



politika ganizomeba misi SedegebiT, misaRebia mxol od iseTi politi-
kuri kursi, romelic qveyanas saukeTeso nayofs miscems.
noe Jordania. 1918 wl is 18 Tebervali

eris uZl ureba maSin iwyeba, roca kuTvnil teritorias mowinaaRmdegas
nebayofl obiT uTmobs, an Zal momreobiT mitacebulis ukan dabrunebas ar
cdil obs.

napoleon bonaparti

sasikvdil odao ganwiruli is eri, romlis meTaur inteligenciasa da
qveynis mmarTvel politikur Zalas mter- moyvris garCeva ar Zal uZs,
winaparTa Zvl ebiT mofenil da sisxliT morwyul kuTvnil mamul Si,
qamel eonis wamosaxamIT SemomZvral Sxamian qvewarmaval s gul Si ixutebs,
RviZli Zmis rangSi wamosaxavs da mama-papaTagan naanderZevi memkvidreobis
mewil ed xdis.

SoTa vadaWkoria

**dedasamSobl osTvis TavSewiruli
Cveni winaprebis usafuZvl od Sel a-
xuli Rirsebis aRdgenas eZRvneba
es wigni.**

avtori

SOKHUMI STATE UNIVERSITY

Shota Vadachkoria

Ossetian Question and the
Georgian Reality (1917-1925)

Book I

Шота Вадачкориа

**Осетинский Вопрос и Грузинская
Действительность (1917- 1925 гг.)**

книга I

TBILISI
2020

ТБИЛИСИ
2020

soxumis saxel mwifo universiteti

SoTa vadaWkoria

osuri sakiTxi
da
qarTuli sinamdviIe
(1917-1925 ww.)

wigni I

Tbilisi
2020

saarqivo da presis masal ebze dayrdnobiT, naSromSi qarTul i pol itikuri azrovnebis fonzea Seswavi l i osuri separatizmiS warmoSobis da 1918, 1919, 1920 wl ebis aj anyebebis ganmapirobebel i mizezebi. Sida qarTI idan qarTul i mosaxl eobis gamodevnis, saqarTvel os teritoriis mitacebis da sabWoTa ruseTTan mierTebis mcdel obis faqtebi. gansakuTrebul i adgili aqvs daTmobili osur separatizmTan mimarTebaSi damoukidebel i saqarTvel os mTavrobis pol itikur kurss, mis mier gatarebul i RonisZiebebis safuZvel ze miRebul Sedegebs. gamokvl evis meore nawil - Si, sabWoTa xel isufli ebis mxridan osuri separatizmiSadmi mfarvel o - baa dasabuTebul i. dokumenturi masal iT dadasturebul ia, rom osebis avtonomia, saqarTvel os teritoriul i mTli anobis dasarRvevad winaswar gamiznul qmedebas warmoadgenda. naSroms darTul i aqvs: a)osuri avtonomiis proeqtebis mixedvit Sedgenil i da sazogadoebisaTvis dRemde ucnobi 7 feradi ruka; b)160 unikal uri saarqivo dokumenti. es masal e - bi osi separatistebis namoqmedaris obieqturi Sefasebis da `samxreT oseTis- sabWouri avtonomiis Seqmnis danaSaul ebrivi qmedebis utyuari dadasturebis SesaZl ebl obas izl eva. meore mxriv, igi XX saukunis 20 - iani wl ebis pol itikuri procesebis SefasebasTan mimarTebaSi, osi isto - rikosebis mier qarTvel i erisadmi wayenebul i cru bral debebis mxil e - bis dokumenrturad dasabuTebul pasuxs warmoadgens.

redaqtori: zurab xonel iZe
pol itikur mecnierebaTa doqtori,
profesori

recenzentebi: j emal gamaxaria
istoriis mecnierebaTa doqtori,
profesori
l ia axal aZe
istoriis mecnierebaTa doqtori,
profesori

wigni daibeWda soxumis saxel mwifo universitetTan arsebul i
`samSvidobo ganaTI ebis centris- dafinansebiT.

gafrTxil ebT!

am wignis arcerTi nawil i ar SeiZl eba iqnes gadabeWdil i, gavr cel e - bul i an gamoqveynebul i el eqtronul i, fotografiul i, meqanikuri an sxva raime saSual ebebiT, avtoris weril obiTi nebarTvis gareSe. winaaRmdeg SemTxvevaSi, nebismeri qmedeba saavtoro ufl ebis xel yo - fad CaiTvl eba.

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Sesaval i

sakiTxis dayenebisaTvis, ZiriTadi wyaroebis mimoxil va da istoriografia

sakiTxis dayenebisaTvis. qarTvel i xal xis 117 wl iani erovnul - ganmaTavisufl ebel i moZraobis Sedegs, saqarTvel os damouki debel obis gamocxadeba da erovnul i saxel mwifos mSenebl obis dawyeba warmoadgenda. am urTul esi procesis warmatebiT damTavreba, qveynis SigniT stabil urobis SenarCunebaze da gareSe Zal Ta mxridan usafrTxoebis garantiis Seqmnaze iyo damokidebul i. winaaRmdeg SemTxvevaSi, axl adSeqmnil i qarTul i saxel mwifo Sidadapirispirebis_ samoqal aqo omis an ucxo qveynis samxedro zemoqmedebis msxverpl i aRmoCndeboda. amierkavkasiis garSemo im etapze Seqmnil i rTul i politikuri situaciidan gamomdinare, orive safrTxe saqarTvel os winaSe aisbergiviT iyo aRmarTul i. aseT rTul i situaciaSi myofi qveynisaTvis, adgil obrivi mosaxl eobis mxridan xel isufl ebisadmi Tanadgoma da axl adSeqmnil i saqarTvel os saxel mwifos mSenebl obaSi aqtiuri monawil eoba pirvel i rigis amocanas warmoadgenda. am SemTxvevaSi, gansakuTrebul i mniSvel oba saqarTvel oSi mcxovrebi eTnikuri umciresobebis pozicias eniWeboda. maTze didad iyo damokidebul i saqarTvel os Sidapol itikuri procesebis umtkivneul od daregul ireba da erTiani Zal ebiT, gareSe mtrisadmi gamkvl aveba. samwuxarod, im Znel bedobis Jams, amis miRweva SeuZl ebel i aRmoCnda. igi eTnikur umciresobaTa separatizmiT iyo ganpirobebul i.

saqarTvel oSi mcxovrebi eTnikuri umciresobebidan am mxriv gansakuTreb iT osebi gamoirCeodnen. Cems xel T arsebul i dokumenturi masal is mixedviT, saqarTvel os saxel mwifos winaaRmdeg osi separatistebis mxridan iaraRis aRmarTva maSin xdeboda, roca romel ime mezobel dampyobel Tan_ qveyana saomar mdgomareobaSi aRmoCndeboda. am SemTxvevaSi osi separatistebze gansakuTrebul zemoqmedebas sabWoTa ruseTi axdenda. misi waqezebiTa da dafinansebiT momzadda osi separatistebis 1918, 1919 da 1920 wl ebis aj anyebebi. gasabWoebul i ruseTis xel isufal Ta amocanas, saqarTvel oSi samoqal aqo omis gaCaReba, damouki debel i saqarTvel os mTavrobis damxoba da saqarTvel oSi sabWoTa xel isufl ebis damyareba warmoadgenda. am Canafiqris ganxorciel ebis brma iaraRad Sida qarTl is mTis osebi iqna gamoyenebul i. marTal ia, im etapze saqarTvel os xel isufl eba mowodebis simaRl eze aRmoCnda da osebis zemoaRniSnul i SeiaraRebul i gamosvl ebi l ikvidirebul i iqna, magram am procesebma seriozul i ziani miayena qveynis ekonomikas. aqedan gamomdinare, im periodis saqarTvel os pol itikuri istoriis erT-erT umniSvel ovanes sakiTxad, damouki debel i saqarTvel os xel isufl ebis mier osuri separatizmis winaaRmdeg gatarebul i Ronisziebebis warmocena da momxdari faqtis obieqturi Sefaseba gvesaxeba. am fonze, osur separatizmTan mimarTebaSi qarTul i pol itikuri azris damokidebul ebis wina pl anze wamoweve da mkiTxvel i sazogadoebisadmi ucvl el i saxiT miwodeba gansakuTrebul mniSvel obas iZens. probl emis am kuTxiT kvl eva imiTac aris aucil ebel i, rom qarTul i saxel mwifosTan mimarTebaSi osebis mier ganxorciel ebul i antisaxel mwifoebri vi qmedebani, qarTul i ma pol itikurma azrovnebam (garda bol Sevikebisa) saRi gonebiT Seafasa da mimdinare pol itikur procesebze miudgomel i daskvnebi gaakeTa. im periodis dokumenturi masal is safuZvl iani anal izis mixedviT Tuki vim-

sj el ebT, qarTul i saxel mwifoebrivi pol itikuri azri mowodebis simaR-
l eze idga. misi meSveobiT SesaZl ebel i gaxda _sazogadoebas danamdvil ebiT
scodnoda Tu vin, vin iyo. am mxriv qarTul ma pol itikurma azrma saqarTve-
l os mosaxl eobas fasdaudebel i samsaxuri gauwia. aRniSnul i sakiTxis qar-
rTul i pol itikuri azrovnebis kuTxiT kvl eva, dRemde qarTul istori-
ografiaSi ar momxdara. arada, saqarTvel os xel isufl ebis mxridan os se-
paratistebTan damokidebul eba, qarTul i pol itikuri azris mesveurTa mier
gamotqmul i ZiriTadi debul ebebis Sej erebisa da anal izis safuZvel ze
SemuSavebul i rekomendaciebis mixedviT xorciel deboda. dokumenturi ma-
sal iT dasturdeba, rom osebTan mimarTebaSi, damoukidebel i saqarTvel os
(1918- 1921 wl ebi) xel isufl ebis pol itikur kurss, qarTul i pol itikuri
speqtris naazrevi edo safuZvl ad.

zemoaRniSnul is gaTval i swinebidan gamomdinare, wi namdebare, naSromi mi-
znad isaxavs: a)Cems mier mopovebul i didZal i faqtobrivi masal is anal-
izis safuZvel ze mkiTxvel sazogadoebas osuri separatistul i moZraobis
Sefasebis Sesaxeb_ qarTvel pol itikosTa naazrevi miawodos. b)wina pl
anze wamoswios saqarTvel oSi arsebul i pol itikuri mimdinareobebis mxri-
dan osuri separatizmisadmi damokidebul eba. probl emis am fonze kvl eva,
CvenTvis saintereso sakiTxze miukerZoebel i daskvnebis gakeTebis Sesa-
Zl ebl obas iZl eva. miTumetes, osurma separatizmma saqarTvel oSi 1917- 1925
wl ebSi safexurebrivad ramdenime formiT hpova gamovl ineba.

naSromis amocanaa, dokumentur masal aze dayrdnobiT obieqturad Seafa-
sos: 1)1918 wl is martisa da ivnisis cxinval - saCxeris raionebis osebis
aj anyebebi; 2)1919 wl is ivnisis rokis xeobis osebis aj anyeba; 3)1920 wl is
maisis osebis aj anyeba; 4)osebis erovnul i sabWos mier Sida qarTl is mTis
osebis_ `samxreT oseTad- miCneul is saqarTvel odan gamoyofis da ruseT-
Tan SeerTebis sakiTxis oficial urad dayeneba; 5)1917 wel i_ Sida qarT-
l is mTis osebis mier saqarTvel odan `Tavisufal i TviTgamorkvevis- moTx-
ovna; 6)1918 wl is ianvari_ goris, duSeTis, raWisa da Sorapnis mazrebis
teritoriebis CamoWris safuZvel ze Sida qarTl is osebisatvis gansakuTre-
bul i farTo samazro saerobo erTeul is Seqmnis moTxovna; 7)1918 wl is
seqtemberi- Sida qarTl is mTis osebisatvis `samxreT oseTis- saxel wodebiT
cal ke administraciul i avtonomiuri ol qis Seqmnis sakiTxis dayeneba;
8)1919 wl is ivnisi_ Sida qarTl is mTis osebisatvis kantonis ufl ebebiT
administraciul i erTeul is samarTl ebrivad dakanonebis moTxovna.

aRniSnul i probl emebisa da osebis mier mowyobil i `Sidaj varosnul i
l aSqrobis- fonze, dasabuTebul i unda iqnas Tu ramdenad kanonzomieri
iyo osi separatistebis namoqmedarTan mimarTebaSi qarTul i pol itikuri
azris Sefasebebi: `gaiZvera da moRal ate,- `saqarTvel os respubl ikis uma-
duri Svil ebi,- `tomrebgadakebul i mZarcvel ebi,- `orpirovani ianusi,-
`qarTul i saxel mwifos mourCenel i wyl ul i,- `saqarTvel os sxel is daCir-
qebul i muwuki.-

zemoT CamoTvl il sakiTxebTan da epiTetebTan mimarTebaSi, qarTul i pol i-
tikuri el itis naazrevis Sesabamis dokumentur masal asTan Sepirispireba
da misi anal izi SesaZl ebl obas iZl eva gavarkvIoT: 1)gamarTl ebul i iyo
Tu ara Sida qarTl is mTis osebTan mimarTebaSi qarTul i pol itikuri
azris warmomadgenel Ta zemoaRniSnul i Sefasebebi da randenad Seesaty-
viseboda igi osebis mxridan gadadgmul antisaxel mwifoebriv nabij s;
2)erovnul i saxel mwifos interesebidan gamomdinare, saqarTvel os sakanon-
debl o organo da qarTul i pol itikuri azri sworad afasebda Tu ara

Sida qarTl is osi separatistebis antisaxel mwifoebriw qmedebes, Seqmni-
li situaciidan ra gamosaval sTavazobda qveynis xel isufli ebas;
3)saqarTvel oSi mcxovrebi eTnikuri umciresobebis ufl ebebis erTian CarCoSi
Sida qarTl is mTis osebis sakiTxis moqceva, ramdenad Seesabameboda im
periodis saerTaSoriso standartebis da pasuxobda Tu ara qarTul i sax-
el mwifos interesebis; 4)qarTul i politikuri azris mesveurTa mxridan,
osur sakiTxTan mimarTebaSi SemuSavebul i debul ebebi, mxol od Teoriul
xasiaTs atarebda Tu sakiTxis gadawyvetis pragmatul rekomendaciebs Se-
icavda. 5)erovnul i saxel mwifos usafrTxoebis garantiis Seqmnis mizniT,
gamarTl ebul i iyo Tu ara rokisa da mamisonis sauRel texil o xeobebidan
saqarTvel os damoukidebl obis winaaRmdeg mebrZol i Sida qarTl is mTis
osebis asaxl eba da mis nacvl ad qarTvel ebis Casaxl eba.

rac Seexeba saqarTvel os Zal datanebiTi gziT gasabWoebasa da bol Se-
vikuri mmarTvel obis periods (1921- 1925 ww.), aq sakiTxi ufro rTul ad
dgas. mxedvel obaSi maqvs qveyanaSi sabWouri ideol ogiis gabatoneba da
politikuri azrovnebis prokrustes sarecel Si moqceva. miuxedavad amisa,
opoziciurad ganwyobil i politikuri partiebisa da intel igenciis mxri-
dan, osuri separatizmisadmi uaryofiTi damokidebul eba da arsebul i xel
isufli ebis erovnul i politikis kritika yovel gvari Sefarvis gareSe
mimdinareobda. isini maqsimal urad cdil obdnen: a)gasabWoebul i saqarTvel
os xel isufli ebis xel SewyobiT, osi separatistebis mier Sida qarTl is
qarTvel Ta Seviwroebis, qarTul i mosaxl eobis winaaRmdeg osuri bandfo-
rmirebebis aqtiuri moqmedebis, osianobis ganaxl ebis mamxil ebel i faqte-
bis farTo sazogadoebamde mitanas; b)Sida qarTl Si xel isufli ebis mxri-
dan Segnebul ad Seqmnil i `samxreT oseTis- avtonomiuri ol qisadmi qarTul i
mosaxl eobis saprotesto moZraobis ignorebebis ganmapirobel i mi zeze-
bis dasabuTebul formebsi warmocenas.

saqarTvel os politikuri istoriis fonze am da sxva mniSvnel ovani pr-
obl emis kompl eqsuri kvl eva SesaZl ebl obas iZl eva sazogadoebas doku-
mentebze dayrdnobiT swori informacia miwawodoT. gavarkvioT, saxel mwi-
foebrivad ra doneze azrovnebda Cveni winaprebi da maT mier osur sepa-
ratizmTan mimarTebaSi gakeTebul i Sefasebebi ramdenad Seesatyiseboda
sinamdvil es.

ZiriTadi wyaroebis mimoxil va. 1917- 1925 wl ebis osuri separatizmis
qarTul politikur azrovnebaSi asaxvis srul yofil ad Seswavl isa da
obieqturi Sefasebebis gakeTebis mizniT, pirvel i rigis amocanas arqivsa-
cavebSi arsebul i masal ebis safuZvl iani gacnoba da adreul periodSi
gamoqveynebul i publ ikaciebis maSTan Sedareba warmoadgens. miTumetes,
sabWoTa periodSi dabeWdil i dokumentebis krebul ebi, sabWouri ideol ogi-
isaTvis xel sayrel i principiTaa SerCeul i da bevr maTgans garkveul i ma-
nipul irebis daRi azis. miuxedavad amisa, zogierTi maTgani Cveni Temisa-
Tvis sayuradRebo masal as Seicavs. am mxriv gansakuTrebul interess iqcevs
`brZol a sabWoTa xel isufli ebis gamarjvebis saqarTvel oSi. doku-
mentebi da masal ebi. 1917- 1921 ww.-¹ da `mSromel Ta brZol a samxreT oseTSi
sabWoTa xel isufli ebisaTvis 1917- 1921 wl ebSi.-²

aRniSnul krebul ebSi dabeWdil ia `samxreT oseTis- erovnul i sabWos
mier miRebul i antisaxel mwifoebriwi xasiaTis rezol uciebi da dadge-
nil ebebi, bol Sevikuri prokl amaciebi, sabWoTa ruseTis mxridan osebis
1918- 1920 wl ebis aj anyebebis mosamzadebl ad gaweul i finansuri da samxedro
daxmarebis damadasturebel i masal ebi. gansakuTrebul i adgil i uWiravs

aj anyebul i osebis winaaRmdeg damouki debel i saqarTvel os mTavrobis mier gatarebul sadamsjel o RonisZiebebs da `samxreT oseTad- gamocxadebul Sida qarTI Si, sabWoTa xel isuflebis dasamyarebl ad bol Sevikebis mxridan qarTul saxel mwifosTan mimarTebaSi 1918- 1921 wl ebSi Cadenil dana-Saul ebriv qmedebebs.

Cems mier sakvl evad aRebul i periodisaTvis saintereso masal ebs Seicavs `saqarTvel os demokratiul i respublikis samarTI ebrivi aqtebis krebul i 1918- 1921.- masSi saqarTvel os erovnul i sabWos, parl amentisa da damfuZnebel i krebis mier miRebul sakanonmdebl o aqtebia dabeWdil i. am dokumentebis garkveul i nawil i saqarTvel oSi mcxovrebi eTnikuri umciresobebis ufl ebebis samarTI ebrivad mowesrigebis sakiTxebis exeba da im periodis saerTaSoriso normebiT gaTval iswinebul moTxovnebs pasuxobs.

osuri separatizmis Sesaxeb sayuradRebo dokumenturi masal ebi gamoaqveyina a.menTeSasvil ma. gansakuTrebul interess iwvevs `mSromel i samxreT oseTis memorandumi,~ ruseTis federaciis sagareo saqmeTa ministris g.CiCerinis da saqarTvel os sagareo saqmeTa ministris e.gegeWkoris notebi.³ am dokumentebiT dasturdeba, rom osi separatistebis miswrafebas ara marto saqarTvel os xel isuflebis damxoba, aramed Sida qarTI is mTiani raionebis saqarTvel odan mowyveta da ruseTTan SeerTeba warmoadgenda. am antisaxel mwifoebriვი Canafiqris Sesrul ebaSi, os separatistebis politikur, samxedro da finansur daxmarebas sabWoTa ruseTi uwevda.

osur separatizmTan mimarTebaSi, qarTul i politikuri azris poziciis Tval sazrisiT, yuradrebas iqcevs g.gvel esianis mier 1922 wels daweril i moxseneba: `moxseneba oseTis avtonomiuri olqis gamoyofis istoriisaTvis.- es dokumenti, `samxreT oseTis- sabWouri avtonomiis SeqmnasTan dakavSirebit, avtoriseul uaryofiT damokidebul ebas warmoaCens. am masal is publikacia ojanel izem ganaxorciel a.⁴

sakvl evad aRebul i probl emis_ osuri separatizmisadmi qarTul i politikuri azris damokidebul ebis Sesaxeb, sayuradRebo dokumentebia daculi saqarTvel os central uri istoriul i arqivis, saqarTvel os uaxlesi istoriisa da Sinagan saqmeTa saministros arqivebSi. Cems mier damuSavebul i iqna aRniSnul i arqivebis 1825, 1833, 1836, 1863, 281, 284, 285, 600, 13, 14 da sxva fondebi. Temis specifikidan gamomdinare, gansakuTrebul i yuradReba miqcia saqarTvel os social - demokratiul i muSaTa partiis konferenciebma, saqarTvel os parl amentis, damfuZnebel i krebis, saqarTvel os central uri aRmasrul ebel i komitetis, Sinagan saqmeTa saxal xo komisariatის, saqarTvel os revkomის sxdomebis saოqმო Canawerebma da stenografiul ma angari Sebma, Sinagan saqmeTa saministros pasuxismgebel pirTa moxsenebebma da mimowerebma. es masal ebi uaRresad mniSvnel ovan informacias iZl eva 1918- 1925 wl ebSi saqarTvel oSi mimdinare politikuri procesebis Sesaxeb.

ramdenadac winamdebare naSromis kvl evis sfero osuri separatizmis ganmapirobebel mizezebTan da mosal odnel SedegebTan mimarTebaSi qarTul i politikuri azris damokidebul ebis SeswaviT Semoifargleba, bunebrivia, yuradRebis centrSi 1917- 1925 wl ebis gamomaval i periodul i gamocemebi moeqca. mxedvel obaSi maqvs gazeTebi: `erToba,~ `alioni,~ `saxal xo saqme,~ `saqarTvel o,~ `kl de,~ `saqarTvel os respublika,~ `komunisti,~ `axali komunisti,~ `social ist- federal isti,~ `tribuna.~ Jurnal ebi: `mxedარი,~ `eroba da qal aqi,~ `moambe.~ TiToeul maTganSi dabeWdil i publikaciebi SesaZlebl obas iZl eva srul ad Tu ara, nawil obrivad mainc ganisazRvros im periodis qarTul i politikuri azrovnebis done. garkveul i

iqnas Tu ramdenad sworad afasebdnen qarTul i saxel mwifosadmi osuri separatizmi safrTxes, ra al ternatul gzebsa da saSual ebebs sTava-zobdnen saqarTvel os xel isufl ebas Seqmnil i urTul esi situaciidan gamosavl el ad.

sakiTxis istoriografia. 1917- 1925 wl ebis saqarTvel os pol itikuri istoriis am umniSvnel ovanesi periodis `mecnierul ~ Seswavl as safuZveli sabWoTa istoriografiam daudo. magram igi im doneze gaayal ba, rom aRni-Snul i wl ebis osuri separatizmi erovnul - ganmaTavisufl ebel moZraobad da osuri saxel mwifos SeqmnisaTvis samarTI ian brZol ad gamoacxada. probl emisadmi aseTi tendenciuri damokidebul eba, winaswargamiznul ideol ogiur datvirTvas atarebda. am SemTxvevaSi sabWoTa istoriografiis mizans, saqarTvel os teritoriul i mTI ianobisa da qarTul i saxel mwifos SenarCunebisaTvis mebrZol i damoukidebel i saqarTvel os xel isufl ebis diskreditacia warmoadgenda. am fonze axdenda sabWouri xel isufl ebis gafetiSebas da Sida qarTI Si `samxreT oseTis- avtonomiuri ol qis Seqmnis mizanSewonil obis `dasabuTebas~. am mimarTul ebiT gaweul ma 70 wl ianma `mecnierul ma- propagandam da osuri separatizmi nebsiT Tu unebl ied gamarTI ebis mcdel obam, osuri mosaxl eobis cnobierebis araswor formirebas Seuwyo xel i. sinamdvil is mrude sarkeSi Segnebul ad warmocenam, osur separatizmitan mimarTebsi damoukidebel i saqarTvel os mTavrobis pol itikuri kursis l afSi amosvris mcdel obam, osur mosaxl eoobaSi qarTul i saxel mwifosa da qarTvel ebisadmi siZul vil i warmoSva. es arc aris gasakviri, radgan osi axal gazrdebi sabWoTa periodSi im rwmeniT izrdeboda, rom saqarTvel oSi (Sida qarTI Si) TiTqos istoriul ad `samxreTi oseTi- marTI acarsebul iyo da misi saxel mwifod Camoyal ibebis xel ovnur barieris qarTvel i eri qmnida. am mavnebl ur da qveynisatvis saziانو `Teorias- saTave f.maxaraZem daudo. mis mier gamoqveynebul publ ikaciebSi `yvel as gasagonad (samxreTi oseTis aj anyebis gamo),~ `erovnul i sakiTxi,⁵ `menSevikebis diqtatura saqarTvel oSi⁶ zemoT aRniSnul i Tval sazrisia gatarebul i. es naSromebi, damoukidebel i saqarTvel os xel isufl ebis dausabuTebl diskreditacias Seicavs. misi avtori, saqarTvel os xel isufl ebas eTnikur umciresobaTa devnaSi adanaSaul ebda. am fonze, saqarTvel os kanonieri xel isufl ebis damxobis mizniT, osi da afxazi bol Sevikebis 1918- 1920 wl ebis aj anyebes erovnul - ganmaTavisufl ebel moZraobad acxadebda da mis gamarTI ebas cdil obda. f.maxaraZis es yal bi Teza, sabWoTa xel isufl ebam saxel mZRvanel o debul ebad gamoacxada da yvel a istorikosisaTvis saval debul o gaxada. aRniSnul i sqemiT gaTval iswinebul i poziciis `mecnierul ~ CarCoSi moqcevis Tval sazrisiT, gansakuTrebiT g.xaWapuriZisa⁷ da a.surgul aZis⁸ naSromebi gamoirCeva. isini osi separatistebis 1918- 1920 wl ebis antisaxel mwifoebrivi aj anyebebisa da arasamarTI ebrivi moTxovnebis mizanSewonil obis dasabuTebas cdil obdnen. qarTul istoriografiaSi damkvidrebul am mcdar Sexedul ebebs mimdevrebiC gamoucdnen. maT mizans damoukidebel i saqarTvel os xel isufl ebis augad moxseniebis fonze, qarTul i saxel mwifos wasaqcevad, osi separatistebis qmedebebis gamarTI eba warmoadgenda. am mxriv, yuradRebas u.baxtaZis naSromi `samxreT oseTis avtonomiuri ol qis Seqmna da misi samarTI ebrivi mdgomareoba⁹ iqcevs. avtori yovel mxriv Seecada, damoukidebel i saqarTvel os mTavrobis erovnul i pol itika eTnikuri umciresobebis `abuCad agdebad- warmocina, xol o osi separatistebis mxridan saqarTvel oSi ararsebul i `samxreT oseTis- TviTgamorkvevis moTxovna gamarTI ebina. aqedan gamomdinare, ga-

kvirvebas ar unda iwvevdes, `samxreT oseTis- kantonis SeqmniS Sesaxeb, osebis erovnul i sabWos mier saqarTvel os sakanonmdebl o organosadmi wardgenil sakonstitucio proeqts, u.baxtaZe TanadgomiT rom moekida. man pasuxgaucemel i datova kiTxvebi; a)ramdenad mizanSewonil i iyo im periodis saqarTvel os sinamdvil eSi osebis pretenziul i moTxovnebi. b)antisaxel mwifoebri vi qmedebiT, osebi xel s uwyobdnen Tu aferxebdnen eTnikuri umciresobebis ufl ebebis Sesaxeb saqarTvel os xel isufl ebis mier miRebul i sakanonmdebl o aqtebiT gaTval iswinebul i reformebis praqtikul real izacias. isic angari Sgasawevia, rom u.baxtaZem gverdi auara iseT mniSvnel ovan sakiTxs rogoricaa: 1)XX saukunis 20- iani wl ebis dasavl eT evropis saxel mwifoTa gamocdil ebidan da saerTaSoriso samarTI ebrivi normebidan gamomdinare, ramdenad kanonzomieri iyo osi separatistebis moTxovna_ saqarTvel oSi osuri saxel mwifo warmonaqmnis `samxreT oseTis- saxel wodebiT Seqmna, maSin rodesac sabWoTa ruseTs, osebis istoriul i samSobl osaTvis avtonomiis aranairi ufl ebebi ar qonda miniWebul i; 2)saqarTvel oSi mcxovrebi 9 eTnikuri umciresobebis mier qveynis sakanonmdebl o orgSnoSi wardgenil i sakonstitucio proeqtebidan gamomdinare, yvel a maTganisadmi TviTgamorkvevis ufl eba rom miecaT, ra mdgomareobaSi aRmoCndeboda saqarTvel o. am didi nakl is miuxedavad, naSromSi kargad Cans: a)sabWoTa ruseTis rol i osi separatistebis aj anyebebis momzadebasa da mis dafinansebaSi; b)sabWoTa ruseTis daxmareba osi separatistebisadmi saqarTvel os xel isufl ebis dasamxobad da Sida qarTI Si sabWoTa xel isufl ebis formal urad gamocxadebis saqmeSi.

marTalia, u.baxtaZis zemoaRniSnul naSromSi farTodaa warmodgenil i sabWoTa xel isufl ebis rol i da damsaxureba Sida qarTI Si `samxreT oseTis- avtonomiuri ol qis SeqmnaSi, magram araswori daskvnaa gakeTebul i mis kanonzomierebasTan mimarTebaSi. araferia naTqvami `samxreT oseTis- revkomis mier qarTvel Ta Seviwroebisa da mamapapeul i sacxovrisidan etapobrivad gamodevnis Sesaxeb. es naSromi im periodis sabWouri ideol ogiis CarCoSi Tavsdeba da maSindel i xel isufl ebis moTxovnebs srul ad pasuxobs.

damouki debel i saqarTvel os xel isufl ebis winaarmdeg osi separatistebis 1918- 1920 wl ebis aj anyebebs exeba g.TogoSvil is naSromis_ `qarTvel i da osi xal xebis urTierTobis- mesame Tavis pirvel i paragrafi.¹⁰ avtori yovel mxriv cdil obs osebis es aj anyebebi ruseTidan saqarTvel os Camocil ebis motiviT gaamarTI os. am fonze, yuradRebis miRma tovebs yvel aze mniSvnel ovan kiTxvas: qarTvel ers, qonda Tu ara Tavisi qveynis momavl is bedis damouki debl ad gadawyvetis ufl eba, saqarTvel oSi mcxovrebi eTnikuri umciresobebis daukiTxavad. ramdenadac g.TogoSvil ma aRniSnul sakiTxze pasuxs Tavi aarida, damouki debel i saqarTvel os winaarmdeg osebis gal aSqreba, social uri Tavisufl ebisa da erovnul i damouki debl obisaTvis brZol ad gamoacxada. (gv. 116) avtori kidev ufro Sors wavida, roca cxinval is raionSi aj anyebul osebs `Tavisufl ebisa da TviTgamorkvevisaTvis mebrZol i oseTi- uwoda. (gv. 121) es faqti mkiTxvel Si iseT STabeWdil ebas tovebs, Si da qarTI Si TiTqos marTI ac arsebul iyo oseTi da osebi erovnul i TviTgamorkvevisaTvis ibrZodnen. naSromis es Tavi istoriis fal sifikaciis SesaniSnav nimuSs warmoadgens.

saqarTvel os pirvel i respublikis mTavrobis dasamxobad, bol Sevikebis mier 1918- 1921 wl ebSi mowyobil i aj anyebebia gaSuqebul i vj anj Ravas monografiaSi `gl exTa revol uciuri moZraoba saqarTvel oSi 1918- 1921 wl eb-

Si⁻¹¹ am naSromSi gansakuTrebul i adgil i aqvs daTmobil i osi separatistebis mier mowyobil aj anyebes da igi sabWoTa xel isufli ebisaTvis brZol adaa gamocxadebul i. naSromSi kargad Cans, rom es aj anyebebi sabWoTa ruseTis daxmarebiT qarTvel i da osi bol Sevikebis mier iqna ganxorciel ebul i. avtori did juradRebas uTmobs 1921 wl is martSi Crdil o kavkasiidan osebis SeiaraRebul i razmebis saqarTvel oSi SemoWras da cxinval is aRebas. rac Seexeba mis mier gakeTebul Sefasebebs, im periodis ideol ogiur CarCoSi j deba da faqtebis araswor interpretacias emyareba.

1918- 1920 wl ebis osebis aj anyebebis gamomwvevi mizezebisa da misi Sefasebebis fal sifikaciis SesaniSnav nimuSs warmoadgens osi istorikosebis: z.jioevis,¹² z.vanevis da p.doguzovis,¹³ n.cxovrebovis da b.plievis,¹⁴ v.sanakoevis¹⁵ da sxvebis naSromebi. samwuxar oa, magram faqtia, rom qarTveli i da osi istorikosebis mier XX saukuneSi ganxorciel ebul ma istoriis mizanmimarTul ma fal sifikaciam, sinamdvil is mrude sarkeSi warmocenam da gayal bebul i formiT propagandam, saqarTvel os saxel mwifoebriobis momavli isa da TviT qarTvel i eris saziand myari safexuri Seqmna. am faqtorma, osi separatistebis sasargebl od warmatebul ad imuSava da dResac Seufferxebel ad agrZel ebs svl as.

zemoaRniSnul i nakl is miuxedavad, Cems mier ganxil ul i Sromebis umetesoba mdidar faqtobriv masal as Seicavs, riTac garkveul Rirebul ebas inarCuneben. rac Seexeba movl enaTa Sefasebis sabWoTa ideol ogiis mizezebisa da amocanebis CarCoSi moqcevas, amas maSindel i umkacresi cenzura moiTxovda. aseT pirobebSi Rirebul ebaTa gadafasebaze fiqri warmoudgenel i iyo, radgan am mimarTul ebiT istorikosis mier gadadgmul i nebis mieri nabiji Tavis wagebis tol fasi iqneboda. sabWouri cenzuris am umkacres `tyeobas- qarTul ma historiografiam mxol od XX saukunis 90- ian wl ebSi daaRwia Tavi. am periodidan iwyeba osi separatistebis namoqmedaris obieqturi Sefaseba. im periodSi gamoqveynebul i publ ikaciebi dan gansakuTrebul i Rirebul ebisaa `samxreT oseTis- ol qis statusis Semswavl el i komisiis saxel iT gakeTebul i daskvna, romel ic saTauriT_ `qarTvel i da osi xal xebis urTierTobis istoriidan- 1991 wel s wignad daibeWda.¹⁶ dokumentur masal aze dayrdnobiT masSi damaj erebl adaa warmoceni i: 1) xiznebis saxiT osebis saqarTvel oSi Camosaxl ebis procesi; 2) mefis ruseTis xel isufli ebis politika saqarTvel oSi Camosaxl ebul osebtan mimarTebaSi; 3) osuri separatizmis aRmocenebis ganmapirobebel i mizezebi; 4) damouki debel i saqarTvel os winaarmddeg osebis mier mowyobil i oTxgzis SeiaraRebul i aj anyeba da sabWoTa ruseTis roli am aj anyebis momzadebaSi; 5) ruseTis mier saqarTvel os Zal is mieri gziT gasabWoeba da `samxreT oseTis- avtonomiuri ol qis Seqmnis samarTl ebrivi mxare; 6) Sida qarTl idan osebis mier qarTul i mosaxl eobis gamodevna da am faqtTan dakavSirebiT saqarTvel os sabWouri xel isufli ebis umoqmedoba. es naSromi ara marto dokumentis, aramed samecni ero gamokvl evis saxes atarebs. saarqivo da sxva masal ebze dayrdnobiT, CvenTvis saintereso periodSi mimdinare politikur procesebs obieqturad afasebs. marTalia, igi komisiis 19 wevris saxel iT iqna gamoqveynebul i, magram misi ZiriTadi nawil i 1917 wl idan 1980 wl is CaTvl iT (gv. 15- 101) prof. I evan ToiZis miera Sesrul ebul i. samwuxarod, misi saxel i zemoaRniSnul naSromSi arsad ar figurirebs. aseTi ganxcadebis gakeTebis Sesazl ebl obas dasaxel ebul i naSromisa da imave wel s I .ToiZis avtorobiT gamoqveynebul i wignis_ `rogor Sei qmna samxreT oseTis avtonomiuri ol qi,⁻¹⁷ erTmaneTTan teqstobriv Sedareba

iZl eva. orive naSromi winadadebebis, abzacebis, faqtobrivi masal is anal - izisa da stil is Tval sazrisiT identuria. am sakiTxze ase dawvril ebiT imitom SevCerdi, rom mkiTxvel ma sazogadoebam da samecniero wreebma unda icodes I .ToiZis, am SesaniSnavi mecniერis damsaxureba osuri sakiTxis Seswavl asTan mimarTebaSi. isic unda aRiniSnos,rom I .ToiZem iseTi saarqivo da sxva saxis masal ebi Semoitana samecniero brunvaSi, romel ic manamde mis winamorbed istorikosTa mxridan gamoyenebul i ar yofil a. `samxreT oseTis- avtonomiuri ol qis Seqmnis Sesaxeb special uri para grafi iqna Setanil i I .ToiZis fundamentur gamokvl evaSi `saqarTvel os pol itikuri istoria (1921- 1923 wl ebi).⁻¹⁸

osuri separatizმის umniSvnel ovanes probl emebs mieZRvna qarTvel მე ცნიერთა მერ 1996 wel s gamoqveynebul i samecniero krebul i `osTa sakiTxi.~ masSi dabeWdil i Sromebidan am etapze Cems yuradRebas amenTeSaSvil is statiaze `osuri separatizმი 1918- 1920 wl ebSi.⁻¹⁹ SevaCereb. saTauridan gamomdinare, naSromSi 1918- 1919 wl ebis osur separatizmzedac unda yofil iyo yuradReba gamaxvil ebul i. igi mxol od 1920 wl is osebis aj anyebiT ifargl eba. avtori mdidar faqtobrivi masal aze dayrdnobiT damaj erebl ad iZl eva sabWoTa ruseTis rol s osuri separatizმის aRmavl obis saqmeSi. mis mier gakeTebul i daskvnebi da osebis antisaxel mwifoobrivi qmedebebis osur separatizmad gamocxadeba, im periodSi mimdinare pol itikuri procesebis siRmiseul gaazrebas emyareba da swor Sefasebas warmoadgens. imave probl ematikas exeba misi მეორე naSromis «Исторические предпосылки современного сепаратизма в Грузии.»- მეორე Tavi_ «Советская Россия и осетинский сепаратизм 1918- 1920 годах в Грузии.»⁻²⁰ masSi osuri separatizმის gaaqtiurebis saqmeSi sabWoTa ruseTis damsaxurebaa wina pl anze wamoweul i. naSroms damatebis saxiT amis damadasturebel i dokumenturi masal ac erTvis.

osuri separatizმის warmoSoba da misi Sedegebia warmodgenil i mamuka cotniaSvil is mier 1998 wel s dacul sakandidato disertaciaSi_ `osuri separatistul i moZraoba saqarTvel oSi da misi Sedegebi.⁻²¹ CemTvis saintereso periods, naSromis ori Tavi exeba. dokumentur masal aze dayrdnobiT, damoukidebel i saqarTvel os saxel mwifos winaaRmdeg osebis mier 1918- 1920 wl ebSi mowyobil aj anyebebzea yuradReba gadatanil i da am saqmeSi ruseTis faqtori wina pl anzea wamoweul i. avtori gansakuTrebul aqcentirebas sabWoTa xel isufl ebis mier 1922 wel s `samxreT oseTis- avtonomiuri ol qis Seqmnis ukanonobaze akeTebis da momxdar faqts osuri separatizმის kursis მი ზანმარ Tul SenarCunebad მი iCnevs. garkveul RirsebebTan erTad, m.cotniaSvil is naSroms seriozul i nakl i gaaCnia. kerZod: 1)naSromSi damowmebul saqarTvel os central uri saxel mwifo saistorio arqivis (saq. cssa) fondebs (13, 16, 19, 48), m.cotniaSvil i ver daamuSavebda Semdegi garemoebidan gamomdinare: a)მის მერ damowmebul i fondis nomriT gaTval iswinebul i 1918- 1921 wl ebis amsaxvel i masal ebi, 1964 wl amde saqarTvel os sssr oqtombris revol uciisa da social isturi mSenebl obis central uri saxel mwifo arqivis uaxl esi istoriis ganyofil ebaSi inaxeboda. b)1964 wl idan zemoaRniSnul i fondebis 1918- 1921 wl ebis masal ebi sul sxva nomriT (1833, 1836, 1861, 1864; ix. aqti #16, 17, 19, 64, 47...) central ur saistorio arqivSi iqna gadatanil i da dResac iq inaxeba; g)მართალია, saqarTvel os sssr ministrTa sabWos 1965 wl is 19 Tebevli is # 99 dadgenil ebiT es ori arqivi gaerTianda da mas saqarTvel os sssr central uri saxel mwifo arqivi ewoda, magram saistorio arqivis Cems mier CamoTvl il i fondebis nomrebs cvl il eba ar ganucdia. saqarTvel os ministrTa sabWos 1971 wl is

21 ianvris # 610 gankargul ebiT aRniSnul i arqivi ise v or nawil ad gaiyo da Tavisi pirvandel i saxel wodebebi daubrun da. am SemTxvevaSi ac saistorio arqivis fondebis nomrebi ucvl el i darCa. zemoaRniSnul faqtebze dayrdnobiT, dabej iTebiT SemiZl ia imis Tqma, rom disertantis asakobrivi mdgomareobidan gamomdinare, mas mxol od axal i nomriT dadasturebul fondebze SeeZl o muSaobis Catareba. 2)m.cotniaSvil isa da u.baxtaZis naSromebis Sedareba iseT STabeWdil ebas tovebs, rom igi umeteswil ad u.baxtaZis zemoT dasaxel ebul wignSi motanil i saarqivo dokumentebiT sargebl obs, xol o mkiTxvel isadmi Tval is axvevis mizniT, imave naSromSi damowmebul da 1964 wl idan ararsebul i saarqivo fondebis nomrebs uTiTebis; 3)m.cotniaSvil i ar icnobs 1991 wel s stamburi wesiT dabeWdil 144 gverdian naSroms_ `samxreT oseTis- ol qis statusis Semswavl el i komisiis daskvnas. es wigni mdidar saarqivo dokumentur masal as emyareba da osuri separatizmis mokl e istorias warmoadgens; 4)m.cotniaSvil is mier ignorebul ia 1991 wel s dabeWdil i l .ToiZis 136 gverdiani sayuradRebo gamokvl eva `rogor Sei qmna samxreT oseTis avtonomiuri ol qi.~ sakval ifikacio naSromisaTvis aseTi xarvezebi yovl ad dauSvebel ia.

osuri separatizmis 1918- 1925 wl ebis sakiTxebTan dakavSirebul i probl emebis Seswavl as exeba S.vadaWkoria's mier gamoqveynebul i samecniero publ ikaciebi.²² saarqivo dokumentebze dayrdnobiT masSi safuZvl ianadaa warmocenil i osur separatizmTan mimarTebaSi qarTul i sazogadoebrivpolitikuri azris damokidebul eba.

damoukidebel i saqarTvel os arsebobis wl ebSi, osuri avtonomiis moTxovnebis Sesaxeb garkveul i formiT kritikasa da osebis 1920 wl is aj anyebis obieqtur Sefasebas Sei cavs d.WumburiZis naSromis `qarTvel i xal xis erovnul - ganmatavisufl ebel i brZol a XX s- is dasawyisSi (1918-1921 wl ebi- V Tavis V paragrafi_ `oseTis sakiTxi 1918- 1921 ww.²³

osur separatizmTan mimarTebaSi CemTvis saintereso sakiTxs exeba o.j anel iZis saJurnal o statia `osta sakiTxi saqarTvel os demokratiul respublikasi.²⁴ naSromSi saubarua osebis erovnul i sabWos mier amierkavkasiis komisaratisa da saqarTvel os erovnul i sabWosadmi osebis TviT-gamorkvevis sakiTxiTan mimarTebaSi safexurebrivad wardgenil moTxovnebze. saqarTvel os sinamdvil is gaTval iswinebidan gamomdinare Sefasebul i aRniSnul i moTxovnebis kanonzomiereba. avtori did yuradRebas uTmobs; 1)eTnikur umciresobebTan mimarTebaSi saqarTvel os xel isufl ebis mier gatarebul RonisZiebebs; b)osuri separatizmis gaRrmavebis saqmeSi sabWota ruseTis rols, mis mier separatistebis waqezebasa da dafinansebas. aRniSnul i naSromi `samxreT oseTis- parlamentis mier 1918- 1920 wl ebSi osi xal xis `genocidis- Sesaxeb 2006 wel s miRebul dekl araciaSi Segnebul - ad damaxinj ebul i faqtebisadmi pasuxs warmoadgens. osuri avtonomiisa da misadmi qarTul i sazogadoebis uaryofiti damokidebul ebis sakiTxi ganxil ul i mis meore statias `droebiTi administraciul i erTeul i (istoria da Tanamedroveba).²⁵

sakvl ev TemasTan mimarTebaSi saintereso probl emas exeba a.sonRul aSvil is naSromis `samxreT oseTi- saqarTvel oSi?!.²⁶ _sami paragrafi. gamoqveynebul samecniero literaturaze da mistvis xel misawvdom saarqivi masal aze dayrdnobiT, avtori 1918- 1925 wl ebis saqarTvel oSi mimdinare politikuri procesebis fonze ganxil avs osi separatistebis pretenziul moTxovnas_ `samxreT oseTis- politikuri erTeul is Seqmnis Sesaxeb, romelic jer damoukidebel i saqarTvel os, xol o Semdeg gasabWoebul i saqarTve-

Los xel isufli ebas wauyenes. naSromSi motanil i masal is safuZvel ze, mkiTxvel isaTvis gasagebi formiTaa warmoceni i: 1)os separatistebTan mimarTebaSi damoukidebel i saqarTvel os (1918- 1921 w. Teberval i) da gasabWoebul i saqarTvel os (1921 wl is 25 Tebervl idan) xel isufal Ta mxridan aRniS-nul i probl emisadmi gansxvavebul i damokidebul eba; 2)pasuxia gacemul i ramdenad kanonzomieri iyo Sida qarTl Si osuri pol itikuri avtonomiis Seqmna da saqarTvel os sinamdvil idan gamomdinare j deboda Tu ara samarTl ebriv CarCoSi; 3)Sida qarTl is qarTul mosaxl eobasTan mimarTebaSi, osebis mier 1918- 1925 wl ebSi Cadenil zogierT danaSaul ebriv faqtebs, naSromSi garkveul i adgil i aqvs daTmobil i.

osur separatizmTan dakavSirebul i movl enebis Seswavl idan gamomdinare, terminol ogiis sakiTxTan mimarTebaSi gansakuTrebul i yuradReba v iToniSvil is naSromis_`narkvevebi kavkasiis istoriidan- X Tavma _`osianobam⁻²⁷ miqcia. Sua saukuneebidan XIX saukunis CaTvl iT, saqarTvel oSi osebis Semosevasa da dasaxl ebis process, v iToniSvil ma savsebiT kanonzomierad osianoba uwoda. qarTul historiografiaSi es termini samwuxarod ver damkvidrda. arada, 1921 wl idan dRemde, saqarTvel oSi osebis Camosaxl ebis mimdinare procesebi da maT mier Cadenil i danaSaul ebrivi qmedebebi, osianobis ganaxl ebad aRqmis real ur safuZvel s iZl eva.

qarTul - osur urTierTobaSi warmoqmnil i mimdinare dapi rispirebisa da misi konfli qtsi gadazrdis ZiriTadi mizezebis mecniერul ad dasabuTebul i axsnis warmatebul mcdel obas Seicavs a.ToTaZis uaRresad sayuradRebo naSromi `osebi saqarTvel oSi: miTi da real oba.⁻²⁸ igi 7 paragrafisagan Sedgeba da dokumentur masal aze dayrdnobiT, winamorbedi mkvl evarebisagan gansxvavebiT, probl emisadmi midgomis Tval sazrisidan gamomdinare angariSgasaweვი mosazrebebi da daskvnebia mocemul i.

osuri separatizmis gamovl inebis zogierTi sayuradRebo sakiTxia ganxilul i v.gurul isa da o.TuSuraSvil is,²⁹ k.wenguaSvil is,³⁰ n.vaSaymaZis da i.baramiZis,³¹ x.qoqraSvil is,³² l .saral iZis,³³ j .kvi cianis,³⁴ u.bl uaSvil is,³⁵ i.futkaraZis,³⁶ a.sil agaZisa da S.badriZis,³⁷ n.xuciSvil is,³⁸ s.saj aias,³⁹ b.kvaracxel ias,⁴⁰ q.sarsevaniZis⁴¹ da sxva avtorTa SromebSi.

winamdebare naSromis amocanaa: 1)warmoaCinos XX saukunis 20- ian wl ebSi qarTvel i eris winaSe mTel i sigrZe- siganiT dasmul i sasicocxl o probl emisadmi qarTul i pol itikuri speqtris damokidebul eba. 2)istoriis bedukuRmarTobidan gamomdinare, damoukidebel i da SemdegSi gasabWoebul i saqarTvel os xel isufli ebam ramdenad SeZl o im etapze wamoWril i urTul esi sakiTxebis mogvareba: a)ufl isgan naboZebi qveynisadmi patronoba, teritoriul i mTl ianobis SenarCuneba, qarTvel i xal xis erovnul i Tavmoyvareobisa da Rirseb is dacva; b)winaparTa da devrobiT, saqarTvel os sxel ze aRmocenebul i osuri wyl ul isgan gansakurnebel i saSual ebebis gamoZebna, urTul esi gansacdel isgan_ Sida qarTl is qarTul i mosaxl eobis mosal odnel i devnil obisgan daxsna da ucxo Tesl is axal i nakadis Sida qarTl Si Casaxl ebis ardaSveba. g)dokumenturi masal is siRrmiseul i anal izis safuZvel ze swori Sefaseba misces osur separatizmTan mimarTebaSi demokratiul i saqarTvel osa da gasabWoebul i saqarTvel os xel isufal Ta pol itikur kurss. erovnul i saxel mwifos interesebidan gamomdinare, SedarebiTi meTodis gamoyenebiT, mkiTxvel sazogadoebas aCvenos Tu ras warmoadgenda damoukidebel i saqarTvel os xel isufli eba da bol Sevikuri okupa-

ciis gziT gasabWoebul i saqarTvel os xel isufli eba. Rirseul ad vin ukeT atara qarTvel i eris mZime jvari. am da sxva mniSvnel o-vani sakiTxebisadmi dasabuTebul i formiT pasuxis gacema, Sesazl e-bl obas mogvcems srul ad iqnas warmoceni i maSindel i qarTul i pol itikuri speqtris saxel mwifoebrivi azrovnebisa da pol itikuri qmediTunarianobis done.

1917- 1925 wl ebis osuri separatizmis warmosaCenad Seqmnil i aRniSnul i gamokvl eva, qarTul i pol itikuri azrovnebis Wril Si probl emis monogra-fiul ad Seswavl is mokrZal ebul i mcdel obaa. wina gamocemisan (2017 wel s mxol od 30 cal i daibeWda) gansxvavebiT, winamdebare naSroms dRemde uc-nobi 25 saarqivo dokumenti daemata, xol o zogierTi paragrafi axal i masa-l ebiT Seivso. avtorisgan damoukidebel i mizezebis gamo, wina gamocemaSi koreqturis saxiT arsebul i xarvezebi, maqsimal urad iqna aRmofxvril i. naSromis mimarT dasabuTebul i formiT gamoTqmul samarTl i an Seni Svnebs, avtori aucil ebl ad gaiTval iswinebs.

dasarul s, madl oba minda gadavuxado yvel as, vinc am monografiis momzadebisa da srul yofil ad gamosacemis mizniT, Cemdami gan-sakuTrebul i Tanadgoma gamoiCina. mxedvel obaSi myavs: zurab xonel - iZe, cira Tofurize, l evan geraZe, j oni wul aZe, daviT gel egaSvil i da giorgi maisuraZe.

Tavi I

osur separatizmze gamarj vebul i saqarTvel os xel isufli eba da qarTul i pol itikuri azri (1917- 1920 ww)

§. 1. Sida qarTI is mTis osebis 1918 wl is aj anyebebis Taviseburebebi da osi separatistebis ganiaraRebis mcdel oba

1917 wl is Teberval - martSi ruseTis imperiaSi ganviTarebul ma pol itikurma procesebma, ararusi erebi erovnul i saxel mwifos aRdgenis perspektivis winaSe daayena. TiToeul i maTganis fiqrisa da gansjis sagans pol itikuri moTxovnebis iseTi formiT SemuSaveba warmoadgenda, romel ic ruseTis droebiTi mTavrobis gaRizianebas ar gamoiwvevda. imavdroul ad, ruseTis erTianobis SenarCunebidan gamomdinare, centrisaTvis misaRebi aRmoCndeboda da ama Tu im eris saxel mwifo warmonaqmnis Seqmnis SesaZl ebl obas safrTxes ar Seuqmnida. ramdenadac aseTi pol itikuri kursi qveynis samomavl o interesebisaTvis momgebiani Canda, qarTul i pol itikuri speqtri erTiani ruseTis Semadgenl obaSi saqarTvel osaTvis pol itikur-teritoriul i avtonomiis sakiTxis dasmit Semoifargl a. es faqti, rusul i orientaciis oficial ur aRiarebas niSnavda. saarqivo masal iT dasturdeba, rom im etapze saqarTvel oSi mcxovrebosebs, gamokveTil i separatizmi ar gamouvl enia da srul iad ruseTis damfuZnebel i krebis arCevnebsi qarTvel i social - demokratebis (menSevikebi) mxardamWerad gamovidnen.

saqarTvel osTan mimarTebaSi osebis damokidebul eba 1917 wl is oqtombris bol Sevikuri saxel mwifo gadatrial ebis Semdeg Seicval a. am mxriv, gansakuTrebul i roli sabWoTa ruseTis mTavrobis mier 1917 wl is 2 (15) noembers miRebul ma `ruseTis xal xTa ufl ebaTa dekl araciam- Seasrul a. es dokumenti oficial urad acxadebda: `1)ruseTis xal xebis Tanasworooba da suverenoba. 2)ruseTis xal xTa ufl eba Tavisufal TviTgamorkvevaze, srul gamoyofamde da damoukidebel i saxel mwifos Seqmnamde.-¹ aRniSnul i dekl araciis es muxl ebi osuri intel igenciis warmomadgenl ebma ise gages, rom saqarTvel os teritoriaze mcxovrebosebs TiTqos TviTgamorkvevisa da damoukidebel i saxel mwifos Seqmnis ufl eba eZl eoda. am ideis ganxorciel eba, ramdenadac osebs saqarTvel os sinamdvil eSi SeuZl ebl ad miaCndaT, sabWoTa ruseTis Semadgenl obaSi yofnis SemTxvevaSi misi xorcSesxma real obad esaxebodaT. aqedan gamomdinare, dasaxul i mi-znis misaRwevad garkveul i mosamzadebel i safexuris Seqmnas cdil obdnen. mxedvel obaSi maqvs maTi mxridan osuri saj ariso SenaerTebis formirebis oficial urad moTxovna. es sakiTxi, saqarTvel os osebis intel igenciam jer kidev kavkasiis mefismacval is voroncov- daSkovis winaSe 1905 wels daayena. mefis xel isuflebis interesebSi ramdenadac nacional uri pol kebise Seqmna ar Sedioda, osuri intel igenciis Canafiqri im etapze ganxorciel ebel i darCa. pol itikuri procesebis cval ebadobidan gamomdinare, aRniSnul i ideis `gacocxl eba- osebma xel sayrel ad CaTval es da es sakiTxi mTel i principul obiT saqarTvel os osebis (`samxreT oseTad- wodebul) meore yril obaze (1917 wl is dekemberi) wina pl anze wamoswies.

osuri `nacional uri j aris- saWiroebis Sesaxeb moxseneba goris mazris komisar ma aZasoxovma gaakeTa. misi mtkicebit, osuri erovnul i saj ariso

SenaerTebis Sesaqmnel ad, osebs unda miebaZa qarTvel ebis, somxebisa da must imanebisaTvis. sxvadasxva samxedro nawil ebSi gafantul i osi jariskacebistvis Tavi moeyara, moewviaT dezertirebi, samxedro saqmisaTvis vargisi osi axal gazrdebi da maT bazaze qveiTta jaris erTi `nacional uri pol ki - Seeqmna. imave a.Zasoxovis mtkicebit, pol kis ZiriTadi amocana revoluciis interesebis dacva, gareSe da Sinaur mtrebTan brZola unda yofil iyo. erTi Sexedvit mizani keTil Sobil ur saxes atarebda, magram a.Zasoxovi arafers ambobda Tu vis gul isxmobda gareSe da Sinaur mtrebSi. isic angariSgasawevia, rom igive a.Zasoxovi principul ad ayenebda sakiTxs_ axl adSeqmnil i osuri pol ki, osebis nacional ur sabWos daqvemdebareboda, da rac mTavaria, es samxedro SenaerTi Crdil oeT kavkasiis osebis jaris Semadgenl obaSi Sesul iyo. rac Seexeba misi dislokaciis adgils, savaraudod gorsa da duSetS asaxel ebda.²

yril obis monawil e osi del egatebisaTvis a.Zasoxovis aRniSnul i winadadeba imdenad misaRebi aRmoCnda, rom Sesabamisi rezoluciac miRes: `Sedges erovnul i pol kebi_ vkiTxul obT dokumentSi_ roml is nawil i SeuerTdeba Crdil oeT oseTis samxedro nawil ebs. pol ki idgeba amierkavkasiaSi. meTaurTa Semadgenl obis arCeva miendos osTa erovnul sabWos, roml is gankargul ebaSiac unda Sevides zemoxsenebul i pol ki.³ misi dislokaciis adgil samyofel is gasarkvevad, arCevanis gakeTeba mxol od gorsa da duSetS Soris unda momxdariyo.

am amonaweris mixedvit, saqarTvel os teritoriaze mcxovrebi osebisgan Semdgari SeiaraRebul i pol ki osebis erovnul sabWos unda damorCil eboda da ara saqarTvel os erovnul sabWos. pol kis xel mZRvanel obas osebis erovnul i sabWo niSnavda da ara saqarTvel os erovnul i sabWo an amierkavkasiis komisariati. isic angariSgasawevia, rom osebis erovnul i pol ki ara saqarTvel os erovnul i gvardiis, aramed Crdil oeT oseTis samxedro SenaerTebis nawil ad cxaddeboda. ruseTis federaciis Semadgenl obaSi arsebul i ucxo saxel mwifos daqvemdebarebaSi myofi samxedro qvedanayofis gorsi an duSetSi oficial uri statusiT dislokaciis nebarTvis gacema, saqarTvel os saxel mwifos TviTmkvl el obisken gadadgmul i mizanmimarTul i nabiji iqneboda. masSi saqarTvel os sawinaaRmdegod samomavl od gaTvil i borotebis marcvali iyo Cadebuli. aRniSnul is gaTval iswinebidan gamomdinare, saqarTvel os erovnul ma sabWom da amierkavkasiis komisariatma, osebis erovnul i pol kis Seqmna miuRebl ad CaTval a. miuxedavad amisa, zemoaRniSnul i Canafiqris ganxorciel ebaze os separatistebis xel i ar auRiaT da igi `ganaxl ebul i formiT `samxreT oseTis- erovnul i sabWos pirvel i sesiis sxdomaze (1918 wl is 2, 3, 4 marti) daayenes. saqmo Canawerebidan irkveva, rom g.gagl oevi, k.Zebisovi da g.Zasoxovi osuri samxedro pol kis Seqmnis ZiriTad motivad osmal eTis mosal odnel safrTxes asaxel ebdnen da Tavisufl ebis dasacavad sesiis monawil ebs samkvdro- sasicocxl o brZol isken mouwodebdnen. isic sayuradReboa, rom maT gamosvl ebSi saqarTvel os usafrTxoebis dacva erTxel ac ar iyo naxsenebi.⁴ arada, osmal eTis agresiisgan gamomdinare, Tavisufl ebis dakargvis rel uri safrTxe saqarTvel os emuqreboda. aqedan gamomdinare, sesiis monawil ebs saqarTvel os dacvis sakiTxi prioritetul amocanad unda eqciaT. ramdenadac maTi saqmianoba am mimarTul ebit ar warimarTa, qarTul i pol itikuri speqtrisaTvis osebis Canafiqris ZiriTadi arsi naTel i gaxda. maT mizans amierkavkasiis mTavrobisgan osuri pol kis

Seqmnis oficial uri dasturis miReba da am samxedro SenaerTis osi separatistebis miznebis samsaxurSi Cayeneba wadmoadgenda. aseTi daskvnis gakeTebis SesaZl ebl obas is saarqivo dokumenturi masal ebi iZl eva, rom l ebic adastureben, rom zemoaRniSnul i moTxovnis paral el urad, igive osebis erovnul i sabWo cxinval Si martis Sua ricxvebisatvis Seiararebul i aj anyebis mosawyobad emzadeboda. ramdenadac osebis erovnul i pol kis Seqmnis meore mcdel oba unayofa aRmoCnda, osebis erovnul i sabWos l iderebma ukandaxevis taqtikas mimarTes da maTTvis xel sayrel i situaciis Seqmnas dael odnen. probl emis mesamed dasmis Sesaferis momentad, saqarTvel os xel isufl ebis mier Tbil isis sagubernio batal ionis SevsebasTan dakavSirebiT, samxedro samsaxurSi wvevamdel Ta gawvevis mimdinare procesis (1918 wl is Semodgoma) gamoyeneba scades. am mxriv, gansakuTrebul yuradRebas osebis VI yril obis (1918 wl is 4 dekemberi) mier, osuri samxedro nawil ebis Seqmnis isev wina pl anze wamoweva iqcevs. am sakiTxTan dakavSirebiT, imave yril obaze miRebul dadgenil ebaSi vkiTxul obT: `daeval os osTa erovnul i yril obis prezidioms, saqarTvel os mTavrobasTan erTad gaarkvios sakiTxi am nawil Ta Sedgenisa da ukeTu igi ar eTanxmeba oseTis mSromel i xal xis interesebis, es nawil ebi unda daiSal os, anda daeqvemdebaros oseTis erovnul sabWos.- Tuki am dokumentis kargad CaukvirdebiT, dipl omatiuri reveransis fonze igi osuri cbierebis el fers atarebs. am SemTxvevaSi gasaTval iswinebel ia; 1)osuri samxedro SenaerTebis Sesaqmel ad nebarTvis miRebisatvis, saqarTvel os mTavrobasTan mol aparakebis gzisadmi upiratesobis micema da 2)mTavrobis winaSe, aRniSnul i sakiTxis `oseTis mSromel i xal xis interesebis- manipul irebis fonze dasma. am faqtoris gaTval iswinebidan gamomdinare, uaris miRebis SemTxvevaSi, saqarTvel os xel isufl eba (ukeTu igi ar eTanxmeba oseTis mSromel i xal xis interesebis-), osi mSromel i xal xisadmi angariSis argawevisa da misi interesebisadmi dapirispirebis rol Si gamovidoda. aseTi fonis oficial urad Seqmna, osur mosaxl eobaSi saqarTvel os xel isufl ebis diskreditaciaze iyo gaTvl il i. miTumetes, saqarTvel os xel isufl ebisgan uaryofiti pasuxis miRebis SemTxvevaSi, igive dadgenil eba osebis samxedro nawil ebis Seqmnaze gadaWriT uars ar ambobda. masSi waj eq- ukuj eqis forma _ unda daiSal os, anda daeqvemdebaros oseTis erovnul sabWos- _iyo gamoyenebul i.

rogorc dokumenturi masal idan irkveva, saqarTvel os xel isufl eba amj eradac mowodebis simaRI eze aRmoCnda da osebis aRniSnul i usafuZvl o moTxovnis dakmayofil eba dauSvebl ad miicnia. Tuki am gadawyvetil ebas amierkavkasiis regionSi ganvitarebul i politikiuri procesebis fonze ganvixil avT, igi swor nabijis wadmoadgenda. miTumetes, erovnul i samxedro SenaerTebis Seqmnis sakiTxs osebi permanentul ad 1917 wl is dekembridan iset rTul periodSi ayenebdnen, roca saqarTvel os garSemo politikiuri situacia damZimebul i iyo da misi fizikiuri arseboba seriozul i safrTxis winaSe imyofeboda. mxedvel obaSi maqvs: a)saqarTvel o- osmal eTs Soris saomari mdgomareoba; b)amierkavkasiis frontidan demobilizebul i gabol Sevikebul i rusul i samxedro nawil ebis mier Tbil iss asaRebad da mis dasarbevad Seqmnil i real uri safrTxis faqtebi. istoriografiaSi dadasturebul ia, rom Tbil isis asaRebad da amierkavkasiis mTavrobis dasamxobad bol Sevikebi kargad Seiararebul i 16000 jariskacis gamoyenebas Seecadnen. am operaciis

warmatebiT dasamTavrebl ad Sida qarTI Si aj anyebul i somxebisa da osebis imedi hqondaT.⁵

aseT pirobebSi myofi qveynisaTvis, prioritetad ara Tu osuri saj ariso nawil ebis formireba, aramed osebis, rogorc real uri safrTxis Semqmnel ebis winaaRmdeg Sesabamisi qmediTi RonisZiebeb- is gatareba iyo saWiro. meore mxriv, amierkavkasiis mTavrobis winaSe principul ad idga sakiTxi _osmal eTis agresiiigan regionis dacvis Sesaxeb. miTumetes, trapizonSi mimdinare sazavo mol aparakebis paral el urad, os- mal eTis samxedro SenaerTebi saqarTvel os istoriul i teritoriebis okupacias axdenda. Tuki saqarTvel oSi mcxovrebi osebi Tavis sam- Sobl od saqarTvel os aRiqvamden da osmal uri safrTxisagan qveynis dasacavad samkvdro- sasicocxl o brZol isaTvis marTI ac mZad iyvnen, osi jariskacebis zneobrivi val debul eba_ a.Zasoxovis si- tyvebiT rom vTqvaT, saqarTvel oSi `revol uciis monapovarta dac- va- da `gareSe mtrebTan- _ osmal ebTan brZol a unda yofil iyo. aqedan gamomdinare, im Znel bedobis Jams, osmal o askerebis winaaRm- deg mebrZol qarTvel obas, iaraRis tarebis SemZl e da samxedro gamocdil ebis mqone osebis garkveul i nawil i gverdsi unda amodgo- moda. dokumenturi masaliT dasturdeba, rom osmal o dampyrob- l ebis winaaRmdeg mebrZol i qarTul i jaris nawil ebsadmi Tanadgomis nacvl ad, osma separatistebma da bol Sevikebma erTobl ivi qmedeb- iT qarTul jars zurgSi gal esil i maxvil i Casca. mxedvel obaSi maqvs 1918 wl is 13 da 14 marts osebis mier cxinval isa da Jarvis ra- ionebSi dawyebul i aj anyeba. qarTvel i, osi da rusi bol Sevikebis saagitacio- propagandistul i saqmianobis Sedegad, os separatistebis baqodan bol Sevikebis saj ariso SenaerTebis daxmarebis, sabol oo gamarj vebisa da osebis sakuTari mTavrobis Seqmnis imedi hqonda. igive bol Sevikebi osebs arwmunebda: `amierkavkasiis mTavrobam xal xi moatyua, menSevikebis partia Tavadebisa da aznaurebis mfarvel i partiaa... erTaderTi partia, romelic xal xs esarCl eba, omi daamTavra da zavi Camo- agdo_ bol Sevikebia.- aRniSnul i faqti, goris mazris raionis komisarTa yril obaze (1918 wl is 23 maisi) sityviT gamomsvl el Ta mxridanac iqna da- dasturebul i. imave sakiTxs, saqarTvel os osebis V yril obaze (1918 wl is 5 agvisto)_ osebis erovnul i sabWos muSaobis Sesaxeb gakeTebul mox- senebaSi a.Tibil ovic Seexo da zemoT motanil i faqtebis siswore manac daadastura. qveyanaSi Seqmnil i rTul i politikuri situacia, arsebul i mdgomareobis saRi gonebiT droul ad Sefasebasa da saTanado reagirebas saWiroebda. im periodis presis furcl ebze gamoqveynebul i masal ebis mixed- viT Tuki vimsjel ebT, Sida qarTI is mTis osebis cxinval is raionis aj an- yebasTan dakavSirebiT, qarTul i politikuri azris warmomadgenl ebma Tavi- anTi pozicia oficial urad gamoTqves da osebis orgul obis fizionomia mkiTxvel i sazogadoebis winaSe srul ad warmoaCines. am mxriv, gansakuTreb- ul yuradRebas gazeT `al ionSi- dabeWdil i statia `cxinval is tragediis gamo- iqcevs. saqarTvel osaTvis im etapze Seqmnil i urTul esi politikuri situaciis wina pl anze wamowevis fonze, aRniSnul weril Si garkveviTaa miTitebul i, rom osebma `mowadines qarTvel i erisaTvis Sig gul Si l axv- aris Cacema swored im dros, roca saqarTvel o udi des gasaWirs ganicdis... qarTvel ers gareSe mteri emuqreba, mTel i misi yuradReba osmal eTisken aris miqceul i da Sinaurma mterebma ifiqres, qarTvel ebis mTel i Zal a ra- mdenadac frontisken aris mimarTul i, SigniT uZl urni arian da exl a Se-

gviZl ia gamarj vebao.-⁶

es amonaweri imis aSkara dadasturebaa, rom saqarTvel osTan mi-
marTebaSi, osi separatistebi da bol Sevikebi Casafrebul i Suris-
maZiebl is ampl uaSi gvevl inebodnen. maT mizans sabWoTa ruseTis
dakveTis Sesrul eba warmoadgenda, Tundac igi saqarTvel os isto-
riul i teritoriebis dakargvisa da TviT qarTvel i eris ganad-
gurebis xarj ze momxdariyo. Cems xel T arsebul i masal is anal i-
zidan gamomdinare, maTi qmedebis sxvagvarad Sefaseba SeuZl ebe-
l ia. am poziciis gasamyarebl ad gazeT `erTobaSi~ dabeWdil i mow-
inave statia `amierkavkasia da saqarTvel os respubl ika 1918 wel s-
gamodgeba. masSi garkveviTaa miTiTebul i, rom kavkavidan da yuba-
nis ol qidan osebi da bol Sevikebi `swored im dros iwyebdnen mo-
Zraobas, rodesac saqarTvel os jari osmal eTis jarebTan ibrzod-
nen. rogorc ki samxreTidan da dasavl eTidan osmal eTis jari
iwyebs Semotevas da maT winaarMdeg gava saxal xo gvardia da jari,
imave dros zurgs uknidan_ aRmosavl eTidan da Crdil oeTidan am
jars da gvardias TavS esxmis osi bol Sevikebis brboebi.- anal o-
giuri Tval sazrisia gamoTqmul i g.l asxiSvil is weril Si `bol o
unda moeRos.- misi samarTl iani mtkicebiT, `ra wamsac romel ime Za-
l as dainaxaven Cvens winaarMdeg momarTul s, osebi maSinve... samza-
diss Seudgebian.-⁷

konkretul ad Tu raSi mdgomareobda osebis samzadisi, gazeTi
`saxal xo saqme- mowinave weril Si `kmaral~ xazgasmiT miuTiTebda:
`roca mTel i Zal Ronis mimarTva osmal eTis Semoseul i askerebis
winaarMdeg iyo saWiro, osebma Tavisi Tavi bol Sevikebis momxree-
bad gamoacxades da cxinval is midamoebSi fronti gagvimarTes.-
saqarTvel os uaxl es istoriaSi es iyo uaRresad rTul i momenti.
saqarTvel os erovnul i sabWosa da amierkavkasiis mTavrobis winaSe
principul ad daisva sakiTxi; formirebis stadiaze myofi qarTul i
jari da erovnul i gvardia SeZl ebda Tu ara gareSe da Sida fro-
ntebze (osmal eTi, aj anyebul i osi separatistebi) mtrisadmi gamkl ave-
bas. aseT kritikul momentSi myofi qveynistvis, osebis mxridan
mowyobil i aj anyeba, qarTul i politikuri azris mesveurebma, qarTve-
l i erisaTvis zurgSi maxvil is Cacemad da qveynis Ral atad Seaf-
asa. amasTan dakavSirebiT gazeT `Cveni respubl ika-- Si gamoqveynebul
statiaSi `osTa Ral ati-- d.Ciqovani werda: `qarTvel ebis am gansacdel is
dros, is rac cxinval Si moxda, samudamo imeds gvikargavs osebisadmi
l oial ur damokidebul ebaze. osTa es samarcxvino aj anyeba, l axvarsa sce-
ms im Tbil gul s, romel ic maTTvis Zmad igul eboda... momxdari faqti osTa
Ral atia bol Sevizmis droSis qveS, romel sac Crdil oeTis daTvis suni
sdis.- am amonawerSi kargadaa danaxul i qarTvel ebis keTil ganwyobisadmi
osebis umaduroba da mtrul i damokidebul eba. meore mxriv, wina pl anzea
wamoweul i is moRal aturi qmedeba, romel ic Znel bedobis situaciaSi myof
qarTvel erTan mimarTebaSi osebma Caidines. mxedvel ibaSi maqvs, osmal eT-
Tan saomari situaciis pirobebSi myofi qarTvel ebisadmi, sabWoTa ruse-
Tis waqezebiTa da dafinansebiT osebis mier cxinval is raionSi mowyo-
bil i aj anyeba da zurgSi gal esil i maxvil is Cacema. es faqti imaze migva-
niSnebs, rom d.Ciqovans, osebis zemoaRni Snul i aj anyebis sul isCamdgmel ad
da xel mZRvanel ad `Crdil oeTis daTvi- anu bol Sevikuri ruseTi miaCnda.
es faqtori qonda mxedvel obaSi S.amirej ibs, rodesac werda: `cxinval i

SesaZl ebel ia saqarTvel osaTvis sabediswero frontad iqces. iq swar-
 moebs namdvil i omi yovel nairi iaraRis saSual ebiT da... es omi advil ad
 ar gaTavdeba, radganac osebis mxriv brZol a masiur xasiaTs Rebul obs.-⁸
 mdgomareobas isic arTul ebda, rom aj anyebul osebs, tyviamfrqvevebiTa
 da vaznebiT datvirTul i ori furgoni goridan saiduml od cxinval is
 raionSi gaugzavnes. aseT situaciaSi qarTul i politikuri elitis mes-
 veurebma ukidures radikal izms, aj anyebul osebtan mSvidobiani mol apar-
 akebis gza arCies. am sapsuxismgebl o saqmes cxinval is komisari giorgi
 maCabel i xel mZRvanel obda. dokumenturi masal iT dadasturebul ia, rom
 qarTul da osur mxares Soris Sexvedra cxinval Si Sedga. osebis del eg-
 acias skol is maswavl ebel i sanakoevi xel mZRvanel obda. g.maCabel ma ose-
 isagan iaraRis Cabareba da aj anyebis meTaurebis saqarTvel os xel isu-
 fl ebisadmi gadacema moiTxova, razedac sanakoevisgan sastiki uari miiRO.
 aRniSnul sakiTxTan dakavSirebiT gazeTi `Cveni respublika- rubrikaSi
 `cxinval is amebi- -werda: `cxinval Si ganl agebul i qarTul i Stabi darw-
 munda, rom osebi ufro dasazveravad iyvnen mosul ni, vinem mosal aparake-
 bl ad.- ramdenadac im etapze bol Sevikebi da osi separatistebi TavS gam-
 arj vebul ad Tvl idnen, maTi upasuxismgebl o moqmedebis Sedegad aRniSnu-
 l i samSvidobo procesis gagrZel ebis mcdel oba uSedegod damTavrda.
 1918 wl is 18 marts aj anyebul ma osebma cxinval i aiRes da gaZa-
 rcves. wamebiT mokl es giorgi maCabel i, sandro kecxovel i, petre
 efremize, kosta kaZievi, kote cercvaZe. 140 wiTel gvardiel i tyved
 aiyvanes. 19 marts osebis erovnul i sabWos saxel iT cxinval Si sa-
 bWoTa xel isufl eba gamoacxades da daba cxinval is komendatad
 kul umbekovi daniSnes.⁹

saqarTvel os teritoriul i mTli anobisaTvis TavSewirul tyvedCavard-
 nil daWril mebrZol ebs Tu ra formiT awamebda osi separatistebi, amis
 sail ustraci od gazeT `al ionSi- (# 24) d.- l i (daviT sul iaSvil i) fsev-
 donimiT dabeWdil i korespodencia_ `Sida qarTl Si (nawyvetebi revol u-
 cioneris dRiuridan marti. 1918 w.-) gamodgeba. `StabSi gavige_ wers d.-
 l i (daviT sul iaSvil i)_ veragul ad mokl ul i g.maCabel i, s.kecxovel i
 da sxva gvardiel ebi Camoasveneso. naxvis nebarTva aviRe da saava-
 dmyofosi, sadac isini esvenen_ sanaxavad wavedi. roca meubnebod-
 nen Tu ramdenad iyvnen isini dasaxicrebul ni ar mjeroda. megona
 Zal ian gadametebul ia meTqi. saavadmyofos ufrosi TviT wamomyva,
 dawvril ebiT amixsna Wril obani. saSinel i gul Semzaravi suraTi
 iyo. Cemda moul odnel ad, rac gamegona yvel aferi gamravl ebul i
 aRmoCnda. g.maCabel i tyviebiT dacxril ul i iyo muxl ebSi. mere
 xanj l iT daCxvl etil i mTel tanze, safeTql is zeviT xanj l is wveriT
 Tavis qal a TiTqmis agl ej il i... sxeul is aseTi umsgavso da vel u-
 ri damaxinj eba... CemTvis auxsnel ia, adamiani aseT gamxecebamdis
 rogor miva.

