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The CAUCASIAN REPUBLICS

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(These Republics entered into a defensive and economic union with the
North Caucasian Republic and Armenia in 1921)

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THE CAUCASIAN REPUBLICS

The Little Democracies
The World Forgot

By
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Foreword

There have been written many versions of what has happened in the Caucasus, subsequent to the breakdown of Imperial Russia. Most of the published accounts are in the German, French and Russian languages and concern largely the activities of these nationalities in their Caucasian relations.

Books and articles that have been written in English, while in some instances quite comprehensive, do not fully reveal the motivating forces that led to the formation of the Republics of the Caucasus, largely within the territorial boundaries of the ancient Georgian Kingdom. Such articles as have appeared in American publications are largely fragmentary and sketchy.

In most of the literature that has been published there is a lack of continuity and unfortunately a superficial knowledge of not only the past but more immediate political history of the long existent nationalities that are now united into a Confederation of the Caucasian Republics, though overrun by the Red Army of Moscow, and held under the Soviet Dictatorship.

The narrative of the struggle of the Caucasian States to maintain their national independence and sustain their international relations has not hitherto been assembled in one work.

In view of the international importance of these submerged nationalities and their relations to the unsettled problems of Europe and America, I have prepared this brief account, which is drawn from various addresses and talks at informal luncheons, and dinners to which I have been invited, at the Metropolitan, University, Lotus, Lawyers, and National Republican Clubs, and the National Civic Federation, all of New York City.

VASIL D. DUMBADZE

Nationalities That Were Reborn

I



THE New Republics of Middle Europe that were dissevered from Imperial Russia and the German and Austrian Empires, and attained their national independence after the World War, form an uninterrupted chain from Finland to Czechoslovakia. At the southernmost border of Russia is another group of non-Russian people, known in recent history as the Caucasian Republics. They occupy the ancient trade highway of Europe and Asia, between the black and Caspian Seas, and embrace the territory of the Caucasus, stretching from beyond the northern slopes of the Causasian Range, including the range itself and down to the northern Persian and Turkish borders,—in geographical extent about equal to New England and New York,—with a population of approximately 14,000,000.

In the realignment of Middle Europe, the protecting hand of the Powers was extended to the new buffer states between Russia and Germany, but they gave to the new Republics of the Caucasus little else than formal recognition. The result of this unfortunate neglect has been to precipitate in the very cock-pit of the Near East a conflict that has not diminished in the aftermath of the World Peace, nor been solved by the recognition of the principles of international law. The Republics of the Caucasus, nominally free, are deprived by force of their sovereign rights.

**Negligence of
the Great
Powers**

**Importance to
Americans**

While the Counsellors of the Great Powers, at the Peace Conference, were agreed that most of the new democracies that were born in war could not stand alone, the people of the Caucasus, whose independence was reborn were extended no permanent protection, though they fought with the Allies during the war. After gaining and maintaining their independence from Bolshevik Russia, they were left a prey to the treachery of the Moscow terrorists and the threatening incursion of their southern neighbors, the Turks. They became a victim of both, while entitled to expect support that was so freely extended by Europe and America to the other new neighboring republics, whose independence was recognized coincident with theirs. The Great Powers gave them insufficient assistance and ineffective mandatory protection in the maintenance of their established sovereignties, though both these principles were recognized as essential in the maintenance of their independent state.

Today these Near East Republics of the Caucasus are suffering under the crushing rule of Bolshevism. Their problem of sustaining the national existence that is theirs by right of demonstrated self-determination and international recognition, is of far-reaching importance to the peace and commerce of Europe and the Near East, as well as of humanitarian, religious and economic interest to the United States. Theirs is a cause that concerns the civilized world, for it involves the whole problem of the spread of the godless and chaotic disorder of Bolshevism.

**The Incubus of
World
Revolution**

The conditions that exist in the Caucasus is not a remote and vague theorem but an actual and living issue that touches the world's hearthstones and concerns the world's economic life, for the destructive sophistries of Communism and the political aspirations of the Third-International and the Moscow doctrine of World Revolution, are as dangerous to European and American civilization as they have demonstrated themselves to be blighting to Russia and the Caucasus, and menacing in the Near and Far East. These doctrines and the activities of their disciples are international in their reach and proclaim the violent break-up of every form of government and religion, by establishing the "dictatorship of the proletariat" and the sovietized irreligious cult of Atheism.

In the Caucasus, the Bolshevik reigns. Let us glance at the picture and consider the historic, political and economic past and present of these peoples and their claim to the attention of the civilized world, for they are among those races that "present the greatest humanitarian opportunity of the age", and upon whose destiny depends the "world's peace at the world's cross-ways, the focus of war infection since the beginning of history".*

II

The Caucasus—the southern part of which for twenty centuries was the ancient Kingdom of Georgia, and more remotely the land of Colchis and Iberia, the legendary site of the Garden of Eden and the cradle of the Aryan Race—is now divided into four newly-formed republics. They include Azerbaijan, with its vast petroleum fields at Baku on the Caspian Sea; Georgia, with its great manganese deposits, and the western terminal of the Transcaucasian railroad and pipe-lines, on the Black Sea; North Caucasia, embracing the Grosny oil deposits, the buffer state to the south of Russia that took the brunt of the armies of Denikin and the Bolshevik raids; and Armenia, overrun by the savage Kurds, and the scene of horror and famine that yet invokes the aid of the charitable world.

**Their Great
Natural
Wealth**

That these regions were of momentous strategic as well as material concern to the Allies and the Central Powers during the Great War, is well known. The Turk crossed the mountains and plains of Armenia to extend the Ottoman Empire to the Caucasian Range; Germany made a fruitless effort to gain a foothold in Georgia, in the summer of 1918, at the eve of the great conflict; British troops scaled the lofty passes of

**Strategic
Importance**

*Report of Major-General Harbord, of 1919, upon Conditions in the Near East.

Persia to protect Baku, and to assist Georgia in counteracting the Bolshevik menace and its spread toward India; and finally, Moscow sent its Red Army down the Caspian and Black Sea littorals and over the Caucasian Mountains to recover what Imperial Russia had lost and to open the door of Bolshevik penetration in Asia Minor and India.

In those critical days, when the life of Europe was threatened, Transcaucasia was the key of the Near Eastern situation. The strategic and economic importance of the Republics of the Caucasus, has not diminished, though their independence is unsustainable and the freedom that was theirs suffers under the rule of the Cheka and an imposed dictatorship from Moscow.

**Their Right
to Live**

That the Republics of the Caucasus have a right to live and maintain their independent state is demonstrated by their history. They occupy a territory and embrace a people, never wholly conquered by the invading races of the earlier centuries, nor merged or brought under the permanent yoke of Imperial Russia or Mohammedan Turkey. They have preserved their language, racial identities, religious and national status, despite the intermingling of alien hordes, for over two thousand years.

All Eastern races, from the Babylonians down, in turn unsuccessfully attempted to dominate the Caucasus, whose history goes back five thousand years. Christianity came to Georgia in the second century and was adopted early in the fourth as a State religion, displacing the worship of fire. In the eleventh century, the Caucasian isthmus, from earliest times the natural trade route between Europe and Asia, was the battlefield of invading Mongols. In the fifteenth century, isolated from Christian Europe by the capture of Constantinople by the Turks, the Kingdom of Georgia found herself in the midst of a secular struggle against the hordes of Mussulemen and Persians who ravaged her people, burned her cities and villages and threatened her existence.

**The Heroic
Struggle of
Georgia**

The history of these centuries reveals the heroism and extraordinary gallantry of the Georgian people. The fame of the powerful King Irakly II, in the second half of the eighteenth century, spread throughout Europe. To him, Frederick the Great

of Prussia liked to compare himself. "I, in Europe, and the invincible King Irakly in Asia," was his boast, and so great was his esteem for the Georgian King that he caused military medals to be stamped bearing Irakly's portrait and the inscription, "Fight like this lion of Georgia."

But despite her continuous opposition to the Islamic tide, the crushing majority of her enemies forced Georgia to turn to her Christian neighbor, Russia, for protection and alliance. Out of her appeal came "a treaty of friendship" with Catherine the Great, in 1783, the terms of which proclaimed the equal sovereign rights of the two nations and guaranteed, on the part of Russia, to treat the enemies of Georgia as her own enemies, and to assist her in regaining territory overrun by the Turks. In return for this, the Georgian King promised to consult Russia in relation to his foreign engagements. But Russia never fulfilled the obligations imposed upon her by this treaty. When the Turks and Persians, infuriated by this alliance, invaded Georgia, she was left unaided to defend herself against her enemies.

**A Friendly
Treaty with
Russia**

The goal of Russian policy is expressed in Dr. Dillon's book, "The Eclipse of Russia", in which he quotes a Russian diplomat as saying: "The Kingdom of Georgia came to us and asked for an alliance. We made it. Some time afterwards the Georgians fell upon evil days. Being attacked by Persia, they claimed our active help as equals and allies. But we answered we were too busy elsewhere, and left them to their fate. Whereupon the Persians fell upon them and killed two men out of every three, so that the nation was literally bleeding to death. Then the Georgians came to us a second time, now no longer as equals and allies, but as humble suppliants".

Russia's method of subjugating Georgia was only too successful. The Tsarist Government did not hesitate to take advantage of Georgia's weakened state. In 1801 it annexed, in open violation of the treaty of 1783, the entire territory of the Georgian Kingdom, and by that edict declared it a Russian province. Proudly boasting of this usurpation, the Emperors of Russia assumed the title of "Tsars of Georgia." Both England and France made a formal protest against unlawful annexation.

