mcdebi oba ful is Sovnas Tan mir TebaSi uSedego aRmoCnda. imave saki TxTan dakavSi rebi T, ak.Cxenkel is vi ziti warumatebl ad damTavr da LondonSi. es faqtebi imis damadasturebel ia, rom emigraciaSi myofi saqar-Tvel os mTavrobi sadmi finansuri daxmarebis Sesaxeb evropis qveynebi dan gacemul i dapi reba Seusru ebel i darCa. aRni Snul da sxva mni Snel ovan saki TxebTan mir TebaSi mosal odnel Sedegebs, saqar-Tvel os damkomi sa da samxendro centris xel mZRvanel oba, samwuxarod ar dael oda da aj anyeba Tvi Neburad dai wyo. am faqtorma ganapi roba aj anyebul ebi sadmi i ararTa da ful i T daxmarebis SeuZl ebl oba. Seqmnill i vi Tarebi T kargad isargebl a sabWoTa ruseTis xel i sufl ebam da CrdiL o kavkasi idan, azer-bajj ani dan da somxeTidan, aj anyebul Ta wi naaRmdeg saqar-Tve-l oSi j aris axal i SenaerTebi gadmoisrol a dokumenturi masal iT dasturdeba, rom aj anyebis dawyebamde, gasabWoebul i saqar-Tvel os Sesabamisi uwyebebi winaswar i yvnen saqmis kurssi Cayenebul ni da mosal odnel safrTxes momzadebul ni Sexvdnen. misi Sesaxeb saintereso informacias gwawdis k.gvarj a- l aZis mier stambol idan 1924 wl is 10 seqtembers parizSi gagzavnil i weril i. am dokumentis mixedvi T, aj anyebis dawyebamde 15- 20 dRiT adre, komunistebs yvel a mni Snel ovani

strategiul i punqti da dawesebul eba gamagrebul i qonda. `am aTi dRis win- vki Txul obT imave weril Si- aq mi vi ReT Cven patara weril i baTumi dan 20/VIII Tari Ri T. gwerdnen: `ager aTi dRea baTumSi da mgoni sxva qal aqebSi ac komuni stebis dawesebul ebebs yvel as tyvi amfrqvevebi T i caven. dawesebul ebebi dRe da Rame daraj ebi T savsea. mTel i Zal a fexzea damdgari. ra mizezia da ram gamoiwvia aseTi si frTxil e komunistebis mier aravin icis. xal xi fiqrobs, Seizi eba gareSe safrTxe moel is rameo. yovel SemTxvevaSi mizezi aquarebma ar ician. mdgomareoba baTumSi metad nerviul ia. fagtiurad yvel a qučebi da dawesebul ebebi gakrul ia. dawerebia Seuwyvetel i. aseTi nervi ul oba- mzadeba iyo bol Sevikebis mxriv.- an ki dev: `guri aSi maisSi, 7 ivanobi sTvemde samxedro wesebi iyo gamoxadebul i da mTel i adgil obrivi Zal a fexze iyo damdgari. sofi el i komunistebi uZil obis gamo qučaSi vardebodhen. 150 j ariskaci Tbil isidan Camoiyanes da sxva.²⁰ aq motanil i faqtebis siswores n.rami Svil is mier saqar Tvel os social - demokratil i partiis cekasadm 1924 wl is ivnisiSi gagzavnil i weril ic adasturebs. igi partiis cekas wevrebis imavdroul ad gamafrTxil ebel i formiT mimar Tavda. `gamosvl amde sawiroa garegnul ad moqmedebis gegma. es mi T ufro, rogorc gadmogvces, mters sawinaaRmdego zomebi ukve mi uRia da iS SesaferaT darazmul ia. Tu vi ni co-baa gamosvl a mokl e xni T gadai dos, meTaurebma mori geobi T Tbil isis gareT unda mi imal on da dai svenon. Cems mier saarqivo dokumentebid motanil i amonawerebis mixeviT Tuki vimsj el ebT, sabWoTa xel i sufl ebis l iderebs, mosal odnel i aj anyebi s dawebisa da safexurebri vad misi moqmedebis sivrcis Sesaxeb sakmaod srul yofil i informacia qonda. am fagts, maSindel i saqar Tvel os central uri komitetis mdiani b.l omniazeC adasturebda. mxedvel obaSi maqvs, 1924 wl is movl enebi s Semswavl el i komisiisadmi mis mier imave wl is se- qtemberSi gagzavnil i weril i. 1924 wl is agvistos movl enebTan mi mar TebaSi gamoqveynebul i samecniero I literaturis umetesobaSi damkvi drebul Sexedul ebebsa da mtkicebul ebebs (g.cici Svil i, l j i qia) Tuki Cems mier arqi vsacavebSi mikvl eul i axal i saarqivo masal ebis monacemebsac davurTavT, aSkarad warmočnodeba: 1) 1924 wl is aj anyeba moumzadebel i iyo da impi rvel xarisxovani `masal is- uqonl obas gani cdi da,

romel ic mtris wi naRaRmdeg sabrZol o operaciebis Casatarebl ad aucil ebl obas (iaraRi, ful i da puri) warmoadgenda. am faqtorebma aj anyebis dawyebis pirvel safexurzeve i Cina Tavi; 2)ragind odi ozuri damoki debul ebac ar unda qondes Cems kol egebs n.xomerikisa da vj uRel is mi marT, i si ni saqmis gamkeTebi ebi da brwyinval e organizatorebi iyvnen. uSi Sroeba sworded ami tom iyo maTi daWeriT dainteresebul i da am mi znis misaRwevad yvel aferze mi di oda dokumenturi masal iT dadasturebul ia, rom n.xomerikisa da vj uRel is daWeriT, `damkomsa- da `samxedro centrs- saqmis mkeTebel i organizatorebi Camoacil es. maTi `CaSvebis- sagmeSi l omis wil i erovnul - demokratii partiis garkveul i j gufis warmomadgenl ebs mi uZrvis. am danaSaul ebriv qmedebas, uSi Sroebis mier mj avaxi SvII is daki Txvis saqivo masal ebi adasturebs. mxedvel obaSi magvs, mj vaxi SvII is mxridan SeiaraRebul i aj anyebis gegmis ganmaxorc elb ad n.xomerikis dasaxel eba da am mi znis Sesasrul ebl ad, antantis saxel mwi foebTan misi kavSiris Sesaxeb_ suki s maRal Cinosnebi sadni informaciis mi wodebis faqti. Cemi es gancxadeba mi utevebel bral debad rom ar CameTval os, 1923 wel s mj avaxi SvII is mier mi cemuli i Cvenebidan Sesabani s amonawers SevTavazeb mki Txvel sazogadoebas. xomerikTan xangrZI ivi saubridan me gamova-rkvievki Txul obT dokumentSi. - rom mTel i misi gegma (SeiaraRebul i momzadebi sa) emyarboda antantis mxridan aqtur daxmarebas. mindoda ra ufro zustad gamego- aris Tu ara garkveul i dapi rebebi aqturi daxmarebis aRmoCenis Sesaxeb, romel i me saxel mwi fos mxridan, me monaTxrobis Sesabamisi Seki Txva davusvi xomeriks, amaze xomerikma Tqva `daxmareba iqneba...²¹ prof. gcici SvII is azriT, es faqti n.xomerikis dasmenad ar SeiZI eba Cai Tval os, radgan `mj avaxi SvII i aq konkretul ad dasmul ki Txvaze iZI eva Cvenebas, rac ar ni Snavs `dasmenas. man ar icis ra informacias fl obs gamoZI eba. ami tom sxva gza ara aqvs, Tu ara simartI is Tqmisi.²²

Tukl mj avaxi SvII s marTI acda `sxva gza ar hqonda, rogorc amas b.n. gci ci SvII i wers, maSIn rogor unda al xsnas, lave mj avaxi SvII is mier `Col okaevel obis- l ikvi dacis mlznl T, amlerkavkaslis sagangebo komislls kol egli s Tav-mj domaris saxel ze 1923 wl is 16 martiT daTariRebul i werII is_ `amlerkavkaslis sagangebo komislls kol egli s

Tavmj domares- pi rvel i nawi l is bol oSi gakeTebul i formul i rebebi? kerZod: a)`im SemTxvevaSi Tu xel isufal Ta mxriv Tanxmobla lqneba_ pi radaT mogaxsenebT Cemgan SemoTavazebul i gegmis yvel a wvri l mans;- b)`Cemi SemoTavazebul i idea da gegma uaRresad sai duml od unda davi cvaT, raTa mowi naaRmdegis banaks dro da saSual eba ar mivcet mi i Ros kontrzomebi da Col okaevasa da sxvebz e ukum marTul ebi T moaxdi nos gavl ena;- g)`VTxov kol egli s Tavmj domares, gamomi Zaxos am saki Txze, raTa pi radaT mivce ganmar teba da Sevi muSaoT gegmis wvri l manebi, Tu, ra Tqm unda Cemi idea principul ad miRebul i lqneba.²³ mj vaxi Svi l is weri l i dan motanil am amonawerebSi kargad Cans, rom yovel gvari muqarisa da Zal datanebis gareSe, igl amierkavkasi l sagangebo komisiis kol egli s Tavmj domares lqeT exveweba, damatebi Ti informaciis mlsacemad da wvri l manebi s gaTval i swinebi T `Col okaevel ebi s- srul ad sal i kvi dacio gegmis erTobi i-vad SemuSavebli s mi zni T, masTan Sexvedraze da TanamSroml obaze da Tanxmebul iyo. gamori-cxul i araa, mj avaxi Svi l is 29 martis daki Txva, kol egli s Tavmj domari sadmi mj avaxi Svi l is mier gagzavni l 16 martiT daTariRebul i zemoaRni-Snul i weri l obi Ti Txovni s safu-Zvel ze rom ganxorciel ebul iyo.

xazgasmi T minda aRvn Sno, rom mj avaxi Svi l is am weri l Si gamoyenebul i `Col okaevel obi s- cneba, q`Col oyaSvi l is SeiarRebul razm Tan erTad, mis i deur mxardamWerelsac gul i-sxmobda. amis dadasturebas, i mave dokumentis is nawi l i warroadgens, sadac `Col okaevel obi s- mavne da saxifaTo movl e-nad gamoxadebi s mxardamWerTa Sesaxebaa saubari. ueMvel ia, am i ideas-wers i gi - wi naaRmdegobas gauwevs saerTo mosaxl e- obi s sxvadasxva fenis fici xi xal xi, da kerZod, saqr Tvel oSi moqed partiaTa saomrad ganwyobil i nawi l ebi.- q`Col oyaSvi l is razmis, misi mxardamWer i fici xi xis- da pol i tikuri partiebis warmomadgenel Ta l i kvi dacia unda momxdariyo im gegmis mi xedvi T, romel sac mj avaxi Svi l i sTavazobda amierkavkasi i sagangebo komisiis kol egli s Tavmj domares. masTan Sesaxvedrad daweril i zemoaRni-Snul i Txovnac, am gegmis warmatebi T ganxorciel ebas i saxavda mi znad.

sukis sardafebSi daki Txul patimarTa Soris daweril i Cvenebebis Cems mier sagul dadul od Seswavl am daadastura,

rom mj avaxi Svi l i erTaderTi pirovnebaa, romel ic piradi iniciativi T weril s ugzavni s uSi Srœebi s maRaL Ci nosans, masTan pi rispri Sexvedras moi Txovs da zemoaRni Snul i gegnis erTobl i vad Sedgenis rogorc iniciatori, maTgan yuradRebis mi pyrobas cdil obs. dasaxul i mznis misaRwevad, imave werili is bol o nawil Si saTauris saxiT gamoqvs formul ir-eba: `gaZI evT damatebi T Cvenebas da ganmar tav...~ da i que sam punqtad, Zal datanebis gareSe CamoTvel is misTvis cnobil faqtebs. mj avaxi Svi l isagan gansxvavebi T, patimrobaSi myofi nxomeriki s pozicia, suki s TanamSromel Ta mier Sedgeni l dokumentSi Semdegi formi Taa warmodgeni l: 'bral debul i xomeriki izi eva Cvenebas, rom mas, rogorc ck- is svevrs ar SeeZl o da ar SeuZl ia Seurigdes imas, rom saqarTvel o okupirebul ia, xal xi mCagvrel Ta uRI is qveS aris da amitom Tavis moval eobad CaTval a Camosul iyo saqarTvel oSi da emuSava moZal adeebi s wi naaRmdeg, igi xomeriki Camovi da piradi survil iT, yovel gvari daval ebis gareSe da verasodes Seurigdeba arsebul wyobil ebas. amJamad mas Tavi tyved miaCnia da amitom uars ambobs upasuxos ki Txvebze, roml ebic partiul i principebis CarCoebs scil deba.²⁴

am amonaweril dan kargad Cans, rom nxomerikma mTel i pasuksi smgebl oba Tavis Tavze al Ro. mas SeeZl o mj avaxi Svi l i da sxva TanamebrZol ebi `CaeSva,~ magram simdabl is es nabij i ar gadadga da rogorc saqarTvel os erTgul ma pol itikurma figuram_ Rl rseba Sel narCuna, yovel i ve zemoT Tqmul is ga-Tval i swi nebi dan gamodinare, dauSvebl ad mimaCnia: 1)didi mwerl i is motivaciit, mj avaxi Svi l is mxridan gadadgmil i cdomil i nabij is Zal datanebi Ti 'argumentebi T- gamarTI ebis mcdel oba; 2)sagarTvel os demokratiul i respublikis Rirseul i ministris da agrarul i sferos reformatoris, saqarTvel os Tavisufl ebisaTvis TavSewirul i pol itikuri figuris nxomeriki sadmi, daumsaxurebel i bral debebis mZivebivi T kiserze Camoki deba. amis ufl ebas, rusul i okupaciis wi naaRmdeg muxl Cauxrel ad mebrZol i da TanamebrZol Ta ardamsmeni adamianebis sul Ta yivil i ar gvaZI evs.

xazgasmi T minda aRvni Sno, rom erovnul - demokratebis zo- gier T warmomadgenel s, vj uRel is dapati mrebis xel SewyobaSi ac I omis wil i mi uZRvi s. amasTan dakavSirebi T, sayura- dRebo informacias Sei cavs saqarTvel os komunisturi

partiis (b) central uri komitetis samdivnos 1930 wl is 11 agvistos daxurul TaTbirze I.berias mier gakeTebul i gancxadeba, sadac garkveiTaa mi Ti Tebul i, rom vj uRel is dapati mreba erovnul - demokratebis gan Rebul i cnobebis safuZvel ze moxdao.²⁵ es iyo SeiaraRebul aj anyebamde ramdenime dRiT adre_ 1924 wl is 7 agvistos. rac Seexeba n.xomeriks, igi jer ki dev 1923 wl is 9 noembers aiyvanes patimrobaSi.

xazgasmi T aRvnI Shav, rom n.xomeriki Tuki Tavis ampl uaSi darCeboda, partiul i xaziT bol omde mi iyvanda mis mier warmatebi T dawyebul saqmes. rac Seexeba vj uRel s, igi SeiaraRebul aj anyebas, misi monawil eobiT SemuSavebul i gegmis mi xedvi T ganaxorciel ebda da am ganzraxvas wi verravin aRudgeboda. es real oba erovnul - demokratebis erTi nawil s kargad qonda gacnobierebul i. amitom, erTi c da morec maTTvis xel SemSi el pirovnebebad da moqmdebiS Tavisuful i sivrcis SemzRudvel ebad aRiqmeboda. xazgasmi T unda aRiniSnos, rom maTi dapati mrebiS Semdeg daesva wertil i konspiraciul saqmanobas da SeiaraRebul i aj anyebis samxedro gegmac iqna gacemul i. samwuxar od, dRemde gamoqvayebul samecniero I literaturaSi (nkirTaZe, mxomeriki, gci ci SviL i, gsul aZe, I j iqia...) erovnul - demokratebis erTi j gufis mxridan mxol od `samxedro centris- gacemazea saubari da yuradRebis mi Rmaa datovebul i umni Svnel ovanesi saki TxI_ erovnul - demokratebis imavej gufis mier SeiaraRebul i aj anyebis samxedro gegmis (vj uRel i- al .zaqariaZe) gacemis faqt. samecniero I literaturidan cnobil ia, rom im etapze SeiaraRebul i aj anyebis ori gegma arsebobda: 1)vj uRel i- al .zaqariaZis da 2)r.musxel iSviL is.

dokumenturi masal i T dadasturebul ia, rom SeiaraRebul i aj anyebis pirvel i gegma (vj uRel i- al .zaqariaZe) aj anyebis dawyebas mxol od im SemTxvevaSi mi i Cnevda dasaSvebad, Tuki igi yovel mxriv iqneboda momzadebul i. meore mxriv, taqtikuri mosazrebibi dan gamodinare dasabuTebul i formiT iyo warmodgenil i aj anyebis dawyebis xel sayrel drod ara Sua zafxul i, aramed gvi ani Semodgoma an adre gazafxul i. am umni Svnel ovanes dokumentSi, samxedro Tval sazrisiT safexurebrivid yvel a niuansi iyo gaTvl il i. igi pirvel rigSi Tbil i si s aRebas, sabWouri SeiaraRebul i Zal ebiS gani ar aRe-

bas, bol Sevikuri mTavrobis dapati mrebas, strategi ul i mni Svnel obis obieqtebis dapatronebas da amis Semdeg, SeiaraRebul i aj anyebis srul i ad sagar Tvel os da kavkasi i s masStabi T gasi as iTval i swinebda.²⁶

i m SemTxvevaSi, Tuki am gegmis mixedvi T i moqmedebden da i gi warmatebul i aRmoCnde boda, sagar Tvel os mosaxl eobaSi social - demokrati i s l iderTa avtoriteti erTi orad gai zrdeboda da momaval saparl amento arCevnebSi, rogorc qveynis gamma Tavisufl ebel pol i tukur Zal as sqar Tvel os mosaxl eobaSi al ternat i va ar eqneboda rac Seexeba meore gegmas, romel ic r.musxel i Svi l i s gegmis saxel wodebi Taa cnobi l i, qaquca Col oyaSvi l i SeiaraRebul razmze iyo orientirebul i. i gi sagar Tvel oSi disl ocirebul i rusul i j aris xevsureTi s xeobaSi Setyuebas da ganadgurebas iTval i swinebda. amis Semdeg unda moexdinaT aj anyebul ebs TbI l i sis aReba. am gegmis saerTo anal i zi dan gamodinare, g.cici Svi l ma savsebi T kanonzomierad uwoda mas fantastikuri gegma.²⁷ es iyo arsebul i sinamdi l i gauTval i swinebli ad Sedgeni l i gegma, romel ic rusul i sardl obis da mis xel qveiT TbI l i Si myofi samxedro Senaer Tebi s (4000 xi Sti) cxvris farasavi T xevsureTi s vi wro xeobaSi Setyuebaze iyo gaTvl il i. am SemTxvevaSi saRi azri daCrdil a egoi zma, xel i sufl ebi sken swrafvis avadmyofurma senma da social - demokratebi sadmi bi ol ogi urma siZul vil ma. erovnul - demokr tebis garkeul ma j gufma, zemoaRni Snul i qnedebi T, samSobl os interesebi partiul i interesebi anacval a.

Cems mier zemoT motanil i faqtebi daedo safuZvl ad SeiaraRebul i aj anyebis vj uRel - al .zaqariaZi s samxedro geomis gacemas. dokumenturi masal i T dadasturebul ia, rom aRni Snul i gegmis (vj uRel i - al .zaqariaZe) Sesaxeb mxol od ramdenime kacma (n.xomeriki, vj uRel i _social - demokratebi) da erovnul - demokratebi dan gansakuTrebul i pasuxi smgebl obi T aRWurvil ma oriode kacma Tu i coda. isic cnobi l ia, rom am gegmis xel i manqanaze nabewdi tegstis erTi ekzempl ari (40 gverdi) aj anyebis centris xel mZRvanel obas qonda Cabarebul i. dRemde gamoqveynebul samecniero l i literaturaSi, dokumentur masal aze dayr dnobi T, samxedro centris gamcemTa Sesaxeb safuZvl iani mtki cebul ebaa motanil i. mixedvel obaSi myavs k.mi sabl i Svi l i, mj avaxi Svi l i, iv.nari-

kel aZe da k.gegewkori. magram araferia naTqvami aj anyebis samxedro gegmis gamcemTa Sesaxeb. xazgasmi T minda aRvni Sno, rom am 40 gverdiani dokumentis zepirad damaxsovreba da Semdeg qaRal dze ucdomI ad gadatana, neblsmieri adami anis mexsierebis SesaZl ebl obebs aRemateba ami T imis Tqma minda, rom xel is manqanaze dabelldil i es gegma, samxedro centris maRal CinosaniS da erovnul - demokratiul i partiis erTi erTi wevris mier unda iyos gacemul i miTumetes, bol o periodSi mikvl eul i saarqivo masl ebis mi xedvi T, es samxedro gegma saqarTvel os uSi Sroebam fostiT erovnul - demokratiS tebi sagan miRo. amiS Sesaxeb angariSgasawevi informaciaa dacul i saqarTvel os kompartiis cekas samdivnos daxurul TaTbirze I.berias mier gakeTebul moxsenebaSi. `xSiraT iyo SemTxeva, rom erTi partia, mag. naci onal - demokratebi-vki Txul obT dokumentSi- cnobas gvaZl evda meore partiis zogierTi pirebis Sesaxeb maTi Tavidan moSorebis mi zni T. Tqven iciT, rom aj anyebis dros naci onal - demokratebs surdaT moZraobiS meTauroba da hegemoniS xel Si aReba, ami tom isini ebrZodnen menSevi kebs.. j er iyo da movida cnoba, maTi komi tetis wevris wi namZRvar iSvIl is Sesaxeb, romel ic iyo yvel aze aqtiiuri damcvel i menSevikurT gan gul wrfel i TanamSrroml obis. Semdeg undodaT ra menSevikuri samxedro ZaI ebis daqsaqsva, Cven mi vi ReT cnoba menSevi kebis samxedro xel mzRvanel i nodias Sesaxeb da i si c Sevi pyariT. **maTi saSua**-I ebl T Cavi gdeT Cven v.j uRel Ic xel Si da mi vi ReT agreTve fostiT aj anyebis pirvel i gegma, roml iTac gavstexiT JuRel I da Is aval aparakeT.-

am vrcel amonawerSi motanil i faqtebi dan kargad Cans: 1)pirvel obisTvis brZol aze dafuznebul i egoi zmi dan gamomdinare, partiul i interesebis qveynis interesebze maRI a dayeneba. es faqti, gakvirvebas ar iwevs imdenad, ramdenadac 1921 wl is april idan 1922 wl is maisis CaTvl iT, partiaTa SeTاخmebis Sesaxeb mimdinare sxdomebis saoqmo CanawerebSi, yvel gan wina pl anzea wamoweuL i erovnul - demokratebis mxridan saarCevno sistemis ignorirebis bazaze ministrebis portfel ebis qvotebis wi naswari dakanonebis auciL ebl obis moTxovnebi.²⁸ 2)social - demokratebis gzi dan Camocil eba da aj anyebis sadaveebis xel Si aReba, aj anyebis gamarj vebis SemTxevaSi, erovnul - demokratebs saqarTvel oSi Zal au-

flebis upirobod dapatronebis SesaZl ebl obas miscremda da rac mTavaria, okupaciis uRel i, ara social - demokratebis gegmis amoqmedebiT, aramed erovnul - demokratebis gegmi T da qaqua Col oyaSvil is meSveobiT iqneboda mocil ebul i. Tuki am Canafiqris real izacia moxdeboda, er ovnul - demokratebi, rogorc moqmedi pol itikuri Zal a, pirvel adgil s dalkavebda, xol o social - demokratebi ukana pl anze moeqceda; 3)social - demokratebis samxedro gegmis gacema, am politikuri partiis sazogadoebaSi pol itikur dasamarebaze iyo gaTvl il i. samwuxarod, dampyrobTa wi naaRmdeg brZol aSi, erovnul - demokratebma uargisi samxedro gegma amj obines ukeTess, radgan es ukeTesi, social - demokratebis Semoqmedebis nayofs warmoadgenda. aRni Snul saki TxTan dakavSi rebiT imave l berias moxsenebaSi vki Txul obT: `aj anyebis pirvel i gegmi T (social - demokratebis S.v.) gamosvl a unda dawyebul iyo Tbil isi dan da Tu es ganxorciel deboda Cveni mdgomareoba Zl ier rTul i iqneboda, radgan menSevi kabis mTavari Zal ebi swored Tbil isSi iynnen Tavmoysi ni. nacinal - demokratebmac kargad icoden es da isini cdil obdnen meore, e.i. maTi (rmusxel iSvil is S.v.) gegmi T dawyebas aj anyebisas. e.i. Col oyaSvil ze dayrdnobiT. asec moxda da Cvenc aj anyebis l i kvidaciac gagviadvil da. Tqven xedavT Tu ra di di samsaxuri gagviwi a i m wi naaRmdegobebma, romel ic am or mTavar antisabWoTa partiebs Soris iyo. (CvenTvis Semdegi ambebis gamo damtkecebul ad iTvl eba, rom am cnobebs Cven gvi gzavni da swored nacinal - demokratebi.)