s.kecxovel s marjvena mxridan mucel Si tyvia hqonda moxvedril i,
 ramac mas sicocxl e mouspo al baT. Semdeg vel urebs Tavi moeWraT,
 magram kiserSi ki ara, mkerdidan hqonda akepil i, Tavis qal a damsx-
 vreul i. saxeze wwerebis meti aRaraferi Canda. ambobdnen mokvl is
 Semdeg sxeul i quCaze egdo da zed faitonebiT dadiodneno... gabrue-
 bul i, dabneul i gamovedi saavadmyofodan.-

Cems mier motanil i amonawerIT dadasturebul i osuri kanibal -
 izmis Semzaravi faqtebi, osi separatistebis namoqmedaris Tval sa-

Cinoebis erT- erT nimuSs warmoadgens da fantaziit, faSistur sa-
koncentracio banakebSi adamianta sawamebl ad da dasasaxiCrebl ad
gamoyenebul formebsac aRemateba. Tuki aRniSnul faqts miudgome-
li poziciidan civi gonebit SevafasebT, wina pl anze ori sakiTx-
wamoiweva: a)qarTvel Ta mimarT osi separatistebis gansakuTrebu-
li sizul vil i da b)Sida qarTI is qarTul i mosaxl eobis daSinebis
mcdel oba. `osuri ideis- xel SemSi el qarTvel obas, momxdari
faqtiT aSkarad mianiSnebdnen, rom winaaRmdegobis gawevis SemTx-
vevaSi, isini g.maCabel isa da s.kecxovel is beds gaiziarebdnen.

dokumenturi masal iT dadasturebul ia, rom droebiti warmate-
bit frTaSexmul ma osma separatistebma sof. java, daba cxinval i
da misi mimdebare teritoriebi goris mazras TviTneburad Camoac-
il es da misi mmarTvel oba osebis erovnul sabWos dauqvemdebares.
es nabiji, saqarTvel os erovnul i sabWosa da amierkavkasiis mTavro-
bisadmi oficial urad daumorcil ebl obas, omis gamocxadebis tol fas
qmedebas warmoadgenda. kavkasiis regionis garSemo Seqmnili mZime pol i-
tikuri situaciis Wril Si Tuki ganvixil avT osebis zemoaRniSnul i qmedeb-
iT mosal odnel Sedegebs, saqarTvel o axal i teritoriis dakargvis gar-
duval i safrTxis winaSe imyofeboda. meore mxriv, imis real uri saSiSroeb-
bac arsebobda, rom saqarTvel oSi mcxovrebxva eTnikur umciresobebis
osi separatistebis es droebiti warmateba, sabol oo gamarjvebad rom
aReqvaT da Sesazl o pretenziebi maTac iaraRis gamoyenebis gziT gamoeTq-
vaT. am SemTxvevaSi, saqarTvel o samoqal aqo omis cecxli is al Si gaexveo-
da. es saSiSroeba qarTul i pol itikuri azris mesveurebs kargad hqondaT
gacnobierebul i da gamosaval i gzis Ziebas cdil obdnen. umZimesi situaci-
is ganmuxtvisa da mosal odnel i katastrofisagan qveynis gadarCenis erT-
erT saSual ebad, osmal eTTan zavis dauyovnebl iv dadebas asaxel ebdnen.
am mxriv gansakuTrebul interest gazeT `al ionSi- dabeWdili werili
`cxinval is tragediis gamo- iqcevs. amierkavkasiaSi da gansakuTrebit
saqarTvel oSi arsebul i sinamdvil is warmocenis da misi anal izis fonze,
weril is avtori mkiTxvel i sazogadoebis sayuradRebod werda: `arasodes
ar yofila zavi imdenad aucil ebel i... amierkavkasiis interestebi-
saTvis, rogorc dRes. Sinauri mtrebi irazmebian da Cvens mTavrobas
ar Seswevs imdeni Zal a, rom orive frontze ibrZol os. amitom,
umj obesia Cvenma mTavrobam zavi Camoagdos yovel gvaris saSual ebit
osmal eTTan, rom mTel i Tavisi Zal Rone Sinauri frontis gamagre-
bas moandomos, Torem daRupva da damsxvrevaa... yvel a imedebisa ga-
rduval ia.¹⁰

osi separatistebis mier cxinval is raionSi mowyobil i aj anyeb-
is ganvrcobis mosal odnel saSiSroebaze, erovnul - demokratiu-
li partiis liderebic miuTitebdnen. isini principul ad ayenebd-
nen sakiTxs aj anyebis mTel i simkacrit dauyovnebl ivi Caqrobis
Sesaxeb. `cxinval is amebi_ werda S.amirejibi_ saSiSi moCvenebaa
saqarTvel os momavl isaTvis da saWiroa ara marto misi saswrafo
likvidacia, aramed simkacrec, rom igi ar ganmeordes.¹¹ am miznis
gansaxorciel ebl ad pirvel rigSi osmal eTTan kompromisze wasv-
la, saomari moqmedebebis SeCerebis miRweva da ukidures SemTxveva-
Si osmal eT- saqarTvel os frontidan qarTul i samxedro SenaerTebis
garkveul i nawil is cxinval is mimarTul ebit gadaj gufeba warmoad-
genda. am gadawyvetil ebis miReba mxol od im SemTxvevaSi iqneboda

mizanSewonil i, Tuki amierkavkasiis mTavrobas da saqarTvel os erovnul sabWos sarezervo samxedro Zal a ar aRmoaCndeboda. mdgomareoba uaRresad rTul i iyo Tundac im Tval sazrisiT, rom 20 martisaTvis goris mimdebare teritoriebs osebis 300 kaciani Seiar-aRebul i pol ki akontrol ebda, xol o poruÇik i.xarebovis meTauro-biT, cxinval ze Tavdamsxmel Ta raodenoba ramdenime aTas kacs Sead-genda. isic gasaTval iswinebel ia, rom aj anyebul i osebi damxmare Zal ebs Crdil o kavkasiidan iRebden. aRniSnul faqtebTan dakavSire-biT gazeT `saqarTvel oSi- 1918 wl is 20 marts gamoqveynebul korespoden-ciaSi `osebis Tavdasxma cxinval ze,- dabeWdil i iyo goris gardiis sardl is mier amierkavkasiis mTavrobisadmi gagzavnil i weril i. masSi das-abuTebul i iyo is mosal odnel i safrTxe, romel ic aj anyebul i osebi sagan goris mazras emuqreboda. `gori gansacdel Sia! _vkiTxul obT weril Si_ imedi maqvs j avSnosanisa, romel ic goris sadgurze dgas. gTxovT gamogza-vnoT razmi da haeropl ani. mTel i Zal a SeiaraReT da fexze daayeneT.-¹² ramdenadac mdgomareoba uaRresad rTul i iyo, amierkavkasiis mTavrobis 1918 wl is 19 martis gadawyvetil ebiT, Tbil isidan cxinval Si gen. al eqsan-dre koniaSvil isa da val iko j uRel is sardl obiT gardia gaigzavna. imavdroul ad, gorSi moxal iseTa mobil izaciac Catarda. im etapze al .ko-niaSvil isa da v.j uRel is daqvemdebarebaSi Tbil isis, goris, xaSurisa da qvemo Wal is gardiel Ta 800 kaciani Semadgenl oba_ mezarbazneTa da metyvi-amfrqveveTa qvedanayofis CaTvl iT imyofeboda. am Zal ebiT daupirispird-nen aj anyebul osebs. Tu rogor warimarTa brZol is bedi, amis Sesaxeb mniSvel ovan informacias v.j uRel is mier amierkavkasiis mTavrobisadmi 23 marts gagzavnil i depeSa iZl eva. am dokumentidan vgebul obT, rom 22 marts 3 saatze gardiis mier cxinval i da misi Semogareni osi aj anyebu-l ebisgan gauntavisufl ebiaT, xol o gaqceul osebs j avis xeobisaTvis Se-ufarebiaT Tavi. am operaciis mimdinareobasTan dakavSirebiT, imave depeSa-Si vkiTxul obT: `22 marts 3 saatze wiTel ma gardiam cxinval i da misi midamoebi xel Si Caigdo. qal aqSi Sesvl amde mteri gaiqca, igi j avis xe-obasa da vanaTis raionSi iyris Tavs. mTel i dRe sami sofl is aRebas da meamboxeTagan gawmendas movandomeT. 6 versis siganis masStabiT utevda aj anyebul ebs gardiel ebi artil eriasTan erTad. **Cveni artil eria gaur-boda sofl ebis dabombvas da esroda sofl idan gamosul mowi-naaRmdegeebis.** 22 marts wiTel ma gardiam farTomasStabiani Seteva ga-naxorciel a da strategiul i simaRl eebi daikava.-¹³ am dokumentidan gansa-kuTrebul i yuradReba erT metad mniSvel ovan ni uanss unda mi eqces. mxedve-l obaSi maqvs mowinaaRmdegis strategiul punqtebze Setevis dros qarTve-l i gardiel ebis mxridan osuri sofl ebis mSvidobiani mosaxl eobis ardazi-anebis maqsimal uri mcdel oba da aj anyebul i SeiaraRebul i osebisadmi an-gariSsworeba mxol od maSin, roca isini sofl ebs **tovebden. rac Seexe-ba damnaSave osebs, v.j uRel i garkveviT miuTitebda:** `damnaSaveebis Seubral ebl ad vsj idiT.- magram, es srul ebiTac ar niSnavs, rom qarTul politikur speqtrs osebis winaswargamiznul i dasj a hqonda Cafiqrebul i. Tuki amierkavkasiis mTavrobam da saqarTvel os ero-vnul ma sabWom aj anyebul osebTan mimarTebaSi radikal uri nabi-ji gadadga, igi osi separatistebis mxridan Ral atis tol fasi qme-debiT iyo ganpirobepul i da ara udanaSaul o osuri mosaxl eobi-sadmi angariSsworebiT. amas TviT v.j uRel is depeSac adasturebs, sadac garkveviTaa miTitebul i, rom `xval miviRebT yovel zomebs...

didi sifrTxil iT da taqtikiT, raTa ar gavaRrmavoT is ufskrul i, romel ic gaTxril ia Cvensa da adgil obriv bnel masas Soris. momxdari ambebi imdenad rTul i da tragikul ia, rom sofl ebidan axal gazrdebi gaiqnen, ise rom zog sofl ebSi aravin darCa... radac unda dagvij des unda aRvadginoT bunebrivi da Cveul ebrivi damokidebul eba mcxovrebl ebTan da kvl av movipovoT maTi ndoba.¹⁴

rogorc samxedro, aseve qarTul i pol itikuri azris mesveurebs kargad esmodaT, rom am mimarTul ebiT muSaobis warmarTvis mizniT, pirvel i rigis amocanas cxinval isa da j avis mimdebare teritoriebze wesrigis damyareba warmoadgenda. osebis aj anyebis Caqrobis Semdeg Tuki anarqiis precedentebi minimumamde davida, igi cxinval Si mdgomi xaSuris gvardiisa da germanel Ta saj ariso SenaerTebis damsaxureba iyo. osebi maTSi damTrgunvel Zal as xedavda da `CaTrevas- Cayol as amj obinebda. es faqtori qonda mxedvel obaSi saqarTvel os Sinagan saqmeTa saministros rwmunebul s m.kl imiaSvil s, roca saministrosadmi gagzavnil moxsenebaSi, cxinval Si, j avasa da yornisSi Seiararebul i samxedro Zal is garkveul i drois ganmavl obaSi darCenis sakiTxs rom ayenebda. Tuki es SeuZl ebel i aRmoCndebioda, misive TqmiT, uki dures SemTxvevaSi mil iciis Semadgenl oba 100 kaciT unda gaezardaT. am amocanis Sestrul ebis erT- erT pirobad anarqiasTan brZol is motivaci iT igi gansazRvrul i raodenobis Tanxis droul ad gamoyofas moiTxovda.¹⁵ amis aucil ebl oba imiTac iyo ganpirobebul i, rom osebis aj anyebis damarcxebis miuxedavad, osi separatistebisgan anarqiis axal i kerebis gaRvivebis al baTobis saSiSroeba real obas warmoadgenda. miTumetes, osebis intel igenciis erTi nawil i_ nj ioevis xel mZRvanel obiT, osebi farul ad qarTvel Ta sawinaaRmdego agitacias eweoda. meore mxriv, rusetis federaciaSi gaxiznul i qarTvel i bol Sevikebi ar isvenebden da saqarTvel oSi osebis meSveobiT axal i destabilizaciis keris Seqmnas maqsimal urad cdil obden. amis dadasturebas f.maxaraZisa da s.qavTaraZis xel mZRvanel obiT kavkavSi SemuSavebul i saCxeris raionis osebis aj anyebis gegma warmoadgens. am dokumentis mixedvit, aj anyebul ebs pirvel rigSi saCxere, WiaTura da zestafoni unda aeRoT. quTaisis asaRebad Catarebul sabrZol o operaciebSi maT l eCxumis, raWisa da samegrel os aj anyebul i mosaxl eoba gauwevda daxmarebas. imavdroul ad, aj anyebebi daiwyeboda duSeTSi, romel sac cxinval - j avis osoba SeuerTdeboda.¹⁶ es faqti imis dadasturebel ia, rom saqarTvel os damoukidebel i saxel mwifos dasangrevad, qarTvel i bol Sevikebi os separatistebTan erTad saqarTvel oSi farTomasStabiani samoqal aqo omis gasaCaRebl ad emzadebodnen. amasTan dakavSirebiT gazeTi `saqarTvel os republ ika- rubrikaSi `presis mimoxil va_ xazgasmiT werda: `qarTvel bol SevikTa Segul ianebam swored isini (osebi S.v.) aaj anya saqarTvel os demokratiul i mTavrobis winaaRmdeg, visTvisac es mTavroba zrnavda, visTvisac igi xmal s iqnevda.¹⁷ bol SevikebTan erTad am saqmeSi l omis wil i osebis erovnul sabWosac edo. amis Sesaxeb gazeTi `sal i kl de- mkiTxvel sazogadoebas auwyebda: `osebi aRiareben, rom direktivebi osebis erovnul i sabWos mier hqondaT micemul i.¹⁸ analogiuri Tval sazrisi saqarTvel os erovnul i sabWos 1918 wl is 23 ivl isis sxdomaze ufro dasabuTebul i formiT erovnul - demokratiul i partiis erT- erTma l iderma gr.veSapel ma gamoTqva. misi mtkicebiT, saCxeris raionis osebis aj anyebis sul isCamdgmel i sof. Wal is xeobis osoba iyo,

romel sac sxva xeobebis osebic uWerdnen mxars. rac Seexeba aj anyebul Ta samxedro operaciebs, imave gr.veSapel is mtkicebiT, am saqmes osebis erovnul i sabWos wevrebi xel mZRvanel obdnen. maTive iniciativiT moewyo aj anyebis Stabi sof. Wal aSi.¹⁹ es imas niSnavs, rom saCxeris osebis 1918 wl is ivnisis aj anyeba qarTvel i bol Sevikebisa da osebis erovnul i sabWos erToblivi SemoqmedebiTi muSaobis nayofs warmoadgenda. misi xel mZRvanel i_erovnebiT osi isak xarebovi iyo.²⁰

saCxeris raionis sof. Wal aSi dabanakebul i aj anyebis meTaurTa Stabi da misi xel mZRvanel i i.xarebovi_ zemoaRniSnul i gegmis mixedviT moqmedebda. rogorc gazeTi `erToba- werda, aj anyebul Ta pirvel i rigis amocanas saCxerisa da WiaTuris aReba warmoadgenda. samTavrobo Zal ebis winsvl is Seferxebis mizniT, rkinigza unda aeyaraT da amis Semdeg quTaisze gael a-SqraT. imave gazeTis monacemebiT, im etapze aj anyebul Ta raodenoba 5000 kacs aRwevda. aqedan kargad SeiaraRebul i mxol od 1500 kaci iyo. danarCenebs `iaraRi ar gaaCndaT da ketebiT iyvnen aRWurvil ni.²¹ dokumenturi masal ebiT dasturdeba, rom am `danarCeni- xel ketebiT SeiaraRebul i osebis funqcias adgil obrivi mosaxl eobis Zarcva warmoadgenda. es imas ni-Snavs, rom 1500 SeiaraRebul oss, monRol ur stil Si 3500 mZarcvel i moyveboda. osebis am aj anyebaSi, nasal daTari qarTvel i gl exebis mcire nawil ic monawil eobda. aRniSnul faqtTan dakavSirebiT, saarqivo masal is Seswavl is safuZvel ze gairkva: 1)saCxeris raionis osebis aj anyebaSi ZiriTadad is qarTvel i gl exebi monawil eobda, romel Ta sacxovrisi, osuri sofl ebis dasaxl ebaSi iyo `CaWedil i.- imave saarqivo masal is mixedviT, maT saxl ebs osi mZarcvel ebi mxol od im motiviT ar Seexo, rom isini aj anyebul i osebis gverdiT idgnen; 2)aj anyebaSi monawil e qarTvel i gl exebis garkveul i nawil i, bol Sevikuri propagandis zemoqmedebis qveS imyofeboda. miuxedavad amisa, qarTvel Ta raodenoba imdenad umniSvnel o iyo, rom maT yofnas, an aryofnas, aj anyebis msvl el obaze dadebiTi an uaryofiti zemoqmedebis moxda ar SeeZl o. rac Seexeba osebis mxridan sxvisi qonebis xel Si Cagdebisadmi swrafvas, igi imdenad Zl ieri iyo, rom saCxeris garSemoarsebul i sofl ebis darbevis Semdeg, 26 ivniss Seteva qal aq saCxereze ganaxorciel es da 27 ivniss qal aqi aiRes. imave dResve, samTavrobo Zal ebma aj anyebul Ta winaarmdeg 15 versis siganis radiusiT Seteva daiwyo. Yes brZol ebi mTel i erTi Tvis ganmavl obaSi mimdinareobda. exeboda ra aRniSnul sakiTxs, erovnul i sabWos 1918 wl is 23 ivl isis sxdomaze gr.veSapel i xazgasmiT ambobda: `saCxeris ambavs aqvs gansakuTrebul i saxe. ukve erTi Tvea arsebobs es fronti da swarmoebs namdvil i omi Tanamedrove samxedro saSual ebebiT. erTi Tvea rac zaral deba sofl ebi. sofl el ebs saSual eba ara aqvT mosavl is aRebisa.- marTalia, es sayveduri xel isufl ebis misamarTiT iyo gakeTebul i, magram misi avtori yuradRebis miRma tovebda umniSvnel ovanes faqtorebs: a)aRniSnul i aj anyeba mar to saCxeris raionis osebis aj anyebas ar warmoadgenda, radgan masSi aqtiurad iyo Cabmul i kudaros, yemul Tis, wonas, yornisisa da okamis sazoga-doebebis osi mosaxl eoba;²² b)saCxeris raionis osebis aj anyebis paral el urad osebis aj anyeba daiwyo duSeTis mazraSi. 19 ivniss aj anyebul ebma duSeTi aiRes, xol o 26 ivniss duSeTsi sabWoTa xel isufl eba gamoacxades.²³ aRniSnul i faqtebi imis damadasturebel ia, rom saqarTvel os xel isufl ebas, saCxeris da duSeTis mazrebis erTdroul ad aj anyebul i osebis winaarmdeg uxdeboda brZol a. es imas niSnavs, rom saqarTvel os SeiaraRebul i Zal ebi im etapze

or frontze iyo gadanawil ebul i. aj anyebul i saCxerel i osebis winaaRmdeg sabrZol o operaciebis erTi TviT gaWianuraba, swored am faqtorma ganapiroba. marTal ia, Zal ebis maqsimal uri mobil izaciis safuZvel ze osebis zemoaRniSnul i aj anyebebi damarcxebul i iqna, magram es gamarjveba saqarTvel os xazinas 12 milioni manetis safasurad dauj da. rac Seexeba saCxeris raionis sofl ebisadmi aj anyebul i osebis mxridan miyenebul zaral s erT mil iardze mets Seadgenda.²⁴

osebis aj anyebebis sal ikvidacio RonisZiebebSi saqarTvel os xel isufl ebis saTanado uweyebma SesaSuri energia da organizeba gamoavl ina. amas TviT erovnul - demokratiul i partiis erT- erTi lideri da saqarTvel os mTavrobis mudmivi oponenti gr.veSapel ic aRiarebda. `esodeni energia_ werda igi_ rom gamoeCina xal xsa da mTavrobas sagareo frontze, rogorc icens saSinao frontze, iqnebar dagvekarga gamagrebul i cixeebi.²⁵ marTal ia, `saSinao frontze- saxel isufl ebo Stoebis mier gatarebul i RonisZiebebiT gr.veSapel i kmayofil ebas gamoTqvamda, magram xel isufl ebas osmal eTTan wagebul i omisaTvis sayvedurobda. imavdroul ad igi principul i xasiaTis SekiTxvas aZl evda saqarTvel os mTavrobis warmomadgenl ebs; momaval Si osTa aj anyebebis Tavidan acil ebis mizniT Tu ra konkretul i RonisZiebebis gatarebas apirebdnen. es SekiTxva SemTxveviT ar iyo ganpiro-bebul i. igi saqarTvel oSi im etapze momxdari politikuri procesebidan gamomdinareobda. mxedvel obaSi maqvs cxinval is raionis osebis aj anyebidan (1918 wl is marti) sam TveSi saCxeris raionis osebis aj anyebis (1918 wl is ivnisi) faqtebi. rogorc cans, xel isufl ebis mxridan Sida qarTl is damnaSave osebisadmi gatarebul i sadamsjel o RonisZiebebi, gr.veSapel s arasakmarisad miacnda. am SemTxvevaSi misi pretenzia savsebiT kanonzomieri iyo, radgan cxinval is raionis aj anyebis momwyobi osebi, maSindel xel isufl ebas sanimuSodar dausj ia. amas TviT gasabWoebul i saqarTvel os Sinagan saqmeTa saxal xo komisariatTan arsebul i sagangebo komisiis mier 1921 wel s momzadebul i moxsenebis daskvniTi nawil i adasturebs. `osebs_ vkiTxul obT dokumentSi_ 1918 wl is pirvel i aj anyeba da menSevikebis adgil obrivi liderების- kecxovel is da macabel is sikvdil ic ki apaties.²⁶ damnaSave osebisadmi maSindel i xel isufl ebis loial uri damokidebul ebis gaTval iswinebidan gamomdinare, zemoaRniSnul i SekiTxvac swored am konteqstSi iyo dasmul i. amis safuZvel s erovnul i sabWos 1918 wl is 23 ivl isis sxdomaze gr.veSapel is mier warmoTqmul i si tyvis mkacri toni izl eva. misi samarTliani mtkicebiT, osebTan mimarTebaSi RonisZiebaTa iseTi forma unda gaetarebinaT, rom osebs saqarTvel os mTavroba ecno da Seqmnil iyo myari garantia, raTa erT kviraSi osebi isevar aj anyebul iyvnen.²⁷ imavdroul ad igi mTel i principul obiT osebis erovnul i sabWos wevrebisa da osebis aj anyebis meTaurebis pasuxisgebaSi micemas moiTxovda. `mTavrobis xmal i_ ambobda gr.veSapel i_ unda iyos samarTliani, magram imave dros mkveTri da daundobel i. duSetis mazridan Cveni jardi da gvardia goris mazraSi unda gadavides da qveynis moRal ateebs l agami... amosdos.²⁸ osebis mier qarTvel i erisa da qarTul i saxel mwifos winaSe 1918 wel s Cadenil i orgzis danaSaul is anal izidan gamomdinare, gazeti `saqarTvel o- mowinave weril Si- `samxreT oseTi,~ xel isufl ebisgan damnaSave osebis sanimuSod dasj as moiTxovda. igi mTavrobis misamarTIT oficial urad acxadebda: `mTavroba da mTel i partia_ vkiTxul obT statiaSi_... `samxreT oseTis- muxanaTobis Seuryevel i faqtis winaSe dganan...

cocxal i damnaSaveni dausj el i ar unda datovon, Torem qarTvel i xal xis gul iswyroma Tavis kanonier gamosaval s bol os da bol os mainc miagnebs.- damnaSave osebis dasj is aseTi radikal uri formiT moTxovna da qarTvel i xal xis mosal odnel i gul iswyromis wina pl anze wamoweva im mware gamocdil ebas emyareboda, romelic qarTul ma pol itikurma el itam cxinval isa da saCxeris raionebis osuri aj anyebis Sedegad miRo. momxdari faqtis Sedegebidan da misi obieqturi anal izidan gamomdinare, qarTul i pol itikuri azris mesaWeTa umravl esobis mxridan osi separatistebisadmi umkacresi sadamsjel o RonisZiebebis gatarebis dRis wesrigSi dayeneba kanonzomieri iyo. separatizms seniT Sepyrobil i aj anyebis meTauri osebi darwmunebul ni iyvnen, rom saqarTvel os mTavroba maT winaaRmdeg mxol od umkacresi sityvieri gafrTxil ebiT Semoifargl eboda. damnaSave osebis dausj el obis Sesaxeb, osebsi arsebul i am `mitisoficial ur gaqarwyl ebas, qveyanaSi Seqmnil i rTul i pol itikuri situacia moiTxovda. am mxriv, gansakuTrebul i mniSvnel oba mmarTvel i pol itikuri partiis oficial uri organos_ gazeT `erTobis- pozicias eniWeboda. Tu ramdenad obieqturad afasebda samTavrobo gazeTi osebis danaSaul ebriv qmedebes, amis sail ustraci od gazeT `erTobaSi- dabeWdil i statia `os intel igentTa sayuradRebod- gamodgeba. masSi principul ad iyo dasmul i sakiTxi, damnaSave osebis sastikad dasj is Sesaxeb. imave statiis avtoris azrit, damnaSaveTa Soris `pirvel adgil s osi nacional istebi daiWeren. isini amRvreven wyal s... sTesaven Sursa da mtrobas.-²⁹ os separatistebTan mimarTebaSi kidev ufro radikal uri iyo imave gazeT-Si dabeWdil i statia `omi da aj anyeba.- masSi damnaSaveTa mimarT umkacresi represiebis moTxovnis sakiTxi iyo dasmul i. `represiebi_ vkiTxul obT weril Si_ unda daatydes namdvil damnaSaveebes, ramdenadac SesaZl ebel ia, yovel i saSual ebiT igi unda avasoroT udanaSaul o xal xs ...gul Cvil oba da sirbil e Savrazmel obasa da Ral atTan brZol aSi SeuZl ebel ia. motyuebul xal xs unda Cagoneba. momtyuebel s da Semcdenel s usastikesad dasj a.- am amonaweridan kargad Cans, rom qarTul i pol itikuri azris mesveurebi zogadad osebis dasj aze ki ar miuTitebdnen, aramed, aqcentirebas mxol od os separatistebze, damnaSaveebze akeTebdnen. imavdroul ad xel isufl ebis warmomadgenl ebs afrTxil ebdnen, rom aRniSnul sakiTxs mTel i pasuxismgebl obiT mokidebodnen, damnaSave da udanaSaul o erTmaneTisagan maqsimal urad gaemij naT. `cveni mTavroba_ werda gazeTi `al ioni-_ val debul ia Tval ebi kargad gaaxil os, dainaxos vin aris demokratiis da revol uciis moyvare, vin mteri da vin aris iuda iskariotel i, vin gul wrfel i megobari.- am principis dacvas maSindel i qarTul i pol itikuri el ita osebtan mimarTebaSi maqsimal urad cdil obda. damnaSaveebisadmi daundobl oba da simkacre, axl adSeqmnil i demokratiul i qveynis gadarCenis aucil ebl obiT iyo ganpirobepul i. miTumetes, os separatistebis qarTul i saxel mwifos sizul vil is bacil a imdenad mZl avrad hqondaT sisxl xorceul ad gamj dari, rom xel sayrel i situaciis SeqmnisTanave qarTul i saxel mwifos wasaqcevad Tavsar dazogavdnen. aRniSnul is gaTval iswinebidan gamomdinare, gr.veSapel i erovnul i sabWos 1918 wl is 23 ivl isis sxdomaze saqarTvel os mTavrobis misamarTIT acxadebda: `dauyovnebl iv daimorCil eT osTa mier dasaxl ebul i mTel i xeobebl i, mospet maTi mTavari Stabi j avaSi...

aiZul eT icnon saqarTvel os saxel mwifo da mTavroba,... aanazRauron is zarali, rac... saCxeris mcxovrebt miayenes.-

rogorc vxedavT, qarTul i saxel mwifos interesebi dan gamomdinare gr.ve. Sapeli or ZiriTad principul sakiTxs ayenebda: 1) xel isufl ebis mxridan osebis damorcil ebis aucil ebl obas da 2) qarTul i mosaxl eobisadmi osebis mier miyenebul i zarali s_ osebis xarj ze anazRaurebis garantiabis Seqmnas. sakiTxis aseTi formiT dasmis miuxedavad, igi ar asaxel ebda im meqanizms, roml is saSual ebiTac misi moTxovnebis Sesrul eba gaxdeboda Sesazl ebeli.

qarTul i politikuri azris mesveurTa mxridan osebisadmi umkacresi damokidebul ebis praqtikul ad gatarebis moTxovna im gaugonar Ral ats efuzneboda, romelic Sida qarTl is mTis osebma qveynis Znel bedobis Jams qarTvel i eris winaSe Caidines. amis Sesaxeb gazeTi `saxal xo saqme- mowinave statiaSi `kmaral- xazgasmit werda: osebi `muxanaTurad Ral atoben saqarTvel os, karebs uReben gareSe Zal as da masTan SeerTebul ad cdi- l oben sasikvdil od guli gaupos saqarTvel os.- osebis namoqmedaris Se- fasebidan gamomdinare, gazeTi `kl de-, saqarTvel os osebs gamcensa da gaiZveras uwodebda da iqve dasZenda; `osebs organul Cveul e- bad dasCemebiat Sinauri Tavdasxmebis mowyoba maSin, roca respub- l ika Tavisi jarebit mtrebTan yofna- aryofnis brZol as awar- moebs. saqarTvel os damoukidebl obis damxobis mosurne mters win osi egebeba da urebs karebs.- amave sakiTxs Seexo Jurnal `mxedar- Si- dabeWdili sabul azis statia `osebis amoZraveba.- ajamebda ra saqarTvel osTan mimarTebaSi 1917- 1919 wl ebSi osebis namoqmedars, sabul aze xazgasmit werda: `amierkavkasiis damoukidebl obis gamocx- adebis dros, roca osmal eTi Semoesia saqarTvel os, azerbaij anma da somxeTma pil atesavit xeli daibanis da osmal eTis pirdaRebu- li veSapis win saqarTvel o martodmarto darCa, osebma daxmarebis nacvl ad iaraRiT zurgidan brZola dagviwyes... roca bol Sevikuri ruseTi Cveni sazRvrebis gadmol axvas cdil obda... osebma aj anye- bebi mogviwyes aRmosavl eT da dasavl eT saqarTvel oSi. moaxl ovde- boda Tu ara ruseTis reaQionuri Zal ebi, osebic wamoyofdnen Tavs da saqarTvel os dasamxobad imat mxareze dgebodnen.³⁰

aRniSnuli amonaweris mixedvit, irkveva, rom osebis namoqmedaris safuzvliani anal izidan gamomdinare, im periodis qarTul i poli- tikuri azrovnebis warmomadgenl ebi osebs moRal atisa da gaiZve- ras konteqstSi ganixil avda. es arc aris gasakviri, radgan saqarTve- l os pirveli respublikis periodSi Sida qarTl is osebis umete- sobam, qarTvel erTan mimarTebaSi istoriis samarcxvino furceli dawera. ragind ucnauradac ar unda mogveCvenos, Sida qarTl is osebma gal esili maxvili zurgSi im ers Casca, romel ma ermac ta- barukad Semoxiznul i osoba Tavisi droze Seifara, qarTul i miwis baraqit sargebl obis ufl eba da osuri eTnosis gadarCenis Sesazl ebl oba misca. madlierebis sanacvl od, qarTvel ers da qarTul saxel mwifos osebma gaugonari Ral atit upasuxes.

* * *

saqarTvel oSi im etapze arsebul i mZime politikuri situaciidan gamo- mdinare, saqarTvel os xel isufl ebis pirveli rigis amocanas osuri sepa- ratizmis moTokva da TviT osebis qveynis interesebis Sesatyvis CarCoSi

moqceva warmoadgenda. am uaRresad rTul i probl emis gadawyvetis erT_ert pirobad qarTul i politikuri azris Tval saCino warmomadgenel i iv.gomarTel i Sida qarTl is teritoriaze mcxovrebi osuri mosaxl eobisadmi iaraRis dauyovnebl ivi CamorTmevis sakiTxs ayenebda. anal ogiuri Tval sazrisi iyo gamoTqmul i gazeT `erTobaSi- dabeWdil statiaSi `os intel igentTa sayuradRebod.- `sofl ebSi gafantul jariskacebs _werda gazeTi _dauyovnebl iv unda CamoerTvas iaraRi. datyvevebul ni da dasj il ni unda iqnes is osi nacional istebi, roml ebic saqmes arTul eben. aseTi zomebis miReba saWiroa rogorc osebis ise qarTvel ebis sofl ebSi.-³¹

marTalia, sakiTxi sworad iyo dasmul i da misi ganxorciel eba saqarTvel oSi Seqmnil urTul es politikur situacias srul ad Seesabameboda, magram yuradRebis miRma iyo datovebul i umniSvnel ovanesi_ SeiaraRebul i osebisadmi iaraRis CamorTmevis meqanizmi. kerZod, dasaxul i mi znis ganxorciel eba ra formebiTa da saSual ebebiT gaxdeboda Sesazl ebel i. arsebul i probl emis mogvareba iseTi sifrTxil iTa da windaxedul ebiT unda momxdariyo, rom axal i dapirispirebis sababad ar qceul iyo. miTumetes, rogorc gazeTi `erToba- werda, osebis umravl esobas iaraRi sakuTari ful iT hqonda SeZenil i. angariSgasawevia is faqtic, rom aRniSnul sakiTxiTan dakavSirebiT, osebis Verovnul ma yril obam (1918 wl is 5 agvisto) principul i xasiaTis Sesatyvisi rezolucia ver miiRo. osebis erovnul sabWos man mxol od zogadi saxis daval eba misca. am dokumentis mixedvit, sando pirebis meSveobiT iaraRi ara osi mosaxl eobisagan, aramed, mxol od osi yaCaRebisgan unda amoeRoT.³² saarqivo da presis masal ebiT dasturdeba, rom SeiaraRebul i osebi TviTneburad dawrwodnen qarTul sofl ebSi da mSvidobiani mosaxl eobis sawinaaRmdegod iaraRs survil isamebr iyenebdnen. am SemTxvevaSi erTaderT gamosaval s osebisadmi iaraRis masobrivad CamorTmeva warmoadgenda. Tuki es procesi ganxorciel deboda, regionSi anarqis aRmocenebis ZiriTadi safuZvel i aRmoi f xvreboda da xel isufl ebas agrarul sferoSi reformebis gatarebis Sesazl ebl oba mi ecemoda. Seqmnil pirobebSi gadamwyveti sityva osuri intel igenciis warmomadgenl ebsa da osebis erovnul sabWos unda eTqva. miTumetes, im etapze maTi gavl ena osebi sakmaod didi iyo. am mxriv, maT garkveul i saxis gamocda el odaT im Tval sazrisiT, rom es procesi srul ad warmoaCenda qarTul saxel mwifosTan mimarTebaSi TiToeul i maTganis damokidebul ebas. am sakiTxs maSindel i qarTul i politikuri azris warmomadgenl ebi gansakuTrebul datvirTvas aZl evdnen. samwuxarod, osurma intel igenciam da osebis erovnul ma sabWom, osebisTvis iaraRis masobrivad CamorTmevasTan mimarTebaSi saqarTvel os xel isufl ebis sawinaaRmdego pozicia daiWira. aRniSnul i faqti qarTul i politikuri azris warmomadgenel Ta msjel obis erT-erTi sagani gaxda. am mxriv gansakuTrebul yuradRebas gazeT `erTobaSi- v.q.- s fsevdonimiT dabeWdil i statia `oseTSi- iqcevs. misi avtori Sida qarTl Si warmoqmnili anarqis erT-erT ZiriTad mizezad osuri mosaxl eobis SeiaraRebas asaxel ebda da osebis ganiaraRebis Sesaxeb mTavrobis mier miRebul gadawyvetil ebas kanonzomierad mi iCnevda. imavdroul ad, mkiTxvel i sazogadoebis yuradRebas aRniSnul i RonisZiebisadmi osebis damokidebul ebaze miapyrobda. misi mtkicebiT; 1)osi gl exebi da intel igencia osebisadmi iaraRis CamorTmevis winaaRmdegi iyvnen, radgan am aqts damamcirebl ad da politikur mtrobad aRiqvamdnen; 2)SeiaraRebul osebs mfarvel obas osuri intel igenciisa da osebis erovnul i sabWos warmomadgenl ebi uwevdnen. isini ganiaraRebis procesis CatarებაSi mTavrobas

maqsimal urad uSl idnen xel s. amis damadasturebl ad weril is avtors cxinval is raionis komisar is bocvaZisa da mTis osebis komisar is l .cxovrebovis dapirispirebis faqti moyavda. rac Seexeba osebis erovnul sabWos, garegnul i etiketis dacvis forme bis gamoyenebi T mxari l .cxovrebovs dauWira. amis damadasturebl ad osebis erovnul i sabWos Tavmj domaris a.Tibil ovis mier 1918 wl is 22 agvistos ricxviT daTariRebul i weril i gamodgeba. `samxreT oseTis erovnul i sabWo gTxovT_ vkiTxul obT dokumentSi_ sxvadasxva pirebisadmi CamorTmeul i iaraRi gadasceT mTis oseTis raionis komisar s poruCi k l eonide cxovrebovs.- es imas niSnavda, rom mTavrobis mier komisrad daniSnul bocvaZes, osebis aTvis CamorTmeul i iaraRi, SeiaraRebul i osebis mfarvel i piri sadmi unda gadaeca, maSin rodesac, saqarTvel os xel isufl eba, osebis ganiaraRebiT da regionSi wesrigis damyarebiT iyo dai nteresebul i. aRni Snul is gaTval iswinebi dan gamomdi nare, stati is avtori, a.Tibil ovis dasaxel ebul weril Tan mimarTebaSi savsebiT kanonzomierad svamda SekiTxvas; `ras niSnavs es weril i? osebis erovnul sabWos aqvs Tu ara ufl eba administraciul i funqciebiT isargebl os Cveni komisar e bis winaaRmdeg? Cven vfiqrobT rom ara! Tu osebis erovnul sabWos surs mSvidobis damyareba... igi unda daexmaros Cvens komisar e bis iaraRis amoRebaSi da ar gaauqmos misi gankargul ebani. amas moiTxovs saerTo interesebi, amasve moiTxovs TviT osebis interesebi-

samwuxarod, osuri intel igencia da osebis erovnul i sabWos wevrebi ase ar fiqrobden. piriqit, maT mizans osuri mosaxl eobis maqsimal uri SeiaraReba warmoadgenda. amisTvis mosaxl eobaze zewol is yovel gvari saxis meqanizms iyenebdnen. aRni Snul sakiTxTan dakavSirebiT g.l asxiSvil i statiaSi `bol o unda moeRos- garkveviT werda: `ara erTsa da or oss uTqvas, rom yvel a mamakaci daval ebul ia SeiZinos iaraRi da vinc Tavisi nebiT ar SeiZens, imas Zal iT gauyidi an Zroxas, an xars da SeaZeni neben i araRs.⁻³³ es xdeboda farul ad, saqarTvel os xel isufl e bis zurgsukan. ramdenadac saqarTvel os respubl iki s Sinagan saqmeTa samini strom osebis ganiaraRebaTan mimarTebaSi ukompromiso brZol a daiwyo, iaraRis dakargvis SiSiT, osebs igi Crdil o kavkasiaSi gasayid ad gahqondaT. am faqtTan dakavSirebiT, Sinagan saqmeTa samini stros rwmunebul i m.kl imiaSvil i, samini strosadmi ggzavnil 15 seqtembrit daTariRebul moxsenebaSi werda: `osebis yvel a softl idan daiwyo iaraRis gatana Crdil o kavkasiaSi da iq gayidva. am movl enasTan brZol a axl andel pirobebSi SeuZl ebel ia da adgil obrivi administraci ac am brZol as ar hki debs xel s.- am faqtis siswores saqarTvel os mTavrobis warmomadgenl ebTan_ m.kl imiaSvil Tan da i.gabuniasTan Sexvedraze gamarTul saubarSi osebis erovnul i sabWos Tavmj domare a.Tibil ovi da misi moadgil e eq.karsanovic adasturebda.

osebis adgil obrivi xel isufl e bis mxridan, arsebul i probl emisadmi gul gril i damokidebul e bis miuxedavad, Si da qarTl is mTis osuri mosaxl eobis ganiaraRebis sakiTxTan mimarTebaSi gadamwyveti mniSvel oba osebis erovnul i sabWos pozici is oficial ur dadasturebas eniWeboda. am mxriv, saqarTvel os xel isufl e bam warmatebiT imuSava. amis udao Sedegs osebis erovnul i sabWos 1918 wl is 18 seqtembris pirvel i sesi is dadgenil eba warmoadgens. masSi xazgasmiT iyo miTiTebul i: `dauyovnebl iv aeyaros `oseTsi- yvel as iaraRi da am saqmeSi sabWom daxmareba gauwios mTavrobas.- sayuradReboa is faqti, rom am sakiTxTan mimarTebaSi imave sesi is sxdomam iaraRis CamorTmevis Sesaxeb Sesabamisi instruqci ac daamtki ca. marTal ia, es dokumenti mosaxl eobi sgan iaraRis CamorTmevas erovnebis ganurCevl ad

iTval iswinebda, magram im etapze qarTvel ebis ganiaraReba osebis erovnu-
 l i sabWosa da poručik xarebovis mier dasrul ebul i iyo. probl emas
 mxol od osebi qmnidnen. am fonze, aRniSnul i dadgenil eba wingadadgmul i
 nabij i iyo im Tval sazrisiT, rom osuri erovnul i sabWos sesi is zemoaRniS-
 nul i gadawyvetil eba, Sinagan saqmeTa saministros muSakebs, osebis ganiar-
 aRebaSi oficial ur mxardaWeras ucxadebda. meore mxriv, am dokuments
 osur mosaxl eobaze garkveul i ideol ogiuri zemoqmedebis moxda mx-
 ol od im SemTxvevaSi SeeZl o, Tuki xel isufli ebis warmomadgenl ebTan erTad,
 osebis ganiaraRebas, osebis erovnul i sabWo Tavisi saqmianobis erT- erT
 prioritetad aRiarebda da pragmatul i xasiaTis Sesabamis RonisZiebas
 gaatarebda. osebis erovnul i sabWos, ramdenadac am mimarTul ebiT qmediTi
 nabij i ar gadaudgams, qarTul i pol itikuri azris warmomadgenel Ta mxri-
 dan misadmi undobl oba gansakuTrebiT maRal i iyo. amis dadasturebas
 gazeT `erTobaSi- kaxel is (kote andronikaSvil i) fsevdonimiT gamoqvey-
 nebul i statia `saqarTvel o da misi bedi aj anyebul adgil ebSi- warmoad-
 gens. avtoris mtkicebiT, dauSvebel i iyo aj anyebis adgil ebSi osi mil ici-
 is muSakebisadmi da adgil obrivi osi gl exebisadmi iaraRis micema an
 datoveba, radgan osebis mier saqarTvel os mTavrobisadmi mxardaWeris
 Sesaxeb gacemul i piroba ndobas ar imsaxurebda. `im gancxadebas, vkiTx-
 ul obT weril Si_ romel sac gamoTqvamen gl exebi, rom... motyuvdnen, Secd-
 nen da ndobas ucxadeben mTavrobas, araviTari fasi ara aqvs. sakmarisia
 movaSoroT Zal a, roml is winaSe Seugnebel i gl exi qeds ixris, rom Tavisi
 gancxadeba daiviwyos da imave iaraRiT, romel ic Cven davutoveT xval ve
 meore Zal as miemxros da respubl ikis winaaRmdeg xel meored gamoil aS-
 qros. amistvis... sakmarisia gamoCndes... oriode SeiaraRebul i Tavzexel aRe-
 bul i bol Seviki, rom am sofl is mil icionerebi maT miemxron.-

osebTan mimarTebaSi kandronikaSvil is es pozicia cxinval isa da saCxe-
 ris raionebis osuri aj anyebebis mware gamocdil ebas emyareboda. warsu-
 l Si daSvebul i Secdomebis argameorebis erTaderT gamosaval saSual e-
 bad igi osebis srul ganiaraRebas miCnevda da xel isufli ebisgan uSeRava-
 vaTo, xisti pol itikuri kursis gatarebas moiTxovda. aqedan gamomdinare,
 kategoriul i formiT ayenebda sakiTxs: 1)aj anyebis adgil ebSi mcxovrebi
 arcerTi gl existvis iaraRi ar daetovebiNaT; 2)monaniebis miuxedavad,
 aj anyebis monawil e osebis warmomadgenl ebi mil iciaSi da administraci-
 ul samuSao adgil ebze ar aerCi aT. `rogorc administracia, ise mil icia im
 mazris mcxovrebl ebisagan unda Sedges, roml ebmac_ werda kandronikaSvi-
 l i_ saqarTvel os damoukidebl obisa da demokratiul i respubl ikisadmi
 erTgul eba daamtices.- aseTi saxis RonisZiebis gatarebis aucil ebl o-
 bas, Seqmnil i mZime situaciidan gamomdinare faqtor iT xsnida da mas droe-
 biTi xasiaTis movl enad miCnevda. Tu rodis unda momxdariyo zemodan
 daniSvnis formis gamoyenebaze uaris Tqma, amis Sesaxeb igive kandronika-
 Svil i garkveviT werda: `rodesac Cveni propagandistebi daasrul eben Ta-
 vianT muSaobas, moarjul eben respubl ikanurad Seugnebel gl exkacobas,
 maSin uSiSrad SeiZl eba administraciisa da mil iciis Sedgena adgil o-
 brivi mcxovrebl ebisgan. manam ki zemodan unda iyos Sedgenil i da gagza-
 vnil i mil icia. marTalia, es RonisZieba Zvirad dauj deba respubl ikas,
 magram vai Tu ufro Zvirad dauj des Tavisufli eba... Semcdari nabij ebis
 gadadgmis wyal obiT.³⁴

aseTi saxis gafrTxil ebis safuZvel s kandronikaSvil s osuri mosaxl e-
 obidan iaraRis Tundac nawil obrivadac veramoRebis faqti aZl evda. mar-

Tal ia, 1918 wel s Sedgenil dokumentur masal ebSi yvel gan dadasturebu- l ia, rom osebis ganiaraRebas da yaCaRebis devnas osuri erovnul i sabWo da xal xic TiTqos mxars uWerda, magram sinamdvil eSi am mxriv mdgomare- oba uaRresad arasaxarbiel o iyo. mxedvel obaSi maqvs is faqti, rom osebi- is ganiaraRebis procesis dasrul eba saqarTvel os xel isufli ebam 1919 wl is agvistoSiac ver SeZl o. amis udao dadasturebas duSeTis mazris pasux- ismgebel i propagandistis irakl i uruSaZis moxsenebiTi baraTi warmoad- gens, romel ic 1919 wl is 7 agvistos ricxviTaa daTariRebul i. am dokumen- tis mixedviT, im etapeze kobis xeobis osebi kargad iyvnen SeiaraRebul ni, maTi sul ieri ganwyobil eba separatul i iyo. rac Seexeba xeobis komisars, mas saqarTvel os xel isufli ebasTan SeuTanxmebl ad, TviTneburad irCevd- nen.³⁵ es imas ni Snavs, rom kobis xeobaze 1919 wl is 7 agvistosaTvis saqarTve- l os xel isufli ebis iurisdicia TiTqmis ar vrcel deboda. anal ogiuri mdgomareoba iyo j avis xeobaSi. aq bol Sevik al .gagl oevis xel mZRvanel o- biT 150- 200 kaciani osuri SeiaraRebul i razmi moqmedebda. mTis osebis Tavgasul obis erT- erT mizezed aRniSnul xeobaSi qarTul i saj ariso Se- naerTebisa da gvardiis arSesvl a warmoadgenda. qveynis usafrTxoebisa da teritoriul i mTl ianobis interesebidan gamomdinare, amierkavkasiis regionis garSemo Seqmnil i urTul esi pol itikuri situacia, saqarTvel os xel isufli ebas mTis osebtan mimarTebaSi radikal uri RonisZiebebis ga- tarebis aucil ebl obisken ubiZgebda. am SemTxvevaSi, pirvel i rigis amocanas kobisa da j avis xeobebis osebis ganiaraReba warmoadgenda. saarqivo masa- l ebidan irkveva, rom saqarTvel os xel isufli ebam am mimarTul ebiT qmedi- Ti nabiji 1919 wl is 30 noembridan gadadga. cxinval is raionisa da mTis osebis yvel a sofl is mosaxl eobisgan iaraRis amoRebis procesi 17 deke- mbrisaTvis dasrul da. Camortmeul i iaraRis raodenoba, sxvadasxva siste- mis 5000 sabrZol o SaSxanasa (vintovkas) da uamrav sabrZol o vaznas war- moadgenda.³⁶

Sida qarTl is mTis osebisgan iaraRis amosaRebad gatarebul i RonisZie- bis saxel mwifoebriw mniSvnel obaze iyo aqcentireba gakeTebul i goris saxal xo gvardiis 1919 wl is 20 dekembris sagangebo yril obaze. yril obis masal ebSi xazgasmiTaa aRniSnul i, rom osuri dasaxl ebis sofl ebSi sadac gvardia da j aris nawil ebi Sevida, mosaxl eobidan iaraRic amoRebul i iqna da simSvidemac daisadgura.³⁷ es faqti imis damadasturebel ia, rom iq sadac mSvidobiani gziTa da saagi tacio- propagandistul i meTodebis gamoy- enebiT saqmis gakeTeba SeuZl ebel i xdeboda, misi gadawyveta, Zal ovani stru- qturebisaTvis unda miendoT, radgan osur mosaxl eobas saqarTvel os saxe- l mwifosadmi axal i Tavsatexi probl emebi ver Seeqmna. amis saSiSroeba im- denad arsebobda, ramdenadac kobis xeobis osebi aj anyebis damarcxebis Semdegac `Crdil oetisaken icqirebodnen,- denikins TanaugrZnobdnen da misgan Sesabamis daxmarebas el odnen.³⁸ amis damadasturebel i faqtebi saqa- rTvel os xel isufli ebas mravl ad gaaCnda. amis Sesaxeb im periodis pre-sa- Siac sayuradRebo publ ikaciebi qveyndeboda. amasTan dakavSirebiT gansa- kuTrebul yuradRebas gazeT `saqarTvel oSi- 1919 wel s dabeWdil i sare- daqcio weril i_ `osebi denikinis mol odinSi- iqcevs. aRniSnul statiaSi saubaria im mosal odnel i safrTxis Sesaxeb, romel ic denikinis saj ariso SenaerTebis saqarTvel os sazRvrebTan moaxl oebis Sedegad Seeqmna Cvens qveyanas. mxedvel obaSi maqvs saqarTvel oSi mcxovrebi prorusul i ori- entaciis matarebel i eTnikuri umciresobebis gaaqtiureba. am mxriv, gansa- kuTrebiT Sida qarTl is mTis osebi gamoirCeodnen. aRniSnul sakiTxTan

dakavSi rebiT imave statiaSi vkiTxul obT: `exl a osebis atvis ornairad gaxul da da ornairi SesaZl ebl oba aqvT Tavianti muxanaTuri saqmianobis mosagvarebl ad. osebis xeobaSi am zafxul s kidev emzadebian axal i gamosvl ebis atvis da ar mal aven, radgan imedi aqvT, rom exl a gaimarj veben, Cvens mTavrobas da qarTvel xal xs gadauxdian maSindel i damarcxebis (1918 wel i S.v.) samagieros. SarSan osebs bol Sevikebis imedi Tu qondaT, dRes denikinis I aSqari undaT gamoiyenon da rasakvirvel ia am cdaze xel s ar ai Reben. ase, rom osebis SeTanxmebul i gamosvl a yovel eWvs gareSea da amas amboben kidec vinc am saqmesTan axl os dgas.~ es faqti imaze migvani Snebs, rom 1918 wl is osebis orgzis aj anyebis damarcxebis miuxedavad, saqarTvel oSi mcxovrebi Sida qarTl is mTis osebi ar isvenebdnen da qarTvel erTan mimarTebaSi Suris saZiebl ad emzadebodnen. am mimarTul ebiT maTi mxridan gaweul samzadiss, Crdil o kavkasiis oseTis mmarTvel i wreebis mier denikintan damyarebul i axl o urTierToba gansazRvravda. mxedvel obaSi maqvs Crdil o kavkasiis oseTis mmarTvel is mier denikinisadmi gagzavnil i depeSa, sadac garkveiT iyo aRniSnul i, rom `oseTi amayobs saerTo deda- ruseTisaTvis moxal iseTa jarTan erTi droSis qveS brZol iT da miesal meba gen. denikins.~ sapasuxo depeSaSi, romel sac denikini awerda xel s_ vkiTxul obT: `gTxovT, gadasceT Cemi gul iTadi madl oba oseTis xal xs misi Cemdami misal mebis da keTil i survil ebis gamo, agreTve oseTis xal xis samxedro muSaobisaTvis.~ es faqtebi imis damadasturebel ia, rom Crdil o kavkasiis oseTsa da `moxal iseTa armis- sardl obas Soris saqmiani urTierTobis damyarebas Caeyara safuZvel i. im SemTxvevaSi, Tuki denikini ruseTSi warmatebas miARwevda, mis winaSe dRis wesrigSi saqarTvel os dapyrobis sakiTxi dadgeboda. mi Tumetes, saqarTvel osa da amierkavkasi as igive denikini erTiani ruseTis ganuyofel nawil ad ganixil avda. am SemTxvevaSi, misi Canafiqris ganxorciel ebis erT- erT dasayrden bazad, Crdil o kavkasiis oseTi da Sida qarTl is mTis osebi gaxdeboda, xol o rokis sauRel texil o gza, amierkavkasiaSi denikinis samxedro operaciebis dasawyebad umniSnel ovanesi arteriul i ZarRvis funqcias Seasrul ebda. mi Tumetes, aRniSnul i uRel texil i Crdil oetidan da samxreTidan im etapze osebis kontrol s eqvemdebareboda.

qveynis usafrTxoebis garantiis Seqmnis gaTval iswinebasTan erTad, Sida qarTl is mTis osebis atvis iaraRis CamorTmevis aucil ebl obas meore faqtoric ganapirobebda. mxedvel obaSi maqvs osebis mxridan am iaraRis qarTul i mosaxl eobis ZarcvisaTvis gamoyeneba. am sakiTXTan dakavSi rebiT, qarTul i pol itikuri azris mesveurTa mier presis furcl ebze uaRresad sayuradRebo statiebi ibeWdeboda. am masal ebSi, osebisgan qarTul mosa- xl eobasTan mimarTebaSi Cadenil i boroteba `epidemiuri- xasiaTis matarebl adaa gamocxadebul i. amis Sesaxeb gazeT `erTobaSi- dabeWdil statiaSi `oseTSi- vkiTxul obT, rom cxinval sa da mis garSemo dasaxl ebebSi `Zarcva- gl eja, Tavdasxmebi ise gaxSirda, rom pirdapir SeuZl ebel i xdeba mSvidobiani cxovreba. es imi tom, rom osebis ganiaraReba jerj erobiT vermoxerxda.~

rogorc vxedavT, osebis mier iaraRis Cabarebaze uarisTqmis erT- erT safuZvel s, iaraRasxmuli osis mier uiaraRo qarTvul i mosaxl eobis Zar- cvis gagrZel ebis survil i warmoadgenda. am saqmeSi os mZarcvel ebs aqti- uri mxardaWera adgil obrivi osi komisrebisganac hqondaT. am mxriv gansakuTrebiT mTis osebis komisari I .cxovrebovi aqtiurobda. amasTan daka- vSi rebiT gazeTi `saqarTvel o- xazgasmiT werda: `1918 wl is zafxul Si osebma

samaCabl os mTiani qarTvel ebis 1200 sul i cxvari daitaces (am saqmeSi osebis komisari l eo cxovrebovic eria)... saWiroa saqarTvel os mTavroba daexmaros am beCav qarTvel ebs, rom kvl av aRaravin gabedos qarTvel i mwyemsebis darbeva.- es faqti, cxovrebovisa da bocvaZis zemoArniSnul i dapirispirebis mizezis axsnis SesaZl ebl obas iZl eva. igi imazedac migvaniSnebs, Tu ratom ewinaaRmdegeboda mTis osebis komisari l .cxovrebovi cxinval is raionis komisaris bocvaZis mxridan osebis ganiaraRebis dawyebas. saTanado masal ebis Seswavl a adasturebs, rom osi mZarcvel ebi l .cxovrebovTan erTad ara mar to cxvarze da saqonel ze `nadirobdnen,- aramed wisqvil ebidan safqvavisa da oj axebidan saTesl e xorbl is gataniTac iyvnen dakavebul ni. mihqondaT yovel ive, ris waRebac SeeZl oT. Sida qarTI is mTian sofl ebSi osi mZarcvel ebis gaaqtiturebis xel Semwyob faqtors, damnaSaveTa dausj el oba warmoadgenda. mi Tumetes, l .cxovrebovis msgavsi adamiანebis administraciul Tanamdebobebze yofna, arsebul situacias ki dev ufro amZimebda. am sakiTxTan dakavSirebiT gazeTi `saqarTvel o- statiaSi `didi l iaxvis xeoba- mkiTxvel is yuradRebas xeobaSi osi mZarcvel ebis mxridan Seqmnil gausaZl is pirobebze miapyrobdna. `adamiანis Rirsebas_ vkiTxul obT weril Si_ pativi aexada... borotmomqmedTagan... gaxSiRda sxvisi qonebis dataceba, qurdoba, mgzavrebze Tavdasxma da kacis kvl a... exl a kacis mkvl el ebs pativi aqvT, isini Tavisufl ad, amayad dabrZandebian sofel -sofel ... kexvel ebma erTxel daatusaRes mZarcvel ebi, gadasces komisars da meore dRes gamoSvebul ebi naxes muqariT damWerebze saxl isken mimalval ni.- aseT mZime pirobebSi myofi qarTvel oba xel isufl ebisgan yuradRebas iTxovda. arsebul i mdgomareobis daregul irebis erTaderT saSual ebas im etapze sofl ebSi jaris Seyvana warmoadgenda. gareSe da Sinauri mtrebis mogeriebis pirobebSi myof saqarTvel os xel isufl ebas sxva al ternatiul i gza ar gaaCnda. warsul is gamocdil ebam daadastura, rom osebi mxol od maSin miyuCdebodnen, roca mis damTrgunvel Zal as xedavdnen. qarTvel Ta interesebis dasacavad da osebis mosaTokad, cxinval sa da mis garSemo mTian sofl ebSi qarTul i jaris garkveul i kontingentis yofna aucil ebl obas warmoadgenda.

osTa mZarcvel uri buneba gansakuTrebiT osebis mier 1918, 1919, 1920 wl ebSi mowyobil i aj anyebebis dros gamovl inda. mxedvel obaSi maqvs cxinval isa da saCxeris mimdebare sofl ebis mSvidobiani qarTul i mosaxl eobis osebisgan gaZarcvis faqtebi. mis siswores, saqarTvel os osebis V yril obaze (1918 wl is 5 agvisto) gakeTebul moxsenebaSi a.Tibil ovic aRiarebda. misive TqmiT, aj anyebul ebi `ar indobdnen aravis, Zarcvavdnen, swvavdnen, anadgurebdnen mSvidobian mcoxvrebl ebs.- osebis mxridan Sida qarTI Si Seqmnil i urTul esi kriminogenul i situacia, Sesabamisi Zal ovani struqturebisgan saTanado qmediTI RonisZiebis gatarebas moiTxovda. Seqmnil i mdgomareobis obieqturi Sefasebi dan gamomdinare, osi yaCaRebis da mZarcvel ebis winaaRmdeg sabrZol vel ad saqarTvel os respubl ikis Sinagan saqmeTa samini- istrom, 1920 wl is 15 april is gankargul ebiT, goris samazro erobas 100 aTasi maneTi gamouyo. miuxedavad amisa, es RonisZieba osi mZarcvel ebisa da yaCaRebis asal agmavad sakmarisi ar aRmoCnda, radgan, goris mazraSi Seviwroebul i osi yaCaRebi, mezobel duSeTis mazraSi gadadiodnen da `qonebrivi danakargis- Sevsebas iq cdil obdnen. amis dadasturebas, duSeTis mazris erobis Tavmj domaris WoniSvil is mier saqarTvel os Sinagan saqme-

Ta ministrisadmi 1920 wl is 24 ivni ss gagzavnil i depeSa war moadgens. `goris mazris j avis xeobidan_ vkiTxul obT dokumentSi_ bevri osi gadmovida duSeTis mazraSi. aqauri osebic miematnen da yaCaRoba daiwyes. mokl es sami, gaZarcves mraVal i. wuxel fasanaurTan fostis avtomobil s daecnen, mokl es erTi, daWres sami. sxvebi gaZarcves. saqme aucil ebl ad garTul de- ba Tu exl ave radikal uri zomebi ar iqna miRebul i. amitom, gTxovT fron- tidan exl ave dagvibrundes samoci duSel i gvardiel i tate SuSiaSvil Tan erTad. yvel a im sofl ebs, roml ebic yaCaRebs winaTac uwevden da exl ac uweven daxmarebas, ukanasknel ebis oj axebs winadadeba miecaT_ erTi kviris ganmavl obaSi yaCaRebi dagvaWerinon, winaaRmdeg SemTxvevaSi maTi qonebis konfiskacia iqnas. miwebi axl o sofl el ebs daurigdes da TviT yaCaRebi gadasaxl ebul iqnen kavkavisken, saidanac iaraRiT da sxva saxiT daxmare- bas Rebul oben. samxedro gzaze oTx saguSago punqts vayeneb.- aRniSnul i dokumenti imis naTel i dadasturebaa, xel isufl ebis mxridan Tu ramdenad did Zal isxmevas saWiroebda Tavzixel aRebul i osi mZarcvel ebisa da yaCa- Rebisagan qarTul i mosaxl eobis dacva.

osebis mier qarTul mosaxl eobasTan mimarTebaSi Cadenil danaSaul eb- riv qmedebebTan da vandal izmTan dakavSirebiT, im periodis qarTul pre- saSi sayuradRebo masal ebi ibeWdeboda. masSi osebi moxseniebul i iyo `saqarTvel os respubl ikis umadur Svil ebad,- `osi cru intel igentebis mier Tavgzaabneul ebad,- `tomrebakidebul mZarcvel ebad.- **osebis rogorc mZarcvel ebisa da sxvisi qonebis mimitacebel Ta SesaniSnav daxasi- aTebas iZl eva gazeT `saxal xo saqmeSi- axal gorel is fsevdonimiT dabeWdil i statia `osuri safrTxe.- `cxinval Si awapnil i davl a_ vkiTxul obT weril Si_ imdenad gemriel i gamodga osebisatvis, rom sasjel s ar eridebian, oRond xel meored gazidon cxinval idan sxvisi nawvav- nadagi SromiT SeZenil i samkaul ebi... ras izam, ase- tia fsiqol ogia vel uri xal xisa, aseTia mtacebl obis instiqti... isic viciT, rom osoba sazogadoT gul gril ad ver uyurebs sxvis dovl aTsa da sikeTes da arasodes uars ar ityvis am dovl aTis miTvi sebaze.-³⁹**

marTalia, aq sworadaa danaxul i osis, rogorc sxvisi qonebis mimitacebl is buneba, magram misi axsna mxol od osebis vel urobis fsiqol ogiidan gamomdinare mTl ad srul yofil i ar aris. igi osebis Sinagan cnobiereba- Si Cakirul i mtacebl obis erT- erTi ganmsazRvrel i komponentTagania. am SemTxvevaSi osebis qmedebas, misi winapari al anebisaTvis damaxasiaTebel i sxvisi qonebis miTvi sebisa da mezobl is Zarcvis genetikuri kodi gansa- zRvravda. aseTi daskvnis gakeTebis SesaZl ebl obas al anebis Sesaxeb agus- to al emanis mier gamoqveynebul naSromze_ `al anebi Zvel da Suasaukune- bis weril obiT wyaroebSi- dayrdnobiT r.TofCiSvil iseul i anal izi iZl - eva.⁴⁰

sxvisi qonebisa da miwebis mimitacebiT uzRebma osuri tomis warmomadge- nl ebma, qarTvel ebisadmi gansakuTrebul i siZul vil i 1918 wl is ianvridan gamoavl ines. goris mazris qarTvel i Tavad- aznauriobis amosawvetad sa- Tanado gegma SeimuSaves da mis gansaxorciel ebl ad Sesabamisi pirobebi Seamzades. am mimarTul ebiT osi separatistebis waqezebis saqmeSi fl agma- nis rol s bol Sevikuri gazeTebi_ `kavkazski raboCi- da `brZol a- asru- l ebda. aRniSnul sakiTxTan dakavSirebiT gazeT `cveni respubl ika-- Si dabeWdil statiaSi_ `qarTl is tragedia,- d.fal avandi xazgasmiT werda: `bol Sevikuri gazeTebi... xel s uwyobden iseT saZraxis saqmes, romel ic

Tavad- aznaurobis winaaRmdeg xal xs aamxedrebda. ibeWdeboda provokaci- ul i weril ebi, viTom Tavad- aznauroba TaTris begebs daumegobrda, os- mal eTTan kavSiri daiWira da gl exobis winaaRmdeg gal aSqrebas apirebda. presaSi ibeWdeboda weril ebi, rom qarTvel ers osmal eTis orientacia urCevnia vinem ruseTis... rom Tavad- aznauroba mSromel i xal xisaTvis paraziti, mavne el ementia da igi aucil ebl ad unda moispos.- aseTi saxis farTo saagitacio- propagandistul ma saqmianobam, qarTvel ebisadmi moZu- l e osebze stimul izatoris rol i Seasrul a. mxedvel obaSi maqvs 1918 wl is 26 da 28 ianvars safal avandoSi_ sofel bel oTsa da yel eT- Si osebis yril obebze miRebul i gadawyvetil ebebi. am masal ebis mixedvit, Sida qarTl is Tavad- aznaurTa mamul ebi, osi separati- stebis cnobierebaSi moazrebul i da bunebaSi ararsebul i `samxreT oseTis- teritoriis Semadgenl obaSi unda Sesul iyo. am Canafiqris ganxorciel ebis damabrkol ebel Zal ad, osebs qarTvel i Tavad- aznauroba miaCnda. amitom, zemoaRniSnul i sofl ebis oSta yril obis dadgenil ebebi Sida qarTl is qarTvel i Tavad- aznaurobisaTvis iaraRis ayras, misi ZiriTadi nawil is dedabudianad amowvyetas, danarCenis kuTvnil i sacxovrisidan iZul ebiTi meTodis gamoyenebiT gandevnas da maTi qonebis dapaTronebas iTval iswinebda. dasaxul i miznis gansaxorciel ebl ad osi separatistebis aqtiuri moqmedeba 1918 wl is ianvris bol o ricxvebidan daiwyo. amis damadasturebe- l ia Tbil isis guberniis komisar is kjafariZis mier saqarTvel os erovnul i sabWos, osebis erovnul i sabWos, somxebis erovnul i sab- Wos, musul imanebis erovnul i sabWos, Tbil isis guberniis aRmasr- ul ebel i komitetis, social - demokratiul i muSaTa partiis kavkasiis saol qo komitetis, muSaTa da jariskacTa deputatebis kavkasiis sa- mxareo centrisa da amierkavkasiis komisariatisadmi 1918 wl is 3 Teberval s gagzavnil i tel efonograma. am dokumentSi CvenTvis sa- intereso sakiTxTan dakavSirebiT vkiTxul obT: «Сегодня ко мне явились представители помещиков Гомского участка, Горийского уезда, Палавандови, Ами- раджиби, Цициановы и др. и заявили, что в этом участке, под предводительством не- коего Харебашвили, именующего себя прапорщиком, осетина по национальности, образовалась шайка численностью 250- 300 человек, вернувшихся с фронта солдат, осетины по национальности.

Означенная шайка производит в Гомском участке насилия, грабежи, убийства, вы- резая целые семьи помещиков. Третьего дня вырезана вся семья помещика Георгия Николаевича Визирова в сел. Осиаури.

Сознательная часть крестьянства протестует против действий означенной шайки, но не может оказать сопротивление, в виду неорганизованности своей и отсутствия на руках оружия.

Несознательная часть крестьянства поддерживает эту шайку и с каждым часом увеличивает её численность.

Необходима срочная мера для пресечения дальнейших злодейских действий у по- мянутой разбойничьей шайки, прикрывающейся лозунгами большевизма. Про- тивопоставить ей вооруженную силу я не имею возможности, за отсутствием в моем распоряжении какой бы то ни было реальной силы.