**Russia's
forceful
Annexation
of Georgia**

Georgia was not actually conquered by Russia. Only by open violation of the treaty of alliance which Georgia had concluded in good faith, was the Russian Tsar enabled to bring the Georgian Kingdom under his sceptre. That the Russians became masters of Georgia by victorious warfare is not the historical fact. By a breach of international law Russia established her overlordship of this part as the Caucasus. Russia's subjugation of Georgia was completed by the annexation of Mingrelia (in 1803) and Imeretia (in 1810), formerly independent principalities and parts of the ancient Georgian Kingdom.

**Georgian high
in Czarist
Government**

But in spite of the advantage taken of her momentary weakness, Georgia remained loyal to Russia which insured her the preservation of her Christian religion. Following the annexation of Georgia, many Caucasians attained prominence in the Russian Government. In Imperialist armies and as governors of provinces Caucasian men occupied high posts and influenced the destiny of Russia. The distinguished Russian Prime Minister, Witte, well-known in America for his activities in connection with the Portsmouth Peace Treaty during the Russian-Japanese War, gives in his memoirs, (Volume III, pp. 37 and 44), high praise for the loyalty, honesty and courage of the Caucasians, "thousands and thousands of whom," he says, "have shed their blood for the honor of the Russian sword Caucasian Generals have left behind the most brilliant pages in Russia's military history,"

**Fought With
the Allies**

The officials of the Caucasian Vice-Royalty, however, were chiefly Russians because the Czarist Government followed a policy of disrupting the national sentiments of non-Russian minorities, by imposing local administration by Russians. Thus in Czarist days Georgians and the other Caucasians seldom found an opportunity of devoting their abilities to the direct benefit of their own country, with the only exception of the small number who yielded to the Russification policy and abandoned their native tongue and traditions. To liberate her provinces, lost to Turkey, Georgia gave full support to Russia in the three wars against Turkey in the nineteenth century, and lastly in 1914, when Georgia mobilized, apart from those special Georgian

volunteer corps fighting on the Caucasus front, about 200,000 of her best manhood in the cause of the Allies. These Georgians who followed Russia's call to arms, faithful to their duty, were however, not permitted to defend their country against the Turk, but sent away to perish in the fields of East Prussia and Galicia. The nation as a whole cherished the belief that the victory of the Allied cause would be better for the future of Georgia, and for humanity.

After the Russian revolution of February and March, 1917, and the overthrow of Imperial Russia, the viceroy who had governed Caucasia in the name of the Czar, ceased to function. The Provisional Government in Petrograd appointed as High Commissioner for Transcaucasia,—including Georgia, Azerbaijan and Armenia,—the Duma Deputy, Akaky Tschenkeli, a Georgian patriot and social democrat who had been several times exiled from Caucasia under the Czarist regime for his convictions.

The revolution revived the hope of Georgia's best men to regain the liberty and sovereignty to which they were rightfully entitled. The attitude of the Provisional Government, however, destroyed these expectations. Despite the promises previously given by the Russian liberals to undo the injustice inflicted upon Georgia by the Czars' administrations, the Provisional Government attempted to continue the imperialistic policy of Czarism, and opposed granting the claims of non-Russian nationalities for self-determination. Though this disappointed the Georgian nationalists bitterly, the Georgian statesmen continued to work loyally for the creation of a democratic Russia. The Head of the Provisional Government invited one of the foremost Georgians, the former Duma deputy Tseretelli, a Social Democrat to enter his cabinet. The member and leader of the Social Democratic Party in the Duma, Tcheidze, was elected President of the Council of Workers and Soldiers Deputies, which actually ruled Russia. From this Council finally originated the Bolshevik movement, which the Georgian statesmen, Tseretelli and Tcheidze, had clearly foreseen and against which they had warned the members of the Council in vain. To the very last

**Breakdown of
the Imperial
Rule**

**Supported the
Russian
Government**

moment they tried to divert the approaching catastrophe, but their efforts in Petrograd failed, and they returned to Georgia, where they took a prominent part in the organization of a National and Democratic Government, in opposition to Bolshevism.

**Transcaucasia
Refused to
Join
Bolshevistic
Moscow**

In October, 1917, when the Bolsheviks seized power in Petrograd and Moscow, chaos followed in Transcaucasia through the withdrawal of the entire administrative, judicial and military establishments who fled across the frontiers and joined the White Armies being organized to restore Old Russia.* This abandonment on the part of Russia released Georgia from all obligations towards the new government and threw her upon her own resources. The national integrity of the peoples that had been held forcibly under Russian rule was thus automatically restored. The situation, demanding organization and defense, forced the leaders and peoples of Georgia and the other nations of the Caucasus, to take their fate into their hands, particularly in view of the imminence of the Turks on their frontiers, and especially to assure the continued development of their national life. The Transcaucasians united, November 15, 1917, into a committee of government for the Transcaucasian States, forming a combined Assembly, Seim, in February, 1918.

"That very day Russian soldats, freed from the yoke of autocracy by Tsar and bureaucracy and blindly assuming the attractive but heavier yoke of autocracy by the mob, were retreating in droves from the Turkish front, so eager to abandon all dreams of conquest or defense of territory in which they had no interest, for one more visit with the home folks, that many rode on the roof of the military train through the bitter cold of winter, 6,000 feet above the sea. The veneer of Russian greatness, an outside show which had caused even Germany to fear, has peeled off". —From articles by Maynard Owen Williams, of the staff of the *National Geographical Magazine*, October 1918.

III

The other nationalities of the Caucasus who, with Georgia, formed the Transcaucasian Committee, possess a history as eventful as that of Georgia itself.

Azerbaijan, during the Middle Ages, was the battlefield of Turks, Arabs, Persians and nomadic tribes from the East. The new nation that has developed from the intermingling of all these different elements, with a preponderance of Mongols and Turks, is known as the Tatars. Their faith is the Islam. "They have", says the Italian historian, Villari, in his 'Fire and Sword in the Caucasus', "a dignity of bearing and a charm of manner which endear them to all who came in contact with them". After a period of some hundred years of Turkish, and later Persian, domination, the Tatars, having definitely settled at the south-western shores of the Caspian Sea and along the Caucasian River Kura, came under the rule of Russia, which by the treaty of 1813 acquired the territory from Persia. More than a hundred years of Russian overlordship, however, did not suffice to extinguish the strong tendency for national self-determination that was revealed after the outbreak of the Revolution of 1917, and led to the union with the other Transcaucasian States.

Azerbaijan

The last member of the Transcaucasian Committee was Armenia, inhabited by an ancient Christian race, settled for many centuries in the hills and plains beneath the slopes of Mount Ararat. The Armenians had gained a predominant position in the economic life of the Caucasus. The last war between Turkey and Russia, which was raging on Armenian territory brought them to the edge of ruin. During the last centuries the Armenians had often fallen back upon the Georgians, as in 1795, when thousands of refugees came to Georgia to escape the persecutions of the Persian Shah, Agha-Mahomet-Kahn. Between 1827 and 1829 Georgian hospitality was extended to more

**Armenians
Join the
Confederation**

than a hundred thousand Armenian refuges from Turkey and thirty thousand from Persia. So it was only natural that in their first attempt to organize an independent nationality the Armenians approached their Georgian neighbors for mutual assistance.

Beyond the Caucasian Mountains are the Circassians, and other mountaineer tribes of Northern Caucasus, who had for nearly fifty years fought fiercely for their independence, when at the beginning of the nineteenth century, Russia tried to include the Caucasus in its domains. Toward the middle of the century, these mountaineers of North Caucasus were conquered by the Russians. The conquest was made possible only by the fact that Russia had previously established a strategical basis in Georgia through its annexation. The mountaineers were chiefly Mohammedans. Their form of Government according to the accounts of British and other travellers, who in the middle of the last century visited the Causasus, was "a species of aristocratic republic, composed of chiefs, nobles, and clansmen, in whom rank is only recognized in their public and patriarchal capacity, as chieftains, law givers, and elders", while otherwise a perfect equality existed in all the relations of social and domestic life.

The national hero of these liberty loving people, Shamil, had gained world-wide fame in the first half of the last century, especially in the Mussulman world. An incident is recorded in Caucasian history that reveals the prominence of this outstanding figure. By special permission of the Czar, whose prisoner he was, he made the traditional pilgrimage to Mecca. When Sultan Abdul-Asis received him in Constantinople, he showed his esteem by kissing Shamil's hands, the token of the highest reverence among Mohammedans.

The attention of the whole of Europe was turned to the gallant and desperate struggle for liberty that was taking place in Caucasia. In 1849, the famous writer Bodenstedt prophetically wrote of the Mountaineers' heroic defense, these words: "This war is not only a fight of men against men, it is a struggle of the mountains against the Steppe. The people of the Caucasus may change, but the air of freedom blowing from its mountainous heights will remain always the same". The mountaineers

**The North
Caucasians**

**Sets up an
Independent
Union**

were never assimilated by the Russian conquerors but preserved their nationality in the face of all attempts of Russification. About 600,000 Cherkesses and other mountaineers emigrated to Turkey after the Russian conquest. The greater part of them perished by disease and starvation. Their deserted homes were taken over by Cossack immigrants who formed the backbone of Russian rule in the mountains. In May, 1917, they availed themselves of the opportunity which the revolution offered to regain their sovereignty. They set up the independent "Union of the Peoples of the Northern Caucasus" at Vladikavkaz, which was supplanted in December of that year by the "Union of Mountaineers". Their sympathies for the Transcaucasians did not lead to a formal union. Internal difficulties with Bolshevik elements and General Denikin's attack, which finally in March, 1919, destroyed the Union of the Mountaineers, prevented it from effective co-operation with the Transcaucasian Committee.