I berias moxsenebaSi motanil i faqtebi simarTl ed unda mi vi cni oT, radgan: 1)zemoaRniSnul i TaTbir i daxurul formatSi mi mdi narerebda, saagi taci o-propagandistul datvirTv-as ar atarebda da ganvl il i periodis umni Svnsl ovanesi faqtebis_ TaTbir is monawil eebis sadmi informaciis saxiT mi wodebas isaxavda mi znad; 2)es moxseneba, SejaraRebul i aj anyebi dan 6 wl is Semdeg gakeTda. i gi gamarj vebul i sabWoTa xel i sufl ebis uSi Sr oebis uwyebis 1921_ 1930 wl ebis saqmi-anobis Sej amebas da samomavl o gegmebis srul yofas iTval - i swi nebda; 3)l berias aRni Snul i moxseneba, antisabWoTa pol itikuri partiebis di skredi taciaze rom yofil iyo gaTvl il i, TaTbir is masal ebTan erTad gasaj arovdeboda da farTo sazogadoebi sTvi sac xel mi sawvdomi gaxdebda.

rac Seexeba patimrobaSi myof vj uRel s, saarqivo masal ebi s mi xedvi Tirkveva: 1) umkacresi wamebi sa da fsiqol ogiuri zemoqmedebi s mi uxedadavad, mas si tyva ver daacdevines. ra donis wamebaSi unda yol odaT i gi, rom Tvi Tmkyl el obi s gadawyeti- l eba mieRo. cixis iatakis qvaze al esil i al uminis kovzis tar i Ta da I ursmni T, marcxena mkl avis vena eqvs adgil ze gadaelira da Wril obebi JangiT amoevso,²⁹ aseTi ram I acrebs ar scveviaT. i gi samSobl oze uzomod Seyvarebul i gmi rebi- s Tvi saa damaxasia Tebel i. samwuxarod, Cemi kol egebi s di di nawi l i, roml ebic tyuil ebi T damZimebul i memuarebi s ze- moqmedebi s qveS imyofebian, sagar Tvel os pirevel i respubliki s Rirseul i j ariskacis da fol adivi T nawr Tobi pir ovnebi s_ vj uRel is mimarT, xSi rad daumaxurebel da ugvano epi Tetebs ar i Surveben. xel CasaWid masal ad mis or weril s: 1) weril i menSevikur cekas- da 2) Ria weril i yvel a amxanagebs da yofil saxal xo gvardiel ebs- iyeneben. yuradRebi s mi Rma toveben im ZiriTad ganmapirobel mi zezebs, ramac vj uRel s aRniSnul i weril ebi daawerina an daaweres. yovel SemTxvevaSi, es weril ebi misi xel moweri Taa dadasturebul i. am dokumentebi s safuzvl ianad gacnobi s Sedegad, Cemi yura- dReba meore weril ma mi iqcia, sadac kvantial ianTan Sexvedris faqtia aRweril i. `kvantal ianma-wers vj uRel i- maCvena Za- l ian seriozul i dokumentebi, ramac Za l ian Camafiqra, vi nai dan CemTvis naTel i gaxda, rom `Ceka-- m yvel aferi kargad i cis.³⁰

sazogadoebaSi da mecnier ul wreebSi ac wl ebi s gammavl oba- Si pasuxgaucemel i rCeboda ki Txva, iseTi ra saxis dokumentebi unda eCvenebeinat vj uRel i saTvis, rom i gi aj anyebi s sai du- ml oebi s gacemaSi darwmunebul iyo. am umni Svenel ovanes saki- TxTan mi nar TebaSi , mkyl evarebi nakl eb dai nteresebas i Cendnen da ZiriTadi yuradReba vj uRel is zemoaRni Snul i weril ebi s mi zanSewonil ebi s faqtze gadaqondaT. aqedan gamodminare, mis `avtors- Sesabamisi epi Tetebi T yvel a brunvaSi i xseni- ebdnen. rac Seexeba kvantal ianis mier vj uRel i sadni naCvenebei dokumentebi saxeobis gaxnsi gasaRebs, ami s Sesaxeb sai- ntereso informaciaa dacul i harvardi s universitetisa da I evil i saarqivo masal ebSi. xazgasmi T unda i Tqvas, rom am dokumentebma udidesi siaxl e Semoi tana qarTul wyaroTmco- dneobaSi, Tavdayi ra daayena da sabol ood amxil a zogierTi memuaristis mier fantaziiT gamogonil i cil ismwamebl uri

bral debebi; 2)dokumenturi masal iT dadasturebul ia, rom sagangebo komisiis TanamSromel ma, patimrobaSi myof v.j uRel s aj anyebis samxedro gegma daudo wi n.³¹ aj anyebis es gem, rogorc zemoTac mqonda aRni Snul i, v.j uRel i sa da al .zaqariazis mier daweril dokuments warmoadgenda. swored amis Semdeg irwmuna v.j uRel ma aj anyebis gegmis gacemis simarTl e. man srul ad gaacnobiera is garduval i katastrofa, romel ic moRal ateTa mier gacemul i samxedro gegmis Semdeg, aj anyebis dawyebis SemTxvevaSi iyo mosal odnel i. qarTvel i eris mimarT bol SevikTa umkacresi angari Ssworeba da sisx-
I is Rvra rom ar momxdariyo, daki Txvisas v.j uRel ma Txovni T
mimarTa I berias: `ramdenime dRiT gamanTavisufI eT patimro-
bidan, damal evi neT sawaml avi, sami dRis mere rom imoqmedos
da sisxI is Rvra aRar iqneba saWi ro... saWi roa movel aparako
Tana mebrZol ebs... amas moi Txovs qarTvel i xal xis intere-
sebi.³² aseTi nabij is gadadgma mxol od gmi rebs SeuZl ia da
ara I acrebs. mas Tavisi Tana mebrZol ebi dan arcerTi piro-
vneba ar dusaxel ebia. amis sawi naaRmdego dadasturebis dokumenti
j er- j erobiT aravis gamouqveynebia. rac Seexeba
`damkomi sadmi - gagzavni l sayovel Taod cnobil gamafTxi-
l ebel weril ebs, igi mxol od mas Semdeg Seiqma roca
uSi Sroebam sawaml avi s mi Rebaze da sawaml avmi Rebul is Tana
mebrZol ebTan gaSvebaze uTxra uari v.j uRel s.

saarqivo masal ebi dan irkveva, rom aj anyebis samxedro gegmis
gacemis Tanave, saqrTvel os xel i sufl ebi s Sesabami si uwyebis
xel mZranel obi T, winaswari Tavdacvi Ti Roni sZiebebi iqna
ganxorciel ebul i. mxedvel obaSi maqvs did qal aqebSi ganTav-
sebul i saxel mwifo dawesebul ebebis gamagreba. am faqtTan
dakavSi rebi T, baTumi dan stambol Si 1924 wl is 20 agvistos
gagzavni l weril Si vki Txul obT; `ager aTi dRea baTumSi
da mgoni sxva qal aqebSi ac komunistebis dawesebul ebebs yv-
el as tyvi amfrqvevebi T i caven. dawesebul ebebi dRe da Rame
daraj ebi Taa savse. mTel i Zal a fexzea clamdgari, ra mi zezia
da ram gamoiwiia aseTi si frTxil e komunistebi sgan aravin
icis... faqturad yvel a quCebi da dawesebul ebebi gakrul ia.
daWerebra Seuwynarebel il- igive weril i guriis regionsac
exeba: `guriaSi- vki Txul obT dokumentSi- samxedro wesebi
iyo gamocxadebul i da mTel i adgil obrivi Zal a fexze iyo

damdgari. sofi el i komunistebi uzi l obis gamo qucebSi vardebodnen. as ormocdaaTi j ariskaci Tbilisi dan Camoi yvanes.-

Cems mier motanil i faqtebi imis naTel i dadasturebaa, rom aj anyebis samxedro gegmis gacemTa `damsaxurebi danganomdinare, saqarTvel os gasabWoebul i xel isufi eba saqmis kurssi iyo da mosal odnel i antisabWouri aj anyebis sawi na-aRmdego qmedebis gansaxorciel ebl ad safuzvl ianad emzadeboda. meore mxriv, aj anyebis zemoaRniSnul i gegmis xel Si Cagdebi T, uSiSroebebis TanamSromi ebma, srul iad kavkasiis masStabi T, antibol Sevikuri centrebis urTierT damakavSi-rebel i xazis daufi ebas milaRwies. am warmatebul ma svl am, aRniSnul organizacias, antsabWourad moqmedi yvel a saelWo wer til i wi naswari amoSanTvis SesaZl ebl oba misca. paral e-l urad, wiTel qarTul j arSi mosamsaxure qarTvel oficre-bze masobrivi Seteva ganaxorciel a. mxedvel obaSi maqvs maTi dapati mreba da samsaxuridan daTxovna. momxdari faqtiT, SeiaraRebul i aj anyebis organi zaci ul ad dawyebis saZirkve-i i wi naswar i qna dangreul i.

zemoaRniSnul is gaTval i swinebi dan gamomdi nare, 1924 wl is agvi stoSi qaoturi formiT dawyebul i aj anyeba damar cxebi-sTv is iyo ganwirul i, radgan: 1)aj anyebis pi rvel i samxedro gegmi T gaTval i swinebul i moTxovnebis (ruseTis Si dasaxel mwi foerivi mdgomareoba, saerTaSori so pi robebi, aj anyebul e-bisaTv is ful is, iaraRis da sursaTis mi Rebis wi naswari garantebis ararseboba) Seusru ebl obi s mi uxavedavad dai wyo; 2)rogorc zemoTac mqonda aRniSnul i, uSiSroebam maTi mo-qmedebis yovel i nabij i icoda. momxdari faqtiT, sabWoTa xel isufi ebas adre Cafiqrebul i ganazaxis_urci intel ige-nici i sa da arakomunisturi sazogadoebri-pol i tikuri azris midevarTa srul i ganadgurebis dawyebis SesaZl ebl oba misca. dRemde gamoqveynebul samecniero SromebSi da Cems mier mopovebul i axal i saarqivo masal ebi Tac dasturdeba far TomasStabiani sadamsj el o RoniszIebis mZime Sedegebi, roml ebmac grigal iviT gadauara saqarTvel os. sabWoTa xel isufi ebi s mesveurTa mi zans, erovnl i cnobierebi sa da qveynis damouki debl obi s aRdgenaze meocnebe adami anebi s fizikuri da fsiqol ogiuri ganadgureba warmoadgenda. am mimarTu-l ebi T, qveynis uSiSroebebis Sesabamis uwyebas, Cafiqrebul i mi znis srul ad gansaxorciel ebel i meToDebi qonda damuSave-

bul i farTomasStabiani represiebis erT- erTi safexuri, antisabWouri politikuri partiebis ganadgurebas iTval i-swi nebeda am mxriv, pirvel i umZimesi dar tyma iatakqeSeTSi moqmedma social - demokratiul ma partiam miRo. paral el urad brZol a sxva politikuri partiebsa da upartioebis wi naaRmdegac mudi nareobda. farTod amuSavda `dasmenis instituti, ramac adamianTa axal i sicocxl e Seiwi ra. mi uxeadavad amisa, 1924 wl is aj anyebis avanturad gamocxadeba, xol o misi meTaurebis eqstremistebad da avanturistebad `mona-Tvl a, samSobl oze uzomod Seyvarebul i gmi rebis xsovnisa-dmi upativcemul obas warmoadgens. 1924 wl is aj anyebam im periodis sabWouri da evropul i zonis sferoSi myof intel e-tqul urad moazrovne da Tavisufl ebaze mofiqral erebs, gamokvetil i formiT uCvena: 1)sabWouri okupaciisa da monobis mZime uRI is miuxedavad, qarTvel i eri fizikurad ar daCa-Canakebul a da gonebrivid ar daCI ungebul a, misi Si nagani cnobiereba, kiser ze Tokgamobul i morCil i saqonl is donende ar dasul a; 2)1924 wl is aj anyebam, momaval Taobebs sabWour imperiasTan ukompromiso brZol is gagrZel ebisa da daumo-rcil ebl obis xi di augo da anderZis saxi T am mi marTul ebi T svla, qarTvel Ta modgmi s gadarCenis pi rvel xarisxovan amo-canad dausaxa; 3)1924 wl is aj anyebis gmirTa saxeebi, yvel a epoqaSi qarTvel Ta gamofxi zl ebis, mtrisadmi xmal SemarTul i daxvedris da nebismieri dampyrobel is batonobisadmi daumo-rcil ebl obis simbol os warmoadgens. maTi acrdil ebi erT-xel kidev Segvakseneben Tu rogor unda gviyvades Cveni samSobl o.

rac Seexbe im udi des msxverpl s, romel ic aj anyebas mohya, marTl ac da ganuzoml ad didi iyo. erTi ram dabej iTebi T SeiZl eba iTqvas, 1924 wl is aj anyebasTan dakavSi rebiT msxverpl ad Sewirul i adamianebei, mtris wi naaRmdeg xmal SemarTul i mebrZol ebis da samSobl osadmi TavSewirul ebis saxel - iT wavi dnen susuvel Si da gmi rebis saxel i daimkvi dres. isini Tavisi Si nagani cnobierebi dan da azrovnebi dan gamoddinare, 1930-1940 wl ebis represiebs mainc ver gadaurCeboden da usaxel od moxdeboda maTi ganadgureba. i se rogorc `gawol is politikis- momxreebs gaukeTes. es imas ni Snavs, rom im monakveTSi qveyanaSi Seqmnl i politikuri da ideol ogi-uri atmosfero_(sabWoTa xel isufl ebis mteri, burJuazi ul i

qveynebis agenti, kapi tal izmis restavraciis mxardamWerеби da a.S.) maTi xel Seuxebi obis aranair garantias ar iZI eoda. Cemi azri T, 1924 wl is aj anyebis Sefasebisas, aRni Snul i faq-torebic unda iqnas gaTval i swinebul i.

Cems mier motanil i dokumenturi masal is anal i zi, Semdegi daskvnebis gakeTebis Sesazi ebl obas iZI eva: 1)1921- 1922 wl ebis represlebiT Camkvndari aral egarul i antisabWouri saqmianobi s safexurebrivad gamosacoxi ebl ad, umkacresi disciplinis, informaciis gasadum i oebis da konspiraci u- l i muSeeobi s formebis SemoReba, n.xomerikis diqtatorad, eqstremistad da avantiuristad gamocxadebi s safuZvel s ar iZI eva, sabWour provokaciaze arwamogebi s Sesaxeb, social - demokratul i partiis i iderebi sgan `samxedro centris- xel mZRvanuel Tamraval gzi s gafrTxil eba, qveyni s mosaxi eobisadmi axal i represlebi s acil ebas iTval i swinebda; 2)saokupacio reJi mis wi naaRmdeg SelaraRebul i aj anyebis mosamzadebel i Roniszlebebi da moqmedebi s taqtika, gamartI - ebul ad mxol od im SemTxvevaSi CaiTvl eboda, Tuki `samxedro centris- mier mi Rebul i gadawyvetil ebebi, aj anyebi s samxedro gegmi T gaTval i swinebul moTxovnebs daakmayofii ebda. mxedvel obaSi maqvs: a)auCqarebi s oba, SelaraRebul i gamosvi ebi s safuZvi lan momzadeba da ruseTSi Seqmnili xel sayre- l i pol i tukur- ekonomikuri situaciis maqsimal urad gaTva- l i swineba; b)srul i ad kavkasi s masStabiT, qarTvel Ta mxar-damxar brZol is da erTobi i vi Zal ebl T sabWoTa ruseTi sad- mi dapi r ispi rebi s safexuri s momzadeba; g)evropi s qveynebi- dan laraRTa da ful i T daxmarebi s garantii Seqmna; 3)n.xo- merikisa da v.J uRel is dasapati mrebl ad, erovnul - demokratul i partiis zoglerTi warmomadgenel i sgan `Ceka-- s TanamSromi ebl sadmi xel Sewyoba, aRni Snul i pirovnebebi s pol i tukuri sarbi el i dan Camocii ebas da moqmedebi s Tav- susufal i svrcis Seqmas iTval i swinebda. SelaraRebul i aj a- nyebi s samxedro gegmis, amier kavkasi s sagangebo komisi s i sadmi gadagzavnit, erovnul - demokratul i partiis zoglerTi sul mokl e adamianebi sgan udlidesi danaSaul i lqna Cadeni i, am qmedebi T, SelaraRebul gamosvi ebs, araorganizebul i, spontanuri saxe mleca da garduval i damarcxebi s wl naswarl safexuri momzadda.

Shota Vadachkoria

For Clarifying the Betrayal of the Plan of the Armed
Uprising in 1924

Summary

On the basis of the documentary materials in the article it is shown that: 1) on the background of the difficult political and economic situation of Georgia, raising process of the Georgian people's strive for national independence is mostly taken into consideration in the documents which are presented in the article; 2) on the background of the thorough analyses of the factors determining the economic rapprochement between Europe and Russia, the peaceful liberation of Georgia (military aid of Europe, endeavor of the International International and the fall of the Kremlin) was hopeless and just an illusion; 3) the authors of the documents convincingly demonstrated the priority of the armed uprising of the Caucasus and the function of the arbitrator in this case was given to Georgia. The preparatory stages and all measures to complete the uprising specifically is identified; 4) in case of victory of the uprising, the mechanisms of protection against new aggression of Russia, which are presented in the documents (political, military-strategic, financial, potential possibility of united action, and so on) fully meet the requirements of the time. These documents must be evaluated as a full-fledged short term (late autumn of 1922 – early spring of 1923) plan for the preparation and conduct of an armed uprising. Moreover, that every nuance of the measures to achieve the goal was mostly taken into consideration. 5) the introduction of the strictest discipline, secrecy of information and forms of the conspiracy for the revitalization of the extinct illegal anti-Soviet activity by the repressions, do not give reason to

declare N. Khomeriki as a dictator, adventurer and extremist. For avoiding the new wave of the Soviet repressions against the population the leaders of the Social-Democratic Party many times gave advance notice to the leaders of the "Military Centre" not to fall into a trap of the possible Soviet provocation. 6) The activities for preparing armed uprising against the occupational regime and action tactics could have been accepted as successful if the decisions of the "Military Centre" could have satisfy the demands of the military plan of uprising. I mean: a) moderation, fundamental preparation of the armed uprisings, to take completely into consideration created suitable political and economic situation in Russia; b) to create a ground for fighting against the Soviet Russia with the united forces together with Georgians all over the Caucasus; c) to create guarantees for the support of the European countries with weapons and money. 7) Some members of the National-Democratic Party supported employees of CHEKA to arrest N. Khomeriki and V. Jugheli. They wanted to alienate mentioned persons politically and thus, create free space for action. By sending the military plan of the armed uprising to the special committee of the South Caucasus some members of the National-Democratic Party committed a great crime. Because of this, the military uprising was spontaneous and disorganized and contributed to its inevitable defeat.