Посылать же незначительную силу Горийской уездной милиции нет смысла, так как можно быть заранее уверенным, что милиция эта не сумеет дать должного отпора шайке, и этим будет окончательно дискредитирована в глазах населения, администрации, и положение помещиков еще ухудшится.» am vr cel i amonawer i dan kargad Cans, rom

im momentisaTvis, adgil obrivi mil iciis organoebSa da Tbil isis guberni- is komisars Seiararebul i osi separatistebis asal agmad da qarTvel i Tavad- aznauribis sicocxl is gadasarCenad, damcavi meqanizmis amoqmedeb- is SesaZl ebl oba ar gaaCnda. mdgomareobas isic arTul ebda, rom osma separatistebma TavianTi gegmis amoqmedeba saqarTvel osaTvis umZimes pol i- tikur situacias daamTxvia. mxedvel obaSi maqvs osmal eTTan saomari mdgo- mareoba da yvel a saxeobis samxedro SenaerTis saqarTvel o- osmal eTis frontze gadasrol is faqti. am SemTxvevaSi, i.xarebovis 250- 300 kacisagan Semdgar Seiararebul marbiel Ta osur bandas, qarTvel i Tavad- aznauro- bis winaarmddeg vandali uri qmedebebis daubrkol ebl ad gatarebis SesaZl e- bl oba miaca. dokumenturi masal iT irkveva, rom i.xarebovi bol Seviki iyo da s.Saumi anis miTiTebebiT moqmedebda. aRniSnul faqtTan mimarTebaSi osebis erovnul i sabWo dumil s amj obinebda da i.xarebovis qmedebas Sina- ganad uWerda mxars. saarqivo masal ebiT dasturdeba, rom goris mazraSi Seqmnil i urTul esi situaciidan gamomdinare, amierkavkasiis komisariati da saqarTvel os erovnul i sabWo izul ebul i gaxda osmal eTis frontze gasagzavni gvardiidan erTi qvedanayofi Sida qarTI Si osi bandformirebe- bis asal agmavad gadaesrol a. aRniSnul i RonisZiebis gatarebamde, osma separatistebma 1918 wl is 25 ianvridan 17 martis CaTvl iT, TavianTi Canafiqris minimumis ganxorciel eba moaswres. momxdar faqtTan dakavSirebiT, goris samazro mol iciis ganyofil ebaSi Sesul i operatiul i monacemebis mixed- viT irkveva, rom qarTvel Ta moZul e osebma, poruCik i.xarebovis Seiar- arebul razmTan erTad Sida qarTI is sofl ebis: avl evis, aradeTis, abisis, bal Tis, zemo xvedureTis, Tedel eTis, qarel is, Tel aT- goris, igoeTis, knol evis, kexij varis, sof. kaspis, l eTis, mej vrisxevis, niCbisis, osiauris, saxoris, sacixuris, sanebel is, yinwisis, yornisis, ceronisis, Zvil eTis, wveris, waRv- l is, xodis, Tavad- aznauroba gaZarcva, maTi saxl - kari gadawva, didi umra- vl esoba kuTvnil i sacxovrisidan gaaZevea, xol o umetesoba adgil zeve sikvdil iT dasja.

sikvdil iT dasjes: dariko ciciSvili, al eqsandre ciciSvi- li_ misi meuRle da sami Svili (ori qali da erTi vaJi), l evan ci- ciSvili (misi 80 wl is deda da ZmisSvili awames), il iko ciciSvi- li, vaso ciciSvili, giorgi zaqarias Ze ciciSvili, mayval a yarango- zaSvili, vano yarangozaSvili, TurqestaniSvili ebi, d.l .amil axvari, Tul aSvili, g.Ciqovani, zaal iSvili ebi, g.v.zaal iSvili, g.n.veziriSvili da misi ZmisSvili, giorgi dimitris Ze veziriSvili, l iza veziriS- vil i da ori Svili (qal - vaJi), daTiko da titiko sixarul iZeebi.

gaZarcves, pirutyvi gaitaces, saxl - kari gadauwves da sa- cxovrisidan gaaZeves: daviT nikol ozis Ze ciciSvili, kote da sandro raJdenis Ze ciciSvili ebi, tano ciciSvili, mixeil daviTis Ze ciciSvili, tato ciciSvili, nikol oz iraklis Ze ciciSvili, l uarsab ciciSvili, daviT petres Ze ciciSvili, grigol ciciSvili, sandro ciciSvili, iul on amirejibi, giga amirejibi, oqro amire- jibi, kote amirejibi, gigl a amirejibi, vaso amirejibi, nika amire- jibi, vaso bagrationi, fal avandiSvilibis 9 oj axi, kol ia qurdeva- niZe, iSxnel ebi, kal atoziSvili ebi, daTo da giga xerxeul iZeebi, tatiS- vil ebi, gabo gverdwitel i.

dokumenturi masal iT dadasturebul ia, rom goris mazris zemoT CamoTvl - il i mokl ul i, gaZarcvul i da sacxovrisidan osebis mier gaZevebul i Tav- ad- aznaurTa winaprebis umetesobam, Crdil oetidan Sida qarTI Si tabaru-

kad mosul i osebi xizanis statusiT Seifara, arsebobisa da osuri oj axis Seqmnis SesaZl ebl oba misca. am sikeTisaTvis mis STamomavl ebs osebma madl iereba zemoaRni Snul i Roni sZiebi T gadauxades. samwuxarod, Sua saukune-ebSi qarTvel ebs kargad ar hqondaT da dResac ara aqvT safuZvl ianad gacnobierebul i Tu vin, vin aris. am mxriv, Cveni mezobel i somxebi sanimu-Soni arian.

zemoT motanil i faqtebi imis dadasturebaa, rom Sida qarTI Si mcxovreba osebma, saqarTvel oSi qarTvel Tavad- aznaurTa eTnow-mendas daudes saTave. es procesi imdenad organizebul i formiT daiwyo, rom Sida qarTI is qarTul i mosaxl eoba aSkara safrTxis winaSe aRmoCnda. is rac osebma qarTvel ebTan mimarTebaSi Caidina, winaswargamiznul qmedebas warmoadgenda, Sida qarTI is qarTvel ebis sacxovrisidan ayras da gamoTavisufl ebul adgil ebSi osebis Casaxl ebas isaxavda miznad. qarTvel i erisa da TviT qarTul i erovnu- l i saxel mwifos saZianod, osebis am satanuri Canafiqris ganxor- ciel ebis mosal odnel i damangrevel i Sedegebi, qarTul i pol itikuri azris mesveurebma droul ad gaacnobières da sazogadoebis gamo- safxizi ebl ad sagangaSo zars Semohkres. mxedvel obaSi maqvs aRniS- nul sakiTxTan mimarTebaSi presis furcl ebze gamoqveynebul i publ ika- ciebi. am mxriv, gansakuTrebul interess radikal - demokratiul i partiis erT- erTi l ideris d.Ciqovanis statia `osTa Ral ati-- iqcevs. `osebi_ vkiTxul obT weril Si_ l amoben Cveni teritoriis miTvisebas da mTidan barSi Camosvl as! am dasaxul i miznis misaRwevad yovel i saxis saSual ebas mimarTaven! samwuxaro gzaze damdgara osebi, magram ra gaewyoba! damcems damxvduri undao da Cvenc dauxvdebiT!- aq ara mar to osebis miswrafepaa wina pl anze wamoweul i, aramed, moZal adisadmi Rirseul i daxvedrisa da saTanado pasuxis gacemis sakiTxicaa dasmul i. am fonze d.Ciqovani osebs gamafrTxil ebel i formiT mimarTavda: `osebs unda axsovdas afxaze- Tis magal iTi, romel mac Zal is sinamdvil es angariSi gauwia! cxin- val Si momxdari samarcxvino aj anyeba srul i sisastikiT unda daiTr- gunos, roml is Semdegac osis xal xSi daiwyeba swori gzis Zieba, im gZisa, romel ic ueWvel ia saqarTvel osTan miyvans mas.- am amonawe- ris mixedviT Tuki vimsj el ebT, osebis `mosaTvinierebl ad- da saqar- Tvel osken Semosabrunebel receptad, osebtan mimarTebaSi d.Ci- qovans Zal ismieri meTodis gamoyeneba miaCnda. misi es pozicia im etapze savsebiT marTebul i iyo. sakiTxis dadebiTad gadawyveta damoukidebel i saqarTvel os xel isufl ebis unarze, Sidapol itikuri situaciis gaTval iswinebiT operatiul ad pragmatul i gadawyvetil eb- is miRebaze iyo damokidebul i.

ramdenadac, zemoaRni Snul i sakiTxi damoukidebel i saqarTvel os samo- mavl o beds ukavSirdeboda, igi qarTul i pol itikuri azris mesaWeTa far- To msj el ibis sagnad gadaiqca. am mxriv gansakuTrebul yuradRebas ga- zeT `saqarTvel oSi- dabeWdil i Samirej ibis statia_ `cxinval is fronti- iqcevs. `pol itika wagl ej isa_ vkiTxul obT weril Si_ ai ra aris osebis dRevandel i l ozungi. maT aSkarad ganacxades: cxinval i Cvenia, saqarT- veos maRI obi oseTia.- qarTvel Ta istoriul i sacxovrisi teritoriisad- mi osebis aseTi pretenzia SemTxveviTobiT ar iyo ganpirobepul i. misi wa- rmoSobis saTave saukuneebis miRma unda veZioT. mxedvel obaSi maqvs Sua saukuneebSi al an- osTa migraciul i procesebis Sedegad mezobel i xa- l xebis teritoriebis dapyroba da misi gaTaviseba. samecniero l iteratu-

raSi dadgenil ia, rom `monRol Ta Semosevamde al anebis gansaxl ebis uki-
 duresi samxreTi nawil i kavkasiis mTebis misadgomebi, anu mTisa da baris
 mosazRvre teritoriebi iyo. Crdil o kavkasiis mTianeTis is monakveTi,
 romel ic Semdeg al anebma dai kaves, adgil obrivi kavkasiuri modgmis xal -
 xebis sacxovrisi iyo.⁴¹ aRniSnul i faqtebi imis damadasturebel ia, rom
 Crdil o oseTad wodebul i teritoria, osebis mier mitacebul i da gaTa-
 visebul ia. sxvisadmi warTmevisa da miTvisebis aucil ebl obis for-
 miT yal ibdeboda saukuneebis manZil ze osTa cnobiereba. maT kar-
 gad hqondaT SeTvisebul i yvel a is niuansi, romel ic mitacebul i
 teritoriis aTvisebaSi Seuwyobda xel s. erT- erT aseT formas
 osebi saqarTvel oSiac iyenebdnen. kerZod, qarTvel i mosaxl eobis
 darbeva, misi gaZarcva, sarCo- sabadebl is warTmeva, qarTvel i gl ex-
 ebis miwebis mitaceba da aS. yovel ive es iseTi formiT xorciel d-
 eboda, rom qarTvel obas izul ebul s xdi da kuTvnil i sacxovrisi
 daetovebina. am sakiTxTan dakavSirebiT Tavisi mkveTri pozicia
 qarTul i pol itikuri azris erT- erTma l iderma gr.veSapel ma sa-
 qarTvel os erovnul i sabWos 1918 wl is 23 ivl isis sxdomaze ofi-
 cial urad gamoTqva. misi mtkicebiT, TavadzaurTa daudevrobiTa
 da qarTvel i gl exis uniaTobis Sedegad, qarTvel i gl exis kuTvni-
 l i miwawyali etapobrivad osebis xel Si gadadioda. ramdenadac am
 procesis tempi osebis erovnul sabWos ar akmayofil ebda, misi da-
 Cqarebis mizniT, ierisi qarTul sofl ebze mihqondaT. `xel Ta gva-
 qvs cnobebi_ ambobda gr.veSapel i, _ rom maT qarTul i sofl ebi da-
 arbies da gaZarcves. osebs ar SeuZl ia... namdvil i mizani gaumJRavnos
 qarTvel xal xs. qarTvel ebma osebis namdvil i gul is nadebi rom
 gaigos, rogorc erTi kaci fexze dadgeba da saSinel i brZol iT Ta-
 vis kal apotSi Caayenebs sayaCaRod gamosul osebs.~ am SemTxvevaSi
 gr.veSapel i simarTl es ambobda. Sida qarTl Si mcxovrebeb osebs gu-
 l is nadebi oficial urad arasodes gaumJRavnebia. isini SesaniSna-
 vad iyenebdnen sxvisi teritoriebis aTvisebis istoriul gamocdil e-
 bas da amas saqarTvel oSi akeTebdnen Sefarviti formiT. briyv
 qarTvel obas ki osebis keTil mosurneobis sjeroda da qarTul mi-
 waze dasasaxl ebl ad epatiJeboda, an Zal iT mosul s Rirseul winaaRm-
 degobas ar uwevda. imas ver acnobierebda, rom am qmedebiT, qarTve-
 l i eris momaval i TaobebisaTvis gul Si Casacemad gamzadebul gal e-
 sil maxvil s_ osebs nebayofl obiT xel Si aZl evda. osebis saqarTvel o-
 Si Camosaxl ebasTan mimarTebaSi, Cveni winaprebis daudevrobidan gamom-
 dinare Sedegebma, gansakuTrebul i mwave formiT XX s- is 20- ian wl ebSi
 icnia Tavi. es sakiTxi im periodis qarTul i pol itikuri azris mesveurTa
 Tavsatex probl emadiqca. erTdros stumrad Semoxiznul i da Semdeg maspin-
 Zl obaze Tavgamodebul i osebis qarTvel ebisadmi mtrul ma damokidebul e-
 bam, qarTul i pol itikuri azris mesveurebi sagonebel Si Caagdo. maT winaSe
 l ogikurad daisva kiTxva `vin arian osebi? ra undaT osebs? ra awyeni na...
 saqarTvel om, rom zurgsukan maxvil i Cagvcas?⁴² am kiTxvebTan dakavSire-
 biT sayuradRebo weril i _osebis amoZraveba- gamoaqveyna sabul aZem. im
 periodis statistikuri monacemebis mixedvit man mkiTxvel sazogadoebas
 dausabuTa, rom osebi saqarTvel oSi Camosaxl ebul ebi iyvnen da qarTvel o-
 basTan mimarTebaSi maT mier ganxorciel ebul i qmedebani, arasamarTl ebriv
 da antisaxel mwifoebriv saxes atarebda. aseTi poziciis miuxedavad, am we-
 ril Si araferi iyo naTqvami Tu rodidan ganxorciel da osTa migracia

saqarTvel oSi. Tanamedrove qarTul istoriogra-fiaSi dasabuTebul ia, rom didi da patara l iaxvis xeobis mTian zol Si osebis Camosaxl eba- damkvi-dreba XVII- XVIII saukuneebis mij naze mimdinareobda.⁴³ am saqmeSi qarTvel TavadznaurobasTan erTad l omis wil i qarTI - kaxeTis mefebsac udevs.⁴⁴ a.ToTaZis gamokvl eviT, qarTul miwaze Crdil oeTidan osebis masobrivi Camosaxl eba XIX saukunis 60- ian wl ebSi daiwyo, xol o qarTI isa da kaxeTis baris teritoriaze osebis intensiuri dasaxl ebis procesi XX saukuneSiac gagrZel da.⁴⁵

Cems mier motanil i faqtebidan kargad Cans, rom saqarTvel oSi mcxovrebi osebi stumris statusSi Tavsdebodnen, magram, qarTvel Ta xel Sewyobis Sedegad, stumridan maspinZl is mdgomareobaSi aRmoCndnen. ami tom, osebis yovel i qmedeba qarTul i saxel mwifos interesebs scil deboda da masTan winaaRmdgobaSi modioda. swored es garemoeba hqonda mxedvel obaSi gazeT `kl deSi- dabeWdil i weril is `osebis aj anyebis gakveTil i-- avtors, roca xazgasmiT werda: `osi Cveni istoriul i erovnul i mteria da mxol od demokratiul durakebs federal istebis da social - demokratebis banakidan egonaT, rom maTi (osebis S.v.) brZol a social isturi mtroba iyo weswyobil ebis winaaRmddeg... Cveni nacional istebi vxedavdiT da vyvirodiT simarTI ezed... mmarTvel partias j er kidev ver Seugnia am sakiTxis simwvave da... gaiZaxis Zmobasa da sol idarobazed.⁴⁶

am SemTxvevaSi erovnul - demokratebi ar tyuoda, maTi Tval sazrisi osebis mxridan im etapze gaweul i namoqmedaris pragmatul i poziciidan Se-fasebas emyareboda da yovel gvare saxis ideol ogiuri manipul aciidan iyo Tavisufl ebul i.

amrigad; 1)Sida qarTI Si xizanis statusiT mcxovrebi osebis mxridan TviTgamorkvevis moTxovna, sabWoTa ruseTis mier iyo provocirebul i, arasamarTI ebriv saxes atarebda da qarTul i saxel mwifos interesebis ignorirebas axdenda. saqarTvel os osebis erovnul i sabWos mier osebis `erovnul i pol kis- Seqmnis sakiTxis dayeneba, qarTul i saxel mwifos winaaRmdg osebis separatistul i moZraobis dasayrdeni bazis gamyarebas isaxavda miznad. qarTul ma pol itikurma el itam, am mavnebl ur Canafiqrs al Ro droul ad auRo da amierkavkasiaSi Seqmnil i pol itikuri situaciis gaTval iswinebidan gamomdinare, osebis ukanono moTxovnisadmi uaris TqmiT swori gadawyvetil eba miRo. 2)1918 wl is martisa da ivnisis cxinval i- saCxeris raionebis osebis aj anyebebi, sabWoTa ruseTis dakveTis fonze ganxorciel da da saqarTvel os mTavrobisadmi omis gamocxadebis tol fas qmedebas Seicavda. saqarTvel oSi mcxovrebm a osebm a, aRniSnul i aj anyebebi qarTvel i erisTvis urTul es pol itikur moments (saqarTvel o- osmal eTis omi) daamTxvies. umaduri osebis es qmedeba, qarTul i pol itikuri azris mesveurebma, qarTvel erTan mimarTebaSi orgul obad da Casafrebul i SurismaZiebl is Sinagani Tvisebebis gamovl inebad Seafasa. saxel isufl ebo uwyebebis mier, cxinval isa da saCxeris raionebis aj anyebul i osebisadmi mTel i simkacriT sadamsjel o RonisZiebebis argatareba da aqcentis mxol od aj anyebis xel mZRvanel ebze gadatana, pol itikur Secdomas warmoadgenda. am faqtoridan gamomdinare, saqarTvel os xel isfl ebam, qvey-nis interesebisadmi osebis damorCil eba da maTi mxridan axal i aj anyebebis armowyobis myari garantiis Seqmna ver SeZl o. 3)cxinval isa da saCxeris raionebis osuri mosaxl eobis aj anyebebis ms-

vi el obis procesSi, osebis mier Cadenil i danaSaul ebrivi qmedeb-
is samarTI ebrivi Sefasebidan gamomdinare, qarTul ma pol itikur-
ma azrovnebam osebs `gaiZvera da moRal ate,- `saqarTvel os res-
publ ikis umaduri Svil ebi,- `osi cru intel igentebis mier Tavgza-
abneul i- da `tomrebgadakidebul i mZarcvel ebi- uwoda. dokumen-
turi masal is anal izi adasturebs, rom saqarTvel os damouki debe-
l i saxel mwifos Sesaqmnel ad gadadgmul i nabuj is pirvel i dRida-
nve, osebis umetesobam, qarTvel erTan mimarTebaSi istoriis sama-
rcxvino furcel i dawera. osuri eTnosis gadamrCen ers_ qarTvel ebs,
Znel bedobis Jams zurgSi gal esil i maxvil i Casca.

§. 2. Sida qarTl is mTis osebis `damoukidebl obis- sakiTxi da qarTul i pol itikuri azri

osi separatistebis garegnul i fericval ebis moCvenebiTobis ukeT warmosaCenad, saqarTvel os damoukidebl obasTan da sabWoTa ruseTTan mimarTebaSi osebis poziciis wina pl anze wamoweve aucil ebl obas warmoadgens. probl emis am kuTxiT kvl eva osuri el itis umravl esobis mzakvrul i gegmebis srul ad gamoaSkaravebis SesaZl ebl obas iZl eva. dasaxuli i amocanis erT- erT pirobad, aRniSnul i sakiTxis qarTul i pol itikuri azrovnebis Wril Si gaazreba gvesaxeba. am mimarTul ebiT kvl eva XX saukunis 20- iani wl ebis separatistul ad ganwyobil i osuri intel igenciis Sesaxeb, dRevandel qarTul sazogadoebas srul warmodgenas Seuqmnis. maTTvis naTel i gaxdeba, Crdil oETidan gadmoxvewil i da qarTul miwaze TavSefarebul i osuri mosaxl eoba Tu rogor Sexvda saqarTvel os damoukidebl obis gamocxadebas da qarTul i erovnul i saxel mwifos mSenebl obas. meore mxriv, mimdinare pol itikuri procesebis fonze, mkiTxvel sazogadoebas qarTul i pol itikuri azrovnebis donis, misi obieqturobis garkvebis SesaZl ebl oba miecema. miTumetes, osur sakiTxTan mimarTebaSi, qarTul i pol itikuri azris warmomadgenl ebma yvel a mniSvnel ovani sakiTxi pol itikuri gansjis sagnad aqcia da saTanado daskvnebic gaakeTa. isic sayuradReboa, rom qarTvel ma pol itikosebma, saqarTvel os damoukidebl obasTan mimarTebaSi osebis didi nawil is negaturi damokidebul ebis gamomwvevi mizezebis axsnasac Seecadnen. maTi mtkicebiT, ramdenadac Sida qarTl is mTis osebi saqarTvel os teritoriis xarj ze osuri saxel mwifos Seqmnas cdil obdnen, qarTul i saxel mwifos formireba maT interesebSi ar Sedioda. amis precedents amierkavkasiis osebis pirvel yril obaze (1917 wl is 5 ivnisi) hqonda adgil i. mxedvel obaSi maqvs imave yril obaze njioevis gamosvl a, romel mac saqarTvel odan osebis gamoyofa da misi damoukidebl oba kategoriul i formiT moiTxova. marTalia, yril obam im etapze njioevis mxari ar dauWira, magram imave njioevma es sakiTxi amierkavkasiis da Crdil o kavkasiis osebis warmomadgenl ebis mier kavkavSi gamarTul osTa gaerTianebul pirvel yril obaze (1917 wl is 17 ivnisi) daayena. miuxedavad imisa, rom njioevi aqac `damarcxda,- es srul ebiTac ar niSnavda, rom separatistul ad ganwyobil i saqarTvel os osebis intel igenciis rigebSi `TviTgamorkvebis- sakiTxi Cakvda. qarTvel i pol itikosebi amas kargad grZnobdnen da osuri intel igenciisadmi gakeTebul mimarTvaSi xazgasmiT miuTitebdnen: `osis intel igentebma unda Seignon, rom osebis da qarTvel ebis dapirispireba safrTxes warmoadgens qarTvel ebisTvisac, magram osebis-Tvis pirdapir damRupvel i iqneba.-¹ mosal odnel i qarTul ebis acil ebis mizniT, osebis erovnul i sabWos mier mowveul osebis mesame yril obis del egatebs_ qarTvel i pol itikosebi swori gadawyvetil ebis miRebiken mouwodebdnen. amave poziciaze idga osuri intel igenciis zogierTi warmomadgenel ic. es faqtori edo safuZvl ad social - demokratebisa da social ist- federal istebis im debul ebebs, roml iTac sazogadoebas arwmunebdnen, rom goris mazris osebs Crdil oETis osebtan SeerTeba ar surdada saqarTvel os winaaRmdeg gal aSqrebas ar apirebdnen. amis dasturad gazeT `erTobas- osebis wina yril obaze miRebul i rezol uciebi mohyavda da masze dayrdnobiT Tavisi poziciis gamagrebas cdil obda. `osTa yril obam_ werda gazeTi `erToba-_ da sazogadod osi gl exobis moqmedebam sakmaod dagvimtkica es.- gazeTis korespodenti am SemTxvevaSi pol i-

tikur gul ubryvil obas iCenda da osebis mxridan saqarTvel os winaaRmdeg momaval Si argal aSqrebis Sesaxeb, sazogadoebas mcdar Sexedul ebas awwdida. amis dadasturebas amierkavkasiis osebis warmomadgenel Ta javis mesame yril obis (1918 wl is 28 maisi) muSaobis amsaxvel i masal ebi warmoadgens. rogorc irkveva, p.Tedeevma da b.koCievma saqarTvel oSi ararsebul i `oseTis~ (da ara osebis) saqarTvel odan gamoyofa da misi damoukidebl oba dRis wesrigSi oficial urad daayena.² mxedvel obaSi misaRebi yril obaze sityviT gamosul i is.ramiSvil isadmi osebis mier dasmul i SekiTxva: `amieridan osebi damoukidebel ni xom varT da saqarTvel os Semadgenl obaSi arSesvl is ufl eba xom gvaqvs?- sakiTxis am formiT dasma imis damadasturebel i iyo, rom Sida qarTI is mTian zol s, osebi saqarTvel os ganuyofel nawil ad ar Tvl ida da damoukidebel i saqarTvel os Semadgenl obaSi `Sesvl a-- `arSesvl as- osTa prerogativad acxadebda. garkveul i mosazrebidan gamomdinare, is.ramiSvil ma konkretul pasuxs marTal ia Tavi aarida, magram sityvis dasasrul s dasZina: `darwmunebul i var, amierkavkasiis osebi ar ayvebian anarqistebis da kontrerevolucionerebs.- samwuxarod, zemoaRniSnul i SekiTxva sawinaaRmdegos metyvel ebda da is.ramiSvil is optimistur ganwyobil ebas adgil zeve asamarebda. aseTi daskvnis gakeTebis SesaZl ebl obas osebis warmomadgenel is al .Zasoxovis mier imave yril obaze dasmul i SekiTxva iZl eva. `SesaZl ebel ia Tu ara osebis damoukidebl oba saqarTvel os gareSe?- randenadac sakiTxi aseTi formiT TviT al .Zasoxovma daayena, igi val debul i iyo pasuxic masve gaeca. am faqts, osebze zemoqmedebis Tval sazrisiT garkveul i ideol ogiuri datvirTva miecemoda. al .Zasoxovis mxridan konkretul pasuxze Tavis arideba imaze metyvel ebs, rom igi Sinaganad osebis saqarTvel odan gamocal kevebas uWerda mxars, xol o garegnul ad, qarTul i demokratiisadmi Tanadgomisken mouwodebda osebs.³ al .Zasoxovi saqarTvel os teritoriul i ertianobis momxre rom yofil iyo, osuri separatizmisadmi ganaCeni imave yril obaze unda gamoetana. aseT `riskze- misi mxridan arwasvl a `politikureSmakobas- da `gawolis- politikuri kursisadmi upiratesobis miniWebas emyareboda. am SemTxvevaSi igi osuri ajanyebebis damarcxebis SedegebiTa da Crdil o kavkasiaSi qarTul ebul i politikuri situaciIT xel mZRvanel obda. imavdroul ad, qarTul i politikuri azris warmomadgenel Ta mxridan osebis qmedebis umkacres Sefasebasac uwevda angariSs.

zemoaRniSnul sakiTxze gamarTul i mwave debatebis miuxedavad, yril obaze konkretul i gadawyvetil eba ver miRes. konsesuss mxol odert sakiTxSi miarwies_ ori kviris ganmavl obaSi osebis axal i yril oba unda moewviaT da osuri probl emisaTvis sabol oo wertil i daesvat. drois es monakveti saRad moazrovne osi intel igenciis zogierTma warmomadgenel - ma proqarTul i orientaciis saagitaci od gamoiyena. amis nimuSs gazeT `ertobaSi- Jameul i osis fsevdonimit gamoqveynebul i statia `osebis kreba- warmoadgens. misi avtori osur mosaxl eobas da uSual od yril obis del egatebs Seaxsenebda, rom osebi istoriul ad, geografiul ad da ekonomikurad saqarTvel osTan iyo `SeerTebul - gadabmul i.- es faqtori osebis 1918 wl is 15 ivnisis yril obas aucil ebl ad unda gaeTval iswinebina da saqarTvel osTan mimarTebaSi swori gadawyvetil eba mieRo. `yril obam unda daadginos_ vkiTxul obT weril Si_ SevadgenT Tu ara Cven osebi saqarTve-

I os respubl ikis nawil s da Tu ar SevadgenT SegviZl ian Tu ara cal ke saxel mwifos Seqmna. am ukanasknel s zogierTebi moiTxoven da ramdenad misa-Rebia es unda vicodeT. axl a aRar aris is dro, rodesac TiTo- orol a piri wyvetda xal xis bediRbal s. Cven unda gamovTqvaT Cveni azri da ar davuSvaT iseTi Secdoma, ristVisac xval osis demokratiis winaSe vagoT pasuxi.-⁴

es gafrTxil eba warsul is_ cxinval is raionis osebis aj anyebis damarcxebidan gamomdinare miRebul gamocdil ebas emyareboda da misi argaTval iswineba osuri intel igenciis mcire nawil s danaSaul ad miacnda. aqedan gamomdinare, osebis mxridan nebismieri separatistul i gamosvl is winaaRmdeg il aSqrebdnen. amis dadasturebas gazeT `erTobaSi- a.farnievis mier dabeWdil i weril i `SesaZl ebel ia Tu ara osebis damoukidebl oba saqarTvel oSi da vin moiTxovs mas?-_ warmoadgens. a.farnievi ar gamoricxavda, rom osebis j avis mesame yril obis msgavsad, osebis meoTxe yril obazedac rom dasmul iyo saqarTvel odan osebis gamoyofis sakiTxi. `ramdeni momxre aRmouCndebaT b.b. njioevs, p.Tedeevs da b.koCievs me ar vici_ vkiTxul obT weril Si,_ Tu maTma pol itikam gaimarj va, osebi iseTive mdgomareobaSi Cavardebian ra mdgomareobaSiac imyofeba amJamad somxis eri. `daSnakcuTiunebis- partiis wyal obiT... somxebi usaxl karod darCa, mindvrebSi da tyeebSi afarebs Tavs. maS frTxil ad, awon- dawoneT, nu ayvebiT upasuxismgebl o pol itikanebs, nu daiviwyebT, rom osebi erT adgil ze ara xarT dasaxl ebul i da arc ise advil ia cal ke saxel mwifos Seqmna da misi xarjebis gaweva.-⁵

aq erT metad mniSvnel ovan niuansze unda gavamaxvil oT yuradReba, saqme exeba a.farnievis mier naxseneb usaxl karod darCenil somxebs. am SemTxvevaSi igi osmal eTidan masobrivad gamozevebul da l tol vil ebad qceul somxebs gul isxmabda. istoriografiaSi dadgenil ia, rom osmal eTidan somxebis masobrivi gamozeveba daSnakcuTiunis partiis l iderTa mcdarma pol itikurma kursma ganapiroba. am faqtis winapl anze wamoweve SemTxveviT ar iyo ganpirobebul i. a.farnievma osi separatistebis l iderebs Seaxsena; Tu isini saqarTvel os saxel mwifos sawinaaRmdego pol itikis gatarebis gzas daadgebodnen, ar gamoricxavda, rom saqarTvel oSi mcxovrebeb osebs osmal eTis somxebis bedi gaeziarebina da saqarTvel odan l tol vil ebad qceul iyvnen. am da sxva faqtorebis gaTval iswinebidan gamomdinare, osebis IV yril obis del egatebs igi erTxel kidev moagonebda, rom amierkavkasiaSi mcxovrebeb osebs `ar SeuZl iaT cal ke saxel mwifos Seqmna- Senaxva... vTqvaT j avis xeoba gamoyeyo saqarTvel os, mere an ful i ar undaT, an sxva rame? ra modis j avis xeobaSi? araferi, xal xi damSeul ia... an sad unda moewyos saxel mwifos mTavroba, romel qal aqSi an sofel Si? isini vinc osebis damoukidebel i saxel mwifos Seqmnaze ocneboben maT an araferi gaegebaT qveynierebis avkargisa, an da gangeb surT Seatakon qarTvel ebi da osebi erTmaneTs da daRupon is, rac moi pova xal xma.-⁶

saqarTvel oSi mcxovrebi osebis sakiTxs a.farnievi swori poziciidan ganxil avda da qarTul miwaze Semoxiznul i da damkvidrebul i osebisatvis cal ke saxel mwifos Seqmnas dauSvebl ad miicnevda. imavdroul ad, separatistebis garkveviT miuTitebda, rom qarTvel Ta da oSta dapirispirebis pol itikuri kursi uareyoT, qarTvel Ta mier osebisatvis gakeTebul i sikeTe daviwyebisatvis ar miecaT. igi yril obaze gasagzavn del egatebs erTxel kidev Seaxsenebda, rom

mxol od qarTvel obam `gaigo rom osebs SiaT, man ar dauwyo kiTxva vin xar, saidan Camofrenil xar, ra enaze l aparakob da dRemdis Zmurad icxovres.- am SemTxvevaSi a.farnievi simarTI es ambobda. qarTvel Ta mTel i ubedureba romel ic mas qudbedad dahyva, imaSi mdgomareobs, rom `stumrad- mosul yvel a ucxo tomis warmomadgenel s saxl is karebs uRebs da Tavissave oj axSi uprobl emod samkvidrebel s aZl evs. es sibriyve imdenad maRal safexurze iyo da aris ayvanil i, rom ver acnobierebda da acnobierebs, rom am qmedebiT erovnul i saxel mwifos arsebobisaTvis im pirvel xarixovan tots Wrida da Wris, romel ic saqarTvel os teritoriul i mTI i-anobis samomavl od SesanarCunebl ad, qarTvel Ta momaval i TaobebisaTvis dasayrden bal avarad unda gadaqceul iyo. qveynis momavli sadmi aseTi damokidebul ebis Sedegad, saqarTvel om osuri separatizmi da Sida qarTI Si mcxovrebi qarTvel ebis istoriul i sacxovrisidan samudamod gaZevebis didi al baToba miRo.

osuri separatizmis warmoSobis mizezis axsnas a.farnievi zemoT dasaxel ebul statiaSi Seecada. misi mtkicebiT; a)ruseTis imperiis pirobexi osebi damokidebl obas imitom ar iTxovdnen, rom isini Tbil adgil ebze iyvnen mokal aTebul ni da ruseTis xazina uprobl emod kvebavda; b)imperiis daSl isa da `msuqani l ukmis- dakargvis Sedegad, osebis intel igencias sakuTari saxel mwifos Seqmna ekonomkurma siduxWirem gaaxsena da am fonze TiToeul ma maTganma Tavi osuri saxel mwifos ministrebad warmoidgines. osuri separatizmis axsnis a.farnievis es mosazreba ususur argumentacias emyareba da nakl ebad damaj erebel ia, radgan: 1)ruseTis imperiis Semadgenl obaSi myofi osebi `rkinis marwuxebSi- iyo moqceul i da mcireodeni separatistul i gamovl inebiT, rusul i saxel mwifos interesebisdami dapirispireba osebs kargs arafers uqadda. amas TviT osuri intel igenciac grZnobda da miyuCebul i iyo; 2)osur intel igencias, osuri saxel mwifos Seqmna da ministroba Tuki surda, am ideis ganxorciel ebaze Crdil o kavkasiis oseTSi_ osebis istoriul samSobl oSi unda ezruna da ara saqarTvel oSi; 3)ruseTis imperiis daSl is Sedegad, separatistul ad moazrovne osuri intel igencia mxol od saqarTvel oSi gaaqtiurda, radgan jaWvis yvel aze susti rgol i aq dainaxa da mis gawyvetas Seecada. dasaxuli miznis gansaxorciel ebl ad da osuri mosaxl eobisagan mxardaWeris misaRebad, qarTvel ebisadmi umadurobis farTo propagandas eweoda. amis dadasturebas osebis erT- erT krebaze n.jioevis gamosvl a warmoadgens.; `Tqven gindaT_ ambobda igi_ rom osebi qarTvel ebSi gaiTqvifon da dahkargon samSobl o ena? ra moucia qarTul kul turas erTi bewo nabdis qudis meti?-7 sakiTxis aseTi formiT dasmis miuxedavad, n.jioevi arafers ambobda Tu ra misca saqarTvel oSi Semoxiznul ma da qarTvel Ta SemweobiT fizikurad gadarCenil ma osebma qarTul saxel mwifos. saqarTvel o- osmal eTs Soris saomari moqmedebepis periodSi ramdenad zneobrivi iyo osebis mir cxinval is raionSi aj anyebis mowyoba (1918 wl is marti) da mSvidobiani qarTul i mosaxl eobis mimarT ganxorciel ebul i vandal izmi.

qarTul i pol itikuri azris mesveurebi, osuri intel igenciis warmomadgenl ebs erTxel kidev Seaxsenebda, rom ruseTis bol SevikebTan urTierToba da maTi miTiTebebiT moqmedeba, qveynis samoqal aqo omSi CarTvasa da daRupvas niSnavda. am Tval sazrisiT Tuki ganvixil avT im periodSi gamoqveynebul publ ikaciebs, yuradRebis centrSi xiconis fsevdonimiT dabe-

Wdil i statia `risTvis SeuCndnen bol Sevikebi oseTs?~_ moeqceva. publikaciis avtoris mizans warmoadgenda saqarTvel os mosaxl eobisaTvis da gansakuTrebiT osebisatvis daesabuTebina: **1)**bol Sevikebis taqtikam da maTma saqmianobam ruseTi daRupvis piramde miyvana da samoqal aqo omis asparezad aqcia; **2)**qarTvel i da osi bol Sevikebis amocanas amierkavkasia-Si da kerZod saqarTvel oSi sabWouri ruseTis model is gadmotana warmoadgenda, risTvisac adgil obrivi xel isufl ebisadmi gl exobis dasapirispirebl ad yovel gvare saxis saSual ebibs mimarTavdnen; **3)**osuri aj anyebebis damarcxebam daadastura, rom bol Sevikebs araferi daukargavs, osuri mosaxl eobis didi nawil i dazaral da da represiebi ganicada. aRniSnul i faqtebis osebisadmi Sexsenebidan gamomdinare, weril is avtori osur mosaxl eobas gamafRTxil ebel i toniT mimarTavda: `Seqmnil mdgomareobas kargad unda Caukvi rdes... osis mSromel i xal xi. man unda gaarkvios Tavisi mter- moyvare da mxari im xal xs dauwiros romel ic istoriul ad mis gverdsi dgas. SeuerTdes Tavis erTgul qarTul demokratias... Cven movuwodebT Cvens moZme osebs nu ayvebian xul igan- provokatorebs da nacional istebs... winaaRmddeg SemTxvevaSi osis xal xs ganadgureba moel is.- am amonaweridan kargad Cans, rom qarTul i politikuri speqtri osebs arcewanis winaSe ayenebda: **a)**sabWoTa ruseTisadmi upiratesobis micema da osebis fizikuri arsebobis kiTxviTi niSnis qveS dayeneba, **b)**qarTul i orientacia, saqarTvel os saxel mwifos samsaxurSi Cadgoma, demokratiul i saxel mwifosaTvis damaxasiaTebel i institutebis Camoyal ibebaganvitarებაSi aqtiuri monawil eobis miReba da saqarTvl oSi mcxovrebi osebisatvis, rogorc eTnikuri umciresobebisatvis saWiro pirobebis Seqmnisatvis xel Sewyoba. am SemTxvevaSi gadamwyveti sityva osur intel igencias unda eTqva; kerZod, osuri mosaxl eobis qarTul i orientaciis upiratesobaSi dasarwmunebl ad_ gadadgamda Tu ara Sesabamis nabij s. am sakiTxTan dakavSirebiT gazeTi `erToba- mowinave statiaSi `nacional - demokratebis SekiTxva da osebi- werda: `didi moval eoba awevs osi xal xis winaSe Segnebul da gaTviTcnobierebul osebs... isini kargad unda xedavdnen Tu ra mouva osebs saqarTvel os respublikis demokratiul i mTavroba rom damarcxdes. maTi moval eobaa auxnan osis demokratias Tu ra safrTxes umzadebs mas jiovebi, Tedevebi da sxvebi.⁸

aseTi winaaRmddegobrivi saagitacio- propagandistul i muSaobis fonze mimdinareobda osebis IV yril obisaTvis mzadeba. aRniSnul i yril oba 1918 wl is 15 ivniss sofel wunarSi iqna mowveuli, romel mac dRis wesrigis 8 sakiTxi daamtkica. wina planze osebis erovnul i TviTgamorkvevisa da saqarTvel os damoukidebel respublikasTan maTi damokidebul ebis sakiTxi iqna wamoweuli. yril obis muSaobaSi monawil eobas ir.wereTel i, vlmgel aZe da Jurnal isti vlv. voitinski iRebda. mimdinare politikuri procesebisa da saqarTvel oSi Seqmnil i mdgomareobis Sesaxeb yril obaze moxseneba ir.wereTel ma gaakeTa. dasmul i SekiTxvebisadmi ir.wereTel is mier amomwuravi pasuxis gacemis miuxedavad, yril obis del egatebma damoukidebel saqarTvel osTan mimarTebaSi konkretul i gadawyvetil eba ver miRes. es iqedanac Cans, rom yril obaze gansaxil vel ad rezoluciis sami proeqti iqna wardgenili. TiToeul i maTganis debul ebebi Semdegnairad SeiZleba Camoyal ibdes: **1)rezoluciis pirveli proeqti, a)saqarTvel os demokratiul respublikad gamocxadebas Seqmnil i politikuri situaciidan gamomdinare erTadert gamosaval gzad miCnevda. b)saqarTvel os respublikis mTavrobis winaaRmddeg nebismeri saxis gamo-**

svl as qveynisaTvis damRupvel ad acxadebda. g)saqarTvel oSi kompaqturad dasaxl ebul i osebisatvis TviTmmarTvel obis SemosaRebad, sagangebo komisiis Seqmnisa da special uri proeqtis SemuSavebis sakiTxs ayenebda; 2)rezol uciis meore proeqtis mixedvit, a)osebis TviTgamorkvevis sakiTxi eqvsi kviris Semdeg mowveul osebis V yril obas unda gadaewyvita. b)saqarTvel os osebis orientaciis sakiTxis gasarkvevad, axal i yril obis mowvevamde Crdil oeT osetTan mol aparakeba da Setanxmeba unda momxdariyo; 3)rezol uciis mesame proeqti pirvel is identuri iyo. gansxvaveba mxol od imaSi mdgomareobda, rom saqarTvel os respublikis Semadgenl obaSi `samxreT oseTis- avtonomiuri ufl ebebiT Sesvl is sakiTxs ayenebda.⁹

Yril obis masal ebis Seswavl a adasturebs, rom yril obaze damswre ir.wereTel ma, rezol uciis meore proeqtis winaarMdeg sastikad gail aSqra. mi si mtkicebiT, yovl ad dauSvebel i iyo 6 kviris ganmavl obaSi osur mosaxl e-obas ar scodnoda Tu vis Semadgenl obaSi imyofeboda igi. mimdinare politiki situaciis anal izis fonze man meore rezol uciis proeqtis miRebis mizanSeuwonl oba daasabuTa. miuxedavad amisa, xmebis umravl esobiT yril obam meore proeqti miRo. aseT situaciaSi erTaderTi gamosaval i mxol od Sesworebebis SetanaSi mdgomareobda. ir.wereTel i am Sesazl ebl obis maqsimal urad gamoiyenebas Seecada. man kategoriul i formiT daayena sakiTxi: `saWiroa Secvl il i iqnas rezol uciis is muxl i sadac l aparakia Crdil oeT osetTan mol aparakeba_ Setanxmebis Sesaxeb. gamodis rom saxel mwifos erTi nawil i mol aparakebas marTavs meore saxel mwifosTan. amis garda unda Seicval os sityva orientacia.- rac Seexeba rezol uciaSi naxseneb osebis TviTgamorkvevas, ir.wereTel ma yril obas rezol uciaSi Sesatani cvl il ebebis Semdegi formul ireba Setavaza; sanam saqarTvel oSi mcxovrebi osebis TviTgamorkvevis sakiTxi gairkveodes da `es kiTxva gadawydebodes, winadadeba mieces os xal xs, saqarTvel os respublikis mTavrobis srul i morcili i iyos.- rezol uciis ir.wereTI iseul i Sesworebebi yril obis del egatTa mxridan miRebul i da gatval iswinebul i iqna. am faqts sabwoTa istoriografiam gverdi auara da mkiTxvel sazogadoebas osi separatistebis mier yril obisadmi wardgenil i meore proeqtis pirvandel i varianti Setavaza. amit iseTi STabeWdil eba Seqmna, TiTqos rezol uciis proeqts aranairi cvl il ebebi ar ganecados.¹⁰ Cems mier motanil i faqtebi aSkarad adasturebs, rom osebis erovnul i sabwos xel mZRvanel oba, roml is iniciativiTac zemoaRniSnul i yril oba iqna mowveul i_ separatizmis gzas adga. maT mizans, `samxreT oseTad- monaTI ul i saqarTvel os Sida qarTl is teritoriis garkveul i nawil is_ saqarTvel odan Camocil eba warmoadgenda. aq erTi metad mniSvnel ovani niuansia gasatval iswinebel i, saqme exeba meore proeqtSi Setanil debul ebas_ osebis TviTgamorkvevis sakiTxis gadawyvetis eqvsi kviriT gadadebas da am probl emis momdevno yril obis prerogativad gamocxadebas. am SemTxvevaSi, osi separatistebi SeniRbul ad moqmedebdnen da politiki eSmakobas mimarTavdnen. sakiTxis Riad datoveba, saqarTvel os xel isufl ebis argaRizi anebaze iyo gatvl il i. yril obis mier aRebul i es kursi, damoukidebel i saqarTvel ios winaarMdeg moqmedebisaTvis mosamzadebl ad drois mogebis faqtorsac iTval iswinebda. osuri `politiki eSmakoba- qarTul i politiki azris warmomadgenl ebs, yuradRebis miRma ar darCenia. swored es edo sa-

fuZvl ad ir.wereTel is mier zemoaRniSnul rezl uciaSi Setanil Sesworebas_ sakiTxis gadawyvetamde osebi val debul ni yofil iyven saqarTvel os mTavrobas damorCil ebodnen. am faqtiT, osebis nebismieri antisaxel mwifoebri vi qmedebis winaaRmdeg, saqarTvel os xel isufli ebam Sesabamisi reagirebis samarTi ebrivi safuZvel i moipova. es imdenad iyo mniSvel ovani, ramdenadac igi TviT osebis yril obis mier iqna miRebul i da damtkicebul i. qarTul i politikuri azris warmomadgenl ebi osebis aRniSnul yril obaze gamomsvl el Ta yvel a niuanss skrupul ozuri sizustiT rom aanal izebdnen, es kargad Cans gazeT `erTobaSi~ dabeWdil mowinave statiaSi `ras gvaswavl is osebis yril oba?~ `Cven imTaviTve kargad vicodiT_ vkiTxul obT weril Si_ Tu ras niSnavda eqvsi kviris vadis dadeba. am drois ganmavl obaSi osebs aj anyebis mowyobis da Crdil oeT kavkasiis miSvel ebis imedi hqodaT.-¹¹ am SemTxvevaSi gazeT `erTobis~ korespodenti ar tyuoda, radgan osebis IV yril obis damTavrebidan meTormete dRes (1918 wl is 28 ivnisi) aj anyebul ma osebma Seteva saCxeris raionze ganaxorciel es. es faqti imis damadasturebellia, rom osebis erovnul i sabWosadmi da osebis erovnul i yril obisadmi xel isufli ebisgan ndobis gamocxadeba politikuri sibriyve iyo. maTdami saqarTvel os xel isufli ebisa da qveynis sakanonmdebl o organos mxridan radikal uri RonisZiebebis droul ad argatarebam, osebs aRniSnul i aj anyebisadmi garkveul i stimuli misca. savsebiT marTebul i iyo gr.veSapel is kategoriul i moTxovna: `Cven moviTxovT_ ambobda igi_ mTavrobam dauyovnebl iv miRos zomebi raTa osebma sTqvas Tavisi ukanasknel i sityva, scnobs Tu ara saqarTvel os damoukidebl obas.- ragind paradoqsadac ar unda moCandes, saqarTvel oSi Semoxiznul i osebi, qarTvel i eris damoukidebl obas ignorirebas ukeTebda, xol o zemoaRniSnul kiTxvaze_ cnobda Tu ara osebi saqarTvel os respublikis damoukidebl obis arsebobas, qveynis sakanonmdebl o organos maTgan konkretul i pasuxi ar gaaCnda. am mxriv garkveul i nabiji sofel j avaSi mowveul ma osebis V yril obam (1918 wl is 5 agvisto) gadadga. sityvaSi gamosul i del egatebidan, yuradRebis centrSi Crdil o kavkasiaSi mcxovrebi osebis mdgomareobis Sesaxeb p.Tedeevis mier gakeTebul i informacia moeqca. rogorc stenografiul i angariSidan irkveva, p.Tedeevi Crdil o kavkasiis osebis sam yril obas daswrebia da saqarTvel os osebis Sesaxeb miRebul gadawyvetil ebebTan dakavSirebiT saTanado informacia gaakeTa. misi mtkicebiT, Crdil o kavkasiis oseTis yril obis del egatTa umravl esoba im azrisa iyo, rom a) `samxreT oseTs~ ar SeuZlia saqarTvel os saxel mwifos Camoscil des, radgan igi mis sazRvrebSi imyofeba; b) ramdenadac saqarTvel os respublikis mTavroba social isturi iyo da demokratiis interesებს icavda, samxreTel i osebi saqarTvel os respublikas unda SeerTebodnen da mis fargl ebSi osebis erovnul i da kul turul i interesebi daecva.

Crdil o kavkasiis osebisgan saqarTvel os osebisadmi aseTi gzavnili imaze migvaniSnebs, rom saqarTvel os osebs Crdil oeTidan samxedro daxmarebis aranairi imedi ar unda hqonoda, yovel gvari saxis aj anyebaze da separatul gamosvl aze xel i aeRo, saqarTvel os xel isufli ebasTan saerToena gameZebna da erovnul - kul turul i ufl ebemis mosapovebl ad ezruna. am pozicias im etapze separatistul ad moazrovne nji oevic icavda. igi saqarTvel os osebis V yril obis del egatebs arwmunebda, rom `vidre exlandel i social isturi mTavroba udgas saTaveSi respublikas, osebis

interesebs veravin Sel axavs... is gaugebroba romel ic arsebobs rogorc mTavrobis wreebSi, ise osebSi Tavidan gaqreba da erTmaneTs ufro ndobis Tval iT Sexedaven.¹² Tuki p.Tedeevi da njioevi marTI ac ase fiqrobdnen, ismeba kiTxva, ratom Tavis droze_ cxinval isa da saCxeris raionis osTa aj anyebebis dawyebamde ar gaakeTes anal ogiuri saxis gancxadebebi? maTi poziciis aseTi cval ebadoba iZul ebiTi garemoebidan gamomdinareobda Tu sxva ram mizezi edo safuZvl ad? am kiTxvaze amomwurav pasuxs aRniSnul pirovnebaTa moxsenebebSi Crdil o kavkasiis oseTSi Seqmnil i mZime pol itikuri situaciis Sesaxeb warmodgenil i faqtebi iZl eva. erTic da meorec xazgasmiT miuTitebdnen, rom `aramc Tu samoTxex, j oj oxetic ki moenatreba kacss iseTi areul obaa Crdil o kavkasiaSi, sadac Zma Zmas ar indobs, osi oss.¹³ ruseTidan Camosul ma yofil ma osma jariskacma yril obis monawil eebis dawvril ebiT uambo ruseTSi mimdinare anarqiul i procesebis Sesaxeb da bol SevicekTan mimarTebsaSi ganacxada: `RmerTma mogaSoroT aseTi ubedureba. didi ruseTi bol Sevicekma daRupa, daaqcia. me Cemi Tval iT vnaxe ganadgurebul i moskovi, rostovi, da sxva qal aqebi. sadac bol Sevicekia iq ubedurebis meti araferia. aq samoTxexa da ratom ar gindaT saqarTvel os respubl ikaSi darCena?¹⁴ marTal ia am kanonzomier kiTxvaze osebis yril obas pasuxi ar gaucia, magram erTi ram cxadia, yril obis momwvevi xel mZRvanel i birTvisatvis naTel i gaxda, rom Crdil oET kavkasiaSi arsebul i umZimesi anarqiul i procesebidan gamomdinare, Crdil oETi kavkasiis oseTi, saqarTvel oSi mcxovrebi osebiSTvis im etapze ver moicl ida. maT aranairi pol itikuri da samxedro daxmarebis imedi ar unda hqonodaT. swored es faqtori ganapirobebda im garegnul fericval ebas, romel ic osebis V yril obaze sityviT gamomsvl el os separatistebSi SeimCneoda. meore mxriv, arsebiTi mniSvnel oba osebis saCxeris aj anyebaze samTavrobo Zal ebis mier mopovebul gamarjvebas eniWeboda. exeboda ra aRniSnul sakiTxs, i.gabunia statiaSi `oseTSi- garkveviT werda: `osebis orgzis aj anyebis damarcxebam daafiqra oseTis xal xis meTaurebi da samudamoT daarwmuna imaSi, rom saqarTvel os respubl ikis winaaRmdeg gamosvl ebi maT araferis SesZens.- anal ogiuri Tval sazrisi iyo gamoTqmul i gazeT `saqarTvel os respubl ikaSi- presis mimoxil vis rubrikiT dabeWdil korespodenciaSi. `eqvsi kviris ganmavl obaSi (saqarTvel os osebi S.v.) darwmunda, rom bol Seviceks ar Zal uZs arcerTi aRTqmis asrul eba. Tergis ol qis amebma maT naTI ad daanaxva, rom `social istur ruseTSi- ufro metad aris awevil i saqmeebi, ufro didi arev- darevaa, vidre `kontrrevol ucionur- saqarTvel oSi... duSeTisa da saCxeris amebma naTI ad daanaxves osis gl exebis, rom saqarTvel os respubl ikis mTavroba didi ndobiT aris aRWurvil i qarTvel i eris mier.- es imas niSnavs, rom saqarTvel os xel isufl ebis mxridan Zal is demonstrirebam da Crdil oETidan daxmarebis uimedobam, osebi garegnul ad saqarTvel os xel isufl ebisken Semoabrana. amis official ur dadasturebas p.Tedeevis mier gakeTebul i moxsenebis safuZvel ze, yril obaze miRebul i rezol ucia warmoadgens. `pol itikuri mdgomareoba _vkiTxul obT dokumentSi_ osebs ukarnaxebis Sevidnen saqarTvel os demokratiul i respubl ikis Semadgenl obaSi da moiTxovon farTo teritoriul i TviTmmarTvel oba.¹⁵ saqarTvel os Semadgenl obaSi osebis darCenis damadasturebel i rezol uciis miReba, yril obis monawil e osi del egatebis keTil i nebis gamovl inebas srul ebiTac ar warmoadgenda. igi arsebul i pol itikuri mdgomareobis cval ebadobiT iyo ganpirorebul i. mxedvel obaSi maqvs: 1)saCxeris raionis osebis aj an-

yebis damarcxeba da damnaSaveTa mimaT saqarTvel os xel isufli ebis mier Sesatyvisi RonisZiebebis gatarebis faqtebi; 2)Crdil o kavkasiaSi, gansakuTrebiT Crdil oet oseTSi rTul i anarqiul i procesebi. am SemTxvevaSi, `osuri kompromisi~ izul ebidan gamomdinareobda. igi saqarTvel os xel isufli ebis mxridan Zal is demonstrirebam, Crdil oetidan daxmarebis garantiis uqonl obam da osebisagan winaaRmdegobis gawevis uperspeqtivobam ganapiroba.

erTgul ebis damtkicebis Tval sacinoebis mizniT, osebis saTemo da saraiono krebebze saqarTvel os mxardamWer rezol uciebsa da dadgenil ebebs Rebul obdnen. amis erT_ erT nimuSs qarel is raionis zoreTis xeobis osebis krebis mier miRebul i rezol ucia warmoadgens. `ndobas vucxadebT saqarTvel os demokratiul i respubl ikis mTavrobas_ vkiTxul obT dokumentSi_ da mzaTa varT mis mier gamocemul i kanonebi avasrul oT.-¹⁶

aseTi saxis dadgenil ebebsa da osi gl exebis mier gakeTebul gancxadebebs eyrdnoboda Sinagan saqmeTa saminstros rwmunebul is m.kl imiaSvil is 1918 wl is 15 seqtembriT daTariRebul i moxseneba. m.kl imiaSvil is mtkicebiT, saqarTvel oSi mcxovrebi osebi TiTqos sakuTari saxel mwifos Seqmnaze aRar fiqrobden. maTi didi umravl esoba cxinval is raionis osebis aj anyebiT daSvebul Secdomas nanobda. m.kl imiaSvil i ratomRac darwmunebul i iyo, rom osebi avantiuristebs aRar ayvebodnen da saqarTvel os xel isufli ebis winaaRmdeg iaraRs ar aRmarTavdnen. igi Sinagan saqmeTa saminstros arwmunebda, rom `amJamad osis xal xis didi umravl esoba saqarTvel os respubl ikis beds iziarebs.-¹⁷ aseTi damaimedebel i daskvnis miuxedavad, kompaqturad dasaxl ebul osur mosaxl eobaSi situacia sawinaaRmdego iyo. amis Sesaxeb sagazeTo statiaSi `eroba goris mazraSi da javis raionSi~ abibil ovi garkveviT miuTitebda im antiqarTul saqmianobaze, romelic im etapze javis mosaxl eobaSi mimdinareobda. amastan dakavSirebiT imave statiaSi vkiTxul obT: `j avaSi Tavsiyris ramdenime cenziანი ინტელიგენტი, რომლებიც გამოდან ესერებინ, `internacional is,- upartio da bol Sevicebis saxiT. namdvil ad ki nacional - Sovinistebia da Tavianti kerZo interesebis damcvel ni... Cven movuwodebT osis mSromel xal xs, rom mWidrod SeukavSirdes qarTul demokratias... winaaRmdeg SemTxvevaSi cudi dRe mogvel is. xal xma Tavisi saqme TviTon unda gaakeTos da ukuagdos yvel ajuris Sovinistebi, `internacional izmis~ samosel Si gaxveul i, რომლებიც... mxol od mtrobasa da Surs Tesaven.-¹⁸

es amonaweri imis damadasturebel ia, rom osuri mosaxl eobis cnobierebaSi qarTul i saxel mwifosadmi mtroba myarad iyo damkvidrebul i. Tuki es sizul vili im etapze SeniRbul formas atarebda, Crdil o kavkasiaSi Seqmnili rTul i politikuri situaciis gaTval - iswinebis koniunqTuridan gamomdinareobda da ara saqarTvel osTan da qarTvel erTan mimaTebaSi osuri mosaxl eobis Sexedul ebebis cval ebadobidan. mmarTvel i politikuri partiis el ita am sinamdvil is saaSkaraoze gamotanis sanacvl od, farTo sazogadoebaSi osebis saqarTvel osken Semobrunebis saagitacio- propagandistul saqmianobas eweoda. xel isufli ebis aseTi qmedeba, m.kl imiaSvil is msgavs rwmunebul Ta araswor daskvnebze an mis `politikur sibriyveze~ namdvil ad ar iyo dafuznebul i. Cemi azriT, xel isufli ebis mTavar amocanas im rTul periodSi qveyanaSi garegnul ad iseTi politikuri atmosferos Seqmna warmoadgenda, rom osebis mier 1918 wels orgzis mowyobil i aj anyebisa da qarTul i mosaxl eobis van-

dal uri Zarçva- darbevidan gamomdinare, qarTul mosaxl eobaSi osebis Tavdasxmis axal i safrTxis Sesaxeb SiSi maqsimal urad Semcirebul iyo. osebis mxridan Cadenil danaSaul ebriv qmedebasTan mimarTebaSi, qarTul mosaxl eobaSi SurisZiebis faqtori wina pl anze ar wamoweul iyo da os- qarTvel Ta farTomasStabian dapirispirebaSi ar gadazrdil iyo. amis real uri safuZvel i im etapze namdvil ad arsebobda. samwuxar od, saqarTvel os xel isufl ebis am pol itikurma kursma ar gaamarTI a. amis dadasturebas saqarTvel os osebis VI yril obis (1918 wl is 5 dekemberi) mier miRebul i gadawyvetil ebebi warmoadgens. savsebiT sakmarisi gamodga Crdil oET kavkasiaSi pol itikuri situacia Tundac nawil obrivad Secvl il iyo, rom (V yril obidan_ VI yril obamde) oTxi Tvis ganmavl obaSi, osebis erovnul i sabWos xel mZRvanel obas wina yril obis dadgenil eba `daviwyeboda,- pol itikuri fericval eba ganecada da damoukidebel i saqarTvel os sawinaaRmdego nabiji gadaedga. mxedvel obaSi maqvs osebis VI yril obis mier Crdil o kavkasiis oseTis da `samxreT oseTis- SeerTebul i mTavrobis Seqmnis Sesaxeb miRebul i rezolucia. imave dokumentiT, `samxreT oseTis- axl adarCeul IV erovnul sabWos, sabWoTa ruseTTan SesaerTebul ad praqtikul i nabjis gadadgma daeval a.¹⁹ es imis damadasturebel ia, rom osebis erovnul ma sabWom im etapze damoukidebel i saqarTvel os winaaRmdeg moqmedebis SeuniRbavi kursi aiRo. am qmedebiT igi ara marto saqarTvel os xel isufl ebas daupirispirda, aramed misi aSkara gamowvevac moaxdina. amasTan dakavSirebiT Tbil isSi gamarTuli i osi social - demokratebis TaTbirze (1920 wl is 21 seqtemberi) g.gagl oevi aj amebda ra osebis erovnul i sabWos mier 1918- 1919 wl ebSi gaweul saqmi-anobas, xazgasmiT aRniSnavda: **osebis erovnul i `sabWo ar emorCil eobda respublikis kanonebs, ereoda administraciisa da samarTI is saqmeebSi, ewinaaRmdegeboda mTavrobas javis raionSi erobis SemoRebaSi.** xal xs mouwodebda boikoti gamoecxadebina saqarTvel os damfuZnebel i krebis arCevnebisatvis. marTavda mol aparakebebs sxvasaxel mwifoebis warmomadgenl ebTan samxreT oseTis cal ke erTeul ad gamosayofad.-²⁰ am amonaweris mixedviT Tuki vimsjel ebT, osi separatistebis erovnul sabWos, osebisatvis `miniaturul i saxel mwifo- faqtiurad Seqmnil i hqonda. misi saqmianobis umTavres mizans saqarTvel os teritoriul i mTI ianobis darRveva warmoadgenda. dasaxul i amocanis Sesasrul ebl ad, gansakuTrebiT stimulatoris funqcias qarTvel i bol Sevikebi asrul ebdnen. am mxriv, yvel aze metad f.maxaraZe gamoirCeoda. igi Sida qarTI is mTis osebis TviTgamorkvevas aucil ebl obad miCnevda da am Sexedul ebas Semdegi argumentiT `amarTI ebda:- `rit unda SeuSal os xel i patara oseTis TviTgamorkvevam SedarebiT didi saqarTvel os damoukidebl obas?... Tu didi ruseTis arseboba xel sar uSl is patara saqarTvel os arsebobas, ise patara oseTis arseboba xel sver SeuSl is saqarTvel os arsebobas, romel ic srul ebit ar saWi roebis patara oseTis teritorias.-²¹ f.maxaraZes `patara oseTSi- ruseTis Semadgenl obaSi myofi osebis istoriul i samSobl o_ Crdil o kavkasiis oseTi rom egul isxma, misi TviTgamorkveva (roml is Sesaxebac qarTvel i da rusi bol Sevikebi krintsac ar Zravdnen) saqarTvel os aranair probl emas ar Seuqmni da da misadmi arc teritoriul i pretenziebi eqneboda. magram, roca sakiTxi saqarTvel os ZirZvel istoriul Sida qarTI s da Crdil oETidan Camosaxl ebul - damkvidrebul ucxo tomTa ukanono qmedebas exeba, `patara oseTis- saqarTvel oSi Seqmna- dakanoneba, qarTul i saxel mwifos arsebo-

bisaTvis aramarto xel SemSI el i, misi teritoriul i mTI ianobis winaaRmdeg mi zanmimarTul ad maxvil is zurgSi Cacemis tol fasi danaSaul i iqneboda.

erovnul i saxel mwifos mSenebl obisaTvis am aucil ebel faqtors_ f.maxaraZe principul ad uaryofda da saqarTvel os xel isuflebis warmomadgenlebs kategoriul i toniT mimarTavda: `partias, roml is programaSi erTa TviTgamorkvevis ufl ebaa aRiarebul i, ar SeuZl ia oseTis xal xis TviTgamorkvevas SeebrZol os tlanqi Zal iT. es iqneba TviT programis uaryofa.-²² yuradReba unda mi vaqciOT im garemoebas, rom erTa TviTgamorkvevis sakiTxSi saqarTvel os mmarTvel politikur partiasa da mis programas f.maxaraZe ra pretenziasac uyenebda, imave sakiTxTan mimarTebaSi ruseTis komunistur partiasa da mis programas gverds uvl ida.Narada, erTa TviTgamorkvevas, ruseTis komunisturi partia mTel rig saprogramo dokumentebSi farTo afiSirebas ukeTebda. mxedvel obaSi maqvs: **a)** rsdmp (b) frontisa da zurgis samxedro organizaciebis srul iad ruseTis konferenciis (1917 wl is 16- 23 ivnisi) mier miRebul i rezol uciis **\$.5** `nacional uri sakiTxis Sesaxeb,~ sadac garkveviTaa miTiTebul i: `konferencia acxadebs, rom ruseTis xal xebs TviTgamorkvevisa da Tavianti bedis damoukidebl ad gadawyvetis srul i ufl eba aqvT TviT gamoyofamdec ki.-²³ es formul ireba ruseTis xal xis ufl ebaTa dekl araciis pirveli da meore muxlebiTac iqna dadasturebul i; **b)** erebis saxel mwifoebri vi gamoyofis ufl ebebis Sesaxeb, rkp (b) merve yril obis (1919 wl is 18- 23 marti) mier miRebul i partiis programis mesame paragrafis meore muxl Si Sesabamisi formiT iqna Cadebul i.²⁴

aRniSnul dokumentebs emyareboda f.maxaraZe, roca sagazeTo statiaSi `yvel as gasagonad- werda: `komunistebis programa yvel as gasagonad amobbs, rom yvel a erovnebas aqvs ufl eba nacional uri TviTgamorkvevisa srul gamoyofamde da cal ke saxel mwifos daarsebamde... am ufl ebas ver wavarTmevT... verc samxreT oseTis mcxovrebt.-²⁵ martal ia, **komunistebis saprogramo dokumentebi formal urad martI ac aRiarebda erebis TviTgamorkvevas cal ke saxel mwifos daarsebamde, magram, sabWoTa ruseTis xel isuflebis liderebi praqtikul ad mis ganxorciel ebas maqsimal urad gaurboda. Tuki saqarTvel oSi mcxovrebt osebs f.maxaraZis sityvebiT rom vTqvaT, am ufl ebebs `veravin waarTmevda,~ ismeba kiTxva: ruseTis federaciaSi mcxovrebt Crdil o kavkasiis osebs, Taviant istoriul samSobl oSi ratom ar aZl evdnen misi gamoyenebis Sesazl ebl obas? miTumetes, im etapze maT ara Tu damoukidebl oba, avtonomiac ar hqondaT miRebul i. Tuki osebze f.maxaraZes gul i martI ac Sestkivoda, pretenzia pirvel rigSi sabWoTa ruseTis xel isuflebisatvis unda waeyenebina, zemoaRniSnul i dokumentebis mixedvit Crdil o kavkasiis oseTis (osebis istoriul i samSobl os) damoukidebl oba, an ukidures SemTxvevaSi avtonomia moeTxova. sabWoTa ruseTTan mimarTebaSi am Temaze misi dumili imis damadasturebel ia, rom erTa TviTgamorkveva mxol od piarkampaniisaTvis da saqarTvel os damoukidebl obis dasamarebisTvis swirdeboda gabol Sevikebul naqarTvel ars.**

qarTul i politikuri azris warmomadgenlebs kargad hqondaT gacnobilebul i Sida qarTl is mTis osebis TviTgamorkvevis SemTxvevaSi warmoqmnil i im naRmis saSiSroeba, roml is momzadebas qarTvel i bol Sevikebi Tavgamodebit rom cdil obdnen. am sakiTxTan mimarTebaSi, saqarTvel os xe-

I isufli ebi warmomadgenl ebi yovel gvari Sefarvis gareSe acxadebdnen, rom saqarTvel oSi mcxovrebe eTnikur umciresobebze TviTgamorkvevis principi ar gatardeboda. amasTan dakavSirebiT, osi social - demokratebis TaTbirze Sinagan saqmeTa ministris moadgil e par.WiWi naZe garkveviT amobda: `mcire erovnebebis sakiTxi Cvens respublikaSi saerTo masStabiT gadawydeba... aravis mivcemT respublikaSi fargl ebSi damoukidebeli erTeulis Seqmnis ufl ebas.- es principi saqarTvel os damoukidebeli obis, misi teritoriuli mTli anobis SenarCunebis ideas emyareboda. qarTuli politiki speqtri mxol od am Wril Si ganixil avda im mniSvnel ovan sakiTxis, romelic saqarTvel oSi mcxovrebe eTnikur umciresobebTan iyo dakavSirebuli. amis erT- erT dadasturebas saqarTvel os osebis imave TaTbirze al .I omTaTiZis si tyviT gamosvl is is nawil i warmoadgens, sadac osi del egatebis misamarTiT garkveviT iyo naTqvami: `fizikuri arsebobis SenarCuneba, ai umTavresi momenti saqarTvel os... saSinao da sagareo politika... am Tval sazrisiT vixil avT yvel a sakiTxis, romel sac adgil i qonda saqarTvel os respublikaSi fargl ebSi... sakiTxis mniSvneloba imaSi ki ar aris, ras moiTxovs oriode upasuxismgebl o pirovneba, aramed, ramdenad mizans Sewonili da sasargebl oa qveynis interesebis atvis... am mxriv... osi nacional - istebis eqsperimentebi dadebitS arafers ar moutans saqarTvel os.-

Cems mier zemoT motanili masal ebi anal iziT dasturdeba: a)osi separatistebis mcdeloba_ Sida qarTI Si `patara osetis- saxel mwifos `dabadebis- precedentis nebarTva saqarTvel os xel isufli ebi gan oficial urad mieRo_ uSedego aRmoCnda; b)separatistul ad moazrovne osebs, qarTuli politiki speqtris warmomadgenl ebi winaswar afrTxil ebda, rom qarTuli saxel mwifosaTvis momakvdinebel kompromiss ar dauSvebda da qveynis teritoriuli mTli anobis sawinaaRmdago nabij s ar gadadgamda. g)am sakiTxiTan mimarTebaSi, damoukidebeli saqarTvel os politikiurma el itam principuli, swori da samarTI ebrivi pozicia bol omde SeinarCuna.

amrigad: 1)saqarTvel os damoukidebeli oba, osi separatistebis umravlesobis interesebSi ramdenadac ar Sedioda, qarTvel Ta erovnuli saxel mwifosa da misi teritoriuli mTli anobisadmi dapirispireba, Sida qarTI is mTis osebis teritoriul ad gamoyofis moTxovniT gamoavl ines. am antiqarTuli qmedebis demonstrireba, osebis yril obebze safexurebrivad mimdinareobda; 2)osuri intel igenciis garegnul ad `saqarTvel osaken Semobruneba,- osuri aj anyebebis damarcxebiTa da Crdil o kavkasiaSi mimdinare politiki procesebis cval ebadobit iyo ganpirobepul i. igi `gawol is- nacad politikur kurss Seicavda da samoqmedod drois Sesafers xel sayrel momentze iyo gatvili. qarTuli intel igenciisa da qveynis mmarTveli politiki elitis mxridan saqarTvel os orientaciisaken osebis sabol ood Semobrunebis mcdeloba uSedego aRmoCnda. amis ZirTadi mizezi, osi separatistebis cnobierebaSi saqarTvel os, rogorc jaWvis yvel aze susti rgolis aRqmaSi mdgomareobda. am faktoris gatval iswinebidan gamomdinare, osebi darwmunepul ebi iyvnen, rom saqarTvel os xel isufli ebaze zewolis Sedegad, dasaxul mizans miazRwevden da Sida qarTI is teritoriis garkveuli nawilis saqarTvel odan Camocil ebas SeZl ebdnen; 3)saqarTvel os osebis V yril obis (1918 wl is 4 dekemberi) mier miRebuli rezolucia_ Crdil o da `samxreT oseTis- gaerTianepul i mTavrobis Seqmnis Sesaxeb, saqarTvel os xel isufli ebiadmi ara marto dapirispirebas, aramed

gamowvevasac wadmoadgenda. dokumenturi masaliT dasturdeba, rom, osebisiTviTgamorkvevisken swrafvis stimulatoris funqcia bol Sevikebi asrul ebden. Sida qarTli is mTis osebisiTviTgamorkvevis kampania, rus da qarTvel bol Sevikebs, saqarTvel os damoukidebl obis dasamxobad swirdeboda. am fonze, savsebit martebuli da kanonozomieri iyo erovnul - demokratebis motxovna: a)Sida qarTli is mTis osebTan mimarTebaSi saqarTvel os xelisuflebas radikaluri zomebi gaetarebina; b)daezustebina, cnobden Tu ara osebi saqarTvel os damoukidebl obas; 4)saqarTvel os sinamdvileSi, etnikuri umciresobebisiTviTgamorkvevis SezRudva, qveynis teritoriული mTli anobis Senarcunebas emyareboda. miuxedavad amisa, respublikის სakanონმდებლი აqtebi, etnikuri umciresobebის samarTli ebrivის უფლებების მაქსიმალურ დაცვის გარანტიას იZი eoda. აqedan gamomdinare, etnikურ umciresობებTan mimarTebaSi, saqarTvel os პირველი respublikის მTავრობის პოლიტიკური კურსი იმ პერიოდის evropული სახელმწიფოების სტანდარტებს utol deboda და საერთაშორისო samarTli is ცარცოSi Tavsdeboda.

§. 3. Sida qarTI is mTis osebis 1919- 1920 wl ebis antisaxel mwifoerivi aj anyebebi

saqarTvel os damoukidebl obis winaaRmdeg Sida qarTI is mTis osebis brZol am permanentul i xasiaTi miiRo. am saqmeSi gansakuTrebul rol s rus da qarTvel bol SevicebTan erTad osebis erovnul i sabWo asrul ebda. maTi Zal isxmeviT, mTis osebis mosaxl eoba mizannimarTul ad sainformacio izol aciaSi imyofeboda. aseTi fonis Seqmna da obieqturi informaciis Segnebul ad damal va, gayal bebul faqtebze dayrdnobiT bol Sevicebs saagitacio- propagandistul i saqmianobis gaaqtiurebis Sesazl ebl obas azl evda. amis Sesaxeb gorSi gamarTul social - demokratiul i partiis wevrebisa da organizaciebis warmomadgenl ebis konferenciaze (1919 wl is 16- 17 april i) sagangebod iqna yuradReba gamaxvil ebul i. Sesabamisi masal ebis Seswavl idan dasturdeba, rom Sida qarTI is mTis osuri mosaxl ebis did nawil s, saqarTvel os parl amentisa da damfuZnebel i krebis mier mi-Rebul i miwis kanonebis, sasamarTI os, adgil obrivi TviTmmarTvel obis, administraciis mowyobisa da a.S. Sesaxeb informacia ar gaaCnda. es faqtori, osur mosaxl eobaSi bol Sevicebis agitacias `damaj erebel s- xdid da misadmi mxardaWeras azl ierebda. miTumetes, osebiT dasaxl ebul mTian zol Si Seqmnili bol Sevikuri organizaciebi, im etapze aqtiurad moqmedbdnen. samecniero litaraturaSi dadasturebul ia, rom 1919 wl isaTvis sof. j avaSi Zl ieri bol Sevikuri organizacia arsebobda, roml ic sabWota ruseTis xel SewyobiTa da dafinansebiT, damoukidebel i saqarTvel os xel isufl ebis dasamxobad_ sayovel Tao Seiararebul i aj anyebis mowyobas iTval iswinebda. am antisaxel mwifoerivi gegmis ganxorciel ebis mosamzadebel safexurs, `samxreT oseTis- bol Sevikuri organizaciebis pirvel i aral egarul i konferenciis (1919 wl is 12 ivnisi) mowveva warmoadgenda. dokumenturi masal iT dadasturebul ia, rom rkp (b) kavkasiis samxareo komitetis direqtivebis safuZvel ze, konferenciam Sesabamisi dadgenil ebebi miiRo da aj anyebis mowyoba mTel i saqarTvel os masStabiT dagegma.¹ am sakiTxze rkp (b) kavkasiis samxareo komitetma (1919 wl is 15 agvisto) da kavkasiis saerTo partiul i organizaciebis TaTbirma (1919 wl is 9 seqtemberi) sagangebod imsj el a. arsebul i pol itikuri situaciis gaTval iswinebidan gamomdinare, TaTbirze Sesatyvisi dadgenil ebebi iqna miRebul i.² am dokumentebis mixedviT, aj anyebis dawyebis epicentrad rokis raioni iyo gamocxadebul i. saqarTvel os xel isufl ebis winaaRmdeg brZol aSi damkvrel i birTvis funqcia Sida qarTI is aj anyebul mTis osebs unda Seesrul ebina.

osebis mxridan pirvel i qmediTi nabiji am mimarTul ebiT 1919 wl is april Si gadaidga. mxedvel obaSi maqvs osebis erovnul i sabWos mier `samxreT oseTis- rezidenciad cxinval is gamocxadeba da saqarTvel os mTavrobisagan daniSnul i moxel is cxinval idan gaZevebis Sesaxeb miRebul i gadawyvetil eba.³ am fonze, cinikuradac ki moCans propagandist m.margievis mierssdmp central uri komitetisadmi wardgenil i 1919 wl is 10 seqtembrit daTariRebul i moxsenebis is nawil i, sadac sof. j avaSi stabil urobaze da bol Sevicebis argamoCenazea saubari. `pol itikuri mowinaaRmdegeni_ werda igi_ aRar moCans, radgan dainaxes, rom xal xi Cvenken aris. ara mgonia, rom masaze iqonion kidev gavlena, imitom rom xal xs moswyinda amdeni vai_ vagl axi da sicrue.⁴ sinamdvil eSi im etapze sul sxva situacia iyo, rasac

oqtomberSi javaSi momxdari osebis aj anyebis faqtic adasturebs.

rac Seexeba saqarTvel oSi sayovel Tao aj anyebis mosawyobad bol SevikTa mier gaweul saqmianobas, sabWoTa ruseTis dafinansebis Sedegad, maTi mxridan didZal i Tanxa iqna daxarj ul i. Sinagan saqmeTa ministris n.ramiSvil is monacemebiT, aj nyebis organizebisaTvis bol Sevikebs 1919 wl is 29 ivl isidan 31 oqtombramde 7 milion 367 aTasi maneTi (oqros kursiT) daujarj avs. igi Semdegnairad iqna gadanawil ebul i: bol Sevik- propagandistebis yovel Tviuri anazRaurbis saxiT 2000- dan 3000 maneTi, xolo maT oj axebs daxmarebis saxiT 300 maneTi mieca. dpatimrebul i bol Sevikebis oj axebs yovel Tviurad_ 2500 maneTi. zemoaRniSnul i Tanxidan 1919 wels quTais sagubernio komitets_ 350000 maneTi gadaeca; guriis samazro komitets_ 50000 maneTi; duSetis samazro komitets_ 30000 maneTi. aj anyebis momwyob samxedro teqnukur komisias_ 300000 maneTi. imave n.ramiSvil is mier damfuZnebel i krebis wevrebisadmi miwodebul i informaci iT, aRniSnul i 7 milion 367 aTasi maneTi bol Sevikebs ori Tvis ganmavl obSi daujarj avs. finansuri vakuumis arSeqmnisa da dasaxul i amocanis daCqarebul i tempiT Sesrul ebis mizniT, 1919 wels sabWoTa ruseTidan amierkavkasiis saol qo komitetma damatebiTi Tanxis saxiT 33 milioni maneTi (oqros kursiT) miRo. `ai es milionebi_ ambobda n.ramiSvil i, _ roml iTac fiqrobdnen bol Sevikebi Tavianti batonobis yidvas saqarTvel oSi.~

Cems mier motanil i faqtebi imis dadasturebaa, rom damoukidebel i saqarTvel os dasangrevad da sabWoTa ruseTis imperiisadmi misaerTebl ad, qarTvel ma da osma bol Sevikebma moskovidan daxmarebis saxiT saerto jamSi oqros kursiT 40 milion 367 aTasi maneTi miRo. am Tanxit, aRniSnul i danaSaul ebrivi saqmis gansaxorciel ebl ad, bol Sevikebi saqarTvel os mosaxleobis mosyidvas ewoda. meore mxriv, igi fartomasStabiani aj anyebis seriozul samzadisze da saqarTvel os damoukidebel obis garduval i safrTxis winaSe dayenebaze migvani Snebs.

dokumenturi masal is safuZvel ze irkveva, rom amierkavkasiis bol Sevikuri organizaciebis saol qo komitetis mier mowveul i pl enumis dadgenil ebit, saqarTvel os mTel rig regionebsi aj anyebis mosawyobad sagangebo mindobil obiT aRWurvil i pirebi gaigzavna. imave pl enumze damtkicebul i aj anyebis gegmis mixedvit, bol SevikTa Seiararebul razmebs Tavdasxma Semdegi mimarTul ebit unda ganexorciel ebina: 1)Sinagan saqmeTa saminstroze; 2)Tavdacvis saminstroze; 3)gvardiis Stabze; 4)javSnian matarebel ze da javSnian avtomobil ebze. qveynis Tavdacvisunarianobis sasicocxlo obieqtების dakavebis Semdeg, qal aq Tbil isis sxvadasxva ubnebsi aj anyeba erTdroul ad unda dawyebul iyo. am gegmis Tanaxmad, mTavrobis saxl ze Seteva da misi aReba 150 Seiararebul razmel s hqonda daval ebul i. rkinigzis sadguris aReba 200 razmel s, gvardiis Stabis aReba 300 kacss, radiosadguris 140 kacss, fosta- tel egrafis 100 kacss, mil iciis TiToeul i komisariatis asaRebad 200- 200 kaci iyo gamoyofil i. rac Seexeba gazeTebis redaqciebis aRebasa da mis dakavebas, am daval ebis Semsrul ebel Ta raodenoba ase gamoiyureboda: `erToba-_ 30 kaci, `saqarTvel o~, `saxal xo saqme~, `sl ovo~_ 30 kaci. es iyo Tbil isis bol Sevikuri organizaciis samxedro sabWosa da aj anyebis respublikuri

Stabis mier sagul dagul od gaweril i gegma. igi Tbil issa da provinciebsi aj anyebis erTdroul ad dawyebas, saxel isufli ebo StoebSi dabneul obisa da panikis Seqmnas, mis dapetimrebasa da srul l ikvidacias iTval iswinebda. dasaxul i miznis warmatebaSi bol Sevikebi darwmunebul ebi iyvnen. amis nimusad am gegmis ganxorciel ebis erTerTi aqtiuri wevris petrovskis mier megobrisadmi gagzavnili werili gamodgeba. `saol qo komitetma_ werda igi_ aqtiuri moqmedebis dawyeba gadawyvita. mogvixdeba metad mZime muSaoba, magram metad saintereso. iCqare wiTel saqarTvel oSi, sadac mal e afrial deba sabWoTa droSa.-

Cems mier motanili masal ebis mixedvit Tuki vimsjel ebT, damoukidebeli saqarTvel os xel isufli ebis winaarMdeg farTomasStabiani SeTqmuleba iyo momzadebuli, roml is scenari sabWoTa ruseTsi daiwera, xol o misi Sestrul ebis organizacia qarTvel da os renegat bol Sevikebs miendo. es adamianebi usual od moskovidan imarTebodnen da iqedan miRebuli direktivebit moqmedebden. amis dadasturebas sabWoTa ruseTis saxal xo komisariatis mdivanis estasovas mier gamogzavnili werili warmoadgens, romel ic rkp (b) central uri komitetis beWdit iyo damowmebuli. am dokumentis mixedvit, im etapze kavkasiis saqmeebis rkp (b) central ur komitetTan Seqmnili special uri komisia xel mZRvanel obda. misi iniciativit kavkasiaSi da gansakuTrebit saqarTvel oSi bol Sevikebis didi j gufi iqna gamogzavnili. am werilidan isic irkveva, rom dafinansebis Tval sazrisit, saqarTvel oSi myofi bol Sevikebi sabWoTa ruseTis xel isufli ebis mxridan uzrunvel yofil ni iyvnen. aRniSnul faqts ukeTebda ra komentars, gazeTi `erToba- werda: `dokumentebidan kargad cans Turas ni Snavs komunistebis muSaoba CvenSi da ras gviqadis. aq moyvanili cnobebic ki sakmarisia imisatvis, rom erTxel da samudamod davrwundeT komunistebis borot ganzraxvaSi, roml is ganxorciel ebas isini cdil oben ful is da saeWvo pirebis saSual ebit.-

am antierovnul da qarTuli saxel mwifos damangrevel saqmianobas, kavkavidan TbilisSi aral egarul ad gadmosul i rkp (b) kavkasiis samxareo komiteti xel mZRvanel obda. am organizaciis usual o iniciativit Semusavda duSetze, xaSurze da gorze Tavdasxmis, misi arebisa da adgil obrivi xel isufli ebis dapetimrebis gegma. yovel ive zemoaRniSnul is gaanalizebis Sedegad irkveva, rom im etapze saqarTvel o udidesi katastrofis winase idga. am kritikul momentSi, Sinagan saqmeTa saminstros operatiul ma ganyofil ebam metad mniSnel ovani informaciis mopoveba SeZl o da duSetis aj anyebis mosawyobad gagzavnili bol Sevikebi_ vl .suxiSvil i da gl afanaSvil i droul ad dapatimra. patimrobaSi iqna ayvanili goris mazaris aj anyebis centris mTel i Semadgenl oba. gansakuTrebuli mniSnel oba hqonda bol Sevikebis mxridan TbilisSi gaTval iswinebuli aj anyebis gegmis aRmoCenas, rasac aj anyebis dawyebamde ori dRiT adre_ bol SevikTa samxedro- revoluciuri Stabisa da saorganizacio sabWos umetesobis dapatimreba mohyva.⁵ aseTi saxis warmatebul ma operaciama qveyana mosal odneli katastrofisagan ixсна, xol o bol SevikTa aj anyebebs araorganizebuli saxe misca.