IV

Grave difficulties confronted the new Transcaucasian governments from the very beginning. The treaty of Brest-Litovsk, signed in March, 1918, by Soviet Russia and Germany and her Allies, conceded the whole southern part of Transcaucasia, the districts of Kars, Batum and Ardahan, to Turkey. The Transcaucasian Seim had protested against this act, which had been agreed upon without its knowledge and approval.

In March and April of 1918, delegates of Transcaucasia had been in conference with the Turks at Trebizond. But these negotiations, which aimed at a separate peace between Transcaucasia and Turkey, were broken off as fruitless. The separate procedure of the Transcaucasian Government was legalized by a formal declaration of the Independence of Transcaucasia, April 22, 1918, followed by the formation of a Transcaucasian Federation which was created to supplant the former Transcaucasian

**The Trans-
Caucasian
Federation
Formed**

Committee. While the delegates at Trebizond had been inclined to grant the excessive demands of the Turks, yielding to the pressure of circumstances, the Government and Seim, or Assembly, in Tiflis, were resolved to continue the war, in the hope of forcing from the Turks less severe conditions of peace. However, the mixed army, awaiting demobilization, opposed the continuation of hostilities, and furthermore, the Mussulman members of the Seim, from Azerbaijan, inspired by their religious feelings, declared with their national frankness that they were unable to participate in a war against their brothers in the faith.

**Turkish
Ambitions
in Caucasia**

Resolved to settle all further issues by force, the Turks occupied the districts which they claimed in accordance with the terms of the Brest-Litvosk Treaty. To prevent further bloodshed, the Transcaucasian Federation, recouring to diplomatic means instead of brutal force, convened with the Turks in a conference at Batum. Now, however, the Turks wanted to gain control of all of Transcaucasia in order to facilitate the aggression against the British in Persia, and presented conditions far beyond the limits of the Brest Treaty, to which treaty they did not feel bound, as Transcaucasia had not accepted its terms in Trebizond.

When the delegates refused to accede to these new conditions, the Turks presented an ultimatum demanding acceptance within seventy-two hours. In this critical moment the German delegate, General V. Lossow, approached the Transcaucasian delegates with an offer of intervention. The delegates from Azerbaijan, who were Mohammedans, did not wish, however, to accept this offer and thus offend the Turks. It became, therefore, imperative for the other States, to whom the German intervention was agreeable, to act independently, and particularly as the Turks were already invading Georgia, occupying a large part of her territory.

Georgia realized that she must act independently or become the victim of Turkish ambition which sought to create a Turkish Empire that included all the Islamitic tribes of Caucasia and Persia, and extend its influence from the Black to the Caspian

Seas. In May, 1918, a German division occupied Georgia, and its Capital, Tiflis, to prevent the Turks from exceeding the limits accorded by the Brest-Litvosk Treaty. Georgia therefore accepted the protection of the German Commander, extending to the German troops the use of the railways and ports, and on May 26, 1918, in Tiflis, declared its independence, Azerbaijan and Armenia followed on May 28th. Thus were the Caucasian Republics born and saved from Turkish rule.* On June 3, 1918, a treaty with Turkey was signed agreeing upon territorial boundaries identical with those specified in the Brest treaty.

**The Republics
of Caucasia
declare Their
Independence**

After the conclusion of the armistice in France, November, 1918, the Germans withdrew from the Caucasus. The presence of British troops which followed, did much to sustain the independence of the new Republics.

*That these events are almost unknown or at least often completely misunderstood, is exemplified by a statement in a recent book by an American Professor of History. He writes, after mentioning the formal announcement of Transcaucasia's secession from Russia, on April 22nd:

"The example of Transcaucasia became epidemic, however, for Georgia declared her independence on May 26th, 1918; on May 28th the Tatars of Azerbaijan and the Russian Armenians did the same—The Transcaucasian Union went to pieces as the explosive effect of revolution spread". (Dennis, The Foreign Policies of Soviet Russia, p.205)

The fact is that the Transcaucasian Union consisted of Georgia, Azerbaijan and Armenia. The declaration of the independence of Transcaucasia could not, therefore, induce these states who were identical with it, to follow its example. The Union fell apart when the situation in Batum became critical and demanded separate action, and not as an aftermath of the revolution. This fact has evaded the author.

V

The Georgian people, under their restored sovereignty, which was abolished under the Russian rule, built up their new government and established international relations. Their Act of Independence* was approved, confirmed and ratified March 12, 1919 by their Constituent Assembly elected according to the electoral system of direct, equal, universal, secret and proportional** voting of citizens of both sexes. The constitution and political organization was that of a democratic republic. The executive power was entrusted to the Cabinet whose President was elected by the Assembly, and who appointed, as does the American President, the members of his cabinet. The administrative bodies were controlled by the Assembly to which the ministers were personally responsible and whose confidence they must possess. Administration was decentralized by enlarging the power of the local councils, democratically elected. Towns, rural districts and villages exercised complete self-government in all questions relating to local, economic and educational questions. All citizens were equal in the eyes of the law. The Georgian nobility, formerly enjoying wide privileges, renounced them voluntarily, inspired by their democratic feelings. The interests of workmen were fully protected. The church was completely separated from the State.

The controlling political party was the Social-Democratic, adherent to so called "Menshevism."***

The New
Georgian
Democracy

The
Menshevists

*See Appendix.

**Under the system of proportional suffrage, the whole country was taken as one electoral district and the 130 seats of the Assembly distributed among all parties in proportion to the number of votes cast for their candidates. In the election to the Constituent Assembly, February 1919, 514,000 electors voted: Social Democrats, 408,000 votes—109 seats; National Democrats, 30,000—8 seats; Federal Socialists, 33,000—8 seats.

***The Menshevist is the doctrine of the minority of the former Russian Social Democratic Party, deriving its name from the Russian word "menshe" meaning "small", which came into existence in 1906 by separating from the majority, or "Bolshevists", from "bolshe" meaning "great". The Menshevists were the advocates of the form of Russian socialism that aimed to attain its ends by peaceful economical progress within the boundaries of law, by evolution. The Bolshevists are their antipodes, pursuing a method of forcible change of Society, the destruction of capitalism and the church, by revolution.

Social democracy in Georgia grew out of the economic unrest of the agrarian population and the attachment to nationalistic principles of all classes universally opposed to the Russian yoke. Beginning as a political party of protest against the excessive taxation and civil restrictions, it developed rapidly into a national movement. Under the prevailing system of landed proprietorship the small farmer was subjected to the dictation of the landlord as to the extent and period of the tenancy. He did not possess the ability or power to secure just rewards for his products. The obnoxious system of heavy taxation increased his burden. Since the beginning of the present century,—the expansion of the Chiatury manganese mines, the oil industry and harbors at Poti and Batum, the Transcaucasian railways, and other commercial enterprises,—thousands of peasants and laborers were attracted to industrial occupation. A permanent working class resulted and gradually organized itself into economic bodies. Into these unions came the laborers from the farms, who gave part of their year to the industrial life of the nation, returning to their fields at planting and harvest time. Agitated by the Socialistic elements from Russia, the disaffected farmers soon joined the permanent working class organizations.

**Social
Democracy in
Georgia**

The attempted Russification of the Georgians of all classes only helped to preserve and stimulate the spirit of Nationalism that never forgave or forgot Russia's violation of her treaty of 1783, and her arbitrary annexation of Georgia in 1801. This universal protest crystallized into the Social-Democratic party which, in the very nature of its character, readily realized in the political party in Russia opposed to the autocratic Czarist regime, a basis for affiliation. The terroristic methods of the Russian "Social Revolutionaries" did not appeal to the Georgians. The Social Democrats, on the other hand, were pursuing their aims by regulatory political action. Moreover, the Russian Government presented a tolerant front toward the Social Democrats, while vigorously opposing the terroristic Social-Revolutionaries and the nationalistic tendencies which threatened to break up the Empire.

**Spirit of
Nationalism
Preserved**

In the movement toward Social-Democracy, in Georgia, the Russian government thought it saw a break-down or counter-

move, that would effectively destroy Georgian nationalistic unity by creating a breach between the middle-class and the peasantry. Though Imperial Russia suppressed nationalistic agitation in Georgia, the growth of social-democracy, in the beginning an economic movement, was not impeded until the revolution of 1904-5.

**Dissatisfied
Elements Join
Together**

Into the Georgian party of Social - Democracy, flocked all of the dissatisfied elements of all classes, irrespective of their divergency of aims or views.* Thus in a country where industrial development was still in its infancy, there grew a popular party of commanding position where a so-called industrial proletariat hardly existed. While in other countries social democracy was anti-national in spirit, in Georgia it included nationalistic aspirations,—political doctrines normally incompatible. This was demonstrated in the spring of 1918, when the Social-Democratic party unanimously supported the movement for independence and took active part in the patriotic re-birth of Georgia's national existence.

The Menshevists carried out reforms in Georgia along democratic lines. This policy was contrary to that of the Russian counter-revolutionary leaders, Generals Yudenitch, Denikin and Wrangel and Admiral Koltschak, who attempted restoration on a reactionary basis, which method without doubt prevented their movements from gaining the support of the populace, especially of the peasantry who feared the return of the old unsatisfactory methods of land-holding.

**Development
under
Independence**

The Georgian Government, and along similar lines, the other Caucasian Governments, sought to bring their country up to the most perfect organization of life by means of systematic development of all the material and educational resources of the people, and by the consolidation of the democratic institutions. All parties and all classes of the population co-operated willingly with the Government regardless of personal sacrifices.