F

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**sul mokl e adami anebis mi er, amierkavkasi i s
sagangebo komisi i sadmi gadagzavnili
Sei ar aRebul i aj anyebi s samxedro gegma.
(patimrobaSi myof val Iko J uRel s, aq dabelidili
dokumentebi daudes wln)**

dokumentis # 1

Samxedro moxseneba srul iad salduml o

rac dro gadi s, mi T ufro nadgur deba da par taxdeba Cveni qveyana da Tu man ver SesZI o okupaci i s mZime uRI i s kisri dan gadagdeba, saqr Tvel o Si da ruseTis da TviT vol gi s mxares daemsgavseba. Tu ki dev di dxans gastana CvenSi bol Sevikebi s batonobam, qar Tvel i xal xi gaRatakdeba ara mar to qonebrivad, aramed rac yvel aze saSi Si a sul ieradac. igi dakargavs Tavisufi ebisaTvis brZol i s unars da gayveba anarqiis damRupvel gzas. sabedni er od j er aseTi sul ieri dakinnebi s da daSI i s procesi saqr Tvel oSi ar dawyebul a. piriqiT, Cveni xal xi TandaTan i krebs Zal Rones, saomraT irazmeba, i brZvis ki devac, magram gansakuTrebi T ukanasknel Setevisi-Tvis emzadeba. ert wel ze meti grZel deba es brZol a Cveni xal xisa saokupacio reJi mis wi naaRmdeg. am brZol aSi man amowura yvel a mSvi dobiani saSual ebani da ukanasknel aT 26 mai si s mSvi dobiani er ovnul protests sayovel Tao demonstraciebis da gaficvis saxe mi sca. am i qiT mSvi dobiani protests wasvl a aRar SeuZl ia, vi nai dan mi s Semdeg ukve iwyeba Sei ar aRebul i brZol a. amis ganmeorebac metad saSi Si a, vi nai dan am saxis er ovnul i demonstraciebi did msxverpl s i Txoven da Tanac pirispirl uaxl ovdebian Sei ar aRebul aj anyebas. yovel i ve amas metad didi angariSi unda gaewi os. es mdgomareoba srul iad obiecturad unda dafasdes da misgan Sesaferi daskvnebi gamovi yvanoT. es mi T ufro sali roa, rom am sul ieri simtkicis da aRmatebis xanas, auci l ebl ad Tan moyveba sawinaar mdego procesi sul ieri dacemi sa, da-SI isa da ui medobi sa. Tuki Cvenna xal xma naTI ad ver dai naxa

Tavi sufI ebi s gza da Tu am gza ar Sesdga fexi, saqarTvel - os ganTavisufI ebi s saki TxI, rac dro gadis mi T ufro mwaved, konkretul ad da radikal urad dgeba Cvens wi naSe. magram rogoria es gzebi da saSual ebani am ganTavisufI ebi sa? es gzebi sxvadasxvaa da Ti Toeul maTgans Tavisi fasi aqvs.

pirvel i gza aris gza evropis daxmarebisa. marTal ia, dRes gabatonebul i evropac mTI iani ar aris Tavis pol itikaSi ruseTi da misi ganapira qveynebis mimarT, magram, Cven aq im evropas vgul isxmobT, romel ic ganuyofel i, ZI ieri da mil i taristul i ruseTi winaamdegia. am evropas SeuZI ia daexmaros saqarTvel os dipl omatiurAT, pol itikuraT da material uraT. magram Cven wi ndawi nve unda vicodeT, rom am material ur daxmarebas ar SeuZI ia mi iRI s samxedro Zal ebit daxmarebis saxe, vi naidan dRes evropis sazogadebri i da pol itikuri azri, samxedro intervenciis winaamdegia. mxol od maSin aris SesaZI ebel i evropis aseTi intervencia, Tu TviT ruseTi omSi Caebmeba da Tu i gi romel im Tavis dasavas eTel mezobel s Tavs daeца. magram aseTi omis dawyeba imdenad amartivebs Cvens saki Txs da iseT mtkice ni-adagze ayenebs saqarTvel os ganTavisufI ebi s saqmes, rom Cven saWiroT ar mi gvaCni a maszed SeCereba. aq Cven gvainteresebs ara es srul iad martivi, naTel i da udao SemTxveva Cveni ganTavisufI ebi s, aramed ufro rTul i, Znel i da ekl iani gza samSobl os TavisufI ebi s, roca ruseTi did omSi Cabmuli ar iqneba da roca i gi aseT omze droebiT mainc uars i tyvis. amnairat gareSe samxedro intervenciisa, romel ic dRevandel piroebSi SeuZI ebel ia, saqarTvel os SeuZI ia evropisagan dipl omatiuri da pol itikuri daxmareba mi i Ros. e.i. evropas SeuZI ia ar i cnos saokupacio mTavroba da amasTanave mosTxovos ruseTs saqarTvel odan Tavisi ja rebi s gayvana. magram, radganac ruseTi saki TxSi evropis saxel mwifoebi ar arian SeTanxmebul i, radganac ingl isi swored bol Sevikebi s saSual ebi T cdil obs baqos navTis xel Si Cagdebas da amasTanave mahmadijanur osmal eTis sabol ooT dasustebas, cxadia, evropa mTI i anad da kategoriul ad veRar mosTxovs moskovs saqarTvel os ganTavisufI ebas. piriqiT mosal odnel ia, rom evropa, romel ic metad did kriziss gani cdis da romel sac sur s gza gai kafos ruseTi bazrisken, am krisisis dasaZI evad da rusul i simdidreebis xel T

Casagdebad, Seecddeba raime kompromisi gamonaxos bol Sevikebs Tan da am kompromi sze SeuTanxmdes bol Sevikebs ruseTs eqspl oataci i saki TxSi, da Tu mxedvel obaSi imasac mi vi RebT, rom bol Sevikebs gansakuTrebiT pol i tikuri Zal aufl ebiS SenarCuneba ai nteresebs da rom am mi zni saTvis i sini udi des ekonomi ur avansebs miscemen evropis bur Juazias, advil ad SegyiZl ia warmovi dgi noT, rom Tu mTI aT ara, evropis didi nawil i mainc mourigdeba bol Sevikur ruseTs. amis maCvenebel i simptomebi Cven ukve genuaSi davinaxeT da momaval Si es simptomebi kidev ufro gaZl i erdeba. mati gaZl iereba TandaTan gaarTul ebs da gaaZnel ebs Cven brZol as damouki debi obisaTvis. ami tom,Cven di pl omatiur muSaobaze gadaWarbebubl i imedebi ar unda davamyarot da mazed ar avi Tari il uziebi ar unda avagoT. Cven unda vi codeT,rom di pl omatiur ad imazed metis mi Rweva, rasac genuaSi mivaRwieT, metad Znel ia. udi desi Cveni gamarj veba genuaSi ara axal i pozicii SeZenaSi iyo, aramed Zvel i poziciebiS SenarCunebaSi da gamtki cebaSi. momaval Si brZol a i sev Zvel i poziciebiS i ngvl iv iwarmoebs da maTi dacvac TandaTan gaZnel deba. genuas CvenTvis i didi mni Svnel oba qonda, rom man gaarkvia evropis pozicia Cvenamdi da gvacno, rom saqarTvel os damouki debi oba Sesabameba evropis zogi saxel mwi foTa did i nteresebs. magram amasTanave genuam i sic dagvintkica, rom evropis di pl omatia, moskovs saqarTvel odan j arebs ver gaayvani nebs. es kargad unda gvaxsovdes.

II. meore gza muSaTa Internaciona l s energiul i Careva Cven saqmeebSI da misi daxmarebit saqarTvel os ganTavlsufi eba. es gza, metad sayuradReboa da Cven vi ciT, rom evropis muSaTa kl asi gansakuTrebul i simpatiit epyroba Cven sakiTx. magram, Cven i sic vi ciT, rom moskovi evropis muSaTa moTxovniT saqarTvel odan j ars ar gaiyvans da maT saSual eba ar aqvs moskovs es aizul on, srul iad naTI ad es dagvintkica berl inis konferenciam da cxraTa komisiis dasi am.

III. mesame gza saqarTvel os ganTavlsufi ebla aris TviT kreml is dacema. magram es gzac, i seve rogorc bol Sevikebis did omSi Cabma, imdenad naTel i, udao da sanatrel ia, rom misi ganxil vac zedmetad mi gvacnia. cxadia, rom kreml is dacema maSi nve saqarTvel os aRdgenas gamoi wvevs! amnai raT,

arcerTi zemoT aRniSnul i gza ar aris srul iad saimedo da utyuari. zogi maTgani susti da uzl uria da zogic metad probl ematuri magram niSnavs es imas, rom qarTvel ma xal xma sasowarkveTil ebas mieces, rom man dakargos aqturi perspektiva da istoriis inercias danebdes? srul iadac ara, vinaid dan rCeba ki dev meoTxe da ukansknel i gza.

IV. meoTxe gza es aris sakuTari erovnul i Zal ebis srul i darazmisa, mezobi ebTan mtkece kavSi rIs gaWedvi sa da sayovel Tao Seiar aRebul i aj anyebi sa. es aris metad mZime da Znel i gza xal xis ganTavi sufl ebi sa, magram amasTanev yvel aze ufro real uri, vinaid dan yovel Tvis TviT eri da misi Seurigebel i brZol aa mTavari mWedel i erovnul i Tavisufl ebisa. amasTanev isic aris aRsani Snavia, rom bur Jua-zul i da prol etarul i evropis simpaTiac Cvenamdi miT ufro aqtur xasiaTs miiRebs, rac ufro Tavdadebul ad i brZol ebs saqar Tvel o. magram Cven ukve vsTquiT, rom saqar Tvel om savsebi T amowura mSvidobiani brZol is yvel a saSuai ebani. mas darCenia mxol od uki duresi da umZimesi forma ganTavisufl ebi sa Tvis brZol isa_ sayovel Tao Seiar aRebul i aj anyeba. es aris uki duresi da ukansknel i saSuai eba. misTvis mimar Tva SeuZl ia mxol od gaTvi Tcnobi erebul ers, romel sac Segnebul i aqvs Tavisi interessebi, romel ic ganmar toebul i ar aris, romel sac yvel aferi windawi nve ga-Tval i swinebul i aqvs da romel sac swams gamarj veba. vi nai dan Tu aj anyeba damarcxda, bol Sevikebi mas sisxl is morevSi CaaRrCoben da ers mokl aven. es Cven yovel Tvis kargad unda gvaxsoveds da aj anyebis saki Txis ganxil vis dros ar unda davkmayofil deT marto saqar Tvel os viwro fargl ebiT, aramed mxedvel obaSi unda mi vi RoT rogorc ruseTis saer To mdgomareoba, ise evropis Cvendami damoki debul eba. am ukansknel ebze Cven qvevi T Sevcer debi T da aq ki mowi naaRmdege Zal ebi s Sedarebi Ti daxasi aTebi T davi wyebT, vi nai dan TviT aj anyebis bedis gadaWraSi udi desi mni Svenel oba mebrZol Seiar aRebul Zal ebs eZl eva.

TviT bol Sevikebi s sauwyebi moxsenebi dan Cans, rom 1922 wl i s pirvel i martisaTvis `okaSi- (kavkasi i sagangebo armia), romel sac kavkasi i s oTxive respubl iki s teritoria upyria, j avSni an matarebl ebi s da sxva wvri l `komandebis- gamokl ebi T da sagangebo nawil ebi s dar TviT i Tvl eboda:

- 1)`komsastavi_~_ 3330 } 39960
 2)wi Tel i armiel ebi_ 36630
 3)tyvils mfrqvevl ebi_ 534
 4)zARBaznebi_ 104 (baTumis sacioxvno artil erils gamo-
 kl ebi T) aqedan marto saqarTvel oSi iyo:
 1)`komsastavi_~_ 2100 } 22439
 2)wi Tel i armiel ebi_ 20339
 3)tyvils mfrqvevel i_ 274
 4)zARBaznebi_ 64

Tu mxedvel obaSi mi vi RebT, rom i mave cnobi T `okaSi~ mxo-
 l od 31 aTasi Tof i TvI eba, rom am ricxvidan 20 %- mde
 uvargisia da agreTve imas, rom faqturad nawil ebis Semadgen-
 l oba yovel Tvis formal ur ricxvze ufro sustia, Cven
 SegviZl ia Tamamad vsTqvaT, rom aRni Snul i cifrebi maqsim-
 luria da rom si namdvil eSi `okas- Semadgenl oba ufro su-
 stia. magram radganac Cven agreTve vi ci T, rom ukeTesi a mterze
 meti warmodgena qgondes, Cvenc ami tom mtros Zal as aRar
 Sevamci rebT da Cvens angari SebSi am maqsimal uri cifrebi T
 vixel mZRvanet ebT.

maSasadame mTel `okaSi- i TvI eba 40 aTasamde mebrZol i.
 aqedan 22 aTasamde saqarTvel oSi dgas, xol o danarCen 18
 aTasi ki binadrobs somxeTSi, azerbaij anSi, daRestanSi da
 nawil obriv Tergis ol qSi.

Tvi T saqarTvel oSi rusul i wiTel i jarebi ase arian
 ganawil ebul i: 1)Tbil isi_ 9000; 2)baTumi_ 4000; 3)quTai si_
 3000; 4)ore_ 3000; 5)sxva adgil ebi_ 3000. kavkasi is danarCen
 sam respubl ikaTa Soris `okas- nawil ebi ase arian ganawil e-
 bul i: 1)azerbaij anSi_ 8000, 2)daRestanSi da nawil obriv
 Tergis ol qSi_ 6000; 3)somxeTSi_ 4000.

ra Zal ebis gamoyvana SeuZl ia kavkasi is oTxive respubl ikas
 `okas- wi naaRmdeg? Cven aq umTavresad SegviZl ia mebrZol
 saqarTvel oze vil aparakoT, vi nai dan mi si Zal ebi s Sesaxeb
 srul iad utyuari da dasabuTebul i cnobebi gvaqs. magram
 Tu mxedvel obaSi mi vi RebT zogierT navyvet cnobebi
 da agreTve axl o warsul is istorias, romel ic mralval sayura-
 dRebo sabuTs iZl eva, Cven SesaZl ebl oba gveZl eva danarCen
 sam respubl ikaTa mebrZol Zal ebzedac cotad Tu bevrad
 swori Sexedul eba vi qoni oT.

antibol Sevikur mebrZol saqarTvel os exl axan TofqveS

yavs Semdegi srul iad saimedo SeiaraRebul i Zal ebi: 1)qar-Tul i wiTel i I aSqari_ 5000; 2)mil iciidan da sxva cal ke razmebi dan_ 3000; 3)sakuTari farul i samxedro organizacia_ 14000; sul 22000.

vimeoreb, es aris real uri, yovl ad saimedo da ukve mowesrigebul i SeiaraRebul i Zal ebi, gansakuTrebui yuradRebis Rirsia aq aRniSnul i mesame rigis Zal ebi, roml ebi c eyrdnobian Zvel i gvardiis organizacias da roml nic am Jamad saqarTvel os yvel a rCeul mebrZol ebs aerTebs. es organizacia faravs mTel saqarTvel os, yvel a ku-TxeSi mas yavs Tavisi mtkice razmebi, roml ebi c ara nakl eboci didi batal ionisa Seadgenen da roml ebsac ramdenime dReSi SeuZI iaT erTi- oraT gamravl eba, danarCen sam respubli ikaTa pirvel i rigis Zal ebi, roml ebsac aj anyebaSi Tavidanve SeuZI iaT monawil eobis mi Reba, daaxl oebi T aseTia:

I. azerbaij ani: azerbaij anis wiTel i I aSqari da sxva adgil obrivi razmebi dan_ 5000; 2)sakuTari Zal ebi, roml ebi c pirvel daZaxebi sTanave gamovl en_ 8000. sul 13000

II. somxeTi: 1)somxeTis wiTel i I aSqari da sxva razmebi dan_ 6000; 2)farul i samxedro organizacia_ 10000. sul _ 16000.

III. mTa: 1)sakuTari pirvel i dakvris Zal ebi_ 4000
maSasadame, oTxive respubli kas pirvel i dakvris Tanave SeuZI ia gamoiyvanos 55 aTasamde SeiaraRebul i meamboxe. TumcaRa, es ricxi srul iad ar aris gadaWarbebul i da sa-Wiro Jams oTxive respubli ika met Zal ebs gamoiyvans, magram Cven mai nc unj obesad migvachnia ar gadavaWarboT sakuTari Cveni Zal ebi da am to Cveni pirvel i rigis saer To Zal ebis ufro cudi SemTxevi saTv is 50000 kacs vi angariSebT.

amnair aT, `okas- 40000 mebrZol s pirvel i dakvris Tanave da upiri spirdeba 50000 meamboxe da am dapiri spirrebaSi yvel afris gadamwyveti swored es pirvel i dakvra iqneba. Tu igi gamar-j vebi T damTavrda da Tu oka Tavidanve damarcxda, kavkasiis respubli ikebi, mar to im iaraRis saSual ebi T, roml ebsac ganTavi sufl ebui teritoriale SeiZen, or kviraSi SesZI eben 100000_ mde gawrTnil i da mowesrigebul i j aris gamoyvanas. am j arebis saSual ebi T ki Cven SevZI ebT mtkice mogeriebi Ti omis warmoebas, sanam ucxoeTi dan sakmao iaraRs ar mi vi rebT da sanam raime axal i mZI avri faqtori ar Caereva Cven Tavidavis saqmeSi.

maSasadame, aq mTavari mni Svnel oba eZl eva ara i mas, Tu ra mogvi va Cven Tugind brwyinval e aj anyebi s meore dRes, roca ruseTi Zal - Rones moi krebs da axal Setevas dai wyebi, aramed i mas, rom TviT es pirvel i dakvra brwyinval e gamarj vebi T damTavrdes da Cven Tavi danve SevZl oT `okas- ganiaraReba. ami tom uwi nares yovl isa, Cven am SesaZl ebl obas ganvi xil avT.

rogorc vTqviT `okas- mTavari Zal ebi saqarTvel oSi a moTavsebul i da TviT saqarTvel oSi mobinadre j arebis rCeul i da saimedo nawil i (kursantebi, komunisturi razmebi, `Cekaspol kebi da sx.) Tbil issSi imyofeba. Tbil issSi ve arian xel m-ZRvanel i Stabebi da mTavari central uri organoebi. ami tom, Tamamad gveTqmis, rom saqarTvel os teritoriaze mobinadre `okas- nawil ebi s ganiaraReba i qneba i give `okas- srul i damcxeba, vi naidan danarCen respublikebs aRar gauZnel debaT maT teritoriaze mdgomis mtris mcirericxovani j arebis damorCiL eba. Ki dev meti, mar to Tbil issSi aReba, iq mdgomis rusis j aris ganiaraReba, sovnarkomebis, Stabebis da `Cekebis datyveveba, ukve i qneboda aj anyebi s ami er kavkasiis masStabi T gamarj veba, amas Zal ian kargad grZnobs mteri da swored ami tom igi gansakuTrebul yuradRebas aqcevs Tbil iss da di dis sifrTxil iT daraj obs mas. Cven Sesaferi angariSi unda gavuwi oT am faqts da ise unda wavar mood Cveni samxedro samzadisi, rom mis centrSi yovel Tvis Tbil isi idges, rom aj anyebi s dawyebi s Tanave SevZl oT am mTavari centris xel Si Cagdeba, magram SesaZl ebel ia Tu ara es? amaze pasuxs isev mowi naaRmdege Zal ebi s Seswyl a mogvems.

rogorc vTqviT, Tbil issSi dabineavebul ia 9000- mde rusul i jari, romi is ricxvSi Sedian yvel a sagangebo da cal ke razmebi. aRni Snul i ricxvidan srul iad saimedo da sakmaod mowesri gebul i arian kursantebi, (romi is mTavari nawil i dRes guriaSi) da `Cekaspol kebi, daaxl oebeiT 6000- mde mebrZol i. TviT es nawil ebi erTad ar arian da Tbil issis sxvadasxva kuTxeebSi arian moTavsebul i. mebrZol saqarTvel os ki imave Tbil issSi yavv: 1)qarTul i wiTel i I aSqari_ 2000; 2)rkinis gzis da qal aqis mil icia_ 1000, 3)sakuTari samixedro organi zacia_ 1500. sul 4500 kaci.

amas unda daer Tos is garemoeba, rom Tbil iss Tan akravs gare kaxeTi, duSeTis mazra, borCal o da mangl issis rai oni, romi ebsac SeuZl iaT 24 saatSi Tbil iss yovel mxriv Semo-

ar tyan 5000 meamboxe. Tu aj anyebas mtkice organi zacia eqneba, Tu i gi savsebi T gaTval i swinebul i iqna da Tu Tvi T aj anyebul Tbil isis Zal ebs droze da mwyobrad davaxmareT aj anyebul Ta gareSe Zal ebi, Tbil isis aReba Zal i an gaadvi- l deba. dasasrul , Tu mxedvel obaSi mi vi RebT Tvi T aj anyebis fsiqol ogias, rom mis beds swyets umTavresad ara meamboxeTa rixvi, aramed maTi organizaciul i da sul ieri simtkice, Tbil isis aReba srul iad saimedo saqmed Cai Tvl eba.

marTal ia, bol Sevikebis Zl iereba imasi, rom maT mowesri- gebul i, erTad Sej gufebul i da SeekavSi rebul i samxedro nawi l ebi yavT, romel Ta xel Si a zogier Ti teqnikuri saSua- l ebani, magram, Tu Tvi T aj anyebas aqvs mtkice da medgari organi zacia, sul advil ad Sei Zl eba bol Sevikebis aRni Snul i Zl ierebis maTive si susiT gadaqceva. amisaTvis sakmarisia xel mZrvanel i organoebis wi naswari dapati mreba, zogier Ti saiduml o nawi l i s pirvel rigSi gani ar aReba da zogi teqnikuri saSua l ebebis Tavi danve xel Si Cagdeba. magram, umTavresi si susiT bol Sevikebi sa da Zl iereba aj anyebis i maSi i qneba, rom bol Sevikebi Tavi danve mtris qveyanaSi i grZnoben Tavs, rom maT saqar Tvel oSi arsad eyol ebaT aravi Tari dasayrdeni sazogadoebriivi Zal a da Cven kargad viciT am cecxl i Zl iereba, Tuki i gi xal xis gul Sia anTebul i, Tuki mas mTel i eris mtkice da Seuryovel i gadawyvetil eba asazr doebs. da swored am mxriv Cven yvel aze ufro damSvi debul i da srul imediani varT.