Tuki bol SevikTa mier 1919 wl is aj anyebas Tval s gavadevnebt, davrwundebit, rom misi Sestrul ebl ebi da aqtiuri monawil eni Sida qarTli smtis osebi iyvnen. mxedvel obaSi maqvs j avis, rokis, kobis, oqonas, bazal etis, atenis, mej vrisxevis da sxva sofli ebis osuri mosaxl eobis mxridan damoukidebeli saqarTvel os xel isufli ebis sawinaarMdego gamosvl ebi (1919

wl is oqtomberi). marTal ia, es antisaxel mwifoebrivi aj anyeba marcxiT damTavrda, xol o misi monawil eni kanonis Sesabamisad iqnen dasj il ni, magram, amis misaRwevad saqarTvel os mTavrobas udidesi Zal isxmeva da finansebi dasWirda. momxdarma faqtma da misma anal izmma erTxel kidev naTI ad warmoaCina, rom Sida qarTI is mTis osebis mier gacemul i nebis-mieri pirobisadmi ndoba dauSvebel i iyo. miTumetes, Seqmnil i koniunqturidan gamomdinare, demokratiul i saqarTvel osadmi mxardaWeris pirobis gacema da osebisagan misi darRveva Cveul ebriv movl enad iqca. 1919 wl is osebis aj anyebis damarcxebisa da saqarTvel os xel isufl ebis siZl ieris warmocenis fonze, Cadenil i danaSaul isaTvis osebma patieba kidev erTxel iTxoves da damoukidebel i saqarTvel os xel isufl ebas mxardaWera ofi-cial urad aRuTqves. amis dadasturebas 1919 wl is 17 dekembers mTis ose-bis 8 sofl is (j avis, rokis, yemul Tas, vanel is, yornisis, wunaris, ortevs, bel oTis) sazogadoebaTa saxal xo yril obis mier miRebul i rezol ucia warmoadgens. mTa oseTis mraval ricxovani yril oba_ vkiTxul obT doku-mentSi_ yvel a sofl ebis warmomadgenl ebis saxel iT aRiarebs, rom is ibr-Zol ebs saqarTvel os demokratiastan erTad saqarTvel os damoukidebl o-bis da Tavisufl ebis dasacavad. srul ndobas ucxadebs saqarTvel os damfuZnebel krebas, mis mier ndobiT aRWurvil mTavrobas da aRuTqvams aqtiur daxmarebas dasaxul i miznis misaRwevad brZol aSi.-⁶ am dokument-Tan mimarTebaSi erTi SexedviT sapretenzio araferia, radgan igi garegnu- l ad srul mxardaWerasa da Tanadgomas ucxadebda im qveynis xel isufl e- bas, roml is teritoriazedac osebma sabudari gaiCina. am SemTxvevaSi saki- Txi sul sxvagvarad dgas; osebis es ofi-cial uri aRiareba ramdenad Sei- Zl eboda sando yofil iyo, miTumetaes, saqarTvel os xel isufl ebas am mxriv mware gamocdil eba qonda miRebul i. osebis am dapiRebaSi samwuxarod, gu- l wrfel obis iotisodena nasaxi ar iyo. igi momdevno tyuil isa da Sesafe- risi momentisaTvis samomavl o Ral atis niRabs warmoaagenda. 1920 wl is mo- vl enebma maTi real uri saxe erTxel kidev aSkarad warmoaCina.

amrigad; 1)osebis erovnul i sabWos mier Sida qarTI is mTis ose- bis sainformacio vakumSi moqceva, winaswar gamiznul qmedebas warmoa- adgenda da bol Sevikebis saagitacio- propagandistul i muSaobisadmi xel sayrel i pirobebis Seqmnas isaxavda miznad. j avaSi mowveul i bol Sevikebis aral egarul i konferenciis (1919 wl is ivnisi) Ziri- Tadi gadawyvetil ebebi, saqarTvel os masStabiT sayovel Tao Seia- raRebul i aj anyebis mosamzadebl ad da damoukidebel i saqarTve- l os xel isufl ebis dasamxobad iyo gaTvl il i. am saqmeSi, rokis xeobis aj anyebul osebs damkvrel i birTvis funqcia qonda daki- srebul i. dasaxul i miznis gansaxorciel ebl ad, saqarTvel os moqa- l aqe qarTvel i da osi renegatyebisadmi sabWoTa ruseTis mxridan oqros kursiT 40 mil ion 367 aTasi maneTis (oqros kursiT) gadace- ma, ucxo saxel mwifos mxridan, damoukidebel i saqarTvel os winaaRm- deg farTomasStabiani SeTqmul ebis momzadebis xel Sewyobis dada- sturebas warmoadgens; 2)saqarTvel os Sinagan saqmeTa saministros muSakebis mier aj anyebis gegmis aRmoCenam, qveyana garduval i katas- trofisagan ixсна. xel isufl ebis mxridan aj anyebis kerebis Caqrobam da damnaSaveebisadmi mosal odnel i umkacresi sasj el is acil ebis mcdel obam, osebi farisevl obis morig safexuramde miyvana. igi osebisagan Cadenil i danaSaul is saqarTvel os mTavrobisadmi ofi- cial urad patiebis TxovnaSi da damoukidebel i saqarTvel os mxa-

rdaweris aragul wrfel aRiarebaSi gamovl inda, rac Semdgom wl ebSi ganviTarebul ma movl enebmac daadastura.

* * *

1918- 1919 wl ebis SeiaraRebul i aj anyebebis gziT saqarTvel os xel isufli ebis damxobisa da qveynis gasabWoebis marcxiT damTavrebam, ruseTis xel isufal Ta ukiduresi gaRizianeba ganapiroba. samecniero literaturasi dadasturebul ia, rom arsebul i real obisadmi sabWoTa ruseTi Seguebas ar apirebda da dasaxul i miznis misaRwevad_ saqarTvel os gasasabWoebl ad, an ukidures SemTxvevaSi misi ekonomikis ngrevis dasaqarebl ad saTanado niadags amzadebda. qarTul i politikuri elita sworad afasebda im did safrTxes, romelic Crdil oetidan saqarTvel os emuqreboda. amis erT- erT dadasturebas egegeWkoris mier britaneTis uzenaesi komisar is o. uordropisadmi 1920 wl is 10 ianvars gagzavnil i weril i warmoadgens. axl o aRmosavl eTsi sabWoTa xel isufli ebis miznebis da amocanebis warmocenis fonze, didi britaneTis warmomadgenel s egegeWkori Seaxsenebda: 1) dasavl eT evropis qveynebis, gansakuTrebit ingl isis dauxmarebl ad, saxel mwifoebriw damoukidebl obasTan erTad saqarTvel o must imanuri aRmosavl eTis dainterebebul i ingl isis interesebsac icavda; 2) umZimes ekonomikur krizisSi myof saqarTvel os, sabWoTa ruseTisa da osmal eTis aliansis Sedegad warmoqmnil i safrTxisadmi, ingl isis real uri mxardaWeris gareSe seriozul i winaarmdogobis gaveva ar SeeZlo; 3) ruseTosmal eTis aliansTan dapirispirebis SemTxvevaSi, ramdenadac saqarTvel os damarcxeba garduval i iyo, momxdari faqti ingl isis aRmosavl ur interesebze uaryofiTad aisaxeboda. aqedan gamomdinare, mosal odnel i qarTul ebis droul ad aRmofxvris mizniT, ingl isis xel isufli ebas egegeWkori Semdegi saxis nabijis gadadgmas sTavazobda: a) dauyovnebl iv eRiarebina saqarTvel os suvereniteti mis istoriul sazRvrebSi; b) batumis ol qi saqarTvel osatvis daebrunebina; g) saqarTvel osadmi Sepirebul i daxmareba (val utiT, iaraRisa da sursatis miwodebit) umokl es vadebSi Seesrul ebina.

zemoarNi Snulis gaTval iswinebis fonze, igi xazgasmiT miuTitebda: `droul ad gaveul i es daxmareba saqarTvel oSi saxal xo energiis saocar aRmavl obas gamoiwvevs, rac Cven saSual ebas mogvcems davicvat ingl isisa da saqarTvel os ormxrivi interesebi, romlebic mocemul istoriul momentSi erTmaneTs emTxveva.-⁷

am dokumentis Sinaarsi aSkarad migvaniSnebs, rom saqarTvel osadmi im etapze Tundac saSual o dozit gaveul i politikuri da ekonomikuri daxmareba, qveyanas fexze daayenebda, Sinauri da gareSe mtrul i Zal ebis gamkl avebis SesaZlebl obas miscemda. gadamwyveti sityva ingl isis xel isufli ebas unda eTqva. samwuxarod, ingl isis dipl omatis waj eq- ukuj eqis politikis Sedegad, ingl isis mmarTvel i wreebis mxridan saqarTvel o mitovebul i aRmoCnda. samecniero literaturasi dasabuTebul ia, rom evropis qveynebisgan 1919 wl is gazafoxul ze saqarTvel osadmi daxmarebis saxit micemul i dapireba tyuil i gamodga.⁸

saqarTvel osTan mimarTebsi evropis qveynebisgan indiferentul damokidebul ebas, sabWoTa ruseTma al Ro SesaniSnavad auRo da sa-

qarTvel os saxel mwifos sazianod Sesatyvisi qmediTi RonisZiebeb-
 is gatareba aSkarad daiwo. mxedvel obaSi maqvs rkp (b) kavkasiis samx-
 areo komitetis mier SemuSavebul i gegma_ amierkavkasiaSi sayovel Tao
 aj anyebis momzadebis Sesaxeb. am gegmis erTi nawil i saqarTvel oSi osuri
 separatizmis isev amoqmedebas iTval iswinebda. am mizniT, rkp (b) kavkasiis
 samxareo komitetis 1920 wl is 23 martis dadgenil ebiT, saqarTvel oSi `sa-
 mxreT oseTis- revol uciuri komiteti (s.gagl oevi, aj atievi, v.sanakoevi)
 Seqmnes. rac Seexeba aRniSnul i revkoms amocanas, imave dokumentis mixed-
 viT, osebis revkoms Semdegi saxis RonisZiebis ganxorciel eba daeval a:
 1) dauyovnebl iv daeSal a `samxreT oseTis- proqarTul i erovnul i sabWo,
 cxinval is regionSi sabWoTa xel isufl eba gamoecxadebina da mTel i Za-
 l aufl eba revkomisadmi daeqvemdebarebina; 2) revkoms kavSiri daemyarebi-
 na Crdil oeT oseTTan da goris mazris osur sofl ebTan. Seedgina osuri
 SeiaraRebul i razmebi da masze dayrdnobiT osuri moZraobis centrad
 cxinval i gamoecxadebina. am Canafiqris ganxorciel ebis mizniT, ruseTis
 komunisturi partiis (b) kavkasiis samxareo komitetma `samxreT oseTis-
 revkoms 100 aTasi maneTi gadasca.⁹ saqarTvel oSi aj anyebul i osebis dasax-
 marebl ad da SeiaraRebul i razmebis dasaqiravebl ad, imave wl is april is
 Sua ricxvebSi, `samxreT oseTis- revkomsa da rkp (b) `samxreT oseTis-
 saol qo komitetis Tavmj domares v.sanakoevs moskovidan damatebiT 40 mil -
 ion maneTi gadmougzavnes.¹⁰

aRniSnul i monacemebis mixedviT Tuki vimsj el ebT, saqarTvel os damou-
 kidebel i saxel mwifos siZl ieris Sesaryevad da sabol ood dasamxobad,
 ruseTis sabWouri xel isufl eba seriozul ad emzadeboda. am saqmeSi gan-
 sakuTrebul rol s isev os separatistebis akisrebda. amierkavkasiis regi-
 onSi im etapze Seqmnil i rTul i politikuri situaciis _azerba-
 ijanis gasabWoebisa (1920 wl is 28 april i) da 2 maiss XI armiis sa-
 qarTvel oze Tavdasxmis fonze, gadamwyveti mniSvnel oba osi sepa-
 ratistebis pozicias eniWeboda. warsul is mware gamocdil ebidan
 gamomdinare, dResaviT naTel i unda yofil iyo, rom saqarTvel osa-
 Tvis Seqmnil am urTul es moments, Ral atis moyvasi osebi xel idan
 ar gauSvebda da qveyanas erTxel kidev udidesi safrTxis winaSe
 daayenebda. maSin rodesac qarTul i samxedro SenaerTebi azerba-
 ijanidan SemoWril rus dampyrobl ebs Rirseul ad erkineboda da
 qarTul i saxel mwifos damoukidebl obis gadasarCenad sisxl s Rvri-
 da, daxmarebisa da gverdsi dgomis nacvl ad, saqarTvel os moqal aqe
 osebma, qarTvel obas omi gamoucxada. amis dadasturebas `samxreT
 oseTis- revkoms 1920 wl is 6 maisis dadgenil eba warmoadgens. am
 dokumentSi garkveviT iyo gacxadebul i: `vemorCil ebiT ra umaRl e-
 si partiul i organoebis gadawyvetil ebas, aucil ebl obad migvaCnia
 sabWoTa xel isufl eba gamovacxadoT jerjerobiT rokis raionSi,
 CavketoT xeoba, davicvat Tavi mSromel i xal xis mtrebisagan da
 SevuerTdeT rsfs respublikas, amis Sesaxeb ecnobos moskovsa da
 demokratiul saqarTvel os.¹¹

rogorc vxedavT, rokis xeobis osebi, saqarTvel os xel isufl ebas dau-
 morCil ebl obas ucxadebdnen da mis oficial ur warmomadgenl ebs xeobaSi
 Sesvl is ufl ebasac arTmevdnen. isini kidev ufro Sors wavidnen, roca
 `mSromel i xal xis mtrebisgan Tavdacvis- motiviT, rokis xeobaSi 8 maiss
 sabWoTa xel isufl eba oficial urad gamoacxades da osebis aj anyebis da-
 webas saTave daudes. rogorc samecniero literaturaSi dadasturebu-

I i, rokis aj anyebul ebs kudaros, qemertis da yornisis sofl ebis osuri mosaxl eobac SeuerTda. dabej iTebiT SeiZl eba imis Tqma, rom osebis am doneze gaaqti ureba, Crdil o kavkasiaSi wiTel i armis saqarTvel os sazRvre-bze moaxl oebiT, azerbaijanidan ruseTis mier dawyebul i saomari mo-qmedebebis Sedegad, saqarTvel os xazinisadmi miyenebul i miliardnaxe-vari maneTis zaral iT iyo ganpirobepul i. aseT umZimes situaciaSi myo-fi saqarTvel o, os separatistebis `waqceul i~ egona. maT mizans: 1)momentis xel idan argaSveba; 2)`droul i~ moqmedebiT, `miwaze pirqve danarcxebul i~ msxverpl isaTvis yel ze gal esil i danis mibjena; 3)damoukidebel i saqarTvel os saxel mwifosTvis sasicocxl o arte-riis gadaWra da mbrZanebl is ampl uis safexurze asvl a warmoadge-nda. es iyo saqarTvel os damoukidebel i saxel mwifos dasamxobad, qarTvel i xal xis winaarMdeg brZol isa da Sida qarTl idan qarTve-l Ta gamosadevnad gamiznul i aprobirebul i osuri meTodi. igi qarTu-l i pol itikuri el itisaTvis `ucxo xil s- ar warmoadgenda. momxdari fa-qt i qarTul sazogaoebas osebis mier warsul Si Cadenil moRal atur qmede-bebs erTxel kidev Seaxsenebda. amis Sesaxeb gazeT `erTobaSi~ da gazeT `saxal xo saqmeSi~ dabeWdil publ ikaciebSi xazgasmiT iyo miTiTebul i. am fonze, osebis mxridan SeWirvebaSi myofi qarTvel ebisadmi zurgSi gal e-sil i maxvil is Cacema, Sida qarTl Si mcxovrebi mTis osebis ganukurnebel senad iyo gamocxadebul i. aqedan gamomdinare, zemoaRniSnul i publ ikaciis avtorebi, osebis qmedebas, saqarTvel os winaSe Cadenil i Ral atis kval i-fikacias aZl evda. imavdroul ad, xel isufl ebisagan aj anyebul Ta winaarM-deg sastiki zomebis miRebis aucil ebl obas kategoriul i formiT moiTx-ovda. damnaSaveTa mimarT umkacresi RonisZiebis gatarebis moral urad da zneobrivad gamarTl ebis motiviT, erT- erTi statiis avtori mkiTxvel sazogadoebas Seaxsenebda: `mas Semdeg rac saqarTvel om damoukide-bl oba gamoacxada, Cvens teritoriaze mcxovrebi osoba meoTxedaa rom SeiaraRebul aj anyebas axdens saqarTvel os winaarMdeg. sxva-dasxva provokatorebisgan gabriyebul i osebis es bnel i masa cdi-l obs zurgSi maxvil i Cagvces da es xdeba yovel Tvis swored maSin, roca gareSe safrTxe aRmoCndeba Cveni respubl ikis winaSe. roca saWiroa qveynis sazRvrebis dasacavad mTel i SeiaraRebul i Zal eb-is gamoyvana, aseT kritikul momentSi Cven ar gvaxsovs, rom saqarTve-l os qveSevrdom osebs raime monawil eoba mieRos samSobl os dacvis saqmeSi, Tundac sityvieri TanagrZnoba gamoecxadebinos qarTvel i xal xisaTvis, raime nivTier i msxverpl i gaeRos im miwawyl is dasa-cavad, romel zedac isini cxovroben gacil ebiT ukeT, vinem qarTve-l i gl exoba. piriqit, qarTvel ers Tavs daatydeba Tu ara raime ubedureba, an daesxmis Tu ara gareSe mteri,... osoba saRrmTo mova-l eobad sTvl is iaraRi aisxas, zurgze guda wamoikidos, qarTul sofl ebs da qal aqebis saZarcvavad Seesios.-

es vrcel i amonaweri srul i sizustiT asaxavs osebis mier 1918- 1919 wl e-bSi saqarTvel osTan da misi mosaxl eobis mimarT gaweul saqmianobas. er-Ti ram cxadia, Seqmnil i sinamdvil e osebTan damokidebul ebis sul sxva meqanizmis SemuSavebas saWiroebda: 1)1918- 1919 wl ebSi Cadenil i danaSaul i-saTvis osebTan mimarTebaSi gatarebul i sadamsjel o RonisZieba, rogorc Cans imdenad umniSvnel o aRmoCnda, rom osebma misi daviwyeba advil ad SeiZl es; 2)osebis mier oficial urad gacxadebul i monanieba da qarTvel -Ta mxridan sibriyvis donemde gaRebul i gul mowyal eba, momdevno dana-

Saul isTvis osebSi Sewyal ebis garkveul imeds qmni da. winaaRmdeg SemTxvevaSi, saqarTvel os xel isufli ebis dasamxobad 1920 wl is maisSi osuri aj anyebis sakiTxi dRis wesrigSi ar unda damdgariyo. am SemTxvevaSi, erTi metad mniSvnel ovani faqtoricaa gasaTval iswinebel i, mxedvel obaSi maqvs osebisadmi sabWoTa ruseTidan samxedro daxmarebis imedi. am mimarTul ebiT farTo saagitacio- propagandistul muSaobas qarTvel i da osi bol Sevikebi eweodnen. mag. Crdil o kavkasiis osebis misamarTiT gazeT `komunist-Si- gamoqveynebul erT- erT mowodebaSi vkiTxul obT: `amxanago osebol samxreT oseTis Cveni Zmebi sul sa Rafaven saqarTvel os memamul eTa mTavrobis uRI is qveS. TiToeul i osi romel ic TanaugrZnobs sabWoTa mTavrobas unda iswrafodes am uRI is mosaSorebl ad. Zal a organizaciaSia.- es iyo pirdapiri mowodeba, raTa Crdil o kavkasiis osebs, saqarTvel oSi aj anye- bul i osebisadmi aqtiuri mxardaWera gamoecxadebina. msgavsi saxis saqmi- anobas qarTvel i da osi bol Sevikebi ruseT- saqarTvel os Soris 1920 wl is 7 mais dadebul i xel Sekrul ebis Semdegac agrZel ebdnen. am doku- mentidan gamomdinare, sabWoTa ruseTi aj anye- bul i osebisadmi Sepirebul i samxedro daxmarebis oficial urad ganxorciel ebas Tavs aridebda. am mxriv gansakuTrebul i rol i l ord kerzonis mier 1920 wl is 4 da 8 mais CiCerinisadmi gagzavnil ma notebmac Seasrul a. ingl isis sagareo saqmeTa saministro moskovs yovel gvare Sefarvis gareSe afrTxil ebda, rom sab- WoTa ruseTis mxridan saqarTvel oze Tavdasxmis SemTxvevaSi, mokavSi ree- bi dazaral ebul mxares daxmarebas aRmouCendnen.¹² aRni Snul dokumentebs im etapze sabWoTa ruseTze pol itikuri zewol is Tval sazrisiT arsebiTi mniSvnel oba qonda. maTi zemoqmedebis Sedegad, saqarTvel os winaaRmdeg Crdil o kavkasiidan winaswardagegmil i samxedro operaciis Catarebaze da XI armiis samxedro moqmedebis gagrZel ebaze_ ruseTma uari ganacxa- da. amis dadasturebas i.stal inisa da s.orj onikiZis 6- 7 maisis satel e- fono saubrebi warmoadgens. cekas saxel iT i.stal ini s.orj onikiZis gan ka- tegoriul ad moiTxovda, raTa mas rusul i saj ariso SenaerTebis saqa- rTvel odan dauyovnebl iv gamosayvanad yovel gvare zomebi mieRo. imavdrou- l ad Sida qarTI Si osebis aj anyebis Sewyvetaze ezruna.¹³ i.stal inis ze- moaRniSnul i moTxovnis pirvel i nawil i mxol od mogviane- biT, XI armiis winaaRmdeg qarTul i jaris warmatebul i SeteviTi samxedro operaciebisa da moskovidan s.orj onikiZeze zemoqmedebis faqtorebis gamoyenebiT iqna Sesrul ebul i. rac Seexeba meore nawil s _osebis aj anyebis Sewyvetas, im etapze SeuZl ebel i gaxda. am mxriv gansakuTrebul i rol i rkp (b) `samxreT oseTis- partiul i organizaciis vl adikavkazSi gamarTul ma meore konfe- renciam (1920 wl is 28 maisi) Seasrul a. mis muSaobaSi aqtiur monawil eobas Crdil o oseTis partiul i organizaciis warmomadgenl ebic iRebdnen. konfe- renciis dadgenil ebiT, Crdil o oseTis wiTel i partizanul i razmi `sa- mxreT oseTis- aj anye- bul ebs unda miSvel eboda. igi m.sanakoevis meTauro- biT 1920 wl is 31 mais vl adikavkavidan gamovi da, sam kol onad gadanawil - da, rokis, zekarisa da mamisonis uRel texil ebiT saqarTvel oSi Semovi da. rokisa da zekaris uRel texil ebiT gadmosul i SeiaraRebul i osebi sof. j avaSi SeerTden da Seteva cxinval ze ganaxorciel es.¹⁴

Cems mier motanil faqtebtan dakavSirebiT, qarTul ma presam saTanado reagi- reba maSinve gaakeTa da mkiTxvel sazogadoebas sabWoTa ruseTis mo- qmedebasTan mimarTebaSi obieqturi informacia miawoda. am mxriv gansa- kuTrebul yuradRebas gazeT `saxal xo saqmeSi- dabeWdil i mowinave wer- il i `cxinval is frontze- iqcevs. masSi garkveviTaa miTiTebul i: **1)aj anye-**

bul i osebis damkvrel birTvs Crdil o kavkasiidan gadmosul i osebi warmoadgendnen; 2)osebma iaraRi Crdil o kavkasiidan Semoitanes, xol o winaswar dagegmil i operaciis ganxorciel ebas m.sanakoevi, ajatievi, aabaevi da m.gagl oevi xel mZRvanel obdnen. imave gazeTSi dabeWdil korespodenciaSi `weril i frontidan~ xazgasmiT iyo miTITebul i, rom osebis aj anyeba kavkavidan imarTeboda da am aj anyebaSi aqtiur rol s sabWoTa ruseTis moqal aqeebi asrul ebdnen. amis damadasturebl ad imave gazeTSi, osebis aj anyebis erT- erTi aqtiuri wevris, sabWoTa ruseTis moqal aqis saxel ze vl adikavkazSi 1920 wl is 30 maiss gacemul i partiul i bil eTis fotoasl i iyo dabeWdil i. Sida qarTl is mTis osebis aj anyebaSi sabWoTa ruseTis monawil eobis samxil i masal ebi gazeTma `erTobamac~ gamoaqveyna, romel ic kavkasiis komunistebis gazeT `sol dat revol uciis~ 1920 wl is 4 ivnisis nomridan iqna gadmobeWdil i. CvenTvis saintereso sakiTxTan dakavSirebiT, masSi garkveviT iyo miTITebul i: `rodesac ganmaTavisufl ebel i moZraobis tal Rebi SeiWrnen Crdil - oeTidan samxreT oseTSi, mSromel i mTis osebma gamoacxades Taviant qveyanaSi sabWoTa xel isufl eba.- Tuki am inmformaciis mixedviT vixel mZRvanel ebT, `samxreT oseTSi~ sabWoTa xel isufl ebis gamocxadeba sabWoTa ruseTidan SeiaraRebul i Zal ebis saqarTvel os sazRvrebSi SeWris Semdeg ganxorciel da. am operacias rkp (b) central uri komiteti da kavkasiis samxareo komiteti xel mZRvanel obda. amis Sesaxerb, rkp (b) Tergis saol qo komitetis organo gazeT `komunistSi~ 1920 wl is 16 ivnis dabeWdil publ ikaciaSi_ `aj anyeba saqarTvel oSi~ dawvrul ebiTaa saubari. zemoaRniSnul faqtebtan dakavSirebiT gazeT `erTobaSi~ da gazeT `saxal xo saqmeSi~ gamoqveynebul publ ikaciebSi: `osebis gamosvl ebi,~ `isev osebze,~ `vin gvisevs osebs?~ dasabuTebul i formiTaa warmodgenil i, rom **osebis aj anyebas saqarTvel oSi Crdil o kavkasiis oseTidan_ sabWoTa ruseTis moqal aqeebi xel mZRvanel obdnen. isini `asazrdoebdnen~ saqarTvel oSi momxdar osebis yvel a aj anyebas, riTac 1920 wl is 7 maisis xel - Sekrul ebis darRvevas axdendnen.** exeboda ra aRniSnul sakiTxs, gazeTi `saxal xo saqme- statiaSi `vin gvisevs osebs?~ xazgasmiT werda: `osebis exl andel gamosvl as respubl ikis winaarmddeg xel mZRvanel obs gansazRvru- l i j gufi, romel sac saorganizacio centrada kavkavi gauxdia. Cven gvinda vikiTxoT, visi teritoriaa kavkavi? gana ruseTi sacinl ad ar igdebs CvenTan dadebul xel Sekrul ebas, rodesac oSta brboebs missave teritoriaze aZl evs SesaZl ebl obas iaraRiT da sxva samxedro masal iT aRiWurvon da saqarTvel oze gamoil aSqron?~¹⁵ anal ogiuri poziciaa dafiqsirebul i gazeT `erTobaSi~ gamoqveynebul mowinave statiaSi `osebis gamosvl ebi.- CvenTvis saintereso sakiTxTan mimarTebaSi masSi xazgasmiTaa miTITebul i, rom Sida qarTl Si aj anyebul mTis osebs `gadaRma oseTidan e.i. ruseTis samfl obe- l oebidan exmarebian, rac erTnairad arRvevs im xel Sekrul ebas, romel sac erTi Tvis winad sabWoTa ruseTma moawera xel i.¹⁶

aRniSnul faqtTan dakavSirebiT, saqarTvel os sagareo saqmeTa ministr- ma e.gegeWkorma 1920 wl is 30 ivniss sagangebo notiT mimarTa ruseTis war- momadgenl obas saqarTvel oSi da kategoriul i formiT moiTxova ganema- rtaT, Tu ra kavSiri hqonda rkp (b) central uri komitetis kavkasiis biu- ros saqarTvel os osebis aj anyebasTan. e.gegeWkorus saxel ze s.kirovis mier 14 ivl iss gamogzavnil notaSi osebis aj anyebasTan sabWoTa ruseTis xel isufl ebis warmomadgenl ebisa da partiul i organizaciebis nebi smeri urTierTobaa uaryofil i. am sakiTxTan dakavSirebiT, imave dokumentSi vkiTx-

ul obT; `ruseTis komunistur partias misi central uri komitetisa da rkp central uri komitetis kavkasiis biuros saxiT ara aqvs da arc SeiZl eba hqondes raime saerTo samxreT oseTis aj anyebasTan. igive unda iTqvas kavkasiis frontis xel mZRvanel obaze, radganac j er kidev ruseT- saqarTvel os Soris normal uri mol aparakebis dweybamde kategoriul i brZaneba gaica saqarTvel os j arebis winaaRmdeg nebismeri sasazRvro gaugebrobebis mol aparakebis gziT gadawyvetis Sesaxeb. amrigad, rkp teris saol qo komitetisa da saol qo revkomis organoSi (16 ivnisi # 57) gamoqveynebul i SeniSvna mxol od da mxol od gazeTis redaqtors unda miweros. Cems mier damatebiT moZiebul i cnobebis mixedvit aRmoCnda, riom rkp central ur komitets araviTari samxreT oseTis saol qo komiteti ara aqvs da gasagebia, rom aseTi organizaciisaTvis Tuki is arsebobda, ar miucia rkp saxel iT gamosvl isa da moqmedebis ufl eba. SeniSvnis es nawili, romelic upasuxismgebl obis sferos scil deba, rogorc Cans, `komunistis- redaqtors daudevrobiT gamorCa.-¹⁷

im SemTxvevaSi, Tuki sabWoTa ruseTis xel isufal Ta mier gacemul dokumentebs, satel efono saubrebs da osuri aj anyebebis mosamzadebl ad daxarj ul i milionebis damadasturebel faqtebs urTierT-Sepirispirebis fonze gavaanal izebT, davrwmundebiT, rom skirovi saqarTvel os xel isufl ebis winaSe aSkarad tyuoda da mis mier motanil i argumentebi Tavis marTI ebis ususur formas warmoadgenda. miTumetes, sabWoTa ruseTis xel isufl ebisadmi 1920 wl is 28 maiss rkp samxreT oseTis saol qo komitetis saxel iT gagzavnil `mSromel i samxreT oseTis memorandumis- meoTxe punqtSi garkveviT weria, rom `samxreT oseTis organizacia rCeba imave saxiT, rogoric aqamde iyo: ruseTis komunisturi partiis (bol Sevikebis) droSis qveS.- sabWoTa istoriografiaSi dadasturebul ia, rom osebis 1920 wl is aj anyebas rkp (b) kavkasiis samxareo komiteti xel mZRvanel obda. Cems mier motanil i faqtebidan gamomdinare, mTel i bral debis gazeTi `komunistis- redkol egiis upasuxismgebl o qmedebaze gadatanis skirovis mcdel oba_ nakl ebad damaj erebel ia. Seqmnil ma saerTaSoriso politikurma situaciam, ruseTis dipl omatiur warmomadgenl obas tyuil ze dafuznebul i TavismarTI ebis formis gamoyenebis garda sxval ternatul i gzar dautova. am tyuil Tan dakavSirebiT gazeTi `erToba- mowinave statiaSi `isev osebze- werda: `Cven gvarwmuneben, rom moskovis mTavrobam es ar icis, rom is winaaRmdegia `periferiebis- amnairi gamosvl ebis. SeiZl eba taqtikuri mosazrebiT dRes ar undodes moskovs Cvens respublikasTan urTierTobis gamwvaveba. Tu es ase aris, miT uaresi moskovis mTavrobisaTvis, maSasadame mas ar Seswevs Zal a al agmos misi bandebi.-

juradReba unda mivaqciOT im garemoebas, rom sabWoTa ruseTidan Semo- sul i bol Sevikebi, agitacia- propagandis gziT osebs arwmunebdnen, rom saqarTvel om ruseTis winaSe muxl i moyara da osebis miznebis ganxorciel ebis dro dadgao. amasTan dakavSirebiT gazeTi `saxal xo saqme- statiaSi `osuri safrTxe- werda: bol Sevikebma `ukve daaj eres osebi, rom saqarTvel om ruseTis winaSe iaraRi dahyara, Tu osebi moisurveben da saqarTvel os auj anydebian, ruseTis wiTel i armia maT daexmareba, Tbil iss Tu ara goris mazras oseTs mainc daumtkicebs. daaj eres da es Seugnebel i bnel i xal xi ukve iaraRiT xel Si ebrZvis Cvens mxedrobas, maT ki dec auRiat qal aqi cxinval i.- am saqmeSi gansakuTrebul i rol i Crdil oETidan

Semosul ma ucxo qveynis Seiararebul ma Zal ebma Seasrul es. `Cven vfiqrob-diT_ vkiTxul obT imave statiaSi, _ rom osebi cxinval ze wamosvl as ver gabedavdnen, Tu maT gverdiT ucxo Seiararebul i Zal a ar eyol ebodaT... ruseTidan... rokiT mosul i razmi pasiurad ver darCeboda osebis aj anyebaSi da is iniciatoris Tu ara, damxmare rol s mainc iTamaSebda.- zemozRniSnul faqtebs, ruseT- saqarTvel os 1920 wl is 7 maisis xel Sekrul ebis fonze Tuki SevafasebT, igi xel Sekrul ebis VI muxl is ruseTis mxridan darRvevis aRiarebamde migviyans. amis damadasturebl ad imave dokumentidan Sesabamis amonawers movitan, sadac vkiTxul obT: `ruseTi iRebs val debul ebas, _ ar misces mis teritoriaze yofnisa da saqmianobis ufl eba j gufebsa da organizaciebs, roml eTa mizans Seadgens saqarTvel os mTavrobis damxoba. ruseTi val debul ebas iRebs gamoiyenos mTel iTavisi gavlena mis mokavSire saxel mwifoebze, raTa maT ar dauSvan Taviant teritori-aze am muxl Si xsenebul i j gufebi da organizaciebi.-¹⁸

am dokumentis mixedviT, ruseTi val debul i iyo saTaveSive aRekveTa saqarTvel oze Tavdasxmisis mosamzadebel i samuSaoebi, romel sac qarTvel i da rusi bol Sevikebi vl adikavkavSi eweodnen. Tuki am mimarTul ebiT ruseTis xel is ufl ebam umoqmedoba gamoiCina, igi winaswar gaTvl il gegmas emyareboda da xel Sekrul ebis mesame muxl is meore nawil is saqarTvel os sazianod gamoyenebas iTval iswinebda. am muxl is mixedviT, ruseT- saqarTvel os sazRvris uRel texil ebi 5 versis manZil ze neutral ur zonad iyo gamocxadebul i. es imas ni Snavda, rom garkveul monakveTSi, qarTul i samxedro SenaerTebis mxridan uRel texil ebi daucvel i rCeboda. aRniSnul i faqti, sabWoTa ruseTma Crdil o kavkasiis oseTidan Seiararebul i bandebis saqarTvel oSi umtkivneul od Semosayvanad gamoiyena. am sakiTxTan dakavSirebiT gazeTi `erToba- werda: `rokis sazRvarze Cveni j ari saTanado si-Soreze idga... da es gaxda sababi raTa mtris brboebs saqarTvel oze Tavdasxmisis xal isi gasCenoda da Semoteva daewyo.-

sabWoTa ruseTis mier saqarTvel osTan mimarTebaSi ganxorciel ebul i ukanono qmedebis amsaxvel i masal ebis anal izis safuZvel ze, gazeTi `erTobis- mowinave statia `osebis gamosvl ebi- _ komunistebis winaSe principul ad svamda kiTxvas: `b- no komunistebo, brZaneT: xel Sekrul ebis darRvevaa Tu ara, roca ruseTis mxridan esxmian Cvens respublikas Tqveni Tana- moazre saeWwo el ementebi? da Tu darRvevaa, rogor afasebT Tqvens aseT muxanaTobas? gaCumeba am SemTxvevaSi udris Tqvens dasturs da sol idarobas Tavdamsxmel ebisadmi, vel iT pasuxs.-¹⁹

am konkretul sakiTxTan dakavSirebiT bol Sevikebi pirdapir pasuxs ga- urbodnen da zogadi frazeol ogi iT ifargl ebodnen. mi uxedavad amisa, qarTu- li politikuri elitisaTvis yvel aferi dResaviT naTel i iyo. am sakiTx- Tan mimarTebaSi, maT mier oficial urad gakeTebul i daskvnebi, mxol od dokumentur masal as emyareboda da safexurebrivad l ogikuri kategori- is CarCoSi Tavsdeboda. amis erT- erT nimuSs gazeT `saxal xo saqmeSi- gamoqveynebul i statia `vin gvisevs osebs?- warmoadgens. statiis avtoris mtkicebiT: **1)** saqarTvel os Sida qarTl is mTis osebis aj anyebas ruseTis komunisturi partiis `samxreT oseTis- organizacia xel mZRvanel obda; **2)** ruseTis komunistur partias daqvemdeberebul i organizaciebis mxridan centris daukiTxavad moqmedeba da maTi survil is sawinaaRmdego nabij is gadadgma, nakl ebad damaj erebel i STabeWdil ebas tovebda; **3)** saqarTvel osTan mimarTebaSi sabWoTa ruseTis moqmedeba ara marto xel Sekrul ebis dar- Rveva, aramed damouki debel i qveynis saSinao saqmeebSi uxeSi Careva iyo,

mi Tumetes, saqarTvel os winaaRmdeg rkp (b) central uri komitetisadmi qvemdebare organizaciebi moqmedebdnen. am faqtTan dakavSirebiT, zemoaRniSnul weril Si vkiTxul obT: `osebi mogvisies garedan da maTi saSual ebiT cdil oben gansazRvrul i saxel mwifoebrivi forma moaxvion Cveni qveynis erT- erT kuTxes_ gana es pirdapiri Careva ar aris Cvens Sinaur saqmeebSi, raic imave xel Sekrul ebiT kategoriul ad aris uaryofil i?~²⁰

marTal ia, sabWoTa ruseTma xel Sekrul eba daarRvia, magram es srul ebiT- ac ar niSnavda imas, rom saqarTvel os mTavroba mis Sedegebs bol omde dael odeboda. mimdinare pol itikuri situacia da qveynis interesebis gaTval iswineba osi separatistebis sawinaaRmdegod Sesabamisi sapsuxo nabij is gadadgmis aucil ebl obas moiTxovda. am mizniT, aj anyebul i osebis winaaRmdeg, general g.kvini taZis saerTo daqvemdebarebaSi saxal xo gvardiis rva batal ioni, ori samTo batarea da cxenosani pol ki iqna gagzavnil i.²¹ saqarTvel os xel isufl ebis es kanonieri qmedeba ruseTis federaciis sagareo saqmeTa ministrma g.CiCerini ma gaaprotesta. e.gegeWkoria sdmi 17 mais gamogzavnil notaSi igi werda: `SegvaSfoTa cnobam, rom samxreT oseTSi sadac gamocxadebul ia sabWoTa respubl ika, am xel isufl ebis gasanadgurebl ad gagzavnil ia saqarTvel os j arebi. Cven dajinebiT moviTxovT, Tu es simarTI es Seesabameba gaiwioT Tqveni j arebi oseTidan, radgan vTvl iT, rom oseTs unda hqondes is xel isufl eba romel ic mas unda. saqarTvel os Careva oseTis saqmeebSi yovl ad gaumarTI ebel i Carevaa sxvis Sinagan saqmeebSi .~²²

aRniSnul i notis mixedviT g.CiCerini iseT garegnul fons qmnida, rom rokis xeoba, sofel i j ava da cxinval i TiTqos saqarTvel os istoriul i teritoriis Semadgenel i nawil i ar yofil iyo. aqedan gamomdinare, bunebaSi ararsebul `samxreT oseTs- cal ke saxel mwifos formiT warmosaxavda da mis saqmeebSi saqarTvel os mTavrobis Carevas dauSvebl ad miicnevda. ramdenadac sabWoTa ruseTis xel isufl ebis dipl omatiurma wreebma eTikisa da zneobis yovel gvar zRvars gadaabij es, aucil ebl oba saqarTvel os mxridan adeqvaturi pasuxis gacemas moiTxovda. amis saWi roebas TviT qarTul i pol itikuri azris warmomadgenl ebiC ayenebdnen. mag. gazeT `saxal xo saqmeSi-Q gamoqveynebul publ ikaciaSi `vin gvi sevs osebs?- g.CiCerini zemoaRniSnul i nota ara marTo saqarTvel os saSinao saqmeebSi Carevad, aramed xel Sekrul ebis uaryofadac iyo gamocxadebul i. aqedan gamomdinare, dasmul i iyo sakiTxi_ saqarTvel os xel isufl ebas Rirseul i pasixi gaeca mezobel i qveynis upasuxismgebl o toniT Sedgenil i notisadmi. `SeuZl ebel ia saqarTvel o Seurigdes amisTana Carevas mis Sinaur saqmeebSi. Cvens teritorias_ vkiTxul obT weril Si_ Cvenve mouvl iT da sxva saxel mwifos daxmareba an Suamavl oba ar gvWiria. CiCerins unda vagrZnobinoT da kategoriul ad ganvuxadoT, rom aravis mivcemT nebas xel i daafaros Cvens Sinaur mters da ama Tu im saxiT maT mosarCl eoba gauwios.- es amonaweri imis dadasturebaa, rom qarTul i pol itikuri azris mesveurebi g.CiCerinis Seuracmyofel i notisadmi xel isufl ebis mxridan adeqvaturi nabij is gadadgmas moiTxovda. am mxriv sazogadoebidan dakveTa miRebul i iyo. gadamwyveti sityva xel isufl ebis Sesabamis uwyebas unda eTqva. am Tval sazrisiT Tuki ganvixil avT sakiTxs, yuradRebis centrSi e.gegeWkoria mier g.Ci-Cerini sadmi 20 mais gagzavnil i sapsuxo nota moeqceva. Tu ramdenad maRal kval ificiur doneze iyo Sedgenil i es dokumenti da Rirseul pasuxs warmoadgenda Tu ara g.CiCerinis notisadmi, amis sail ustraci od dokumentis ZiriTadi teqstis motana mizanSewonil ad mimaCnia. `saqarTvel os mTavroba_

vkiTxul obT dokumentSi_ udides sagonebel Si Caagdo Tqveni notis im nawil ma sadac l aparakia saqarTvel os ganzraxvaze, iaraRis Zal iT Caax-Sos sabWoTa respubl ika samxreT oseTSi. Tavs moval ed vTvl iT, mi vaqci- oT Tqveni yuradReba imas, rom saqarTvel os sazRvrebSi ar arsebobs samxreTi oseTi; saqarTvel oSi mdebare osuri sofl ebi ki ganl agebul ia Tbil isis guberniis goris mazraSi; es sofl ebi mdebareobs udaod saqarTvel os teritoriaze Tbil isis guberniis Zvel is sazRvris samxreTiT, saqarTvel osa da ruseTs Soris dadgenil i sazRvris samxreTiT. mTel am raionSi adgi- l obrivi demokratiul i organoebis saxiT saqarTvel os xel isufl eba funqcionirebs. Tqveni cnoba samxreT oseTSi sabWoTa xel isufl ebs ar- sebobis Sesaxeb, rogorc Cans, Seexeba uRel texil ze mdebare sofel roks, sadac rogorc gauweyebdiT, teris ol qidan SeiWra sabWoTa j arebis Seiar- aRebul i razmi. es razmi dResac iq imyofeba. miuxedavad dapi rebisa, rom mas iqedan gaiyvandnen. vi medovnebt, rom saswrafod mi i RebT zomebs roki dan iq myofi sabWoTa j aris gasawvevad. imis Semdeg rac sabWoTa ruseTma samSvidobo xel Sekrul ebiT ival debul a ar daeSva Tavis teritoriaze orga- nizaciebi, romel Tac mi znad eqnebodaT saqarTvel oSi arsebul i mmarTvel o- bis wesebTan brZol a, Cven... gaugebrobaze dafuZnebul i gveCveneba Tqveni gamosvl a saqarTvel os erT- erT provinciaSi TiTqos da arsebul i sabWo- Ta xel isufl ebs dasacavad.²³ gaugebrobis Tavidan acil ebs mizniT, ze- moaRni Snul sakiTxebTan mimarTeBaSi egegeWkori Sesabamis axsna- ganmar tebas g.Ci Cerini sagan moiTxovda. es dokumenti, sabWoTa dipl omatiis siyal beze dafuZnebul i bral debis mxil ebs saukeTeso nimuSs warmoadgens. masSi kargadaa warmoceni l i: 1) sabWoTa ruseTi Tu ra doneze arRvevda oficial - uri xel Sekrul ebiT gacemul pirobas; 2) saqarTvel os winaaRmdeg ruseTis mxridan erTdroul ad ganxorciel ebul i samxedro da dipl omatiuri agresia, saqarTvel os xel isufl ebas srul ad hqonda gacnobierebul i; 3) mimdinare procesis Sesacerebl ad da qveynis interesebis dasacavad, saqarTvel os mTavroba Sesatyvisi meqanizmis Ziebas maqsimal urad cdil obda.

mTel i Zal isxmevis am mimarTul ebiT gadatana imiTac iyo ganpi robebu- l i, rom damouki debel i saqarTvel os mmarTvel wreebs, aRmSenebl obis kursis warmatebiT ganxorciel ebs ZiriTad pirobad, stabil urobis SenarCuneba miaCnda. am mniSvnel ovani probl emis warmatebiT gadawyveta im etapze ga- rTul ebul i pol itikuri situaciis gamo ferxdeboda. gansakuTrebul i xel SemSl el is funqcias Sida qarTI is mTis osi separatistebi asrul ebdnen. qarTul saxel mwifostan mimarTeBaSi maTi mxridan 1918- 1920 wl ebSi Cade- nil i Ral atis gamo, qarTul pol itikur speqtrSi osebisadmi siZul vil ma kanonzomieri saxemi iRo. amitom aris, rom aj anyebul i osebis sastikad da- sj is sakiTxi im periodis sagazeTo publ ikaciebSi wina pl anzea wamoweu- l i. `osebi aj anyda, osebi ibrZvis Cveni saxel mwifoebriobis winaaRmdeg da es aj anyeba unda CavaqroT iseve rogorc sxva kuTxeebSi CavaqreT, unda movspoT ise, rom meored aRaravis mouvides xal isi msgavsi muxanaTuri ga- mosvl isa.~ kidev ufro mkacri iyo Tavdacvis ministris gl orTqifaniZis mier 1920 wl is 18 ivniss gamocemul i # 103 `brZaneba respubl ikis j arebis mimarT- am dokunentSi, ruseTTan da azerbaij anTan dadebul i samSvidobo sazavo xel Sekrul ebebis fonze gansakuTrebul i yuradReba qveynis Sig- niT stabil urobisa da mSvidobis SenarCunebis mniSvnel obazea gadatani- l i. dagmobil ia da moRal ateebadaa gamocxadebul i yvel a is pol itikuri mimdinareoba, roml ebic damouki debel saqarTvel oSi samoqal aqo omis gaCaRebiT iyo dai nteresebul i. am mxriv, gansakuTrebul i aqcenti saqarTvel o-

Si mcxovreB Sida qarTI is mTis oseBSi bol Sevikebis mier gaweul anti-
qarTul saqmianobazea gadatanil i. `am mosyidul moRal atees_ vkiTxu-
l obT dokumentSi_ Signidan undaT Segviqmnan areul oba, raTa...
mTel i qarTvel i xal xi sisxl is morevSi CagvaxrCon. Cven gvinda
mSvidobiani Sroma da cxovreba, maTi mizania rac SeiZl eba meti
areul oba, SfoTi da sisxl is Rvra. maS ar daindoT es iuda- moRa-
l ateni, es gaSmagebul i mgl ebi, romel nic xSirad cxvris qurqSi
exvevian, tkbil sa da moqargul sityvebs CagCurCul ebT... Sxamiani
gvil is wiwil ebi unda gaisrisos. amas moiTxovs qarTvel i xal xis
bedniereba. mTel i qarTvel i xal xis mtkice neba da misi mTavrobis
uryevi gadawyvetil ebaa, rom rkinis cocxiT gaswminos da gahgaos
Ral atis budeebi, gael varebul i SanTIT moswvas Cveni erovnul i
sxeul is is daCirqebul i adgil ebi da muwukebi, romel nic mTel
organizms mowamvl as da daRupvas uqadis. Ral ati Zirbudianad aR-
moifxvrebA... raTa Signidan aravin gastexos Tqveni SegnebisA da
erTianobis cixe.-²⁴

qveynis Tavdacvis ministris brZanebidan motanil i es amonaweri,
qarTul i jaris nawil ebsadmi ara marTo mowodebas, aramed saqa-
rTvel oSi mimdinare pol itikur procesebSi antisaxel mwifoebrivi
Zal ebis_ gansakuTrebiT Sida qarTI is mTis osebis saqmianobis ka-
nonzomier Sefasebasac Seicavda. osebis mxridan oficial urad ra-
mdenjerme monaniebis miuxedavad, isini qarTul i saxel mwifosadmi
mtrobasa da ZirisgamoTxras ar iSi idnen. kritikul momentSi qa-
rTvel ebsadmi zurgSi maxvil is Cacemas ar eridebodnen. am real-
obidan gamomdinare, Sida qarTI is mTis osebi qarTul i miwisa da
qarTul i saxel mwifosadmi mourCenel wyl ul ad gadaiqca. Cveni wi-
naprebis daudevrobis gamo, saqarTvel os sxeul ze aRmocenebul i
osuri wyl ul isagan qveynis gankurnebis erTaderT saSual ebad, qarTu-
l i pol itikuri el itis warmomadgenl ebi gavarvarebul i SanTIT
mis amowvas miCnevden. anal ogiuri pozicia eWira qarTul i jaris
nawil ebsac. amis Sesaxeb gazeT `saxal xo saqmeSi- dabeWdil kore-
spodenciaSi `cxinval is frontze- xazgasmiTaa miTitebul i; qarTvel i
jariskacebi `gaborotebul ni, gaj avrebul ni Zi ier arian. mudam am-
istana gaWirvebis dros zurgSi gvesxmian osebi. iseTi saqme unda
davmarToT, rom SemdegSi veRar gabedon zurgSi muxanaTurad ma-
xvil is Cacema.-

aseTi SemarTebisa da ganwyobis mqone qarTul i jaris nawil ebs
osi separatistebi gansakuTrebul bariers ver SeuqmniA. daZabu-
l i brZol is Sedegad qarTul ma j arma (mTavarsardal i g.kvinitaZe.
xel qveitebi: vj uRel i, akoniaSvil i, a.dgebuaZe, n.gedevaniSvil i) 12
ivniss daba cxinval i aiRo, xol o 23 ivniss aj anyebul i osebis uka-
nasknel i narCenebi rokis uRel texil iT Crdil oETIT gadareka. qvey-
nis xel isufl ebam, SesaSuri organizaciis gamoCeniT, Seqmnil i urTu-
l esi pol itikuri situaciis sworad SefasebiTa da Tavdacvis samini-
istros daqvemdebarebul i sajariso SenaerTebis gonivrul ad mar-
Tvis Sedegad, qveyana, qarTvel Ta moZul e aj anyebul i Sida qarTI is
osi separatistebisa da misi damxmare gabol Sevikebul i rusul i
samxedro SenaerTebisgan wal ekvas gadaarCina. es real obaa da arse-
bul i faqtis obieqturi Sefaseba maRal i zneobis mqone miukerZo-
ebel istorikosTa pirvel xarixovani amocanaa. miTumetes, XX sauku-

nis 90- iani wl ebidan 2008 wl is CaTvl iT, Cemi TaobisaTvis dResav- iT naTel ia_ Sida qarTI is osi separatistebis gamarj vebis SemTxvevaSi Tu ra mZime mdgomareobaSi aRmoCndeboda damoukidebel i saqarTvel o da TviT Sida qarTI Si mcxovrebi qarTvel oba. evropis saxel mwifoebidan finansuri da samxedro SeiaraRebis miuRebl obisda miuxedavad, saqarTvel os pirveli respublikis xel isuflebis erT- erT did damsaxurebas, osuri separatizmisadmi wertil is dasma da Crdil oetis gadamTiel Ta mxridan Sida qarTI is ZirZveli qarTuli mosaxleobis eTnowmendisagan gadarcena warmoadgenda.

miuxedavad amisa, momxdar faqtTan dakavSirebiT, sabWoTa historiografi- am damoukidebel i saqarTvel os xel isufleba anaTemas gadasca mxol od imisaTvis, rom man, osebis aj anyebis Caqroba, qarTuli mosaxleobis osuri genocidisagan dacva, qveynis damoukidebl obisa da misi teritoriuli mTlianobis Senarcuneba SeZlo. istorikosTa garkveuli nawilis mier SekveTIT daweril `samecniero SromebSi,- qarTveli erisaTvis es umniSvne- l ovanesi faqtori yuradRebis miRmaa datovebul i. maTi mxridan, pasux- ga- ucemeli rCeba: aj anyebuli osebis gamarj vebis SemTxvevaSi, ra mdgo- mareobaSi aRmoCndeboda sruliad saqarTvel o da konkretul ad Sida qar- TI is qarTuli mosaxleoba. miTumetes, `samxreT oseTis- revkomis mier Sedgenil dokumentebSi, osi separatistebis miznebi da amocanebi gamokve- Til i formiTaa gamJRavnebul i. am mxriv, gansakuTrebul yuradRebas `sam- xreT oseTis- revkomisa da partkomis 1921 wl is 6- 8 seqtembris erTobl iv sxdomaze miRebul i dadgenil ebisadmi darTuli `mokle ganmartebiTi bara- Ti- iqcevs. masSi aRiarebul ia, rom 1919 wl is oqtombridan osebi gamudme- biT ayenebdnen sakiTxs `samxreT oseTis- politikuri TviTgamorkvevisa da Tergis respublikasTan SeerTebis Sesaxeb.²⁵ imave `samxreT oseTis- revko- mis mier saqarTvel os revkomisadmi 1921 wl is 12 maiss gagzavnil mox- senebaSi vkiTxul obT: `1920 wl is zafxul Si... samxreT oseTis mosaxleobis uRaribesma nawil ma revoluciuri aj anyebis droSa aRmarTa l ozungiT: `gaumarjos sabWoTa xel isuflebas saqarTvel oSi, Zirs burJuaziul - menSe- vikuri tirania.²⁶ sabWoTa da Semdgomi periodis osuri da rusuli isto- riografia pasuxgaucemel s tovebda kiTxvebs: **1)**osi separatistebis ze- moaRniSnuli miswrafebebi ramdenadj deboda samarTlebriv CarCoSi; **2)**damo- ukidebel i saqarTvel os moqal aqe osebi val debul ni iyvnen Tu ara saqarTve- l os saxel mwifos interesebi daecva; **3)**osi separatistebis antisaxel mwif- oebrivi aj anyebebis gamarTlebis fonze, XIX saukuneSi dapyrobel CeC- neTs, imave ruseTis xel isuflebam, XX saukunis 90- ian wl ebSi ratom ar mi- sca damoukidebl oba da ramizniT moaxdina am eris genocidi. miTumetes, CeCneTisagan gansxvavebiT, Sida qarTI i, oditganve saqarTvel os ganuyofe- li istoriuli nawili iyo da iq xiznebis saxiT Casaxlebul i da damkvi- drebul i osebi, rogorc saqarTvel os moqal aqeebi val debul ni iyvnen_ damoukidebel i saqarTvel os aRmSenebl obis samsaxurSi Camdgariyvnen, gareSe mterTan_ osmal eTisa da sabWoTa ruseTis XI armiis nawilebis winaarmdeg brZol aSi qarTveli kacis mxardamxar Tavisi wili sisxli daervara. ase- Ti nabijis gadadgma osebis mxridan 1917- 1921 wl ebis monakveTsi_ isto- rias ar axsovs. isini saqarTvel os teritoriaze parazitul cxovrebas eweodnen. damoukidebl i saqarTvel os xel isufleba, ramdenadac qarTvel i erisa da misi saxel mwifos interesebs icavda, osi separatistebis aj anye- bebsa da antisaxel mwifoebrivi miznebis ganxorciel ebis mcdel obebs, bune- brivia, Sesatyvisi RonisZiebebis gatarebiT upasuxebda. yovel ive zemoTqmul i

da Cems xel T arsebul i saarqivo masal ebis safuZvl iani anal izi Sesa-
 Zl ebl obas maZl evs ganvaxxado: zogierTi Tanamedrove rusi da osi isto-
 rikosis mier osebis aj anyebebTan mimarTebaSi saqarTvel os pirvel i res-
 publ ikis xel isufl ebis damokidebul ebis Sesaxeb gakeTebul i daskvnebi,
 iseTive yal bi da al ogikuria, rogorc sabWoTa periodis qarTvel da os
 istorikosTa Sefasebebi. amis damadasturebl ad Semdegi faqtebi gamodge-
 ba: a.surgul azis azriT, damoukidebel i saqarTvel os xel isufl ebis mier
 aj anyebul i osebis winaaRmdeg gatarebul i RonisZiebebi es iyo `oseTis
 mSromel Ta sastiki dasj a,- `mTel i oseTis saSinel i awiokeba⁻²⁷ avtori
 iseT fons qmnis, TiTqos saqarTvel oSi marTI ac arsebul iyo `oseTi- da
 damoukidebel i saqarTvel os xel isufl ebas bunebaSi ararsebul i `ose-
 Tis- mosaxl eoba daesaj os. igi erT sityvasac ar axsenebs, rom osebis mi-
 er mowyobil i aj anyebebis kerebi, saqarTvel os teritoriis ganuyofel na-
 wil s warmoadgenda da am teritoriaze mcxovrebi eTnikuri umciresobebis
 mxridan misi xel yofa, yovel gavari saxis samarTI ebriv normebs scil de-
 boda. istoriis gayal bebis Tval sazrisiT kidev ufro Sors wavida osi
 istorikosi vl .abaevi. misi `mtkicebiT,- `menSevikebis mxecobis Sedegad
 moxda samxreT oseTis meurneobis ekonomikuri safuZvl is moSl a, qveyanam
 dakarga yvel a ZiriTadi piroba Tavisi Semdgomi arsebobisaTvis_ terito-
 ria, saxl - kari, ganicada auracxel i tanj va.⁻²⁸ am amonaweris mixedviT, ara-
 rsebul i `samxreT oseTi- (1920 wel zea saubari) cal ke qveynadaa gamocxa-
 debul i, roml is ekonomika `menSevikebis- mier osebis aj anyebis `mxecura-
 Caqrobis Sedegad iqna TiTqos dangreul i. am SemTxvevaSi igi sityva- si-
 tyviT imeorebda `samxreT oseTis- revkomis Tavmj domaris aj atievis mier
 istoriul i faqtebis Segnebul ad gayal bebis safuZvel ze, saqarTvel os
 revkomisadmi 1921 wl is 12 maiss wardgenil moxsenebaSi gatarebul Tval -
 sazriss. CvenTvis saintereso sakiTxTan dakavSirebiT dokumentSi vkiTxu-
 l obT: osebis `Пятое по счету восстание было раздавлено с невероятной жестокостью.
 Классовый враг трудящихся огнем и мечем прошёл по восставшему району, истребляя
 население не разбирая ни пола, ни возраста.

Цветущая страна в размере восьми сельских обществ, с количеством населения в сорок
 тысяч душ жителей (около 4000 дворов) веками взлелеянная упорным трудом трудящейся
 бедноты превратилась в одни развалины. Потери и убытки причиненные воинствующей
 «ратью» Жордания ещё пока что не приведены в известность. Цифры, которые будут при-
 водиться- приблизительно. Около 2500 домов и всяких хозяйственных построек совершенно
 уничтожены огнем со всем домашним скарбом»²⁹ rogorc vxedavT, siyal beze agebu-
 l i da sabWouri ideol ogiit damZimebul i am amonaweris mixedviT, goris
 mazris Crdil oeTi nawil i (Sida qarTI is mTiani zona), saqarTvel osgan
 gaucxoebul qveynadaa miCneul i. rac Seexeba damoukidebel i saqarTvel os
 mTavrobis Tavmj domares da misadmi qvemdebare uwyebes (`kampanias-),
 `mSromel Ta kl asobriv mtrad- da `ayvavebul i ucxo qveyanis dampyobel
 damqaSebadaa- gamocxadebul i. am siyal bis Semqmnel i avtori_ aj atievi
 Segnebul ad uvl ida gverds Semdeg mniSvnel ovan faqtebs: **a)** saqarTvel os
 pirvel i republ ikis mTavroba da misi Tavmj domare n.Jordania, damfuZne-
 bel i krebis mier rom iyo arCeul i; **b)** damfuZnebel i kreba, srul iad saqarTve-
 l os mSromel i xal xis (maT Soris osebis) umravl esobis nebis gamoxatu-
 l ebas warmoadgenda (g.gagl oevi, k.panievi da a.farnievi damfuZnebel kre-
 baSi social - demokratebis siiT, osebis mier arCeul i deputatebi iyvnen);
g) saerTaSoriso samarTI is Tval sazrisiT, saqarTvel os mTavrobasa da
 mis Tavmj domares srul i l egitimacia gaaCnda, raTa goris mazraSi wes-

rigis aRsadgenad da Sida qarTI Si mSromel i qarTvel i mosaxl eobis interesebis dasacavad, aj anyebul i osebis winaaRmdeg Sesabamisi RonisZiebebi gaetarebina.

rac Seexeba imave dokumentSi motanil gamonaTqvams; `cecxl iTa da maxvil iT mosul i mSromel Ta kl asobrivi mteri asakisa da sqesis ganurCe- vl ad anadgurebda adgil obriv mosaxl eobas.- aj atievis es pol itizirebul i xasiaTis gancxadeba, im periodSi mimdinare sabWoTa pol itikur koniunqturaze iyo gaTvl il i. igi damouki debel i saqarTvel os xel isufli ebisadmi dokumenturi masal iT dausabuTebel zedapirul bral debas Seicavs da rac mTavaria, srul siyal bes warmoadgens. miTumetes, `samxreT oseTis- revkomis, `samxreT oseTis- partiis saol qo komitetis, `samxreT oseTis- central uri aRmasrul ebel i saol qo komitetisa da misi prezidiumis 1921- 1925 wl ebis sxdomebis masal ebSi (moxsenebebi, stenografiul i angariSebi, oqmebi) zemoaRniSnul Tan dakavSirebiT konkretul i cifrebi ar aris dasaxel ebul i. aseve iTqmis rkp (b) samxreT oseTis samxareo komitetis 1920 wl is 18 ivnisisa da 8 ivl isis depeSebis Sesaxebac.

aj atievis zemoaRniSnul moxsenebaze dayrdnobiT, rkp (b) `samxreT oseTis- saol qo komitetis wevrebis da zogierTi qarTvel i istorikosebis mier Semdgom etapze sinamdvil is mi zanmimarTul ad gayal bebis mizniT gamogonil i faqtebi daedo safuZvl ad 2006 wl is oqtomberSi `samxreT oseTis- parl amentisgan miRebul dekl aracias_ 1918- 1920 wl ebSi osi xal xis e.w. genocidis Sesaxeb. am dokumentis erTgvar gamoZaxil s, samxreT oseTis gazeT `respublikaSi- (2011 wl is 8 ivnisi) dabeWdil i I jioevis publika- cia_ «Исполнился 91 год со дня первого геноцида осетинского народа» warmoadgens. masSi, saqarTvel os pirvel i respublikis xel isufli ebis mier osebis far- TomasStabiani e.w. genocidis Catarebis Sesaxeb bral deba, yovel gvare dasabuTebis gareSea warmodgenil i. I jioevis gancxadebiT, damouki debel i saqarTvel os xel isufli ebam 1920 wel s TiTqos 5279 osi moakvl evina. aqedan 1375 qal i da 1844 bavSvi (yovel i mesame). qarTvel i eris mimarT wayenebul i es umZimesi bral deba, gasabWoebul i saqarTvel os xel isufli ebis mier 1920 wl is movl enebis Sesaswavl ad Seqmnil i komisiebis (1921- 1922 wel i) arcer- Ti daskvniT ar dasturdeba. aseT faqtebs marTI ac rom hqonoda adgil i, pirvel rigSi igi komisiebis daskvnebi aucil ebl ad aisaxeboda. meore mxriv, osi separatistebis I obisti gasabWoebul i saqarTvel os mTavrobis maRal Cinosnebi, kavbiuro da misi xel mZRvanel i s.orj onikiZe, mas wina pl anze wamoswevda, droSasaviT aafrial ebda da damouki debel i saqarTvel os mTavrobis gansaqiqebl ad warmatebul adac gamoiyenebda. saarqivo masal ebis Seswavl idan gamomdinare, dabej iTebiT SeiZl eba imis mtkiceba, rom zemoT dasaxel ebul i komisiebis muSaobis damTavrebis Semdeg, saqarTvel os xel isufli ebisa da kavbiuros maRal Cinosnebs, osebis e.w. genocidTan dakavSirebiT ara Tu raim saxis gancxadeba, aramed mi ni Snebac ki ar gaukeTe- bia. es faqti imaze metyvel ebs, rom aRniSnul sakiTxTan mimarTebaSi, gasab- Woebul i saqarTvel os xel isufli ebas da kavbiuros dokumenturad dasabu- Tebul i mtkicebul ebani ar gaaCnda. yovel ive es safuZvel s maZl evs gan- vacxado, rom damouki debel i saqarTvel os xel isufli ebis mxridan 5279 o- sis_ qal ebisa da bavSvebis TiTqosda amowyveta, sabWoTa xel isufli ebis ma- Ral CinosanTa dakveTiT, sabWouri istoriografiis mieraa SeTxzul i.³⁰ am faqtis gamoyeneba osebma maqsimal urad Seecada da `genocidis- droSiT qarTvel ebis winaaRmdeg Semoteva, Tavdacvis saukeTeso saSual ebad miic- nies. sanam qarTvel ebi saRaTas Rrma Zil s Tavv daaRwevden da gons moege-

bodnen, manam ieriSze gadmosvl a amj obines. Si da qarTI is qarTul mosaxl eobasTan mimarTebaSi 1918- 1925 wl ebSi maT mier Cadenil i barbarosul i qmedebebi_ eTnowmenda da genocidis tol fasi danaSaul i (qal ebisa da bavSvebis mizanimarTul ad amowyveta, aseul obiT mamakacis sabZel Si dawva, arasrul wl ovani (8 wl is) gogonebis gaupatiureba, qarTul i mosaxl eobis kuTvnil i sacxovrisidan gamodevna da a.S.), utyuari saarqivo dokumentn-turi masal iTaa dadasturebul i. mxedvel obaSi maqvs gasabWoebul i saqarTvel os Sinagan saqmeTa saxal xo komisariat is mier Seqmnil i zemoT dasaxel ebul i komisiebis moxsenebebi da daskvnebi. aRniSnul i danaSaul is gadafarvis mizniT, anal ogiuri bral debebi osebma, qarTvel i eris mimarT gaavr-cel es. amiT, saerTaSoriso arenaze `ucodvel i- da qarTvel ebisgan `da-Cagrul i- eris imij is Seqmnas Seecadnen.

osi separatistebis mier SeTxzul i da qarTvel i erisadmi cil iswamebebiT damZimebul i zemoT dasaxel ebul i tendenciuri xasiaTis masal is ukritikod miReba da nebismieri istorikosis mxridan misi damowmeba, an masSi gatarebul i Sexedul ebis TuTiyuSiviT gameoreba, ama Tu im mkvl evaris ara mar to upasuxismgebl obaze, aramed gansakuTrebul tendenciurobaze da separatistebis mxridan qarTvel erTan mimarTebaSi Cadenil i danaSaul is mifuCeCebebis mcdel obaze miuTiTebis. miTumetes, igive v.abaevi, ajatievis msgavsad arafers ambobs, rom mis mier `samxreT oseTad- gamocxad- ebul i Si da qarTI i, saqarTvel os ganuyofel i nawil ia da osebis zemoaRniSnul ma aj anyebebma Tu ra ziani miayena damoukidebel i saqarTvel os ekonomikasa da biuj ets. isini sazogadoebas simarTI es imis Sesaxebac umal aven, rom qarTul i jarisa da gvardiis SeteviTi samxedro operaciebi mxol od ukandaxeul i aj anyebul i SeiaraRebul i osebis moZraobis_ cxinval i- j ava- rokis sasofl o sazogadoebebis gavl iT mimdinareobda. rac Seexebsa sxva sasofl o sazogadoebebis teritoriebs, maT fargl ebSi mniSvnel ovan saomar moqmedebes adgil i ar qonia. damoukidebel i saqarTvel os xel isufl ebis misamarTiT, osi istorikosebis mier gasul saukuneSi gakeTebul zemoaRniSnul absurdul daskvnas, samwuxar od, zogierTi qarTvel i da separatistul ad moazrovne osi istorikosebi dResac iziareben.³¹

XX da XXI saukunis osuri historiografia am fonze axdenda da axdens damarcxebul i osi aj anyebul ebisa da misi Tanamoazreebis (20 aTasi) mi-er saqarTvel os teritoriis izul ebit datovebis afiSirebas. Segnebul ad uvl idnen gverds gasabWoebul i saqarTvel os Sinagan saqmeTa saxal xo komisariatTan arsebul i sagangebo komisiis mier Sekrebi l i faqtobrivi masal is safuZvel ze momzadebul uaRresad sayuradRebo moxsenebas. am dokumentSi SaviT TeTrzea miTiTebul i: 1)damoukidebel i saqarTvel os xel isufl ebam osebs 1920 wl amde mowyobil i aj anyebebi apatia; 2)osebis saxl kars qarTul i jaris nawil ebi ki ar wvavda, aramed TviTon osebi uki deb- da cecxl s, raTa igi qarTvel ebs ar darCenoda. aRniSnul Tan dakavSirebiT imave dokumentSi vkiTul obT: `osebs 1918 wl is ...aj anyeba da menSevikebis adgil obrivi l iderebis_ skecxovel is da g.maCabel is sikvdil ic ki apatie. araviTari Zal momreoba maTze ar uxmariaT. mxol od aj anyebis gameorebas 1920 wel Si mohyva sastiki zomebi jaris mxridan osebisadmi... Tbil isSi mTavrobas cnoba mouvida, rom jarebi saxl ebs swvaveno. mTavroba SeekiTxasaxl ebis dawvis mizezs. jaris ufrosebma upasuxes: oseTi mTiani adgil ebia, jaris sxvadasxva nawil ebs Soris urTierToba ar arsebobs da rom erTma nawil ma gaigos sad imyofeba meore nawil i, saWiroa cecxl is gaCenao... al zed rom gaigon nawil is adgil samyofel i, amisaTvis sofl is

ganapira Zvel s da dangreul s, upatronod mitovebul sabZel s an sxva qoxs vwavT, isic TiToeul sofel Si mxol od TiTos. TviTon osebi ki binis datovebis dros saxl ebs ukideben cecxli s.- osebis saxl karis masobrivad gadawva qarTul i j aris nawil ebs marTI acda miznad rom qonoda dasaxuli, osebis oTxgzis aj anyebebis keras_ sofel j avas gadawvavdnen da miwasTan gaasworebdnen. samxedro operaciebis maRal doneze Catarebis Sedegad, sofel i j avas gadawva ramdenadac osebma ver moaswro, am sofl is sacxovrebel i saxl ebisatvis qarTul i j aris nawil ebs xel i ar uxl ia. amis udao dadasturebas, gasabWoebul i saqarTvel os Sinagan saqmeTa saxal xo komisariatis mier saqarTvel os revkomisadmi 1921 wel s wardgenil i moxsenebis daskvniTi nawil i warmoadgens. **`sof. j avaSi, _ vkiTxul obT dokumentSi_ Sinagan saqmeTa saxal xo komisariatis mier miRebul i utyuari faqtebiT arcerTi saxl i ar aris damwvari an dangreul i.-**

piradad me, Sorsa var im azrisagan, rom sabrZol o operaciebis ganxorciel ebis Sedegad ama Tu im sofel Si sacxovrebel i saxl ebisadmi cecxli s gaçena an misi dangreva uarvyo, magram osebis danaSaul ebrivi qmedebis qarTul i j arisadmi gadabral eba mkrexel obad mimaCnia. mi Tumetes, Cems mier zemoT motanil i faqtebi, gasabWoebul i saqarTvel os Sinagan saqmeTa saxal xo komisariatis mieraadadasturebul i. dRevandel i gadasaxedidan, aucil ebl obas warmoadgens, 1920 wl is movl enebTan dakavSirebiT Seqmnil i usafuZvl o bral debebis gadafaseba dokumentur masal ebze dayrdnobiT moxdes. mi Tumetes, damouki debel i saqarTvel os xel isufl ebis diskreditacia da osuri separatizmis gafetiSeba mTel i 70 wl is manZil ze istoriis fal sifikaciis xarj ze xdeboda. am saqmeSi ganuzomel i wvl il i osuri separatizmisa da sabWoTa ideol ogiis erT- erTma damcvel ma f.maxaraZem Seitana. man aj anyebul i osebis winaarmdeg damouki debel i saqarTvel os xel isufl ebis mier Catarebul i brZol is istorias `yvel aze samarcxvino furcel i- uwoda. magram sityvac ar uTqvams imis Sesaxeb, rom SeiaraRebul ma osebma, al agirSi mcxovrebi udanaSaul o qarTvel ebis etapobrivi Seiwroeba, qarTvel Ta qonebis dasapatronebl ad misi mizanimarTul ad amowyveta, eTnowmenda da genocidi rom ganaxorciel a. aRniSnul faqtTan dakavSirebiT, al agiris qarTvel ebis axal Senis rwmunebul is mier saqarTvel os sagareo saqmeTa ministris e.gegeWkoris saxel ze gamogzavnil oficial ur mimarTvaSi dasmul i iyo sakiTxi; **1)saqarTvel os xel isufl ebas, Crdil oet kavkasiaSi mcxovrebi qarTvel ebis mZime mdgomareobis Sesaswavl ad pasuxismgebel i warmomadgenel i gaegzavna; 2)gaerkvia is material uri da fizikuri zaral i, romel ic SeiaraRebul i osebis Tavdasxmam al agirSi mcxovreb qarTvel obas miayena. saqarTvel os xel isufl ebam Tu ramdenad SeZl o aRniSnul i Txovnis dakmayofil eba, amis damadasturebel dokumentis jerj erobiT ver mi vakvl ie. am SemTxvevaSi Semdegi ori faqtorია gasaTval - iswinebel i: **a)denikinsa da bol Seikebs Soris Crdil o kavkasiaSi mimdinare saomari moqmedebebi da b)saqarTvel os xel isufl ebis SesaZl ebl obebi,** Tu ramdenad miuwdeboda xel i im etapze ucxo qveynis teritoriaze mcxovrebi qarTvel ebis interesTa dasacavad. ruseTSi da maT Soris Crdil o kavkasiaSi Seqmnil i mZime anarqiul i procesebidan gamomdinare, dipl omatiuri saSual ebebiT probl emis mowesrigeba SeuZl ebel i iyo. erTaderTi gamosaval i mxol od saqarTvel os sazRvrebamde moRweul i devnil ebis patronobaSi mdgomareobda. am mxriv, saqarTvel os maSindel ma xel isufl ebam gansakuTrebul i yuradReba gamoiCina. amis damadasturebel ia sagareo saqmeTa ministris e.gegeWkoris mier Sinagan saqmeTa ministris n.ramiSvi-**

l isadmi gagzavnili ofisial uri werili. `yazbegidan_ vkiTxul obT dokumentSi_ pol kovniki wereTel i depeSiT iuwyeba, rom al agirSi bol Sevicebis damarcxebis dros osebs auwiokebiaT qarTvel ebi, saxl ebi dauwvavT, sarco da qoneba dautacebiaT. 500 qarTuli oj axi gafantula da mxol od 60 koml s kavkavamde Camourwevia, magram iqac myudroeba ver upovnia, radgan am qal aqs gars Semortymian osebi da kazakebi. kavkavis qarTvel ebi c saSinel mdgomareobaSi Cavardnil an... me depeSiT davavale pol kovnik wereTel s, raTa saswrafo RonisZieba miRos da l tol vil ebs saqarTvel oSi dasabrunebl ad xeli Seuwyos. xolo Tqvena gTxovT, saTanado gankargul eba moaxdinoT da l tol vil ebs saswrafod nivTieri daxmareba aRmouCinoT.- saarqivo masal iT dasturdeba, rom al agiridan devnil da kavkavSi Casul qarTvel ebs, osebisgan pol itikuri sababiT devnil i kavkavSi macxovrebel i qarTvel ebi c SeurTda. amis Sesaxeb saqarTvel os mTavrobis 1919 wl is 11 Tebervl is sagangebo sxdomis saaqmo CanawerebSi vkiTxul obT: **mosmines:** samxedro gzis razmis ufrosis pol k. wereTel is pirdapiri mavTuli iT cnobamis Sesaxeb, rom moxali seta mier kavkavis aRebis Semdeg, respublikis sazRvris axl os Tavi mouyriaT qarTvel l tol vil ebs da pol itikur devnil T 600 kcamde, romel nic sTxoven saqarTvel os mTavrobas neba misceT maT respublikis sazRvrebSi Semosvli sa. **daadgines:** gadaaces pol kovnik wereTel s pirdapiris mavTuli iT Semdegi: saqarTvel os mTavroba Tanaxmaris Semousvas Tavis teritoriaze qarTveli l tol vil ebi. pol itikur devnil T mieceT TavSesafari, rogorc es miRebulia saerTaSoriso ufl ebit. Tu maT Tan aRmoacndebaT samxedro masala da sxva raime saxel mwifo qoneba... yovelive es sazRvarze Camoertvat kanonieri mowmeebis Tandaswrebit saTanado oqmis SedgeniT. Tvit l tol vil ni ki yarauli is qves gamogzavnili unda iqnen Tbil isSi sadac maTi vinaoba iqneba garkveuli. es gadawyvetileba ecnobos inglisel ebis misias.

marTalia, am dokumentebSi mxol od al agiridan 60 koml is kavkavSi Casvl aze, aq pol itikurad devnil i kavkavel i qarTvel ebis maTTan SeerTebaze da saqarTvel oSi dabrunebis xel Sewyobazea saubari, magram yuradRebis miRma ar unda dagvrCes: a)oseTSi qarTvel ebi pol itikuri niSnitac rom idevneboda da b)zemoaRniSnuli qarTvel Ta 60 komli, al agiridan gamodevnil i qarTvel ebis erT mcire Stos rom warmoadgenda.

dokumenturi masal iT dadasturebulia, rom al agirSi mcxovrebi qarTvel ebi separatizmis gzas ar dadgomia, osuri mosaxleobis Zarcva ar dauwyia, osebis winaarmdeg iaraRi ar aRumarTavs da arcsaqarTvel osTan teritoriul ad SeerTeba mouTxovia. miuxedavad amisa, qarTvel Ta sizul vili, misi qonebis mitacebisa da `osuri miwa- wyl idan- qarTvel Ta masobrivad gamodevnis survili osebsi imdenad didi iyo, rom 1919 wl is 11 ianvars, zamTris susxian dReebSi RamiT, osebma al agirSi mcxovrebi mSvidobiani qarTvel ebis saSinel i xocva- JI eta, maTi genocidi moawyo. (qal ebis gaupatiureba, bavSvebisa da moxucebis cocxl ad cecxl Si dawva, orsul i qal ebis mucel ze dasera). es iyo osebis mxridan qarTvel ebisadmi biol ogiuri sizul vil is demonstrireba. am samarcxvino faqtTan mimarTebaSi sabWouri istoriografia simarTles aTeuli wl ebis ganmavliobaSi mal avda da qarTvel Ta am tragedias gamrudebul sarkeSi danaxuli aramecnieris poziciidan aSuqebda.³² aRniSnul sakiTxs sagangebo gamokvl eva istorikosma srexviaSvil ma miuZRvna. mdi-

dar dokumentur masal aze dayrdnobiT 1989 wel s dabeWdil vrcel publikaciaSi `al agirel qarTvel Ta tragedia,- man mkiTxvel sazogadoebas is Semzaravi obieqturi suraTi gaacno, romelic qarTvel ebTan mimarTebaSi 1919 wl is ianvarSi osebma Caidina. osebis vandanal uri qmedebidan gamomdinare, cocxl ad gadarCenil ma al agirel qarTvel Ta 500 oj axma (2700 kaci) piradi Sromis Sedegad SeZenil i qoneba miatova da 1919 wl is ianvris susxian dReebSi Crdil o kavkasiidan iZul ebiT saqarTvel oSi etapobrivad gadmosvla daiwyo.³³ am faqtTan dakavSirebiT, s.rexviaSvil i savsebiT samarTi ianad wers: `al agiris qarTvel Ta tragedia iyo winaswar ganzraxuli da mofiqrebuli aqcia, romelic miznad isaxavda al agirSi qarTvel Ta ganadgurebas, sakuTari karmidamoebidan ayras da gandevnas, maTi qonebisa da binebis dasakuTrebas, ramac s.orj onikiZis, s.gegeWkorisa da maT Tanamzraxvel Ta wayruebis viTarebaSi, osebs Canafiqris gansaxorciel ebl ad xel sayrel i pirobebi Seuqmna.³⁴

es daskvna srul WeSmaritebas Seesabameba, radgan imave bol Sevikebis xel SewyobiT, qarTvel Ta devna da Crdil o kavkasiidan misi srul i deportacia mizanimarTul ad mimdinareobda. amis dadasturebas Crdil oeT kavkasiaSi mcxovrebi qarTvel ebis mier 1920 wl is 5 agvistos armavirSi mowveuli konferenciis Sesaxeb arsebul i monacemebi warmoadgens. rogorc irkveva, konferencias daswrebia: soWis, tuapses, novorosiiskis, ekaterinodaris, romanovis xutoris, stavropol is, maikopis, armaviris qarTvel Ta mier arCeul i deputatebi, romlebic 20 aTasi qarTvel is mandatiT iyo konferenciaze wardgenil i. konferenciaze xazgasmiT iqna aRniSnul i, rom sabWourma xel isufl ebam del egatebis gagzavnis ufl eba 5000 qarTul oj axs ar misca. maTi warmomadgenl ebi Segnebul ad konferenciis damTavrebamde iqnen dakavebul ni. miRebul rezoluciaSi garkveviT iqna miTitebul i; `Crdil oeT kavkasiis sabWoTa mTavroba angariSs ar uwevs ruseTsa da saqarTvel os Soris dadebul xel Sekrul ebas. qarTvel i moqal aqeebi bol Sevikebisgan Seviwroebas ganicdian.- aRniSnul idan gamomdinare, konferenciis mier arCeul del egacias daeval a, saqarTvel os xel isufl ebis winaSe daesva sakiTxi; qarTvel Ta samSobl oSi dabrunebisaTvis saWiropirobebis mosamzadebl ad, Crdil oeT kavkasiaSi saqarTvel os el Cis daniSvnis Sesaxeb.