*Had not the Russification policy forced the Georgians into a party opposed to the Imperial sway over Georgia, these members of the Social-Democratic party, who were far from being proletarians in the accepted meaning of the word, would naturally have become scholars, instead of agitators, or have attached themselves to that class of Caucasian officers, of whom Count Witte wrote, "they left behind the most splendid pages in military history."

The State embarked on far-seeing undertakings, such as construction of railways, highways, roads, bridges, viaducts, drainage of marshlands, the irrigation of arid plains, etc. That these plans were only partially carried out and that the efforts to maintain a firm democratic commonwealth failed finally, was due to the unsettled external situation which was created by the intrigues of Moscow Bolsheviks.

**Public
Undertakings**

Temporarily, the Bolsheviks were held off by the English troops who occupied Baku for a short time in August, 1918, and again in November, 1918. The British expedition, under Major-General Thompson, withdrew to Batum in the summer of 1919, and departed July, 1920.

Though the English forces gave transitory protection to the Georgian State, and effectively prevented external interference, the political attitude of the British Government toward the Caucasus was one of exigency. In the first expedition to Baku in Azerbaijan, the British came up through Persia to protect the oil fields against the German-officered Turkish forces. In this they failed. In their second expedition to Caucasia, after the armistice, they prevented the occupation of Transcaucasia by the Bolsheviks and held off the designs of the new Kemal Turkish Government, formed by Kemal Pasha, to regain possession of part of Georgia, including the province and port of Batum, on the Black Sea.

**Protected by
the English
troops**

After the defeat of the White Armies of Wrangel and Denikin, in South Russia, Lloyd George questioned whether Soviet Russia in repossession of her lost provinces was the greater menace to the British Empire in the Near East, or the new Turkish Government with its territorial aspirations. Coincidentally the English trade mission at Moscow sought to secure the oil concessions in Baku. The little republics of the Caucasus had become the victims of oil diplomacy. In addition to the baleful influence of Lloyd George's position came Secretary Colby's declaration regarding the inviolability of Czarist Russia's frontiers, "with the exception of Finland proper, ethnic Poland and such territory as may by agreement form a part of the Armanian State." The Bolsheviks were heartened by the

**Disheartening
Attitude of
Secretary
Colby**

13.021
4

attitudes of the English Premier and the United States Secretary of State, which brought consternation to the newly formed democracies of the Caucasus.

Favorable
Attitude of
McDonald
and Curzon

The conclusion of an alliance between Moscow and the new Turkish Government, in Angora, evidently led England to hope that the Russians would refrain from their further advance against Afghanistan and India, as compensation for a free hand in Caucasia. Re-awakening traditions of English policy from the time of the Crimean War (1853-1855) when the support of the fight for liberty of the independent Caucasian Mountaineers Republic had been seriously considered, inspired both the labor and conservative leaders, J. Ramsey McDonald and Lord Curzon, to advocate, at the end of 1920, the maintenance of the free Caucasian States as a frontier between Russia on the one hand and Persia and Turkey on the other. Lloyd George, the leader of the English Liberals, at that time in power, had already decided otherwise.

VI

Red Army
Invades
Caucasia

Beset on the south by the Turks and the north by the Bolsheviks the Republics of the Caucasus were confronted by a constant state of war. The Northern Republic, beyond the Caucasian Mountains, which had, as has been told, also formed an independent state, was invaded by the Bolsheviks and later occupied by Denikin's Army, who came in 1919 under the pretext of fighting the Red Army. In January, 1920, Soviet Russia's proposal to Georgia to enter into a military alliance against Denikin was rejected. In April, 1920, the Reds succeeded in occupying Baku and assuming power in Azerbaijan and later on in Armenia, taking advantage of the helpless state of these two countries, that were paralyzed by economic chaos and internal dissensions. All attempts to counteract the Bolshevik menace effectively in Azerbaijan and Armenia therefore failed entirely.

The war of Poland with Soviet Russia gave Georgia her first opportunity to pursue a vigorous defense against the Bolsheviks in 1920, and Soviet Russia, now anxious to placate Georgia, engaged in a treaty, May 7, 1920, recognizing the independence of Georgia and her territorial integrity. In this treaty the Soviet Government declared that "Russia recognizes without reservation the independence and sovereignty of the Georgian State, and voluntarily renounces all sovereign rights which belonged to Russia with respect to the Georgian people and territory." This was Georgia's final triumph and conclusive release from the Soviet claims.

**Soviet Russia
Recognizes
Independence
of Georgia**

From Moscow's point of view, however, this treaty was a cloak to enable her within one month after its ratification, to foment a communistic revolution within the borders of the Republic, and to accomplish by secret propaganda and treachery what she had failed to achieve by force. Nearly a thousand agents of Cheka were imported, under various pretexts, resorted to by her diplomatic mission at Tiflis, and, by the expenditure of large sums of money, and by extravagant promises of loot, the Communists proceeded to disaffect the Georgians and attempted to subvert the National Army, and to create irritating causes as an excuse for forceful interference.*

**Treachery of
the Soviet
Government**

In the meantime the independence of the Caucasian Republics was confirmed through recognition by the European Powers. The Allies, in convention at Paris at the beginning of the year 1920, were regarding favorably the efforts of the new

*The system employed by the Third International of Moscow, a willing tool of the Soviet Government, is to gain entrance to foreign countries under the protection of Soviet Russia's treaties and to plot, with the help of Cheka agents, a revolution which afterwards shall afford a pretext for military intervention on the request of "natives" who are usually imported from Moscow for this purpose. This system was lately tried in Esthonia, this time, however, without success. A still further example of soviet Russia's methods in planting propaganda agents of World Revolution, in foreign countries, with whom they have treaties, is illustrated by recent events in Germany. A dispatch from Berlin of April 8th, 1925, tells; "In the trial of sixteen officials of the Hamburg Cheka, which just ended, five executions are expected. Soviet Russia prepares for the exchange of the condemned and of the "General" of the Red Army. Skobolevski Gorev, against the German of the "General" of the Red Army, Skobolevski Gorev, for the German professors, Kinderman, Wohlstat, Ditmaring, who were arrested in Soviet Russia irrespective of the previous permission to come to Soviet Russia for scientific purposes'.

republics to stabilize their national life. On January 12, 1920, their Supreme Council, representing the Allied and Associated Powers, including England, France, Italy and Japan, formally recognized the de facto independence of Georgia and Azerbaijan. Armenia's recognition followed shortly afterwards including recognition by the United States.

**Caucasian
Republics
Recognized
by European
Powers**

The average Russian, whose ideal was a Russia as great and centralized as it had been in the czarist days, and even the Liberal, who had formerly pretended to take the stand of the national minorities had watched Georgia's and Caucasia's advance towards independence with animosity, because some did not know and others ignored Georgia's historical rights and the racial differences between the Caucasians and Russians. Before the rise of Bolshevism, the Caucasians wanted to be on friendly terms with the one hundred and thirty millions of Russians on whom they were dependent in many respects. But the Russians would rather have seen the fourteen millions of Caucasians their subjects than their friends. The strongest exponent of this attitude was General Denikin, who in 1919-1920 commanded the White Armies operating in South Russia. Even he, however, upon British representations, eventually recognized Georgia, Azerbaijan and Armenia's independence, on February 11, 1920.

**Georgia's
de jure
Independence
Recognized**

In spite of the favorable attitude towards Georgia, no material aid from the Allies was forthcoming, when, at the end of the year 1920, the intrigues of Moscow grew more menacing. On January 27, 1921, the Great Powers confirmed their de facto recognition by recognizing, through the Supreme Council, the de jure independence of the Georgian Republic. The conclusion of the Polish War, however and the collapse of the White Army in the Crimea gave Moscow her chance to culminate her treacherous and stealthy invasion of Georgia.

**Italy's
Promised
Mandate
Ignored**

As a result of the establishment of Bolshevik rule in Azerbaijan in April, 1920, and Armenia, December, 1920, Georgia found herself threatened by the Bolsheviks on the north and east, and by the Turks on the south. An agreement between the Italian and the British Governments, by which the former had promised to accept a mandate, if necessary, upon

the withdrawal of the English troops from Georgia, was ignored when a new Italian Government, under Nitti, came into power.