Cven Tavi danve unda vi codeT, rom am sayovel Tao ganmaTa- visufl ebel i aj anyebis mowyoba, iniciativa da xel mZrvanel oba umTavresad saqar Tvel om unda iki sros, vi naidan mTe- l i kavkasiaSi mxol od saqar Tvel os aqvs amisi fizikuri da moral uri Sesal ebl ova. dRes kavkasiis yvel a nawi l ebSi metad maRI a sdgas saqar Tvel os saxel i, mTel i kavkasia um- Tavresad saqar Tvel os misCerbia da ami tom, mxol od mas SeuZl i a SeuTanxmos da erTad darazmos kavkasiis is antibo- l Sevikebi Zal ebi, roml ebic xSi rad dResac ar arian SeTan- xmebul ni da roml ebic cal - cal ke i brZvi an. magram Cven i- sic kargad unda vi codeT, rom am ki dev SeuTanxmebel i Zal ebis dasarazmavad da Semdeg Tvi T aj anyebis gamarj vebi T dasamTa- vruebl ad, saqar Tvel os dasWirdeba udi desi qonebrivi da fizikuri msxverpl is gaReba da Cven srul iad Segnebul ad

unda gavi RoT es msxverpl i, vi nai dan umi sod kavkasi i s fexze dayeneba SeuZl ebel ia mowesri gebul i da srul iad real uri Zal ebi, j er mxol od saqarTvel os yavs. sxva respubl i kebs, gansakuTrebiT ki mTas da azerbaij ans, am Zal ebis udi des potencia aqvT da maTi Zl ieri potencial uri Zal ebi, mxol od maSin mi i Reben real ur saxebas, Tu saqarTvel om aqtur aT Caeria maT organizaciaSi da maTi darazmva Tavis sakuTar saqmed gai xada.

aseTia kavkasi i s respubl ikaTa momaval i aj anyebis, saer To pirobebi. Cven ufro dawr vil ebi T aRar SevCer di T yovel i ve aj anyebis aucil ebel pirobebze_xal xi s masi ur sul i skve-Tebaze, vi nai dan Cven srul iad utyuari chobebi gvaqvs i misa, rom mTel i xal xi srul iad wi naaRmdegia bol Sevi kebsa ar a mar to saqarTvel oSi, aramed yel a danarCen respubl i kebSi ac. iqneb raime iWvi am mxriv somxeTze Segveparos, magram es iWvi mxol od imaze iqneba damyarebul i, rom somxeTis xal xi iqamdis ver auj anydeba bol Sevi kebs, sanam mas mtkece garantia ar eqneba imisa, rom mas xel axl a osmal eTi zurgSi satevars ar Cascems. magram es aris ar a mar to somxeTis saki Txi, aramed es aris Cveni saer To safiTxe, vi nai dan veravi Tar aj anyebas ver daviyebiT, Tu Cven wi naswar osmal eTi dan Cveni zurgi ar uzrunvel vyavi T, Tu gind osmal eTi nei tral i tetis saxiT. da Tu osmal eTi mxri dan dazRveul i viqnebiT, kavkasi i s respubl i kebs srul iad SeswevT fizikuri da sul i eri Zal a misTvis, rom imaTma SesZl on Tavis kisridan moskovis okupaciis gadagdeba. magram, sworeT aq dgeba i s metad didi saki Txi, romel sac mebrZol i saqarTvel o gvi yenebs da romel ic SemdegSi gamoi xateba: ras vi zamT Tu gind gama-rj vebul i aj anyebis meore dRes? vin iqneba Cveni damxmare, roca moskovi ruseTidan axal j arebs mogvasevs? es friad mni Svnel ovani saki Txia da, rasakvirvel i a mas gansakuTrebul i yuradRebiT unda moveqceT.

Cven ukve vsTqviT, rom aj anyebi s samzadi si s da mi si perspe-qtivebi s gaTval i swi nebi s dros, unda vi xel mZRvanel oT ara mar to amier kavkasi i s vi wro masStabiT, aramed amas Tanave se-riozul i angariSi unda gavuwi oT erTi mxriv saer TaSori so si tuacias da meoreTi TviT ruseTis Si naur mdgomareobas. Tu saer TaSori so urTie Toba Cvens wi naaRmdeg moewyo da amas Tanave bol Sevi kebi TviT ruseTSi ganmtki cdnen, cxadi a,

ami er kavkasi i s aj anyeba mi utevebel avanturad Cai Tvl eba. magram, Cvena sabednieri od, Cven vxedavT, rom faqturad Tanamedrove ruseTi s uki duresi ekonomiuri krizisi TandaTan Rravdeba da ami sda mi xedviT, gansakuTrebiT peri feri ebSi sustdeba bol Sevi kebis xel isufi eba. amas Tanave Cven vi ci T, rom safrangeTi da mcire antanta pol oneTianad bol Sevikuri da mi litaristul i ruseTi s wi naaRmdegia.es wi naaRmdegoba srul iad ar aris SemTxevi Ti, radganac i gi did da xangrZl i interesebzea damyarebul i. dRes safrangeTia xmel eTi s uZl ieresi saxel mwifo.es misi Zl iereba Tavis nawi! Si eyrdnoba mcire antantas da pol oneTi s, roml ebic TviT aRmocendnen sami imperiis nangrevebz. ruseT- gegmani i s daaxl oeba da maTi gazl iereba ni Snavs mcire antantis da pol oneTi s dasustebas. amnairaT, msofli o omis evropam Seqma srul iad axal i da metad Zl ieri interessebi, roml ebi Tac Tanamedrove ruseTi s wi naaRmdegia da romel ic damouki debi obi satVi s mebrZol kavkasi i s mxarezea. maSasadame Tanamedrove saer Ta-Soriso asparezz ukev moi poveba i seTi real uri Zal ebi, roml ebic obieqturad arian dainteresebul i kavkasi i s damouki debi obis aRdgenaSi. Tu amas daumatebT agreTve imas, rom evropis sazogadoebrivi azri da gansakuTrebiT ki muSa-Ta kl asis mxurval e simpaTi a, mebrZol i saqar Tvel os da kavkasi i s mxarezea, TamamaT gveTqmisi, rom Cveni momaval i aj anyeba metad xel sayrel pi robebSi moxdeba.

aRsani Snavi a, rom saqar Tvel oSi yofni s dros, Cven ufro ganmar toebul i vi yaviT, vi dre dRes. exl a Cven ufro gvi cnoben, met yuradRebas gvaqceven da met interess iCenen Cvendami. magram, mi uxedadav yovel i ve amisa, Cven im dromde ver avRmar TavT aj anyebis droSas, sanam zogierT srul iad real i ur dapi rebebs ar mi vi RebT da sanam faqturad uzrunve- l yofil i ar vi qnebiT osmal eTi dan. es dapi rebebi unda gamoixatebodes mxol od Tavis droze i ar aRis mowodebaSi da sesxis mocemaSi. Cven ar gvi nda ucxoel i damxmare j arebi, Cven arc exl ave movi TxovT i ar aRs mebrZol i saqar Tvel o-sTi s. Cven mxol od gvi nda darwmunebul i vi yoT imasi, rom bol Sevi kebis gadagdebi s Tanave Cven mi vi RebT sakmao i ar aRs, raTa dauyovnebul i SevqmnaT ganTavi sufl ebul respubli kaTa damcvel i j arebi da agreTve Sevi Zi noT i s sanovage, roml iTac j arebs SevinaxavT. Tu ammxri T Cven gveqna srul iad real uri

garantiebi, maSin uSi SraT daviwyebT aj anyebas da ki devac gavimarij vebT. sqematuraT TviT aj anyeba Cven ase gvaqvs warmodgeni l i:

II

SeZl ebi samebr aj anyeba yvel a respubl ikebSi erTsA da imave dros unda daiwyos. aj anyebis iniciatori, misi mTavari momwyobi, xel mZRvanel i da gadamwyveti faqtori saqarTvel o iqneba. Tu mTI ad ara, nawi l obriv mainc aj anyeba yubansac moedeba. aj anyebis centri da misi uaxl oesi mi zani Tbilisi iqneba. Tbilisi s Semdeg mTavari mni Svnel oba baqos, baTums, quTaiss, ganj as da erevans eZl eva. am centrebis xel Si Cagdeba, ukve iqneba aj anyebis amierkavkasiis masStabiT gamarj veba. xol o gamarj vebul i aj anyeba ki mogvcems sakmaris iaraRs Zl ieri j aris SesaiaraRebl ad Semdegi angariSiT: 1)ukve exl a oTxive respubl ikis xel Si 50000 Tofamdea; 2)`okas-nawil ebi s ganiaraRebis da yvel a sawyobebis xel Si Cagdebis Semdeg, Cven SeviZenT ara nakl eb 60000 Tofs.

amnai raT, gamarj vebul i aj anyebis meore dResve Cven gankarugul ebaSi iqneba 100000- ze meti Tofi. amas unda daematos 700- mde tysi smfrqvevel i, 100- ze meti zarbazani, ramodenimej avSniani matarebel i da avtomobil i da ara nakl eb 20 milioni vazna. yvel a am iaraRis saSual ebiT Cven advil ad SevZl ebT 2- 3 kviris gammavl obaSi sakmaod Zl ieri j arebi SevaiaraRoT da yovel nairiT mowawyoT. es miT ufro advil i iqneba, rom TiTqmisi yvel a respubl ikebs exl ac yavT adgil obriwi wiTel i j arebi, roml ebi c antibol Sevikurad arian ganwyobi ni da romel Ta organi zaciEBI aj anyebis Tanave gadaiqcevi an im samxedro ConCxebaT, roml ebsac adre SeesxmebaT nacional uri j arebis sisxl i da xorci. rasakvirvel ia, am axal i j arebis Seqmna mowesrigebaSiac mTavari rol i saqarTvel on unda iTamaSos, radganac mas yvel aze ufro Senaxul i samxedro organi zaciEBI aqvs, rogorc regul arul i j arisa ise gvardi i sa da mas mrawal i oficroba yavs. amnai raT, saqarTvel os udi desi mni Svnel oba eqneba aj anyebis mosawyobi wi naswari muSaobis dros. radgan: 1)mas mouxdeba Tavis saukeTeso organi zatorebis da saWiro ful is mezobl ebSi gagzavna. 2)aj anyebis dros, mTavari simZimi s aReba mas sakuTriv

dalWi rdeba. mezobl ebi s mxneobi s gasamtkicebl ad, masve mo uxdeba Tavisi oficrebi s da rceul i nawi l ebi s mezobl ebSi war gavna. aseT pirobebSi axl ad da saswrafod Seqmili 100 aTasi an j aris saSual ebi Tac kavkasi s respubl i kebi SeZl eben mtki ce da imediani Tavdaci s mowyobas. es ki dev ufro gaadvi l ebda, Tu aj anyeba Savi zRvi s ol qs, yubans da nawi l obriv ukrai nasac moedo. Tumca am Sesazl ebl obebi s zogierti real uri simptomebi Cven dResac gvaqvs. Cven mai nc ar gvidna gavar Tul oT Cveni angari Si odnav probl ematuri mosazrebi T da srul is rwmeniT vambobT, rom moxerxebul dros mar to amierkavkasi s SeTanxmebul i da sayovel Tao aj anyebac srul iad sakmari si Cveni ganTavisufi ebi saTvis. am SemTxvevisTvis Savi zRvi s ol qs, sadac aj anyeba aucil ebel ia, Cven amierkavkasi s vakuTvnebT.

aj anyebul i da ganTavisufi ebul i kavkasi s respubl ikaTa wi naaRmdeg moskovs dasWi rdeba ramdenime armi s ricxvi T ara nakl eb 200000 kacis dagrroveba. es armiebi man an Sida ruse-i dan unda gadmo iyanos, anda unda moxsnas dasavl eTi s frontidan, radganac ufro axl os mas arsad yavs sakmao Tavi sufal i Zal ebi. magram Tu Cven mxedvel obaSi mi vi RebT ruseTi s transporti s ukidures daqvei Tebas da agreTve i masac gavi Tval i swinebT, rom am vrcel i masStabi T 200 aTasi j ariskacis da misi sanovage- mowyobil obis gadasatanaT saWi ro iqneba ara nakl eb 600 matarebl isa, Cven advil ad davrmundebiT, rom am j aris dasagrovebl ad da mis mier gamosaval i mdgomareobi s (isxodnoe pol oJenie) dasakavebl aT saWi ro iqneba sul ukanasknel i 6 kviris vada, da swored am Tvenaxevris gammavt obaSi oTxive ganTavisufi ebul ma respubl ikebma flexze unda daayenon yvel a Tavisi samxedro Za l ebi, unda amowuron mTel i Tavisi aqtu roba da ucxoeti dan unda mi i Ron saWi ro iaraRi da ful i axal i j arebi s gamosawaT, mosawyobaT da SesanaxavaT, yvel a am zomebi s mi Rebi s Semdeg oTxive respubl ika SeZl ebs Semdegi Zal ebi s gamoyvanas: **1)saqar Tvel o_** 15 wl is mobil izaci iT da Ti To wel Si ukanasknel i 8 aTasi_ 120000; **2)somxeTI_** 15 wl is mobil izaci iT da Ti To wel Si_ 4 aTasi_ 60000; **3)azerbaij anl_** 15 wl is mobil izaci iT da Ti To wel Si_ 30000; **4)mTa_** 15 wl is mobil izaci iT da Ti To wel Si_ 10000. sul _ 220000.

amnai raT, mxol od 15 wl is mobil izaci i s saSual ebi T oTxive

respubl ikebs SeuZI ia TofqveS daayenon aranakl eb 220000 mebrZol i. es ricxvi gadaWarbebul ad ar unda Cai tval os, radganac, Cven mxol od 15 samobil izacio wel i gavi Tval i-swineT da Ti Toeul i wl isTvisac metad mcire saSual ori-cxvi avi ReT. magram Cven 20% s mainc gamovakl ebT mi Rebül saerTo ricxvsac, raTa srul ad gaduWarbebel i cifrebi mi-viRoT. am 20% - is gamokl ebi s Semdeg Cven dagvrCeba 180000 meomramde, romel Ta saSual ebi Tac ami erkavkasi am unda awarmoos Tavis Tavdacva. am Zal ebi T Tavis dacva mi T ufro SesazI ebel i da advil ia, rom mters mxol od ramdenime Semosatevi mimarTul eba eqneba, rom mas umTavresad sagareo saoperacio xazebiT daWi rdeba sargebl oba da Cven ki mometebul ad Sinagani saoperacio mimarTul ebebi gveqneba. Tu mxedvel obaSi mi vi RebT imas, rom mtris mTavari mimarTul ebebi i qneba derbenti, darial i da gagra, Cveni Zal ebi s ganawiI eba ase mogvi xdeba: 1)derbentis Wi Skris da saerTod daRestnis dasacavaT_ 50000; 2)Savi zRvis napi rebis gasamagrebl ad_ 20000; 3)darial is xeobisaTvis_ 10000; 4)mamisonis uRel te-xiI isatvis_ 50000; 5)crdiI oeTis sxva gadasasvl el ebi s dasakavebl ad_ 10000; 6)samxreTis sazRvrebis uzrunvel sayofad_ 30000; sul _ 125 000.

amis Semdeg, Cvens gankargul ebaSi darCeba 55000- mde ja riskaci, romel ic saerTo rezervs Seadgens da roml is daZvra salWi roebi samebr yovel mxriv SegveZI eba. Cven aq Segnebul ad ar gamogiyvi a cal ke j ari Sinauri wesrigis dasacavad da sxva da sxva mni Svenl ovani samsaxuris Sesasrul ebl ad, radganac amas Cinebul ad Seasrul ebs moxal iseTa cal ke razmebi da amT uzrunvel yofs j aris nawil ebi s zedmeti dabandebi sagan. aseT pirobekSi Cven SevZI ebT xangrZI ivi Tavdacva vawarmovoT da am xnis ganmavl obaSi dainterebul i evropa ama Tu im saxiT Caereva Cven brZol aSi da Seacerebs bol Sevkebis Semotevas.

aseTi a mokl ed da sqematurad Cveni ganTavi sufl ebi s perspectivebi. Cveni azriT, umTavresi faqtori am ganTavi sufl ebi s ari s kavkasi is respubl ikaTa sayovel Tao Seiararebul i aj anyeba. magram aq xel axl a xazgasni T unda gavimeoro, rom TviT aseTi sayovel Tao aj anyeba mxol od im SemTxevaSi a SesazI ebel i Tu osmal eTi aj anyebul respubl ikebs zurgi dan ar daeca da amT TavSi ve ar moguda aj anyeba. amnair aT, os-

mal eTis ne i tral izacias kavkasiis ganTavisufi ebi saTvis
udi desi mni Svenel oba aqvs, xol o TviT es ne i tral izacia,
ori pi robiT aris Sesazl ebli i: Tu osmal eTma gareSe bo-
l Sevikebi sa iSova saWiRo iaraRis wyaro da Tu somxeTma
Tavi danve ar wamouyena di di pretenziebi osmal eTis somxeTis
teritoriale. amitom, am saki Txebis irgyl iv Cven udi desi
muSaoba gvmarTebs da osmal eTis ne i tral obi s Tavdebi ro-
mel im Zl ieri evropel i saxel mwifo unda gaxdes. aseT pi-
robedSi kavkasiis SeTanxmebul i da erTdrooul i aj anyeba
srul iad real ur saqmed xdeba. amasTan erTad Cven udi desi
angariSi unda gavuwiOT drosa da da vadas aj anyebi sas. es
imas ar ni Snavs, rom Cven exl ave unda davni SnoT saaTi da
dRe aj anyebi sa. magram Cven savsebi T unda SevignoT, rom Tu
ki dev di dxans gagrZel da arsebul i mdgomareoba, Cveni
poziciebi aramc Tu gamtki cdebian, aramed Zal ze Sesustdebian
da TviT ganTavisufi ebi s saqme Soreul i momavl is burusSi
Cai kargeba. amasTaneve dabeledSavebul i Cveni xal xis moTminebis
fial ac ai vseba, misi gul i swyroma da dagrovebul i protesti
yovel i ve organi zaciul fargl ebs gadal axavs, igi daiwyeb
sakuTari gzebi s Zebnas da anarqiis saSinel cecxl Si gada-
vardeba. amis saSi si da damafiqrebel i simptomebi Cven ukve
gvaqvs. es simptomebi j er ver Zl ierdebian da ver imarj veben,
radganac qarTvel xal xs didi sazogadoebrivi da saorgani-
zacio skol a aqvs gavl il i. magram, Tu droze ar miveciT
i mediani gamosaval i xal xis gul i swyromas da mtki ce ndobas,
xal xi Tavisas izams da anarqiis cecxl Si Caiweba. bol Sevi-
kuri maxvili ki daasrul ebs mis ganadgurebas. es i qneboda
eris sikvidil i da Cveni saki Txisi didi xniT dasamareba.
amitom, Tumca Cven kar gad vi ciT, rom gadamwyeti mni Svenel oba
mebrZol Zal Ta obieqtur erTianobas aqvs, magram Cven arc
is unda daviviyot, rom Tavisufi ebisaTvis brZol aSi xal xis
subiectur sul iskveTebasac metad didi rol i ekuTvis. da
Tu Cven yvel afers miudgoml ad awon-dawoniT, Tu Tanabrad
Sevi swavl iT obiectur da subiectur pi robes, unda vsTqvaT,
rom dayovnebis dro aRar aris. Cven unda vaRiaroT, rom na-
wil i Cveni muSaobi sa, ukve dasrul da da rom amxriv Cven
dRes ufro Zl ieri da uzrunvel yofil i varT, vi dre guSin.
1) iuridiul ad Cveni pozicia ufro gammtkicda da dipl o-
matiuraT amaze metis gakeTebis medi Cven aRar unda gvqondes:

2) ruseTi s križisi dRes ufr o gaRrma vda da exl a bol Sevi - kebi faqti urad ufr o sustni arian, vi dne genuis wi n; 3) Cven damouki debi obas evropis did interesebSi aqvs ni adagi da 4) Cven ukve mi vi ReT seriozul i dapi reba iaraRiT da ful i T daxmar ebi sa.

exl a mTavari muSaoba Tvi T oTxive respubl ikaTa gul Si unda gadavi des da swored adgil obriv unda vamzadoT SeiaraRebul i aj anyeba. mSvi dobiani manifestaciebis da protestebis xana damTavrda. exl a dagvrCa mxol od erTi sa-Sual eba: protesti iaraRiT, anu sayovel Tao SeiaraRebul i aj anyeba. Cven aq am aj anyebi s verc pl ans da misi drois fiqsacias movaxdenT. es gegma adgil obriv unda SemuSavdes da vadis fiqsaciac iq moxdeba. aq Cven mxol od saerTo sqemis Sedgena da daaxl oeblTi vadis Cveneba SegviZI ia. saerTod unda i Tqvas, rom aj anyebas ori saukeTeso dro aqvs_ Semodgoma da gazafxul i. Cven ufr o xel sayrel ad Semodgoma mi gvačni a da Cveni mosazreba aseTia: I). ukve Sua seqtembri dan kavkasi s uRel texil ebs daTovs da Semosatev gzebs an sru- l iad daxuravs, an da gaaZnel ebs; II). Semodgomaze ruseTi rkini gzebs metad di di muSaob equebaT sazamTro momaragebi- saTvi s da eSel onebi s masiuri i gadazi dva bol Sevi kebi s moma- ragebi s pl ans daabrkol ebs. III). Semodgomis Sua xani dan xal xi yvel aze ufr o Tavisufal ia da metis xal i si t gamova sabrZo- l vel ad; IV) Semodgomaze vol gas gayinav s da ami s gamo eSel o- nebi s gadazi dvis mTel i simZime rkini s gzas daawveba.

ami tom, Cveni Rrma rwmeni T, Cven yovel i ve zomebi unda vi- xmaroT, raTa am 4- 5 TveSi mTel i samzadisi movaTavoT da Semdeg erTobaSi mZI avrad davartyaT. Tu Semodgomi T es samzadisi ver movaTaveT, aj anyebi s ukanknel i vada unda CaiTval os momaval i gazafxul i da Tu verc maSin movawayveT es aj anyeba, cxadi iqneba, rom misi SeZI eba aRar gvaqvs, rom Cven sakut Tar Zal ebze xel i unda avi RoT da istoriul i ine- rciis usicocxl o tal Rebs unda mi vendoT. es iqnebi da Cveni sikotris da srul i uZl urebis maCvenebel i.

sabednieri od saqm e srul iadac ar aris ase unugeSo. Cven SevecadeT gveCvenebi na, rom Cvens ganTavisufi ebas saerTo aj anyebi s saSual ebi T srul iad real uri ni adagi aqvs. saWi- roa mxol od evropaSi di pl omatiuri da gansakuTrebi T adgil obrivi praqtkul i muSaobi s gaaskceeba. ami sTvi s ki

umTavresad ful ia saWiro. saqarTvel oSi mebrZol ma amxanagebma muSaobi s Sesafer niadagze dasayenebl ad da mezo-bl ebTan mtkice kavSir i gsabmel ad, TveSi 65 aTasi Turqul i qaRal dis l ira mogvTxoves. Cven kargad vici T,rom am Tanxis Sovna Cven ar Segvi ZI ia. magram amasTanave Cven isic kargad vici T,rom am muSaobi sTvis TveSi aranakl ebi 20 aTasi l irisa aris saWiro. da Cven arc es ful i gvaqvs. da sworded am dr-oS, roca gaZI ierebul i da gadidebul i muSaobaa saWiro. Cven uful obis gamo iZul ebul i vxdebiT kidev ufro SevamciroT da SevboWoT Cveni muSaoba. es ki mTel i dawyebul i sagmis CaSI as udris. ami tom, exl axan CvenTvis yvel aze seriozul i didi da pirvel i saki Txi_ful is Sovnis saki Txia. Cven unda gavxeTqoT miwa da ramodenime milioni franki aucil ebl ad unda viSovoT. ful is Sovna ki SeiZI eba. Tu TviT noe Jordania daiZra da Tu Cven dainteresebul saxel - mwi foeks Sesaferi konvenciebi mi veciT. Cvenis azriT, mTavrobis Tavmj domarem noe Jordaniam finansTa ministris Tanxl ebiT am mizniT unda inaxul os safrangeTis, bel giis, Cexosl ovakiis da pol oneTis mTavrobis meTaurebi. damouki-debel i saqarTvel o da kavkasia Sedis am saxel mwi foTa interesebsi da ami tom isini Cven mogvcems sesxs.

vimeoreb, ful s CvenTvis exl a gadamwyeti mniSvnel oba aqv. Tu ful i iqna, Cveni saqme naxevrad gakeTebul ad unda Cai Tval os. meore naxevaes aj anyebul i xal xi daasrul l ebs.