Crdil oeT kavkasiaSi mcxovrebi qarTvel ebisadmi gausZl isi pirobebis xel ovnurad Seqmnis zemoaRniSnul i faqti, qarTvel ebisgan regionis eTnowmendis mosamzadebel i safexuris STabeWdil ebas tovebs. misi bol omde gatareba, Crdil oeT kavkasiis sabWouri xel isufl ebis winaswargamiznul i pol itikuri kursis erT- erT Semadgenel nawil ad unda iqnas miCneuli. miTumetes, osebisgan al agirel i qarTvel ebis genocidisa da eTnowmendis gamo, sabWoTa xel isufl ebas damnaSaveebis mimarT aranairi sadamsjel o RonisZieba ar gautarebia.

aseT fonze, saqarTvel os sxeul ze danamatis saxiT xel ovnurad aRmoce- nebul i osuri probl emis erTxel da samudamod moxsnis mizniT, qarTul i pol itikuri speqtris (garda bol Sevikebisa) mxridan damnaSave osebis sanimuSod dasj is kategoriul i moTxovna savsebiT gamarTi ebul ad moCans. am SemTxvevaSi, isini ar cdebodnen, radgan maT kargad hqondaT gacnobierebuli is sirTul eebi, romelic osma separatistebma qarTul saxel mwifosa da mis mSvidobian mosaxl eobas Seuqmna. am sakiTxTan dakavSirebiT gazeT

`saxal xo saqmeSi~ gamoqveynebul statiaSi `bol o unda moeRos- gl asxi- Svil i xazgasmiT werda: `exl a unda gdawydes sakiTxi viSTan gvaqvs saqme. yaCaRebis winaaRmdeg Cven oms ar vawarmoebT, maT sastikad vsj iT. Tu mter- Tan gvaqvs saqme, maSin Cveni respubl ikis fargl ebSi osebs yofna ar sdome- biaT da maTi gamosvl ebi ise unda aixsnas, rogorc omis gamocxadeba. iseT garemoebaSi yofna rogoric aqamde iyo, yovl ad SeuZl ebel ia, vinaidan yovel Tvis SiSiT da kankal iT moel ian cxinval is mcxovrebl ebi brboebis Tavdasxmas.- am amonaweridan da Cems mier zemoT motanil i masal ebidan kargad Cans, rom osebis qmedeba yaCaRis CarCoSi ar j deboda da saqarTvel os xel isufli ebis winaaRmdeg omis gamocxadebis el emen- tebs Seicavda. miTumetes, osebis yovel i aj anyeba sabWoTa ruseTis dafinansebas emyareboda da imave qveynis maRal CinosanTa mxridan imarTeboda. Tuki sakiTxs am formatSi ganvixil avT, saqarTvel os xel isufli ebis dasamxobad osebis mier mowyobil i 1920 wl is aj anyeba, ruseTis mxridan `SefuTul ~ formebsi saqarTvel osadmi omis gamocxadebas warmoadgenda. mizani imaSi mdgomareobda, rom saqarTvel o samoqal aqo omis cecxli Si gaexviaT da misi gasabWoeba ruseTs iol i gziT ganexorciel ebina. am fonze, osebis sanimuSo dasj a sabWoTa ruseTisadmi garkveul miniSnebasac warmoadgenda.

rac Seexeba momxdari faqtis Sefasebas, am sakiTxze Tbil isSi gamarTu- l ma osi social - demokratebis 1920 wl is 21 seqtembris TaTbirma sa- gangebod imsje l a. miRebul i rezol uci iT, aj anyebis mizezebis ganmapiro- bebel i faqtorebis wina pl anze wamowevis paral el urad, aRniSnul i aj anyeba TviT osebis mier iqna dagmobil i. amastan dakavSirebiT imave doku- mentSi vkiTxul obT: j avis raoinis osebis `aj anyebas niadagi oseTSi mo- qmedma nacional isturma partiebma, social ist- revol ucionerebma, bol Se- vikebma da e.w. `ruseTis social - demokratiul i partiis- osurma j gufebma moamzades, roml ebic ebrZodnen saqarTvel os respubl ikis damoukidebl o- bas... aj anyebas agreTve xel i Seuwyo osebis erovnul ma sabWom ivane fil- ievis xel mZRvanel obiT, romel ic ar emorCil eboda respubl ikis kanonebs da mTavrobas, moawyo Taviseburi antisaxel mwifoebrivi marTva- gamgeoba. TaTbiri sastikad hkicxavs da zizRs ucxadebs aj anyebis xel mZRvanel T, roml ebmac daRupes mTel i kuTxe.- imave rezol uciis mixedvit, TaTbiris monawil eni imeds gamoTqvamdnen, rom xel isufli eba borotmomqmedTa winaaRm- deg energiul zomebs miRebda, yuradRebas Sida qarTl is mTis osebis mdgomareobas miqcevda da aj anyebis l ikvidacias umtkivneul od daasru- l ebda.

es dokumenti osebis zemoaRniSnul aj anyebas, ara marto Secdo- mad, aramed osebiT dasaxl ebul i Sida qarTl is mTiani zol is daRup- vad acxadebda. am fonze, cinikuradac ki moCans im periodis bol Se- vikuri presis mier gakeTebul i Sefasebebi. maTi `mtkicebiT-, saqarTvel os xel isufli ebis mier Sida qarTl is aj anyebul mTis osebtan mimarTebaSi gatarebul i politikuri kursi, TiTqos erebis `TviT- gamorkvevis ufl ebis Sel axvas- da saqarTvel os damoukidebel i mTavrobis `barbarosul ~ qmedebas warmoadgenda. anal ogiuri Sexedu- l eba daamkvidra sabWourma istoriografiamac. mTel i 70 wl is man- Zil ze osebis aRniSnul aj anyebas `didebis SaravandediT- fuTavd- nen, xol o im qarTvel gmirebs, roml ebmac erovnul i saxel mwifos gadarCenisa da qveynis teritoriul i mTl ianobisaTvis Tavi gaswires_ augad ixseniebdnen, maT saxel ebs Segnebul ad l afSi svridnen. ase-

Ti ideol ogiuri propaganda, istoriis gamrudebul sarkeSi warmocenasada uzneobas_ osi axal gazrdebis qarTvel Ta siZul vil iTaRzrdas emsaxureboda.

osebis aj anyebaSi monawil eTa samarTi ebriv pasuxismgebl obasTan mimarTebaSi, qarTul i politikuri azri or nawil ad iyo gayofil i: Tuki erTi matgani damnaSave osebis sastikad dasj as moiTxovda, meore nawil i represiebis uSedegobaze miuTitebda da qveynis xel isufl ebas erTi ukiduresobidan meore ukiduresobaSi Cavardnas uwinaswarmetyvel ebda. maTi aseTi poziciis miuxedavad, xel isufl ebas pragmatul i xasiaTis al ternatul winadadebebs ver sTavazobdnen. isic gasaTval iswinebel ia, rom Sida qarTl is mTis osebma, roca xel isufl ebis mxridan real uri Zal a da mtrebis winaarMdeg qarTul i saxel mwifos ukompromiso brZol is faqtebi dainaxes, ukan daixies da mraVal gzis nacad farisevl urtaqtikas mimarTes. amis erT- erT dadasturebas, saqarTvel os mTavrobis Tavmj domarisadmi goris mazris, xaSuris raionisa da cemis sazogadoebis osebis erTobl ivi gancxadeba warmoadgens. isini n.Jordaniis arwmunebdnen, rom maT aranairi urTierToba ar qondaT mTis (j avis) osebis aj anyebasTan. `vacnobebT ra amis Sesaxeb mTavrobas_ vkiTxul obT gancxadebaSi_ imedi gvaqvs SesaZl ebl obas mogvcemen ganvagrZoT mSvidobiani muSaoba da Cvenis mxrit geficebiT patiosnebasa da sindiss, rom mTavrobis yvel a moTxovnil ebas sisworIT avasrul ebT.³⁵

rogorc vxedavT, osebi mTavrobis winase meramdened ificebdnen imas (patiosneba da sindisi), rac genetikurad maT ar gaaCndaT. Turamdenad sando iyo osebis es fici, qarTul i politikuri elitisaTvis amouc nob gamocanas ar warmoadgenda, radgan am mxriv, osebsgan warsul is mware gamocdil eba hqonda miRebul i. miuxedavad amisa, qveynis mmarTvel i wreebi osebze SurisZiebas ar apirebda, Tuki amis real ur pirobebs isev osebi ar Seqmnida. xel isufl ebis mxridan am mimarTul ebiT pirvel i praqtikul i nabij i 1920 wl is 28 ivl iss gadaidga. mxedvel obaSi maqvs Sinagan saqmeTa ministris n.ramiSvil is, kancel ariis direktoris p.gegel aSvil is da respublikis administraciis inspeqtoris iv.qarcivaZis gorSi da cxinval Si Casvl is faqtebi. dokumenturi masal iT dasturdeba, rom cxinval Si Casul ma n.ramiSvil ma sagangebo gankargul eba gasca, ganurCevl ad erovnebisa, yovel gvare saxis Zal adobisa da ukanonobis winaarMdeg brZol a gamoecxadebinaT da damnaSaveebi sastikad daesaj aT. imave n.ramiSvil is xel moweriT, erobebsa da miliciis ufrosebs sagangebo cirkul ari- gankargul eba daegzavna, sadac xazgasmiT iyo miTitebul i udanaSaul o osi moqal aqeebis ufl ebebis dacvis aucil ebl obis Sesaxeb.³⁶ aseTi poziciis miuxedavad, es srul ebiTac ar niSnavda, rom saqarTvel os xel isufl eba momaval Si osebtan raime kompromisze wasvl as apirebda. amis SesaniSnav dadasturebas cxinval is mcxovrebl ebTan Sexvedrisas n.ramiSvil is mier gakeTebul i gancxadeba warmoadgens. `im ambebis Semdeg_ ambobda n.ramiSvil i_ rodesac adgil i hqonda da romel Ta mowmeni Tqven gaxdiT, yvel am dainaxa Tu ra sisastikiT da simkacriT ibrZvis respublikis Seiararebul i Zal a saqarTvel os demokratiul i respublikis mtrebis winaarMdeg... Cveni respublik a imitom aris demokratiul i, rom igi ganurCevl ad erovnebisa da sarwmunoebisa erTnairad icavs yvel a moqal aqis interesebs. magram imave dros erTnairad dasj is yvel as, vinc aj anyebiT da Sina-

uri omebis saSual ebiT moindomebs sisxl Si CaaxSos mSromel i xal xis mier Seqmnil i respubl ika.-

damnaSave osebtan mimarTebaSi mTavrobis principul poziciaze miuTi-
Tebssdm partiis central uri komitetis prezidiumis 1920 wl is 28 ivni-
sis sxdomaze n.ramiSvil is mier gakeTebul i moxseneba. aj amebda ra cxi-
nval is raionSi im etapze Seqmnil politikur situacias, sxdomis mona-
wil eTa yuradRebas atenis xeobaSi TavSefarebul SeiaraRebul osebze
miapyrobdada dasZenda, rom xeobis mosaxl eobas kategoriul i winadadeba
hqonda micemul i_ osi bandformirebebis gacemis Sesaxeb. winaaRmdeg Sem-
TxvevaSi, damnaSaveTa mfarvel obis gamo xeobi dan iqnebodnen gasaxl ebul ni.
mTavrobis es Seuval i pozicia erovnul i saxel mwifos interesebs
efuzneboda da im etapze savsebiT gamarTI ebul i iyo. rac Seexeba
osur mosaxl eobas, Tuki maT saqarTvel oSi cxovreba surdaT, pir-
vel rigSi qarTul i saxel mwifos samsaxurSi unda Camdgariyvnen da
mxol od is saqme ekeTebina, rasac saqarTvel os saxel mwifos damo-
ukidebl obis interesebi moiTxovda. winaaRmdeg SemTxvevaSi maTi
adgil i qarTul miwaze namdvil ad ar iyo. osebtan mimarTebaSi sa-
qarTvel os xel isufl ebis damokidebul eba mxol od am poziciis
gaTval iswinebiT unda iqnas Sefasebul i.

osebis aj anyebebma da Crdil oetidan Semosulma osuri bandformirebe-
bis saqarTvel os teritoriaze aqturma moqmedebam, qarTul i pol itikuri
azris warmomadgenl ebisa da xel isufl ebis winaSe Crdil o kavkasiidan
Semomaval i sauRel texil o gzebis gamagrebis aucil ebl obis sakiTxi mTel
li principul obiT dasva. amastan dakavSirebiT gazeTma `saqarTvel om-
a.l . fsevdonimiT sagangebo weril i-`qarTI Si gadmosasvl el i gzebi kavkasi-
is mTebze- dabeWda. am publ ikaciaSi garkveviT iyo naTqvami, rom Crdil o-
eTidan gadmosasvl el gzebs (sacal fexo bil ikebi da cxeniT sava-
li), ramdenadac saqarTvel os mtrebi qveyanaSi Semoparvis mizniT
iyenebdnen, mis gasamagrebl ad da mudmivi kontrol is dasawese-
bl ad mTavrobas saswrafo Ronisziebi unda gaetarebina. am fonze,
statiis avtori gansakuTrebul yuradRebas mamisonis, zekaris, roki-
jomaRas uRel texil ebze amaxvil ebda. TiToeul i maTganis safuZv-
liani daxasiaTebis fonze, xel isufl ebis warmomadgenl ebs mianiS-
nebda im safrTxis Sesaxeb, romelic maTi daucvel obis SemTxveva-
qSi moel oda saqarTvel os.

zemoarNiSnul i uRel texil ebidan igi gansakuTrebiT roki- jomaRas sa-
uRel texil o gzas gamoyofda. es gadasasvl el i, Sida qarTI is mTis ose-
bis Crdil o kavkasiis oseTTan erTaderT damakavSirebel saSual ebas wa-
rmoadgenda. rogorc presis furcl ebze gamoqveynebul i masal ebidan da
Sesabamisi dokumentebidan irkveva, am sauRel texil o gzis mSenebl obiT
mxol od osebi iyvnen dainteresebul ni. es sakiTxi mTel i principul obiT
saqarTvel os osebis meore yril obaze (1917 wl is 15 dekemberi) iqna dasmu-
li da saTanado dadgenil ebac miiRes. `erovnul ma yril obam, saWi rod
scno_ vkiTxul obT dokumentSi_ exl ave Seudgnen roka- zaragamis gzis
gayvanas didi l iaxvis xeobaze Crdil o kavkasiastan SesaerTeb ad.- amave
sakiTxze imsj el a `samxreT oseTis- erovnul i sabWos pirvel ma sesiam (1918
wl is marti) da saqarTvel os osebis VIII yril obam (1919 wl is 20 seqtem-
beri).

Sida qarTI is osebis erovnul i yril obebis da sesiis zemoarNiSnul i
gadawyvetil eba, qarTul i pol itikuri speqtris farTo msjel obis sagani

gaxda. saRad moazrovne qarTul i pol itikuri el itis warmomadgenl ebi, presis furcl ebze gamoqveynebul publ ikaciebSi, saqarTvel os usafrTxo-ebis uzrunvel yofidan gamomdinare, rokis saurme gzis mSenebl obas dau- Svebl ad mi iCnevda. amasTan dakavSirebiT, gansakuTrebul yuradRebas gazeT `saqarTvel oSi~ gamoqveynebul i saredaqcio weril i `samxreT oseTi~ iq- cevs. `rokis saurme gza_ vkiTxul obT statiaSi_ SeerTebS `samxreT os- eTs~ Crdil oeT kavkasiis oseTTan. igi saqarTvel osken karebs uxsnis rusebs da am karebis gasaRebs osebi i deben TavianT j ibeSi... aSkaraa am gzis stra- tegiul i da pol itikuri mniSvel oba.~ am amonaweridan kargad Cans, rom qarTul i pol itikuri azris mesveurebs safuZvl ianad hqondaT gaazre- bul i is mosal odnel i safrTxo, romel sac rokis gzis mSenebl oba moutanda damouki debel saqarTvel os.

maSin rodesac Sida qarTI is osebis erovnul i sabWo da mis mier mowve- ul i saqarTvel os osebis yril obebi Crdil o kavkasiis oseTTan damakav- Sirebel i gzis mSenebl obis dawyebis aucil ebl obis Sesaxeb dadgenil e- bebs iRebda, saqarTvel os mTavrobis winaSe Crdil oeT kavkasiaSi gadasas- vl el i sauRel texil o gzebis gamagrebi sakiTxi idga dRis wesrigSi. amasTan dakavSirebiT, gansakuTrebul yuradRebas gen. i.odiSel izis mier saqa- rTvel os mTavrobisadmi 1920 wl is 4 Teberval s wardgenil i memo- randumi iqcevs. am dokumentis mixedviT, saqarTvel os Crdil oeTis sazRvris dacvis mizniT, i.odiSel iZe qveynis mmarTvel i wreebisgan Semdegi saxis RonisZiebis gatarebas moiTxovda: 1)saqarTvel os xel- lisufl ebas dauyovnebl iv unda daekavebina mefis ruseTis mier 1858 wel s saqarTvel osaTvis wartmeul i dval eTi (500 heqtari), ga- emagrebina ardonis saTave da kasar is xeoba; 2)gaemagrebina mexadi- ris poziciebi da 3)darial is xeoba. aRniSnul i RonisZiebebis ga- tarebis SemTxvevaSi, pirvel rigSi saqarTvel os istoriul i sazRvre- bis aRdgena unda momxdariyo. sakiTxis aseTi formiT dasmis paral e- l urad, samxedro mosazrebebidan gamomdinare, ruseT- saqarTve- l os Soris gamaval i sasazRvro xazis punqtebs i.odiSel iZe konkre- tul ad asaxel ebda da iqve gamafrTxil ebel i formiT dasZenda: `Tu axl a Cven ar dagvanebeben davikavoT zemoT dasaxel ebul i provinciebi_ vkiTxul obT dokumentSi_ maSin bol Sevikebis... pirve- l i Semotevebis mosageriebl ad dagvWirdeba TiTqm is orjer meti jari, vidre gamoyvana Segvizi ia. Tu axl ave gadmogvcemen am teri- toriebs, maSin bol Sevikebisgan... Cveni sazRvrebis dasacavad medgari da xangrZi ivi brZol isTvis gveyofa Cveni jaris 2/3, 1/3 ki saerTo rezervSi gveyol eba yovel i SemTxvevisaTvis.³⁷

asTi argumentirebul i mtkicebul ebebis fonze, saqarTvel os xel isu- fl e- bas igive i.odiSel iZe, qveynis saTvis momakvdinebel osur safrTxoze_ aRmo- savl eT da dasavl eT saqarTvel os `Suaze gawyvetis- mosal odnel gardu- val obazedac mianiSnebd. aqedan gamomdinare, erTxel kidev principul ad moiTxovda, raTa dval eTi_ kasar is xeoba saqarTvel os mier yofil iyo dakavebul i. Tuki am mimarTul ebiT praqtikul i nabij i gadai dgmeboda; a)Crdil oeTis osebi samxreTel i osebisagan myarad iqneboda gamoyofil i, b)maTi SeerTebis da erTiani osuri eTnosis Sida qarTI is Suagul Si sol iviT SeWra gamoiricxeboda. `Tu Cven droze ar gamovyofT Crdil oeTis osebs samxreTel ebisagan kasar is xeobis mtkiced dakavebiT, _vkiTxul obT doku- mentSi _maSin orive es tomi, Tumca sxvadasxva rel igias aRiareben da sxvadasxva kil oze metyvel eben, mal e Seerwyme ba erTmaneTs Zal ian mZi avri

eTnografiul i sol iviT da advil ad gaswyvets im viwro eTnografiul yel s, aRmosavl eTis da dasavl eTis qarTvel ebs j er kidev rom aerTebS.-yuradReba unda mi vaqci oT im garemoebas, rom i.odiSel iZis mier Sedgeni- l i memorandumis is nawil i, romel ic Crdil oeTidan_ gansakuTrebiT dva- l eTidan saqarTvel os usafrTxoebis uzrunvel sayofad gasatarebel i RonisZieebis aucil ebl obis mtkicebul ebebs exeba, iusticiis saminis- trosTan arsebul i sauwyebaTaSoriso komisiis 1919 wl is 31 ivl isisa da 1 agvistos sxdomebze gen. a.benaSvil isa da prof. ivj avaxiSvil is mier das- abuTebul i formiT warmodgenil i debul ebebidanaa aRebul i. aqedan ga- momdinare, dokumentis es monakveTi i.odiSel iZes original obaSi ver Cae- Tvl eba. miuxedavad amisa, im etapze mas ganuzoml ad didi Rirebul eba ga- aCnda. xazgasmiT unda aRiniSnos, qveynis xel isufl ebis Sesabamisi uwe- bi- sadmi gadacemul i am metad mniSvnel ovani da sayuradRebo gegmis ganxor- ciel eba did finansebTan iyo dakavSirebul i. misi Sesrul ebis xel SemSl e- l ad ori mTavari faqtori moqmedebda: 1)evropis qveynebisgan 1919 wl is gazafxul ze dpi rebis saxiT gacemul i daxmarebis (iaraRi, ful i, amuncia, sursaTi...) miuRebl oba da 2)ruseT- saqrTvel os 1920 wl is 7 maisis xe- l Sekrul eba, romel ic evropis saxel mwifoebis l iderTa mxridan, saqar- Tvel osTan mimarTebaSi gameZavebul i pol itikuri kursidan gamomdinare_ iZul ebiT nabij s warmoadgenda. am dokumentis mesame muxl is meore nawil iT, ruseT- saqarTvel os Soris saxel mwifo sazRvris damdgeni ormxrivi Sereu- l i komisiis daskvnamde (1922 wl is ianvramde), sazRvris uRel texil ebi 5 versis manZil ze neutral ur zonad iqna gamocxadebul i. aqedan gamomdinare, saqarTvel os Crdil oeTis sazRvris strategiul i uRel texil ebi wel iwa- di da 7 Tvis ganmavl obaSi faqtiurd daucvel i rCeboda. i.odiSel iZis mier wardgenil i es metad sayuradRebo da angariSgasawevi proeqti, ze- moaRniSnul i faqtorebidan gamomdinare ganuxorcil ebel i darCa.

amrigad; 1)saqarTvel osTan mimarTebaSi evropis saxel mwifoebis indiferentul ma damokidebul ebam, sabWoTa ruseTs, saqarTvel os saZianod Sesatyvisi RonisZieebis gatarebis SesaZl ebl oba misca. ruseTis dafinansebiT Sida qarTI is mTian zonaSi `samxreT ose- Tis- revkomis Seqmna (1920 wel i), sayovel Tao aj anyebis mowyobis gegmis SemuSaveba da osuri SeiaraRebul i razmebis Sedgena,_ saqa- rTvel oSi samoqal aqo omis gaCaRebas, qarTul i saxel mwifoebri- obis dangrevas da arsebul i xel isufl ebis Secvl is xarj ze, qveynis gasabWoebas isaxavda miznad. am fonze, Sida qarTI is saqarTvel os moqal aqe mTis osebis qmedeba, ruseTis komunisturi partiis (b) xel mZRvanel Ta miznebisa da amocanebis Sesasrul ebl ad_ `mexuTe kol onis- funqciis dasayrden fundamentals warmoadgenda; 2)sabWoTa ruseTis mier azerbaijanis mxridan, saqarTvel os winaaRmdeg daw- yebul i saomari moqmedeba da imavdroul ad rokis xeobis osebis aj anyeba, osebisgan warsul Si aprobirebul i meTodis amoqmedebas Seicavda. es faqti, qarTul ma pol itikurma azrovnebam, ara marto saqarTvel os xel isufl ebisadmi daumorcil ebl obis, aramed qveyn- nis Ral atis kval ifikaci iT Seafasa. osebis aRniSnul i aj anyeba kavkavidan imarTeboda da mas ruseTis federaciis moqal aqe ose- bis sami kargad SeiaraRebul i razmi exmareboda. sabWoTa ruseTis es qmedeba, samarTI ebrivi Tval sazrisiT ruseT- saqarTvel os xe- l Sekrul ebis VI muxl is darRvevas warmoadgenda da misadmi saqarTvel os xel isufl ebis adeqvaturi reagireba, saerTaSoriso

arenaze qveynis interesebis dacvas emsaxureboda; 3) Sida qarTl is mTis osebis 1920 wl is aj anyeba, qarTul i politikuri azrovnebis mxridan saqarTvel osTvis zurgSi gal esil i maxvil is Cacemad iqna Sefasebul i. qarTul i sazogadoebis cnobierebaSi Sida qarTl is mTiani zol is kompaqturad dasaxl ebul i osebi, savsebiT samarTl i-anad iqna aRqmul i rogorc orpirovani ianusi, qarTul i saxel mwi-fos mourCenel i wyl ul i da saqarTvel os sxeul is daCirqebul i muwuki. am avadmyofobisgan gankurnebis erTaderT saSual ebad, qarTu-l i politikuri el ita, damnaSave osebis sanimuSod dasj as, da rac mTavaria, saqarTvel os sxeul ze aRmocenebul i osuri wyl ul is ga-varvarebul i SanTiT amowvas moiTxovda. warsul is mware gamocdil e-ba da qveynis erovnul i interesebi, saqarTvel os mTavrobas prin-cipul i da ukompromiso poziciis bol omde gatarebis aucil ebl o-bisken ubiZgebda.

§. 4. qarTul i pol itikuri azri da Sida qarTI is mTis osebis 1918- 1920 wl ebis aj anyebebis Sefasebis mcdel oba

damoukidebel i saqarTvel os istoriis arsebobis wl ebSi (ori wel i da rva Tve) osebis oTxgzis aj anyebam, qarTul pol itikur azrovnebaSi araer-Tgvarovani Sefaseba daimsaxura. im periodis presis furcl ebze gamoqveynebul i publ ikaciebis avtorebi urTierTgamomricxav Sexedul ebeps anvi-Tarebdnen da osebis 1918- 1920 wl ebis aj anyebebis gamomwvev mizezebs sxvadasxva faqtorebs ukavSirebdnen. am mxriv gansakuTrebul interess Samirej ibis statia `cxinval is fronti- iqcevs. pol itikuri procesebis cval ebadobam da revol uciur sul iskveTebaSi kol iziis aRmocenebam, xel isuflebis mxridan drois Sesatyvisi pol itikuri kursis gatarebis saWi roeba moiTxova, rasac Samirej ibis azriT qveynis xel mZRvanel ma wreebma flexi ver auwyo. `mTel i tragedia qarTul i demokratiisa_ werda igi_ imaSi gamoixata, rom... qarTul i demokratia isev social uri revol uciebis da demokratizmis niadagze dgas. sxva danarCeni erebi kavkasiisa nacional ur pol itikas awarmoeben. aseTia mdgomareoba amierkavkasiis aRmosavl eT nawil Si da aseTi suraTi iSI eba dRes saqarTvel oSiac.¹ es imaze migvani Snebs, rom qveyanaSi stabil urobis garantis Sesaqmnel ad, mxol od social uri revol uciebis da demokratizmis niadagze dgoma, Samirej ibs arasakmarisad miaCnda. am Tval sazrisis erT- erT argumentad, amierkavkasiis mcire erebSi erovnul i sakiTxis wina pl anze wamowevas asaxel ebda. aqedan gamomdinare, yvel a mniSvnel ovani probl emis erovnul i saxel mwifos interesebis maqsimal urad gaTval iswinebis fonze gadawyvetas moiTxovda. am poziciidan ganxil avda igi osur sakiTxisac. rac Seexeba osebis aj anyebebis gnmapirobel mizezebs, amastan dakavSirebiT saqarTvel os erovnul i sabWos 1918 wl is 23 ivl isis sxdomaze warmoTqmul sityvaSi gr.veSapel i or ZiriTad faqtors_ 1)pol itikursa da 2)ekonomikurs gamoyofda. misi mtkicebiT, pol itikuri faqtori saqarTvel os saxel mwifos winaaRmdeg brZol is iTval iswinebda. am saqmeSi osebtan erTad, gr.veSapel is mtkicebiT rusebis da somxebis erTobl ivi moqmedebis idea iyo Cadebul i. rac Seexeba ekonomikurs, am SemTxvevaSi osebis mizans, rogorc gr.veSapel i ambobda_ barSi Casaxl eba da saCxere- yviril as vel ze miwebis dpatroneba warmoadgenda. aseTi fonis Seqmnis Semdeg, igi im ZiriTad mizezebs CamoTvlida, romel ic osebma saqarTvel oSi anarqiis Sesaqmnel ad gamoiyenes: 1)qveynis administraciis partiul oba; 2)Zveli administraciis arSecvl a; 3)revol uciis sakiTxis TavadznaurobasTan brZol is propagandistul i saSul ebebiT gaigiveba; 4)saqarTvel os damoukidebl obisa da misi mTavrobis arsebobis Sesaxeb sofl ebSi informaciis verSeRweva; 5)sofl ad momuSave propagandistebis mxridan saxel mwifos pol itikuri organizaciisadmi gverdis avl a da mTavari aqcentis kl asobriv brZol aze gadatana. am faqtorebis anal izidan gamomdinare, osebis aj anyebis erT- erT gamomwvev mizezad gr.veSapel i bol Sevikebis mxridan osebsi agrarul provokacias asaxel ebda.² miuxedavad amisa, dasmul probl emasTan mimarTebaSi mis mier saqarTvel os mTavrobis misamarTiT gamoTqmul i pretenziebi, amomwurav pasuxs srul ebiTac ar Seicavda. anal ogiur Tval sazrisze idga xel isuflebis warmomagenl el - Ta umetesobac. osur aj anyebas isini social ur- ekonomikur niadagze aRmocenebul ad ganxil avdnen.Namis Sesaxeb saqarTvel os erovnul i sabWos 1918 wl is 2 agvistos sxdomaze n.ramiSvil i xazgasmiT miuTitebda. misi mtkicebiT, osebis aj anyebaSi erovnul i araferi ar iyo, mas agrarul i

reformis gautarebl oba da sasursaTo krizisi edo safuZvl ad, rom am faqtors, rogorc igi ambobda, xel isufli ebis winaaRmdeg osebis asamxedrebl ad bol Sevikebi, rusi da somexi nacional istebl iyenebdnen. `Tuki Tqven dameTanxmebiT_ ambobda n.ramiSvili, rom duSeTis moZraoba ar SeiZl eba moinatI os moRal aturad, radgan Seugnebel i masa provokaciis ankesze wamoego, bol SevikTa xel mZRvanel ebs da nacional istebs ahyva, maSin arc saCxereSi momxdari aj anyeba SeiZl eba moinatI os moRal aturad.~ am SemTxvevaSi, n.ramiSvili osebis mxridan Cadenil i danaSaul is Serbil ebas im motivIT cdil obda, rom; a)osebTan mimarTebaSi qarTul i mosaxl eobis gaRizianeba da Surisziebis cexli is gaRviveba ar momxdariyo; b)igi xel isufli ebis mxridan osebTan urTierTobis daregul irebis Sesabamisi gzebis da saSual ebebis gamoZebnis imeds itovebda. es imas niSnavda, rom qveynis Sinagan saqmeTa ministri, osi damnaSaveebisasdmi ukiduresi RonisZiebebis gatarebisagan Tavs ikavebda da garkveul i Semrigebl uri politikuri kursis gatarebis gzas adga. Cems mier motanil i faqtebis mixedvit Tuki vimsjel ebT, xel isufli ebis Ziritadi yuradReba mxol od agrarul i sakiTxis gadauwyvetl obisken iyo mimarTul i da ratomRac sj eroda, rom agrarul i reformis droul ad gatareba osur probl emas dRis wesrigidan moxsnida. am Tval sazrisiT, im periodis presis meSveobiT saTanado propagandistul i muSaobac mimdinareobda. am mxriv, gansakuTrebul yuradRebas gazeT `erTobaSi~ dabeWdil i statia `os intel igentTa sayuradRebod~ iqcevs. masSi is Ziritadi azria gatarebul i, rom osebis umravle esobas, TiTqos umiwoba aRrCobda; rom am fonze, osi nacional isteblis mowodebasac_ barSi Sesevisa da iqedan qarTvel ebls garekvis Sesaxeb meti gasaval i qonda. aRniSnul sakiTxTan dakavSirebiT, imave statiaSi xazgasmiT iyo miTitebul i, rom `araviTar Zal as ar SeuZl ia barSi mosaxl e qarTvel ebls ayra, rogorc SeuZl ebel ia osebls ayra da sxvagan gadasaxl eba. demokratia SeZl ebs axal i miwis kanoni cxovrebaSi gaataros da am kanonis Zal iT gansazRvrul teritoriaze mcxovreblni Tanasworad iqneba dakmayofil ebul i miwiT, miuxedavad imisa _osi iqneba, qarTvel i, rusi Tu somexi.³arsebul i probl emis mogvarebls mizniT, imave statiaSi osur mosaxl eobaSi xel isufli ebls mxridan farTo xasiaTis axsna- ganmartebiTi samuSaoebls Catarebls aucil ebl obaze iyo aqcentireba gakeTebul i. am mimarTul eblT pragmatul gadawyvetil ebaze dafuZnebul RonisZiebebls, statias avtoris agrarul i reformis momzadebls winapirobad Tvl ida, roml is gareSe agrarul i reformis srul yofil ad gatareba SeuZl ebl ad miaCnda. `es aris Tavi da Tavi_ vkiTxul obT weril Si_ da ara represiebl... rasakvirveli ia, verc represieblze avirebT xel s. magram represiebl mimarTul i unda iyos ara xal xis winaaRmdeg, aramed sazogadoebls im nawil is winaaRmdeg, roml eblc cxovrebls arev- darevas uwyoben xel s.⁴ am amonaweris bol o nawil is mixedvit iseTi STabeWdil eba iqmneba, TiTqos saqarTvel os xel isufli eba represiebls ara aj anyebul i osi separatistebis, aramed xal xis winaaRmdeg mimarTavda. imave statiaSi araferi iyo naTqvami osi separatistebis aj anyebebls Sedegad qveyanaSi Seqmnil siZnel eebze da saqarTvel os mosaxl ebls `cxovrebls arev- darevlis- Sesaxeb. imavdroul ad igi gverds uvl ida arseblT sakiTxs_ osebls mxridan qarTul saxel mwifosTan da mSvidobian mosaxl eobasTan mimarTebaSi Cadenil i danaSaul is kvalifikacias. rac Seexeba osuri sakiTxis mogvarebls umTavres pirobas, statias avtoris agrarul i sakiTxis droul ad gadawyvetas ukavSirebda. doku-

menturi masal is Seswavl idan irkveva, rom anal ogi ur Tval sazriss saqarTvel os erovnul i sabWos social - demokratiul i fraqciis l iderebic icavdnen. amis dadasturebas, imave erovnul i sabWos 1918 wl is 2 agvistos sxdomaze al .l omTaTiZis mier warmoTqmul i sityva warmoadgens. `me srul iad darwmunebul i var_ ambobda igi, _ rom Tu davakmayofil eT osebi miwis sakiTxis j erovnad gadaWriT, osebi Cveni respubl ikis saukeTeso damcvel ebi iqnebian.⁵ TiTqmis imave Tval sazrisze idga erovnul - demokratiul i partiis mcire nawil i. mxedvel obaSi maqvs givi gol l endis fsevdonimiT gazeT `saqarTvel oSi- dabeWdil i statia `agrarul i anarqia.- statiis avtori osebis aj anyebis xasiaTis Sesaxeb kategoriul gancxadebas ar akeTeda, magram, mas Tavadaznaurobisa da intel igenciis winaaRmdeg mimarTul sisx- l ian moZraobad acxadebda. `agrarul ia es moZraoba Tu kidev sxva_ vkiTxul obT weril Si_ j er kidev garkveul i ar aris. erTi ram cxadia, am moZraobis mizans Tavadaznaurobisa da intel igenciis winaaRmdeg gal aSgreba warmoadgens. ukanasknel is social uri dayofis miuxedavad, moZraoba TandaTano- biT sisxliani stiQioniT imoseba.- aRniSnul i citatis mixedviT, statiis avtors wina pl anze social uri sakiTxi aqvs wamoweul i da misi Tval sazrisis gamarTl ebis ZiriTad argumentad 4 faqtors asaxel ebs: 1) qarTl Si feodal izmis fesvebis siZl iere; 2) memamul eTa meurneobis Zvel ebur yaidaze arseboba_ saRal o sistemis SenarCuneba; 3) umcros- ufrosobis tradiciul i institutisadmi upativcemul oba; 4) frontidan demobil izebul i jariskacebis mxridan anarqiis Seqmna. `yvel a es garemoebani_ vkiTxul obT imave statiaSi_ seriozul niadags umzadeben agrarul moZraobas qarTl - Si.- am SemTxvevaSi gansakuTrebul yuradRebas meoTxe faqtori iqcevs, radgan imave statiis mixedviT igi agrarul moZraobaSi ar zis. imavdroul ad is ZiriTadi ganmapirobebel i mizezebia ignorirebul i, ramac frontidan demobil izebul jariskacTa anarqiisken swrafva ganapiroba. mxedvel obaSi maqvs qarTvel i, osi da rusi bol Sevikebis saagitacio- propagan- distul i saqmianoba da maTi gansakuTrebul i gavl ena `nasal daTar- ose- bze. rac Seexeba Sida qarTl Si Seqmnil i anarqiul i procesebis SeCerebas da mis sabol ood aRmofxvras, amis `samkurnal o receipts- g.gol l endi mmar- rTvel i social - demokratiul i partiis agrarul i programis gl exebSi farTo popul arizaciaSi xedavda. `saqarTvel os bedi_ werda igi_ dRes me- nSevik social - demokratebis xel Sia. muSaTa kl asis garda mas wvri- l i me- sakuTre gl exobis interesebis dacvac aqvs asaxul i Tavis pol itikur- ekonomur programaSi da Tavis Tavad cxadia, man unda SeiWras sofl ad da saqmiani sityviT daaj eros gl exoba, rom pol itikuri Zl evamosil eba mis xel Sia da roca azvirTebul i anarqia Senel deba, igi marTebul ad gada- Wris miwis sakiTxs. darwmunebul i varT, amgvari moqmedebiT xsenebul i partia uTuod SeaCerebs gl exobis amxedrebul stiQions.-

rogorc vxedavT, weril is avtori, osebis aj anyebebis Sefasebis sakiTx- Si agrarul i moZraobisken ixreboda da misi SeCerebis saukeTeso saSu- al ebas, social - demokratebis agrarul i programis real izaciaSi xedav- da. imavdroul ad, aRniSnul i reformis Semaferxebel faqtorze_ anarqi- ul procesebze, sazogadoebis gansakuTrebul yuradRebas miapyrobd. am fonze, mmarTvel pol itikur partias Seaxsenebda, rom saqarTvel oSi Seqm- nil i rTul i pol itikuri situaciis gaTval iswinebidan gamomdinare, anar- qiis Semqmnel ebTan mimarTebsi, social - demokratebis mxridan `pol i- tikuri Zl evamosil ebis- oficial urad warmocena aucil ebl obas warmoad- genda. Tu ra formiT da saSual ebebiT unda momxdariyo dasmul i probl e-

mis gadawyveta, amis Sesaxeb imave statiaSi araferi iyo naTqvami. arsebul i mZime situaciidan qveynis gamoyvanis real uri gasaRebis Ziebage fiqri, ZiriTadad ise vmmarTvel i pol itikuri partiis gansjis sagnad rCeboda.

qarTul i pol itikuri azris zogierTi warmomadgenl is mxridan osuri aj anyebebis agrarul moZraobad gamocxadebis mcdarobas, saqarTvel os parl amentis mier 1919 wl is 28 ianvars miRebul i miwis sakanonmdebl o aqtebic adasturebs. mxedvel obaSi maqvs: 1) `kanoni saxel mwifo saadgil mamul o fondidan mcxovrebtatvis mamul is kerZo sakuTrebad micemisa; 2) `kanoni yofil sanadel o, saxazino da sxva miwebis kerZo sakuTrebad gamocxadebisa.~ am dokumentebis Zal aSi Sesvl is dRidan, sofl is macxovrebl ebs, ganurCevl ad erovnebis, dawesebul i normis fargl ebSi miwebi usasyidl od_ kerZo mfl obel obaSi eZl eoda. imave dokumentis meore muxl is (g) punqtis mixedvit, Sida qarTl is Tavadebisa da rusi moxel eebis kuTvnil ebaSi arsebul i miwebi goris mazris mTis osebis kerZo sakuTrebad cxaddeboda.⁶ aRniSnul i faqti qonda mxedvel obaSi al .asaTians, roca gazeT `erTobaSi- dabelWdil statiaSi `agrarul i reforma osetSi~_ werda: memamul eebis mfl obel obaSi arsebul i `miwebi ianvris... kanoniT gamocxadebul ia matze mosaxle osebis srul kuTvnil ebat da srul iad usasyidli ot es miwebi Camortmeul ia Tavad maCabl ebis gan, demionovis, Jirnovis da sxva memamul eTagan, romel nic ukve meateds ki ara, erT grosSac ver mostxoven mSromel osebs maTi naSromidan. am miwebidan erTi mtkavel i miwac ar etovebat am memamul eebis, gl ex osebs ki miecemat am miwebze aqtebi, rogorc mat sakuTar miwebze.⁷

dokumenturi masal iT dadasturebul ia, rom saqarTvel os damfuZnebel i krebis 1920 wl is 10 Tebervl is sxdomam, gl exebis kerZo mfl obel obaSi arsebul i miwebis yidva- gayidvis SesaZl ebl obis Sesaxeb Sesabamisi kanoni miRo.⁸ isic cnobil ia, rom aRniSnul i kanonmdebl obidan gamomdinare, agrarul i reformis gatareba, saqarTvel os xel isufl ebam 1919 wl idan daiwyo. am reformis erT- erT mimarTul ebas Sida qarTl Si mcxovrebi osebisatvis miwebis gadacema da kerZo sakuTrebaSi dakanoneba warmoadgenda.

yovel ive zemoT Tqmul i iaze metyvel ebs, rom osebis aj anyebebs agrarul i faqtori rom deboda safuZvl ad, zemoT dasaxel ebul i sakanonmdebl o aqtebidan da qveyanaSi mimdinare agrarul i reformidan gamomdinare, osebis 1920 wl is aj anyebas adgil i ar unda hqonoda. yovel ive es, safuZvel s mazi evs ganvacxado, rom Sida qarTl is mTis osebis aj anyebebis Sefasebastan mimarTebaSi, qarTul i social - demokratiul i partiis liderebi da erovnul - demokratiul i partiis zogierTi warmomadgenl ebi cdebodnen, roca isini aqcentirebas, rogorc zemoTac mqonda aRniSnul i, mxol od agrarul sakiTxze akeTebden da yuradRebis miRma tovebden umTavress_ osebis prorusul orientacias da masze dafuZnebul separatizms. Tuki osebis mier mowyobil i aj anyebebi agrarul i sakiTxis gadawrel obiT iyo ganpirobebul i, osebis erovnul i yril obisa da erovnul i sabWos mier miRebul rezol uciebsa da dadgenil ebebSi `samxreT oseTis- rusetTan SeerTebis an `samxreT oseTisa- da Crdil o kavkasiis oseTis gaerTianebul i mTavrobis Seqmnis sakiTxi dRis wesrigSi ar unda dasmul iyo. piriqiT, saqarTvel os damouki debel i respublikis aRiarebis fonze unda momxdariyo agrarul i sakiTxis dayeneba da misi wina pl anze wamoweva. Tuki osebis `satkivars- mxol od agrarul i reformis gautarebl oba warmoadgenda, maTi mxridan; 1) saqarTvel odan `gaqcevis mcdel obas- da qarTul i

miwebis mitacebis xarj ze ruseTis Semadgenl obaSi Sesvl is mowodebas adgil i ar unda hqonoda; 2) osuri aj anyebebis momwyob xel mZRvanel birTvs kargad unda gaecnobierebina; a) 1918- 1920 wl ebis osebis aj anyebei qveynis teritoriul mTl ianobasa da mis ekonomikas angrevda; b) agrarul i da social uri sakiTxebis gadawyvetas ki ar aCqarebda, piriqiT, dawyebul i saqmis maqsimal urad Semferxebl is funqcias asrul ebda. Cemi azriT, am fonze unda moxde osuri sakiTxis ganxil va da misi saTanadod Sefaseba. aqedan gamomdinare, social - demokratebis mxridan osuri aj anyebebis social uri xasiaTis moZraobad gamocxadeba_ Secdomad unda CaiTval os.

social - demokratebisagan gansxvavebul i pozicia eWira radikal - demokratiul i partiis l iderebs, roml ebic osebis aj anyebas, osebis erovnu- l i moZraobis Wril Si ganxil avda. am mxriv, gansakuTrebul yuradRebas radikal - demokratiul i partiis erT- erTi l ideris d.fal avandis statia_ `qarTl is tragedia- iqcevs. Tavisi Sexedul ebisaTvis meti damaj erebl obis micemis mizniT, d.fal avandi Semdeg argumentebs iSvel iebda: 1) os- ebis 1917 wl is dekembris yril obaze miRebul rezol uciaSi dasmul i moTx- ovna_ Si da qarTl is mTis osebi saTvis samazro erTeul is gamoyofis Sesaxeb, osebis erovnul i moZraobis niSnebs Seicavda; 2) imave d.fal avandis mtki- cebiT, osebis erovnul i sabWos mier amierkavkasiis komisaratisadmi 1918 wl isianvarSi oficial urad wardgenil moTxovnaSi, osebis TviTgamork- vevis sakiTxi iyo dasmul i. amis damadasturebl ad, imave dokumentidan man Sesabamisi amonaweri moitana, sadac garkvevi Taa miTiTebul i: `ruseTis di dma revol uciam, romel mac yvel a erebs mianiWa TviTgamorkvevis ufl eba, erovnu- l i sabWo samxreT oseTisa dauyovnebl iv moiTxovs gamoyofas.~ am doku- ments ukeTebda ra anal ize, igive d.fal avandi dasZenda: `am dros iwyeba osebis erovnul i moZraoba da Tavisi gegma aRsrul ebaSi mohyavT.~ iden- tur Sexedul ebas anviTarebda d.Ciqovani gazeT `Cveni respubl ika~ Si ga- moqveynebul statiaSi_ `osTa Ral ati.~ `osTa moZraobas_ werda igi_ erovnu- l i xasiaTi aqvs, raica iqedan mJRavndeba, rom maT mier Seqmnil termino- l ogias_ `samxreT oseTs~ xel ovnurad hqmnian da amkvidreben agresiu l is saSual ebiT!~

radikal - demokratiul i partiis l iderTa mier sazogadoebisaTvis Se- Tavazebul i osebis aj anyebebis Sefasebis formul ireba, erovnul de- demokratiul i partiis l iderebis umetesobiTvis misaRebi aRmoCnda. am mxriv, gansakuTrebul interess saqarTvel os erovnul i sabWos 1918 wl is 23 ivl i- sis sxdomaze gr.veSapel is gamosvl a iqcevs. igi, osebis aj anyebebis Se- fasebasTan mimarTebaSi social - demokratiul i partiis mesveurebs sama- rTl ianad sayvedurobda; `gons modiT batonebo! erTxel ukve daisaj eT TviT osebis mier, roca cxinval is moZraobas agrarul moZraobas rom uwodebdiT, dafiqrdiT, cxinval ze uaresi saqme ar daemarTos Tqveni wya- l obiT mTel s qarTvel ers.~⁹

am SemTxvevaSi gr.veSapel i marTebul ad uaryofda osuri aj anyebebis social ur da agrarul xasiaTs, magram imave aj anyebebis daukonkretebel i formul irebiT_ osur moZraobad acxadebda. am formul irebaSi igi oseb- is erovnul moZraobas gul isxmobda. amis damadasturebl ad erovnul - de- demokratiul i partiis oficial ur organoSi gazeT `saqarTvel oSi~ 1919 wel s gamoqveynebul i publ ikaciebi gamodgeba. mxedvel obaSi maaqvs imave gazeT- Si dabeWdil i saredaqcio statia_ `samxreTi oseTi.~ `revol uciis aqeT da saqarTvel os damoukidebl obis periodSi_ vkiTxul obT weril Si_ gaCnda... axal i qveyana `samxreTi oseTi.~ es axal i saxel mwifo iaraRiT Seudga

Tavisi teritoriis gamoWras saqarTvel os gul idan... `samxreTis oseTi~ namdvil i osuri Seudrekel obiT ganagrZobda Tavisi moqmedebas dasaxul i erovnul - pol itikuri miznebis misaRwevad.- imave gazeTSi dabeWdil me- ore weril Si `osebis moZraoba- vkiTxul obT: `saqarTvel os damouki de- bl obis aRdgenasTan erTad, daiwyo osTa moZraoba da man farTo erovnu- l i xasiaTi miiRo.- osebis aj anyebebis aseTi Sefasebis fonze, erovnul - demokratebi saqarTvel os mTavrobas sayvedurobda, rom misa wevrebma, osebis aj anyebebis `ideuri Sinaarsi da pol itikuri mizani ver dainaxa. mTavroba da misi partia, dogmiT da il uziebiT gabriyvebul i sinamdvil is gareSe darCa.- am poziciis gamarTi ebisa da erovnul - demokratTa debu- l ebis meti damaj erebl obiT warmocenis mizniT, igive gazeTi dasZenda; `Cveni imTaviTve SevecadeT gamogverkvia qarTul i sazogadoebrivi azrisa- Tvis namdvil i Sinaarsi aj anyebisa, magram saqarTvel os mTavrobam es aj an- yeba anarqiul moZraobad icno da didi mniSvnel obis sakiTxi daawvril ma- na, mxol od `upasuxismgebl o nacional isteblis qadagebis- saxiT.-

erovnul - demokrateblis mxridan, social - demokrateblisadmi wayenebul pretenziels, saqarTvel os erovnul i sabWos 1918 wl is 6 agvistos sxdo-ma- ze ir.wereTel ma upasuxa. `aq nacional - demokratebi gamodian da amtk- iceben_ ambobda ir.wereTel i, _ rom am moZraobas uaRresad erovnul i xa- siaTi aqvso... danamdvil ebiT ician, rom oseblis moZraoba ar iyo erovnul i moZraoba, magram Cveni memarj veneebi mainc amboben, rom iq xal xis Rma gul Si erovnul i interesebia Cafl ul i da is amoZravebso.-¹⁰ Tuki ir.we-re- Tel is am gamosvl as daveyrdnobiT da mxedvel obaSi miviRebT im gare-mo- ebasac, rom erovnul i sabWos imave sxdomaze erovnul - demokrateblis ir.we- reTel is `bral deba- ar gauprotestebia. es faqti, erovnul - demokratebze Setevis misatanad ir.wereTel s met SesaZl ebl obas aZl evda. `aq erovnul moZraobasTan ki ar gvaqvs saqme_ ambobda ir.wereTel i, _ aramed bol Sevi- keblis umsgavso agitaciasTan, roml ebic xal xs eubnebian, rom SeuerTdiT ruseTs... brma unda iyos kaci, rom es garemoeba ar dainaxos... me Tqven ga- rwmunebT, rom bol Sevikebi ufro saSiSni arian vinem jiovebi da sxva na- cional isteblis. ram daabrmava es xal xi, saCxeris moZraobaSi bol Sevikebls ar xedaven da erovnul moZraobad naTi aven.-¹¹ am amoaweris mi xedviT, ir.we- reTel i mxol od im nawil Si iyo marTal i, roca oseblis moZraobaSi erovnul xasiaTs uaryofda. miuxedavad amisa, qarTul pol itikur speqtrs igi Sesa- tyvis formul irebas ver sTavazobda, roml iTac osuri aj anyebebi unda Sefasebul iyo.

aRniSnul sakiTxiTan mimarTebaSi erovnul - demokratTa kritika gazeT `erTobaSi- dabeWdil publ ikaciebSiac iyo wina pl anze wamoweul i. am mx- riv, gansakuTrebul yuradRebas mowinave statia `osebi da gazeTi `saqa- rTvel o- iqcevs. masSi kategoriul i formiT iyo gacxadebul i, rom oseblis erovnul i sabWo, erovnul i ideebis matarebel i ar iyo, igi mxol od kontr- revol uciur organizacias warmoadgenda. aseTi fonis SeqmniT, gazeTi `erToba- qarTul i saxel mwifos intereseblis gaTval iswinebiT gazeT `saqarTvel os- samarTi ianad akritikebda. gazeTi `saqarTvel os- `gadmocemiT_ vkiTxul obT weril Si_ javis xeobaSi muSaobs osTa `erovnul i ganTavisufl ebis- idea. esmis Tu ara sabral o gazeTs, rom amit is daTvur samsaxurs uwevs Cveni respubl ikis saxel mwi- foebriobas da gmirobis SaravandediT amkobs javis xeobaSi Tav- moyril yaCaRebs?~¹² am SemTxvevaSi gazeTi `erTobis- pozicia savsebiT gasagebia, radgan oseblis aj anyebebls Tuki qarTul i pol itikuri azris mesve-

urebi `erovnul i samoseli T- SefuTul s warudgenda sazogadoebas, nebsiT Tu unebl ied es iqneboda qarTul saxel mwifostan mimarTebaSi gadadgmul i mcdari da polititurad saxifaTo nabiji. miTumetes, bol Sevikuri ideologiuri propaganda, osebisa anyebebs erovnul i TviTgamorkveisaTvis miswrafebis rangSi ganxil avda. amis dadasturebas gazeT `komunistSi- 1920 wels dabeWdili f.maxarazis statia `yvel as gasagonad- warmoadgens. f.maxarazis azrit, osebisa anyeba `erovnul i TviTgamorkveisaTvis- brZol as warmoadgenda da misi Zal datanebit Caqroba Titqos erTa TviTgamorkvevis ufl ebis uaryofis dadastureba iyo.¹³

am sakiTxTan dakavSirebit gazeTma `ertobam- mowinave weril Si `isev osetze- qarTvel da rus bol Sevikebs Rirseul i pasuxi gasca. statiis avtori savsebit kanonzomier SekiTxvas usvamda bol Sevikebs: Crdil o kavkasiidan javis xeobaSi Casaxl ebul osebs Tuki TviTgamorkva da saxel mwifoebrivi ufl ebebi ekuTvnoda, sabWota rusetis mTavroba anal ogiur programas ratom ar anxorciel ebda osebisa namdvil samSobl oSi_ Crdil oet kavkasiis osetSi, ceCneTSi an daRestanSi. `rat dauyenes maT saTaveSi zevidan daniSnul i komisrebi da witel armiel Ta sisxliani xistebit ratom axSoben maT Tavisufl ebas?- am SekiTxvaze gacemul pasuxSi, gazeTma `komunistma- sabWouri TviTgamorkvevis prinsips niRabi Camoxada da igi sazogadoebis winaSe sabol ood gaaSiSvla. `burJuaziuli revoluciis xanaSi_ werda gazeTi `komunisti- 1917 wels xal xTa TviTgamorkvevis prinsipi iyo momentis Sesafetisi lozungi imisaTvis, rom dagvengria mefisa da memamul eTa saxel mwifo, Ziri gamogvetxara misi central izmisaTvis da dagvesustebina igi.~ aq garkveiTaa natqvami, Tu ra miznit iyenebda bol Sevikebi `erTa TviTgamorkvevis- lozungs da saqartvel oSi misi bol Sevikuri metodit ganxorciel ebis SemTxvevaSi, advil ad warmosadgenia ra mZime mdgomareobaSi armoCndeboda axl aSeqmnil i qarTul i saxel mwifo. gazeT `komunistis- zemoArniSnul gancxadebas gazeTi `ertoba- ukeTebda ra komentars_ werda: `bol Sevikebis es idea buSmenuri wesiT tardeba. igi kargia roca sxvis saxel mwifos arRvevs. cudia Tu Sens saxel mwifos girRvevs... yvel asaTvis cxadia, Tu ra mizans emsaxureba Tbil isel i komunisti, roca javis xeobaSi sabWota damouki debel i respublikis Seqmna unda da imave dros mTavari osetisaTvis TviTgamorkvevaze sityvis Tqmac ki kontrerevolucionerobad miaCnia... javis TviTgamorkveva aris saqartvel os darRvevis boroti survil iT wamoyenebul i... sad gagoni a... ramdenime mioni mcxovrebi msxverpl ad ramdenime aTeuls Sewirodes! javis xeobis damouki debl oba... iqneboda saqartvel os darRveva, misi sazRvrebis moSi a da advil dasapyrobad gadaqceva. osebisa TviTgamorkveva Crdil o osetSi unda moxdes sadac osi oTxmocdaaTi procenti cxovrobs da ara javaSi sadac osis sul ramdenime sofel ia.¹⁴

qarTul i saxel mwifos dasarRevad bol Sevikebis am mavnebl ur Canafiqrs, qarTul ma sabWota istoriografi am gverdi auara da osebisa 1918- 1920 wlebis anyebebi social ur- ekonomikuri, gansakutrebit erovnul i Cagvris winaaRmdeg mimarTul da erovnul i TviTgamorkvevis mosapovebl ad warmobul samarTlian brZol ad (u.baxtaZe, g.TogoSvili) gamoacxada.¹⁵ am SemTxvevaSi, isini urTierTgamomricxvi saarqivo masalis Sepirispirebas da mis siRmiseul anal izsar akeTebdnen. amosaval wyarod, mxol od osi bol Sevikebisa da `samxret osetis- revkomis mier Sedgenil tendenciur dokumentebis miCnevden. amis sail ustraci od, `samxret osetis- revkomisa da

partkomis erTobl ivi dadgenil ebisadmi (1921 wl is 6- 8 seqtemberi) darTul i `mokl e ganmar tebiTi baraTi- gamodgeba. am dokumentis meoTxe nawil - Si_ `История революционной борьбы Юго- Осетинской бедноты-, oseb is 1918- 1920 wl ebis aj anyebebi erovnul - ganmaTavisufl ebel moZraobadaa gamocxadebul i.¹⁶ mkvl evarTa da pol itikosTa is nawil i, roml ebic sabWouri istoriografiis warmomadgenel Ta mxridan aseT yal b dokumentebze dayrdnobiT gakeTebul mcdar Sexedul ebas iziarebs, maT unda daasabuTon, rom Sida qarTI Si mcxovrebi osebi, am teritoriis aborigen mosaxl eobas warmoadgens da igi qarTvel i eris mier iqna dapyrobil i. Tuki amas SeZl eben, maSin maTi formul ireba_ oseb is 1918- 1920 wl ebis aj anyebebis erovnul - ganmaTavisufl ebel i moZraobis rangSi ayvanis Sesaxeb savsebiT marTI ebul i iqneba. miTumetes, qarTul sabWoTa encikl opediaSi dadasturebul ia, rom erovnul - ganmaTavisufl ebel i moZraoba `miznad isaxavs ucxo saxel mwifos batonobis mospobasa da erovnul i damoukidebl obis mopovebas, erovnul - kol oniuri Cagvrisa da eqspl oataciis l ikvidacias.-¹⁷ winaaRmdeg SemTxvevaSi, maT is anbanuri WeSmariteba unda aRiaron, rom oseb is zemoaRniSnul i gamosvl ebi separatul moZraobas warmoadgenda, igi erTiani qarTul i saxel mwifosa da misi teritoriul i mTI ianobis dasarRvevad iyo mimarTul i. dokumenturi masal iT dadasturebul ia, rom zemoaRniSnul i aj anyebebis xel mZRvanel Ta erT- erT mizans; **1)**oseb is mxridan Sida qarTI is teritoriis aneqsia da okupacia; **2)**mamapapeul i sacxovrisidan qarTvel Ta gamodevna; **3)**saqarTvel os gul Si osuri saxel mwifo warmonaqmnis aRmoceneba da misi ruseTTan mier Teba warmoadgenda. swored am poziciidan ganixil a oseb is aj anyebebis sakiTxi amenTeSaSvil ma da mas savsebiT kanonzomierad osuri separatizmis kval ifikacia misca.¹⁸

damoukidebel saqarTvel osTan mimarTebaSi Sida qarTI is mTis oseb is mier osuri damoukidebel i pol itikuri erTeul is Sesaqmnel ad mowyobil i 1918- 1920 wl ebis aj anyebebi da xel isufl ebisadmi oficial urad wardgenil proeqtebSi dasmul i moTxovnebi_ separatizmis CarCoSi j deba. miTumetes, ucxo si tyvaTa ganmar tebiTi l eqsikonis mixedviT, separatizmi gamoyofisken swrafvas, gancal kevebas niSnavs. am survil is aRsrul ebi-saTvis oseb is brZol a, mxol od sabWoTa ruseTis federaciaSi Semaval i Crdil o kavkasiis oseTSi iqneboda samarTI ebrivad gamarTI ebul i. miTumetes, oseb is es istoriul i samSobl o ruseb is mier iyo da aris dapyrobil i. aRniSnul is gaTval iswinebidan gamomdinare, sabWoTa ruseTis winaaRmdeg maTi brZol a erovnul - ganmaTavisufl ebel moZraobad CaiTvl eboda. rac Sexeba saqarTvel osTan mimarTebaSi oseb is pretenziebs, yovel gvar samarTl ebriv safuZvel s iyo mokl ebul i, radgan dedamiwis zurgze XX saukunis 20- ian wl ebSi ar arsebobda da arc dRes `arsebobs precedenti, rom romel ime qveyanas Tavis teritoriaze mosaxl e aradominanti (arasatitul o) eris nawil isaTvis, visac samSobl o sxvagan aqvs, saxel mwifoebri- pol itikuri warmonaqmnis Camoyal ibebis neba mieces.-¹⁹ 1918- 1920 wl ebis dokumenturi masal is safuZvl iani anal izidan da saerTaSorisao samarTI is normebidan gamomdinare, Sida qarTI is mTis oseb is mier mowyobil i aj anyebebi da maTi pretenziul i moTxovnebi, kl asikuri tipis separatizmis CarCoSi Tavsdeboda da damoukidebel i saqarTvel os teritoriul i mTI ianobis darRvevas isaxavda miznad.

amrigad; **1)**Sida qarTI is mTis oseb is 1918- 1920 wl ebis aj anyebebis gamomwvev ZiriTad mizezad, social - demokrateb is mier agrarul i da sasursaTo krizisis dasaxel eba, probl emisadmi araswori mi-

dgomiT iyo ganpirobepul i da bunebrivia, obieqtur daskvnasac ar Seicavda. anal ogiur mdgomareobaSi aRmoCnda erovnul - demokratebi, radikal - demokratebi da qarTvel i bol Sevikebi, roca osebis 1918-1920 wl ebis aj anyebebi erovnul moZraobad gamoacxades. aRniSnul i Tval sazrisisadmi social - demokratebis uaryofiT i damokidebul eba marTebul i iyo, radgan, osebis aj anyebebis erovnul moZraobad gamocxadeba qarTul i saxel mwifos saziانو debul ebas warmoadgenda da osi separatistebis `gmirobis- SaravandediT Semosvas uwyobda xel s. am poziciidan Tuki SevafasebT Sida qarT i s mTis osebis 1918- 1920 wl ebis aj anyebebTan mimarTebaSi qarTul i pol itikuri azris mesveurTa urTierTsawinaaRmdego Sexedul ebeps, davrwmundebiT, rom igi zedapirul mtkicebul ebeps Seicavda da momxdari faqtis siRrmiseul anal izs ar efuZneboda. 2)gazeT `erTo-baSi- gamoqveynebul publ ikaciebSi, sabWoTa ruseTis magal iTis fonze, dasabuTebul i formiT iqna warmoceni l i bol Sevikebis erovnu- l i TviTgamorkvevis ideis siyal be. gamoaSkaravebul i iqna, rom aRniSnul i idea, bol Sevikebis pol itikur kampanias warmoadgenda. igi sxvis saxel mwifoSi qaosis Sesaqmnel ad da mis dasangrevad iyo gaTvl il i. mimdinare pol itikuri procesebis saRi gonebiT Se- fasebis miuxedavad, qarTul ma pol itikurma el itam, osebis 1918-1920 wl ebis aj anyebeps Sefasebis Sesatyvisi formul ireba ver mo- uZebna. Sida qarT i s mTis osebis aj anyebebi ramdenadac saqa- rTvel odan osebis gamoyofas, qarTvel i eris istoriul ad kuTvni- l i teritoriis mitacebas da ruseTis federaciasTan mierTebas isaxavda miznad, am faqts, mxol od XX saukunis 90- iani wl ebis qa- rTul ma istoriografiam misca obieqturi Sefaseba da mas savse- biT kanonzomierad osuri separatizmi uwoda.

§. 5. Sida qarTl is mTis osebis prorusul i orientaciis kritika qarTul politikur azrovnebaSi (1917- 1920 ww.)