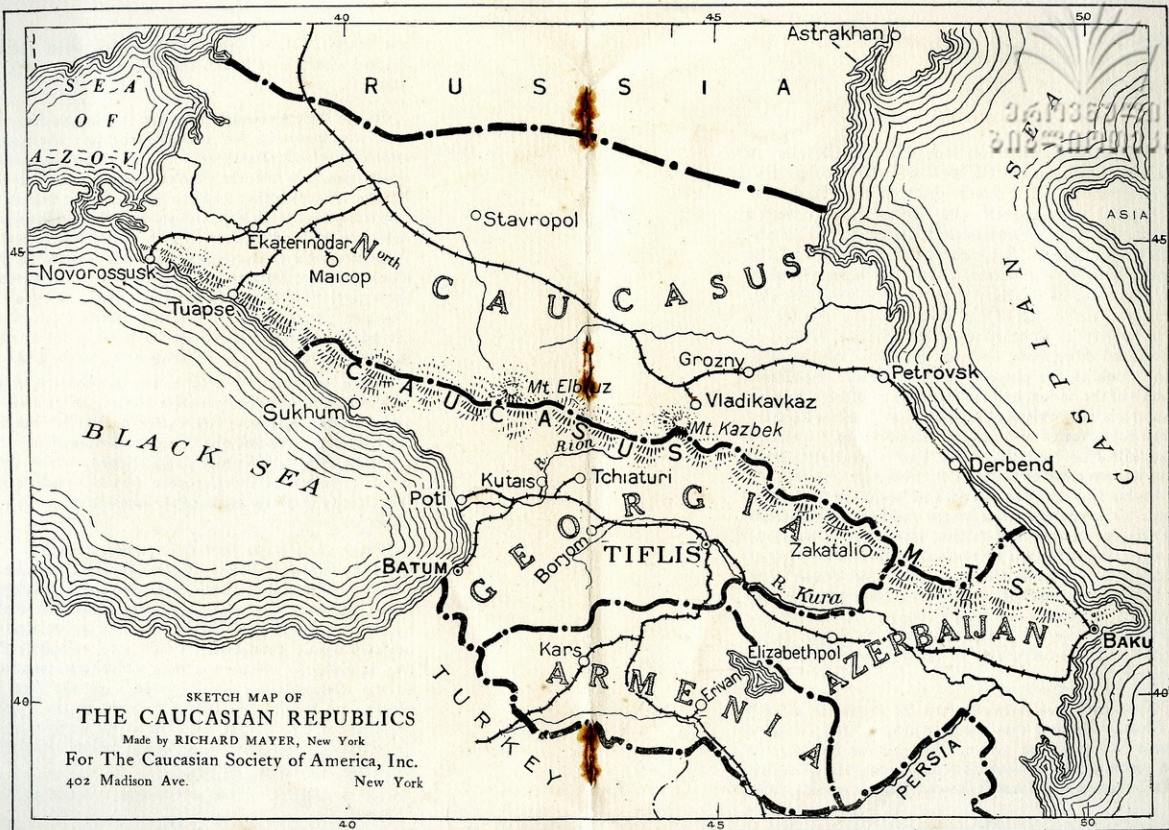
So the little Caucasian Republic faced, unaided, the danger that was menacing her existence through the gathering of strong Bolshevik forces near her frontiers in Armenia and Azerbaijan. While the Turks, again attempted to occupy Batum, on which they had concentrated their interest after the departure of the British troops, the Bolsheviks grasped the opportunity to march on Tiflis. Moscow moved its Red Army from the west across the Black Sea coast, from the east along the river Kura and from Armenia in the south. Upon the arrival of these overwhelming forces, the officials of the Georgian Government were forced to remove to Batum and eventually to embark on an Italian warship and to take refuge in Europe. This was in February and March, 1921.

**Invasion of
the Red Army**

France and England, who had recognized the independence of Georgia, confined themselves to formal protests. France expressed her sympathy by extending cordial hospitality to the Georgian exiles and the Georgian Government. The grave problems in Middle Europe and elsewhere, which engaged the whole attention of the European Powers, made them forget the calamity that overwhelmed the small democracy in far-away Caucasia.

In the recent attempted *rapprochement* of 1924, between Great Britain and Soviet Russia, the English Government, declared again that it would not recognize the usurpation of Soviet Russia in Georgia. A similar position was also taken by the French Government in its treaty of recognition with Soviet Russia. France still declines to recognize Bolshevik rule in Georgia. She, in a most chivalrous manner adheres to the agreement previously made with the free Georgian people, and consistently refuses to yield to the Bolshevik reproaches for her dealings with the exiled Government, which, under France's protection, is in Paris in diplomatic relations with the Great European Powers.

**The Powers
of Europe
Repudiate
Bolshevik
Rule in
Caucasia**



SKETCH MAP OF
THE CAUCASIAN REPUBLICS
 Made by RICHARD MAYER, New York
 For The Caucasian Society of America, Inc.
 402 Madison Ave. New York

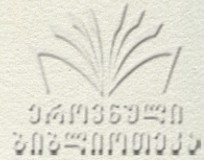
VII

**Bolshevik
Outrages**

**Desecration
of Churches**

The murderous invasion of the Bolsheviks in Georgia was Communistic Moscow's defiance to Europe's recognition of the sovereignty of that Republic, and a typical example of the Soviet government's treacherous use of its treaties and disregard of its obligations under them. A more brutal violation of the laws and customs of nations, than that committed in Caucasia, could not be imagined. Moscow delivered no ultimatum, made no declaration of war, gave no valid excuse for her intrigue and surreptitious penetration, but without warning or pretext swooped down upon Georgia, as she had on the other Caucasian Republics, for purposes of conquest and the seizure of the wealth of the nation, and the despoliation of her Christian churches and schools. Priests of high and low degree were stripped of their robes, forced into dirty Soviet uniforms, maltreated and many killed or banished. The Patriarch (Katholikos) Ambrosius was sentenced to ten years' imprisonment for the only crime of having sent a protest against this horror to the League of Nations. The churches were looted and turned into dance halls, the women outraged, and children massacred. Thousands were murdered and thousands sent into exile. Others were forced to take refuge in foreign countries. Stores and houses were plundered and the railroads and factories robbed of their best equipment. A prosperous and happy country was brought to a state of ruin and forced, against the will of the people, under the merciless and devastating rule of Soviet Communists, sent from Moscow.

Soviet hypocrisy was revealed when the Bolshevik official press of Moscow declared that the overthrow of the Georgian Government had not been accomplished by the Red Army, but by a revolutionary movement from within the Georgian State. In an attempt to justify her course, an entirely false



account of what transpired in the Caucasus was broadcasted to the world. Soviet Russia sought to conceal her imperialistic ends by setting up a government in Tiflis composed of Red partisans of Georgian nationality, imported from Moscow and long associated with the Communistic State.

The Soviet Government which was forced upon the Georgian people and derived its powers from the strength of the Russian army of occupation, is not accepted by the Georgian people as their rightful government. Moscow persist in its attempt to "sovietize" these non-Russian democratic peoples. Except where the Red Army's garrisons are maintained, and where the Cheka, the Russian Inquisition, rules, this violent procedure is not successful. The Cheka,—prosecutor, judge and executioner in one, — imposes the death sentence, or decree of deportation, without trial. Thus it is enabled to exert the greatest terror without any restriction and it has not restrained from using its powers rigorously.

**The Rule of
The Moscow
Cheka, a
Second
Inquisition**

The methods of the Cheka are hardly paralleled in ancient or modern times. The policy employed is of false accusations, barbaric torture and terrorism, to wholly break the spirit and morale of the people and reduce them to abject obedience and non-resistance. According to statistics available until 1921, the victims of this secret police in all of Russia exceeded three millions, among them chiefly physicians, engineers, lawyers, other members of the Russian intelligentsia, laborers and peasants. Since the occupation of Georgia in 1921, the Cheka has continued its terrorism there, maintaining its headquarters in Tiflis, and having its agents throughout Caucasia.

**Moscow's
Attempt to
Appease The
Caucasian
Republics**

The Caucasians abhor Bolshevism, but as the Communists' press dominates and their own press and language is permitted for propaganda only, they are unable to express their real feelings openly. They will, it is certain, never accept the communistic ideologies of Moscow nor submit to the rule of the Soviets. The general discontent and opposition of the population against Moscow's method of governing by terror and the Cheka, became so strong that the Government in Moscow has tried to mislead the outside world and appease its criticism

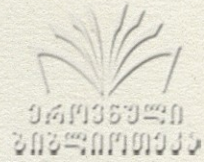
by granting formal autonomy to the Caucasian States by permitting them to establish a Transcaucasian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic by an agreement signed March 12, 1922. This federation includes the "Soviet Republics" of Azerbaijan, Armenia and Georgia, and is a member of the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics. According to the constitution of this Union of Socialist Soviet Republics of July 6, 1923, *each united republic retains the right of free withdrawal from the Union* (Chapter II.4.) This was the pretense of freedom that was inserted to deceive the people and fool the world.

Moscow's
Meaningless
"Constitution"
Granted the
"Sovietized
Republics"

Its true meaning was illustrated when, in September and October, 1924, Georgia attempted to exercise this right and regain her independence. Her movement was stamped as a revolt. This uprising revealed for a short time to the outside world the real situation in Transcaucasia. The attempt on the part of the Georgians was the spontaneous outburst of a suppressed and suffering nation. Though it failed, it gave notice to the world that the Georgian people did not accept the Soviet rule and it was serious enough to frustrate the Russo-British negotiations for a loan to Soviet Russia, as it emphasized the contention of the National Governments of Caucasia that the manganese deposits of Georgia as well as the oil fields of Baku, are very uncertain assets for Soviet Russia to pledge for a loan. The peoples of the Caucasus have demonstrated that they will never peacefully submit to the Red "government by assassination."

Georgia's
Revolt

The uprising of 1924 was suppressed with all the savageries and inhumanities characteristic of Cheka rule. Among others, the Metropolitan of the Georgian Church, Nazarii, was murdered at Kutais. Women and children of the soldiers fighting in the mountains were used as shields by the Bolsheviks during their attacks. The number of victims of all the outrages was about 20,000. Even Lloyd George, who had been deaf to the pleas from Caucasia, raised his voice against the Bolsheviks. He emphatically denounced the Russian atrocities in Georgia, "Today", he said, alluding to the bloodshed in Georgia, "it is a red province in more senses than one." The Soviet Government



hastened to accuse France and England of supporting and encouraging the "revolution" in Georgia. But their accusations were groundless as the patriots had not received any outside assistance. It was the absence of any support that finally wrecked their heroic efforts, after a fortnight's embittered struggle against the overwhelming Bolshevik forces.