1922w. 10 ivnisi. q.konstantinopol i. vj uRel i

dokumenti # 2

saqarTvel os aRdgrena. kavkasi i s ganTavisufl eba (samxedro sqema) srul iad salduml o

saqarTvel os da mTel i kavkasi i s ganTavisufl ebis mTavari faqtori iqneba sayovel Tao SeiaraRebul i aj anyeba. mTavari monwyobi da xel mZRvanel i am aj anyebisa unda iqnes saqarTvel o. TviT aj anyeba Sesazl ebel i iqneba mxol od maSin, roca erTis mxrit uzrunvel yofil i iqneba osmal eTis neutral iteti da meoreTi ganTavisufl ebis Semdeg evropis dauyovnebl ivi daxmarchebis srul i imedi gveqneba iaraRiT da ful iT. aj anyeba agreTve Sesazl ebel i da auciI ebel i iqneba maSi nac, Tu ruseTi did omSi Caeba anda Tu TviT Si-da ruseTSi gadatrial eba moxda. magram es SemTxvevebi imdenad udavoa, rom me maTze ar Sevcerdebi.

aRni Snul i wiwaswari pirobebi s mi Rebi s Semdeg saqarTvel os ganTavisufl eba sayovel Tao aj anyebis saSual ebi T srul iad Sesazl ebel sqmed xdeba, magram ami sTvis auciI ebl ad saWi-roa, rom aj anyebaSi aqtiiurad Caebas azerbaijani da masTanve amboxeba moedos mTaSi, yubanSi da agreTve somxeTSi. Tu somxeTi aqtiiurad ver Caeba aj anyebaSi, man yovel SemTxveveSi neutral iteti mainc unda dai cvas. aseT pirobebSi aj anyebas srul iad mtki ce da yovl ad sai medo ni adagi eqneba. mokl eT Cveni angariSi aseTi a: TumcaRa, sxvadasxva cnobebi s mi xedvi T mtki cdeba, rom exl axan mTel saqarTvel oSi dgas ara umetes 13 aTasi rusul i wi Tel i jari, magram Cven mainc mas 15- 17 aTass viangariSebT, radganac yovel Tvis umj obesia mtris Zal i s gadaWarbeba. es Zal ebi asea ganawi l ebul i: 1)Tfii isSi_ 5- 6 aTasi; 2)baTum_ foTi_ soxumi_ 3- 4 aTasi; 3)guria_ 3 aTasi; 4)quTaisi_ 2 aTasi; 5)kaxeTi da I ore_ 2 aTasi. sul 15- 17 aTasi.

Seni Svna: Tanaxmad i vni si s (22 wl i s) `svodkisa- mTel `okaSi- (daRestani ar Sedisi) iricxeboda `ConiT- da specialuri nawi l ebiani 33 aTasi mWamel i. amaTsi `xiSti- iqneba ara umetes 22 aTasisa. 1)saqarTvel oSi_ 12 aTasi; 2)azerbaij anSi_

6 aTasi; 3)somxeTSi_ 4 aTasi. amas daemateba: 1)azer baij anSi_ 5 aTasi; somxeTSi_ 3 aTasi da 3)daRestan_ mTaSi_ 6 aTasi. sul 14- 15 aTasi.

amnairad, exl axan mTel s `okaSi- iqneba ara umetes 30 aTasi kacisa. am Zal is wi naaRmdeg Cven SegviZI ia pirvel i saWi roebi sTanave gamovi yanoT Semdegi Zal ebi: 1)qarTul i wi Tel i I aSqari_ 3 aTasi; 2)qarTul i milicia_ 3- 4 aTasi; 3)saiduml o samxedro organizacia 18- 20 aTasi. sul 24- 27 aTasi.

rac Seexeba qarTul j ars, igi srul iad saimedoa da m- uxedavad maval i oficreibis datusaRebis, am j aris 90 % antibol Sevikuria. dRes qarTul j arSi 5000 mWamel i iTvl eba da aqedan 3000 meamboxis gamoyvana SeiZI eba. Cveni cnobebi T, mTel i miliciis 60- 85 % antibol Sevikuria. mTel saqarTve- l oSi es Seadgens ara nakl eb 3-4 aTas kacss. magram Cven vi- ciT, rom saqarTvel oSi aj anyebaSi mTavar rol s verc mcire- rixovani qarTul i j ari da verc dafantul i milicia ver iTamaSebs. momaval i aj anyebis umTavresi da gadamwyeti Zal a iqneba Cveni saiduml o samxedro organizacia, romel ic umTavresad Zvel i gvardiis organi zaciebs eyrdnoba da romel ic exl axans yvel a saimedo Zal ebs Tavs uyris. es organi zaciebi faraven mTel saqarTvel os da ukve dRes yavT maT mowesrigebul i da aRnusxul i 20 aTasamde kaci. aqedan 16 aTasamde ukve Seiar aRebul ia. am organi zaci as saTaveSi yavs Tavis i mTavari Stabi, romel ic instruqciebs i Rebs pol itikuri centridan da romel sac TiToeul mazraSi yavs srul iad morcil i vivro Stabebi. momaval i aj anyebis m- myobi da xel mZranel i iqneba es mTavari Stabi, romel Siac Sedian rogorc pol itikuri moRvaweebi, ise samxedro speci- al istebi.

amnairat, samxedro Tval sazrisiT, mebrZol i saqarTvel o warmoadgens mTI i an central ur organizns, roml is erTd- roul i da mtkice amoqmedeba SeuZI ia xel mZranel centrs da roml is gankargul ebaSi ukve dRes aris ara nakl eb 20 aTasi Seiar aRebul i mebrZol i. ufro cudasT aris am mxriv saqme mowyobil i azerbauj anSi, mTaSi da somxeTSi. am sam respubli ikaTa Soris, rasakvirvel ia samxedro mxriT yvel aze ufro dawi naurebul ia **somxeTI**, radganac masze vrcel deboda sayovel Tao samxedro begara da radganac somxeTis xel m-

ZRvanel pol itikur partias_daSnakcuTi uns aqvs xangrZl i vi konspiraci ul i samxedro tradi cia, yovel SemTxvevaSi CvenTvis srul iad udavoa, rom aj anyebis dros somxeTs SeuZl ia 15 aTasamde SeiaraRebul i meamboxis gamoyvana, roml ebi c erT dReSi gaanTavi sufl eben somxeTs bol Sevikuri okupaci i sagan. magram, radganac somxeTs Zl ier eSinia osmal eTis, Sesazl ebel i a man aj anyebis pirvel aqtSi ver mi i Ros monawil eoba da manac neitral i teti dai cvas. asTi neitral i teti aj anyebas moakl ebs 15 aTas mebrZol s, magram am gamokl ebas aj anyebis bedi Rbl i saTvis ar eqneba gadamwyeti mni Svnsl oba, radganac mTel somxeTSi sdgas ara umetes 3 aTasi rusul i j arisa. azerbaij ans ar qonda sayovel Tao samxedro begara da mas arc samxedro farul i organizaciebis didi tradi cia aqvs. magram samagierOT azerbaij ans aqvs is, rac akl ia sagrTvel os da somxeTs_ mebrZol i el ementebis adgil obrivi darazmva romel im e gavl eniani pirovnebis irgvli v da farTo kavSiri am cal ke SeiaraRebul j gufebs Soris. am mxriv azerbaij ani metad sayuradRebo samxedro Zal as warroadgens, romel sac srul i Zl ierebisaTvis mxol od central izacia akl ia. Tu ra sagrZnobia es Zal a, amas mowmobs ara marto somex-TaTarTa wi nandel i erTmaneTis darbeva, aramed umTavresad is samagal i To faqti, rom SelaraRebul i TaTrebis brboebi, Samxal - ganj is mi damoebSi am ramdenime wl is winaT axer xebdnren ruseTis j arebis mraval da Zl ier eSel onebis ganiaraRebas. Tu mixedvel obaSi mi vi RebT am axl o warsul is magal i Tebs, da zogierT dRevandeli cnobebs, Cven SegviZl ia srul i rwmeni T vtqvaT, rom azerbaij ans aj anyebis pirvel dResve SeuZl ia fezze dayayenos ara nakl eb 13- 14 aTasi mebrZol isa daaxl oebeiT amave mdgonareobaSi a mTa, sadac mTavar Zal as daRestani warroadgens. marto daRestans SeuZl ia pirvel daZaxebisTanave wamoayenos ara nakl eb 3 aTasi mebrZol isa da mTel mTas ki daaxl oebeiT 5 aTasamde. amnair aT, oTxive respublika SeuZl i a pirvel sawiroebisTanave gamoiyvanos 55 aTasi SeiaraRebul i meamboxe. Tu somxeTma neitral i teti dai cva, maSin danarCeni sami respubli ika mainc SesZl ebs pirvel i dakvrisTvis 40 aTasamde SeiaraRebul i mebrZol is gamoyvanas. am 40 aTas meamboxes `oka- daupiri-spirebs (somxeTis gamokl ebi T) ara umetes 28 aTas rusul wi Tel armiel s.

TavisTavad cxadia, rom aj anyebis sasurvel masStabSi mowyobaT, dauyovnebl iv unda Seiqmnas saerTo xel mZRvanel i centri (nawil obrivigi ukve Seqnnil icaris) da rac yvel aze aucil ebel ia, aseTi aj anyebis mowyobaSi saqarTvel om unda iTamaSos metad aqturi rol i aramarto Tavis sakuTar sazRvrebSi, aramed mezobl ebSi ac. somxeTs yavs sakmari si adgil obrii Zal ebi, magram azerbaij ans da mTas akl ia rogorc pol i tikuri xel mZRvanel ebi, ise samxedro saimedo muSakebi. ami tom, saqarTvel o val debul ia exl ave wargzavnos am TavianT mezobl ebSi erTic da meorec. es rasakvirvel ia, ar iqneba maT Sinaur saqmeebSi Careva, magram, es iqneba saerTo frontis Seqmna da misi gamtkiceba. xel mZRvanel oba mTaSi c da azerbaij anSiac adgil obrii xal xis xel Si iqneba da saqarTvel odan wargzavnili pirebi mat mxol od rogorc special istebi daexmarebian. yvel aze ufro saWiro iqneba am mezobl ebi sTvis saimedo oficrebi. ukansknel msolfi o omis dros, ruseTis jarSi iricxeboda 6 aTasamde qarTvel i oficeri. am ramodenime wl is gammval obaSi Cvenc SeviZineT 200-300 axal i qarTvel i oficeri. dRes mTel saqarTvel oSi moi poveba ara nakl eb 3000 saimedo da mxne oficeri, romel ebi c Tavdadebul ad ibrZol eben saqarTvel os aRdgenisaTvis da kavkasi i sganTavi sufl ebi sTvis. am ricxvidan Cven SegviZI ia 500 oficramde mezobl ebSi gavgzavnoT.

Cven Tavi danve unda SevignoT, rom aj anyebis mTavari mowyobi, xel mZRvanel i da manozravebel i unda iqnes saqarTvel o. igi ar unda dakmayofili des marti Tavisi fargl ebit da Tavisi brZol a da daxmarea ba mezobl ebSi ac unda gadati tanos. mxol od aseT pirobebSi aj anyeba mi i Rebs sasurvel masStabs da uZl evel i gaxdeba. radganac `okas- mTavari Zal ebi saqarTvel oSi binadreobs da agreTve Tbil isic saqarTvel oSi mdebareobs, Tvi T saqarTvel os ganTavisufl ebas da Tbil i sis aRebas mTel i kavkasi i sTvis eqneba gadamwyeti mni Svnel oba. ami tom me aq srul iad cal ke ganvixil av aj anyebis saSual ebi T saqarTvel os ganTavisufl ebi s Sesazl ebl obas.

rogorc vTqvi, exl axan saqarTvel os saiduml o samxedro organizacia aerTebis 20 aTasamde mebrZol s, romel Ta Soris ara nakl eb 16- 17 aTasi Seiar aRebul ia. es Zal ebi asea ganawi ebul i:

| | |
|-----------------------------|-------------------------------|
| dasavl eT saqarTvel o | aRmosavl eT saqarTvel o |
| 1)soxumis ol qi_ 1000 | 1)xaSuris rai oni_ 500 |
| 2)zugdi dis mazra_ 700 | 2)axal cixis mazra_ 400 |
| 3)senakis mazra_ 800 | 3)axal qal aqis mazra_ 300 |
| 4)fotI_ 400 | 4)goris mazra_ 1000 |
| 5)baaTumi_ 400 | 5)mangl ipsis rai oni_ 300 |
| 6)guria_ 1800 | 6)borCal os mazra_ 400 |
| 7)samtredi is rai oni_ 1000 | 7)duSeTis rai oni_ 800 |
| 8)quTaisi_ 700 | 8)yazbegis rai oni_ 400 |
| 9)i exumi_ 500 | 9)Ti laneTi s mazra_ 300 |
| 10)raWa_ 300 | 10)Tbil isi mi damoebiT_ 2000 |
| 11)svaneTi_ 1500 | 11)gar e kaxeTi_ 1000 |
| 12)Sorapni mazra_ 1600 | 12)Tel avis mazra_ 800 |
| | 13)si RnaRis mazra_ 1000 |

sul _ 10700

sul _ 9200

rogorc vTqvi, amas unda daematos 2- 3 aTasi qarTul i
laSqari da 3- 4 aTasi saimedo mil icia. amnairiT, dRes
mebrZol saqarTvel os gankargul ebaSi a 22 aTasi Seiar aRe-
bul i meamboxe, romel Ta gamoyvana mas pirvel i daxmarebi sTa-
nave SeuZl ia.es Zal a Ti Tqmisi Tanasworat aris ganawi l ebul i
aRmosavl eT da dasavl eT saqarTvel os Soris. aj anyebis
dros udi desi mni Svnel oba eqneba er Tdroul obas da siswra-
fes. saqarTvel om er Ti dar tymi T unda gadaagdos okupaci is
uRel i, raTa maSinve SeZl os damxmare Zal ebi gaugzavnos
mezobl ebs da Zi ier gaamagros mexadir is da darubandis
Wi Skari. amisTvls ki saWiroga garkveul i da mywobri winaswari
gegma. Tvi T gegma samaT unda gani yofodes: 1)aj anyebis
wi naswari samzadisi; 2)Tvi T aj anyeba da 3)aj anyebis Semdeg.

I. wi naswari samzadisi

wi naswari samzadisi unda gamoi xatebodes Zal ebis Tavis
moyraSi, maT darazmvaSi da urTierT Soris mtkice kavSi ris
gabmaSi. aqac saqarTvel om xel mZRvanwl i rol i unda iTa-
maSos. unda arsebobdes viwr o da mtkice xel mZRvanel i Stabi,
romel sac xel Si eqneba kavkasiis aj anyebis Zafebi. Tvi T

Stabi unda bi nadrobdes Tbilisi da rom aj anyebis far To masStabi uzrunvel yofil i iqas, am xel mZRvanel Stabs Tavisi sai medo da pasuxismgebel i warmomadgeni ebi da organizatorebi unda yavdes azerbaijanSi, somxeTSi, mTaSi, yubanSi da soWiS ol qSi. aj anyeba yvel gan erT da imave dros unda moxdes da Ti Toeul mxares, ol qs da raions Tavisi garkveul i gegma unda qondes. i se rom, Ti Toeul i cal ke amocana unda emsaxurebodes da amtkicebdes mTavar saer To gegmas. gansaku-Trebul i yuradReba unda mi eqces zogierTi strategiul ad mni Svneli ovani punqtebis dacvas. magram, es taqtikuri detal ebi adgil obriv StabebSi unda SemuSavdes. Tu yubanSi da sazogadoT Crdil oeT kavkasiaSi saerTo aj anyeba ar moxerxda, aucil ebel i da masTanve srul iad Sesazl ebel ia imstrategiul i gzebis gafuWeba, romi iTac SemdegSi ruseTs ami erkavkasi i sawi naaRmdegod SeuZl ia sargebl oba.

winaswarve gansakuTrebul i yuradReba unda mi eqces Tbiliss, radganac mis aRebas, rogorc samxedro da saxel mwi foebri vi centris, gadamwyeti mni Svneli oba eqneba mTel i amierkavkasiisaTvis. ami tom, TviT es samzadisi i se unda iyos organi zebul i, rom Tbilisi aReba pivel i dakvrisTanave moxdes. Tu Tbilisi gamagrda da man brZol a daiwyo, es ukve i qneba aj anyebis sanaxevrod damarcxeba. Tbilisi erTbaSad aReba srul iad uzrunvel yofil i rom gaxdes, saWi roa winaswarve provinciebidi Tbilisi 100_ 200 gamocdil i da mtkice mebrZol is gadmoyvana. maT TviT Tbilisi daemateba 300_ 400 Tavdadebul i meamboxe da es 500 kaci Seadgens im sai medo fol ads, romel ic ganamtkicebs, SeakavSi rebs da gaiyol iebs Tbilisi myof ramdenime aTas meamboxes. Tbilisi srul iad detal urad unda iyos Seswavi il i. unda vi codeT mtris Zal ebis ganawili eba. amboxebis sawi naarmdego misi gegma da samzadisi. Tbilisi samxedro ubnebs windawi nve unda daeni Snos mtkice xel mZRvanel ebi, romi ebsac aj anyebis dros garkveul i amocanis Sesrul eba daeval ebaT. agreTve windawi nve unda iyos danisnul i yvel a rai onSi samxedro xel mZRvanel ebi, romi ebsac centris mier garkveul i daval eba miecema. revol uciuri daval ebis anu samxedro brZanebis asrul eba aucil ebel ia.

Tbilisi garda di di mni Svneli oba aqvs baTums, quTai ss, soxums da gagras. mezobl ebsi ki baqos, ganj as, erevans, de-

rbend- petrovsk- temirxanSuras, kavkavs, ekaterinodars, armavirs, novorosiisks, tuapses da sxvas. ami sda mi xedvi T windawi nve unda moxdes Sezl ebi samebr meamboxeTa Zal ebi s i seTi darazmva da ganawil eba, rom pirvel i dakvri sTanave aRni Snul i punqtebi aj anyebul ebma xel T igdon. magal i Tad: saqar Tvel oSi zogierTi rai onebi dan Sesazl ebel ia gamocdi- l i da saimedo meomr ebi s gamoyofa da TandaTnobi T maTi gadayvana Tbil issa da baTumSi, quTai sSi, soxumSi da sxvagan. agreTve unda Sesdges cal ke j gufebi, roml ebsac gansaku Trebul i da metad pasuxismgebel i daval ebebi miecemaT. magal i Tad: j avSniani avtomobil ebi s da matarebl is xel Si Cagdeba, Stabis, sovnarkomis, cekasi, kavbiuros da sxva xel mZRvanel organoebis datusaReba, fosta- tel egrafis da tel efonis sadguri s dakaveba, ci xis ganTavisufl eba, sadguri s gamagreba da sxva. magal i Tad, j avSniani matarebl ebi s aReba unda mi endos erT Sesafer pir ovnebas. vTqvaT, mTel saqar Tvel oSi dgas 5 matarebel i. es pir ovneba aRnusxavs 200- mde sai medo mebrZol s, roml ebsac umsaxuriaT j avSniani matarebl ebze, dayofs maT xuT j gufad. Ti Toeul j gufs miscems saimedo xel mZRvanel s, romel ic Semdeg j avSnosani s ufrosad gamodgeba. Ti Toeul i aseTi j gufi windawi nve mewyoba im qal aqSi an im rai onSi, sadac es j avSnosani imyofeba, roml is asaRebad dani Snul ia aRni Snul i j gufi. daTqmull dros es j gufi Tavs esxmis matarebel s, xel T igdebs mas da maSi nve awyebi nebs moqmedebas. uki dures SemTxvevaSi, Tu am j gufma Tavis i daval eba ver Seasrul a, igi val debul ia aafeTqos matarebel i.

Zl ier advil ia agreTve ci xis aReba. Sei Zl eba windawi nve ci xeSi yumbarebi s da revorvel ebi s Setana. dani Snul erTdai mave dros moxdeba ci xeze garedan Tavdasxma da Si- gni dan amboxeba. ci xis daraj ebi maSi nve iaraRs dayrian da maTi iaraRiT zogierTi tusaRebi Sei aRaRdebi an.

me aq mxol od zogierTi wi naswari detal ebi aRvni Sne. da- wrill ebi Ti gegma da mzadeba ki adgil obriv unda Sesrul des.