Sida qarTl is mTis osebis 1918- 1920 wl ebis aj anyebebis arsis srul ad warmocenis mizniT, sabwota ruseTTan osi separatistebis damokidebul ebis winapl anze wamoweve aucil ebl obas warmoadgens. probl emisadmi am kuTxiT midgoma imiT aris gamarTl ebul i, rom igi SesaZl ebl obas iZl eva gavarkviot_ osebis mxridan qarTul i saxel mwifos sawinaaRmdego moZraoba spontanur xasiaTs atarebda Tu winaswargamiznul i Segnebul i qmedebiT iyo ganpirobepul i. dasmul i sakiTxis gasaRebs, probl emis qarTul i politikuri azrovnebis Wril Si Seswavl a iZl eva.

im periodis presis furcl ebze gamoqveynebul i masal ebidan irkveva, rom saqarTvel oSi mcxovrebi eTnikuri umciresobebis, gansakuTrebiT osebis orientaciis sakiTxi, maSindel i qarTul i politikuri azris mesveurTa msjel obis erT- erT sagans warmoadgenda. am mxriv, gansakuTrebul yuradRebas radikal - demokratiul i partiis lideris d.Ciqovani statia_ `osta Ral ati- iqcevs. saqarTvel osmosaxl eobis orientaciis Sesaxeb, d.Ciqovani Semdegi saxis kl asifikacias sTavazobda mkiTxvel sazogadoebas; 1)osmal uri orientacia_ azerbaijanel ebi; 2)rusuli orientacia_ rusebi, somxebi, osebi; 3)evropul i orientacia_ qarTvel ebi. qarTvel i eris am arCevans, igi progresul ad afasebda da Semdegi argumentebiT amagrebda: a)amierkavkasiaSi qarTvel i eri yvel a erze metadaa dawinaurebul i da evropul i respublikuri cxovrebiTvisaa momzadebul i; b)saxel mwifoebrivi damoukidebl obisatvis mebrZol i qarTvel i eri, upiratesobas ukeTes gzas aniWebs, arCevans material uri da sul ieri kul turit ruseTze da osmal eTze maRl a mdgom evropis saxel mwifoebze akeTebS. aRniSnul i faqtorebis gaTval iswinebidan gamomdinare, igive d.Ciqovani dasZenda: `qarTvel i eri, romel ic damoukidebl obis saxiT kul turosan saxel mwifoebTan l amobs daaxl oebas, cdil obs adgil obrivadac gaimagros ni adagi, raTa evropasTan daWeril i kavSiri marTl ac gamodges safuZvl iani da mudmivi.- qarTvel Ta am Canafiqris praqtikul real izacias, dabrkol ebas mxol od rusul i da osmal uri orientaciis mimdevrebi uqmnidnen, roml ebic gansakuTrebiT amierkavkasiis seimis Seqmnisa da saqarTvel os damoukidebl obis gamocxadebisTanave gaaqtiurdnen. dikumenturi masal iT dadasturebul ia, rom maTi es qmedeba, xSirad Sefarvit xasaiats atarebda. rusul i da osmal uri `orientaciis momxreni_ werda d.Ciqovani_ gansakuTrebul i sapatiosamosel iT ifaraventans, raTa aSkarad ar gamocndes maTi namdvil i maxinji sxel i. aseTi samosel ebia: mahmadis sarwmunoeba da bol Sevikuri moZraoba.-

imasTan dakavSirebiT, Tu vin upirispirdeboda `bol Sevikuri samosel iT- qarTvel i eris interesebs, amis Sesaxeb imave statiaSi vkiTxul obT: `bol Sevikebis samosel iT gamodian isini, roml ebic dasamarebul ruseTs jerac ver moscil ebian. rogorc pirvel ebi (osmal uri orientaciis momxreni S.v.), esenic sastikad ebrZvian yovel Tavisufal da damoukidebel nabij s qarTvel i erisas. eseni arian ruseTis aRdgenis motrfial eni. am samosel iT gveCvenebian ara mar to rusul i el ementebi, aramed somxebi da osebi... bol Sevizmis samosel Si damal ul somexTa am rusul orientacias emateba srul iad axal i da erTis mxriv moulo dnel i el ementi. es el ementia saqarTvel os osoba, romel mac xel ovnurad Seqmna saxel wodeba `samxreTi oseTi.-

Cems mier motanil i masal ebis mixedviT kargad Cans, rom saqarTvel oSi mcxovrebi eTnikuri umciresobebi (azerbajanel ebi, rusebi, somxebi, osebi...) saqarTvel os damoukidebel i saxel mwifos Seqmnis winaarmdegni iyvnen, Tavianti saorientacio miswrafebiT da praqtikul i saqmi anobiT, qarTvel i eris saukunovan interesebs upirispirdebodnen. konkretul ad Tu ra formiT mimdinareobda maTis mxridan antiqarTul i saqmi anoba, es farTo Temaada cal ke kvlevis sagania. amitom, amjerad yuradRebas mxol odert konkretul sakiTxze_ saqarTvel oSi mcxovrebeb osebze gavamaxvil eb.

dokumenturi masal iT dasturdeba, rom Sida qarTl is mTis osebis ruseTisaken swrafvis oficial urad gamJRavnebis pirveli sasinji nabiji, cxinval Si mowveul i amierkavkasiis osebis meore yril obaze (1917 wl is 16-18 dekemberi) gadaidga. mxedvel obaSi maqvs Crdil o kavkasiaSi mcxovrebi osebis erovnul i sabWos warmomadgenel is k.buTaevis mier yril obaze gakeTebul i gancxadeba_ bunebaSi ararsebul i `samxreT oseTisa- da Crdil o kavkasiis oseTis SeerTebis Sesaxeb. martal ia, am winadadebas im etapze farTo rezonansi ar mohyolia da garegnul ad miwiyebul i formis saxemiRo, magram, sazogadoebisadmi probl emis Sexsenebas gansakuTrebul i roli eniweboda. mitumetes, am mimarTul ebit osur mosaxleobaSi saagitacio-propagandistul saqmi anobas bol Sevikebi, eserebi da osi separatistebi gamudmebit eweodnen. aRniSnul i politikiuri mimdinareobebisa da jgufebis gaRizianebs Ziritadi motivi, ruseTisagan amierkavkasiis Camocil eba iyo. Taviant ideologiur saqmi anobas isini am faqtze agebdnen da yovel-gvari dasabutebis garese provokaciul ad werdnen: `menSevikebma ruseTs uRal ates, Tqvens Zmebs Crdil oetis osebs gaSoreben. Tu saqarTvel osTandarCebiT, ruseTidan pursa da siminds ver miirebT da SimSil iT amowydebit.¹ arsebul i mZime politikiuri da ekonomikuri situaciis fonze, aseTisaxis propagandas osur mosaxleobaSi uaRresad didi gasaval i qonda. Sida qarTl is mTis osebeze zemoqmedebis gansakuTrebul berketad, Crdil o kavkasiis oseTidan `samxreT oseTis- `Camocil ebis- SeuZlebl obasiyenebdnen. yuradReba unda mivaqciot im faqts, rom termini `samxreT oseTi,- jer kidev mefis ruseTis xelisuflebis moxel eTa (k.knoringi) mier 1802 wolidan iqna SemoRebul i da igi, Sida qarTl is teritoriis mizanmimarTul toponimur diversias isaxavda miznad. vaxiToniSvil is sityvebit rom vTqvaT, `Zvel TaZvel qarTul toponimze daglesi li- `oseTis- da `samxreT oseTis- cnebis² yovel dRiuri xmarebis politikiuri l eqsikonidan amoReba, Sida qarTl is Crdil oetis mTian zonaSi kompaqturad dasaxlebul i osi mosaxleobisadmi Sesatyvisi saxel wodebis gamozebna_ damoukidebel i saqarTvel os period-Siac SeuZlebel i gaxda. am mtkivneul sakiTxze XX saukunis 90-ian wl ebSi yuradReba mkvlevarma l .Toizem gaamaxvil a. misi samarTliani mtkicebit, `samxreT oseTis- administraciul i erTeul is ararsebobis miuxedavad, aRniSnul termins xmarobdnen 1918-1921 wl ebSi gamomaval presaSi (gazeTebi: `ertoba-, `saqarTvel o-, `saxal xo saqme-, `saqarTvel os respublika-, `veni respublika-, `kl de-, `axali komunisti-, `komunisti-) dabeWdil publ ikaciebSi, osebis erovnul i yril obisa da erovnul i sabWos mier miRebul rezoluciebsi, saqarTvel os erovnul i sabWos dadgenil ebebsa da samTavrobo doneze gamocemul sxva oficial ur dokumentebSi.³

qarTul i politikiuri azris maSindel ma mesveurebma, am sakiTxis gadawyveta samwuxarod ver SeZlo. piriqit, saqarTvel oSi osebit dasaxlebul Sida qarTl is mTian raionebs xSirad oseTadacki

moixseniebdnen. maTi aseTi qmedeba pol itikur upasuxismgebl obas ufro waagavda vinem unebl ie Secdomas. miTumetes, ruseTis imperi- is xel isufal Ta mxridan, saqarTvel os sazianod Tavis droze Seg- nebul ad `Semogdebul i- `samxreT oseTis,- xmarebidan amoReba_ qarTul i pol itikuri azris Zal isxmeviT unda momxdariyo. im etapze amis gakeTeba did sirtul eebTan ar iyo dakavSirebul i, radgan `samxreT oseTi- teritoriul i Tval sazrisiT, saxel mwifos arcer- Ti uwyebis mxridan samarTI ebrivad Semofargl ul i da dadasture- bul i ar yofil a. am mxriv, raime dasabuTebul i argumenti separati- stul ad ganwyobil os bol Sevikebsac ar gaaCndaT. isini mxol od zogadi cnebebiTa da Seqmnil i pol itikuri koniunqturis Sesabami- sad moqmedebdnen. isic gasaTval iswinebel ia, rom Sida qarTI is mTian zol Si kompaqturad dasaxl ebul i osebisadmi `samxreT ose- Tis- Semcvl el i formul irebis Seqmnis mcdel obaze seriozul di- skusias, qarTvel i pol itikosebisa da mecnierebis mxridan adgil i ar hqonia. iyo gamonakl isi SemTxvevebi, roca pol itikuri partiis zogi- erTi warmomadgenel i saqarTvel oSi `samxreT oseTis- an `oseTis- arse- bobas mxol od zogadi kategoriul i gancxadebebis formiT uaryofda. amis erT- erT magal iTs erovnul - demokratiul i partiis l ideris gr.veSapel is mier erovnul i sabWos 1918 wl is 23 ivl isis sxdomaze gamwyral i toniT gakeTebul i oficial uri gancxadeba warmoadgens. `saqarTvel oSi aravi- Tari `oseTi- ar aris. oseTi kavkasionis piriqIT aris, saqarTvel oSi ki mxol od ramdenime xeobaa Camosaxl ebul i osis xiznebiT, romel Tac aravi- Tari teritoria ara aqvT da verc mi iReben verasodes.- misi aseTi Seuval i poziciis miuxedavad, mas ar daukonkretebia Tu rogori formiT Sei- Zl eboda Sida qarTI is mTian zol Si kompaqturad dasaxl ebul i osebis oficial urad moxsenieba. amis saWiroeba im aucil ebl obiTac iyo ganpirobepul i, rom saqarTvel os mosaxl eobis ZiriTad nawil Si da presis furcl ebzec gamoqveynebul publ ikaciebSi `samxreT ose- Ti- da `oseTi- TiTqmis gamudmebiT figurirebda. samwuxarod, am formiT aRiqmeboda igi maSindel i saqarTvel os mosaxl eobis did nawil Si. amis magal iTs gazeT `saxal xo saqmeSi- gamoqveynebul i publ ikacia `saCxeris ambebi- warmoadgens. `saCxeris mcxovrebn_ vkiTxul obT weril Si _oseTs eZaxian Wal a mTisa da cxinval is iqiT samaCabl o mamul ebis sazRvarze osi Camosaxl ebul ebisgan ga- Senebul ramdenime sofel s. xiznebis sofl ebi iwyeba sof. Wal i- dan. es sofl ebia: xaxeTi (15 koml i), pantnauri (40 koml i), Wal isub- ani (60 koml i), wona (140 koml i), Casavali (60 koml i), erwo (40 koml i), Tedel eTi (40 koml i) da kudaro. es sofl ebi Tanmiyol ebiT uerTdebian j avis xeobas.- rogorc vxedavT, `samxreT oseTi- da `oseTi- im etapze Sida qarTI is mTian zonaSi kompaqturad dasaxl ebul i osebis gansaxl ebis pirobiT terminad ixmareboda. ramde- nadac es mcdari da qarTul i sinamdvil isaTvis miuRebel i geografi- ul i da eTnopol itikuri cnebis aRmniSvnel i termini Tavis droze xmarebidan ver ganidevna, igi xel ovnurad gamogonil i formul ire- biT_ `samxreT oseTis- saxiT SemorCa istorias. samwuxarod, im pe- riadis qarTvel ma pol itikosebma da mecnierebma am sakiTxTan mima- rTebaSi pragmatul i nabijis gadadgma ver SeZl o. qarTul i pol i- tikuri el itis es ususuroba, qarTul i saxel mwifos sazianod da osuri mosaxl eobis cnobierebaSi `samxreT oseTis- arsebobis da-

samkvidrebl ad, rusma bol Sevikebma da osma separatistebma Sesani-Snavad gamoiyena. am fonze, Segnebul ad moaxdines osebis namdvil i samSobl os_ Crdil o kavkasiis oseTad wodebul is da osebiT dasaxl ebul i saqarTvel os istoriul i teritoriis_ Sida qarTI is mTiani zol is `samxreT oseTad- monaTI ul is erTian osur CarCoSi moTavseba da misi identifikacia. aqedan gamomdinare, maTi Zal isxmeva, `ori oseTis- erTmaneTisagan dacil ebis dauSvebl obaze da ruseTis federaciaSi gaerTianeblis aucil ebl obaze iyo gaTvlil i. am mavnebl uri ideisadmi Sida qarTI is mTis osebis mxardaWeris misaRebad, qarTvel i, rusi da osi bol Sevikebi saqarTvel os xel isufl ebis sawinaaRmdegod mZI avri saprotesto muxtis Seqmnas cdi- l obdnen. am mxriv, maTi ideol ogiuri propagandistul i `manqana- warmatebiT muSaobda. mxedvel obaSi maqvs sof. j avaSi 1918 wl is martSi gamarTul mitingze miRebul i rezolucia. `Cven mTel i samxreTi oseTis warmomadgenl ebi_ vkiTxul obT dokumentSi_ Zl ier protests vacxadebT... Cveni nebasurvil is gareSe sabWoTa bol Sevikuri ruseTisagan izol aciisa da CamoSorebis gamo... Cven vadasturebT... rom samxreTi oseTi aris da unda darCes Tavisufal i sabWoTa bol Sevikuri ruseTis ganuyofel nawil ad. vficavT, rom am brZol aSi... vimoqmedebT gadaWrit da ul mobil ad.⁴

am dokumentis mixedvit, amierkavkasiis erebi da maT Soris qarTvel i eri Tuki ruseTis imperiisagan ganTavisufl ebas da erovnul i saxel mwifos aRdgenas moisurvebda, bunebaSi ararsebul i `samxreT oseTisagan- nebarTva unda mieRo. msofli io historiaSi Znel ad Tu moizebneba anal ogi, sxvis teritoriaze Camosaxl ebul sa da TavSefarebul ucxo Tesl is STamomaval s, aborigeni eris miswrafebis _erovnul i saxel mwifos Seqmnisadmi winaaRmdegoba gaewios da omi gamocxadebinos. amis gakeTeba mxol od saqarTvel oSi mcxovreba Sida qarTI is mTis osebma SeZl es. am SemTxvevaSi gansakuTrebul rol s sabWoTa ruseTidan Semosul i qarTvel i, rusi da osi bol Sevikebi asrul ebdnen. maTi propagandistul i saqmianoba, damoukidebel i saqarTvel os xel isufl ebis moRal ated gamocxadebis mcdel obaze iyo agebul i. bol Seviki agitatorebis mtkicebiT, `menSevikebma saqarTvel os damoukidebl oba imitom gamoacxades, rom ufro advil ad uRal aton saqarTvel os gl exkacobas. magram Tqven nu uRal atebT ruseTis revolucias da isev ruseTTan erTad darCiT, mit umetes, rom Tqveni Zmebi, Crdil o kavkasiis osebi ruseTSi rCebian.⁵ aq pirdapiri mowodebaa gakeTebul i, rom saqarTvel oSi mcxovrebi Sida qarTI is mTis osebi ruseTs SeerTebodnen. imavdroul ad ignorebul ia qarTvel i eris interesebi, kerZod, qarTvel i eris daukiTxavad saqarTvel os kuTvnil i teritoriis garkveul i nawil is ruseTTan SeerTeba Tavsdeboda Tu ara saerTaSoriso samarTI iT gaTval iswinebul CarCoSi. am SemTxvevaSi osi separatistebi bol SevikebTan erTad mxol od erTi principiT _mizani amarTI ebs saSual ebas- moqmedebdnen. osebis mesame yril obaze (1918 wl is maisi) zemoaRniSnul i moTxovnis Cavardnam da saqarTvel os respublikasTan osebis damoukidebul ebis sakiTxis _ori kviris Semdeg mosawvevi IV yril obis prerogativad gamocxadebam, bol Sevikebi maqsimal urad aamoqmeda. mxedvel obaSi maqvs osur mosaxl eobaSi damoukidebel i saqarTvel os winaaRmdeg gaweul i seriozul i muSaoba da IV yril obis del egatebad osi separatistebisaTvis sasurvel i pirovnebebis arCeva. dokumenturi masal iT dasturdeba, rom sof. wunarSi mowveul i osebis IV yril obaze (1918 wl is 15 ivnisi) del egatebis umravl e-

soba bol SevikEbis mxardamWerebi da rusul i orientaciis momxreni iyvnen. bol SevikTa amocanas, administraciul ad ararsebul i `samxreT oseTis- ruseTTan SeerTebis Sesaxeb yril obis mxridan rezol uciis miReba war- moadgenda. qarTul i saxel mwifos saziand Cafiqrebul am mavnebl ur pol i- tikur sakiTxTan mi marTebaSi, garkveul i koreqtivebis Setanis Tval sazrisiT mniSvnel ovani rol i yril obaze ir.wereTel is daswebam da mis mier war- moTqmul ma sityvam Seasrul a. man yril obis monawil eebis yovel gvani da- farvis gareSe ganucxada, rom saqarTvel oSi mcxovrebi eTnikur umcir- esobebs, maT Soris osebs, saxel mwifoebrioba ar mi cemoda, isini mxol od Sinaur saqmeebSi kul turul i avtonomi iT iqnebodnen dakmayofil ebul ni. saqarTvel os Semadgenl obaSi osebi `iseTive ufl ebebi iT iqnebian aRWur- vil ni da igive val debul ebani daekisrebaT_ ambobda ir.wereTel i_ rogorc qarTvel ebs. rac Seexeba Sinauri cxovrebi sowyobis sakiTxs, amis Sesaxeb Tqveni warmomadgenl ebisa da saqarTvel os mTavrobis SeTanxmebi T winaswar iqneba gamomuSavebul i erTgvani forma. saqarTvel os respublika Tqven moganiWebTsrul damouki debl obas kul turis sakiTxebSi. social - demokra- tiul i fraqcia Tamamad dagicavs Tqven am kiTxvis garcevis dros da aucil ebl ad moiTxovs mogeteT es damouki debl oba.⁶

martal ia, ir.wereTel is am gamosvl aSi garkveviT iyo naTqvami rom saqarTvel oSi kompaqturad mcxovrebi osebi kul turul avto- nomias miRebdnen, magram osebs yvel aze metad qarTvel ebTan er- Tad saqarTvel os saxel mwifos winaSe dakisrebul i val debul ebe- bis Seasrul eba afiqrebd. mxedvel obaSi maqvs gareSe mtris Semo- sevis SemTxvevaSi qveynis Tavdacvis samsaxurSi cadgomis aucil e- bl oba. es iyo erT- erTi im faqtorTagani, romel ic qarTvel Ta da qarTul i saxel mwifos moZul e osebs ruseTisken rom ubiZgebd. ma- Ti cnobiereba iseTi gaukuRmarTebul i formiT iyo Camoyal ibebu- li, iTiqos ruseTis Semadgenl obaSi myof osebs, saWiroebis SemTx- vevaSi sabWoTa xel isufl eba qveynis samsaxurs ar mostxovda, an dezertirobisaTvis pasuxisgebidan gaantavisufl ebda. isic sayura- dReboa, rom bol SevikEbiTan erTad antiqarTul isterias rusi social ist- revol ucionerebic eweodnen. imave yril obaze, saqarTvel os mTavroba maTi mxridan revol uciis moRal ated iqna gamocxadebul i. am fonze, social - ist- revol ucionerebma saqarTvel os `revol uciur oseTs- da ara osur mosaxl eobas, `revol uciur Crdil oetTan- SeerTebisaken mouwoda. rac Seexeba del egatTa umravl esobas, maTi mtkicebiT, `samxreT oseTis- da- mouki debl obis sakiTxis gadaWris ufl eba yril obas manam ar hqonda, sanam Crdil o kavkasiis osobisagan dasturs ar miRebdnen. zogierTi del ega- tis azriT, saqarTvel os Semadgenl obaSi `samxreT oseTis- darCena ardar- Cenis gadasawyvetad, pirvel rigSi rusebis erovnul sabWos unda mol apar- akebodnen da am sakiTxTan dakavSirebiT konsesusze dafuZnebul i erTobl ivi gadawyvetil eba mieRoT.⁷ aRniSnul i masal ebis mixedviT iseTi STabe- Wdil eba iqmneba, rom saqarTvel os teritoriaze Semoxiznul i ose- bi, Sida qarTl is mTiani zol is saqarTvel odan Camol ej isa da ru- seTTan mierTebis sakiTxis gadawyvetas, qarTvel ebis daukiTxavad cdil obdnen. es imas niSnavs, rom mSvidobiani gziT osebisagan wa- rsul Si aneqsirebul i qarTul i miwebi, osebs gaTavisebul i hqon- daT da masze qarTvel Ta el ementarul i ufl ebebis aRiarebas dauS- vebl ad miCnevden. qarTvel Ta sibriyvis, umoqmedobisa da daude- vrobis Sedegad, Sida qarTl is savaneSi SeyuJul i osebi, maspinZl is

status epotineboda da xSirad warmatebasac aRwevda. am real o-
 bidan gamomdinare, gazeTi `erToba- statiaSi `oseTSi- _gamwyr al i toniT
 werda: `saWiroa dResve iqnas miRebul i Sesaferisi zomebi imaT winaaRmdeg,
 roml ebic norC respubl ikas Zirs uTxris, vinc Cumad, mal ul ad Tavsexmis
 da sasikvdil o l axvaris Cacemas l amobs. dayovneba da yoymani ar Sei-
 Zl eba!~⁸ marTalia, sakiTxi sworad iyo dasmul i, magram qveynis SigniT da
 gareT Seqmnil i mZime pol itikuri situaciidan gamomdinare, **bol Seviceb-**
isa da osi separatistebis erToblivi moqmedebis Sedegebis erTi
xel isdakvriT aRmofxvra SeuZl ebel i iyo. miTumetes, sabWoTa ruse-
Tis amocanas im etapze Sida qarTI Si dasayrdeni pl acdarmis Se-
qmna warmoadgenda. Tuki `samxreT oseTis- niRbiT, osebiT dasaxl e-
bul i Sida qarTI is sofl ebis ruseTTan SeerTeba moxdeboda, sab-
WoTa ruseTi pirveli rigis amocanas Sestrul ebul ad CaTvl ida,
 radgan damoukidebel saqarTvel oze Sida qarTI is mTiani zonidan
 zedamxedvel obis gawevis SesaZl ebl oba miecemoda. yovel ive amis
 gakeTebas osi separatistebis Zal isxmeviT cdil obda da maTive
 meSveobiT farTo sazogadoebaSi Sesabamis agitacia- propagandasac
 eweoda. amis erT- erT dadasturebas, osebis erovnul i sabWos Tavmj -
 domaris moadgil is njioevis mier gaz. `borbaSi- dabeWdil i interviu wa-
 rmoadgens. `miuxedavad imisa, rom samxreTi da Crdil oeti oseTi_ ambobda
 njioevi_ administraciul ad moSorebul ia erTmaneTze, miuxedavad im bune-
 brivi dabrkol ebisa, romel ic orad gl ej sam xal xs, dedamiwis zurgze ar
 moiZebneba ufro mWidro erovnul i kavSiri, ufro Zmuri ganwyobil eba, vinem
 or oseTs Sorisaa.- rogorc vxedavT, aq `ori oseTis- ideaa win wamoweul i.
 misi avtori iseT fons qmnis, TiTqos `ori oseTi- marTI ac arsebul iyo da
 mis Suaze gaxl eCaSi qarTvel ers miuzRodes danaSaul i. Tuki im periodis
 presis furcl ebze gamoqveynebul masal ebs safuZvl ianad gaavanal izebiT
 davrwmundebiT, rom osi separatistebi da bol Sevicebi sityvasac ar axse-
 nebdnen imis Sesaxeb, rom osebi saqarTvel oSi Camosaxl ebul ebi iyvnen.
 piriqit, osebiT kompaqturad dasaxl ebul Sida qarTI is mTiani zol is ter-
 ritorias `samxreT oseTad- moixseniebdnen. xel ovnurad gamogonil am ga-
 umarTI ebel eTnopolitikur saxel Tan mimarTebaSi im periodis qarTve-
 l i pol itikosebi da mecnierebi dumdnen. es faqti, imave njioevis SesaZl e-
 bl obas aZl evda ganexxadebina: `damSviddes qveyana da osebi TviTon mix-
 vdebian saqarTvel os respubl ikaSi Sesvl a arSesvl is saWiroebas mxol od
 im SemTxvevaSi, Tu darRveul i ar iqneba mWidro erovnul i da kul turul i
 kavSiri Crdil oel ZmebTan.- **pol itikuri Tval sazrisiT es ara marto**
upasuxismgerbl o ganexxadeba, aramed qarTvel erTan mimarTebaSi
srul i upativcemul obis gamovl inebac iyo. qarTul miwaze erT-
dros samowyal od TavSefarebul i osoba, maspinZl is daudevrobiT
imdenad gaTavxedda, rom Semwyal ebel sa da Semwynarebel sul tima-
tumebs uyenebda da misi survil isamebr sakiTxis argadawyvetis Se-
mTxvevaSi, saqarTvel os respubl ikis Semadgenl obidan gasvl iT im-
uqreboda. osi intel igenciis aseT separatizms, demokratiul saqarTvel oSi
 qarTul is armcodne osebi saTvis saxel mwi fo moxel is Tanamdebobaze karebis
 daxSobiT xsnidnen. maTive mtkicebiT, `Tbil i adgil ebis- mopovebis erT-
 erT saSual ebas, osebi ruseTTan SeerTebaSi xedavda.⁹ saqarTvel os xel i-
 sufl ebasTan osebis dasapirispirebl ad da mis Sesagul ianebl ad, es gare-
 moeba gadamwyveti mniSvel obis faqtorad ar SeiZl eba iqnas miCneul i.
 isic angari Sgasawevia, rom sabWoTa ruseTis xel mZRvanel obis mxridan, aTe-

ul obiT mil ionebis daxarj va da saqarTvel oSi aj anyebebis momzadeba, ruseTis imperiul i ambiciebis dasakmayofil ebl ad iyo gaTvl il i da ara osebisatvis administraciul i Tanamdebobebis misaRebad. exeboda ra aRniSnul sakiTxis gazeTi `erToba~ mowinave statiaSi `ras gvaswavl is osebis aj anyeba?~ garkveviT werda: `Tval i rom gadavavl oT saqarTvel os rukas Cven davrwmundebiT, rom aj anyebis adgil ebi warmoadgenen erT xazs, romel ic Crdil oet kavkacias da maSasadame ruseTs akravs. es garemoebac naTel s hfens, rom... osebis aj anyeba aris... axal moduri bol Sevizmi, romel ic ruseTTan SeerTebas isaxavs miznad.⁻¹⁰ es real uri safrTxe qarTul i politikuri azris warmomadgenl ebs win edo da misi Tavidan acil ebis gzebis ZiebaSi iyvnen. amis Sesaxeb saqarTvel os erovnul i sabWos 1918 wl is 2 agvistos sxdomaze iv.gomartel i qveynis sakanonmdebl o organos wevrebs erTxel kidev Seaxsenebda; `osebis nacional istebs undaT saqarTvel os mosWran teritoriis nawil i da SeuerTon Crdil oet kavkacias. saqarTvel os respublika marto qarTvel ebs ar ekuTvnis, is ekuTvnis yvel a im moqal aqeebs, romel nic mis teritoriaze cxovroben. mTavrobam aucil ebl ad unda mi iRos zomebi rogorc osebis, ise sxva juris nacional istebs asal agmavad.⁻¹¹ amis aucil ebl obas qarTul i politikuri azris warmomadgenl ebi warsul is mware gamocdil ebidan da osebis orbunebovnebidan gamomdinare ayenebdnen. amis Sesaxeb isini sazogadoebasa da xel isufl ebas winaswar afrTxil ebdnen. `Cven ar SegviZl ia gul gril ad vucqiroT osebis dRevandel erovnul sabWos_ werda gazeTi `erToba,~_ romel ic... duSeTis aj anyebis sastiki damarcxebis STabedil ebis qveS imyofeba, magram orpirovani ianusiviT isev Crdil oetisken ibrunes pirs Tuki saamiso dros moeswro.~

martal ia, qarTul i politikuri azris warmomadgenl ebma osebi Sesafe-risi epiTetiT _orpirovani ianusis saxel wodebiT Seamkes, magram sakiTxis gadawyvetas es srul ebiTac ar niSnavda. mimdinare politikuri procesebi, xel isufl ebis mxridan radikal uri RonisZiebebis dauyovnebl iv gatarebas moiTxovda. miTumetes, osebis namoqmedaris mixedviT Tuki vimsjel ebT, isini ndobas namdvil ad ar imsaxurebda. maTi cval ebadi Sinagani buneba osebis IV, V da VI yril obebze miRebul i urTierTsawinaaRmdego rezoluciebiT erTxel kidev dadasturda. mag. orientaciis sakiTxis garkveva osebis IV yril obam eqvsi kviriT, osebis V yril obis mowvevamde gadado. rac Seexeba javaSi mowveul osebis V yril obas (1918 wl is 5 agvisto), Crdil o kavkasiaSi Seqmnil i umZimesi mdgomareobidan (samoqal aqo omi da ganukiTxaoba) gamomdinare, politikuri manevrirebis gza airCia, formal urad rusul i orientacia uaryo da saqarTvel os Semadgenl obaSi osebisatvis erobis formis farTo teritoriul i TviTmmarTvel obis SemoRebas dauWira mxari. imavdroul ad, saqarTvel os teritoriaze gafantul i osebisatvis kul turul i avtonomiis moTxovnis sakiTxi daayena. Crdil oet kavkasiaSi situaciis stabil uroba savsebiT sakmarisi aRmoCnda, rom oTxi Tvis Sual edSi_ osebis V yril obidan cxinval Si mowveul VI yril obamde (1918 wl is 4 dekemberi) os separatistebis isev rusul i orientacia aerCia, `samxreTi~ da Crdil o kavkasiis oseTis erTiani mTavrobis Sedgenis rezolucia mieRo. es faqtebi imis damadasturebel ia, rom politikuri procesebis Sesabamisad, osebi martI ac orpirovani ianusis msgavsad moqmedbdnen da am saxel s Rirseul ad amarTI ebdnen.

maSindel i qarTul i da proqarTul i orientaciis osuri politikuri sp-

eqtri zemoaRniSnul is ZiriTad mizezs osebis erovnul i sabWos saqmi-anobaSi eZebda. amis Sesaxeb social - demokratiul i partiis wevrebisa da organizaciebis warmomadgenl ebis konferenciaze (1918 wl is 16- 17 april i) g.gagl oevma xazgasmiT miuTiTa. misi mtkicebiT, osebis erovnul i sabWo ramdenadac osi nacional istebisagan iyo dakompl eqtebul i, axal i sabWos arCevnebis daniSvna da masSi social - demokratebis monawil eoba aucil e-bl obas warmoadgenda. miTumetes, rogorc dokumenturi masal idan da im periodis presis furcl ebze gamoqveynebul i publ ikaciebidan dasturdeba, osebis erovnul i sabWo saqarTvel os damfuZnebel i krebis mier miRebul kanonebs ignorirebas Segnebul ad ukeTebda.

osebis erovnul i sabWos TviTnebobisa da Zal aufl ebis gadametebis Sesaxeb xazgasmiT iyo miTiTebul i gazeT `saqarTvel oSi- gamoqveynebul saredaqcio weril Si `samxreT oseTi.- aRniSnul i publ ikaciidan irkveva, rom osTa erovnul i sabWo osebiT dasaxl ebul TemebSi `kanonmdebel ic- iyo da `aRmasrul ebel ic.- misi TviTneburi moqmedeba da saqarTvel os kanonmdebl obisadmi daumorcil ebl oba, danaSaul ebriv qmedebebs Seicavda. imave sakiTxTan dakavSirebiT gazeTi `erToba- statiaSi_ `osebSi- xazgasmiT werda: `samxreT oseTis erovnul i sabWos mxridan mTavrobis sawi-naaRmdegod moqmedebam am bol o dros farTo xasiaTi mi iRo. osebis erovnu- l ma sabWom ukuagdo ra Cveni mTavrobis gankargul ebebi da cxovrebaSi gatarebul i zogierTi kanonebi, moindoma Zal aufl ebis xel Si Cagdeba, ra- mac adgil obriv cxovrebaSi arevdareva Seitana da miT ufro niadagi mo- umzada Zarcva- gl ej as da anarqias. amitom, mTavroba iZul ebul i gaxda saswrafo zomebi mieRo da Sesaferisi nabij ic gadadga am mxriv.- rogorc Cans, statiis avtors, osebis VII yril obis (1919 wl is 19 maisi) mier osebis erovnul i sabWos saqmianobis uaryofiTad Sefasebis Sesaxeb miRebul i rezol ucia qonda mxedvel obaSi. imave yril obis dadgenil ebiT, osebis erovnu- l i sabWos oficial urad arCevamde, osebis droebiti erovnul i sabWo iqna damtkicebul i. saqarTvel os damfuZnebel krebasTan TanamSroml obi T, aRniS- nul organos osebisatvis erovnul _ teritoriul i TviTmmarTvel obis proeqtis SeemuSaveba daeval a.¹² isic sayuradReboa, rom osebis IV ero- vnul i sabWos saqmianoba, osebis merve erovnul ma yril obamac (1919 wl is 20 seqtemberi) uaryofiTad Seafasa. miuxedavad amisa, es srul ebiTac ar niSnavda, rom osuri intel igencia saqarTvel osken iyo Semobrunebul i da qarTul i orientaciis gzas adga. piriqit, rogorc gazeTi `erToba- werda, saqarTvel os osebis `intel igenciis umravl esoba exl ac Crdil oetisken icqireba, iq eZebS megobars da iqedan pirdeba Cvens osebs gabednierebas. saWiroa amas j erovani yuradReba miaqcion sofl ad momuSave Cvenma amxa- nagebma,... unda auxsnan xal xs, Tu ras umzadebs qarTvel i demokratiisgan osebis daSoreba da ixsnas igi im avantiuristebsi sagan, roml ebiC gansakuTre- biT mTas dapatronebia.-

gazeT `erToba-- s mier dasmul i sakiTxis dadebiTad gadawyvetis erTa- derT saSual ebad, erovnul - demokratebs osebis erovnul i sabWos dau- yo- vnebl ivi gauqmeba da Zal ismieri meTodis gamoyenebiT osebis morigi avan- turis saTaveSive l ikvidacia miaCnda. amastan dakavSirebiT gazeT `saqa- rTvel oSi- dabeWdil statiaSi _ `osebi denikinis mol odinSi- xazgasmiT iyo aRniSnul i, rom `osuri erovnul i sabWo, rogori Semadgenl obisac ar unda iyos igi, Tavis tradiciebs gaagrZel ebs. osebis erovnul i sabWos mxridan Cvendami keTil ganwyobil i dekl araciebisadmi l odinis nacvl ad umj obesi iqneba, Tuki Cveni mTavroba osebs gazeTis enis nacvl ad iaraRis

eniT dael aparakeba da axal avaturaze xel s aaRebinebs, sanam j er ki dev gviani ar aris.- aRniSnul sakiTxTan dakavSirebiT, imave gazeTSi gamoqveynebul meore statiaSi `osuri safrTxe- vkiTxul obT: `samxreT oseTis erovnul i sabWo Tavidanve opoziciaSi edga saqarTvel os... es sabWo, saqarTvel os winaaRmdeg mowyobil i amboxebebis mTavari Stabi iyo da sisxl Si gabana Cveni teritoria. erovnul i umciresobebis nacional uri sabWoebis arsebobas Tu winaT raime azri qonda, saqarTvel os damfuZnebel i krebis mowvevis Semdeg... nacional uri sabWoebis arsebobas azri ekargeba, miTumetes, miuRebel ia maTi pol itikuri pretenziabi da samxreT oseTis sabWos dadgenil eba ganxil ul i unda iqnas rogorc arakanonieri qmedeba, romel ic Zirs uTxris saqarTvel os respublikas. roca saqme exeba arasasurvel precedents da mosal odnel axal sisxl is Rvras,... Cvenma mTavrobam am muqaras saxel mwifoebrivi saSual ebiT unda SebrZol os.-

erovnul - demokratebis mxridan saqarTvel os xel isufli ebisadmi wayenebul i aRniSnul i pretenzia da osebtan mimarTebaSi gasatarebl ad SeTavazebul i pol itikuri kursi, qveyanaSi Seqmnil sinamdvil es srul ad pasuxobda. miTumetes, osebis erovnul i sabWos, an osebis yril obebis mier miRebul i proqarTul i rezol uciebi saqmes ar Svel oda. warsul is mware gamocdil eba da osebis isev `orpirovani ianusiS- ampl uaSi darCena, qveynis meTaurTa mxridan radikal uri nabijis gadadgmis aucil ebl obas moiTxovda. miTumetes, osuri intel igenciis mexsierebaSi rusul i orientacia da qarTvel Ta siZul vil i imdenad ZI ierad iyo CaWedil i, rom misi erTi xel isdakovrit amoSi a SeuZl ebel i xdeboda. dokumenturi masal iT dadasturebul ia, rom separatistul ad ganwyobil i osuri intel igencia, osuri erovnul i sabWosa da `samxreT oseTis- revkomis saxel iT, sabWoTa ruseTs, saqarTvel os erT- erT regionSi _Sida qarTI Si epatiJeboda da am teritoriis ruseTTan mierTebis Sesaxeb moskovSi Sesabamis Setyobinebs agzavni da. amis erT- erT ni muSad m.sanakoevi sa da b.kvirkvel ias xel moweriT moskovSi gagzavnil i depeSa (1920 wl is mai- si) gamodgeba. `Cven, saqarTvel os respublikis osebs_ vkiTxul obT dokumentSi_ mogwyinda burJuebTan cxovreba; Cven... gvsurs cxovreba ruseTis gamarjvebul proletariatTan, gTxovT SegvierTod.- rac Seexeba meore dokuments, igi gazeT `sol dat revol uciis- 1920 wl is 4 ivnisis nomerSi iqna gamoqveynebul i, sadac garkvevi Taa naTqvami, rom `samxreT oseTis- yril obis warmomadgenl ebi protests gamoTqvamden, rom `isini Zal iT SeuerTes biurokratiul i ruseTis nabuSar social - gamyidvel ebis saqarTvel ios respublikas. mTas esmis es xma, esmis gamxecebul i menSevikebis kbil ebis kraWuni da winaswarve grZnoben, rom... ruseTis proletariati maT mieSvel eba.-¹³

am dokumentebis mixedvit, Sida qarTI is osebisatvis saqarTvel oSi cxovreba mxol od imitom iyo `gausaZl isi,- rom maT mizans sabWoTa ruseTis Semadgenl obaSi yofna warmoadgenda. am dauokebel i survil is asarul ebl ad, saqarTvel os xel isufli ebisagan isini kategoriul i formiT winaaRmdegobis gawevis Sewyvetas moiTxovden. Seqmnil i pol itikuri situaciis mixedvit Tuki vixel mZRvanel ebT, gamosaval i mxol od erTaderTi iyo; Crdil oetis nostalgiiT Sepyrobil i osebi, Taviant istoriul samSobl oSi isetive jorkidebul iT gaeSvat, rogori `damZimebul i bargiTac- Tavis droze saqarTvel os Semoexiznen. osebis moqmedeba, saqarTvel os xel isufli ebas

sxva al ternativas ar utovebda. miTumetes, saagitacio propagan-
 distul gamosvl ebSi osi separatistebi xazgasmit miuTiTebden:
 `saqarTvel o gangeb CamoSorda ruseTs, igi nacional ur saxel mwi-
 fos aSenebs, magram Cven gvinda puri da puris mocemis saSual ebas
 saqarTvel o mokl ebul ia, maSasadame Cveni xsna Crdil oeT kavkasia-
 Sia, romel sac CvenTvis puris mocema SeuZl ia.~¹⁴ am SemTxvevaSi,
 puris sakiTxi os separatistebsa da bol Sevikebs TaviantI Canafiqris
 SesaniRbad hqondaT wina pl anze wamoweul i. amis dadasturebas
 sabWoTa ruseTis xel isufl ebisadmi gagzavnili `mSromeli samxreT
 oseTis memorandumi- (1920 wl is 28 maisi) warmoadgens. am dokumen-
 tSi garkvevit iyo naTqvami, rom `samxreTi oseTi aris da unda
 iyos Tavisufali sabWoTa ruseTis ganuyofeli nawili.~ `1.samxre-
 Ti oseTi ruseTis ganuyofeli nawilia; 2.samxreTi oseTi Sedis sa-
 bWoTa ruseTis Semadgeni obaSi saerto safuZvel ze uSual od.~ `is
 rasac saqarTvel o hqvia, Cveni Rrma rwmeniT, sabWoTa ruseTis Se-
 madgeni obaSi unda Sevides saerto safuZvel ze, rogorc Tbil isis-
 sa da quTaisis guberniebi.~¹⁵ imave wl is 8 ivniss `samxreT oseTis-
 revol uciuri komitetis brZanebis safuZvel ze, `samxreT oseTi-
 sabWoTa ruseTTan SeerTebul ad iqna gamocxadebul i. `ecnobos rsfs
 respublikis sagareo saqmeTa saxal xo komisariats samxreTi ose-
 Tis neba- survili sabWoTa ruseTTan SeerTebis Sesaxeb.~¹⁶

rogorc vxedavT, Sida qarTli is mTis osebis intel igenciis umravl eso-
 bam, saqarTvel os momavli sakiTxi TviTneburad gadawyvita. maTi azrit,
 saqarTvel o Tbil isisa da quTaisis guberniebis statusiT sabWoTa ruse-
 Tis Semadgeneli nawili unda gamxdariyo. es imas niSnavda, rom qarTvel
 xal xs saxel mwifoebri damoukidebl obaze uari ganecxadebina da sabWo-
 Ta ruseTis Semadgeni obaSi guberniis ufl ebamosil ebit Sesul iyo. roca
 aborigen ers, stumrad Semoxiznuli ucxo tomis naSieri qveynis sa-
 momavl o beds karnaxobs, an mis daukixavad wyvets, aseTi eri mZime
 avadmyofis mdgomareobaSia da igi imdenadaa dauZl urebul i, rom
 RvTisagan boZebuli ojaxis Rirsebis dacva ar Zal uZs da mis xval-
 indel dRes stumris an `megobari- qveynis guneba- ganwyobil ebis
 moimede tovebs. qarTvel i eri aseT mdgomareobaSi rom ar aRmoCe-
 nil iyo, saqarTvel os xel isufl ebas osuri separatizmsadmi Rirse-
 ul i pasuxi unda gaeca da am mourCeneli avadmyofuri wyl ul isa-
 gan saqarTvel os sxელი SesaZl ebl obis fargl ebSi erTxel da
 samudamod ganekurna. wina Taobebis mier daSvebul i gamousworebe-
 li Secdomebidan gamomdinare, qarTvel i erisa da misi saxel mwi-
 foebrivi damoukidebl obis sawinaaRmdegod aisbergivit amozidu-
 li osuri safrTxis likvidaciis aucil ebl obis sakiTxi, XX saukunis
 20- iani wl ebis damoukidebel i saqarTvel os xel isufl ebis winaSe
 mTel i principul obit idga.

Cems mier motanili masalis anal izis safuZvel ze dasturdeba: 1)axl a-
 dSeqmnil qarTul saxel mwifostan mimarTebaSi, qarTvel ma bol Se-
 vikebma da osma separatistebma aSkarad mtruli damoukidebul eba
 gamoavlines. maTi mxridan, Sida qarTli is mTis osebsi xel ovnurad
 Seqmnil i mavnebluri `Teoriis- `ori oseTis- cnebit manipuli-
 rebam, eTnopolitikurad da eTnoistoriul ad ararsebul i `samxreT
 oseTis,~ Crdil o kavkasiis oseTisagan `Camocil ebis- qarTvel i
 erisadmi gadabral ebam, qarTvel Ta saxiT `mtris xatis- Seqmnam,

osur mosaxl eobaSi qarTvel ebisadmi sizul vil is fsiqozis gaR-
 rmavebas Seuwo xel i. 2)rusul i orientaciis mqone osuri intel i-
 genciis didi nawil i da TviT osuri erovnul i sabWo, osebit dasax-
 l ebul i Sida qarTI is mTiani zol is ruseTTan misaerTeb ad, Ses-
 bamisi samarTI ebrivi aqtebis SemuSaveba- momzadebit iyo dakave-
 bul i. maT mier miRebul dokumentebSi `samxreT oseTi- ruseTis ga-
 nuhofel nawil ad iyo gamocxadebul i. amis naTel dadasturebas
 `mSromel i samxreT oseTis memorandumi- (1920 wl is 28 maisi) da
 `samxreT oseTis- revkomis 1920 wl is 8 ivnisis brZaneba warmoad-
 gens; 3)ruseTis imperiis xel isufal Ta mier Segnebul ad Seqmnil i
 `samxreT oseTis- yal bi terminis pol itikur moRvaweTa l eqsikonidan
 veramoReba da Sida qarTI is mTis osebitvis Sesatyvisi saxel wo-
 debis vergamoZebna, qarTul i pol itikuri el itisa da mecnierebis
 did Secdomad unda CaiTval os. miTumetes, saxel mwifoebriv done-
 ze `samxreT oseTis- teritoriul ad Semofargvl a da oficial u-
 rad dadastureba im etapze ar ganxorciel ebul a. qarTul i pol i-
 tikuri azris mesveurTa es sisuste, rusma bol Sevikebma da osma
 separatistebma, osuri mosaxl eobis cnobierebaSi `samxreT ose-
 Tis- cnebis dasamkvidrebl ad gamoiyenes. 4)osi separatistebisa da
 bol Sevikebis mier zRvarsgadacil ebul i arasamarTI ebrivi moTxo-
 vnebis dayeneba: a)`samxreT oseTis- ruseTis federaciasTan SeerTeba,
 b)Tbil isisa da quTaisis guberniebis statusiT sabWoTa ruseTis
 Semadgenl obaSi saqarTvel os Seyvanis moTxovna, demokratiul i saqa-
 rTvel os mTavrobas_ radikal uri RonisZiebebis gatarebis auci-
 l ebl obis winaSe ayenebda. axl adSeqmnil i qveynis gadarCenis mizniT,
 saqarTvel os xel isufl ebas iseTi meqanizmi unda SeemuSavebina,
 romel ic rusul i nostalgiiTa da qarTvel i eris sizul vil iT Sepy-
 robil Sida qarTI is mTis osebs, istoriul samSobl oSi dabruneb-
 is Sesazl ebl obas miscemda. am mxriv, Sida qarTI is mTis osebTan
 mimarTebaSi, saqarTvel os erovnul ma mTavrobam swori pol itikuri
 gadawyvetil eba miRo.

§. 6. Sida qarTl is mTis osebis teritoriul i mowyobis sakiTxi (1917- 1920 ww.)

damoukidebel i saqarTvel os saxel mwifos mSenebl obis erT- erT mni-Svnel ovan sakiTxs, eTnikur umciresobebTan urTierTobis mogvareba warmoadgenda. qarTvel politikosebs kargad hqondaT gacnobierebul i, rom saqarTvel os specifikidan gamomdinare, qveynis SigniT erovnul i sakiTxis gadauwvyvetl oba, gamudmebul i Sidadapirispirebisa da saqarTvel os saxel mwifos formirebis Semafarxebel i faqtori gaxdeboda. aRniSnul is gaTval iswinebidan gamomdinare, am probl emis samarTI ebriv fargl rbSi moqcevas, qarTul i politikuri azris mesveurebi dasavl eT evropis saxel mwifoTa gamocdil ebis safuZvel ze cdil obdnen. amis dadasturebas saqarTvel os erovnul i sabWosa da damfuZnebel i krebis mier 1918- 1921 wl ebSi miRebul i sakanonmdebl o aqtebi warmoadgens. miuxedavad amisa, qarTul ma sabWourma istoriografiam, damoukidebel i saqarTvel os mTavrobisa da misi sakanonmdebl o organos mier eTnikur umciresobebTan mimarTebsi gatarebul i erovnul i politika, `erovnul i umciresobebis abuCad agdebisa-¹ da `menSevikuri mTavrobis didmpyrobel ur politikad- gamoacxada.²

istoriis fal sifikaciis aRniSnul i forma, sazogadoebaSi damoukidebel i saqarTvel os mTavrobis diskreditacias da separatistebis mxridan qveynis winaSe Cadenil i danaSaul is gamarTI ebas emsaxureboda. istorikosTa mxridan, saqarTvel oSi 1918- 1921 wl ebSi mimdinare politikuri procesebis aTeul i wl ebis ganmavl obaSi obieqturad arSefasebam, sinamdvil is mrude sarkeSi warmocenam da sazogadoebis cnobierebaze ideologiuri zemoqmedebiT ganpirobepul ma Sedegebma, qarTul saxel mwifosa da qarTvel ers ganuzomel i ziani miayena. dokumenturi masal iT dadasturebul ia, rom qarTul ma politikurma speqtrma, eTnikuri umciresobebis ufl ebebis mogvarebis sakiTxi im periodis evropis saxel mwifoebisaTvis misaReb doneze aiyvana. am mimarTul ebiT gadadgmul i nabiji, TviT qarTul i politikuri elitis nebis gamoxatul ebas warmoadgenda da erovnul i saxel mwifos interesebis CarCoSi Tavsdeboda. isini moqmedebdnen ise, rogorc civilizebul i qveynebis politikur moRvawebs Sefer eboda. maT kargad esmodaT, rom eTnikurad aWrel ebul saqarTvel oSi, eTnikur umciresobaTa ufl ebebis saerTasoris standartebis Sesatyvis doneze mougvarebl oba, saqarTvel os saxel mwifos mSenebl obas udidesi sirTul eebis winaSe daayenebda. aRniSnul is gaTval iswinebidan gamomdinare, saqarTvel os erovnul i sabWos 1918 wl is 26 maisis sxdomaze n.Jordania xazgasmit acxadebda: `Cvens saxel mwifo fargl ebSi mosaxl eobs sxvadasxva erTa umciresoba. vacxadebT, rom erovnul i umciresobani iqnebian iseve ufl ebamosil ni, rogorc iqneba Cveni saxel mwifos erovnul i umravl esoba_ qarTvel oba.³

esar iyo erTi romel ime politikuri partiis lideris mier gacemul i dapireba. imave Tval sazriss erovnul i sabWos wevri politikuri partieb- is sxva liderebic iziarebda. amis saukeTeso nimuSs saqarTvel os damoukidebl obis aqtis mexuTe da meeqvse muxlebi warmoadgens. `5. saqarTvel os demokratiul i respublika_ vkiTxul obT dokumentSi_ Tavis sazRvrebSi Tanasworad uzrunvel hyofs yvel a moqal aqis samoqal aqo da politikur ufl ebebs ganurCevl ad erovnebisa, sarwmunoebisa, social uri mdgomareobisa da sqesisa. 6. saqarTvel os demokratiul i respublika ganvitarebis Tavisufal asparezss gauxsnis mis teritoriaze mosaxl e yvel a ers.⁴

rogorc vxedavT, eTnikuri umciresobebis ufl ebebis dacvis aucil ebl -

oba, saqarTvel os damoukidebl obis aqtiT iqna aRiarebul i. amas arsebi-Ti mniSvnel oba hqonda im Tval sazrisiT, rom eTnikuri umciresobebis ufl ebebis dacvis prioritetul obas, damoukidebel i saqarTvel os xel isufli ebis mesveurni qveynis saxel mwifoebri vi mowyobis pirvel i safexuridanve oficial urad adasturebda. misi Sesrul ebis garantias, saqarTvel os mTavrobis mier erovnul i sabWos 1918 wl is 15 ivnisis sxdomaze gamoqveynebul i dekl aracia iZl eoda. mTavroba Tavis moval eobad miCnevs, vkiTxul obT dokumentSi cxovrebaSi gaataros saqarTvel os damoukidebl obis aqtiT aRiarebul i is debul eba, roml iTac saqarTvel os teritoriaze mosaxl e erovnul umciresobaTa moqal aqeebs mi niWebiT iseTive pol itikuri, moqal aqeoebri vi da erovnul kul turul i ufl ebebi, roml iTac aRWurvil i iqneba TviT qarTvel i moqal aqeni.⁵ aRniSnul i amonaweri imaze miuTiTebis, rom axl adSeqmnil i damoukidebel i qarTul i saxel mwifos l iderebi, qarTvel erTan eTnikuri umciresobebis ufl ebrivad gaTanabrebi s, pol itikuri, ekonomikuri da kul turul i ganviTarebi s safexurebrivad saTanado pi robebis SeqmniT iyvnen dainteresebul ni. am mimarTul ebiT, saqarTvel os xel isufli ebis mxridan real uri qmediTi nabij i 1918 wl is 13 seqtembers gadaidga. mxedvel obaSi maqvs kanoni `erovnul i umciresobaTa warmomadgenl obisa saqarTvel os erovnul sabWoSi.~ am dokumentis mixedviT, saqarTvel oSi mcxovrebeTnikur umciresobebis qveynis sakanonmdebl o organoSi 26 adgil i mi eca, aqedan 2 saqarTvel os osebi saTvis iyo gankuTvnil i.⁶ damoukidebel i saqarTvel os xel isufli eba mes nabij i im dros gadadga, roca Crdil o kavkasiis osebs, sabWoTa ruseTis federaciis sakanonmdebl o organoSi arcerTi warmomadgenel i ar hyavda. Cems mier motanil i faqtebi imis dadasturebaa, rom saqarTvel oSi mcxovrebi eTnikuri umciresobebis ufl ebebis samarTl ebriv CarCoSi mosaqcevis mizniT, Sesabamisi meqanizmi s SemuSavebas damoukidebel i saqarTvel os mTavroba maqsimal urad cdil obda. aRniSnul sakiTxTan mimarTebaSi, oficial urad miRebul i sakanonmdebl o aqtebi Semdegi garemoebiT iyo ganpirobebul i: 1)eTnikuri umciresobebisadmi unda eCvenebi naT, rom saqarTvel os damoukidebl obis gamocxadeba da qarTvel Ta erovnul i saxel mwifos mSenebl oba, ara qarTvel ebisadmi dapirispirebas ar iTval iswinebda. mis mizans safexurebrivad eTnikur umciresobaTa pol itikuri, ekonomikuri da kul turul i ganviTareba warmoadgenda; 2)xel isufli ebis warmomadgenl ebi varaudobden, rom eTnikur umciresobebTan mimarTebaSi gatarebul i demokratiul i reformebi, saxel mwifos arsebobis pirvel i safexuridanve urTierTdapirispirebis aRmofxvrisa da qveynis stabil urobis garanti gaxdeboda.⁷ am Tval sazrisiT, qveynis interesebi dan gamomdinare, saqarTvel os xel isufli ebas swori pol itikuri kursi qonda aRebul i da misi praqtikul i ganxorciel eba etapobrivad iyo dagegmil i, magram, probl emas TviT eTnikuri umciresobebi qmni da. am mxriv, gansakuTrebiT Sida qarTl is osebi gamoirCeoda. maTi qmedeba, saqarTvel oSi mcxovrebeTnikur umciresobebSi gasatarebel RonisZiebs ara Tu aferxebda, aramed misi praqtikul ad ganxorciel ebis perspeqtivas saTaveSive spobda.

qarTul i saxel mwifosa da qarTvel i erisadmi mtrul i damoukidebul ebis miuxedavad, osebtan mimarTebaSi 1920 wl is ivnisamde qveynis xel isufli eba gansakuTrebul l oial obas iCenda. 1918- 1919 wl ebSi Cadenil danaSaul ebriv qmedebes ar uxsenebda da sxva eTnikur umciresobebTan erTad, osuri sakiTxis gadawyvetas im periodis demokratiul i saxel mwifosaTvis damaxasiaTebl i samarTl ebrivi normebiT cdil obda. am sakiTxis obieq-

turad warmocenis mizniT, osi separatistebis pretenziebisadmi saqarTvel os xel isuflebis damokidebul ebis safexurebrivad ganxil va, qarTul i saxel mwifos interesebis gaTval iswinebis fonze unda ganxorciel des. danamdvil ebit Seizl eba iTqvas, rom osuri saxel mwifo warmonaqmnis Seqmnis motiviT, saqarTvel os osebis separatul i aqtivoba gacil ebit ufro maRal i iyo, vinem maT istoriul samSobl oSi_Crdil o kavkasiis oseTSi mcxovrebi osebis. am mxriv, gansakuTrebit Sida qarTl is mTis osebi gamoirceodnen. mxedvel obaSi maqvs amierkavkasiis osebis javis yril obaze (1917 wl is ivnisi) miRebul i rezolucia. am dokumentSi garkvevit iyo mititebul i, rom im SemTxvevaSi, Tuki amierkavkasiis xalxebi rusetis Semadgenl obaSi erovnul - teritoriul avtonomias miRebden, saqarTvel oSi mcxovrebi osebi, teritoriul adert erovnul erTeul ad unda gaertianebul iyo da maTTvisac `Tavisufali Tvitgamo- rkvevis ufl eba miecat.⁸ es imas niSnavda, rom erovnul i saxel mwifos Sesaqmnel ad, qarTvel ebis, somxebisa da azerbaijanel ebis swrafvas, Sida qarTl Si Semoxiznul i osebi tols ar udebda da saqarTvel os teritoriis xarjze, osebis saxel mwifo erTeulis Canasaxis Seqmnis samarTl ebrivad dakanonebas_ pirvel xarixovan amocanad Tvl ida. martalia, sakiTxigamokvetil i formit iyo dasmul i, magram misi ganxorciel ebis sirtul eebi os separatistebis kargad hqondaT gacnobierebul i. amitom, dasaxul i miznis misaRwevad Sesabamis politikusituacias el odnen. am SemTxvevaSi maTi moqmedeba l odinisa da l avirebis taqtikas emyareboda. amisert-ert dadasturebas 1917 wl is 15- dan 17 dekembers cxinval Si Catarebul i osebis meore yril obis mier erovnul sakiTxTan dakavSirebit miRebul i rezolucia warmoadgens. 1) samxret oseTSi_ vkitxul obT dokumentSi_ dauyovnebl iv iqnas SemoRebul i eroba; 2) xel ave gamoiyos administraciul samazro da saerobo erTeul ad osebit dasaxlebul i mTis zol i raWis, Sorapnis, goris da duSetis mazris soflebis; 3) eroba arCeul i unda iyos sayovel Tao, Tanaswori, pirdapiri, farul i da proporciul i saarceveno ufl ebebit; 4) mas unda hqondes saval debul o dadgenil ebaTa gamocemis ufl eba; 5) samxret oseTSi erobis dauyovnebl ivi SemoReba daeval os samxretel oSta erovnul sabWos.⁹ rezoluciiis am amonaweridan gansakuTrebul i yuradReba or mniSvel ovan faqts unda mieqces: 1) rezoluciiis meore punqts, radgan masSi goris, duSetis, raWisa da Sorapnis mazrebSi arsebul i osuri soflebis am mazrebisadmi Camocilebis da mis bazaze `samxret oseTis- gansakuTrebul i administraciul i saerobo erTeulis dauyovnebl iv Seqmnis sakiTxia dasmul i; 2) `samxret oseTis- erobisadmi amierkavkasiis xel isuflebis mxridan saval debul o dadgenil ebebis gamocemis ufl ebis micemis moTxovna. martalia, aRniSnul i dokumenti `samxret oseTis- administraciul i erTeulis sazRvrebs ar akonkretebda, magram igi saqarTvel os teritoriisadmi wayenebul i pretenziebisa da misi mitacebis gamJRavnebis survil is oficial ur gamovlinebas warmoadgenda. aseTi daskvnis gakeTebis Sesazlebl obas, imave rezoluciiis meore nawil i_ `saskol o saqmis- Sesaxeb izl eva. masSi principul ad iyo dasmul i_ `samxret oseTis- skol is amierkavkasiis ganaTlebis sistemi dan gamoyofis, `samxret oseTis avtonomiuri samoswavl o sabWos- Seqmnis da Crdil o kavkasiis oseTis sabWosadmi daqvemdebarebis Sesaxeb. es dokumenti, im etapze moqmedi amierkavkasiis mTavrobisa da saqarTvel os erovnul i sabWos ignorebas axdenda.

osebis am arasamarTl ebrivi moTxovnisadmi amierkavkasiis mTavrobis

mxidan mkacri reagirebis argakeTebam da wamoWril i probl emisadmi kompromisul ma damokidebul ebam, osebis erovnul sabWos aqtiuri moqmedebis stimuli misca. mxedvel obaSi maqvs `samxreT oseTis- erovnul i sabWos mier `samxreT oseTis- administraciul i saerobo TviTmmarTvel obis Sesaxeb SemuSavebul i proeqti, romelic 1918 wl is 10 ianvars amierkavkasiis komisariats waredgina.¹⁰ `samxreT oseTs- samazro- saerobo gansakuTrebul i cal ke administraciul i erTeul is Seqmnis aucil ebl oba am dokumentSi kategoriul i formiT iyo dasmul i. sxva dokumentebisagan gansxvavebit, es proeqti garegnul ad saerobo TviTmmarTvel obis moTxovnis SeniRbul fons qmnida. sinamdvil eSi, oTxi samazro erTeul is teritoriebis CamonaWrebis bazaze, erovnul i niSniT, teritoriul principi bezedafuZnebul i `samxreT oseTis- cal ke administraciul i samazro erobis Seqmnasada dakanonebas amierkavkasiis mTavrobisagan moitxovda.

osebis erovnul i sabWos mier amierkavkasiis komisariatسادmi wardgenili es proeqti, pirobitad sam ZiriTad nawil ad SeiZl eba daiyos: **1)** Si da qarTl is mTis osebisTvis gansakuTrebul i samazro- saerobo administraciul i erTeul is Seqmnis aucil ebl obis `dasabutebis- mcdel oba. proeqtis am nawil Si ZiriTadi aqcenti demokratizmis cnebis manipuli rebazea gakeTebul i. am fonze, demografiul i, geografiul i, ekonomikuri da kul turul i faqtorebis moSveli bit, erovnul i principi bezedafuZnebul i osuri administraciul i erTeul is Seqmna aucil ebl obadaa gamocxadebul i. magram, erTisityvitac ar aris naxsenebi qveynis teritoriul mTli anobastan mimarTebaSi saqarTvel os saxel mwifos da TviT qarTvel i eris interesebis Sesaxeb. Tavisi prentziul i xasiaTIT, proeqtis es nawil i iset STabedil ebas tovebs, TiTqos Si da qarTl is mTiani zol i osebis istoriul i samenkvidro yofil iyo da misi momavli sakiTxi, mxol od osi separatistebis naazrevis mixedvit unda gadawyvetil iyo. **2)** samxreT oseTis- samazro- saerobo administraciul i erTeul is mmarTvel obis mowyobis principi. aq gansakuTrebul i yuradReba oTx ZiriTad sakiTxzea gamaxvil ebul i: **a)** axl adSeqmnil i administraciul i mmarTvel obis sistema osi xal xis fsiqol ogiis Sesatyvisad unda agebul iyo; **b)** yvel a adgil obriv dawesebul ebebSi osuri ena Tanminmdevrul ad yofil iyo gamoyenebul i; **g)** mTis osebis kul tutul _ ekonomikuri ganvitarebisatvis myari safuZveli Seqmnil iyo; **d)** erovnul i sakiTxis gadaWra `samxreT oseTis- sinamdvil eSi gamartivebul iyo.

arNiSnul i moTxovnebis dakmayofil eba, amierkavkasiis komisariatisa da SemdegSi damoukidebel i saqarTvel os xel isufli ebisatvis probl emas ar warmoagdenda, radgan igi eTnikuri umciresobebisatvis gatval iswinebul i kul turul i avtonomiis CarCoSi Tavsdoboda. am mxriv, damoukidebel i saqarTvel os xel isufli eba, evropul i standartebis Sesatyvis doneze probl emis gadasawyvetasdzadyofnas acxadebda. **3)** rac Seexeba proeqtis mesame nawil s, `samxreT oseTis- gansakuTrebul i administraciul i erTeul is- mazris Seqmnas, goris, duSetis, raWisa da Sorapnis mazrebisadmi CamoWril teritoriebezearsebul i sofl ebis_ axl adSeqmnil i administraciul i erTeul is Semadgenl obaSi moqcevas isaxavda miznad. imavdroul ad, `samxreT oseTis- administraciul i erTeul is sazRvari, sofl ebis, mdinarebis, xevebisa da mTebis CvenebiTaa dazustebul i. ramdenadac igi vrcel teritorias moicavda, **cxinval is, javis, gorisa da qsanis** raionebis daqvemdebarebaSi arsebul i sazogadoebebis bazaze, proeqtis mixedvit, 4 saerobo TviTmarTvel obis erTeul i unda Seqmnil iyo. iqve CamoTvl il ia

mcire saerobo erTeul ebSi Sesayvani Temebi- sofl ebis Semadgenl obiT. Tuki am proeqts qarTul i saxel mwifos interesebidan gamomdinare ganvixil avT, naTel i gaxdeba: 1)Sida qarTI Si `samxreT oseTis- momaval i administraciul i erTeul is (mazris) sazRvari osi separatistebis mier TviTneburadiyo gavl ebul i; 2)zemoaRniSnul i mazrebis teritoriebis CamonaWrebis xarj ze, amierkavkasiis mTavrobas Sida qarTI Si osebisatvis vrcel i teritoriis Semofargvl iT, `samxreT oseTis- saxel wodebiT axal i administraciul i erTeul is xel ovnurad Seqmnis pretenziis dakmayofil ebas karnaxobda. konkretul ad Tu ra moTxovnebi iyo Cadebul i osebis mier wamodgenil proeqtSi, ra sazRvrebSi moiazrebdnen osi separatistebi osebis axal administraciul (samazro- saerobo) erTeul s da ra formiT iTval iswinebdnen mis mowyobas, am kiTxvaze pasuxs imave proeqtis Semaj amebel i nawil i iZl eva. Cems mier wina pl anze wamoweul sakiTxTan dakavSirebiT, aRniSnul i dokumentidan Sesabamis amonawers movitan da Tavad mkiTxvel ma gansaj os, osebis mier wamoyenebul i pretenziebi Tu ramdenad j deboda samarTI ebriv CarCoSi. «Резюмируя наши соображения в пользу образования самостоятельного южно- осетинского уездного административного земского деления, можно свести их к таким основным положениям: Создание южно- осетинской уездной административно- земской единицы поддается жизненной необходимостью, потому что при наличности такой единицы возможно: 1)построить систему административного управления применительно к психологии осетинского народа, 2)провести последовательно во всех учреждениях применение осетинского языка, 3)заложить прочную основу для культурно-экономического развития горно- осетинского района и 4)в сильной степени упростить разрешение национального вопроса в условиях южно- осетинской действительности. В каких пределах очерчивается проектируемая нами южно- осетинская уездная административно-земская единица? Начинаясь по реке Урус- дану в Рачинском уезде, западная граница южно-осетинского района идет на юг, пересекает верхнее течение речек Кведрули и Джоджори, спускается в шорапанский уезд, проходит у слияния рек Лопани. Здесь пограничная линия уже с юга идет от Лопнис- цкали у села Цпелиси, захватывает осетинские поселения Авлевского (Оконского) общества, заворачивает немного на северо- восток, проходит через местечко Цхинвал и направляется на восток выше с. Эредви и Арбо. Идя далее по Меретскому обществу, южная граница осетинского района захватывает все Андоретское (Меджврисхевское) общество, проходит у Меджврисхеви, пересекает северную полосу Хелтубанского и Квемочальского обществ с осетинским населением, сворачивает в Душетском уезде по реке Ксанке на северо- восток у сел. Одзиси и упирается в Военно– Грузинскую дорогу, которая служит восточной границей южно- осетинского округа. Вся территория в намеченных нами границах заселена осетинами, исключая Тамарашенское общество (938 душ ос.) и Цхинвала, где осетинское население составляет меньшинство. Эта территория обнимает все **Часавальское общество** и часть **Горского** (Онского) общества (Нижняя и верхняя Кважа.). Рачинского уезда, **поселение Теделет в Чихском** обществе Шорапанского уезда, **Кемултское, Рокское, Джавское, Ортевское, Белотское, Меджврисхевское, Цунарское и Корнисское** общества Горийского уезда. Сюда необходимо отнести и большую полосу **Авлевского общества** (сел. Телагина, Лиса, Ожора, Телегевани, Гадигина, Чурисхеви, Пичиджин, Лопани, Гвирчини, Колети, Цпелиси, Гористави, Дзагина, Мугриси, Схлити и др.); **Меретского** общества, **Хелтубанского** общества (сел. Цховери, Парейсхеви, Гучаантскари, Кеди, Бичаанткари, Цинагори, Гдулети, Метесмани, Гудианткари, Багеби и др.) и **Квемочальского** общества (Абреви, Земо- кури, Орчошани, Земо- рене, Мехлеби, Хвити, Ване, Понтыани, Квемо- рене, Гамолискарри, Ргвалчали, Земо- гораки, Нигози, Горакеби и др.). Из обществ Душетского уезда южно- осетинская уездная единица захватит все Рехульское общество, **Монастерское** общество, Верхнехевское общество (Трусовское

ущелье, Коби), большую часть **Ахалгорского** общества и **Гуткомское** ущелье в верхнем-Мтиулетском обществе. В южно- осетинскую уездную единицу возможно будет отнести и некоторые поселения **Згударского** общества, где численность осетинского населения простирается до 1606 душ обоего пола. Географическим и экономическим центром для всех осетинских обществ является М. Цхинвал, расположенное на реке Лиахве, в том месте, где начинается горная полоса. Без Цхинвала горно- осетинское население потеряет естественный выход на плоскость и в значительной степени проиграет в культурно- экономическом отношении. Само население Цхинвала кровно заинтересовано в том, что- бы по прежнему занимать свое выгодное положение по отношению к горной полосе. Являясь торговым пунктом, Цхинвали живет исключительно горно- осетинским населением, так как это население снабжает Цхинвал сырьем (скот, сыр, масло, лес) в обмен на продукты фабричной промышленности. Лишившись Цхинвала, как торгового центра осетины с проведением перевальной дороги бросят все свое сырье на Алагирский рынок, и это в первую очередь будет в ущерб интересам цхинвальской торговли.

В основу земского самоуправления, как его низшая ячейка, должна лечь мелкая земская единица, самоуправляющаяся дробь, наиболее близко стоящая к населению. При определении числа мелких земских единиц южно- осетинского уезда, следует разумеется, держаться хозяйственного принципа, поскольку это позволяет топографический рельеф. Кроме того, мелкая земская община не должна быть слишком мала, чтобы не справиться со своими задачами. Наоборот если мелкое местное самоуправление будет чересчур велико по пространству и по количеству населения, то это помешает ему быть в достаточной мере гибким, чтобы приспособляться к местным нуждам и пользам. Исходя из этих соображений, возможно наметить в южно- осетинском уездном земстве около 3- 4 мелких самоуправляющихся делений; численность населения каждого из этих делений будет колебаться между 15000 и 20000 душ.

В одну мелкую земскую единицу- Цхинвальскую необходимо объединить Корнисское, Цунарское, Авлевское (осетинские поселения) и Тамарашенское общества. Это будет преимущественно земледельческий район. Здесь климатические и почвенные условия благоприятствуют вполне применению рациональных приемов земледелия, а местами садоводства. Этот район будет в состоянии выделять некоторый избыток хлеба смежному Джавскому населению.

Вторую –Джавскую самоуправляющуюся общину возможно образовать из Часавальского общества со смежными поселениями Горского и Чихского общества, Кемултского, Рокского, Верхне- Хевского и Джавского обществ. Большинство обществ этого района, а именно Часавальское, Кемултское, Рокское, Верхне- Хевское представляют скотоводственную полосу. Задача земства будет заключаться в том, чтобы поставить здесь молочное хозяйство на рациональную почву. Что касается собственно Джавского общества, то в этом районе умелая культура хлебных злаков может обеспечить своим зерном местное население.

Территориально смежные осетинские общества Ортевское, Белотское, Меретское (сел. Земокере, Дмениси, Снекви, Сатехари, Хелчуа) и Меджирсхевское, вероятно, выделяются в **особую мелкую земскую единицу –Горскую**.

Четвертый земский участок Ксанский возможно составить из Рехульского, Монастырского, Ахалгорского и осетинских поселений Квемо- Чальского и Хельтубанского обществ.

Само собой разумеется, что наше деление южно- осетинских мелких земских единиц не исключает иных группировок. Мы намечаем лишь приблизительные вехи, которых следует держаться при разделении южно- осетинского уезда на мелкая самоуправляющиеся общины (участки). Кроме вдумчивого детального выяснения вопроса на местах, решающее слово конечно, остается за осетинским населением, которое само прекрасно разбирается, какая из возможных комбинаций больше всего соответствует его интересам.»

osebis aRniSnul i proeqtidan motanil i am vr cel i amonaweris mixedviT, qarTvel Ta sacxovrisi teritoriis Tu ra mocul obis mitacebas cdil obda Sida qarTI Si osi separatistebi, amis sail ustraci od, iusticiis saminstrosTan arsebul i sauwyebaTaSoriso komisiis SekveTiT, samxedro saminstros topografiul i ganyofil ebis mier Sedgenil i ruka gamodgeba. am dokumentze garkveviTaa moxazul i is teritoriebi, romel ic osebis zemoaRniSnul i proeqtis mixedviT_ goris, duSeTis, raWisa da Sorapnis mazrebi-saTvis unda CamoeWraT. swored, am CamonaWrebis bazaze `samxreT oseTis- gansakuTrebul i samazro- saerobo administraciul i formis erTeul i is Seqmnis pretenzias acxadebda osebis erovnul i sabWo. (ix. cxril i # 1; ruka # 1)

rogorc vxedavT, osebis es proeqti saqarTvel os teritoriis mitacebis dauokebel survil ze iyo agebul i da arasamarTI ebriv saxes atarebda. amitom, Sida qarTI Si istoriul ad ararsebul i _arabunebrivi principiT osuri samazro administraciul i erTeul is xel ovnurad `gamowra,~ saqarTvel os sxeul ze mizanmimarTul ad qirurgiul i proceduris Catarebas niSnavda. aqedan gamomdinare, qarTvel i erisa da misi saxel mwifoebri vi teritoriul i mTI ianobis saziarod nebi smieri sakiTxis ganxil vis an gadaWyvetil ebis miRebis ufl eba_ amierkavkasiis komisarialis kompetenci as cil deboda. amierkavkasiis mTavrobis wevr qarTvel politikur moRvaweebs da TviT saqarTvel os erovnul i sabWos deputatebs kargad esmodaT, rom osebis aRniSnul i proeqtis mixedviT sakiTxis gadawyveta, qarTvel i eris samomavl o TviTmkvl el obisaTvis safexuris momzadebas niSnavda. ramdenadac probl emis mogvareba uaRresad sapsuxismgebl o riskTan iyo dakavSirebul i da uSual od qarTvel i eris interesebs exeboda, misi gadawyveta_ argadawyvetis sakiTxi saqarTvel os erovnul i sabWos prerogativas warmoadgenda. masze iyo damokidebul i, wavidoda Tu ara qarTvel i erisa da misi teritoriul i mTI ianobis saziarod kompromisze. am faqtorebis gaTval iswinebidan gamomdinare, amierkavkasiis komisariatma am dokumentis meore piri savsebiT kanonzomierad saqarTvel os erovnul sabWos gadaugzavna, xol o am ukanasknel ma, 1918 wl is 18 marts administraciul i gadamij vnisa da saerobo TviTmmarTvel obis ganyofil ebas gadasca gansaxil vel ad. rogorc irkveva, misi ganxil va ar momxdara, radgan: 1)saqarTvel o im etapze damoukidebel politikur subieqts ar warmoadgenda da qveynis teritoriul i gadamij vnis Sesaxeb erovnul sabWos Sesabamisi sakanonmdebl o baza ar gaaCnda. aseTi saxis dokumenti mxol od mogvi- anebiT, saqarTvel os damfuZnebel i krebis mier 1920 wl is Sua ricx- vebSi iqna miRebul i. mxedvel obaSi maqvs `proeqti saqarTvel os teritoriis danawil ebisa axal saadministracio erTeul ebad (ol qe- bad).~ anal ogiur mdgomareobaSi imyofeboda amierkavkasiis komi- sariatic. sakiTxis gadasawyvetad pirvel rigSi mecnierul ad dasa- buTebul i iseTi proeqtis Seqmna iyo saWiro, romel ic ara marto osebis, aramed saqarTvel oSi mcxovrebi sxva eTnikuri umciresobe- bis ufl ebeps samarTI ebriv CarCoSi moaqcevda. meore mxriv, ero- bisa da saerobo TviTmmarTvel obis ufl ebepis Sesaxeb, Sesabamisi kanonis saWiroeba aucil ebl obas warmoadgenda, radgan am sferoSi sakanonmdebl o bazis Tval sazrisiT srul i vakumi arsebobda; 2)saqar- Tvel os damoukidebl obis gamocxadebidan, qveynis saxel mwifo apa- ratis formirebas da Sesabamisi umaRl esi samTavrobo uwyebepis srul yofil ad funcioni rebas eqvsi Tve dasWir da; 3)mdgomareobas

isic arTul ebda, rom osmal eT- saqarTvel os Soris saomari moqme-
debebi mimdinareobda da qveyana teritoriebis dakargvis real uri
safirTxis winaSe imyofeboda. aseT pirobebSi, saqarTvel os erovnul
sabWoSi administraciul i gadamijvnis Sesaxeb debatebi al ogikur
saxes miRebda. miTumetes, im Znel bedobis Jams, qarTvel i erisadmi
Tanadgomisa da momxdur mterTan erTobl ivi brZol is nacvl ad,
1918 wl is martSi da imave wl is ivnisSi, cxinval is da saCxeris ra-
ionebSi osebis aj anyebebs hqonda adgil i. zemoT aRniSnul i faqte-
bis gaTval iswinebidan gamomdinare, arasworad da tendenciurad
mimaCnia u.baxtaZis Sexedul eba_ osebis erovnul i sabWos proeqtiT
gaTval iswinebul moTxovnas, saqarTvel os xel isufl ebam TiTqos
Segnebul ad gaukeTa ignorireba. `mas Semdeg rac menSevikurma mTa-
vrobam_ wers u.baxtaZe_ uaryo samxreT oseTis teritoriul safuZve-
l ze agebul i saerobo TviTmmarTvel erTeul ad gamoyofis ufl eba,
osma xal xma bol Sevikebis xel mZRvanel obiT javis, wunaris da cxi-
nval is saxal xo yril obebze 1918 wl is maisSi (28 maisi S.v.), ivnisSi
da agvistoSi aSkarad gamoTqva survil i SeerTebodnen sabWoTa
ruseTs.¹¹ XX saukunis 70- ian wl ebSi gamoTqmul i es dausabuTebe-
l i Tval sazrisi, damoukidebel i saqarTvel os xel isufl ebis disk-
reditaciaze da osi separatistebis mier 1918- 1920 wl ebSi qarTvel
erTan mimarTebaSi Cadenil i moRal aturi qmedebis gamarTI ebis
mcdel obaze iyo gaTvl il i. samwuxaroa, rom u.baxtaZis aRniSnul
mcdar Sexedul ebas zogierTi Cemi kol ega dResac iziarebs.¹² ara-
da, msofli io historiaSi ar arsebobs precedenti, damoukidebl obis
gamocxadebidan mesame dRes, romel ime qveynis mTavrobis saqmiano-
ba separatistebis pretenziebis dakmayofil ebiT dawyebul iyos.
angariSs arc imas uweven, Sida qarTI is teritoriis ra sazRvrebSi
moitXovda osi separatistebi `samxreT oseTis- administraciul i
erobis Seqmnas (ix. ruka # 1). misi dakmayofil ebis SemTxvevaSi ra
mdgomareobaSi aRmoCndeboda saqarTvel o da momaval i Taobebi
rogor Sefasebas miscemda damoukidebel i saqarTvel os xel isu-
fl ebis mier qveynis saziandod miRebul gadawyvetil ebas.

dokumenturi masal iT dadasturebul ia, rom Sida qarTI is mTis
osebis probl emis ganxil vis daCqareba da misi praqtikul ad gada-
wyvetisaTvis saTanado bazis Seqmna, ara marto sakanonmdebl o aqtebis
momzadebas, aramed did finansur xarj ebsac moitXovda. xel isu-
fl ebis mxridan am mimarTul ebiT pragmatul i nabij is gadadgmas,
TavianTi qmedebiT TviT osebi aferxebdnen. am SemTxvevaSi is 1 mi-
liard 12 milioni maneTia gasaTval iswinebel i, romel ic saqarTve-
l os axl adSeqmnil i saxel mwifos xazinas, saCxeris raionis osebis
aj anyebis sal ikvidaciოდ da osebisgan dazaral ebul i qarTul i
sofl ebis mosaxl eobis sakompensaciოდ dauj da. miuxedavad amisa,
es srul ebitac ar niSnava, rom saqarTvel os erovnul i sabWos an
saqarTvel os mTavrobis mxridan osebis erovnul i sabWos zemoaRniS-
nul i proeqtis ganxil vas im etapze uari eTqva, radgan amis damada-
sturebl oficial ur dokuments jerjerobiT ver mivakvl ie. miTu-
metes, saqarTvel os xel isufl ebis warmomadgenl ebi osur probl e-
mas qarTul i saxel mwifos interesebis gaTval iswinebis Wril Si
ganxil avdnen da mis droul gadawyvetas aucil ebl obad miCnev-
nen. amis damadsturebl ad erovnul i sabWos 1918 wl is 2 agvistos sx-

domaze n.ramiSvil is mier warmotqmul i sityva gamodgeba. igi xazgasmiT aRniSnavda, rom osebs `kul turul i avtonomia aucil ebl ad unda mieni-
Wos.-¹³ rac Seexeba osebis erovnul sabWos, droTa ganmavl obaSi misi wevrebi
TavianT pretenzijs kidev ufro afarToebdnen da Sida qarTl is mTis
osebisaTvis samazro- saerobo administraciul i erTeul is nacvl ad, cal ke
administraciul i ol qis Seqmnas moiTxovdnen. amis Sesaxeb `samxreT ose-
Tis- erovnul i sabWos 1918 wl is 15 seqtembris dadgenil ebaSi vkiTxul obT:
`saqarTvel os respubl ikis mTavrobas Seaxsenos oseTis cal ke adminis-
traciul ol qad gamoyofis saWiroebaze da sTxovos daCqarebul iqnas am
sakiTxis ganxil va. sakiTxis ganxil vas mTavrobaSi daeswron oseTis sab-
Wos mxridan al eqsandre Tibil ovi, qristifore jioevi da petre Tedeevi.-¹⁴

Cems mier motanil i faqtebis mixedvit Tuki vimsjel ebT, saqarTvel os
mTavrobisa da osebis erovnul i sabWos interesebi erTmaneTs ewinaaRmde-
geboda. isic gasaTval iswinebel ia, rom 1918 wl is seqtembridan osebis pr-
etenziebi mkveTrad gaizarda. **igi cal ke samazro da misadmi daqvemde-
barebul i saerobo TviTmmarTvel obebis Seqmndan, oficial urad
cal ke administraciul i saol qo avtonomiis moTxovniT Seicval a.**
osebis mxridan aseTi ganacxadi, qarTul i pol itikuri azris mesveurTaTvis
miuRebel i iyo. amis dadasturebas im periodis presis furcl ebze gamo-
qveynebul i publ ikaciebi warmoadgens. am mxriv, gansakuTrebul intersess
gazeT `al ionSi- dabeWdil i statia `cxinval is tragediis gamo- iqcevs.
statiis avtori osebis separatizms, osuri intel igenciis `SemoqmedebiT-
nayofad acxadebda da saqarTvel os Semadgenl obaSi `Tavisufal i ose-
Tis- arsebobis daSvebas danaSaul ebriv qmedebad miicnevda. `Tavisufl e-
ba_ vkiTxul obT weril Si_ yvel asaTvis aucil ebel ia,... magram Cven viciT
oseTi mxol od Tergis ol qSi, saqarTvel oSi ki ara. saqarTvel oSi arian
osebi, romel Tanac qarTvel xal xs mudam keTil i ganwyobil eba hqonda. ma-
gram naTqvami a, si keTisaTvis sikeTe vis miuzRavso. Cvens osebs srul i ufl eba
aqvs Tavisufl ad moewyon saqarTvel os sazRvrebSi, xol oisini unda daeqvem-
debaron saqarTvel osa da amierkavkasiis mTavrobas. osebis mTavroba iq
aris Sesazl ebel i da saWiro, sadac osebis miwa- wyal ia_ Tergis ol qSi.
rodesac isini cdil oben saqarTvel os Suagul Si sakuTari damoukidebel
i mTavrobis Seqmnas, es aris saqarTvel os danawil eba, dagl ej a, ris nebasac
qarTvel i eri aravis miscems sanam pirSi sul i edgmeba.-¹⁵

am amonaweridan kargad Cans, rom osebtan mimarTebaSi saqarTvel os mTa-
vrobisa da qarTul i pol itikuri azris warmomadgenel Ta pozicia ide-
nturi iyo. imave statiaSi savsebit kanonzomieradaa miniSnebul i, rom os-
ebis damoukidebel i mTavrobisa da pol itikuri erTeul is Seqmna mxol od
osebis istoriul samSobl oSi_ Crdil o kavkasiis oseTSi iyo mizanSewo-
nil i. am sakiTxs im periodis qarTul pol itikur azrovnebaSi gansakuTre-
bul i adgil i ekava. amis Sesaxeb iv.gomarTel i statiaSi `saqarTvel os
respubl ika da erovnul umciresobaTa sakiTxi- principul ad svamda Seki-
Txvas_ `visa aqvs ufl eba moiTxovos saxel mwifoSi teritoriul - pol i-
tikuri avtonomia?- da iqve pasuxobda: `mxol od im ers, romel sac Tavisi
is-toriul i teritoria aqvs da am teritoriaze saxel mwifoebrivi cx-
ovreba hqonia... pol itikuri avtonomia da srul i gamoyofa SeuZl ia moiTx-
ovos namdvil ma oseTma, romel ic Crdil oet kavkasiaSia. am ufl ebas mas
veravin waartmevs, radgan osis xal xs iq aqvs sakuTari teritoria da am
teritoriaze pol itikuri ufl ebanic mis xel Si unda iyos. saqarTvel os
respubl ikis miwa- wyal ze ki pol itikuri ufl ebebis matarebel ia qarTve-