VIII

The peace of Europe is dependent upon the preservation of the new republics that border on Russia. Europe's political and economic life will be in unrest unless they are sustained. The communistic intrigues of Soviet Russia, and especially the late Communistic Revolution in Esthonia, staged by the Cheka in obedience of Moscow's orders, resulted in bringing together the Governments of Bulgaria and Jugo-Slavia into a defensive union against Bolshevism,—a union which is intended to include also the other Balkan States. It is likely that Finland and Latvia will join Esthonia into a Baltic league in a common defense against Communism.* Poland, Czecho-Slovakia and Roumania, likewise threatened by the disease of Bolshevism, are about to unite together for a like purpose.

Were Georgia similarly assured as were her sister Republics, her heroic struggle against Bolshevism would have been conclusive and far-reaching. The Caucasus is alone the geographical and racial barrier against Bolshevism between Asia Minor and Russia. Asia, not yet fully aroused to the influence of western culture, is the "promised land" for Bolshevism, where it adapts the radical ideologies of "liberty" to the strong tendencies of national independence. The menace of Communism in British India is a real danger for the British Empire

**The Peace of
Europe in the
Balance**

**Middle Europe
Republics
Join Against
Bolshevism**

**A Bulkhead
Against the
"Promised
land" of
Bolshevism**

*A dispatch from Riga, April 7, 1925, says; "A Conference among the Baltic Republics, Latvia, Esthonia, Finland and Poland arrived at a decision establishing a common military alliance against Bolsheviks".—The Novoye Russkoye Slove.—

that would be minimized and perhaps effectively curbed by a readjustment of the situation of the Caucasus. In 1921, J. Ramsay McDonald, (in the Contemporary Review), advocated the creation of "a solid block of free and federated States to hold that strategic highway between Europe and Asia." One thing, in his opinion, made this policy practicable: Georgia. "This is", he said, "a people of determined nationality, a people that has independence in its blood, that believes in self-help and is not Imperialistic, that in modern times, will be a bulwark, as it was in olden times, against invasion both from the East and the West, that will be a pillar of strength to both Azerbaijan and Armenia".

**Soviet Pre-
tenses in
Caucasia**

Furthermore, the reinstatement of these democratic border states would encourage the elements in Russia which are striving for a democratic form of government and the abolishment of the "dictatorship of the proletariat". The outburst of the latent internal crisis in Russia, now suppressed by Bolshevist terror, but nevertheless spreading, slowly and steadfastly, would be precipitated. This healing crisis against Bolshevism for which the world is waiting, has so alarmed Soviet Russia that in March the meeting of the so-called Soviet "Congress was held in Tiflis, the capital of Georgia, in an attempt to impress the world by its demonstrations and propaganda, its empty promises of "reform" and its statements that the rule of the Red Army was welcomed by Georgia and the other Caucasian Republics. It was a gesture that was empty and hateful to the suffering people, deprived of their own government, their press and their civil and religious freedom, and oppressed by the rule of the Cheka.

**The Minerals
of Georgia**

Georgia and the other Caucasian Republics, have the fortune, or misfortune, of being among the richest little countries, in natural resources, in the world. Georgia's great manganese deposits, essential to the steel industry of the world, could supply the requirements for 200 years. They actually contributed more than one half of the world's needs, and supplied over half of the manganese used in the United States before the war. The manganese deposits have a potential output of more than \$100,000,

000 a year. The manganese mines had before the war not reached the limit of their producing capacity. By imposing excessive railroad freight rates and providing insufficient loading facilities in the seaports, the Russian Government was able to curb the further expansion of Georgia's manganese export, a policy that was inspired by the desire to lessen the strong competition for the Nikopol mines in southern Russia, in which several members of the Imperial family and other influential Russians held controlling shares. Aside from the manganese mines, Georgia possesses several large deposits of Iron ore, the export of which, however, has been hindered in the past by the cost of transportation, the ore could not be smelted in the country due to the inadequacy of the required fuel. Immense quantities of copper ore exist in the Georgian soil. Copper is found almost everywhere throughout the State and is regarded as one of its great assets. One of the largest and most productive mines, in the southeastern part of Georgia, has been worked since 1864. Another copper zone has been exploited for 160 years, originally by the Georgian Kingdom, and later by a French company on a lease. There are many other mines of more or less various conditions and workings, although not in a high state of development, due to the difficulty of access and the lack of transportation for the necessary fuel. Georgia has been called, potentially, a second Montana, on account of the practically limitless copper deposits. Aside from copper, which is found not only in Georgia, but throughout all of Caucasia, silver-lead and zinc are plentiful; mercury, nickel and cobalt are also mined, and, to an insignificant degree, gold, which was in ancient times mined by the Romans and in prehistoric times is said to have been the mythical "golden fleece" that lured the Argonauts to Caucasia.

**Ancient Mines
of Georgia**

The development of hydro-electric power in Georgia is still in its infancy. The great number of rivers and streams of the Caucasian Range, one of the largest mountain chains in the world, offer vast opportunities as an inexhaustible source of water power energy, a source that has hardly been tapped due to the lethargy of the former Russian Government, which did not initiate a hydraulic enterprise either for profit or public benefit. The power and light installations now existing are

**Hydro-
Electric Power**

all due to private capital. There are at present in Georgia hydro-electric stations at Tiflis, Gori, Kutais, Batum and at several other places. It is estimated that Georgian water power, if utilized, could supply at its lowest flow in the winter 2,500,000 horse power, in the spring and fall, 4,000,000 horse power and in the summer 6,000,000 horse power. The latest estimate of the water power for all of Caucasia is 16,000,000 horse power.

**Agriculture
and
Forests**

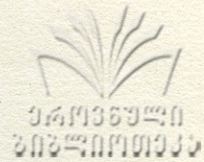
Like all countries of Eastern Europe, Georgia is predominantly agrarian. The soil rivals in fertility the South Russian "humus", but the agricultural methods are very primitive. The main products grown are wheat, barley, oats, corn and rice. In 1913 the crops of cereals were estimated at 204,000 bushels. With modern methods, the output could be increased twenty-fold. The variety of the other products, tea, wine, tobacco, silk cocoons etc., shows the immense versatility of this country. Before the war animal-breeding was one of the most valuable of agricultural occupations. In 1913, Georgia's live stock amounted to 2,000,000 sheep and goats, 1,500,000 cows and buffaloes, 250,000 horses and 4,000,000 hogs.

Large forests are on the southern slopes of the Caucasus Mountains, covering 6,000,000 acres or 39 per cent of Georgia's territory. They are of the greatest variety, containing about 300 kinds of trees, of which oaks, beeches, chestnuts, boxwood, white and yellow pine are the most important. A considerable part of Europe's timber supply originated from the Caucasus.

**Russia's
Backward
Economic
Policy in the
Caucasus**

Manufacture is not yet developed to the degree which could naturally be expected in view of the opportunities of the country. This is due to the unfavorable attitude of the former Czarist Government, which, through prohibitive tariffs and by denying the proper communication facilities effectively hampered the building up of the manufacturing industry in Georgia. The economic policy of the Russian Government aimed to curtail the development of industries in Caucasia, in order to avoid competition for Central Russian manufacturers.

The climate, as a rule excellent, varies with the different parts of the country. In the western parts the climate is sub-tropical,



in the eastern parts dry. Numerous mineral springs, of which there are about 500, partly containing sulphur and radium, famed for purity and healing qualities, and many still undeveloped, are the basis for the establishment of health resorts in the southern Caucasus, comparable to the already famous resorts of the northern slopes of the Caucasian Mountains. These mineral springs were in pre-war days, a Mecca for thousands of patients and pleasure seekers. Under a stabilized government they have vast possibilities of development.

**Famed
Mineral
Springs and
Resorts**

Means of communication and transportation are developed to considerable extent. In all of Caucasia there are about 4,600 miles of railroad, touching the leading cities, penetrating the agricultural districts, and reaching to the principal mineral springs. The main railroads are the Transcaucasian (Baku-Batum) Railway, crossing the picturesque valleys and fertile plains of Georgia and Azerbaijan, 556 miles long, paralleling the great pipe-line that carries oil from the fields of Baku on the Caspian to the ports on the Black Sea; the routes running southward from Tiflis to Kars and Erivan in Armenia; and the trunk line extending from Baku along the shores of the Caspian Sea and to North Caucasia and Rostov, on the Sea of Azof. There are four "military highways",—great engineering achievements—crossing the Caucasus Mountains, as a connection between Northern and Trans-Caucasia. The principal commercial communications with the outside world are by sea, from the port of Baku on the Caspian and Poti and Batum on the Black Sea. The bulk of Georgia's manganese output and large quantities of Azerbaijan's oil products, in the past, were shipped through the Black Sea ports. Batum is of great importance for transit to and from Persia. Under normal conditions this port is assured a still greater commercial and political future as it is the main link of traffic between the Near East and Europe. This is not lost sight of by the European Powers.

**Railways in
the Caucasus**

The territory of Azerbaijan has untold wealth in the great Baku oil fields, potentially having an output of \$400,000,000 in value annually, and actually achieving a maximum of 10,000,000 tons of oil in one year. Farming, as in Georgia and the other

**Baku Oil
Fields**

Caucasian States, is the chief occupation of the population, aside from the laboring class who operated the oil fields, now however, widely scattered, due to the almost complete paralysis of the industry.

Armenia

Armenia is almost entirely devoid of mineral riches. The backbone of its economic life, besides agriculture, is cattle-breeding, for which an ideal opportunity is provided by the vast pastures of the high table land around Mount Ararat. The torrent of the war and post-war period, however, has left only scant remainders of the former agricultural wealth. All the world has been informed and has contributed to the relief of its stricken people.