II. aj anyeba

aj anyeba erTdroul ad yvel gan unda moxdes da aj anyebul ebma Tavi danve xel T unda igdos strategiul i da po-

I itikuri centrebi. bol Sevikebis Zl iereba swored am centrebSia. ukrainis da zogi sxva aj anyebabis sisuste swored imaSi iyo, rom i sinma Tavi danve ver moaxerxes aseTi centrebis dakaveba. sul s xvanai r aT warimarTa ukrainis aj anyeba. mas pirvel i dakvris Tanave SeeZl o kievis, xarkovis, pol tavis da odesis xel Si Cagdeba. ami tom, centrebis aRebas udi desi mni Svenel Oba aqvs da swored ami sdamixedvi T unda Sei qmnas aj anyebis gegma magal i Ti saTvis yuradRebas aq mxo-
l od Tbil isze Sevacereb, vi nai dan mas aqvs gadamwyeti mni-
Svenel oba mTel i amierkavkasiisaTvis. Tbil isSi Cvens mters
sul yavs 8 aTasamde mWamel i. amas aRmosavl eTis kursantebic
rom davumatoT, sul gaxdeba 10000- mde. amaTSi xi Sti iqneba
ara umetes 6 aTasisa. Tu gamovakl ebT yaraul ebs, avadmyofebs,
Svebul ebaSi wasul T da dezer tirebs, Tbil isisaTvis Cven
dagvrCeba ara umetes 4 aTasi aqturi moqmedi xi Stisa. amAT
unda daematos j avSniani matarebl ebi da avtomobil ebi. yvel a
am Zal ebi s wi naaRmdeg Cven SegviZl ia Semdegi Cveni Zal ebi s
wamoyeneba (vangan i Sob miniums): 1)farul i samxedro organi-
zacia_ 15000 kaci; 2)qarTul i I aSqari_ 1500 kaci; 3)rkini s
gzis da qal aqis mil icia_ 1000 kaci. sul 4000 kaci.

rom ar movtyuvdeT, mar to Tbil isSi pirvel i dakvrisaTvis
Cveni Zal ebi 3000 kacia. es sami aTasi kaci aris Tbil isis
amboxebis aqturi da moqmedi Zal a. mas zurgs uk an yavs 2-
3 aTasamde rezervi (SeiaraRebul i moqal aqeni, qarTul i j aris
neitral uri nawil i, moswavl eebi da sx.), roml is gamoyvana
ar SeiZl eba pirvel i farul i dakvris dros, magram, romel ic
maSinve Seuer Tdeba aj anyebas, rogorc ki aSkara da medgari
brZol a gaimarTeba. es rezervi metad mi Svenel ovani da ga-
damwyeti iqneba brZol is meore fazaSi da mis dagvirgvi-
nebaSi, magram, pirvel i dakvris mTel i simZime da gabedul eba
aRni Snul ma samma aTasma unda ikisros.

vinc Tbil iss dakvirvebia, is advil ad dai naxavda, rom mdi-
nare mtkvari mas Ti Tqmisi or Tanabar nawil ad hyofs. magram
mTel i pol itikuri da administraciu i centri moTavse-
bul ia marj vena napiiris Tbil isSi da umTavresi yazarmebe
ki agebul ni arian marcxena napiiris Tbil isSi. daaxl oebeit
SegviZl ia vsTqvaT, rom bol Sevikebis mTel i samxedro Zal is
(vgul isxmob rusul j ars) ori mesamedi mtkvtis marcxena
napiirzea da mxol od erTi mesamedi mis marj vena napiirze.

amis gamo Tbilisis mTavari, saxel mZrvanel o centris xel Si Cagdeba metad advil deba da am centris Cagdebis Semdeg TavisTavad wydeba meore napiiris Tbilisis bedi.

rasakvirvel ia, aq SeuZI ebel ia Tbilisis asaRebad detal u- ri brZanebis dawera, magram Cven SegviZI ia am brZanebis mTavari momentebis gaTval i swineba. Cven vsTqviT, rompirvel i dakvrisaTviss mart Tbili iss SeuZI ia sami aTasi mebrZol is wamoyeneba. aqedan, zogierTi mni Svnel ovani maRI obebis dakebas dasWi rdeba 1000 kacamde. am maRI obebSi yvel aze di-di mni Svnel oba aqvs ZmaTa sasafI aos, maxaTas da mis farg- I ebs, botanikuri baRis maRI obs, mamadavi Ts da mTawminda. am mi znisTviss 1000 kaci srul ad sakmarisi iqneba, radganac maTi dani Snul eba iqneba umTavresad pasiuri. imATma, bol - Sevikur garnizons Tbilisisdan maRI obze gasvl is neba ar unda misces. imavdroul ad Tavisi moqmedebiT arev- dareva unda Seitanos mtris banakSi. danarCeni 2000 kaci unda ganawiI des cal ke razmebad, roml ebsac mtkice xel mZrvanel ebi eyol eba da cal - cal ke amocanebi miecemaT. maTi ganawiI eba daaxl oebiT ase maqvs warmodgeniI i: 1) sovnarkomis, `Stabis,`Cekebis,~ cekas, kabviro os da sx. dasatusa- Rebl ad_ 150 kaci; 2)cixis gasanTavisufl ebl ad_ 150 kaci; 3)fosta- tel egrafis, tel efonis da radios dasakavebl ad_ 100 kaci; 3)j avSniani matarebl ebris, avtomobil ebris da tankebisatviss_ 200 kaci. sul 600 kaci.

dagvrca 1400 kacamde. esenici Sesaferisad unda danawiI dhen da maTac garkveul i amocana unda mieces. magram amaTi dani Snul eba iqneba ukve bol Sevikuri garnizonis ganadgi- reba. am mi znis misaRwevad Cven pirvel i ieriSebi unda mi vi tanoT bol Sevikur rCeul da saimedo nawiI ebze. srul iad sakmarisia, rompirvel i dakvrisTanave Cven SevZI oT `Conis- armosavl eT kursantebis brigadis (Tu is i sev Tbili i- sSi dabrunda) da samosawl o_ sakadro pol kis ganiaraReba. Tu er Tdrooul ad moxda j avSニアebis xel Si Cagdeba da amave saimedo nawiI ebris ganiaraReba, sxva mrawal i nawiI ebi Tbili i- sis garnizonisa ubrZol vel ad dayris iaraRs. TavisTavad igul isxmeba, rom gamarj vebis upirvel esi piroba srul i konspiracia da mouI odnel obaa. agreTve is, Tu ramdenad moxerxebul ad SevZI ebT Tbili i- sis Zal ebris Sesaferisad darazmvas da aj anyebi sTviss saWiro gadaj gufebas. rasa-

kvirvel ia, winaswari gegmis srul i da detal uri ganxorciel eba SeuZl ebel ia. Cven unda vicodeT, rom am gegmis ganxorciel ebis dros, srul iad maval i, mouI odnel i dabrkol eba dagvidgeba win. magram TviT gegma i se unda iyos SedgenI i, rom zogierTi detal is CaSI am ar unda gamoiwi os TviT mTel i gegmis CafuSva. magal iTad, Sesazl ebel ia zogiert SemTxvevaSi imdeni meamboxe ar gamoxaddes, ramdensac Cven vvar audobT, anda ar moixer xdes im punqtebis swrafad aReba, roml is dakavebas Tavidanve vgul isxmobT, magram am SemTxvevema ar unda gamoiwi os Cven ukan daxeva da aj anyebis damarcxeba. am tom, saer To gegmis swrafad misaRwev yovel i ve detal s didi mni Svnel oba aqvs. magram gadamwyeti rol i eqneba zogierT mTavar momentebes da sworeT am momentebis srul i gaTval i swinebaa saWiRo. Sesazl ebel ia, rom samj avSnian matarebel Si (Tu ki am droisaTvis Tbil issi 3 matarebel i iqneba) erTbaSad mxol od ori Caigdo xel Si da erTi ki ar dagnebdes. am SemTxvevaSi es erTi i seTnai rad unda Caketo, rom man adgil idan ver da iZras. SeiZl eba zogierT punqtebiac gamagrdes rusis jari. mas am punqtebi dan gamosvl is neba ar unda mieces, sanam Tbili sis mTavar i punqtebi aj anyebul Ta xel Si ar iqneba dsx. Znel ia agreTve SeumCnevl ad 3000 meamboxes erTdroul ad gamoyvana da qal aqis sxvadasxva kuTxeebSi maTi gadayvana. magram am SemTxvevaSi Cven unda visarcebI oT imiT, rom TviT meamboxeebi sxvadasxva kuTxeebSi arian dafantul ni da Ti-Toeul i rai onis meamboxes SeiZl ebisamebr maTive rai onis sazRvrebSi unda mi vceT amocana. es miT ufro advil ia, rom Tbil issi meamboxeebi 10 ubnad arian ganawil ebul i da agreTve qarTul i wiTel i laSgari Tbil issi sxvadasxva kuTxeebSi binadrobs. magal iTad, naZal adevis da erTobi s ubnis rai onebs, sadac exl axan iqneba 200- 300 gvardiel i meamboxe, SeiZl eba daekisros j avSnian matarebl ebis aReba, vagzl is dakaveba da adgil obrivi wvrl - wvrl i bol Sevikuri razmebis ganadgureba. maTve SeiZl eba davaval oT ZmaTa sasafl aos da maxaTas daWera. amave rai onebis mil icia 200- 300 kaci c adgil obriv darCeba samogmedoT, sazogadoT mil icia yovel Tvis unda mieces amocanebi Tavi anTi ubni s sazRvrebSi da umTavresad mil icia gamoyenebul i unda iyos rogorc mtris sadezorgani zaci o Zal a.

qarTul pol ks, romel ic yofil 'mingrel ski kazarmebSi - binadrobs, SeiZl eba daeval os cici anovi s maRl obis (CamoxeTqi i kl de_ muxranis xi dis pir dapi r) daWera, avl abris yazarmebis aReba da metexis ganTavi sufI eba. avl abris racionis meamboxe gvardiel ebi- ricxviT 100 kacamde pir vel pol ks Seuer Tdeba da ase sxva adgil ebSi ac. sxvadasxva nawi ebi s gani ar aRebis Tanave SeZenil i iaraRiT dauyovnebl iv Seiar aRdebi an Tbil isSi myofi saimedo yofil i j ariskacebi da gvardiel ebi. ase rom gaTenebamde Tbil iss sxvadasxva rai onebi dan Semoemateba axal i 2-3 aTasi mebrZol i. amas Tanave unda moxdes Sei ar aRebul brZol ebSi ukve gawrTnil i gl exebis mezobel i rai onebi dan Tbil isisken daZvra amnairat, Sinaur dakvras Tbil isis asaRebad gareSe al ya da Semoteva unda daer Tos. da Tu Cven Tbil isis mdgomareobas mi vi RebT mxedvel obaSi da agreTve gavi Tval i swinebT gare- kaxeTis, mcxeTa avWal is da mangl isis exl andel Sei ar aRebul Zal ebs, Tamamad gveTqmis, rom gaTenebamde garedanac Tbil iss 2 aTasande meamboxe gars Semoer tymis. aseT pi robebSi, roca Rame dawyebul i aj anyeba gaTenebamde fexze daayenebs 6-7 aTasande mtkice mebrZol s_ Tbil isis aReba Zl i er gaadvil deba da erT- or dReSi igi srul iad damorcil ebul i iqneba mxedvel obaSi i sic unda mi vi RoT, rom meamboxeT Tavi danve SeuZl i aT sakuTari artil eriis momarj vebul adgil i dan amoqmedeba.

mi T ufro advil i da ueWvel i iqneba sxva adgil ebi s_ magal i Tad soxumi s, quTaisis, samtredi s, foTi s da baTumi s aReba. Sedarebi T Znel i iqneba baTumi s aReba, magram aq mTavari yuradReba unda mieqces j er 100- mde mebrZol is baTumSi wi ndawi nve Cayvanas da Semdeg aWarl ebSi Sesafer muSaobas. amas Tanave guriis Seiar aRebul i Zal ebi kursantebis gani ar aRebis Semdeg (Tu isini guriaSi darCnen) 2-3 aTas kacamde baTumi sTv is unda iyo gankuTvnil i.

Tbil isis aReba Tavs mohkveTs mTel `okas- da i gi verc somxeTSi da verc azerbaij anSi brZol as veRar gaagrZel ebs. magram, azerbaij anis da somxeTis aj anyeba mtkice ni adagze rom dadges, saWi roa wi naswar metad mWi dro kavSi ri s daWera am qveynebTan da i q Tavi si sai dumI o rwmu nebul Ta wargzavna. aseT pi robebSi, SeiZl eba er Tdai mave dros dai wyos aj anyeba mTel ami er kavkasiaSi da es er Tdroul oba ukve naxevari ga-

marj veba iqneba. magram mar to ami er kavkasi i s sazRvrebi sakmari si ar aris. saWiroa ami er kavkasi i s aj anyeba mWi drot daukaSi rdes Crdi l o kavkasi i s moZraobas da `okas- ganiaraRebasTan er Tad unda moewyos Tu srul i ganiaraReba vera, yovel SemTxvevaSi daSl a Crdi l o kavkasi i s samxedro ol qisa `skvo.~ am mi zni s mi saRwevad rac SeiZl eba meti ko-nraqti unda i qnes yubanTan, mTasTan da gansakuTrebiT da-RestanTan. sasurvel ia, rom raome kavSiri i qnas gabmul i donTan da ukraini s meamboxeebTan. rasakvirvel ia Cven Tavs ver movi tyuebT da ver vi tyiT, rom aj anyeba erTi dakvriT `skvos- ac ('okas- Stabi rostovSi a) xel Si Caigdebs. magram Cven er Tgvari miniumumi aq uzrunel yofil i unda gvqondes. magal iTad, aj anyebul ebma unda SesZl on zogierTi mni Svne- l ovani strategiul i punqtebis (xidebis) dacva da adgi- l obrivi garni zonebis TavTavianT rai onebze mij awa. amasac metad di di mni Sven oba eqneba ami er kavkasi i s Tvis da es nebas mi scems ami er kavkasia ar a mar to bol Sevi kuri okupa- ci i s gadagdebis, aramed agreTve Tavisi sakuTari Zal ebi s darazmva- mowesr i gebi s Tvis, rom SemdegSi ami er kavkasia Se- Zl ebs aqturi daxmarebi s gawevas Crdi l oeTi kavkasi i s Tvis. me ganzrax vwaraudob Crdi l oeT kavkasi i s minimal ur mona- wil eobas kavkasi i s saer To aj anyebaSi, Tumca avqe unda vTqva, rom Crdi l oeT kavkasiaSi antibol Sevi kuri moZraoba imdenad Zirmomagrebul ia, rom Sesferi muSaobi T da daxmarebi T, ad- vil at SeiZl eba iqac aj anyebas meti farTo xasiTi mieces. amnairiT, kavkasi i s gammaTavi sufl ebel i moZraobi s mi zani unda i yos aj anyebi s cecxl i s danTeba rostovidan I enqo- ranamde da yiZl ar idan vi dre baTumamde. magram mTavar i Re- rZi da Zal a moZraobi sa unda i qnes ami er kavkasia saqr Tvel os meTaurobiT. yvel aze umj obesi' da sasurvel ia, rom erTbaSad moxdes agreTve `skvos- srul i ganiaraReba da damorCi l eba. magram Tu es erTi xel i s dakvriT ar moxer xda, pi rvel xanebSi sakmari si iqneba, rom Crdi l oeT kavkasi i s da sxva da sxva kuTxeebSi moxdes i seTi cal ke aj anyebibi, rom ebi c adgil obriv mtris Zal ebi s i seT dezorgani zaci as gamoi wveen, rom maTi daZvra ami er kavkasi i s wi naaRmdeg SeuZl ebel i iqneba da agreTve i se daazianeber ruseTi dan momaval strategiul gzebs, rom j arebi s gadayvanas metad gaaZnel eben. aseT pi- robebSi ami er kavkasia SeiZl eba gaxdes im TavSesafaraT, sadac

Tavs moiyris da moRonierdeba antibol Sevikuri mebrZol i Zal a, romel ic aqturaT daexmaraeba meamboxe Crdi l oeT kavkasi as da sabol ooT masac ganadevni nebs okupantebs.

III. aj anyebis meore dRe

me mokl eT davasuraTe gammaTavisufi ebel i aj anyeba da misi wiwaswari samzadisi. aqedan Cven davinaxiT rom aj anyebis mTavari faqtori da xel mZRvanel i saqarTvel o unda iyoS. magram saqarTvel os da kavkasi is ganTavisufi ebi s mTavari siZnel e far To aj anyebis da mis pirlvel gamarj vebaSi ki araris, aramed am aj anyebis gamtkicebaSi, ganTavisufi ebul i qveynebis mowesrigebaSi, mebrZol i Zal ebi s darazmvaSi da gaZl ierebaSi. erTi si tyvi T, mTavari siZnel e Cven dagvi dgeba aj anyebis meore dRes, roca gamarj vebul aj anyebas Tavdacva daswi r deba.

Cven vsTqvi T, rom Sezl ebi samebr aj anyeba unda moxdes kavkasi is fargl ebSi erTsa da imave dros. aj anyebul ebi pirlvel yovl isa atyveveben mtris xel mZRvanel organizaciebs da aniarareben yvel aze saimedo nawi l ebs. imave dros aj anyebul Ta xel mZRvanel ebi axdenen axal mobil izaciebs da SeZenil i iaraRiT qmnian axal gammaTavisufi ebel j ars. amniraT, mtris Zal ebi s daSl a-damorci l ebasTan erTad unda xdebodes sakuTari samxedro Zal ebi s swrafi darazmva da gazar da. am mxriv, TiToeul i qveyni saTvis wiwaswar unda iyoS gamomuSavebul i sakuTari forma samxedro Zal ebi s axal i organiziaci, raTa axal i mebrZol i j aris Seqmna moxdes rac SeiZl eba swrafad da umtkivneul oT. am axal i j aris dani Snul eba iqneba ganTavisufi ebul i qveynebis saer To dacva da SemdegSi, roca mteri mogeriebul i iqneba da roca ufro mSvi dobi ani mdgomareoba damyardeba, SesaZl ebel i gaxdeba, samxedro organizaci as ki dev ufro myobri, Tanamedrove da normal uri xasiaTi mieces. aj anyebis cecxl Si Seqmni l is da brZol aSi gamtkicebul i laSqaris dani-Snul eba iqneba_rac SeiZl eba savsebi T da rigianad gamoyenos is iaraRi, romel sac igi bol Sevi kebi sgan xel Tigdebs da romel sac mebrZol i xal xi mas mi awodebs. vimeoreb, TiToeul qveyanaSi mebrZol i samxedro organizaci a sakuTar formas mi i Rebs da isargebl ebs mTel i warsul is gamo-

cdil ebi T. magal i Tad, yubanSi igi ufro sxva saxi s i qneba, vidre saqar Tvel oSi da azerbaij anSi, ufro sxvagvar i vidre daRestanSi an somxeTSi. ami tom, adgil obriv organi zaciebs windawi nve unda qondes Seswavl il i da gaTval i swinebul i es formebi, saer To centrs ki mxol od saer To xel mZRvaneli oba eqneba. am formis Seswavl a pirvel yovl isa adgil obrivi xel mZRvaneli i organoebis saqmea, ami tom me mxol od saqar Tvel oze Sevcerdebi, radgan mas ufro vi cnob da mis Sesaxeb sakmao cnobebi da gamocdil eba maqvs.

me ukve zeviT vTqvi, rom mebrZol saqar Tvel os dRes Tavis gankargul ebaSi yavs 22 aTasamde SeiaraRebul i mebrZol i, xol o rusul i wiTel i l aSqari (special ur da gansakuTrebul razmebi ana) ar aRemateba 12 aTas xiSts da 18 aTass mWamel s. yovel gvari il uziebisagan rom ganTavisufi ebul i viqneT, Cven SegviZl ia mtris Zal ac da Cveni sakuTari Zal ac Tanabrad oc-oci aTasi kaciT viangariSoT. yovel SemTxvevaSi es angariSi, mtris Zal ebs ametebs da Cvens sakuTars amcirebs.

mtris da Cveni Zal ebi saqar Tvel os sxvadasxva kuTxeebSi asea ganawil ebul i (Cvens Zal ebSi me vgul i sxmob gvardias, qarTul l aSqars da saimedo mil icias. yvel a amas minimal urad vangariSob):

| Tbilisi: | | quTaisi: | |
|---|---------------------|---------------------|---------------------|
| mtris Zal a 8000 | Cveni Zal a 3000 | mtris Zal a 3000 | Cveni Zal a 2000 |
| baTumi: | | guria: | |
| mtris Zal a 3500 | Cveni Zal a 2000 | mtris Zal a 2000 | Cveni Zal a 1500 |
| (aq yvel gan mWamel ia naangariSevi. aq Tbilisi Tvis me marti 8 aTas mWamel s vangariSob, radganac exl axan aRmosavl eTis kursantebis brigada ozurgeTSi dgas. 8 aTasi mWamel i Tbilisi Tvis agvistroSi maqsimal uria) | | | |