I ieri, mis mTavrobas da kanonebs emorCil eba yvel a, vinc am respubl ikis fargl ebSi cxovrobs.-¹⁶

aRniSnul i amonaweri imis dadasturebaa, rom saqarTvel os saxel mwifos interesebidan gamomdinare, qarTul i politikuri speqtri Sida qarTl is mTis osebisatvis politikuri avtonomiis micemis winaarmdegi iyo. am ideis ganxorciel ebas isini ruseTis Semadgenl obaSi_Crdil o kavkasiis os-eTSi unda cdil iyvnen, xol o saqarTvel oSi kul turul i avtonomiit daka-mayofil ebul iyvnen. am debul ebas iv.gomarTel i saqarTvel os erovnul i sabWos 1918 wl is 2 agvistos sxdomazedac icavda. marTalia, sakiTxi sworad iyo dasmul i, magram im etapze igi ideol ogiur- propagandistul da Segonebit xasaiats atarebda. aseTi forma mxol od im civilizebul i eT-nikuri umciresobebisatvis iqneboda gasagebi, roml ebic genetikurad sxvi-si teritoriebis mitacebis mourCenel i seniT ar iyvnen daavadebul ni da qarTvel Ta amagis damfasebl ebad rCebodnen. es el ementarul i Rirseba, saqarTvel oSi mcxovrebi Sida qarTl is mTis osebis intel igenciis did nawil s_ samwuxarod ar aRmoacnda da separatizms gziT, qarTvel Ta xar-j ze, Sida qarTl Si `samxreT oseTis- niRbit osuri saxel mwifo erTeul is Seqmnas cdil obdnen. saqarTvel oSi xel ovnurad agorebul osur separa-tizmTan mimarTebaSi garkveul sapirapiro nabijs, goris mazris erobis xmosanta yril obis (1919 wl is 16 marti) mier miRebul i dadgenil eba war-moadgens. mxedvel obaSi maqvs, goris mazris 20 wvril saTemo erTeul ad dayofisa da TiToeul maTganSi Sesatyvisi sofl is sazogadoebebis gaer-Tianebris faqti. **am dokumentis mixedvit, javis Temi, sami sofl is (javis, yemul Tis, rokis) sazogadoebiT Semoifargl a.** am faqtis Sesaxeb, goris mazris erobis gamgeobis Tavmj domaris mier saqarTvel os Sinagan saqmeTa saminstrosadmi gagzavnil weril Si (1919 wl is 4 april i) xazgas-miT iyo miTitebul i. xol o, imave saminstrosadmi 11 noembers gagzavnil SetyobinebaSi, TiToeul TemebSi sofl is sazogadoebaTa gaertianebris gan-pirobebel i faqtorebi iyo wina pl anze wamoweul i. `goris mazris erobis gamgeoba_ vkiTxul obT dokumentSi_ auwyebis saminstros, rom goris mazra ukve dayofil ia Temebad, roml ebSiac is sofl ebia moqceul i, roml ebic ufro uaxl ovdebian Tems Tavisi mdgomareobiT. mazra aris dayofil i 20 Temad, romel Tagan marto 17 awarmoebs Temur marTva- gamgeobas. danarCe-ni 3 Seadgens mTa oseTis Tems, roml ebic j er isev Zvel i pirobebit mo-qmedeben.- am SemTxvevaSi javis Temi (javis, yemul Tis, rokis sazogadoebe-bi) igul isxmeboda.

aRniSnul i sakiTxit Sinagan saqmeTa saminstros daintereseba imiT iyo ganpirobebul i, rom am uwyebasTan arsebul i sagangebo komisia, im etapze Sida qarTl is mTis osebsi administraciul i erTeul is SemoRebis proeqtze muSaobda. aqedan gamomdinare, goris mazris erobis yril obis monawil eTa poziciis garkveva, misi mxridan probl emisadmi sworad midgomis Tval saz-risIT aucil ebl obas warmoadgenda. miTumetes, gadawyvetil ebebis miReb-is Tval sazrisIT, samazro erobisa da samTavrobo uwyebis urTierTdapir-ispireba, im rTul i politikuri situaciis fonze, osi separatistebisatvis xel sayrel ideol ogiur garemos Seqmnida. dokumenturi masal iT dastu-rdeba, rom es faqtori, Sinagan saqmeTa saminstrosTan arsebul i komisiis mxridan maqsimal urad iqna gaTval iswinebul i. rac Seexeba Sida qarTl is mTis osebsi saerobo erTeul is SemoRebas, amis Sesaxeb saqarTvel os res-publ ikis mTavrobis 1919 wl is 5 ivl isis sxdomam sagangebod imsj el a. mxedvel obaSi maqvs aRniSnul sakiTxTan mimarTebaSi Sinagan saqmeTa mini-

stris moadgil is p.WiWinaZis mier gakeTebul i moxseneba da imave sxdomi-sadmi wardgenil i Sesabamisi dekretis proeqti. am dokumentis ZiriTadi debul ebebi Semdegnairad SeiZl eba Camoyal ibdes: **1)**saqarTvel oSi mcxovrebi osebis kul turul i ganvitarebisa da adgil obrivi cxovrebis mosawesrigebl ad, Sinagan saqmeTa saministro maTTvis farTo TviTmmarTvel obis erTeul is Seqmnas saWi rod Tvl ida; **2)**osebit dasaxl ebul i Sida qarTI is mTiani zol is fargl ebSi, sxvadasxva mazrebis sofl is sazogadoebebis SeerTebis safuZvel ze `egreT wodebul i j avis mazra, samazro administraciul i dawesebul ebebit- unda Seqmnil iyo; **3)**osebisaTvis gansakuTrebul i j avis mazra, Semdegi mazrebis teritoriul i `CamonaWrebis- xarj ze iqmneboda: **a) Sorapnis mazridan_** Cixis sazogadoebis sofl ebi_ Tedel eTi, jal abeTi, xaxeTi; **b) raWis mazridan_** Casavl is sofl is sazogadoeba; **g) goris mazridan_** `samTo oseTis- raionis_ rokis, yemul Tis da j avis sazogadoebebi; **d) cxinval is raionis_** ortevs, yornisis da wunaris sofl is sazogadoebebi. (ix. cxril i # 3; ruka # 2.)

am monacemebis mixedvit, damoukidebel i saqarTvel os Sinagan saqmeTa saministro, osebtan mimarTebaSi mniSvel ovan kompromisze midioda im Tval sazrisiT, rom ruseTis imperiis xel isufal Ta mier Tavis droze administraciul erTeul ebad danawil ebul saqarTvel os sxel ze, xel -ovnur `qirurgiul ~ Carevas axdenda. mxedvel obaSi maqvs Sida qarTI is mTis osebisaTvis j avis mazris axal i administraciul i erTeul is `gamowris- miznit, zemoT aRniSnul i sami samazro erTeul isaTvis Sesabamisi sofl is sazogadoebebis xel ovnurad `mokvetis- sakiTxis dasma. es dokumenti imiTac iqcevs yuradRebas, rom meore muxl isadmi darTul i SeniSvnis mixedvit, axl adSeqmnil i mazris teritoriis sazRvrebis dadgena, sakanonmdebl o gziT_ saerobo yril obis wardgenis safuZvel ze unda momxdariyo. am proceduris Catarebamde, droebiT administraciul centrads ofel i java cxaddeboda. j avis mazris Seqmnis SemTxvevaSi, imave dokumentis mixedvit, mesame, meoTxe, mexuTe da meeqvse muxl ebi Semdegi RonisZiebebis gatarebas iTval iswinebda: **1)**j avis mazraSi unda momxdariyo samazro da wvril i saerobo dawesebul ebebis Seqmna. rac Seexeba samazro da saerobo yril obis xmosanTa raodenobas_ 25 xmosniT isazRvreboda; **2)**administraciul , sasamarTI o, sazogadoebriv sammarTvel oebSi saqmis warmoeba da sj a- baasi, skol ebSi swavl eba osur enaze unda momxdariyo. j avis mazraSi mcxovrebi araosi erovnebis warmomadgenl ebs, swavl is miReba mSobl iur enaze SeeZl o; **3)**saqarTvel os xel isufl ebasTan j avis mazris administraciul i organoebis urTierToba saxel mwifo enaze unda momxdariyo; **4)**j avis mazris mosazRvre sofl ebs, kanonis wesis dacvit Sedgenil i ganaCeniT, Sinagan saqmeTa saministros winaSe Suamdgoml obis aRZvris SesaZl ebl oba eZl eoda im Tval sazrisiT, rom aRniSnul i mazris sazRvrebSi ama Tu im sofl is Caricxvis sakiTxi, respublikis sakanonmdebl o dawesebul ebebSi yofil iyo ganxil ul i. anal ogiuri ufl ebebit iyo aRWurvil i j avis mazris Semadgenl obaSi moqceul i sofl is sazogadoebebi. mxedvel obaSi maqvs, j avis mazridan maTi gamoyofis Sesaxeb kanonieri wesiT Suamdgoml obis aRZvris SesaZl ebl obis faqti. igi sakanonmdebl o organos ganxil vis sagani mxol od im SemTxvevaSi gaxdeboda, Tuki es procedura, mazris teritoriul i mTli anobis darRvevas ar daemuqreboda; **5)**imave dokumentiT, saerobo dawesebul ebebis SemoRebamde, j avis samazro komisiariati da miliciis Stati mtkicdeboda. am saWi roebisaTvis saxel mwifo xazinidan 553440 maneTi unda gamoyofil iyo, xol o 1919 wl is 1 iv-

I isidan 276720 maneTi. samwuxaroT, zogierTma istorikosma aRni Snul i proeqti gasabWoebul i saqarTvel os Sinagan saqmeTa saxal xo komisariatTan arsebul i administraciul erTeul Ta ganyofil ebaSi momzadebul ad gamoacxada,¹⁷ riTac mkiTxvel i SecdomaSi Seiaryana. arada, am dokuments 1919 wl is 5 ivl isis TariRi azis da damoukidebel i saqarTvel os Sinagan saqmeTa ministris moadgil e p.WiWinaZe da vice direktori i.naneiSvil i awers xel s. marTal ia, Sinagan saqmeTa ministris moadgil is p.WiWinaZis mier gakeTebul i moxseneba da dekretis proeqti, wamoWril i probl emis gadasawyvetad garkveul argumentebS Seicavda, magram, saqarTvel os mTavrobis aRni-Snul i sxdomis monawil eebma misi oficial urad miRebisagan Tavi Seikava. sakiTxis siRrmiseul i Seswavl is mizniT, warmodgenil i masal is kompententuri komisiisadmi gadacemis aucil ebl oba mizanSewonil ad iqna miCneuli i. amastan dakavSirebiT miRebul dadgenil ebaSi vkiTxul obT: `warmodgenil i dekretis winaswar gansaxil vel ad Sesdges komisia Sinagan saqmeTa, iusticiis (Tavmj domare) da finansTa saministros warmomadgenel Tagan.- aRniSnul i dadgenil ebidan gamomdinare, dekretis proeqti, j avis mazris Seqmnisa da masSi saerobo dawesebul ebaTa SemoRebis sakiTxebis Semswavl el sauwyebaTaSoriso komisiis gansaxil vel ad gadaeca. imave komisiis 11 ivl isis sxdomis saomqmo Canawerebidan irkveva, rom finansuri da teqniki gaumarTaobis motiviT, finansTa da iusticiis saministroebis warmomadgenel ebma (k.muxranski, v.demidovi) aRniSnul i proeqtis miReba im etapze SeuZl ebl ad CaTval es. daayenes sakiTxix_ axal i samazro erTeul isaTvis saWiroyvel a niuansis gaTval iswinebiT, proeqtis finansuri nawil i respublikis finansTa saministrosTan SeTanxmebiT gadamuSavebul iyo. aseTi gadawyvetil ebis miRebis miuxedavad, osur sakiTxis komisia mTel i gul dasmiT swavl obda da Sesabamis sxdomebze osebis erovnul i sabWos warmomadgenel is pretenziebis mizanSewonil obis ganxil vas axdenda. debatebi ZiriTadad sami dokumentis: **1)**osebis erovnul i sabWos mier amierkavkasiis komisariatisadmi 1918 wl is 10 ianvars wardgenil i proeqtis, **2)**saqarTvel os Sinagan saqmeTa saministros proeqtisa da **3)**osebis del egaciis mier saqarTvel os mTavrobisadmi 1919 wl is 27 ivnisiT daTariRebul i gancxadebis garSemo mimdinareobda.

am ukanasknel i dokumentidan irkveva, rom misi avtorebi Sinagan saqmeTa saministros proeqtis mixedvit osebisatvis samazro erobis SemoRebaze acxadebdnen Tanxmobas. amastan dakavSirebiT imave gancxadebaSi vkiTxuli obT: «делегация согласилась с предложением правительства ограничиться уездным земским самоуправлением для территорий населенной сплошной осетинской массой.» sauwyebaTasoriso komisiis 11 ivl isis sxdomaze gr.gvel esianma am faqtis a.Tibil ovis sawinaaRmdegod gamoyenebas Seecada da mas oSta erovnul i sabWos warmomadgenel ebis mxridan, Sinagan saqmeTa saministros proeqtis ZiriTadi debul ebebisadmi mxardaWera Seaxsena. am sakiTxTan dakavSirebiT komisiis sxdomaze a.Tibil ovma oficial urad ganacxada: `Sinagan saqmeTa ministrTan myofi del egaciis wevrebis gadawyvetil ebas Cvenebi ar daeTanxmnen da amit aixsneba, rom imis Semdeg orjer SevitaneT gancxadeba amis Sesaxeb.- es faqti imaze miuTitebs, rom osuri sakiTxis gadawyvetasTan mimarTebaSi, osebis erovnul i sabWo or daj gufebad iyo gayofil i da urTierTsawinaaRmdego poziciaze idga. es garemoeba, komisiis udi desi sirTuli eebis winase ayenebda im Tval sazrisiT, rom saertoenis gamoZebna da konesusis miRveva orive daj gufebasTan unda moexdina.

rac Seexeba osebis pirvel proeqtsa da gancxadebas, misi avtorebi mxo-

I od erT sakiTxSi Tanxmdebodnen; kerZod, Sida qarTI is mTis osebis sa-
 mazro eroba eTnografiul i niSniT_ `samxreT oseTis- saxel wodebiT Se-
 qmnil iyo. ramdenadac es moTxovna kategoriul formas atarebda, igi sa-
 uwyebaTaSoriso komisiis 13 ivl isis sxdomaze sagangebo msj el obis sagani
 gaxda. miRebul rezoluciaSi garkveviT iqna miTiTebul i, rom mazris sa-
 xel i, samazro centris saxel wodebis mixedviT gansazRvrul iyo. `am azrs
 komisia im mosazrebiT daadga_ vkiTxul obT dokumentSi, rom TiTqmis
 arsad mazris saxel i eTnografiul i Semadgenl obis mixedviT ar atarebs
 saxel s, aramed mas ewodeba im sofl is, dabis an qal aqis saxel i, romel ic
 samazro centrs warmoadgens.- marTal ia, eTnikuri niSnis mixedviT samazro
 erTeul is Seqmna samarTlianad iqna uaryofil i, magram, miuxedavad amisa,
 qarTul i pol itikuri speqtris winaSe principul ad iyo dasmul i osuri
 samazro saerobo erTeul is_ Tugind javis mazris saxel wodebiT Seqmnis
 kanonzomiereba. Sinagan saqmeTa saministros zemoaRniSnul i proeqtis far-
 gl ebSi probl emis gadawyveta, qarTul i pol itikuri azris mesveurebs sa-
 qarTvel os saxel mwifosaTvis osebis mxreidan axal i safrTxis Seqmnis
 safuZvl ad miaCndaT. adgil obrivi mmarTvel obisa da TviTmmarTvel obis
 komisiis 1919 wl is 30 april is sxdomaze d.oniaSvil is mier gakeTebul i
 gamafRTxil ebel i gancxadeba am garemoebiT iyo ganpirobebul i. `cxin-
 val is raionSi osebisatvis cal ke erTeul i rom davaarsoT_ ambobda igi_
 es damoukidebel i oseTis winaSe dagvayenebs.- am SemTxvevaSi d.oniaSvil i
 ar tyuoda, radgan os separatistebS Sida qarTI is teritoriis Crdil o
 kavkasiis oseTTan mierTebiT, ruseTis federaciaSi erTiani osuri saxel m-
 wifos Seqmna hqondaT miznad dasaxul i. amas osebis warmomadgenel i a.Ti-
 bilovic ar mal avda. gr.gvel esianis moxsenebaSi- `oseTis- avtonomiuri
 ol qis gamoyofis istoriisaTvis- xazgasmiTaa miTiTebul i, rom iusticiis
 saministrosTan arsebul i sauwyebaTaSoriso komisiis 1919 wl is 13 ivl isis
 sxdomaze a.Tibil ovs daufaravad ganucxadebia: `cxinval is yril obam daad-
 gina_ SeerTdes Crdil oeti da samxreTi oseTi, dawesdes erTi suverenul i
 saxel mwifo, romel ic federaciul ad SeukavSirdeba ruseTso...- am faqtiT
 kargad cans osi separatistebis samomavl o miznebi da saqarTvel os teri-
 toriul mTlianobasTan mimarTebaSi maTi damokidebul eba. isic angariS-
 gasawevia, rom a.Tibil ovis zemoaRniSnul i gancxadeba im dros gakeTda,
 roca osebis erovnul i sabWos warmomadgenel s sauwyebaTaSoriso komisi-
 isadmi `erTiani oseTis- ruka qonda wardgenil i. TavianTi miznebis Tval -
 sacinoebisatvis, osma separatistebma am SemTxvevaSi hugo Suxartis samxreT_
 dasavl eT kavkasiaSi qarTvel uri enebis gavrcelebis eTnografiul i ruka
 gamoiyenes. osebis saqarTvel os sazRvrebSi gansaxlebis aRmniSvnel i Tavda-
 pirvel i Riavardisferi, mkveTri vardisferiT gaamuqes. saqarTvel os far-
 gl ebSi- Sida qarTI Si `samxreT oseTis- gamokveTil i formiT warmo-
 saCenad da misatacebl ad Cafiqrebul teritorias, Savi sasazRvro zol i
 Semoavl es da osebis gansaxlebis areal Si TviTneburad wmindaqarTul i
 sofl ebic Seitanes. imavdroul ad, samomavl od Cafiqrebul i `erTiani os-
 uri saxel mwifos- teritoriis mocul obis sail ustraci od, Crdil o kavkasiis
 oseTis mimarTac anal ogiuri feri gamoiyenes. Crdil o oseTi da ararse-
 bul i `samxreT oseTi- Segnebul ad erThair mkveTr vardisferSi gamosax-
 es. (ix. ruka # 3) es ruka, saqarTvel os erovnul ma arqivma da iusticiis
 saministrom, SecdomiT hugo Suxartiseul i rukis `original is- pretenzi-
 iT 2014 wl is kal endarSi dabeWda da sinamdvil is fal sifikacia moaxdina.
 am faqtiT, nebsiT Tu unebi ed osi separatistebis `mtkicebul ebisa- da

ideiis popul arizacias Seuwoy xel i.

osuri erovnul i sabWos zemoaRniSnul i qmedeba, sauwyebaTaSoriso komisiis wevrebsa da TviT saqarTvel os xel isufl ebas im real ur safrTx-eze mianiSnebda, samomavl od teritoriul i erTianobis darRvevis Tval - sazrisiT osebis mxridan saqarTvel os saxel mwi fos rom emuqreboda. aqedan gamomdinare, osuri sa-kiTxisadmi midgoma da misi gadawyveta iseT formebsi unda momxdariyo, rom igi momaval i TaobebisaTvis Tavsatex probl emad ar qceul iyo. qveynis sasicocxl o interesebisadmi am kuTxiT midgomis aucil ebl obas, qarTul pol itikur speqtrs, erisa da istoriis winaSe aRebul i pasuxismgebl oba aval debul ebda. miTumetes, osebis erovnul i sabWos l iderebis yovel i qmedeba, saqarTvel oSi da mis garSemo Seqmnil pol itikur situaciaze iyo gaTvl il i. amis erT- erT magal iTs, sauwyebaTaSoriso komisiis sxdomaze a.Tibil ovis gamosvl ebi warmoadgens. mis mier gakeTebul i zemoaRniSnul i radikal uri gancxadebis miuxedavad, sauwyebaTaSoriso komisiis sxdomaze Tuki osebisatvis igi im etapze pol itikur avtonomias ar moiTxovda da mxol od farTo saerobo TviTmmarTvel obiT ifargl eboda, arsebul i pol itikuri situaciis koniunqhuriT iyo ganpi robebul i. a.Tibil ovis es `kompromisul i- pozicia, osur sakiTxTan mimarTebaSi Sexedul ebaTa cval ebadobas srul ebiTac ar emyareboda. misi `ukandaxeva- droebiTi xasiaTs atarebda da osebisatvis xel sayrel i situaciis SeqmnisTanave, aRniSnul i probl ema saqarTvel os winaaRmdeg aisbergiviT ise v aRimarTeboda. es faqti, komisiis Tavmj domares gr.gvel esians mxedvel obis miRma ar darCenia da imave sxdomaze a.Tibil ovs Seaxsena: `yovel - gvari sakiTxi am komisiaSi SeiZl eba ganxil ul i iqnas mxol od imfargl ebsi, romel ic Sinagan saqmeTa saministros proeqtsia naCvenebi.-

ramdenadac, osebis warmomadgenel s, teritoriis mocul obis Tval sazrisiT, Sinagan saqmeTa saministros zemoaRniSnul i proeqti ar akmayofil ebda, gr.gvel esianisadmi sapasuxod warmoTqmul sityvaSi misi separatistul i zraxvani erTxel kidev saj arod gamoavl ina. mxedvel obaSi maqvs a.Tibil ovis mier 13 ivl iss gakeTebul i gancxadeba; `vacxadebT, rom Cveni sabol oo mizani pol itikuri avtonomiaa, magram, radganac dRes- dReobiT amis ganxorciel eba SeuZl ebel i xdeba, ami tom j erj erobiT am minimums moviTxovT. unda vTqvaT, Cven yovel gvar kanonier zomebs miviRebT, raTa ganxorciel des is minimumi, romel ic Cven warmovadgineT.-

a.Tibil ovis es pretenzia, qarTul i pol itikuri speqtrisaTvis siaxl es ar warmoadgenda. ganvl il ma istoriul ma procesebma da osebis orpironvani ianusisaTvis damaxasiaTebel ma qmedebebma, osebisadmi undobl oba qarTul pol itikur azrovnebaSi savsebiT kanonzomierad daamkvidra. aqedan gamomdinare, osebisatvis teritoriul safuZvel ze agebul i gansakuTrebul i mazris an erobis SemoReba, damfuZnebal krebasTan arsebul ma adgil obrivi mmarTvel obisa da TviTmmarTvel obis komisiis 1919 wl is 6 ivnisis sxdomam im etapze naCqarevad CaTval a. amasTan dakavSirebiT, miRebul dadgenil ebaSi vkiTxul obT: `kiTxva Riad darCes im dromde, sanam garCeul i ar iqneba saertod respublikis teritoriis axal i administraciul i gadamij vnis sakiTxi.- aseTi gadawyvetil ebis miReba savsebiT kanonzomieri iyo, radgan damfuZnebel krebasTan arsebul mmarTvel obisa da TviTmmarTvel obis komisiis, saqarTvel os teritoriis gadamij vnis sakiTxTan dakavSirebiT muSaoba damTavrebul i ar qonda da uaxl oesi sxdomebisatvis sabol oo gadawyvetil ebis misaRebad Sesabamis safuZvel s amzadebda.

Tuki osebis erovnul i sabWos warmomadgenel i a.Tibil ovi radikal izms

oficial urad avl enda, mi sgan gansxvavebi T, osi social - demokratebis warmomadgenl ebi garegnul ad `kompromisis- ni Rbi T moqmedebden da Sida qarTl is osebisatvis erTi msxvil i samazro erobis Seqmnis moTxovni T ifargl ebodnen. am mxriv gansakuTrebul yuradRebas osebi momuSave social - demokratiul i partiis wevrebisa da organizaciebis warmomadgenl ebis goris konferenciis (1919 wl is 16- 17 april i) muSaobis amsaxvel i masal ebi iqcevs. osebisatvis samazro erobis SemoRebis Sesaxeb g.gagl oebis mier gakeTebul moxsenebaSi wina pl anze ekonomikuri faqtori iyo wamoweul i. misi mtkicebi T `eroba, rogorc sameurneo da saxal xo Tvi TmmarTvel oba, unda emyarebodes Tavis sakuTar Zal ebs. is ar unda moitXovdes saxel mwifosagan daxmarebas, Tu mTavrobis opeka ar surs.- aqedan gamomdinare, osebisatvis igi erTi samazro erobis mowyobis aucil ebl obas aye-nebda. imavdroul ad, aRniSnul i erobis xarj TaRricxvis winaswar garkvevas pirvel xarixovan amocanad miicnevda. winaaRmdeg SemTxvevaSi, erobis SemoRebas saxifaTod Tvl ida. rac Seexeba Tvi T erobis formas, g.gagl oebis mtkicebi T, pirvel etapze osebisatvis wvri l i saerobo erTeul ebi unda Seqmnil iyo. garkveul i drois monakveTsi, erobaTa warmomadgenl obis yri l obis gadawyvetil ebis safuZvel ze, erT msxvil saerobo erTeul ad gardaqmnil iyo.¹⁸ swored aRniSnul sakiTxTan dakavSirebi T gamovl inda osi social - demokratebis mxridan qarTul i miwebis mitacebisa da gaTavisebis Sinagani kodis amoqmedebis mcdel oba. mxedvel obaSi maqvs imave konferenciis mier sasofl o sazogadoebebis gaerTianebis motivi T, osebisatvis 8 saerobo erTeul is Camoyal ibebis Sesaxeb miRebul i rezol ucia. am dokumentis mixedvit, osebisatvis Semdegi saerobo erTeul ebi unda Seqmnil iyo: **1)** mTa oseTis eroba (sofl is sazogadoebebi_ j avis, fel is, rokis, Casavli is); **2)** arkneTis eroba (yornisis, wunaris, avl evis sazogadoebebi); **3)** vanaTis eroba (ortebis, bel oTis, andoretis sazogadoebebi); **4)** atenis eroba (badaanis, bobnevis, axal sofl is sazogadoebebi) **5)** qarel is eroba (zRudarisa da qarel is Sereul i sazogadoebebisagan Semdgari); **6)** xaSuris eroba; **7)** axal goris eroba; **8)** Trusos eroba. (ix. cxril i # 2)

im SemTxvevaSi, Tuki osebis saerobo erTeul ebi am formi T Sei qmneboda da SemdegSi erT samazro saerobo erTeul ad gaerTiandeboda, Sida qarTl is teritoriis udidesi nawil i osebis samazro erTeul is daqvemdebarebaSi aRmoCndeboda. es imas ni Snavda, rom saqarTvel os xel isufl ebis mxridan, aRniSnul i teritoriis gankargvis ufl ebas osuri administracia samarTl ebrivad daikanonebda. teritoriul i Tval sazrisiT, aseTi farTo samazro- saerobo erTeul is osebisatvis gadacema, qarTul i saxel mwifos interesebs ewinaaRmdegeboda, radgan: **a)** igi osebis ganuzomel i pretenziebis gamovl inebas da osuri saxel wodebis erobebis Semadgenl obaSi Sida qarTl is teritoriis didi nawil is moqcevis mcdel obas warmoadgenda; **b)** am gegmis ganxorciel eba, samomavl od osebis mxridan teritoriul i avtonomiis moTxovnis safuZvl is Semzadebis pirvel i safexuri iqneboda.

osebis samazro- saerobo administraciul i erTeul is teritoriul i sazRvrebis Semofargvl is Tval sazrisiT, Sinagan saqmeTa saministros, osebis erovnul i sabWos 1918 wl is 10 ianvris proeqtebs da osi social - demokratebis goris konferencieze (1919 wl is april i) miRebul dadgenil ebas_ Tuki erTmaneTs SevadarebT, maT Soris udidesi sxvaoba aRmoCndeba. amis damadasturebl ad, Cems mier zemoT motanil masal ebze dayrdnobi T Sedgenil i cxril ebi (# 1; # 2; ruka # 1) gamodgeba. masSi garkvevi T moCans is mtacebl uri mada, romel sac osi separatistebi Sida qa-

rTI is teritoriis misaTvisibl ad iCenda. damoukidebel i saqarTvel os Sinagan saqmeTa saminstros mier SeTavazebul i proeqtis kompromisul i varianti_ j avis samazro erobis 8 sasofl o sazogadoebaze da 3 sofl is bazaze dafuZneba (ix. cxril i # 3; ruka # 2) os separatistrbs ar akmayofil ebda. amis sanacvl od, osebis erovnul i sabWos mier 1918 wl is 10 ianvars amierkavkasiis komisariatسادmi wardgenil i proeqtis fargl ebSi acxadebdnen pretenzias. maTi azriT, `samxreT oseTis- administraciul i eroba erTi qal aqis, 22 sasofl o sazogadoebisa da 3 sofl isagan unda Seqmnil iyo, xol o centrads cxinval i gamocxadebul iyo.¹⁹ (ix. cxril i # 1; ruka # 1). rac Seexeba osi social - demokratebis mier 1919 wel s miRebul dadgenil ebas, osebis samazro erobas 15 sasofl o sazogadoebisgan Seqmnil i 8 saerobo erTeul i unda dadeboda safuZvl ad (ix. cxril i # 2).

rogorc vxedavT, osebis erovnul i sabWos proeqtisa da osi social - demokratebis goris konferenciaze miRebul i dadgenil ebisagan (ix. cxril i # 2) gansxvavebiT, Sinagan saqmeTa saminstros proeqtis samazro erTeul isaTvis osebs, pirvel proeqtTan SedarebiT samjer, xol o meore proeqtTan mimarTebaSi orjer nakl eb teritorias (ix. cxril i # 3; ruka # 2) sTavazobda. miuxedavad amisa, es faqti saqarTvel os xel isufl ebisagan im etapze udides datmobas warmoadgenda. miTumetes, Crdil o kavkasiis oseTSi (osebis istoriul samSobl oSi), osebs ara Tu samazro erobis, aramed kul turul i avtonomiis el ementarul i ufl ebebi ar gaaCnda. miuxedavad amisa, isini sabWoTa ruseTis xel isufl ebasTan mimarTebaSi Senguebl is mdgomareobaSi imyofebodnen. rac Seexeba Sida qarTl i Si mTis osebis gaaqtiurebas da osuri administraciul i erTeul is Seqmnis motivaciit saqarTvel os teritoriis mitacebis dauokebel mcdel obas, sabWoTa ruseTis mxridan mmarTvad saxes atarebda. Tuki saqarTvel os mTavroba sasurvel teritorias osebs samarTl ebrivad daukanonebda, am SemTxvevaSi os separatistebis dasaxul i miznis misaRwevad_ ruseTTan SeerTebis Canafiqris ganxorciel ebis samomavl o perspeqtiva eZl eoda. `samxreT oseTis- saxel wodebiT administraciul i erTeul is Seqmnis SemTxvevaSi, damoukidebel saqarTvel os, Sida qarTl i Si sabWoTa ruseTi `Causaxl deboda.- aq gadamwyvet rols, regionis geostrategiul i mniSvel oba gansazRvravda. amitom, sabWoTa ruseTis pirvel xarixovan amocanas, regionze zedamxedvel obis sadaveebis xel Si aReba warmoadgenda da ara osebis ufl ebebis dacvisaTvis brZola. sabWoTa ruseTis es miswrafeba, qarTul i pol itikuri speqtrisaTvis siaxles ar Seicavda. aRniSnul is gaTval iswinebis fonze, Sinagan saqmeTa saminstros proeqtis, saqarTvel os saxel mwifoebriwintere-sebs garkveul wil ad mainc iTval iswinebda. am kuTxiT ganixil eboda osTa savaraudo samazro erTeul is administraciul i centris sakiTxic. proeqtis mixedviT, cxinval is nacvl ad samazro centrads sofel i j ava iyo droebiT dasaxel ebul i. sauwyebaTaSoriso komisiis daskvnis, Sinagan saqmeTa saminstros moxsenebisa da imave saminstros mier Sedgenil i proeqtis (dekretis) mixedviT Tuki vimsjel ebT, j avis mazra ramdenime wvriL saerobo erTeul ad unda danawil ebul oyo. aq erT metad mniSvel ovan arsebiT niuanss unda mieqces yuradReba. mxedvel obaSi maqvs osebis moTxovna; mazris saxel wodebas eTnikuri nisani_ `osuri- dadeboda safuZvl ad. am SemTxvevaSi, komisi amswori arCevani gaakeTa, roca proeqtSi aqcenti mxol od j avis mazraze Seacera da misi ufl ebebi kul turul i avtonomiis CarCoTi Semofargla. igi administraciis sazRvrebSi_ **a)**sasamarTl os, **b)**sazogadoebrivi dawesebul ebebis, **g)**skol ebis nacional izacias _saxel mwifo enis paral el urad os-

uri enis xmarebas da osur enaze skol ebSi swavl ebis SemoRebas iTval - iswinebda.

amis dadasturebas sauwebaTaSoriso komisiis 1919 wl is 13 da 19 ivl isis sxdomebis saomqmo Canawerebi warmoadgens. 13 ivl isis sxdomam sagangebod imsjel a `samxreT oseTis- saswavl enl ebsa da dawesebul ebebSi saxmari enis SemoRebis sakiTxTan dakavSirebiT. imave dokumentidan irkveva, rom osebis erovnul i sabWos warmomadgenel i a.Tibil ovi erTis mxriv osuri skol ebisa da administraciul i dawesebul ebebis nacional izacias uWerda mxaras, xol o meores mxriv, osuri enis mcodne administraciul i kadrebisa da pedagogebs ukmarisobis motividan gamomdinare, Sinagan saqmeTa saministros proeqtSi osuri enis nacvl ad, ucxo enis_ rusul is Caweras moi-Txovda.²⁰ am SemTxvevaSi igi osebis erovnul i sabWos wevrTa pozicias axmovanebda da garkveul i argumentebis moSvel iebiT sauwebaTaSoriso komisiis mxridan mistvis sasurvel i dadgenil ebis miRebas cdil obda. qarTul i pol itikuri el itisaTvis da komisiis wevrebisTvis, osebis Canafiqridan gamomdinare mosal odnel i Sedegebi winaswar iyo cnobil i. miTumetes, saqarTvel os xel isufl ebasTan komunikaciis motiviT, Sida qarTl is mTis osebsi_ e.w. `samxreT oseTsi- rusul i enis oficial urad dakanonebis miRwevas osebis erovnul i sabWo jer kidev 1919 wl is martSi Seecada. mxedvel obaSi maqvs saqarTvel os mTavrobis Tavmj domarisadmi gagzavnil i 4 martiT (# 1490) daTariRebul i weril i. igi patara formatis qaral dze l urji mel niT gakril i xel iTaa daweril i. masSi CvenTvis saintereso sakiTxTan dakavSirebiT vkiTxul obT: «Южно- Осетинский Национальный Совет просит Вас не отказать сделать распоряжение подведомственным учреждениям и должностным лицам о том, чтобы переписку с Осетинским национальным Советом и Осетинскими Обществами велась на русском языке, **так как знающих грузинский язык в учреждениях Осетии почти нет**, а о содержании переводчиков за отсутствием средств не приходится и говорить.»²¹ rogorc vxedavT, qarTul is mcodne kadrebis aryol is motivaciit, saxel mwifo dawesebul ebebTan da sxva uwebebtan rusul enaze mimoweris oficial uri nebarTvis dakanonebas osebis erovnul i sabWo saqarTvel os xel isufl ebis umaRlesi eSel onebisagan iTxovda. Znel i dasaj erebel ia, rom osebis erovnul sabWos, saqarTvel os xel isufl ebasTan saxel mwifo enaze mimoweris mizniT, qarTul i enis ramdenime mcodne kadri da mbeWdavi memanqane ver eSovna. isic sayuradReboa, rom aRniSnul dokumentSi saubaria ara Sida qarTl is qarTul is armcodne mTis osebze, aramed geografiul i cnebit aRmniSvel oseTze_ «так как знающих грузинский язык в учреждениях **Осетии** почти нет.» iseti STabeWdil eba iqmneba, TiTqos Sida qarTl Si martl ac arsebul iyo `oseTi.~ es faqti imaze migvaniSnebs, rom aRniSnul i weril is avtorebs, Sida qarTl is mTiani zol is osebit dasaxlebul i teritoria_ `oseTad- hqondaT moazrebul i. swored am `oseTsi- cdil obden saxel mwifo enis nacvl ad rusul is dakanonebas. im SemTxvevaSi, Tuki osebis erovnul i sabWo saxel mwifo enis rusul iT Canacvl ebis dadasturebas miRebda, aseTi gadawyvetil eba qveyanaSi orenovani sako- municacio wesis damkvidrebasa da qarTul is, rogorc saxel mwifo enis ignorebis precedentis dasvebis samartl ebrivad dakanonebas moaxden- da. zemoaRniSnul i faqtorebis gaTval iswinebis fonze, osebis erovnul i sabWos moTxovnis ganxil visas pirvel rigSi iyo gasaTval iswinebel i: **a)**Si da qarTl is mTis osebis ruseTTan SeerTebisa da **b)**saqarTvel os teritoriis mitacebis xarj ze ruseTis Semadgenl obaSi `didi oseTis- saxel mwifo warmonaqmniS SeqmniSken mi swrafeba (ix. ruka # 3). ruseTis federaciaSi mo-

qceul pol itikur erTeul Si macxovrebel i osebi saTvis, qarTul i ena saWi ro namdvil ad ar iqneboda. Sida qarTl is mTis zol Si arsebul saxel mwifo dawesebul ebebSi rusul i enis samarTl ebrivi formiT oficial urad dadasturebiT, osebis erovnul i sabWo zemoaRniSnul i teritoris rusul enovan samyarosi Sesayvanad garkveul niadags amzadebda.

osebis erovnul i sabWos es miznebi saqarTvel os saxel mwifos saSual o donis moxel istvisac ki cnobil i iyo. amitom, osur sakiTxTan dakavSirebul nebis mier dokumentis didi sifrTxil iT eki debodnen. amis dadasturebas saqarTvel os mTavrobis saqmeTa sammarTvel osa da iusticiis saministros kancel ariis miwoweris amsaxvel i masal ebi warmoadgens. mxedvel obaSi maqvs respubl ikis mTavrobis saqmeTa mmarTvel is kj afariZis mier, osebis erovnul i sabWos weril is yvel a sapasuxi smgebl o uwyebis sadmi gadagzavis da masze Sesabamisi reagirebis faqti. am mxriv, gansakuTrebiT iusticiis saministros kancel aria gamoirCeoda. iusticiis saministros kancel ariis direktoris mier respubl ikis mTavrobis saqmeTa mmarTvel isadmi 11 marts gagzavnil sapasuxo weril Si konkretul i SekiTxva iyo dasmul i: 1) visi gankargul ebiT ganxorciel da iusticiis saministros kancel ariisadmi osebis erovnul i sabWos weril is gadagzavna; 2) saqarTvel os mTavrobis saqmeTa sammarTvel os hqonda Tu ara respubl ikis mTavrobis Sesabamisi brZaneba, osebis erovnul i sabWos moTxovnis dakmayofil ebis Sesaxeb.²² am dokumentis mixedviT Tuki vimsjel ebT, iusticiis saministros kancel ariis direktoris, osebis erovnul i sabWos Txovnis dakmayofil eba mxol od im SemTxvevaSi miaCnda SesaZl ebl ad, Tuki am sakiTxTan mamarTebaSi saqarTvel os mTavrobis Sesabamisi uwyebis pirvel i piri oficial uri brZaneba iqneboda gacemul i. iusticiis saministros kancel ariis direktori ar tyuoda, radgan sakiTxi erT- erT regionSi saxel mwifo enis (qarTul is) rusul iT Canacvl ebas exeboda. aqedan gamomdinare, aseTi sapasuxi smgebl o sakiTxis gadawyveta ama Tu im uwyebis kancel ariis, an saqmeTa mmarTvel is prerogativas aRemateboda. miuxedavad amisa, saqarTvel os mTavrobis saqmeTa mmarTvel i kj afariZe pozicias ar icvl ida. imavdroul ad imasac aRiarebda, rom 1) osebis erovnul sabWosa da saqarTvel os mTavrobis Soris rusul enaze miwoweris mizanSewonil obis gadawyvetil eba, demokratiul i saxel mwifosaTvis damaxasiaTebel i normebidan gamomdinare, mis mier iqna miRebul i; 2) imave kj afariZis `mtki cebiT,~ osebis erovnul i sabWos Txovnis ardakmayofil eba, demokratiul i respubl ikis principiisadmi Ral ati da usamarTl o gadawyvetil eba iqneboda.²³ kj afariZis am arakonstituciur moTxovnas, iusticiis saministros kancel ariis direktorma 20 marts gagzavnil i weril iT damaj erebel i pasuxi gasca. `pasuxad Tqvenis a.w. 7- is # 605 momarTvisa osTa erovnul i sabWos Suamdgoml obis Sewynarebis Sesaxeb, rom miwoweris mowera saministrosi masTan swarmoebdes rusul enaze, iusticiis saministros kancel aria gacnobebT, rom mas ar Seuzl ian daicvas Tqvens momarTvaSi aRniSnul i wesi miwowerisa, vinaidan kancel arias aqvs b.n. ministris kategoriul i gankargul eba, roml is mixedviT saqarTvel os saxel mwifo dawesebul eba, saxel mwifo enaze unda awarmoebdes miwoweris, Tundac qveSevrdomi araqarTvel toms ekuTvnodes.

xsenebul i gankargul ebis gauqmeba an Secvl a Seadgens mxol od ministris an respubl ikis mTavrobis kompetencias.²⁴ aRniSnul i dokumentis dasabuTebul ma pasuxma da probl emis gadasawyvetad zemdgomi organoebis kompetenciis wina pl anze wamowevam, kj afariZe iZul ebul i gaxada Sesabamisi

weril iT (1919 wl is 24 marti) saqarTvel os respubl ikis mTavrobis Tavmj - domaris moadgil is e.gegeWkoria sadmi miemarTa. igi im ZiriTadi mi zezebis axsnas Seecada, roml is safuZvel zedac 1) oasebis erovnul i sabWos `sa-marTl iani moTxovnis- dakmayofil ebis aucil ebl oba iusticiisa da sxva saminstroebis moTxova; 2) iusticiis saminstros kancel ariis direktoris moqmedeba man miuRebl ad miicnia da mTavrobis Tavmj domaris moadgil es misadmi Sesafetisi zomebis gatareba sTxova.²⁵

saarqivo masal ebidan ar dasturdeba, rom aRniSnul sakiTxTan mimarTe-baSi saqarTvel os xel isufli ebis romel ime uwyebas konkretul i gadaw-yvetil eba mieRo. es arc aris gasakviri, radgan Sida qarTl is mTis oseb is sakiTxis safuZvl iani Seswavl a, osuri skol ebisa da dawesebul ebebis na-cional izaciis mizansewonil obis garkveva, saTanado rekomendaciebis Semu-Saveba da Sesabamisi gadawvyetil ebis miReba, zemoaRniSnul i sauwyebaTaSo-riso komisiis kompetencias warmoadgenda. am komisiis muSaobis msvl el o-baSi, oseb is mxridan rusul i enis wina pl anze wamowevis faqti erTxel ki dev gamovl inda. mxedvel obaSi maqvs: a) saqarTvel os xel isufli ebis mxridan osuri skol ebis nacional izaciis sakiTxTan mimarTebaSi SemuSavebul i winadadebisadmi a.Tibil ovis uaryofiT damokidebul eba da b) osuri enisad-mi rusul i enis upiratesobis micemis mcdel oba. es faqti imis dadasture-baa, rom nacional izaciis Tema osi separatistebisatvis ideol ogiuri pro-pagandis niRabs warmoadgenda. sauwyebaTaSoriso komisiis wevrebi Tuki oseb is mier dagebul badeSi aRmoCndeboda, am xel sayrel moments isini qarTul i saxel mwifos sawinaaRmdogod mosaxl eobaSi ideol ogiuri pro-pagandisatvis gamoiyenebdnen. yovel ive zemoaRniSnul is gaTval iswinebi-dan gamomdinare, sauwyebaTasoriso komisiis 21 ivl isis sxdomam obieqtu-ri da civil izebul i qveynisatvis Sesatyvisi dadgenil eba miRo. `pirvel daw-yebiT saswavl ebl ebSi_ vkiTxul obT dokumentSi_ osebs ufl eba eZl evaT swavl a awarmoon mxol od samSobl o enaze. im SemTxvevaSi, Tu swavl as samSobl o enaze ar awarmoeben, maSin igi saxel mwifo enaze unda awarmoon... sazogadoebriv da administraciul erTeul ebSi osebs ufl eba eZl evaT saqmeebi awarmoon samSobl o enaze. centrTan damokidebul eba iqneba saxel mwifo enaze.~ es iyo savsebiT swori gadawvyetil eba. im SemTxvevaSi, Tuki mSobl iur enas osemi rusul s amj obinebdnen, am dadgenil ebis safuZvel ze iZul ebul ni xdebdnen rusul i- qarTul iT Caenacvl ebinaT.

sauwyebaTasoriso komisiis ganxil vis erT- erT sagans oseb isTvis gaTval - iswinebul i javis mazris saerobo erTeul is sazRvrebis dadgena warmoadgenda. dokumenturi masal iT dasturdeba, rom imave komisiis sxdomebze, oseb is erovnul i sabWos warmomadgenel i a.Tibil ovi yovel mxriv cdil o-bda, javis mazra oseb is 1918 wl is 10 ianvris proeqtiT gaTval iswinebul teritoriul sazRvrebSi yofil iyo warmodgenil i. amis dadasturebas komisiis 13 ivl isis sxdomaze mis mier pretenziul i toniT gakeTebul i gancxadeba warmoadgens. `unda icodeT,_ ambobda igi_ rom Tu sofel i bel oTi saqarTvel os raions SeuerTeT, maSin Tqven samxreT oseTs 35 aTass os CamoaSorebT. Sinagan saqmeTa saminstros proeqtiT oseTis raionSi 70 aTasi mcxovrebis magier, xol od 35 aTasi mcxovrebi Sedis.~ aq erTi metad mniSvnel ovani niuansia yuradsaRebi, kerZod, Sida qarTl is mTiani zol is `oseTad~ gaTaviseba. am amonaweris mixedviT ise gamodis, rom a.Tibil ovis mier Sida qarTl Si moazrebul i `oseTi~ da saqarTvel o, sxvadasxva qvey-ana yofil iyo, rom sofel i bel oTis saqarTvel osTan `SeerTeba,~ `oseTs- 35 aTas mcxovrebs daakargvinebda. imave sxdomaze a.Tibil obma saqarTve-

Los teritoriis mitacebisa da misi `osTa teritoriad- gamocxadebis mcdel oba erTxel kidev gamoavl ina. `saqarTvel os respubl ikis sazRvreb-Si_ acxadebda igi_ osTa teritoria Seicavs 3 aTas midamos. am teritorias uWiravs goris, duSeTis, Sorapnisa da raWis mTiani adgil ebi da dasaxl ebul ia mTl ianad osuri masiT. saqarTvel oSi mcxovreos osTa mosaxl eobis ricxvi 100000 adis. garda zemoaRniSnul i adgil ebisa, arian osebi kidev Tel avis, siRnaRis mazraSi, borjomis raionSi da mangl isis maxl obl ad. Cvens proeqtSi aRniSnul i goris, duSeTis, Sorapnisa da raWis mazris mTian adgil ebSi cxovroben marto osebi... mcxovreosTa ricxvi am raionebSi udris 70000 sul s.- am amonaweris mixedvit Tuki vimsjel ebT, Sida qarTl is mTiani zolis oseTad gaTavisebis argumentad, aTibil ovi demografiul monacemebs asaxel ebda. ramdenadac os separatistebis qarTul i teritoriebis mitacebis amosaval safuZvl ad, demografiul i monacemebi miacnda, gakvirvebas ar unda iwvevdes, rom 1918, 1919, 1920 wl ebis osuri aj anyebebis erT- erT mizans, Sida qarTl idan qarTul i mosaxl eobis gamodevna warmoadgenda. ramdenadac im etapze am Canafiqris ganxorciel eba ver SesZl es, osTa raodenobis Sesaxeb aTibil ovis mier motanil i statistikuri monacemebi komisi am kiTxvis niSnis qveS daayena. miTumetes, 1917 wels Catarebul i sasofl o- sameurneo aRweris dros, `samxreT oseTad- moazrebul i teritoriis fargl ebSi aRweras ara saxel mwifos oficial - uri, aramed osebis rwmunebul ebi awarmoebdnen. komisiis mier dadasturebul i iqna, rom am aRweris Sedegad regionSi qarTvel Ta raodenobis gan- zrax Semicirebas da osebis xel ovnurad zrdas hqonda adgil i.²⁶ es xarvezi statistikuri anketebisa da mosaxl eobis uSual o gamokiTxvis meSveobiT unda gamosworebul iyo. marTal ia, am proceduris Catareba garkveul dro- sa da finansur xarj ebs saWiroebda, magram igi aucil ebl obas warmoadgen- da. aqedan gamomdinare, komisiis 13 ivl isis sxdomaze gr.gvel esianma, v.demi dovma da mimnaiSvil ma principul ad daayenes sakiTxi, osebis warmoadgenel is mier sapretenzi od qceul i mazrebis sofl is sazogadoebebis_ gansakuTrebiT eTnografiul i kuTxiT safuZvl ianad Seswavl is Sesaxeb. dasaxul i miznis ganxorciel ebis erT- erT saSual ebad, miwaTmoqmedebis saministrosTan arsebul i statistikuri ganyofil ebis saqmeSi CarTva iqna miCneul i. amastan dakavSirebiT, iusticiis saministros kancel aria, miwaT- moqmedebis saministros statistikur ganyofil ebas werda: `Tanaxmad mTavro- bis ama wl is 3 ivl isis dadgenil ebisa, samxreT oseTSi erobis SemoRebis Sesaxeb, gTxovT saswrafod moawodoT iusticiis saministrosTan daarse- bul komisi as Sorapnis mazris, Cixis sazogadoebisa da raWis mazris, gor- isa da Casavl is sazogadoebebis Sesaxeb statistikuri cnobebi.- aRniSnul mimarTvasTan erTad, imave statistikur ganyofil ebas SekiTxvaTa is nusxa gaegzavna, romelic statistikuri ganyofil ebis TanamSromel Ta muSaobas unda dadeboda safuZvl ad. esenia: **1)**cal - cal ke daedginaT yovel i sofl is sazogadoebis mcxovreosTa _qarTvel ebis, osebis da sxva erovnebaTa raodenoba; **2)**gaerkviaT ra enaze l aparakobdnen osebi_ osurad Tu qarTu- l ad; **3)**ra sarwmunoebisani iyvnen saqarTvel oSi mcxovrebi osebi; **4)**yura- dReba gaemaxvil ebinaT adgil obrivi mcxovrebl ebis midrekil ebisadmi: **a)**gaerkviaT ekonomikuri da sxva mosazrebedan gamomdinare undodaT Tu ara gorisa da sxva mazrebidan gamoyofa; **b)**surdaT Tu ara administraci- ul centr ad hqonodaT j ava an cxinval i; **5)**Tanaxma iyvnen Tu ara adminis- traciul dawesebul ebebSi, skol ebSi da sasamarTl oSi saqmis warmoeba osur enaze yofil iyo.

osuri probl emis gadawvetasTan dakavSirebiT, Tu ramdenad did mni-Svnel obas aniWebda saqarTvel os xel isufli eba Sida qarTI is mosaxl eobis zusti statistikuri monacemebis Seqmnas, amis dadasturebas saqarTvel os respubl ikis mTavrobis 1919 wl is 5 agvistos sxdomis saaqmo Canaweri warmoadgens. am dokumenti dn irkveva, rom iusticiis ministris mier gakeTebul i moxsenebis safuZvel ze, osi mosaxl eobisaTvis gansakuTrebul i javis mazris dawesebisa da am mazraSi saerobo dawesebul ebaTa SemoRebis Sesaxeb_ saqarTvel os mTavrobas sagangebo dadgenil eba miuRia. `winadadeba mieces central ur sastatistiko komitets_ vkiTxul obT dokumentSi_ special uri komisiis saSual ebiT moaxdinos statistikuri gamokvl eva osTa mosaxl eobis raionebsi (raWis, Sorapnis, goris da duSeTis mazrebsi).-

miwaTmoqmedebis saministrosTan arsebul i statistikuri ganyofil ebis mier aRniSnul i kuTxiT Catarebul i muSaobis Sedegad mopovebul monacemebs unda dayrdnoboda im eTnografiul i rukis Sedgena, roml is Seqmnis aucil ebl obis Sesaxeb sauwyebaTaSoriso komisiis 21 ivl isis sxdomam imsj el a. am sakiTxTan dakavSirebiT miRebul dadgenil ebaSi vkiTxul obT: `mieweros samxedro saministros topografiul i ganyofil ebis rwmunebul s gen. benaSvil s Seadginos eTnografiul i ruka oTxi (zemoTdasaxel ebul i) mazris fargl ebSi.- komisiis mier miRebul am gadawvetil ebaze dayrdnobiT, iusticiis saministros kancel ariam 1919 wl is 28 ivl iss, samxedro saministros topografiul i ganyofil ebis rwmunebul s gen. a.benaSvil s Semdegi Sinaarsis tel efonograma gaugzavna: `Tanaxmad b.n. ministris daval ebisa, iusticiis kancel aria gTxovT, gankargul eba moaxdinoT, raTa saswrafod iqnas Sedgenil i goris, duSeTis, raWisa da Sorapnis mazrebsi eTnografiul i rukebi, roml ebiC swirdeba im komisiis, romel sac mTavrobis ama wl is ivl isis 3- is dadgenil ebis Tanaxmad mindobil i aqvs samxreT oseTsi erobis sakiTxis ganxil va.- Sesabamisi saarqivo masal is Seswavl is miuxedavad, samxedro saministros topografiul i ganyofil ebis mier aseTi rukis Sedgenis faqti ar dasturdeba. miTumetes, aRniSnul ganyofil ebas miwaTmoqmedebis saministros statistikuri sammarTvel odan im etapze zemoT CamoTvl il i mazrebsi osuri mosaxl eobis aRweris zusti monacemebi ar qonda miRebul i. aseTi saxis dokumenti_ `osTa mosaxl eoba saqarTvel oSi 1917 wl is aRweris mixedvit- mogvianebiT or nawil ad_ qarTul da rusul enebze wardegina sauwyebaTaSoriso komisiis. rac Seexeba qarTul dokumentis, 13 furcl isgan Sedgeba da masSi zemoT CamoTvl il i oTxive mazridan (goris, duSeTis, raWis, Sorapanis) `samxreT oseTis- Semadgenl obaSi pirobiTad moazrebul i teritoriis (sofli is sazogadoebebisa da sofli ebis CvenebiT) mosaxl eoba or safexuradaa warmodgenil i: 1)erovnebis ganurCevl ad mosaxl eobis saerTo raodenoba; 2)arsebul i monacemebidan osebis sul adobrivi raodenoba pl us procentebis CvenebiT. imave saxis dokumentis rusul variantSi (17 furcel i) mosaxl eoba erovnebebis mixedvit Semdegi formiTaa warmodgenil i: 1)qarTvel ebis raodenoba; 2)osebis raodenoba_ Tval -saCinoebis mizniT wiTel i mel niTaa Sesrul ebul i; 3)sxva erovnebebis saerTo raodenoba. TiToeul i erovnebis (qarTvel ebi, osebi, sxva erovnebebi) grafa, sqesobrivi principiTaa dayofil i: mamakacebis raodenoba; 2)qal ebis raodenoba; 3)orive sqesis warmomadgenel Ta saerTo raodenoba.

Cems mier dasaxel ebul i orive dokumenti, utyuar statistikur monacemebs Seicavs da sakvl ev probl emasTan mimarTebsi gansakuTrebul i Rirebul ebis matarebel ia.

rac Seexeba osuri samazro erobis teritoriul Semofargvl asTan daka-

vSiRebiT gamarTul diskusiebs, sauwyebaTaSoriso komisiis wevrebi qveynis usafrTxoebis garantiis Seqmnis gaTval iswinebiT moqmedebdnen. aqedan gamomdinare, isini ZiriTadad Sinagan saqmeTa saministros mier Sedgenil i proeqtis garSemo msj el obdnen da misi praqtikul ad gatarebis SemTxvevaSi, saqarTvel osaTvis mosal odnel sirTul eebze amaxvil ebdnen yuradRebas. am mxriv, interess sauwyebaTasoriso komisiis 21, 31 ivl isisa da 1 agvistos sxdomebis saqmo Canawerebi iqcevs. am dokumentebidan irkveva, rom osuri sakiTxis ganxil visas, komisiis wevrebi, saxel mwifos interesebTan dakavSirebul yvel a niuanss maqsimal urad iTval iswinebdnen da qveynis strategiul i usafrTxoebis garantiemis Seqmnis aucil ebl obiT xel mZRvanel obdnen. pirvel rigSi wina pl anze im mosal odnel i safrTxis win wamowevas cdil obdnen, romel ic Sida qarTlis mTis osebis samazro erTeul is Seqmnis SemTxvevaSi saqarTvel os emuqreboda. am Tval sazrisiT, komisiis wevrebis (gen. abenaSvil i, prof. i.j avaxisvil i) mxridan gansakuTrebul i yuradReba Semdeg faqtorebze iqna gadatanil i: a)Cafigreebul i javis mazris SeqmniT, osebis mier Sida qarTlis Suagul i teritoriis daWera; b)aRmosavl eT- dasavl eT saqarTvel os sarkinigzo magistral Tan 10- 20 versiT daaxl oeba; g)Crdil o oseTTan mosazRvreoba; d)saqarTvel osaTvis yvel aze strategiul i sauRel texil o gadmosasvl el ebis (mamisoni, roki da Truso) osebis mxridan gakontrol eba. mamisonis uRel texil i dval eTs dasavl eT saqarTvel osTan, xol o roki dval eTs liaxvis xeobasTan (qarTli i) akavSirebda. rac Seexeba Trusos xeobas, igi dval eTs Tergisa da aragvis xeobebTan_ saqarTvel os samxedro gzasTan aerTebda. aseTi strategiul i mniSvnel obis geografial i punqtebis osebis mxridan gakontrol eba, saqarTvel os saxel mwifosadmi winaswar gamoweril momakvdinebel politikur recepts wadmoadgenda. mitumetes, osuri separatizmis aRmasvl obis, misi rusul i orientaciis gaTval iswinebisa da Crdil oetidan Semomaval i sauRel texil o gzebis daucvel obis SemTxvevaSi, ruseTs am strategiul i obieqtebis maqsimal urad gamoyeneba SeeZl o. mxedvel obaSi maqvs, sabWota ruseTis mier saqarTvel os teritoriaze Crdil oetidan cocxal i Zal is farul ad Semoyvanis didi al baToba. aseTi safrTxis real obidan gamomdinare, osebtan kompromisze wasvl a, saqarTvel os respublikis usafrTxoebis garantiis xel onnurad ignorirebas niSnava. isic gasaTval iswinebel ia, rom imave ruseTs, an os separatistebis, mcirericxovani partizanal i razmebis amqmedebiT, qveynis central uri sarkinigzo magistral is gakontrol ebis da aRmosavl eT- dasavl eT saqarTvel os erTmaneTisgan mowyvetis SesaZl ebl oba eZl eoda. zemoaRniSnul i faqtorebis safuzvli anad gaanal izebis Sedegad, komisia im daskvnamde mivida, rom Tuki farTo saerobo TviTmmarTvel obis ufl ebebiT erovnul principze agebul i osuri mazris Seqmna aucil ebel i gaxdeboda, 1)misi sazRvari mTavar rkinigzas da saqarTvel os samxedro gzas maqsimal urad unda daSoreboda; 2)aRniSnul i osuri administraciul i erTeul i Crdil o kavkasiis osetidan politikurad unda yofil iyo mowyvetil i da 3)qveynis usafrTxoebis Tval sazrisiT, dval eTi saqarTvel os Semadgenl obaSi Sesul iyo. komisiis wevrebs kargad esmodaT, administraciul i gadamijvnisa da garkveul sazRvrebSi osuri erovnul i mazris Seqmnis paral el urad, sakiTxi ucxo saxe-

I mwifos mxridan qveynis dacvas da misi usafrTxoebis kiTxviTi niSnis qveS ardayenebas exeboda.

aRniSnul i sirTul eebidan gamomdinare, probl emis im etapze bol omde gadawyveta sauwyebaTaSoriso komisiis mxridan SeuZl ebel i gaxda. miuxe-davad amisa, qveynis sasicocxl o interesebis gaTval iswinebiT, saTanado rekomendaciebTan erTad mis mier Sesabamisi daskvna iqna gakeTebul i. mxed-vel obaSi maqvs sauwyebaTaSoriso komisiis 1 agvistos sxdomis dadgeni-l eba. `mTavrobas waredginos moxseneba, raTa naucfaTevi gadawyvetil eba ar miRos am didmniSvel ovan sakiTxze dRevandel i da momaval i Cveni (saqarTvel os) mdgomareobisaTvis.-

SezRudul i droisa da saWiro finansuri xarjebis uqonl obis gamo, mi-waTmoqmedebis saministrosTan arsebul ma statistikis ganyofil ebam, daki-srebul i daval ebis forsirebul i tempiT maRal doneze Sesrul eba ver SeZl o. amitom, iusticiis saministrosadmi 1919 wl is 2 oqtomers miwo-debul i statistikuri monacemebi arasrul yofil saxes atarebda.

osuri mosaxl eobis zusti statistikuri monacemebis arqona da 1919 wl is 23 oqtomers rokis raionSi osebis morigi aj anyebis dawyeba, sauwyebaTaSo-riso komisiis muSaobis SesaCerebl ad sakmarisi aRmoCnda. amis Sesaxeb gr.gvel esianis mier iusticiis saministrosadmi 1919 wl is 6 noembriT da-TariRebul weril Si xazgasmiT iyo miTiTebul i. erTi ram dabej iTebiT Se-iZl eba iTqvas, rom j avis mazris erobis Seqmnis sakiTxTan dakavSirebiT, Cems mier zemoT CamoTvlil i yvel a faqtoris gaTval iswinebidan gamom-dinare, komisiam im etapze veranairi gadawyvetil eba ver miRo. am SemTx-vevaSi, igi j avis mazris saerobo erTeul is SeqmnasTan mimarTebaSi qarTu-l i sazogadoebriv-politikuri azris uaryofiT damokidebul ebasac iTval - iswinebda.

aRniSnul sakiTxze qarTul i politikuri azris mesveurTa poziciis wa-rmosaCenad gazeT `saqarTvel oSi~ dabeWdil i saredaacio statia_ `ose-bis moZraoba~ gamodgeba. `j avis xeobaSi da saerTod am mxareSi_ vkiTx-ul obT weril Si_ osebis TviTmmarTvel erTeul ze l aparaki an saocari gaugebrobaa, an yovl ad miuRebel i zoma osebis sakmaod gaSlil i moZra-obis SesaCerebl ad. orive SemTxvevaSi es faqti metad seriozul ia da friad mavne saqarTvel os saxel mwifoebri vi interesebisatvis. miTumetes, igi Zal as ukargavs saqarTvel os mTavrobis moqmedebas, romel ic amJamad... mimarTul i unda iqnes osuri moZraobisa da misi erovnul i sabWos aRmosa-fxvrel ad.-

mimdinare politikurma procesebma, qarTul i politikuri speqtri da-arwmuna, rom saqarTvel os damoukidebl obis arsebobisaTvis osuri sama-zro erTeul is Seqmna saxifaTo nabij s warmoadgenda. exeboda ra aRniS-nul sakiTxs gazeTi `erToba~ mowinave statiaSi `ki dev oseTze~ xazgasmiT werda: `j avis TviTgamorkveva aris saqarTvel os darRvevis boroti survil iT wamoyenebul i... sad gagonil a, rom ramdenime milioni mcxovrebi msxverpl ad Sewirodes ramdenime aTaseul sl j avis xeo-bis damoukidebl oba, kaxeTis osebis da sxva wvril i erovnul i na-STEbis iqneboda saqarTvel os darRveva, misi sazRvrebis moSl a da bol Sevikebis mxridan advil dasapyrobad gadaqceva.- am SemTxveva-Si, qarTul i politikuri speqtri damoukidebel i saqarTvel os saxel mwif-os usafrTxoebis garantiis SeqmniT moqmedebda. warsul is mware gamo-cdil ebidan kargad hqondaT gacnobierebul i, rom Sida qarTl is mTis os-oba qveynis xel isufl ebisgan ndobasa da gamorCeul upiratesobas ar

imsaxurebda. am SemTxvevaSi pirvel rigSia gasaTval iswinebel i osi separatistebis mier pol itikuri damoukidebl obisaken swrafvis tendenciebi. osuri intel igenciis umravl esobas, Sida qarTI Si osebis erovnul i sabWos 1918 wl is proeqtis fargl ebSi (ix. ruka # 1) osuri saxel mwifo warmonaqmnis sokosaviT aRmoceneba, misi ruseTTan SeerTeba da saqarTvel os teritoriul i mTI ianobis darRveva miznad rom hqonda dasaxul i. amis erTxel kidev dadasturebas, osebis erovnul i sabWos ufl ebamosil ebis Sesaxeb, saqarTvel os osebis del egatTa meeqvse yril obis (1918 wl is 4 de- kemberi) mier miRebul i debul eba iZl eva. es 26 muxl iani dokumenti, samarTI ebrivad ararsebul `samxreT oseTs- pol itikuri avtonomiis rang- Si ganxil avda da osebis erovnul sabWos Sesatyvis ufl ebamosil ebas aniWebda. am dokumentis mixedviT; 1)osebis erovnul i sabWo sakanonmdebl o ufl ebebiT unda aRWurvil iyo da misi kontrol i saqarTvel oSi ararsebul i `oseTis- teritoriaze gavrcel ebul iyo; 2)osebis erovnul i sabWo, `ose- Tis- mTel teritoriaze (igul isxmeba Crdil o da `samxreT oseTi-) qmni da erovnul j ars, romel sac oseTis teritoriis (cxinval is regionis CaTvl - iT) fargl ebSi arsebul i sasofl o- sameurneo dawesebul ebebis da xel m- ZRvanel pirTa gakontrol ebis ufl ebebi eZl eoda. rac Seexeba osebis erovnul yril obas, `samxreT oseTis- teritoriaze komisar is gadayeneba, komisar is TanaSemweebis, mil iciisa da saxel mwifo organoTa gamgeebis da niSvna SeeZl o; 3)mezobel erebTan xel Sekrul ebis dadeba da am dokumen- tis ratifikacia, osebis erovnul i yril obis prerogativad rCeboda; 4) samxreT oseTis- erovnul i sabWo, kavkavSi arsebul i Crdil o kavkasiis osebis erovnul i sabWos daqvemdebarebul seqciad cxaddeboda da masSi ruseTis moqal aqe osebs 4 adgil i qonda daTmobil i, xol o qarTvel ebs- 1; 5)osebis erovnul i sabWos deputatebi, roml ebic fics debdnen osebis ko- nstituciaze, xel Seuxebl obis imuni tetiT iyvnen aRWurvil ni; 6)saerTo osuri sakiTxis gadawyveta, imave dokumentiT, srul iad oseTis (Crdil o da `samxreT oseTis-) saxal xo yril obis ufl ebamosil ebad iyo gamocxadebul i.²⁷

rogorc vxedavT, am `debul ebis- mixedeviT, `samxreT oseTad- Si da qarTI - is is teritoriaa moazrebul i, romel ic osuri samazro erTeul is Sema- dgenl obaSi iyo gaTval iswinebul i. rac Seexeba osebis erovnul sabWos, igi ruseTis federaciaSi myofi Crdil o kavkasiis oseTis erovnul i sab- Wos qvemdebare organizaciad da misi miTiTebebis Semsrul ebl ad cxadde- boda. am faqtiT, saqarTvel os sakanonmdebl o organosa da mTavrobis ufl ebamosil ebis ignorireba xdeboda. im SemTxvevaSi, Tuki osebis erovnul i sabWo saerobo an samazro erTeul is SeqmniT marTI ac kmayofil deboda, zemoaRniSnul i `debul ebis- yvel a muxl is formul ireba, 1)saqarTvel os kanonmdebl obisa da samazro- saerobo erTeul isaTvis gaTval iswinebul CarCoSi unda yofil iyo moqceul i. am dokumentSi Cadebul i moTxovnebi ara Tu samazro erobis, aramed pol itikuri avtonomiis ufl ebebs scil de- boda; 2)saqarTvel os osebis erovnul i sabWo, ruseTis federaciis teri- toriaze arsebul i osebis erovnul i sabWos seqciad ar unda gamocxadebu- l iyo da ucxo qveynis kanonebi saxel mZRvanel od ar gaexada. Tuki am mi- marTul ebiT Sesabamis nabij s ar dgamdnen, maTTvis im etapze araxel sayre- l i pol itikuri situaci iT iyo ganpi robebul i.

rac Seexeba osi separatistebis mxridan samarTI ebrivad ararsebul i `samxreT oseTisaTvis- teritoriul i avtonomiis moTxovnas, am sakiTxs ma- Sindel i qarTul i pol itikuri speqtri farTod gamoexmaura. imasTan dakav- SirebiT, Tu ramdenad kanonzomieri iyo osebis aRniSnul i pretenziul i

ganacxadi, amis Sesaxeb gazeTi `erToba- mowinave statiaSi `osebis erovnu-
 l i sabWo- werda: osebi `ruseTTan ASeerTebis survil s gamoTqvamdnen,
 magram Semdeg am survil ze xel i aiRes da avtonomias moiTxoven. ki devac
 rom davuSvaT... maTTvis avtonomiis micema, cxadia maT unda eqnes terito-
 ria, aseT teritoriad SeiZl eboda j avis xeobis sami sofl is sazogadoeba.
 oseTis sabWo ki,... Tavis Zal as avrcel ebs yvel a im adgil ebze sadac osebi
 cxovroben. aseTi Tavxedoba aq j erj erobiT aravis gaubedia, TviT didi
 germania da ingl isi ar wasul an ise Sors, ar Caudenia is, rasac osebis
 erovnul i sabWo sCadis...Oosebis erovnul i sabWo... qarTul enaze daweril
 brZanebebs ganuxil vel ad stovebs, Tavis `sabrZanebl oSi- qarTul enas ar
 scnobs.²⁸ es vrcel i amonaweri imis naTel i dadasturebaa, rom saqarTve-
 l os osebis erovnul i sabWo, qveynis xel isufl ebas ar emorCil eboda da
 TviTnebobiT Sida qarTl is mTis osebisatvis teritoriul i avtonomiis
 l egitimacias cdil obda. am mimarTul ebit Sesabamisi sakanonmdebl o do-
 kumentis proeqtic ki Seadgines. **mxedvel obaSi maqvs `samxreT oseTis-
 IV erovnul i sabWos mier SemuSavebul i `samxreT oseTis kantonis
 konstituciis proeqti,- romelic 5 Tavisa da 47 muxl isagan Sedge-
 ba. es dokumenti 1919 wl is 19 ivniss saqarTvel os damfu-Znebel i
 krebis sakonstitucio komisiias waredgina.** aRniSnul i komisia osebis
 proeqtTan erTad saqarTvel oSi mcxovrebi eTnikuri umciresobebis sxva
 proeqtebsac (sul 9 proeqti) ixil avda. TiToeul i maTgani qarTul i pol i-
 tikuri azrisa da sakanonmdebl o saqmis mcodneTa farTo ganxil vis sa-
 gani gaxda. am mxriv, gansakuTrebul yuradRebas sakonstitucio komisiis
 sxdomebis stenografiul i angariSebi da l .naTazis mier ga-zeT `erToba-
 Si- dabeWdil i statiebi_ `erovnul umciresobaTa ufl ebebis uzrunvel y-
 ofa- (sul 7 statia) iqcevs. am publ ikaciebis Rirseba imaSi mdgomareobs,
 rom eTnikuri umciresobebis probl emebis gadaWris gzebi da SesaZl e-
 bl obebi l .naTazem im periodis saerTaSoriso gamocdil ebis gaTval iswineb-
 is fonze ganxil a da sakiTxis gadawyvetas_ erovnul i saxel mwifos in-
 teresebi daudo safuZvl ad. yuradReba unda mivaqciOT im garemoebas, rom
 sakonstitucio komisiisadmi wardgenil i 9 proeqtidan, gansakuTrebul i
 radikal izmiT osebis proeqti gamoirCeoda. igi kompakturad dasaxl ebu-
 l i Sida qarTl is mTis osebisatvis kantonis Seqmnas moiTxovda, xol o
 qal aqSi mcxovrebi osebisatvis kul turul avtonomias. marTal ia, osebis
 konstituciis proeqtis pirvel i muxl i `samxreT oseTis- kantons saqarTve-
 l os demokratiul i respubl ikis avtonomiur nawil ad acxadebda, magram
 sityva_ avtonomia, mxol od konstituciis pirvel muxl Sia naxmari. igi
 iseT STabeWdil ebas tovebs, rom am manipul irebit, misi avtorebi osebi-
 satvis proeqtiT gaTval iswinebul i ufl ebebis garegnul ad SeniRbvas cdi-
 l obdnen. aseTi gancxadebis gakeTebis SesaZl ebl obas TviT aRniSnul i
 proeqti iZl eva. Tuki am dokumentis safuZvl ianad gavecnobiT, davinaxavT,
 rom sityva avtonomiis nacvl ad yvel gan kantonia gamoyenebul i. mxedve-
 l obaSi maqvs: 1)proeqtis II, III da IV Tavebis dasaTaureba. 2)**pirvel i
 Tavis \$.1, \$.3, \$.6, \$.7, \$.8, \$.9, \$.10, \$.11, \$.17; meore Tavis \$.26, \$.33, \$.35.** imave
 dokumentis mixedvit Tuki vimsjel ebT, osebisatvis Sida qarTl Si ara
 avtonomia, aramed gansakuTrebul i ufl ebebit aRWurvil i saxel mwifo war-
 monaqmnis mqone kantoni unda Seqmnil iyo. amis damadasturebl ad imave
 konstituciidan ramdenime amonawers movitan: **muxl i 6.** `samxreT oseTis
 kantons eniWebas gansakuTrebul i ufl eba tyeebis, saZovris, miwis wiRis da
 sxva bunebrivi simdidris eqspl oataciisatvis teritoriis sazRvrebSi.-

muxl i 8. `kantonis yvel a moqal aqeni samxedro begaras ixdian kantonis teritoriaze da Seadgenen cal ke kantonur mxedrobas respubl ikis armias.~ **muxl i 9.** `mSvidobian dros, kantonis samxedro nawil is sardal i kantonis xel isuflebis warmomadgenlis mier iniSneba.~ **muxl i 46.** `konstitucia kantonis uzenaesi kanonia. veraviTari kanoni, sawinaaRmdego am konstituciisa ver iqneba gamoqveynebul i.~ aRniSnul i faqtebi imis damadasturebel ia, rom osebis moTxovna Cveul ebrivi avtonomiis farglebs scil deboda da saqarTvel os xel isuflebas qveynis mowyobis Sveicarul _ konfederaciul model s Tavazobda. magram, Sveicariis kantonebisagan gansxvavebi T, 1)osebis kantonis xel isuflebas, saqarTvel os mTavrobis winaSe aranairi pasuxismgebl oba ar ekisreboda; 2)osebis kantonis konstitucia, saqarTvel os respubl ikis sakanonmdebl o organos mier miRebul i kanonebis gaTval iswinebas ar isaxavda miznad; 3)respubl ikis teritoriis farglebsi igi saqarTvel os konstituciis uzenaesobas ar aRiarebda. `samxreT oseTis- erovnul i sabWos aRniSnul proeqts ukeTebda ra anal izs, l .naTaZe savsebi T kanonzomierad dasZenda, rom `samxreT oseTis- konstituciis proeqti `samxreT oseTis- kantonis uzenaesobas aRiarebda, misi ufl ebebi federacias scil deboda da kantons saxel mwifos xasiaTs aniWebda.²⁹ konstituciis proeqtis avtorebi `samxreT oseTisaTvis- iseTi saxel mwifo warmonaqmni Seqmnas iTval iswinebdnen, romel ic saqarTvel os respubl ikasTan mxol od `cxovrebis ramdenime dargSi iqneboda sustad dakavSirebul i.³⁰

saqarTvel oSi mcxovrebeTnikur umciresobebTan mimarTebaSi warmoqmnili probl emis aseTi formiT gadawyveta l .naTaZes SeuZl ebl ad miaCnda, radgan igi erovnul i sakiTxis mogvarebis nacvl ad, gamokveTil teritoriaze umravl esobis saxiT mcxovrebi mxol od erTi romel ime eTnikuri j gufis interesebis samsaxurSi aRmoCndeboda. am SemTxvevaSi mas osebi hyavda mxedvel obaSi. `osebis erovnul i sabWos proeqti_ werda l .naTaZe_ imaze ki ar zrunavs, rom erovnul i sakiTxi moagvaros cxinval is raionSi, j avis mazraSi da sxvagan, misi mizani mxol od is aris, rom osebis erovnuli saWiroebebi daikmayofil os. amnairi meTodi mxol od im adgil ebisatvis gamodgeba... sadac erTaderTi eri cxovrobs da sxva aravin. osebis erovnul i sabWos proeqtsi srul ebit araferia naTqvami... Tu romel i teritoriis sazRvrebSi fiqrobs `samxreT oseTis kantonis- moqcevas. visac ki erTi Tval is gadavl ebit dauxedia imaTi eTnografiul i rukisatvis, dainaxavs, rom SeuZl ebel ia gamokveTa imistana teritoriis, sadac mxol od osebi cxovroben, sadac ar darCeba mozdil i ricxvi qarTvel mcxovreba... `samxreT oseTis kantonis- Seqmna erovnul sakiTxs amnairad ver moagvarebs.³¹

am debul ebisadmi meti damaj erebl obis micemis mizni T, l .naTaZe erovnuli sakiTxis mcodne evropel avtoritetებს (o.baueri, r.Springeri) mimarTavda da maT Sexedul ebebze dayrdnobiT dasZenda: `osebis nacional uri sabWos... mier warmodgenil i proeqti gul isxmobs,... qarTvel i eri daTanxmdes, raTa osebis saqmes msxverpl ad Seswiros Tavisi sxელ is is nawil ebi roml ebic `samxreT oseTis kantonis- sazRvrebSi moyvebian.~ es imas niSnavda, rom saqarTvel os xel isuflebas, erovnul i saxel mwifos interesebi ukana pl anze gadaetana da saqarTvel os teritoriaze Crdil o kavkasiis oseTidan tabarukad Semoxiznul i osebisatvis Sida qarTl Si `samxreT oseTis- saxel mwifoebrivi warmonaqmni Seeqmna. am mimarTul ebit praqtikul i nabij is gadadgma, saqarTvel os teritoriul i mTl ianobis SemakavSirebel i arteriis Segnebul ad gadaWras da samomavl od Sida qarTl is teritoriis gasasxvisebl ad myari niadagis Semzadebas niSnavda. es mosal od-

nel i safrTxe l .naTazEs kargad hqonda gacnobierebul i da osuri kantonis Seqmnisadmi uaryofiT damokidebul ebas amJRavnebda. imavdroul ad, osi separatistebis Canafiqris xel SemSi el faqtorad_ cxinval is raionSi qarTul i mosaxl eobis procentul umravl esobas asaxel ebd. im etapze am upiratesobis SenarCuneba da osi separatistebis mxridan qarTvel Ta eTnowmendis mavnebl uri Canafiqris ramdenime mcde- l obis verganxorciel eba, damouki debel i saqarTvel os xel isufl eb- is Zal isxmevis Sedegs warmoadgenda. miuxedavad amisa, Sida qarTl- idan qarTvel Ta gamodevnis osuri idea, maTSi ar Camkvdara da TaobebS `anderZis- saxiT gadaecemoda.

rac Seexeba `samxreT oseTis- kantonis proeqts, igi damfuZnebel krebas- Tan arsebul i mmarTvel obisa da adgil obrivi TviTmmarTvel obis komisi- as gadaeca gansaxil vel ad. qveynis administraciul i gadamij vnis sakiTx- Tan dakavSirebul i nebismieri dokumenti am komisiis ganxil vis sagani xdeboda da Sesabamisi daskvnis gakeTebis Semdeg gadaecemoda qveynis sakanonmdebl o organos. es saval debul o procedura osebis erovnl i sabWos mier SemuSavebul ma `samxreT oseTis kantonis- proeqtmac gaira. aRniSnul i faqti imaze migvaniSnebs, rom saqarTvel os maSindel i xel isufl eba, ama Tu im probl emas qveynis interesebidan gamomdi- nare gansakuTrebul i sifrTxil iT ekideboda da sakiTxs mxol od maRal kval ificirebul i special istebis daskvnis maqsimal urad ga- Tval iswinebit wyvetda. amis udao dadasturebas, damfuZnebel krebasTan arsebul i adgil obrivi mmarTvel obisa da TviTmmarTvel obis komisiis sxdomebis saogmo Canawerebi warmoadgens. am dokumentebidan irkveva, rom saqarTvel os teritoriis axal administraciul erTeul ebad gadamij vnis sakiTxs Sinagan saqmeTa saminstrosTan arsebul i komisiac swavl obda. ramdenadac es uweba arsebul i probl emis gadawyvetas ver axerxebda, misi mecniერul i damuSavebis pasuxismgebl oba damfuZnebel krebasTan arsebu- l ma komisiam Tavis- Tavze aiRo. imave komisiis 1919 wl is 11 april is sxdo- maze miRebul i dadgenil ebiT, saqarTvel os teritoriis gadamij vnis Sesax- eb moxsenebis gakeTeba p.ingoroyvas daaval a. xol o 25 april is dadgeni- l ebiT, aRniSnul i moxseneba_ proeqti, erobaTa warmomadgenl ebTan 30 april s daniSnul i sagangebo sxdomisaTvis unda yofil iyo mzad. saogmo Canawere- bis mixedvit, am TaTbirze miwveul ni iyvnen: Sinagan saqmeTa saminstros warmomadgenel i, saistorio da saeTnografio sazogadoebis Tavmj domare e.TayaiSvil i, prof. ivj avaxiSvil i, d.el iava, erobaTa centris mTel i Semad- genl oba. mosawvevebi damfuZnebel i krebis fraqciaTa warmomadgenl ebsac daegzavna. adgil obrivi mmarTvel obisa da TviTmmarTvel obis komisiis 30 april is gafarToebul i sxdomis stenografiul i angariSidan irkveva, rom dawyebul i saqmis ukeT organi zebis mizniT, sxdomaze mcire komisiis Se- madgenl oba (s.fircxal ava, d.oniaSvil i, g.ciskariSvil i) daamtkices. imave komisiaSi miwveul i iqna p.ingoroyva, d.CxeiZe, g.rcxil aZe da yazaxaSvil i. mcire komisiis 1919 wl is 7 oqtombris sxdomam proeqtis SemuSaveba da erTi Tvis vadaSi warmodgena p.ingoroyvas miando. xol o 1920 wl is april - Si miRebul i dadgenil ebiT, p.ingoroyvas qveynis teritoriul i gadamij v- nis proeqtis sabol oo redaqtirebul i variantis warmodgena daeval a. p.ingoroyvas mier Sesrul ebul i samuSao, adgil obrivi mmarTvel obisa da TviTmmarTvel obis komisiis 1920 wl is 23 ivl isis sxdomam ganxil a da mas maRal i Sefaseba misca. am sakiTxTan dakavSirebit, saqarTvel os damfuZne- bel i krebis prezidiums 1920 wl is 24 ivl isis sxdomis saogmo CanawerebSi

vkiTxul obT: `es proeqti metad seriozul i da didi naSromia. proeqti da-
myarebul ia mecnierul ad da praqtikul ad dasabuTebul debul ebebe. sa-
qarTvel os administraciul erTeul ebad dayofa gaTval iswinebul ia rogorc
istoriul isa, eTnografiul isa da ekonomiuri, ise pol itikuri Tval sazrisiT...
yovel ive es el ementi harmoniul ad aris SeTanxmebul i da erTi meores ar
sWarbobs. ase, rom aucil ebl oba teritoriis swored ise danawil ebisa,
rogorc avtors aqvs nagul isxmevi, srul iad bunebrivia da udao xdeba...
b.n. ingoroyvas mier Sestrul ebul i proeqti warmoadgens... namdvil mec-
nierul gamokvl evas... saqmis interesi moiTxovs, rom es Sroma stambis
saSual ebiT iqnes dabeWdil i.~ es sayuradRebo naSromi damfuZnebel i kre-
bis grifiT 1920 wel s gamoqveynda. am 103 gverdian dokumentSi goris mazris
orad gayofa- argayofis sakiTxs sagangebo paragrafi aqvs daTmobil i.
Tuki am dokumentS safuZvl ianad CavukvirdebiT, igi Sinagan saqmeTa samini-
istros zemoarNiSnul proeqts ewinaaRmdegeba im Tval sazrisiT, rom gor-
is mazris or samazro erTeul ad dayofas dauSvbl ad miicnevs. `goris
mazris danawil eba _vkiTxul obT dokumentSi_ SeuZl ebel ia SeviwynarOT
geografiul i pirobemis mixedviTac. mazra warmoadgens geografiul s pro-
vincias damTavrebul s Tavis sazRvrebSi hidrografiul ad da orografiu-
l ad. swored am bunebrivi geografiul is mTl ianobiT aixsneba, rom war-
sul Siac es mxare yovel Tvis erT mTel s da ganuyofel provincias war-
moadgenda... goris mazris orad gayofa dascemda mazris ekonomiur Sesa-
Zl ebl obas. Tu mazra dRevandel s sazRvrebSi Tavisi meurneobiT Tavisu-
fl ad SeZl ebs saerobo TviTmmarTvel obis saqmeebis sakuTaris Zal RoniT
gaZRol as, mazris danawil ebis Semdeg erTi ekonomiurad SemZl e mazris
nacvl ad Cven miviRebT or sust mazras, romel Tac saerobo meurneobis
mowyobisaTvis dasWirdebodaT mudmivi subsidia central uri mmarTvel o-
bisa.³²

Cems mier motanil i es vrcel i amonaweri imaze miuTitebs, rom goris ma-
zris Semadgenel i nawil ebis bunebrivi erTianobis xel yofa, ekonomikuri
da pol irikuri Tval sazrisiT, damoukidebel i saqarTvel osaTvis zianis
momtani aRmoCndeboda. da rac mTavaria, am nabij is gadadgmiT, arsebul i xe-
l isufl eba istoriisa da momaval i Taobebis winaSe udidis danaSaul s Ca-
idenda. saqarTvel os pirvel i respublikis mTavrobis Rirseul qmedebad
unda Sefasdes: 1)qveynis sasicocxl o interesebTan dakavSirebul probl e-
mebTan mimarTebsi, separatistul i an ucxo Zal is karnaxiT daufigrebel
da naCqarev gadawyvetil ebebs rom ar iRebda; 2)maSindel i qarTul i sazo-
gadoebriv- pol itikuri azris mesveurTa mxridan gamoTqmul i SeniSvnebi-
sa da winadaebemis maqsimal uri gaTval iswinebiT rom moqmedebda. amis
erT- erT dadasturebas, Sinagan saqmeTa samini stros zemoarNiSnul i `kom-
promi-sul i- proeqtis mixedviT, osebisatvis gaTval iswinebul i j avis cal ke
mazris Seqmnaze uaristqma warmoadgenda.