North Caucasia possesses the great Grosny oil fields, a comparatively new development, the output of which is valued at approximately \$100,000,000 a year. There are also large areas devoted to agriculture and cattle-raising. Its vast forests of valuable woods have hardly been touched.

**Grosny
Oil Fields**

The practically unlimited wealth of the Caucasus is vested in the national governments, aside from the immense industrial investments of foreign capital, now inoperative under Moscow's Bolshevik invasion. The attempts of groups of business men to regain their properties and operate them, and of others to secure concessions from Soviet Moscow, have not proved feasible or workable, due to the well-known doctrines and demands of the Communistic Government.



IX

The situation of the Caucasian Republics is analogous to that of Belgium during the Great War. They are overrun by a military force which they are not yet strong enough to eject. Their governments are compelled to take refuge in France, as was the Belgian Government, and as other governments in times of duress have been obliged to seek temporary hospitality in foreign friendly countries. But this exigency did not impair their constitutional rights or international status. No European Power has recognized the sovereignty of Soviet Russia in the Caucasian Republics. The sovereign status of the Government of the Republic of Georgia is provided for in its Constitution and preserved in an emergency, as its powers are vested in the existing representatives during the period of their inability to function in their own country. All constitutional parties of the Georgian people are represented in a "Committee of Independence" to demonstrate their rejection of the Soviet rule in their country and to signalize their support of the exiled government.

Similar to
Situation
Belgian
Government
During the
War

In Paris, the Georgian Government officials met and convened with the representatives of the other Republics of the Caucasus that had been similarly invaded and overwhelmed by the Red Army. In a joint Declaration of June 10, 1921, the existing high officials and delegates of the four Caucasian Republics, including the heads of the delegations from Armenia, Azerbaijan Northern Caucasus and the Minister to France, for Georgia, entered into a defensive and economic union. The Declaration was sent to all the Great Powers and the League of Nations, which body protested against Soviet Russia's oppression of these small nations. Says this Declaration:

"Believing that the moral and political co-operation of the Powers is assured for the cause of the independence of the Caucasian Republics, already recognized by several international acts, the Governments of the aforesaid

Republics will endeavor to strengthen by their common efforts their political, commercial and industrial relations with foreign states and to establish conditions suitable for facilitating the co-operation of foreign capital, for the development of the natural riches of Caucasia."

**Caucasian
National
Governments
in a
Confederation**

"The Representatives of the Republics of Armenia, Azerbaijan, Northern Caucasus and Georgia, firmly convinced of the necessity for the union of the independent Republics of the Caucasus, for the maintenance of order and peace in the Near East, declare that it will not be possible to attain the aims held in view of the respective states unless the neighboring powers respect the political independence as well as the territorial integrity of the aforesaid Republics; they declare in addition that the occupation in 1919, 1920 and 1921 by the armed forces of Russia of the territories of these Republics constitutes a flagrant violation of their rights and is a source of future disturbance, and that all means of diplomatic action should be employed in order to put an end to this illegal occupation and to re-establish order as soon as possible".

"The Representatives of the Caucasian Republics declare that all the treaties and arrangements concerning the cessions of territories and imposed on the Caucasian States by the neighboring powers, as well as all privileges or concessions granted to anyone in Armenia, Azerbaijan, Northern Caucasia and Georgia, by authorities, groups or organizations which have not issued from the freely expressed will of the peoples of these Republics, are deprived of all legal value and will be considered as null and void."

**Formal
Protest to the
League of
Nations**

A formal protest on behalf of the Caucasian Republics was submitted to the Council of the League of Nations. It emphasized the fundamental diversity of Russia and Caucasia, pointing out that the latter is a homogeneous organism different from Russia as a geographic, ethnographic, economic and political unity, and that for centuries the regions of the Caucasus have been inhabited by native peoples, Armenians, Azerbaijanians, Circassians and Georgians, who have nothing in common with the Slavic race in language, custom or traditions.*

*The importance of Caucasia for the world business and the rehabilitation of Europe was summed up as follows:

"As a market-place of considerable importance for the importation of products of all kinds (technical material, chemical products, textiles, etc.) and as a trade route of the highest importance between Europe and Asia, Caucasia will undoubtedly be a great market for the industrial products of Europe."

"At the same time by the riches of its subsoil in petroleum, manganese, copper, coal and other ores, by its forests, by its production of cotton, wool, silk, tobacco, etc., Caucasia represents one of the most important sources of raw materials for the industries of Europe".

The unchangeable attitude of the National Government of Georgia toward concessions on State and private property was reiterated in a statement, issued in the name of the Georgian people by the Georgian Ambassador to France, Tschenkelli, to the Marquis of Crewe, Ambassador of Great Britain to France, April 18, 1924. It sets forth that, "every concession, every privilege or other material advantages granted by the Russian Government and by its agents at Tiflis, to foreigners, among others, to Russians, in Georgia and at the expense of the Georgian people, shall be considered by this latter and by its Government, as null and void." This statement further declares that "the Soviet Russian Government and its foreign representatives base all their economic and financial parleys almost exclusively on the inexhaustible wealth of the Caucasus. There is no center of importance in Europe, nor even in America, where the agents of Moscow have not solicited bids for concessions of petroleum fields, manganese mines, brass, coal etc.—of Caucasia. After having treacherously violated the liberty and independence of the peoples of Caucasia, the Russian Government is striving to obtain the support of foreign capitalists at the expense of these people".

**Hold State and
Private
Property
Inviolable**

This communication closes with the following declaration:— "In consequence, I declare again before the civilized world, that the people of Georgia cannot consider themselves bound by political or economic acts, or any other signed order, in opposition to their rights, by the Russian Government or by its agents".

Devoid of the required ability and technical skill, or economic policy, necessary to develop the natural wealth of the Caucasus, and incapable of successfully operating the "nationalized" property of foreigners, the Soviets have brought chaos and ruin to the commercial and industrial life of Caucasia. A recent Associated Press dispatch from Baku gives a graphic picture of the paralyzed commercial life of that large city and the great oil fields. "Only a small percentage of them are in actual operation", it states, and continues, "the great wooden derricks and the pumps, compressors and drills on the remaining walls are fast falling into decay. It is as if a great storm had suddenly visited a primeval forest, stripping the trees of their limbs and roots, and leaving ruin and desolation in its wake."

**Economic Life
of Baku
Paralyzed**

“At a distance the idle, decaying derricks, which cover an area of 60,000 acres, resemble a vast cemetery of conical tombstones. Scarcely a vapor of smoke issues from the blackened walls or the neighboring refineries to give the sombre picture any form of animation. Only here and there does one see a workman. The interminable rows of small wooden houses which in czarist days housed the tens of thousands of employees, have degenerated into wretched hovels, for the most part deserted and ruined. The roads leading from the city are in a deplorable state, and it is positive punishment to traverse them even in a cushioned the Bolsheviks in April, 1920.

This stagnation is due to the Soviets' lack of capital, modern machinery and technical skill to develop the oil fields, which were taken over by the State soon after the seizure of Baku by the Bolsheviks in April 1920.

The other extremity of the isthmus, at the once teeming ports of Baku and Poti on the Black Sea, the picture is the same. In pre-war days these busy entreports of trade were visited by the fleets of world commerce, that carried the huge stream of oil from the Transcaucasian pipelines and the hundreds of thousands of tons of manganese ore from the mines of Chiaturi. Splendid piers and docks, great steam-propelled cranes, and net works of truckage, yet insufficient for the demands of the enormous export, hummed with the traffic of industry. Today, the harbors are filled with dead ships, the cranes and rails are rusting or looted, and commerce is only carried on in a desultory, primitive way. Labor has sought other fields. Capital has fled and the great export traffic that once crossed the isthmus and discharged itself to Europe and America is negligible.

The “dead”
Ports of
Batum and
Poti

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All the world knows the story of the anti-religious war in Soviet Russia. The blighting hand of atheistic communism has swept over the Caucasus. The Soviet rule has played no favorite. Libels on religious orthodoxy have extended to every faith. Cartoons of God and Saint of every sect have been paraded through the streets. Priests and laymen have been imprisoned and executed on trumped up charges of counter-revolutionary acts. The church and religious edifices have been brought under the control of the Red Church and turned over to secular entertainment, dances, theatrical performances, moving pictures. Bolshevist priests and bishops have been installed, irrespective of their former status or appointments by constituted church authorities, and Boleshevik godliness has been "blessed" and sanctioned, and imposed. There is no free church, no freedom of religion in Russia, or the Caucasus, as known to the religious world. The Othodox, Protestant, Mohammedan, Jew, alike come under the ban. Religious observance, teaching, or thinking is "counter-revolutionary", and denied to the youth of the nation. There is no God in the Soviet doctrine.

**"Sovietizing"
Religion**

While the people of the Caucasus are ethnologically of different races, they are inseparably bound by economic and political interests and geographical isolation. They have no affinities with Soviet Russia and its Communistic state. The Christian population of Georgia and Armenia had long ceased to be antagonistic to the Mohammedan peoples of Azerbaijan and North Caucasia. The Christian faith was tolerated in Mohammedan territory and the worship of Isalm was undisturbed in the Christian Republics. The Church and the State had been divorced by the progressive people of the Caucasian democracies. Religious persecutions and intolerance, once the bane of the Near East, no longer entered into the political or economic life of the allied republics, and until the Bolshevist dictators from Moscow came

**No Religious
Intolerance**

and crushed out the freedom of worship, there survived no religious question. The schools and colleges and the political life of these little nations were free of class and sectarian controversies, Catholic, Protestant, Mohammedan and Jew were free to follow their own spiritual convictions, worship in their own edifices, and not discriminated against in any phase of activity, public or private.