22 aTasi SeiaraRebul i mebrZol i saqar Tvel osaTvis gadaWerbebul i ar aris. Tanaxmad pirvel i i vni sis (22 w.) cnobebi T, sul qarTul j arSi ('Conian-, uezdvoenkomiana) iyo 11537 mWamel i. aqedan 8000- mde mWamel i marti samxedro nawi l ebSi iyo. Tvi T bol Sevkebis cnobi T (sagangebo moxseneba Tvi T

qarTul i brigadis Sesaxeb), brigadaSi komunistebi mobilizaciis Semdegac komunistebi Seadgendnen mxol od 15 %. s. oficrebSi ki TiTqmisi sul ar arian komunistebi. amnairad, 5-6 aTas kacamide qarTul j arSi saimedoa. me ki mxol od 3 aTass vangariSob. aj anyebis pirvel Ramesve da meore dRes, Tbilisis meamboxiT TviT Tbilisis da axl o sofi ebi dan miemateba 2-3 aTasi mebrZol i, xol o foTSi, samegreli OSi, samtredia-SorapanSi, qarTI - kaxeTSi da sx. aj anyebul ebi yvel gan mterze ufro ZI ieri arian da iq yvel gan isini erT RameSi daimorciil eben da ganaiaRaReben mters. amisda mixdevi T, pirvel Ramesve kidevac rom ar moxerxdes Tbilisis, baTumi s an quTai sis aReba, saqarTvel os sxva yvel a qal aqebi aRebul i iqneba da am gziT amboxebas 10-15 aTasamde Tofi eqneba SeZenili es Tofebi axal mebrZol Ta Soris ganawi deba. ase, rom ukve aj anyebis meore dRes mebrZol saqarTvel os, TofqveS eyol eba ara nakl eb 30-35 aTasi mebrZol i da mis wi naaRmdeg darceba ara umetes 12-14 aTasi mtrisjari. rasakirvel ia es daSl il i, gancal kevebul i da yvel gan al yaSemortymul i jari didi wi naaRmdegobas ver gagviwevs da 2-3 dReSi yvel gan Cagvbardeba. amdenaT, 4-5 dReSi aj anyeba saqarTvel os teritoriaze srul i gamarj vebiT damTavrdeba da aj anyebul Ta xel Si iqneba mtris mTel i iaraRi da sawyobebi. ganTavisufi ebul i saqarTvel os xel Si gadava daaxl oebiT 50-60 aTas Tofamde, 90-100 zarpaznamde, 400-500 tyvi-isnifrquevl amde, 10-12 j avSnian avtomobil amde da 4-5 j avSnian matarebl amde. es iqneba is iaraRi, romi is saSual ebi Tac unda SeiaraRdes ganTavisufi ebul i saqarTvel o da romi iTac man unda SeZI os 2-3 Tvis ganmavl obaSi Tavdacivis warmoeba, vi nai dan am xniis ganmavl obaSi Cven ar unda gvqondes didi imedi ucxoetidan iaraRis sakmao Semozidvisa.

maSasadame, dgeba sakiTx: SeiZI eba Tu ara am iaraRiT iseTi j aris SeiaraReba da Seqmna, romel ic xangrZI iv mogeriebiT oms awarmoebs? da Tu SeiZI eba ramden xanSi? me darwmunebul i var, romes advil aT SesazI ebel ia. SesazI ebl oba aris teqnikuri, organi zaciul i da ekonomiuri. ganvixi- l oT TiToeul i cal - cal ke.

teqnikuraT, aRiSnul i iaraRi srul iad sakmarisia erTi didi, Zvel eburi korpusis SesaiaraRebl ad, romel Siac 40 aTas xi Stamde iqneba. maSasadame, gamarj vebis Semdeg faqt-

urad Cven teqnikurad ufro mdidari viqnebiT, vidre
bol Sevi kebis Semosvl amde. rac Seexeba **organi zaci ul**
SesaZl ebl obebs, am mxriv Cven ufro uzrunvel yofil ni varT,
ramdenadac saqar Tvel oSi dResac arseboden is samxedro
ConCxebi, roml ebic dauyovneb i Seisxamen srul samxedro
sisxl sa da xorcsa. me vgvil isxmob gvardiis farul organi-
zacias da qarTul wiTel I aSqars. marTal ia, Cven exl a mo-
mxre varT mTI iani da erTfer ovani samxedro sistemi sa, magram
aj anyebi sTvis da pirvel i TavdavcvisTvis yovel i samxedro
organi zacia unda gamovi yenoT. Tumca momaval Si Cven Sevgmni T
erT mTI ian j ars. pirvel xanebSi Cven erTnair rad daveyr-
dnobiT rogorc j ars, ise gvardias, Tumca mis xel mZRva-
nel obas da sandl obas Tavi danve gavaer TianebeT. ami sdami-
xedviT, Cven ganTavisufi ebi sTanave ori kviris ganmavl obaSi
SegveZl eba erTi damTavreb ul i korpusi SevgmnaT Semdegi
varaudiT: saxal xo gvardias dResac ukve yavs 18- 20 batal i-
onamde; qarTul wiTel I aSqrSi iTvl eba 9 batal ionda da
kidev sxvadasxva nawil ebi. annair aT, saqar Tvel oSi dRes
ukve aris 30 batal ionamde. amas Tanave, qarTul i wiandel i
I aSqr i ise iyo Sedgeni l, rom mas srul i mobil izaciis
dros SeeZl o gamoeyvana 36 didi batal ionda. saamiso oficrebi,
zemdegebi da nacvl ebi saqar Tvel oSi moi Zebneba. ami tom qarTul i wiTel i I aSqr is gaorkeceba metad advil i saqmea.
ase rom sul mokl e droSi saqar Tvel os SeuZl ia wamoayenos
sabrZol vel ad aranakl eb 40 batal ionda. TiToeul i aranakl
eb 750 xiStisa. e.i. sul 30- 35 aTas xiStamde. oficrebi da
samxedro special istebi ki srul iad sakmarisia. agreTve
sakmarisia artil eristebi, kaval eristebi da j avSnianebis
mosamsaxureni. magal i Tad, Cven srul iad advil ad SegviZl ia
25 batareis, 15 j avSniani avtomobil is da 8 j avSniani mata-
rebl is Stati SevavsoT. (me exl a xel T ar maqvs srul i
cnobebi, magram daaxl oebeT mdgomareoba aseTia: Zvel rusul
j arSi msaxur obda 6 aTasamde oficeri. aqedan ukanasknel i
3 aTasi artil eristia, 2500 kaval eristia, 3000 pul emi otCikia
da 500 kacameb j avSniani matarebl ebze da avtomobil ebze
momuSave (namuSevari). mxol od tankebis amuSavebas ver Se-
vZl ebT, radganac amis special istebi srul iad ar gvyavs).
amrigad, ori kviris ganmavl obaSi axal i qarTul i I aSqr i
fexze dadgeba da mas mtki ce organi zacia, kargi Sei ar aReba

da di di Tavdadebac eqneba. sworeT am I aSqarma unda daexmaros mTel i Tavisi energi iT TavianT mezobl ebs bol Sevkebis srul i kvidaciaSi da erovnul i TavisufI ebs gamtkicebaSi. es miT ufrro saqaro da auciI ebel ia, rom saqar Tvel os TavisufI ebas iqamdis ar moumagrdeba Ziri, sanamdis bol Sevikur okupasi as bol o ar moeReba aze- rbaij anSi, somxeTSi da CrdiI oeT kavkasiaSi. TavianT mezobl ebs saqar Tvel o srul gamarj vebamdis unda daexmaros instruqtorebis, organi zatorebis da mcire razmebis wargzavni saxiT. magram, srul i da farTe daxmreba daiwyeba mxo- l od maSiN, roca saqar Tvel o Tavis teritoriaz srul iad daamarcxebiS bol Sevi kebs da cotaTi mainc moawesri gebs Tavis samxedro Zal ebs. iqamde ki yvel a misma mezobl ebma unda ecadon rac SeiZI eba gaaZI ieron Tavisi aj anyeba da brZol aSi sakuTar Zal ebs daeyrdnon xol o aj anyebis meore an mesame kvi ri dan saqar Tvel o SeiZI ebs mezobl ebi sTvis Zmuri xel is gawodebas. am mi znisati vis zemoaRni Snul i 35 aTasi xiSti ase unda ganawi l des: sam gzas Semyovas amier kavkasiaSi ruseTi da amier kavkasi i danac sami gza mi dis ruseTSi: a)Savi zRvis pi ri; b)derbentis Wi Skari da gdarial i. amas Tanave kavkasi is samxreT sazRvrebsac daraj oba dasWirdeba. ami tom saqar Tvel om mTel i Tavisi Zal ebi CrdiI oeTisken unda mi- marTos da samxreTiT mxol od ZI ieri fari unda datovos. Sinauri wesierebis dasacavd ki jari sul ar iqneba saWi ro. pi rvel ad imi tom rom TviT xal xi dai cavs wesrigs da meore imi tom, rom erT kviraSi yvel gan Sedgeba mil icia, roml is Seiarareba `berdankebi T- moxdeba. samxreTis Semosaz Rvri- sTvis sakmarisi iqneba 8000 xiSti. aqedan 3000- is SeiZI eba somxeTSi wargzavna xal xis gasamxnevebl ad. Tavis mxriv somxeTi advil ad gadaagdebs bol Sevi kebs (Tuki somxeTma gadawayita da gabeda aj anyeba, xel is SemSi el i pi robebi mraval ia da Cven somxeTs maT daZI evaSi unda daveXmaroT) da or kviraSi Tofis qveS daayenebs da moawesri gebs 20 aTasamde mebrZol s. meore ZI ieri razmi 10 aTiaTasi xi Stamde unda gai gyznos tuapseze da Semdeg man unda SeiWras yubani s ol qSi da iqaur aj anyebas unda daexmaros. am razmis SeuerTdeba soWi s ol qSi 2000- mde mebrZol i da yubanic 2- 3 kvi raSi 30 aTasamde mebrZol s wamoayenebs. mesame razmi 7 aTas xi Stamde darial iT unda SeiWras kavkavSi da Suaze

gahkveTos Crdil o kavkasiis bol Sevikuri armia. am razms Tergis ol qSi Seuer Tdeba 15- 20 aTasi mebrZol i mTel ebi da kazakebi, dasasrul mcire razmi, ricxvi T 6 aTas xi Stamde davyovnebl iv gadava azerbaij anSi da iqedan daRestanSi. azerbaij ani da daRestani am j ars Sematebs 25000 mebrZol amde. Tbil isSi darceba rezervSi 4000 xi Stamde, roml is gamoyeneba saWi roebi samebr moxdeba. Tavis Tavad igul isxmeba, rom Semamatebul i mebrZol ni iqnebian samxedro wesze moyobil i da darazmul i.

amnairat, 35000 mebrZol qarTvel s yvel a mezobl ebi 2- 3 kviris ganmavl obaSi Semateben 90000- mde mebrZol s. maSasadame, aj anyebul i kavkasia, erTi Tvis ganmavl obaSi TofqveS daayenebs aranakl eb 100000 mebrZol s. am I aSqrtsTvis saWi ro SeiarReba TiTqmis savsebi T adgil obriv isoveba. Tavis Tavad igul isxmeba, rom am pirvel i rigis j ars Tan moyeba axal i j arebi, roml ebi c TiToeul qveyanaSi damatebi Ti mobil izaciebis saSual ebi T Sei qmneba. mTel kavkasiaSi 10 wl is mobil izacia sul ukansknel i 300000 Zvel , gamocdil da saimedo mebrZol s mogvcebis. amnairat, pirvel i rigis 100000 mebrZol s zurgsi eyol eba 200000 axal i mebrZol i, romel sac dasWi rdeba SeiarReba, Semosva da gamokveba. da pirvel i gamarj vebis Semdeg sworeT es iqneba Cveni udi desi sazrunavi. vinai dan pirvel i 100000- Tvis Cven iaraRs, tansacmel s da sursaTsac advil ad vi SoviT. axl ad gawveul i 200000- an I aSqrts Cven ucxoetis dauxmarebl ad ver mouvl iT, xol o ucxoetis mxol oT maSvin dagvexmareba, Tu pirvel ma 100000- ma SeZl o bol Sevikebis ganaxl ebul i ieriSebis 2- 3 Tvis ganmavl obaSi mogerieba. da es ki srul iad SesaZl ebel ia Semdegi mosazrebit:

kavkasiis aj anyebas mxol od maSin aqvs azri, Tu igi SeZl ebs `skvos- da gansakuTrebi T `okas- gani araRebas. maSasadame, aj anyebis Casaqrobab bol Sevikebs Si da ruseTi dan an dasavil eT frontidan dasWi rdeba j aris gamoyvana. aseTi farTo aj anyebis Casaqrobab moskovs dasWi rdeba aranakl eb 200 aTasiani I aSqrts dagroveba kavkasiis Crdil oeT sazRvrebze. Tu mxedvel obaSi mi vi RebT Tanamedrove ruseTis saerTo ekonomi ur, susursaTo da satransporto mdgomareobas da agreTve imas, rom srul i simSvi de arc Sida ruseTSi da gansakuTrebi T ukrainaSi, srul i dabej iTebi T gveTqmis, rom

200000 | aSqris mTel i Tavisi mowyobil obiT da sursaTiT
bol Sevikuri ruseTi kavkasiis wi naaRmdeg 2 Tveze adre ver
daamzadebs. es aris srul iad real uri da Seuryovel i anga-
riSi. amas sxvaTa Soris, Turqestanis aj anyeba amtkicebs. mi-
uxedavad imisa, rom iq aj anyeba masis pirvel ricxvebSi da-
iwo, igi dResac, seqtembris dasawyisSi ar aris Caqrobi i.
maSasadame, Ti Tqmis ori Tve iqneba aj anyebul i kavkasiis
srul gankargul ebaSi da am xnis ganmavl obaSi man unda Se-
Zl os axal i Zal ebis darazmva, maTi mowesrigeba, Seiarareba
da gamokveba. yovel ive es, moxdeba ucxoeTis saSual ebiT.
da I give ucxoeTi romel ic dRes aseTi si frTxil iT da
uxal i sod gvel aparakeba, vinal dan mas ar sj era Cveni Zal a
da momaval i. mxurval eT da erTgul aT dagvexmarereba, Tuki
sakuTari Cveni teritoriebi gavanTavi sufI eT da maTi uamravi
simdi dris baton- patroni gavxdiT. es Cven mtkiced unda
SevignoT da mavne il uziebs droze unda davaRwi oT Tavi.
Cven unda gavigoT, rom avansad arc iaraRs da arc ful s
aravin mogvicens. amisTvis saWi roa faqturi batonoba sakuTari
teritoriale. da roca kavkasiis didi nawil i Cvens gankargul
ebaSi iqneba, roca baqos, groznoS, WiATuris, tyarcel is da
mai kopiS saxel iT il aparakebs ara krasini, aramed ganTavisufI
ebul i kavkasia, Cvenc advil ad vi SoviT ful s da ful is
saSual ebiT saWi ro iaraRs da yovel ive mowyobil obas.

amas Tanave kavkasiis aj anyeba da misi ganTavisufI eba udi-
des STabeldil ebabs moaxdens, rogorc mTel ruseTSi, ise
ucxoETSi ac. es aj anyeba ki dev ufro gamoacocxl ebs da ga-
a Tamamebs ruseTis yvel a antibol Sevikur Zal ebs, roml ebi c
dRes ase daqsaqsul i da dasi il ia. ukraina, doni da sxva
adgil ebi uTud gamoexmaureba mas da TviT ruseTSi mSvi do-
bi anobiS dasacavab bol Sevi kebs dasWi rdebaT di di j arebis
dabandeba. ucxoeTi c Zal ze gamoexmaureba am gammaTavisufI e-
bel aj anyebas. Cven viciT Tu ra gaafTrebiT amtkiceben
bol Sevi kebi evropaSi imas, rom saqar Tvel o maT Zal iT ar
daupyri aT, rom TviT saqar Tvel o Seuer Tda maT. da ra di di
energiis daxarj va dagviri da Cven am I egendis gasafantavad,
Tumca savsebiT igi arc dRes aris mokl ul i. aseTi zRapari
Tavisi Zal adobis gasamarTI ebl ad bol Sevi kebs dasWi rdaT
imi tom, rom dRes evropaSi imperial isturi omi araviSi ar-
iwevs aRfr Tovamnebas da simpaTias. magram raRas i tyvian

bol Sevi kebi maSvin, roca Tvi T kavkasi a dadgeba fexze, er-Tsul ovnad auj anydeba Tavis mtarval ebs da Tavs gai nTavi-sufi ebs. maT myviral a frazebs yurs aravin daugdebs da arc aravin motyuvdeba, ara marto social isturi, aramed burJuaziul i evropis simpatiac aj anyebul kavkasi isken iqneba da bol Sevi kebis axal Semotevas yovel i ve zneobrivi niadagi gamoecl eba. amas Tanave gaadvil deba Cveni muSaoba evropaSi da gaZl ierdeba evropis pol i tiki ravi gavl ena kavkasi is dasacavad. yovel i ve es Cven udi des daxmarestas gagyi wevs da brZol as gagvi advil ebs, magram Cven erTi wuTi Tac ar unda davi viwoT, rom Cveni bedis faqturi gadamwyeti swored adgil obrivi brZol a da gmirul i Tavdacia iqneba.

me vTqvi, rom aj anyebul i kavkasi is sawi naaRmdego j aris dasagrovebl ad bol Sevi kebs ukanknel i ori Tve dasWirdeba. es im SemTxvevaSi, Tu moskovs Tvi T ruseTSi ar gaurTul da saqme. am ori Tvis ganmavl obaSi kavkasis sruI iad eyofa Tavdasacavad 100 aTasiani j ari. xol o ori Tvis Semdeg, maSin roca moskovs 200 aTasiani j ari eyol eba damzadebul i Cven sawi naarmdegod, Cven gveyol eba darazmul i da mowesri-igebul i 200 aTasiani I aSqari. ase rom moskovs dasWirdeba ki dev damatebi Ti j arebis mozi dva da amaze dro wava, roml iTac Cven xel axl a visargebl ebT Cveni Zal ebi s gasa-Zl ierebl ad. amnairaT, moskovs aj anyebul i da ganTavi su-fl ebul i kavkasi is xel axl a dasaprobada dasWirdeba 300-350 aTasiani I aSqris dagroveba da darazmva. e.i. moskovs dasWirdeba di di omisaTvis momzadeba da misi dawyeba da damatebi Ti axal i mobil izaci ebi s moxdena. yovel i ve es ki metad saxi faTo da saZnel o iqneba moskovi saTvis, radganac i gi gaamwavebs bol Sevi kebi s Si naur mdgomareobas da aamogmedebs ruseTis antibol Sevikur Zal ebs. sul advil i Sesazl ebel ia, rom moskovi mier Tavis i Zar Rvebi s axal ma daWi mvam, moskovi sruI katastrofamde mi i yvanos da iqneba aman ai Zu-l os moskovi, rom nacvl ad xmal i sa, man si tyva da mol aparakeba arCi os, pragtika mol aparakebi sa TandaTan Cveul ebi i vi xdeba moskovi saTvis, svaneTi, Turkestani, petrovi! mi tupro i zul ebu-l i iqneba i gi mol aparakeba gamar Tos aj anyebul kavkasi asTan, roml is saTaveSi iqneba saqar Tvel o, vi nai dan am aj anyebi s avtoriteti, Zl iereba da aRfr Tovaneba metad maRal i iqneba. am mol aparakebaSi Cven dagvexmareba social isturi da burJu-

aziul i evropa. muSuri evropa Cven SegviZI ia arbitrad avircioT da mas vandoT Cveni bedi gadasawyvetad da Tu bo-
l Sevi kebma uaryves es mi udgomel i arbitri, evropis muSaTa
kl asi metis energiit dagvexmareba Cven da mas SeuZI ia
prol etarul i bl okada gamoucxados moskovs. da es swored
daasamarebs moskoviis diqtaturas..

i tyvi an, rom moskovi verasgzi T ver dasTmobs kavkasias da
kerzoT baqoso. nebiT rasakvi rvel ia ar daTmobs, magram Zal iT
man daTmo revel i, riga, besarabi a da vl adivostoki. Cvenc am
Zal as unda daveyrdnoT da Tu Zal a gveqna, bol Sevi kebi did
daTmobaze wamovi en. rac Seexeba baqos, Cven SegviZI ia mas
Ria karebi mivcet da internacional ur saeqspl uatacio
simdi dreT vaqci oT.

* * *

vakeTeb mokl e rezlumes:

saqarTvel os ganTavisufl eba moxdeba, rogorc Sedegi
kavkasiis aj anyebisa. Sesazl ebel ia aj anyeba kavkasiis sxva-
dasxva kuTxeebSi sxvadasxvagvari siZl ieris iqnes, magram
gamarj vebis aucil ebel pirobaT unda Cai Tval os, rom kavka-
siis ori mesamedi aqturad unda Caebas aj anyebaSi. am mxriv
Cven uzrunvel yofill i varT, radganac saqarTvel o, azerbaijan, i
Savi zRvis mxare, daRestani da yubani aucil ebl ad aj anyde-
bian. pirvel i dakvrisaTvis aj anyebul kavkasias 65 aTasiiani
rusis jaris wi naaRmdeg (33000- mde `okaSi- danarCeni `skvoSi -)
SeuZI ia amdenive Seiar aRebul i meamboxi s gamoyvana. aj anyebis
ukve meore da mesame kviraSi ganTavisufl ebul kavkasias
TofqveS eyol eba 100 aTasiiani kargi l aSqari da ori Tvis
Semdeg ki 200 aTasze meti. am j aris saSual ebiT, romel ic
ki dev TandaTan gaZl ierdeba, saqarTvel os da kavkasias Seu-
ZI iaT iqamdis daicyan Tavisufl eba da ebrZol on moskovs,
sanam es ukansknel i ar ichnobs kavkasiis srul damouki de-
bl obas da ar Seurigdeba mas. es aris real uri da fagturi
gza Cveni ganTavisufl ebisa. sxva gzebi qimeriul ia. verc
naciaTa liga, verc romel im burJuaziul i konferencia da
verc muSaTa internacional i ver aiZul ebs moskovs kavkasiis

da ker ZoT saqarTvel os dacl as. rasakvirvel ia, aq yvel gan muSaobaa saWiRo, magram droa davrmundeT, rom marto di pl omatiuri muSaobi T Cveni qveynebi ver ganTavisufl debian. di pl omatias SeuZl i mxol od di di samsaxuri gauwios Cvens saqmes. ganTavi sufl ebris mTavar faqtoraT ki Seiara-Rebul i aj anyeba unda vaRiaroT. ami sdami xedvi T mTel i simZime muSaobi sa adgil obriv, kavkasi aSi unda gadavi des. rac SeiZl eba adre unda moxdes ucxoeeTis `razgruska- zedmeti momuSaveebi dan da i si ni TandaTanobi T Tav- TavianT qveynebSi unda gadavi chnen. yovel cal ke qveyanaSi (azerbaijani, somxeTi, daRestani, yubani da sx.) unda moewyos xel mZranel i sai du ml o centrebi, roml ebsac yvel a kuTxeebSi eyol eba Tavi si xel queiTi organizaciebi da roml ebic kavkasi i saerTo centrit iqnebian gaerTianebul i. es centri unda i qnes metad saidumlo, mtkice da avtoritetiani. am centrs unda qondes samxedro gegma SemuSavebul i da aj anyebi s Zafebi mis xel Si unda iyrides Tavs. saWiRo Jams mas unda SeeZl os mTel i kavkasi i s da gansakuTrebi T amier kavkasi i s (daRestniana) fexze dayeneba. dRei dan es unda i yos Cveni mi zani da aqeT unda mivmar ToT yvel a Cveni Zal ebi. Tu ara, Cveni saqme an wagebul ia, an di di xni T dasamarebul ad unda Cai Tval os. Tu am naxavar wel iwadSi Cveni ver SevZel iT CvenSi bol Sevi zmis I i kvi dacia, SemdegSi es saqme TandaTan gaZnel deba. bol Sevi zmi TandaTan marj vni v dai wevs da di di datmobi s wyal obi T Sesari gebel kompromiss gamonaxavs burJuazi ul evropasTan. da ruseTTan mori gebul evropas TandaTan mi avi wydeba kavkasi ac da saqarTvel oc. ami tom drois dayovneba Cven ar gvar gebs...