**The Ancient
Georgian
Church**

In Tiflis, the metropolis of the Caucasus, was the seat of the Georgian Church, one of the most ancient Eastern Christian Churches in the world. It was second to the Greek Orthodox Church in antiquity. The head of the Church is the Catholicos-Patriarch, still imprisoned by the Bolsheviks. The ancient cathedral and throne of the Catholicos is at Mtsketha (former capital of Georgia until the fifth century) near Tiflis. The Georgian Church was independent from the State, its funds and properties were administered by the Laymen's Committee, and the clergy elected by the parishes.

**Cultural
Conditions**

The Capital of Georgia was the educational and literary, as well as the commercial and social centre of the Caucasians. Many Georgian societies had their head offices there, amongst them the Georgian Library Society with its 35 branches and 20,000 members; also Historical, Ethnographical and Geographical societies, and many others. The Georgian University at Tiflis had 35 professors and 1,000 students, while a considerable number of Georgians studied abroad, especially at the Universities in France, Switzerland and Germany. There was also one other college in Tiflis and one in Kutais, two Theological colleges, 25 Grammar Schools and about 4,000 so-called People's schools; and also several agricultural and technical schools. Ninety percent of the total population of Georgia can read and write. There were 24 daily papers and weeklies, and about 350 books in half-million copies published every year. Such was the flourishing condition of the cultural life previous to the rule of Soviet Moscow.

**Literature
and Art**

The nation is rich in ancient and modern literature, known to the world through translations in many languages. In the Public Library of New York, in the Oriental and Slavonic rooms, are sections devoted to Georgian literature in the native

tongue and in French, English and Russian. The most famous Georgian romance is Shot ha Rust haveli's "Man in the Panther's Skin", translated into English by Marjory S. Wardrop, a sister of the British Commissioner in Georgia. It is the great epic by a contemporary of Queen Tamara, in the twelfth century, and a literary monument to what is called the "Golden Age" of Georgia, an age of splendor and intellectual progress. Many ancient fairy tales are of Georgian origin, now included in the Grimm library of Georgian folk tales, and well-known to the children of all lands, and found in Americans homes and libraries. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, in New York, has examples of early Caucasian bronzes; the Morgan collection includes rare specimens of Georgian archaeology.

To Middle Europe and Russia, Tiflis* is the "Hot Springs" of the Caucasus. Its private and public sulphur baths and its salubrious climate attract tens of thousands between September and May. The curative waters of Georgia are not restricted to the Capital. Millions of gallons from the health-giving springs in Georgia and North Causasia were bottled annually and sent to Europe and America, in pre-war days. Tiflis was the social and business Mecca of the Middle East, second only to Constantinople, and one of the richest cities of the Russian Imperial domains.

Hot Springs

The Capital was supplied by hydro-electric power, had wide well paved anvenues, tramcars, telephones—in fact, with four hundred thousand population, mostly Georgians of the Caucasian race, was an up-to-date metropolis of magnificent houses and edifices comparable with any large European City. Its picturesque streets rise in terraces from the River Kura to the slopes of Mount David, which is over 2000 feet above the sea level, and is reached by a cable railway. On Mount David are built beautiful summer houses, large hotels and cafes—a retreat from the almost tropical heat of midsummer. Among the City's attractions are the public parks and the botanical gardens. There are numerous schools, a conservatory of music, a Caucasian

*The word "Tiflis" is derived from the Georgian "thilisi",—"source of warmth".

museum, a railroad institute, a sericultural station, and a physical observatory. In pre-war days there were extensive leather, tobacco, and cotton-spinning factories in the City.

Before Bolshevism reigned, with its hunger, misery and its sullen silence and everlasting fear, its suppression of all freedom of speech and the press, its denunciations, arbitrary trials and executions, its brutality, and terror, Tiflis was the haven of the refugees, the workers and peasants, the intelligentsia and the bourgeoisie, who fled from the hell of Bolshevism in Russia to the protection of independent Georgia and its abode of law and justice.

**The Soul of
Nationality
Survives**

Today the torch of liberty flickers in the Republics of the Caucasus, but the soul of nationality and the reverence for religion, survive. The people of the Caucasus are implacable foes of Bolshevism, and its twin fury, Communism, but the arm of the murderous Cheka holds them in bondage. As long as the bayonet of Soviet Russia is pressed to their hearts they must bow to the dictatorship of Moscow, and submit to the impositions of a military terrorism, or become the victims of the torture chamber, banishment and death.

APPENDIX



REPUBLIC OF GEORGIA.

DOCUMENTS

Presented by the Government of
the Republic of Georgia to the
First Assembly
of the
League of Nations

Relative to the Admission of Georgia to the said League.

LONDON.

1920.

VERY URGENT.

—
No. 13
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TIFLIS, 12th January, 1920.

YOUR EXCELLENCY,

I have the honour to inform you that Lord Curzon desires me to make known to you that yesterday he took upon himself the initiative of proposing to the Supreme Council of the Allies the recognition *de facto* of the Republics of Georgia and Azerbaijan.

This proposal was accepted unanimously, and with the agreement of the Governments of France and Italy.

It is not necessary to tell you with what great satisfaction I communicate the preceding facts to the Georgian Government.

As concerning our Armenian friends, the question of their recognition is closely bound up with the future Peace Treaty with Turkey.

(Signed) WARDROP.

TO MONSIEUR E. GUEGETCHKORI,
*Minister for Foreign Affairs
of the Georgian Republic.*

TIFLIS, 19th January, 1920.

YOUR EXCELLENCY,

I have just now received a radio-telegraph from the Royal Government of Italy, by which I am informed that at a meeting of the Supreme Council, on the 11th of the current month, it was decided that the principal Allied and Associated Powers collectively recognised the Governments of Georgia and Azerbaijan as Governments *de facto*.

Whilst transmitting the decision of the Supreme Council in its exact terms, I am very happy to have the opportunity of once more expressing my sincere congratulations and my best wishes for the future of the Georgian Republic.

Receive, your Excellency, the assurance of my profound consideration.

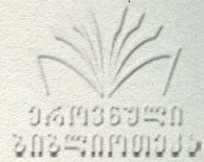
(Signed) GABBA,

*Colonel on the General Staff,
Chief of the Italian Military Mission
in the Caucasus.*

TO HIS EXCELLENCY

MONSIEUR E. GUEGETCHKORI,

*Minister for Foreign Affairs
of the Republic of Georgia.*



TIFLIS, 18th January, 1920.

MONSIEUR LE MINISTRE,

I have the honour to transmit to you the copy herewith annexed of a telegram received from my Government this morning.

I beg you on this occasion to accept my warm congratulations,

Receive, Monsieur le Ministre, the assurance of my profound consideration.

(Signed) E. DE NONANCOURT,

*Chief of the French Military Mission
in the Caucasus.*

TO MONSIEUR E. GUEGETCHKORI,
Minister for Foreign Affairs.

TELEGRAM RECEIVED FROM PARIS

18th January, 1920.

The Council of Ministers for Foreign Affairs of the Allied Powers decided, on the 6th of January, to recognise Georgia and Azerbaijan as *de facto* Governments.

PEACE CONFERENCE.

SECRETARIAT GENERAL.

QUAI D'ORSAY.

PARIS, 7th February, 1920.

The Secretariat General of the Peace Conference has the honour to make known to the President of the Georgian Delegation that the Japanese Government have just now notified to them that they associate themselves with the measure by which the British, French and Italian Governments recognise the Georgian Government as a Government *de facto*.

THE PRESIDENT OF THE
GEORGIAN DELEGATION.

THE CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY OF GEORGIA, elected by citizens of both sexes, according to the direct, equal, universal, secret and proportional electoral system, at its first sitting of March 12th, 1919, proclaims before the world and history, that it fully confirms and approves the ACT OF THE INDEPENDENCE OF GEORGIA, declared at Tiflis by the Georgian National Council, May 26th, 1918.

Act of the Independence of Georgia

For several centuries Georgia existed as a free and independent State.

At the end of the eighteenth century, Georgia voluntarily allied herself with Russia, with the stipulation that the latter should protect her against enemies from without.

In the course of the great Russian Revolution, conditions arose which resulted in the disorganization of the entire military front and the abandonment of Transcaucasia by the Russian Armies.

Thus, left to their own devices, Georgia, and with her all Transcaucasia, took into their hands the direction of their affairs, creating the necessary organs for this purposes; but under pressure from exterior forces the links which united Transcaucasian nationalities were broken and the political unity of Transcaucasia was thus dissolved.

The present position of the Georgian nation makes it imperatively necessary that Georgia should create a political organization of her own in order that she may escape from the yoke of her enemies and lay a solid foundation for her free development.

Accordingly, the Georgian National Council, elected by the National Assembly of Georgia on November 22nd (December 5th), 1917, declares:—

1. In future the Georgian people will hold sovereign power, and Georgia will be a State enjoying all the rights of a free and independent State.

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2. Independent Georgia's form of political organization will be a Democratic Republic.
3. In case of international conflicts, Georgia will always remain neutral.
4. The Georgian Democratic Republic will apply itself to establishing friendly relations with all nations, and especially with neighboring nationalities and States.
5. The Democratic Georgian Republic guarantees to all citizens within its territory all civil and political rights without distinction of nationality, religion, social position or sex.
6. The Democratic Georgian Republic offers to all inhabitants of its territory a wide field for free development.
7. Until the convocation of the Constituent Assembly, the National Council, with the addition of representatives of the minorities and the Provisional Government responsible to the National Council, is at the head of all Georgian administration.

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