7 seqtemberi 22 w. konstantinopol i.

damateba:

gvetiyani, rom aj anyebaSi didi `riskia.- Tu igi damar cxda, ganadgurdeba mTel i xal xi da wel Si gawydeba eri! `riski- rasakvirvel ia aris, magram `uriskoT- aravi Tari didi saqme ar gakeTdeba da Cveni val ia vecadoT rac SeiZl eba SevamciroT es `riski.- magram gana Tvit bol Sevikebis batonoba saqarTvel oSi ar aris ukve ganxorciel ebul i `riski-

da gana bol Sevi k- rusul i okupacia faqturad ar kl avs da ar anadgurebs ers? misi saukeTeso Zal ebi i devnebian, ena i Cagreba, qarTvel i muSakebi adgil ebs kar gaven da saqar Tve-
l oSi batondebian ucxo el ementebi. bol Sevikuri batonoba sul s uxuTavs ers, SI is mis mamoZravebel ZarRvebs da aqarwyl ebs eris saxel mwi foebri v arsebobas. ki dev ramdenime wel i rom gagrZel des es okupacia, Cveni xal xi wel Si gawydeba, imeds dakargavs, ruseTTan Seri gebis da daTmobi s gzebis Ziebas daiwyebas da am xnis ganmavl obaSi evropasac mivavi-wydebi T. Cvenc Signt da gareT samuSao ful ic Semogvaki deba da Cven emigraciSi ac daiwyeba gaxrwina, axal i miznebis Zieba. ami tom arsebul i mdgomareoba erisaTvis met 'risks-, met safrTxes warmoadgens, vi dre sayovel Tao aj anyeba. magram, warmoudgenel ic rom warmovi dgi noT, da davuSvaT aj anyebis daZI eva da damarcxeba, nuTu es marTI ac mTel i eris mospobasa da ganadgurebas daedareba? srul i adac ara. istoriam ic is mraval i magal iTebi, roca damarcxebul i aj anyeba, ki dev ufro amtkicebd a eris mebrZol sul iskveTebas da ufro mWidrod razmavda mis Zal ebs. ityvian, rom bol Sevi kebs ar uyvarT xumroba da isini sisxl Si CaaxSoben xal xs. magram, es `sisxl is xanac- ganvl o bol Sevi zmma. arc Sinauri da arc sagareo pi roebi mas amas veRar abedvinneben da TviT ufro ver gabedaven amas isini saqar Tvel oSi... amnair aT, arc damarcxeba mokl avs saqar Tvel os. magram Cven unda vemzadoT gamarj vebi saTvis da unda vi povoT i gi. zeviT me vcdil obdi damemtki cebina, rom Cvens aj anyebas real uri safuZvel i aqvs. me ganzrax vamcirebdi Cven Zal ebs, raTa zedmeti imedebi ar damebada.

gani bal i (al .zaqari aZe)

8 seqtemberi 22 w. konstantinopol i.

dokumenti # 3

kavkasiaSi disl ocirebul i rusul i jaris
raodenobis ganaxl ebul i monacemebis Sesaxebs,
1923 wl is Teberval Si vj uRel is mier parizSi
gakeTebul i damatebi Ti sainformacio moxseneba

samxedro moxseneba

(egorovls moxsenebis, Ianvrls disl okacis da `okas-
salnformacio cnobebls ml xedvl T)

metad Znel ia srul i da detaluri warmodgenis Seqmna kavkasiaSi da kerzoT `okaSi- moTavsebul wiTel j arze, radganac, samwuxaroT, TbII l is dan Cven ar mogvdil sakamod damuSavebul i samxedro masal a da xSirat TviT es masal a er TmaneTi s sawi naaRmdego cnobebis Sei cavs. magram, mi uxedadav ami sa, mi Rebul i masal is ukve aq gadamuSaveba da damatebi Ti wyaroebiT sargebl oba Cven saSual ebas gvaZl evs sworaT viangariSoT kavkasiaSi mobinadre bol Sevikuri rusul i da adgil obrivi SeiaraRebul i Zal ebi.

Crdil o da amierkavkasiaSi mobinadre wiTel ma j arebma, mas Semdeg rac gauqmada merv, mecxre da meterTmete (VIII, IX, XI) armiebi, Seadgines ori didi armia. erTs saxel ad daerqva Crdil oeTkavkasiis samxedro ol qi (CKBO) da roml is territoriaSi Sedis clonis ol qi, stavropol is gubernia, yubanis, Tergis da daRestnis ol qebi; xol o meore armias saxel wodebaT meca `oka- (OKA- kavkasiis sagangebo armia S.v.) anu kavkasiis cal ke armia da misma teritoriam Seadgina mTel i amierkavkasia.

radganac Cven aq gansakuTrebiT `oka- da amierkavkasia gva-
interesebs, ami tom Cven mxol od mokl eT SevCerdebit T
Crdil oeT kavkasiis armis daxasiaTebaze. Tanaxmad `okas-
sainformacio centrebis, pirvel iianvrisaTvis (1923 w.) Cr-
dil o kavkasiis j arSi rostovidan_ xaCmazamde iTvi eboda
`Coniana- da adgil obriv j arebiana 57 aTasi mWamel i. info-
ratori wiTel armiaSi 31 aTass yazaxs da rus wiTel armi-
el s angariSobs. Tu saukeTeso SemTxvevi saTvis Cven viangari-

SebT, rom wi Tel j arSi xiStebis ricxvi Seadgens 80%- s, mTel i Crdil okavkasiis armiisaTvis Cven mi vi RebT 45 aTas mebrZol s. aqedan, sul ukanasknel i 10 aTasi mebrZol i igneba adgil obrivi j arebidan ase rom, marto rusul i wi Tel i armiel ebi mTel `skvoSi- Seadgenen uTuod arametes 35 aTasi xiStisa, amave angariSs amowmebs ori sxva cnoba, roml ebic sxvadasxva wyaroebidn aris miRebul i da roml ebic srul iad SeTanzmebul i amaTgan. am cnobebis mixedvi T `skvos- mdgomareoba gasul i wl is dekembrisatvis aseTi iyo: 1)Crdil o kavkasiis j aris ufrosi_voroSiI ovi; 2)misi Stabis ufrosi_ l evandovski; 3)armiis Stabi_rrostovSi.

armiis Semadgeni oba:

mecxre, mecamete, meocdaore, meocdamer ve da meocdametvi dmete (IX, XIII, XXII, XXVIII da XXXVII) qarTvel Ta msrol el i diviziebi, daRestnis quei TTa divizia, oTxi cxenosani divizia budionis armiisa (me II, IV, VI da XIV) da cxenosani cal ke brigada. Tu mxedvel obaSi mi vi RebT rom qarTvel Ta diviziaSi i ricxeba arametes 4000 mebrZol i sa (xiStisa) da cxenosanSi ki arametes 1200 xml i sa, Cveni quei TTa j arisTvis mi vi RebT 24 aTass mebrZol s da cxenosanisTvis arametes 54000 xml i sa am ricxvs unda miematos Crdil oeT kavkasiaSi moTavsebul i mraval i kursantebis Svil ebi da agreTve special uri sagangebo nawil ebi. yvel a am damatebebi T Cven Crdil oeT kavkasiis armiisTvis sabol ooT mi vi RebT i give 35 aTass mebrZol s. es aris rusul i Zal ebis maqsimaluri ricxvi.

rac Seexeba `okas,- romel ic Cven gansakuTrebiT unda gva-interesbedes, misi Semadgeni oba pirvel i ianrisaTvis 1923 wl isa, e.i. maSin, roca ufrosi wel i Svebul ebaSi (uvadoT) gauSves da `okam- ukrainidan mi i Ro Tavis SesavsebaT 20 aTasamde axal gazar da j ariskacebi. aseTi iyo:

`okas- ufrosi_ egorovi; Stabis ufrosi_ pugacovi.

Stabi TbII IsSI:

I. pirvel i msrol el i divizia_ Stabi quTaisSi

- 1)sammarTvel o- quTaisSi_ 169 kaci;
- 2)oTicerTa skol a- ique_ 76 kaci;
- 3)i- l i msrol el i pol ki TiTo- soxumSi_ 2240 kaci;
- 4)me- II- re msrol el i pol ki- baTumSi_ 1957 kaci;
- 5)me- II- me msrol el i pol ki- quTaisSi_ 2238 kaci;

- 6)msubuqi saartil erio diviziis sammarTvel o_ quTaisSi
 7) I- l i da me- II- re msubuqi batar. da samTo `vi uChn -
 (saswavl ebel i)_ 346 kaci;
 8)gaubi cis batarea_ baTumSi_ 115 kaci;
 9)sakavSi ro gundi- quTaisSi_ 228 kaci;
 10)cal ke eskadroni- ique_ 115 kaci;

sul pirvel diviziaSI _ 7484 kaci

pirvel i divizia sdgas saqarTvel oSi. ori danarCeni srul i ad amave ti pis da Semadgenl obis diviziebi sdganan_ erTi azerbaij anSi (meore) da erTi c somxeTSi (mesame). ami tom `okas- samive qveiTta diviziaSi iTvl eba daaxl oebiT 22 aTasi kaci da es diviziebi ki Seadgenen `okas- mTavar Zal as. `okaSive- Sedis kursantebis sxvadasxva skol ebi, sadac yvel a kursantebis ricxvi ar aRemateba 2500 kacs, saswavl o- sakadro brigada_ sami aTasi (3000) kacamde, cxenosani brigada_ 1600 kaci da `gpu- (saxel mwifo pol itikuri sammarTvel o) anu CveneburaT `Cekas- sxvadasxva razmbebi. yvel a eseni Seadgenen araumetes 116 aTass kacs. amas unda daematos 5 j avSniani matarebel i, j avSniani avtomobil ebi, tankebi, aeropl anebi, sacixvno artil eria da kidev zogierti ufro umni Svnel o special uri nawil ebi. amaTi saerTo ricxvi ar aRemateba 6 aTass kacs. amnairiT, mTel `okaSi- iTvl eba sul 44 aTas kacamde, e.i. sworeT imdeni, ramdensac aRni Snavs Cveni Tbilisel i informatori, romel ic 17 i anvars gamogzavnil `svodkaSi- ambobs; `okaSi- ukansknel i cnobebiT iTvl eba 45- 47 aTasi kaci. aqedan xiStis qveS 80% sdgas-XX. o. 1922

XX)Cemi azriT, Cveni Tbilisel i informatori srul i sisworiT ver axdens xiStebis gamoangari Sebas. saqne imaSiA, rom bol Sevi kebma Secval es samxedro Zal ebis daxasiaTebis wesi da ami tom, maT angarisSi gamotovebul ia mebrZol Ta aRricxva `xiStebis- saSuAl e- biT. nacvl ad xiStisa- isini xmar oben an `boecs- an `komandno armeecs- da es orive cneba ki ufro farToa vidre `xi Sti-! ami tom, Tu namdvil i `xiStebis- gamoangari Sebas davi wyeiT, cxadia, rom Cven unda mi vi RoT ara 80%, aramed saukeTeso SemTxvevaSi 60 da sul didi 65 %! amnairiT, mTel `okaSi- Cven ar unda viangari SoT 3000 xiStze meti, magram yovel i ve `optimi zmi s- Tavi dan asacil ebl ad me yvel gan maqsimal urad vangari Sob mtris Zal ebs.

wl is 13 dekembris cnobac amas amtkicebs. `sai duml o raskl adivi T `okaSi - qarTul , somxur da azerbaij anul j arebTan erTad, sanapiro razmebi ana pi rvel i dekembri saTvis kmayofaze i Tvl eboda 61 aTasi kaci. aqedan 15 aTasi modi oda erovnul nawi ebze da 46 aTasi rusebz-- o.

yvel a am cnobebis mixedvi T, Cven srul iaT gadaWriT SegviZI ia vsTqvaT, rom exl axan mTel i `okaSi - rusul i j arebis ricxvi 45 aTass ar aRemateba. Tugind Cemi Sexedul ebi T mebrZol TaTvis metad gadaWarbebul i 80% mi vi RoT, mTel `okaSi - Cven dagvrceba arauomes 36 aTasi xiSti. piradaT Cemi azriT es ricxvi uTuod gadametebul ia, magram yovel i SemTxvevisiTvis umj obesia mtris Zal a ar SevamciroT. aRni-Snul i `okas- Zal ebi umTavresad binadrob en saqar Tvel oSi, Semdeg azerbaij anSi da yvel aze nakl ebaT somxeTSi. SesazI ebel ia, rom osmal eTTan mosal odnel i garTul ebebis gamo am ukansknel droSi somxeTSiac gaaZl ieres j arebi. Cemi angariSiT daaxl oebl zemoaRni Snul i 36 aTasi xiStidan saqar Tvel oSi sgdas 16 aTasi, azerbaij anSi 11 aTasi da somxeTSi 9 aTasi. Tvi T saqar Tvel oSi aRni Snul i 16 aTasi dan marto TbI i sSi dabanakebul ia 6 aTasamdel da es ara mar to satranspor to da sabi nao mosazrebebi T, rogorc amas `okas-ufrosi ambobs^{xxx} aramed umTavresad pol i tikuri mosazrebis gamo, vi nai dan cxadia, rom dRes TbI isis dakargva bol Sevi kebi saTvis ami er kavkasi i is dakargvas udris.

rogoria `okas- saerTo mdgomareoba da ra samxedro Rirebul eba aqvs mas? es sakiTxi advil i gamosarkvevia Tvi T bol Sevi kebis masal ebi s SaSual ebi T. am masal ebi s Seswali a naTI ad amtkicebs, rom `oka- dResac ar warmoadgens Taname-drove regul arul j ars, romel ic organiziaciul aT, teqni-

XXX. « Мы в силу недочета конского состава, должны базироваться на линии местной дороги, чтобы не было перебоев в снабжении армии продовольствием. Мы должны держаться в дислокации поблизости местной дороги. Это обстоятельство вызывает, конечно, некоторое перемещение гарнизона ... в Тбилиси и в Баку. Другого выхода нет. Само положение армии очень тяжелое » (из доклада командарма «ОКА» Егорова. Стенографический отчет II-ой партийной конференции коммунистических организаций Закавказья. Стр.34. Конференция имела место 11 и 12 ноября 22 года).

kuraT da material uraT Tanamedrove samxedro moTxo-vni l ebaTa simaRI eze sdgas. `okas- (i se rogorc sazogadoT mTel wi Tel armias) aramcTu SeuTvi sebi a da Seusis xl xorgse-bia Tanamedrove samxedro xel ovneba, aramed, man yovel mxr-giv ukan dai xi a Zvel rusul j ar Tanac Sedarebi T. rom es si-tyvebi ufro damaj erebel i gaxdes, me val aparakeb Tvi T bol S-evi kebis s amxedro xel mZRanel obas. pirevel yovl i sa val aparakeb Tvi T egor ovs: : «Если мы возьмем вопрос материального снабжения войсковых частей, - то скажем, что в вопросах продовольствия мы в той или иной степени обойдемся...» Вопрос вещественного снабжения несколько хуже. Мы сталкиваемся с необходимостью иметь такие материалы, какие наша промышленность не может поставлять и в качественном, и в количественном отношении. Это мы видим на протяжении довольно долгого времени и последния сциития говорят, что несмотря на приказ Реввоенсовета Республики, - остается все такая же картина. Сейчас наши войковые части обеспечены в обмундировании на 50%, не больше, есть недочет в конском составе и обзое. Вопрос этот чрезвычайно сложный, ибо конский состав весьма растрепан, численность его сократилась во всей федерации и после голода большинство конского состава погибло...» «Самый большой вопрос, который мы переживаем, это вопрос квартирный.» Semdeg egorovi exeba Tvi T yazar mis mowyobil obas da ambobs: ... «У нас нет армейских средств» da rogorc damaxasi aTebel i magal iTi dasZens: ... «Мы закрыли свой журнал, накануне смерти наш единственный армейский орган – Красный Воин...» «Обращу внимание Парктонференции на то, что без материальной помощи шефов мы не можем вести хозяйства армии.» aseTi ve suraTs imave konferenciaze xataven anski da kRaCovi.

amnai raT, srul iad cxadia, rom is armia romel sac mxol od sursaTi aqvs ase Tu i se samyofi da romel sac akl ia tansacmel i, cxenebi, bi na da mowyobil oba, romel sac ar aqvs aravi Tar i saSual eba Tanamedrove samxedro teqni ki s progress gayves, ver Cai Tvl eba Tanamedrove armiaTi da aqve unda iTqvas, rom Sedarebi T Si da ruseTi s armiasTan (gar da moskovi sa), `oka- iTvl eba saukeTeso mowesri gebul ad, mowyobil aT da mokazmul aT!... egorovi s mier aRni Snul i nakl i Si da ruseTSi erTi oraT i Cenen Tavs...

me aq ar Sevudgebi `Coni s- daxasi aTebas, vi nai dan Tvi T bo- I Sevi kebma savsebi T ki dev ver gaarkvies misi sabol oo saxe

da organizaciul aT ver Camoayal i bes. amas i give egorovi amowmebs. Tavis i dei iT ki `Coni- unda Seadgendas yvel aze ufr o saimedo, sando nawi l ebs. es ase vTqvaT unda gamxdar iyo komuni stebis gvardiaT. magram, gansakuTrebiT amierkavkasiaSi dRemdi Zal ian cota ram aris am mxriv gakeTebul i da ami tom CvenSi `Coni- aravi Tar samxedro Zal as ar warmoadgens, mi T ufr o, rom rogorc i give egorovi ambobs: «Организационная сторона Чона весьма ненормально в смысле ведения военной работы.» erTi ki aSkara unda iyo: radganac wi Tel i armi s Senaxva metad uZnel deba gakotrebul ruseTs, bol Sevkebi amci reben regul arul jars da cdil oben `Coni s- gazzdas. rogorc saiduml o brZanebi dan irkveva_ gvauwyebts Tbil isel i informatori_rusis jars Zal ze amci reben. samagierod aZl iereben `Conso-. saqarTvel osTvis `Cons- 16 aTasamde angari-Soben. cxadia, rom es ricxvi gadaWarbebul ia.

garda `Conisa- bol Sevikur SeiaraRebul Zal ebs unda miematos komsomol ebis nawi ebi, magram isini samxedro Tval sazrisiT srul iad umni Svnel oni arian. aRsanis Snavia, rom ukansknel aT mi Rebul i 20 aTas axal gazrdaj ariskacebs iaraRi `okam- adgil obriv e.i. amierkavkasiaSi dauria. es imis damadasturebel ia, rom amierkavkasiis samxedro sawyobebSi iaraRi inaxeba.

nacional uri jarebi sagarTvel oSi, azerbaijanSi da somxeTSi_ unugeSo mdgomareobaSi arian. Ti Toeul respublikas yavs Ti To divizia, magram es ufr o nominal uri divizebia, roml ebi c `okaSi - Sedian da roml ebSiac mebrZol Tairicxvi 2-3 aTass kacs ar aRemateba marTal ia, sul ukansknel dros movida cnoba, rom ganzraxul ia qarTul i jaris gaZl iereba, magram es cnoba ki dev Semowmebas moi Txovs.

v.j .

15 Teberval i 23 w. parizi.

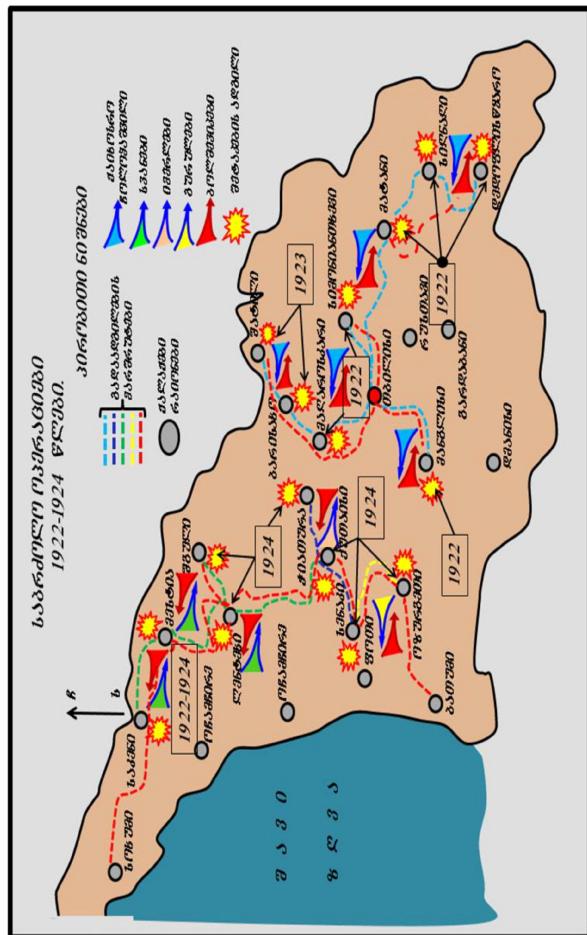


ruka 1

1922 wl is septembers Sedgeli i geginis mixedvi T kavkasi s
ganTavi sufl ebs mizni T, ruseTis jarebis wihaRndeg mogmedebis
savarauido svroe Tbil isl rostovl yizi ari_ bao_ l emporani_
erevanl baTuri_ soa.

-OKB- - Ordili o kaasi is samedro ol qj (Stab)

-OKA- - kavkasi is sagangebo armia (Stab)



| | |
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SoTa II las Ze vadaWkorla

SelaraRebul i aj anyebis samxedro gegmis
gacemis dazustebisatvis
1924
parizi- Tbilisi
2016
saaRricxvo- sagamomceml o Tabaxi 7,5
sabeWdi qaRal di 60 X 84 1/16