Tuki saqarTvel os xel isufl ebam da zemoarNiSnul ma komisi am, osebisat-
vis gansakuTrebul i j avis mazris Seqmna qveynis interesebidan gamom-
dinare mizanSeuwonl ad scno, am gadawyvetil ebis miRebaSi l omis wil i
isev os separatistebis edo. mxedvel obaSi ori umniSvnel ovanesi faqti
maqvs: 1)rkp (b) `samxreT oseTis- saol qo komitetis xel mZRvanel obiT 1919
wl is oqtombris bol os sofel j avaSi SeiaraRebul i aj anyebis dawyeba
da j avis mTel xeobaSi sabWoTa xel isufl ebis gamocxadeba; 2)ruseT- sa-
qarTvel os omis (1920 wl is maisi- ivnisi) dros osebis mier mowyobil i
aj anyeba, maT dasaxmarebl ad Crdil oetidan Semosul i rusul i samxedro

Zal a da qarTul i saxel mwifos arsebobis kiTxvis niSnis qveS dayeneba. aRniSnul ma faqtebma erTxel kidev Tval naTI iv aCvena is mosal odnel i garduval i safrTxe, romel ic damoukidebel i saqarTvel os saxel mwifoebriobas osebisatvis javis samazro administraciul i erTeul is Seqmnis SemTxvevaSi emuqreboda. aqedan gamomdinare, osebis probl emebi qveynis SigniT mcxovrebs sxva eTnikur umciresobebTan erTad Tanabarufli ebian Wril Si unda ganxil ul iyo. saqarTvel os xel isufli ebis es Seuval i pozicia, osebis 1920 wl is aj anyebis damarcxebis Semdeg amoqmedda. es iyo swori da samarTI ebrivi gadawyvetil eba, radgan qveynis xel isufal Ta aseTi qmedeba, saqarTvel oSi im etapze mcxovrebi eTnikuri umciresobebis erovnu- li sabWoebis warmomadgenl ebis gaRizianebis safuZvel s saTaveSive gamoricxavda. dokumenturi masal iT dasturdeba, rom saqarTvel os damfuZnebel i krebis sakonstitucio komisiis msjel obis erT- erT prioritetul sagan, saqarTvel oSi mcxovrebi eTnikuri umciresobebis mowyobis uzrunvel yofis gzebis Zieba da maTTvis iseTi model is Seqmna warmoadgenda, romel ic qarTul i saxel mwifos saziand ar imuSavebda da imavdroul ad eTnikuri umciresobebis kul turul ganvitarebas win waswevda. sakonstitucio komisiis sxdomebis masal ebis Seswavl am daadastura, rom aRniSnul sakiTxTan mimarTebaSi, qarTul i politikuri azris warmomadgenl ebi Ziritadad erT poziciaze idgnen. isini qveynis konstituciaSi Casawerad eTnikuri umciresobebis ufl ebebis Sesaxeb iseTi formul irebis SemuSavebas cdil obdnen, romel ic saqarTvel os saxel mwifos saziand, separatistebis mxridan gamoyenebul i ver iqneboda. aqedan gamomdinare, saj aro ufl ebebiT aRWurvil i eTnikuri umciresobebis raime saxis organizaciebis arsebobas dauSvebl ad miicnevden. `Cven vdgevarT erovnul i saxel mwifos niadagze da misi interesebis Tval sazrisiT_ ambobda p.sayvarel iZe_ vsinj avT erovnul umciresobaTa sakiTxs... Cven yvel afers davuSvebt, magram ver Sevqmnit saj aro ufl ebriv organizaciebs... erovnul umciresobaTa ufl ebebi konstituciaSi unda ganisazRvros Semdegi saxiT_ mtkice erovnul i saxel mwifo; SeuZl ebel ia saxel mwifoSi axal i saxel mwifos, an raime saj aro ufl ebrivi organizaciebis Seqmna. erovnul umciresobaTa sakiTx- Si Cven unda vidget maTi ufl ebrivi uzrunvel yofis niadagze.³³ aq garkvevi Taa naTqvami, rom saqarTvel oSi mcxovrebi eTnikuri umciresobebis ufl ebrivi sakiTxis gadawyvetas, qarTul i saxel mwifos interesebi unda dadeboda safuZvl ad. maT mier miRebul i dadgenil ebebi civil izebul i qveynebisatvis damaxasiaTebl i CarCoTi SemosazRvrul iyo. p.sayvarel iZis am poziciis winaaRmdeg ak.Cxenkel ma gail aSqra. saqarTvel os sinamdgil isatvis dasav- l eT evropis saxel mwifoTa gamocdil eba mas arasakmarisad miacnda da sakonstitucio komisiis wevrebis misamarTIT acxadebda: `Cven veravis mi vba- ZavT, veravisgan gadmoviRebt rasmes, radgan ar aris istoriaSi saTanado, Cveni damakmayofil ebel i magal iTebi. es kiTxva unda gadawraT imdenad safuZvl ianad, rom sxvisTvis gaxdes samagal iTod.³⁴ aqedan gamomdinare, igi eTnikuri umciresobebisatvis saj aro ufl ebebis micemas aucil ebl o- bad miicnevda. imavdroul ad, saxel mwifostan mimarTebaSi eTnikuri umci- resobebisagan pasuxismgebl obis gazrdas moitxovda. `umciresobam unda SeiTvissos is azri, rom Cveni respublika_ ambobda ak.Cxenkel i_ maTi res- publ ikaa da rac avnebs saxel mwifos, avnebs maTac.~ marTalia, ak.Cxenkel i am SemTxvevaSi saxel mwifosa da eTnikur umciresobaTa Soris moval eobis funqciebze amaxvil ebda yuradRebas, magram, konkretul ad ar asaxel ebda Tu ra meTodis gamoyenebiT gaxdeboda Sesazl ebel i eTnikuri umciresobe-

bis, Tugind osebis cnobierebis saqarTvel os saxel mwifos sasikeTod Semobruneba. saj aro ufl ebebisa da teritoriul i avtonomiis dakanonebis SemTxvevaSi, osebis mxridan arsebobda Tu ara raime garantia, rom isini; 1)saqarTvel os samSobl od aRiarebdnen da mis samsaxurSi Cadgebodnen; 2)qarTul i saxel mwifos damangrevl is rol s ar Seasrul ebdnen. ramdenadac aRniSnul i sakiTxebi ak.Cxenkel ma upasuxod datova, es faqti p.sayvarel iZem SesaniSnavad gamoiyena da eTnikuri umciresobebisadmi saj aro ufl ebebis micemis sawinaaRmdegod axal i argumentebi moitana. am fonze, osebis mier warmodgenil i osuri kantonis Seqmnis proeqti erTxel ki dev safuZvl ianad gaakritika. `Cven vwerT konstitucias_ ambobda p.sayvarel iZe_ unitarul i saxel mwifosaTvis. osebs ki surT dagvawer inon konfederaciuli, an federaciul i saxel mwifosaTvis, CvenTvis es srul iad miuRebel ia, radgan Cven vdgevarT zed saj aro ufl ebebis sazRvarze. am sazRvars ver gavcil debiT, magram udaod vaZl evT im ufl ebebs, romel ic sazRvris SigniT aris, aq ki... Zal ian farTo ufl ebebia, romel ic savsebiT uzrunvel yofs umciresobebis Tavisufal arsebobas da ganviTarebas.⁻³⁵ anal ogiuri pozicia eWira g.gvazavasac. `saj aro ufl ebebs_ ambobda igi_ veravis mi vcemT, damisaxel eT iseTi saxel mwifo sadac amas adgil i hqondes... avtonomiis gareSec SeiZl eba savsebiT uzrunvel yofil i iqnes umciresobaTa Tavisufal i ganviTareba, amis saukeTeso garantia aris Cveni demokratiul i mmarTvel oba... Cven aSkarad winaaRmdegni varT saj aro ufl ebebisa. me... viziareb p.sayvarel iZis proeqts.⁻³⁶ p.sayvarel iZisa da g.gvazavas pozicias l .naTaZec miemxro. man erovnul i sakiTxis saukeTeso special istebs (o.baueri, r.Springeri, v.adl eri, e.bogeni, g.iel inski, prof. Ser SeneviCi) debul ebebeze dayrdnobiT, damaj erebl ad daasabuTa, rom eTnikuri umci-resobebisadmi saj aro ufl ebebis micema, qarTul i saxel mwifos ngrevi sken gada dgmul i nabij i iqneboda. am fonze, l .naTaZem gansakuTrebul i yuradReba eTnikuri umciresobebisaTvis erovnul i Temebisa da saerobo erTe-ul ebis Seqmnaze gaamaxvil a. misi mtkicebiT, aRniSnul i mimarTul ebiT praqtikul i nabij is gadadgma qarTul i saxel mwifos interesebs ar upirispirdeboda. aqedan gamomdinare, Temis meSveobiT erovnul i gamij vna, mas eTnikuri umciresobebis probl emaTa mogvarebis saukeTeso saSual ebad miaCnda. am mxriv, igi gansakuTrebul yuradRebas eTnikuri umciresobebis swavl a_ ganaTI ebaze amaxvil ebda da dasZenda: `demokratiul i saskol o sistema moiTxovs, rom xal xis swavl a- ganaTI ebis mTel i saqme adgil obrivi Tvi-TmmarTvel obis xel Si iyos. ase aris yvel a qveynebSi, sadac swavl a- ganaTI eba dawinaurebul ia, am qveynebis gzaze dgebian is qveynebic, sadac es saqme ufro CamorCenil ia.⁻³⁷ es imas niSnavda, rom axl adSeqmnil qarTul saxel mwifos, evropis qveynebis gamocdil ebiT unda esargebl a da adgil obrivi mmarTvel obis aprobirebul i forma daenerga. miTumetes, eTnikur umciresobaTa urTierTTanamSroml obis gaRrmavebis safuZvl ad, evropel i special istebi erovnul Temebis asaxel ebda. qarTul i politikuri azrovnebis erT- erTi cnobil i warmomadgenel i l .naTaZec am pozicias icavda. `erovnul i sakiTxis mogvarebaSi _werda igi _adgil obrivma TviTmmarTvel obam Tval saCino rol i unda iTamaSos. Cven gvgonia, rom erovnul i SuRI is ganel ebaSi, erTa TanamSroml obis damyarebaSi da maT SerigebaSi veraviTari gansakuTrebul i kanonmdebl oba ver gaakeTebis imdens, rasac gaakeTebis swor da naTel demokratiul principi pebze mowyobil i TviTmmarTvel oba.⁻³⁸

aseTi daskvnis gakeTebis Sesazl ebl oba l .naTaZes evropul i saxel mwi-

foebis gamocdil ebis qarTul i sinamdvil is Sesatyvi sobaSi gaazrebam mi sca. cnobil i faqtia, rom evropis demokratiul qveynebSi, TviTmmarTvel i er-Teul ebi (Temebi) im etapze eTnikuri umciresobebis sakiTxis mogvarebis erTaderTi saSual eba gamodga. am principiT ganixil avda I .naTaZe saqarTvel oSi mcxovrebi eTnikuri umciresobebis, maT Soris osebis sakiTxsac. misi mtkicebiT, ramdenadac osebis mosaxl eobis ZiriTad raionebs gorisa da duSeTis mazris Crdil oeti nawil i warmoadgenda, `osuri- Temebic aRniSnul raionebsi unda mowyobil iyo. osuri mosaxl eobis interesebidan gamomdinare, igi `osuri- Temebis Seqmnis SesaZl ebl obas arc raWis mazraSi gamoricxavda.³⁹ miuxedavad imisa, rom am Tval sazriss qarTul i pol itikuri azris mesaWeTa umravl esoba iziarebda, probl emis garSemo debatebi kv- l avac grZel deboda da igi presis furcl ebzedac iqna gadatanil i. gamoqveynebul i publ ikaciebis avtorebi, osebis ufl ebebis imave CarCoSi moqcevas moiTxovdnen, rogorc saqarTvel oSi mcxovrebi sxva eTnikuri umciresobebis aTvis iyo gaTval iswinebul i. amasTan dakavSirebiT gazeT `al ionSi- gamoqveynebul weril Si `saqarTvel os respublika da erovnul umciresobaTa ufl ebebi- iv.gomarTel i xazgasmiT werda, rom saqarTvel oSi mcxovrebi eTnikuri umciresobebi isargebl eben `yvel a im ufl ebiT, rac miRebul ia respublikaSi. am mxriv araviTar SezRudvas ara aqvs adgil i da qarTvel i, somexi, TaTari, osi, ebraeli, berZeni, rusi da sxva srul ebiT gaTanasworebul ni arian. isini rogorc moqal aqeni sargebl oben yvel a im pol itikuri ufl ebiT, rac miRebul ia respublikaSi. ami tom Cveni respubliki moqal aqe da qveSevrdomi imgvarive monawil eobas miReben Cveni respubliki cxovrebaSi, rogorc qarTvel ebi.~ amis myar garantias saqarTvel os xel isufl ebis mier gamocemul i sakanonmdebl o aqtebi izl eoda. swored es garemoeba hqonda mxedvel obaSi s.abul aZes, roca misi avtorobit dabeWdil weril Si `osebis amoZravebaze- _ osebis misamarTiT werda: `undaT osebs Tavisufal i kul turul i ganvitareba? saqarTvel os demokratiul i respubliki gavleniani j gufebi, mTel i konstitucia Cveni saxel mwifosi amis srul SesaZl ebl obas aZl evs maT.⁴⁰

s.abul aZis es gancxadeba WeSmaritebas Seicavda, radgan im periodSi gamoqveynebul i saqarTvel os konstituciis proeqtSi, saqarTvel oSi mcxovrebi erovnul i umciresobebis ufl ebebis gansazRvras XII Tavis 12 muxl i qonda daTmobil i.⁴¹ es ufl ebebi mxol od saqarTvel os im moqal aqeebze gavrcel deboda, roml ebiC qveynis mSenebl obis da ara ngrevis samsaxurSi iqnebodnen Camdgari. amis Sesaxeb Tbil isSi gamarTul i osi social - demokratebis TaTbirze (1920 wl is 21 seqtemberi) warmoTqmul sityvaSi saqarTvel os Sinagan saqmeTa ministris moadgile par.WiWinaZe osebis misamarTiT acxadebda: `vimeoreb, yvel a moqal aqe, romel ic dgas Cveni respubliki damoukidebl obis pl atformaze sworufl ebiani wevria Cveni oj axisa.⁴² am el ementarul i da aucil ebel i moTxovnisadmi morCil eba, im etapze saqarTvel oSi mcxovrebmata TiTqmis yvel a eTnikuri umciresobebis warmomadgenl ebma (osebisa da afxazebis garda) aucil ebl obad miicnes. aRniSnul is gaTval iswinebidan gamomdinare, qveyanaSi Seqmnil i pol itikuri situacia, eTnikuri umciresobebis sakiTxis sabol ood gadasawvyvetad da sakonstitucio CarCoSi mosaqcevad, droul i nabij is gadadgmas da konesuss dafuznebul i pl atformis SemuSavebas saWiroebda. am mxriv, gansakuTrebul i roli ssdm partiis central uri komitetis 1920 wl is 20 maxis sxdomam Seasruul a. rogorc stenografiul i angariSidan irkveva, sxdomis monawil eTa yuradrebis centrSi n.Jordanias moxseneba moeqca.

qarTul i erovnul i saxel mwifos mowyobisa da pol itikuri azrovnebis Tval sazrisiT, aRniSnul i moxsenebis mniSvel oba imaSi mdgomareobs, rom n.Jordaniam eTnikur umciresobaTa sakiTxi saqarTvel os specifika da qveynis erovnul i interesebis gaTval iswinebiT ganixil a, xol o ak.Cxenkel i-seul i `saj aro ufl ebebis- moTxovna kritikis qarcecxl Si gaatara. aqedan gamomdinare, saqarTvel oSi mcxovrebi `patara erebis naWrebisadmi- avtonomiis miniWeba pol itikur Secdomad gamoacxada. imave n.Jordaniას mtkicebiT, demokratiul i ruseTis Semadgenl obaSi 1917 wel s saqarTvel l osaTvis avtonomiis moTxovnis ideis saqarTvel oSi mcxovreb eTnikur umciresobebze gadmotana_ dauSvebel i iyo Tundac im el ementarul i mi- zezis gamo, rom ruseTSi rac unda didi ufl ebebi `miecaT patara erebi- saTvis, mainc verafers daakl ebdnen ruseTs, rogorc did saxel mwifos.- xol o aseTive ufl ebebis saqarTvel oSi mcxovreb eTnikur umciresobebze gavrcel ebis SemTxvevaSi, saqarTvel os saxel mwifosaTvis damRupvel i aRmo- Cndeboda. `Cven_ ambobda n.Jordania_ patara saxel mwifo varT. aq... 16 -mde natexi erebia. amdeni xal xi rom saj aro ufl ebebiT aRvWurvoT, isini ufro didi centri Seiqmnebian Cvens respubl ikaSi. dRes sul sxva pirobebia da maSindel i ruseTis pirobebs ver SevadarebT.-⁴³

aq garkveviTaa miniSnebul i im mosal odnel saSiSroebaze, romel ic eT- nikuri umciresobebisadmi saj aro ufl ebebis micemiTa da `didi centreb- is- SeqmniT emuqreboda saqarTvel os. gamosaval s n.Jordania mxol od eT- nikuri umciresobebisaTvis Temuri sistemis SemoRebaSi xedavda, radgan masze saxel mwifos erTiani kontrol is ganxorciel eba iqneboda SesaZl e- bel i. eTnikur umciresobebis `Tu Temebis fargl ebSi movaTavsebT_ ambob- da igi_ nacional ur_ teritoriul i kavSiri iqneba da eris kul tura gan- viTardeba. skol ebs Tu... moawyoben, saxel mwifo val debul i iqneba ful iT daexmaros... Temuri sistema aj obebs maTTvisac da saxel mwifos interese- bic dacul i iqneba. iseT gabneul ers, romel sac Temi ara aqvs, maT eqnebaT erovnul i kavSiri. saxel mwifo skol ebisaTvis daxmarebas miscems.-⁴⁴

n.Jordaniას mxridan poziciis aseTi formiT oficial urad dafiqsirebam, sxdomis monawil eebze garkveul i zemoqmedeba moaxdina. amis dadasture- bas eTnikur umciresobebTan mimarTebaSi miRebul i dadgenil eba warmoad- gens. am dokuntSi garkveviT iqna miTiTebul i: `1)nacional ur- teritori- ul Temebis mieceT ufl eba SekavSirdnen, swavl a- ganaTl ebis da saerTod kul turul i saqmeebisaTvis saxel mwifo maT daexmareba; 2)maTi erovnul - kul turul i moTxovnil ebebis dasakmayofil ebl ad, saxel mwifo iRebs Tanxas... wesi Tanxis miRebisa isazRvrebakanoniT; 3)im erovnebebs, romel Tac ar SeuZl iaT TemebSi moxvdnen, eqnebaT cal ke kavSiri.-⁴⁵ aseTi dadgenil ebis miRebis miuxedavad, eTnikuri umciresobebis mowyobis Sesaxeb qarTul i pol itikuri azris warmomadgenel Ta Soris_ gansakuTrebiT social - demokratebis rigebsi kamaTi ar cxreboda. mimdinare pol itikuri proces- ebi, dasmul i probl emis droul gadawyvetas da mmarTvel i pol itikuri partiis SigniT erTiani Tval sazrisis Camoyal ibebas saWiroebda. am mxriv, gansakuTrebul i rol i saqarTvel os social - demokratiul i muSaTa partiis meore yril obam (1920 wl is 13- 22 ivnisi) Seasrul a. eTnikur umciresobaTa sakiTxe vrcel i moxseneba l .naTaZem gaakeTa. man ZiriTa-dad `erovnul i Temebis- mowyobis koncefcia ganaviTara. mi si mtkicebiT, kompaqturad dasax- l ebul i araqarTul i mosaxl eobis bazaze erovnul i Temebis Seqmna, maTi erovnul - kul turul i saqmeebis mosawesrigebl ad met SesaZl ebl obas iZl eoda. mi Tumetes, Temebis eyol eboda erovnul i administracia, erovnul i

sasamarTI o, erovnul i skol a da maswavl ebel i. rac Seexeba erTiani erovnu-
 l i Semadgenl obis Temebis, momaval Si maTi erTmaneTTan dakavSireba da
 eTnikur umciresobaTa kavSirebis Seqmna l .naTaZes SesaZl ebl ad miaCnda.
 am poziciis mi zanSewonil obis ukeT warmocenis mi zni T, man eTnikuri umcir-
 esobebis sakiTxis mogvarebis sami varianti ganixila; **1)teritoriul i
 principi_** igi eTnikur umciresobaTa teritoriul ad gamoyofas da saqmis
 damoukidebl ad gaZRol as iTval iswinebda. am konteqstSi wina pl anze os-
 ebis zemoaRniSnul kantonis proeqtSi dasmul i sakiTxebi wamoswia da
 yril obis monawil eebis Seaxsena, rom `osebi moiTxoven teritorial ur av-
 tonomias. magram im teritoriaze, romel sac isini moiTxoven mravl ad cx-
 ovroben qarTvel ebi, qarTvel i ebrael ebi. amisTana adgil ebSi teritori-
 ul i sistema erTa urTierTobas mxol od gaamwvebs. amitom, social -
 demokratiul i partia winaaRmdegia erovnul umciresobaTa teritoriul i
 gamoyofisa;~⁴⁶ **2)personal uri anu eqsteritorial uri avtonomia_** sak-
 iTxis am formiT gadawyveta l .naTaZes SeuZl ebl ad miaCnda, radgan igi
 eTnikuri umciresobebisaTvis personal uri kavSiris Seqmnas da mistvis
 saj aro ufl eebis miniWebas iTval iswinebda; **3)erovnul i Temebis mowy-
 oba_** saqarTvel os sinamdvil is fonze pirvel i da meore variantis miuRe-
 bl oba l .naTaZem argumentirebul ad daasabuTa da aqcentireba mesameze_
 erovnul i Temebis Seqmnaze SeaCera. im SemTxvevaSi, Tuki mis mier warmod-
 genil i debul ebis praqtikul i realizacia moxdeboda, TviTmmarTvel i
 erTeul ebis saxiT, saxel mwifos organizaciul ad mowyobil erovnebebTan
 eqneboda saqme, roml ebic gansakuTrebul i pirobebis gareSe mxol od ero-
 vnul - kul turul i avtonomiis ufl ebebiT isargebl ebdnen. l .naTaZis es
 debul eba myari argumentebiTiyo gamagrebul i, magram social - demokratebis
 zemoaRniSnul i yril obis zogierTi monawil is mxridan igi mwvave disku-
 siis sagani gaxda. ramdenadac aucil ebl oba saerTo pl atformis SemuSavebas
 saWiroebda, imave yril obis mier arCeul i komisiis (n.Jordania, n.rami Svil i,
 ak.Cxenkel i, i.wereTel i, l .naTaZe, r.arseniZe) umravl esobam l .naTaZis de-
 bul ebebis ZiriTadi nawil i gaiziara eTnikuri umciresobebis Sesaxeb da
 komisiis mier SemuSavebul i rezol uciis proeqts Semdegi formul ireba
 misca: `erovnul i umciresobebisagan Semdgari adgil obrivi TviTmmarTvel o-
 bis erTeul ebs (Temi, eroba, qal aqi) ufl eba aqvT SeerTdnen da daarson
 erovnul i kavSiri Tavis kul turul - ganmanaTI ebel i saqmeebis ukeT mo-
 sawyobad da gasaZRol ad konstituciisa da kanonis fargl ebSi. erovnul
 umciresobas, romel sac aseTi TviTmmarTvel obis organoebi ar moepoveba,
 SeuZl ia amis gareSec Seadginos erovnul i kavSiri am muxl Si aRniSnul i
 ufl ebiTa da kompetenciit. erovnul kavSirSi Sesvl a xdeba sal aparako-
 enis mixedvit. erovnul umciresobaTa kul turul _ganmanaTI ebel saWiroe-
 baTa dasakmayofil ebl ad saxel mwifo da TviTmmarTvel obaTa biuj etidan
 gadaideba finansuri saSual ebebi proporciul ad mcxovreba raodeno-
 bisa.~⁴⁷ yril obis mier miRebul i es rezol ucia, damfuZnebel i krebis sa-
 konstitucio komisi am saqarTvel os konstituciis meToTxmete TavSi 130- e
 muxl is saxiT ucvl el ad Seitana. am umaRl esi sakanonmdebl o dokumentis
 mixedvit, saqarTvel oSi mcxovrebi eTnikuri umciresobebis mowyoba mx-
 ol od adgil obrivi TviTmmarTvel obis erTeul ebis (Temi, eroba, qal aqi)
 saxiT dakanonda. bunebrivia, saqarTvel oSi mcxovrebi osebic adgil obrivi
 TviTmmarTvel obiT gaTval iswinebul ufl ebriv CarCoSi iqna moqceul i.

amrigad, **1)1917- 1919 wl ebis osebis erovnul i sabWos saqmi anoba,**
 qarTul i saxel mwifos interesebis sawinaaRmdego qmedebas Seicav-

da da Sida qarTI is teritoriis didi nawil is Crdil o kavkasiis
 oseTTan misaerTebi ad Sesabamisi sakanonmdebl o bazis Seqmnas
 iTval iswinebda. am mavnebl uri Canafiqris safexurebrivad momza-
 debas, Sida qarTI is osebisatvis saxel mwifoebriwi warmonaqmnis
 mqone teritoriul ad gamokveTil i erTeul is dakanonebis moTx-
 ovnebi edo safuzvl ad. igi politikuri situaciis cval ebadobas
 eqvemdebareboda da formis Tval sazrisiT_ etapobriv xasiaTs ata-
 rebda. 2)osi separatistebis pretenziul i moTxovnebi, erTmaneTisa-
 gan gansxvavebul ramdenime safexurs Seicavda: a)1917 wl is ivni-
 si_ saqarTvel os osebisatvis `Tavisufal i TviTgamorkveva-; b)1917
 wl is dekemberi- 1918 wl is ianvari_ goris, duSeTis, raWisa da Sor-
 apnis mazrebi 22 sasofl o sazogadoebisa da sami sofl is bazaze
 osebisatvis farTo samazro- saerobo administraciul i formis
 erTeul is Seqmnis moTxovna; g)1918 wl is seqtemberi_ `samxreT ose-
 TisaTvis- cal ke administraciul i avtonomiuri ol qis Seqmnis moT-
 xovna; d)1919 wl is ivnisi- Sida qarTI is mTis osebisatvis kanton-
 nis Seqmnis moTxovna. es faqtebi imaze migvaniSnebs, rom os sepa-
 ratistebis, saqarTvel os xel isufli ebisadmi pretenziebis Tavsmox-
 veva da saqarTvel os teritoriul i mTI ianobis SemakavSirebel i
 arteriis Segnebul ad gadaWra qonda miznad dasaxul i. 3)qarTul i
 politikuri speqtris mier osi separatistebis `Sefarviti pol iti-
 kuri eSmakobis- saaSkaraoze droul ad gamotana da am fonze j av-
 is samazro saerobo erTeul is saxiT osebisatvis al ternatul i
 proeqtis SeTavazeba, erovnul i saxel mwifos interesebis garkveul -
 wil ad ignorirebis xarj ze xdeboda da udides kompromiss warmoad-
 genda. saqarTvel os xel isufli ebis mier SemuSavebul i aRniSnu-
 li proeqtis praqtikul ad ganxorciel eba, osebis mier Cafiqrebu-
 li mosal odnel i safrTxis droul ad aRkveTis SesaZl ebl obas izl e-
 oda. 4)osebis 1920 wl is mais- ivnisis aj anyebam da qarTul i saxel
 mwifos arsebobis kiTxvis niSnis qveS dayenebam, osebisadmi qar-
 rTul i politikuri speqtris undobl oba ganapiroba. mimdinare pol-
 itikurma procesebma, osuri samazro- saerobo erTeul is Seqmnis
 dRis wesrigidan moxsna da osuri sakiTxis sxva eTnikur umcire-
 sobebTan erTian CarCoSi moqceva l ogikuri gaxada. eTnikuri umci-
 resobebisadmi, maT Soris osebisadmi sajar o ufl ebebis miniWebaze
 uaristqma da saTemo- saerobo ufl ebebiT Semofargvl a, saqarTve-
 l os erovnul i saxel mwifos usafrTxoebis interesebs efuzneboda
 da qarTul i politikuri speqtris mxridan swor politikur gadaw-
 yvetil ebas warmoadgenda.

§. 7. damoukidebel i saqarTvel o da Sida qarTI is mTis oseb is `sagadasaxl ebo- pol itika

sabWoTa ruseTis xel isufal Ta dakveTiT, Sida qarTI is mTis oseb is mxridan saqarTvel os saomar mdgomareobaSi Segnebul ad Cayenebis mcd- l obam, qarTul i pol itikuri speqtris winaSe saxel mwifos damoukidebl o- bis SenarCunebisa da qarTvel i eris fizikurad gadarCenis aucil ebl obis sakiTxi principul ad daayena. miTumetes, saqarTvel oSi im etapze samo- qal aqo omis gaCaRebisa da miSTvis permanentul i msvl el obis micemis re- al uri saSiSroeba Sei qmna. oseb is mier qveynisaTvis Tavsmoxveul safrTx- es Tu ramdenad aRiqvamda maSindel i qarTul i pol itikuri el ita, es kar- gad Cans im periodis presis furcl ebze gamoqveynebul i publ ikaciebidan. am mxriv, gansakuTrebul yuradRebas g.gol l endis fsevdonimiT gamoqvey- nebul i statia `agrarul i anarqia- iqcevs. `yovel i qarTvel i_ vkiTxu- l obT veril Si_ unda cdil obdes saqarTvel os fizikurad dacvas. Tu samoqal aqo omSi erTmaneTis xocva daviwyeT, maSin raRad gvin- da an erovnul i Tavisufl eba, an romel ime social uri ideal is ga- nxorciel eba. erTi- meoris Sinagan brZol aSi gaJl etil ers, arc pirvel i esaWiroeba da arc meore... eri roml is bedi `bewvze hkid- ia,- j er Tavi unda daimkvidros da ganimtkicos, xol o amis Semdeg eqneba SemoqmedebiTi Senebis SesaZl ebl oba... Tu eri social ur wi- naaRmdegobaTa gaRrmavebas gahyva, misi daRupva garduval i iqneba, igi am gaRrmavebis process Tan gadahyveba.- aRniSnul i amonaweris mi- xedviT, im etapze qarTvel i eris gadarCenis erT- erT ZiriTad saSual ebad, qveynis SigniT arsebul i Sidadapirispirebis aRmofxvraa miCneul i. am Tval sa- zriss, maSindel i qarTul i pol itikuri azris mesveurTa umravl esoba izi- arebda. amitom, gakvirvebas ar unda iwvevdes, roca damoukidebel i saqarTve- l os xel isufl ebam separati zmi sa da samoqal aqo omis gamCaRebel Ta wi naaRm- deg ukompromiso brZol a rom daiwyo. am fonze, osebisdmi damoukidebul eb- is gadaxedvis aucil ebl oba, qarTvel i pol itikuri moRvaweebisaTvis pi- rvel xarixxovan amocanad iqca. saqarTvel oSi Seqmnil i urTul esi pol i- tikuri situaciidan gamomdinare, isini dil emis winaSe aRmoCndnen im Tval - sazrisiT, rom j er kidev garkveul i ar qondaT Tu ra saSual ebebiT Sei- Zl eboda osuri wyl ul isgan qveynis sxel is gankurneba da misi terito- riul i mTI ianobis SenarCuneba. es urTul esi sakiTxi qarTul i pol itikuri speqtris msj el obis erT- erT ZiriTad sagans warmoadgenda. am mimarTu- l ebiT, gansakuTrebul i yuradReba imanac ganapiroba, rom antisaxel mwifo- ebriv saqmianobas osebi permanentul ad agrZel ebdnen da kritikul momen- tSi qarTvel ers zurgSi gal esil maxvil s scemdnen. isini moqmedebas maSin iwyebdnen, roca saqarTvel o da qarTvel i eri umZimes mdgomareobaSi aRmoCndeboda. am faqtis siswores gasabWoebul i saqarTvel os Sina- gan saqmeTa saxal xo komisariat is mier saqarTvel os revkomisadmi 1921 wl is dekemberSi wardgenil i moxsenebac adasturebs. amastan dakavSirebiT imave dokumentSi vkiTxul obT: saqarTvel oSi mcxo- vrebma osebma `survil is gamosaTqm el ad saukeTeso drod istori- ul i momentebi miicnia, rodesac arsebul i xel isufl eba sustdebo- da, an Sinauri gadatrial eba xdeboda... osoba am SemTxvevaSi Se- Zl ebda xol me Tavisi kol eqtiuri survil is gamoTqmas. sxva dros ki... ver bedavda... ase iyo 1905 wel s, rodesac osebma qarTul i so- fl ebis dakaveba moisurva. ase iyo 1917 wel s, rodesac daeca TviT-

mpyrobela oba da axali xel isufli eba ver ganmtkicda. igive moxda 1918 wel sac, rodesac saqarTvel os xel isufli eba ganmtkicebuli ar iyo da Semdeg ganmeorda 1920 wel s... osoba saqarTvel oSi, Tavisi mdgomareobiT rogorc ukmayofil o, mudam asafeTqebel wamal s warmoadgenda.~ am dokumentis gansakuTrebuli mniSvnel oba imaSi mdgomareobs, rom qarTvel ebTan mimarTebaSi osebis moRal aturi da orpirovani ianusisaTvis damaxasiaTebel i qmedebis aRiarebas gasabWoebuli saqarTvel os im xel isufli ebis samTavrobo uweba axdena, romelic 1921 wl is Tebevli idan os separatistebis maqsimal ur mfarvel obas uwevda.

osebis mxridan saqarTvel oSi mizanimarTuli adgamtuli ebuli situacidan gamomdinare, saRad moazrovne qarTuli politiki elitas iseTi gonivruli gadawyvetili eba unda mieRo, romelic qveynisaTvis SidausafrTxoebis garantias Seqmnida. am Tval sazrisiT Tuki mivudgeb iT sakiTxis, nebismieri politiki moRvawe probl emis gadawyvetisas udidesi sirtuli is winaSe aRmoCndeboda. mxedvel obaSi misaRebi Sida qarTli Si soliviT SemoWriლი osebis dasaxli ebis ganlageba. aRniSnuli saTval iswinebidan gamomdinare, erovnul - demokratebis erT-erTi lideris S.qarumiZis mier erovnul i sabWos 1918 wl is agvistos sxdomaze gakeTebuli ma gancxadebam_`osebi sabediswero muwukia Cvens tanze da igi rogorc aseTi aucil ebl ad unda moviSoroT,- social ist-revolucioneris m.faCuaSvili saRizianeba gamoiwvia. misi mtkicebiT, S.qarumiZis mier SemoTavazebuli winadebis ganxorციელი eba, qarTvel ebsa da osebs Soris SuRli saRrmavebis safuZveli gaxdeboda. xolo i.farnievis mtkicebiT, erovnul - demokratebs osebisatvis saqarTvel os mTavrobis SeZul eba surda.¹ am SemTxvevaSi, m.faCuaSvili da i.farnievi aSkarad tyuodnen, radgan Tavianti praqtikul i saqmianობიTa da oficaluri gancxadebebiT, osebma saqarTvel os mTavrobisa da qarTvel i erisadmi sizulvil i praqtikul ad daadastures. arsebuli vitareba probl emisadmi obieqtur midgomas da Seqmnil i sinamdvil is aRiarebas moitxovda. sakiTxisadmi pragmatuli midgomis Tval sazrisiT, erovnul - demokratebis mxridan Sida qarTli is mTis osuri mosaxleobis gantesis sakiTxis dRis wesrigSi dayeneba savsebiT kanonzomierad moCans. i.farnievis saRizianeba probl emis gadasawyvetad radikaluri formis gamoyenebis moTxovnam ganapiroba. `Tqven_ambobda i.farnievi_ marTlac gindaT wavides oSis eri sadRac, magram wasvli a SeuZlia mas, vinc guSin an dRes movida da ara im xal xs, romelic saqarTvel ebTan erTad saukuneebiT ucxovria.²

rogorc vxedavT, i.farnievmazemoaRniSnuli sakiTxis dasma mtkivneuli ad aRiqva, magram pasuxgaucemel i datova Semdegi kiTxvebi: 1) saqarTvel oSi mcxovrebi eTnikuri umciresobebis fonze, Sida qarTli is osebi gancdidnen Tu ara erovnul i niSnit devnas an raime saxiT Seviwroebas; 2) Tavianti moqmedebidan gamomdinare, Sida qarTli is mTis osebi izli eodnen Tu ara qarTvel ebTan Tanacxovrebis Sesazli ebl obas. osebis namoqmedaris garmarტი ebel Ta mxridan nebsiT Tu unebl ied aRniSnuli kiTxvebis ignoreba xdeboda. arada, masze saj arod pasuxis gacema sruli ad warmoaCenda im ganuzomel umadurobasa da daumsaxurebel RvarZis, rasac Sida qarTli Si mcxovrebi osebi qarTvel erTan mimarTebaSi avl endnen. es real obas warmoadgenda da igi qarTuli politiki azris mesveurebis mxridan SemoCneveli ar darCenila. vinc safuZvli anad gaecnoba im periodis sapaRlimento sxdomebis stenografiul angariSebsa da presis furcilebze gamoqve-

ynebul publ ikaciebs, darwmundeba, rom qarTul i saxel mwifos samsaxurSi myofi yvel a pol itikuri partiis l ideri _(garda bol Sevicebisa) osebt-an mimarTebaSi erT Tval sazrisze idga. osebis yovel namoqmedars erovnul i saxel mwifos interesebidan gamomdinare afasebda da xel isufli ebis mxridan Sesatyvisi pragmatul i xasiaTis gadawyvetil ebis miRebas moiTxovda. osebis umadurobisa da am sinamdvil isadmi qarTul i pol itikuri partiebis uaryofiTi damokidebul ebis warmocenis mizniT, im periodis presis furcl ebze dabeWdil i statiebidan ramdenime amonarids SevTavazeb mkiTxvel sazogadoebas, sadac osebis `naRvawis- obieqturi Sefasebaa mocemul i. am mxriv gansakuTrebul interess gazeT `erTobaSi- dabeWdil i mowinave statia `osebis gamosvl ebi- iqcevs. saqarTvel oSi `mcxovreba osebma_ vkiTxul obT weril Si_ yovel ive miRes revol uciidan, ris miRebac SeiZl eboda; miwa- wyal i, tye- saZovari da Tavisufli eba. es udidesi ganZi, romel ic mogvca revol uciam. magram mTis xal xs (osebs S.v.) ar SeuZl ia mixvdes am wyal obas, romel ic mianiWa ganaxl ebul ma cxovrebam.³ am fonze Tuki ganvixil avT Sida qarTl is osebis mier qarTvel erTan mimarTebaSi gaweul `damsaxurebas- davrwmundebiT, rom isini saqarTvel osaTvis danamat parazitebad iyvnen qceul ni. Cemi es gancxadeba miutevebel bral debad rom ar CaiTval os, amis damadasturebl ad gazeT `saxal xo saqmeSi- axial gorel is fsevdonimiT dabeWdil i statiidan `osuri safrTxe- Sesabamis amonawers movitanT da Tavad mkiTxvel ma gansaj os Tu ra rol s asrul ebda osebi im periodis saqarTvel os pol itikur cxovrebaSi. `swored maSin_ vkiTxul obT weril Si_ roca gareSe safrTxe aRimarTeboda, aseT kritikul momentSi Cven ar gvaxsovs, rom saqarTvel os qveSevrdom osobas raime monawil eoba mieRos samSobl os (saqarTvel os S.v.) dacvis saqmeSi, Tund sityvieri TanagrZnoba gamoecxadebinos qarTvel i xal xisaTvis, raime nivTier i msxverpl i gaeRos im miwawyl is dasacavad, romel zedac isini cxovroben da cxovroben gacil ebiT ukeT vinem qarTvel i gl exoba.⁴ anal ogiuri Tval sazrisia gamoTqmul i gazeT `erTobaSi- dabeWdil mowinave weril Si `isev osebze.~ `gvegona, rom osebi TaviantT moval eobas Seignebdnen respublikis winaSe. am ori wl is ganmavl obaSi maT erTi jariskaci ar miuciaT saxel mwifosaTvis. erTi Sauri ar SeutaniaT respublikis xazinaSi da rogorc parazitebi, cxovroben danarCeni moqal aqeebis xarj ze.~ qarTvel ebTan mimarTebaSi osebis umadurobaze werda sabul aZe Jurnal `mxedarSi- dabeWdil statiaSi `osebis amoZravezaze.~ `didi siyvarul i gamoiCina osebisadmi saqarTvel os mSromel ma xal xma, zomaze metic, qarTvel memamul eTagan CamorTmeul i miwebi os gl exebis misces, im os gl exebis, romel Tac mcire gamonakl isis garda saqarTvel os dasacavad TiTic ki ar gaunZrevia. maTve miRes yvel a is sikeTe, romel ic demokratiul ma wyobil ebam saqarTvel os xal xs mouvl ina. magram osebi mainc ukmayofil oni darCnen. ver moigo saqarTvel om maTi gul il-⁵

Cems mier zemoT motanil masal ebs Tuki obieqturad gaavanal izebT davrwmundebiT: 1)masSi srul adaa warmoceni l i osebtan mimarTebaSi qarTul i pol itikuri azris mesveurTa negatiuri damokidebul eba; 2)dasabuTebul ia, rom qarTvel pol itikosTa gansakuTrebul i gaRizianeba osebis mxol od parazitobam ki ar ganapiroba, aramed igi osebis oTxgzis Ral atis faqtze (1918, 1919, 1920 wl ebis aj anyebebi) iyo dafuZnebul i. saqarTvel osTan mimarTebaSi ra do-

nis boroteba unda Caedina osebs, rom ucxo tomis warmomadgenl eb-
isadmi `sibriyvemde misul i tol erantobiT- ganTqmul i, sakuTari
saxl karis garkveul i nawil is daTmobamde wamsvl el i qarTvel i
eri, wonasworobidan gamosul iyo da warsul Si osebisadmi gakeTe-
bul i sikeTis Secdomad aRiarebamde misul iyo.

XX saukunis 20- ian wl ebSi qarTvel ebTan mimarTebaSi osebis mxridan
gamorCeul i `niWi ereba,- Znel bedobis Jams myofi saqarTvel os winaaRmdeg
mowyobil i `Sida jvarosnul i- omiT warmocnda. am qmedebaSi saqarTve-
l osa da qarTvel i erisadmi gansakuTrebul i siZul vil i iyo Cadebul i.
amas maSindel i qarTul i pol itikuri azris mesveurebi SesaniSnavad xeda-
vdnen da gakvirvebasac ver mal avdnen. amis erT- erT dadasturebas gazeT
`saxal xo saqmeSi- gl asxiSvil is mier gamoqveynebul i statia `bol o unda
moeRos- warmoadgens. `netavi macodina_ kiTxul obda gl asxiSvil i_ ra-
tom sZul T osebs saqarTvel os republ ika? xarj ebs isini ar ixdian, sal -
daTad ar midian, republ ikas arafriT exmarebian da yovl isfers ki sarge-
bl oben. auarebel i xarjebi midis maTze da gana imitom, rom mtrul ad
iyvnen yovel Tvis?-

imave probl ematikas Seexo gazeT `kl deSi- gamoqveynebul i i.didiZis
statia `osebis gadasaxl ebisatvis.- `saqarTvel os siZul vil iT anTebul i
osi xal xi_ wers avtori_ qarTul i haerit sunTqavs da Cvens purs sWams.
magram am saqarTvel os yovel wl iurad zurgSi maxvil s scems da brZol is
vel s umarTavs.- aqedan gamomdinare, i.didiZe saqarTvel os xel isufl ebas
sayvedurobda, rom man `Wkua- gonebis gareSe mdgom uvicurad sikvdil Tan
moTamaSe- osebs Sesafetisi pasuxi ver gasca da osuri safrTxisagan sa-
qarTvel os saxel mwifos samudamod dazRveva ver SeZl o. aq erTi metad
mniSnel ovani niuansia gasaTval iswinebel i; mxedvel obaSi maqvs qarTvel
mefeTa da TavadzaurTa mxridan wina saukuneebSi Crdil oetidan osebis
`mopatiJebiT- da Sida qarTl is mTian zol Si maTi dasaxl ebit daSvebul i
udidesi danaSaul is tol fasi Secdoma. im periodis qarTul i pol itikuri
azris mesveurni aRniSnul is gamosworebas, damoukidebel i saqarTvel os
xel isufl ebisagan erTi xel isdakovrit moiTxovdnen. magram, imave xel isu-
fl ebas dasabuTebul i formiT ver sTavazobdnen im al ternatul gzas, ro-
ml is meSveobitac am probl emis mogvareba gaxdeboda SesaZl ebel i. mi-
uxedavad amisa, saqarTvel os mTavrobas yovel nabij ze Seaxsenebd-
nen Sida qarTl is mTian 22 osur sofel Si mcxovrebi `vel uri me-
cxvare osebisgan- mosal onel garduval safrTxes. saqarTvel os
`saxel mwifoebrivma sxeul ma_ werda i.didiZe_ ver moiSora osuri
muwuki!... am muwukidan dausrul ebl iv sdis iara da al pobs qarT-
l is gul s... osebi mudmivi safrTxea saqarTvel osatvis. osebi yove-
l i mzis Casvl isas ocneboben saqarTvel os waxdenas.-

am onaweridan, Sida qarTl is mTiani zol is osebisadmi saocari siZu-
l vil i moCans. es arcaa gasakviri, radgan 1918- 1920 wl ebSi mowyobil ma os-
urma aj anyebebma, ekonomikuri da pol itikuri Tval sazrisiT, axl adSeqmni-
l i qarTvel Ta damoukidebel i saxel mwifo `sikvdil is piramde- miyvana.
Tuki osur sakiTxs am Wril Si ganvixil avT, maSin i.didiZis zemoaRniSnul i
Sefaseba saRad moazrovne WeSmariti qarTvel isaTvis misaRebi aRmoCndeba.
rac Seexeba osuri wyl ul is moSuSebis SesaZl ebl obas, igive i.didiZe sa-
qarTvel os xel isufl ebas Semdegi saxis `samkurnal o receipts- sTavazob-
da: `sanam roks da mamisons osebi fl oben, sanam isini Cven sazRvar-
Ta bWebze mosaxl eoben, manamdis republ ika Tavs ver daiZRvevs

osuri yovel wl iuri gastrol ebisagan. osebs verasodes ver movTx-ovT saqarTvel os mimarT ara Tu erTgul ebas, aramed `l oial o-basac- ki... osi yovel Tvis gagvyidis, osi yvel a gareSe mters udidesi sixarul iT gauRebs kars. aucil ebel ia sazRvrebze mTavrobis gan-kargul ebiT srul iad ayril iqnan osebi da maT adgil as dasax- l des samSobl os erTgul i qarTul i el ementi.- aq garkveviTaa naTq- vami, Sida qarTI is Crdil oeTis mTiani sazRvris zol idan osebis asax- l ebisa da mis nacvl ad samSobl os erTgul i qarTvel ebis Casaxl ebis Sesax- eb. amis gatarebis aucil ebl obas im periodis qarTul i pol itikuri azris mesveurebi nomer pirvel amocanad miChevdnen. am SemTxvevaSi isini yove- l ive saxis kompromiss gamoricxavdnen, radgan warsul is gamocdil ebidan gamomdinare, osebtan mimarTebaSi Tavs motyuebul ad Tvl idnen. am sakiTx- Tan dakavSirebiT statiaSi `osebis amoZravebaze- sabul aZe garkveviT wer- da: `Cven gvindoda osebi TviTon mosul iyvnen gons, moenaniebinaT danaSau- l i. vfiqrobdiT, bnel i xal xia da provokatorebma aiyol ies. amitom iyo, rom osebs advil ad Cauara im samtro gamosvl ebma, romel ic saqarTvel os daRupvis mizniT maT ramdenj erme moaxdines... isini kvl av darCnen saqarTve- l os iseTive srul ufl ebiani moqal aqeebi, rogoradac gvinda iTvl ebodes Cveni republ ikis yovel i mcxovrebi. magram... Cven mwared movtyuvdiT.-⁶ erovnul i saxel mwifos mosal odnel i safrTxis qveS dayeneba, qarTv- el pol itikosebs Tavis meored motyuebis ufl ebas ar aZl evda. aqedan gamomdinare, sakiTxi maT winaSe principul ad iyo dasmul i_ xal xisTvis simarTI e eTqvaT da erTxel da samudamod sajarod gamoeaSkaravebinaT Tu vin, vin iyo.

osuri safrTxis saaSkaraoze gamotanas da TviT osTa Sinagani bunebis srul ad warmocenas isaxavda miznad, saqarTvel os erovnul i sabWos 1918 wl is 23 ivl isis sxdomaze gr.veSapel is mier cnobil i publ icistisa da sazogado moRvawis ia ekal aZis publ ikaciis garkveul i monakveTis waki- Txvis faqti. `rodesac saqarTvel os miwawyal ze, qarTvel i xal xis winaaRmdeg amxedrebs CvenSi samadl od Semosaxl ebul osebs maTi intel igenciis erTi nawil i, es aramc Tu umadurobaa, aramed didi usamarTI obac, romel ic daiwoy oci- ocdaaTi wl is winaT. inicia- torebad Seiqmnen j er ruis moxel eebi, cnobil i vostorgovis me- TaurobiT da mere osis naswavi i axal gazrdoba, romel ic gam- oizarda ruis skol ebSi, rogorc ruseTis stipendiantebi. vosto- rgovma da am axal gazrdebma mowaml es saqarTvel os osebis masa da es Sxami ar gadaerecxebaT gul idan iqamde, vidre Tavisufal i saqarTvel o ar al agmavs xal xis mtrebs da ar daanaxvebs saqarTve- l os osebs maT Secdomebs. j er sad iyo revol ucia, rodesac saqarTvel os osebis intel igenciam mTel i gegma Seadgina ruseTis pol itikiTa da asi wl is monobiT dabeCavebul i qarTvel i xal xis daCagvra- dapyrobisa. l iaxvis xeobaSi mibrZandiT, Tundac cxinva- l Si, Tval i Seavl eT im rkal s, romel ic Seiqmna osi mosaxl eobiT, daukvirdiT marto cxinval sa da dgvrissi axl ad, Cvens dros Camo- saxl ebul os vaWarTa moxel eoba- moqmedebas. am xeobidan gamo- sul am vaWar `burJuebis- Svil ebs, mozard Taobas, student moswav- l eTa wreebs, maT kavSirebs, ganzraxvebs da Tqven dameTanxmebiT, arc es vaJbatonebi daixeven ukan, Tuki cota rames mainc Camogl e- jen yvel asagan gabriyvebul saqarTvel os, Tu ki Sesazl ebl oba miecema xel i moiTbon saqarTvel os ubedurebaze.-⁷

rogorc vxedavT, osebis sandoobis eWvqveS dayenebis, qarTvel ebisadmi sizul vil isa da mtrul i damokidebul ebis, qarTul i miwebis mitacebis, qarTvel Ta gaubedurebisa da Cawixvl is xarj ze osebis miznebisa da amocanebis Se-fasebis sakiTxSi, qarTul i sazogadoebriv_ pol itikuri azri identuri iyo. isini erTxmad aRiarebdnen, rom saqarTvel os Sida qarTI is `sakinZeCamogl ejil ubeSi~ Sxamiani gvel i iyo Cabudebul i da `Crdil oetis es qvewarmaval i,~ yovel i wl is gazafxul ze qarTvel Ta erovnul i saxel mwifos dagesvl iT, saqarTvel os teritoriul i mTI ianobis darRvevas da misi saxel mwifoebriobis CamoSI as cdil obda. aseT fonze, bunebrivia qarTul i pol itikuri azris mesveurTa winaSe mTel i principul obiT dadga sakiTxi: 1)rogor moqceodnen Sida qarTI is mTis mcxovre eb osebs; 2)ra meqanizmiT moexdinaT axl adSeqmnil i damouki debel i saqarTvel os dasangrevad amoqmedebul i ucxo saxel mwifosagan martvadi osuri separatizmis SeCereba; 3)osuri bacil iT daavadmyofebul i damouki debel i saqarTvel os sxeul is samudamod gansakurnebl ad da mis gadasarCenad, qveynis xel isufl ebas rogori saxis `samkurnal o mal amonda gamoeyenebina. aRni Snul i sakiTxebi im periodis qarTul i pol itikuri azris mesveurTa farTo msjel obis sagans war moadgenda. presis furcl ebze gamoqveynebul i publ ikaciebis avtorebi Taviant mosazrebebs yovel gvare dafarvis gareSe ambobdnen. imavdroul ad Seqmnil i urTul esi situacidan gamosaval i gzebisa da saSual ebebis Ziebas cdil obdnen. am mxriv, gansakuTrebul interes gazeT `saxal xo saqmeSi- axal gorel is fsevdonimiT gamoqveynebul i weril i `osuri safrTxe- iqcevs. masSi principul adaa dasmul i kiTxva: `ra vuyot im xal xs, romelic sargebl obs Cvens respublikasi yovel gvare privel igiebiT, ar ixdis saxel mwifo gadasaxads, ar icavs Cvens teritorias, Cvens respublikas da romelic mudam mzad aris garedan momdgar... mters Seuertdes, Rvaros qarTvel i jariskacis... sisxli, agviwikosoflebi da qal aqebi, miitacos Cveni moqal aqis sarCo- sabadebel i? es kiTxva Cvens winaSe pirvel ad ar ismis, magram samwumwuxarod, dRemdis vermogvixerxebia misi j erovnad gadaWra, rogorc amas Cveni xal xis sasicocxlo interesebi, respublikis ketil dReoba da misi uSiSroebis uzrunvel yofa gvikarnaxebs.- qveynis winaSe mdgomi am urTul esi probl emis gadauWrel obis erT- erT Ziritad mizezs weril is avtori damnaSave osebis sanimuSod dausjel obasi xedavda. aqedan gamomdinare, igi xel isufl ebis winaSe savsebit l ogikurad svamda ritorikul SekiTxvas: `ro- demdis unda gagrZel des aseTi mdgomareoba. damokles maxvil iviT rodemdis unda gvekidos osoba? rodemdis unda daiRvaros qarTvel i xal xis Svil Ta sisxli i? mzadyofnaSi rodemdis unda viyol iot Seiararebul i Zal ebi gaTavxedebul i osi brboebis mosageriebl ad?... erTxel da samudamod... unda Sevignot, rom mters mtrul ad moveqceT. osebs unda vagrZnobinoT, rom Tu Cvens miwawyal ze cxovreba surT, moval eobac unda ikisron samSobl os winaSe, rom Cven mat- Tvis mudam Ral atis patieba ar Segvizi ia.-

SekiTxvis formiT gamoTqmuli es aRSfoTeba, savsebit kanonzomieri iyo, radgan 1918- 1920 wl ebis CaTvl iT, Sida qarTI is mTis osebis `namoRvawari,- sabWota ruseTis agenturisa da mis mier Sekve-

Til i antiqarTul i daval ebebis aRsrul ebisaTvis brZol is CarCo-Si Tavsdeboda. bunebrivia, es faqtori qarTul i saxel mwifos usafrTx- oebis garantiis Sesaqmnel ad saTanado meqanizmis gamoZebnis aucil ebl o- bas moiTxovda. aseT saSual ebad, imave statiis avtors osuri sakiTxis dauyovnebl ivi gadawyveta miaCnda. `Cven erTxel da samudamod unda mov- iSoroT osuri safrTxe, _werda igi_ Tu mSvidobiani cxovreba gvinda.- es imas niSnavs, rom qarTul i pol itikuri azris mesveurebi qveynis SigniT mSvidobiani cxovrebis Seqmnasa da stabil urobas, osuri safrTxis moci- l ebas ukavSirebdnen. radikal izmiT Sezavebul i aseTi Tval sazrisi wi- Tel zol ad gasdevda osebis sakiTxTan mimarTebaSi XX saukunis 20- iani wl ebis presis furcl ebze gamoqveynebul i publ ikaciebis umetesobas. misi avtorebi erTxel kidev xazgasmiT miuTiTebden Sida qarTl Si mcxovrebi osebis, saqarTvel osaTvis rogorc zedmeti tvirtis Sesaxeb. am mxriv gan- sakuTrebiT gazeT `saxal xo saqmeSi~ dabeWdil i mowinave weril i `kmaral- gamoirCeva. damoukidebel i saqarTvel os periodSi osebis mier qveynisa da qarTvel i eris sawinaaRmdegod gaweul i saqmianobis anal izis safuZvel ze zemoaRniSnul i statiis avtori mkiTxvel sazogadoebas erTxel kidev Seaxsenebda, rom osebis mxridan saqarTvel o zaral is mets arafers iReb- da, rom maTdami samsaxuri qveynis xazinas udidesi Tanxa uj deboda. `arav- iTari sargebl oba maTgan da auarebel i xarj ebi... maswavl ebl ebis j amag- irs _vkiTxul obT weril Si _iReben saqarTvel os xazinidan; eqimebis, fer- Si ebis, samkurnal o punqtebis xarj i... goris samazro erobas awveba kiser- ze. vin mostvl is, osebis moTxovnil ebaTa dakmayofil eba raoden ful ad uj deba saqarTvel os. miaqcieT yuradReba imasac, rom revol uciis yovel i SenaZeni farTod gamoiyenes Tavis sasargebl od saqarTvel os wyal obiT. maTSi farTod ganxorciel da kul turul i avtonomia i sev da i sev saqarTve- l os xarj iT.~⁸

aRniSnul amonawerSi motanil i faqtebi imis damadasturebel ia, rom sa- qarTvel oSi Semoxiznul i ucxo tomis warmomadgenl ebi qarTvel ma erma, misi istoriis umZimes periodSiac ar daiviwya, Sesazl ebl obis fargl ebSi qveynis mwiri xazinidan osebis kul turul i da ekonomikuri ganvitarebis mizniT uwyvet dafinansebas axorciel ebda. amis dadasturebas srul iad saqarTvel os maswavl ebel Ta II yril obis (1921 wl is 9 ianvari) stenog- rafiul i angariSi warmoadgens. am dokumentidan irkveva, rom im etapze, saqarTvel oSi 48 osuri skol a arsebobda. maSin rodesac Crdil o kavkasiis oseTSi am mimarTul ebiT sabWoTa ruseTs nabijic ar hqonda gadadgmul i. miuxedavad amisa, qarTvel erTan mimarTebaSi osebma umadurobis saocari magal iTi gamoavl ines. amasTan dakavSirebiT, angari- Sgasawevi mosazrebaa gamoTqmul i Jurnal `mxedarSi~ dabeWdil publ ika- ciaSi `umadurni.- misi avtori saTanado faqtebze dayrdnobiT da qarTve- l Ta stumarTmoyvareobis fonze ganxil avs `saqarTvel os kal Tas- TavSe- farebul i osebis umadurobas. am fonze, Tavis Sexedul ebas Semdegi for- miT gadmoscems: `rogorc kerZo ojaxs, ise sazogadoebas da saxel m- wifosac hyavs amagis daunaxvel i umaduri wevrebi. aseT xal xs fiandazadac rom daefinoT, mTel i sacxovrebel i rom zed gadaag- oT, mal amod rom waecxoT, ukanasknel i puris l ukmac rom SesTava- zoT, maT garecxil gul s ver moigebT, maTi gangel ebul i mada ganu- zomel ia... utifrobamde misul ma osebma kadnierebaSi orives (somx- ebsa da azerbaij anel ebs S.v.) gadaaWarbes. osebi Cvens samSobl os Tavis kal Taze hyavs gazrdil i. ucxo qveynidan tabarukad gadmo-

sul i osoba Cvens qveyanas Tavis gul Si dausaxl ebia, Semouxiznavs, patronoba da mZrunvel oba ar moukl ia, qarTI is saukeTeso adgil - mamul i dauTmia, magram maT gaqsuebul gul s dRemde umadurobis meti araferi gamouCenia. saqarTvel os demokratiul ma respublikam osebs sakuTreb ad qarTI is saukeTeso adgil ebi gadasca, srul ufl ebian moqal aqeebad gaxada, gaadaminebis gzaze daayena, kul turul i winsvl isaTvis gza gauxsna, magram mgel i mainc tyisken iyureba da moxerxebul dros SeurCevs xol me, rom qurdul ad, avazakurad daeces mSvidobian mcxovrebt, daawiokos da daarbios igi.⁹

vinc demokratiul i saqarTvel os arsebobis wl ebSi osebis mier qarTul saxel mwifosTan da mis mosaxl eobasTan mimarTebaSi Cadenil danaSaul ebriv qmedebes safuZvl ianad icnobs dameTanxmeba, rom osebis rogorc umaduri, sikeTis verdamnaxvel i, mtacebel i da sxvis gasaubedurebl ad mudamJams iaraRsemarTul i eTnikuri warmomadgenl ebis Sesaxeb zemoT motanil i daxasiaTeba, TiTqmis srul yofil saxes atarebs. roca saxel mwifos sasazRvro zol Si da mis `gul Si- kompaqturad dasaxl ebul i aseTi eTnikuri umciresobei arsebobs, qveynis xel isufl ebas maTdami damokidebul ebis sakiTxSi Sesatyvisi politikuri kursi unda hqondes SemuSavebul i. winaaRmdeg SemTxvevaSi, nebismieri saxel mwifo mudamJams saomar mdgomareobaSi aRmoCndeba. swored es garemoeba hqonda mxedvel obaSi aRniSnul i statii avtors, roca osebis misamarTiT werda: `qarTvel ebis mxridan Sewyal eba usazRvroa, magram dee igrZnon garewrebma, rom qarTul demokratias saTnoeba- siyvarul isa da mZrunvel obis garda SeuZl ian mrisxaneba da SurisZiebac. Tuki umadurni droul ad gons ar movl en, vidre isini ar gaxdebian Rirsi demokratiul i respublikis mZrunvel obisa da Sewyal ebisa.¹⁰

es imas niSnavda, rom qveyanaSi anarqii Semqmnel i da moZal ade osebisadmi raime saxiT mZrunvel obaze, an mis Sewyal ebaze xel isufl ebas uari unda eTqva. erovnul i saxel mwifos interesebidan gamomdinare, civil izebul i qveynebisatvis damaxasiaTebel i kanonmdebl obiT emoqmeda da osebis namoqmedarisaTvis Sesatyvisi saxel i daerqma. am pozicias icavda gazeT `erTobaSi- gamoqveynebul i mowinave statiac `isev osebze. `im adaminebs, romel Tac am ori wl is ganmavl obaSi_ vkiTxul obT weril Si_ araviTari val i ar mouxdiaT respublikis winaSe, Cveni mSvidobiani damokidebul ebis borotad gamoyeneba surT. dRes respublikam unda sTqvas `kmaral- da mTel i Tavisi siZl ierit Seagnebinos TavaSvebul brboebs Tu ras niSnavs respublikasi wesrigis dacva da moqal aqis el ementarul i moval eobis asrul ebis saWiroeba. respublikis mTavroba val debul ia erTxel da samudamodal agmos qveynis moRal ateebi, bol o mouRos am vandeas. is mkacri zomebi, romel sac Cveni respublika iZul ebul i xdeba mesamed mimarTos aj anyebul i osebis asal agmavad, iqneba wmindavdaciTi aqti Crdil oetidan SemoWril i mtris winaaRmdeg. es iqneba moZal adeebTan da mtarval ebTan brZola adgil obriv mcxovrebtTa dasacavad, respublikis da demokratiis gadasarCenad.-

am vrcel i amonaweris mixedvit Tuki vimsjel ebT, saqarTvel os xel isufl ebis mxridan osebtan mimarTebaSi gatarebul i nebismieri sadamsjel o RonisZieba gamarTl ebul i iyo Tundac im el ementarul i mizezis gamo, rom igi Crdil oetidan SemoWril i mtrisadmi Rirseul ad daxvedras, misi mxardamWeri osuri mosaxl eobis al agmvas da qveynis usafrTxoebis garantiis

Seqmnas emsaxureboda. saqarTvel os garSemo, gansakuTrebiT aRmosavl eTidan (azerbaj anidan) da Crdil oeTidan im etapze Seqmnil i real uri safrTxe, qveynis xel isufl ebis winaSe principul i gadawyvetil ebis miRebis aucil ebl obis sakiTxs ayenebda. am SemTxvevaSi ormagi standartis kursis gatareba dauSvebel i iyo, radgan aseT qmedebas, qveyana saval al o mdgomareobamde SeiZl eba mieyvana. es safrTxe, maSindel i qarTul i pol itikuri azris mesveurebs SesaniSnavad hqondaT gacnobierebul i.

Tu ramdenad rTul da mZime mdgomareobaSi aRmoCnda am Tval sazrisiT saqarTvel o, amis sail ustraci od saqarTvel os social - demokratiul i muSaTa partiis meore yril obaze (1920 wl is 13- 19 ivnisi) n.Jordanias mi-er gakeTebul i moxseneba gamodgeba. mmarTvel i pol itikuri partiisa da sakanonmdebl o organos pirvel i rigis amocnad, n.Jordania qveynis damoukidebl obisaTvis saZirkvel is gamagrebas da Sinauri mtrebis dauyovnebl iv daTrgunvas miicnevda. **am fonze, damoukidebel i saqarTvel os Sinaur mtrebSi igi bol Sevikebs, rus social - demokratebs, rus eserebs, rus social ist- revol ucionerebs, daSnakcuTiunis partias da osebs asaxel ebda. misive TqmiT, saqarTvel os SigniT osebi aj anyebebsa da arev- darevas im mizniT awyobdnen, rom saqarTvel o damoukidebel i saxel mwifo ar yofil iyo da ruseTis Semadgenl obaSi darCenil iyo. `gvi pirebdnen gadagdebas im aboboqrebul okeaneSi_ ambobda n.Jordania,_ romel sac ruseTi winad warmoadgenda da axl ac warmoadgens. amaTTan brZol a... dResac ar aris damTavrebul i. isini Tumc arian damarcxebul ni... magram ar yrian farxmal s da brZol as ganagrZoben. miuxedavad amisa, isini dRes ise saSiSni aRar arian, rogoric iyvnen winad, roca Cvens damoukidebl obas Ziri momagrebul i ar hqonda.**¹¹

qveynis pirvel i piris mier gakeTebul i aseTi saxis ganxadeba, xel isufl ebis mxridan osebtan mimarTebaSi l oial uri kursis radikal izmiT Secvl is garduval obaze mianisnebda. axl adSeqmnil i saxel mwifosaTvis mosal odnel i qaosis im etapze acil eba, pol itikuri situaciis Sesatyvisi pragmatul i nabij is gadadgmaze iyo damoukidebul i. am Tval sazrisiT Tuki ganvixil avT im periodis presis furcl ebze gamoqveynebul publ ikaciebs, yuradRebis centrSi gazeT `saxal xo saqmeSi- dabeWdil i mowinave weril i `kmaral- moeqceva. `kmaral saqarTvel os aRar SeuZl ia zurgs ukan gamudmebiT iyol ios SeiaraRebul i moRal ate. keTil i sityva_ vkiTxul obT weril Si_ uqmi yofil a maTTvis, l mobiereba da kacTmoyvareoba aTavxedebis maT da Cveni sisustis niSnaT miacniaT. saukunod unda davukargoT Ral atis yovel i xal isi. amas moitXovs marto Cveni Sinauri myudroeoba ki ara, gareSe safrTxis Tavidan acil ebac rokis uRel texil is mxridan. Cven davumtkiceT osebsac da mTel qveyanasac Cveni l mobiereba, kacTmoyvareoba, Sebral ebis da Sewyal ebis unari. Cveni morigi val ia davumtkicoT yvel as, rom revol uciisa da respubl ikis dacvis saqmeSi saWi ro simtkicis gamocenis unarica gvaqvs.¹² yovel i wl is zafxul obiT rokis xeobidan Camosul i SeiaraRebul i osebis cxinval ze Tavdasxma da mSvidobiani mosaxl eobis Zarcva rom aRekveTaT, qarTul ma pol itikurma el itam sauRel texil o xeobebSi arsebul i osuri sofl is mosaxl eobis ayra da saqarTvel os sxva kuTxeebSi Casaxl eba erTaderT gamosaval saSual ebad miicnia. rac Seexeba osebis namosaxl ars, qarTul i pol itikuri azris mesveurebi am adgil ebSi mTis qarTul i mosaxl eobis Casaxl ebis mizanSewonil obas dasabuTebul i formiT ayenebdnen. es sakiTxi mTel i principul obiT osi so-

cial - demokratebis Tbil isis 1920 wl is 21 seqtembris TaTbirze al .l omTaTizis mier iqna dasmul i. misi mtkicebiT, saqarTvel ios respub- l ikis usafrTxoebis mizniT, aucil ebl obas Crdil oetis sazRvrebis gam- agreba warmoadgenda. igi os social - demokratebs pirdapir afrTxil eb- da: `Tqven unda SeurigdeT im faqts, rom dReidan rokis yel i unda Cabardes saqarTvel os saxel mwifoebri vi ideis matarebel xal xs. ramdenadac am sakiTxs pirvel xarisxovani mniSvnel oba aqvs saqarTve- l os respubli kis dacvasi, am respubli kis dacvas gvaval ebs Cveni dRevandel i saerTaSoriso mdgomareoba.~ es imas niSnavda, rom Sida qarTI is mTiani zol idan (ruseT- saqarTvel os sazRvris zona) osebi unda aesaxl ebinaT da saqarTvel os sxva regionebsi daesax- l ebinaT, xol o gamoTavisufli ebul adgil ebze qarTul i mosaxl eo- ba damkvidrebul iyo.

Sida qarTI is mTis osebis mier damoukidebel i saqarTvel os winaaRmeg mowyobil ma mudmivma aj anyebebma, mSvidobiani mosaxl eo- bis Zarcvam da qveynis momaval i bedis kiTxviTi niSnis qveS daye- nebam, saqarTvel os xel isufli ebas sxva al ternativa ar dautova. aRniSnul i sakiTxi am kuTxiT unda iqnas ganxil ul i. im SemTxvevaSi, Tuki demokratiul i saqarTvel os mTavrobis am gadawyvetil ebas arahumanuri poziciidan miudgebian, aseTma `Semfasebl ebma- pasuxi unda gascen kiTxvas; 1918- 1920 wl ebSi Sida qarTI is osebis mier Cadenil i danaSaul is msgavs qmedebas rogor Sexvdeboda dasav- l eT evropis civil izebul i qveynebis da Tu gnebat igive sabWoTa ruseTis xel isufli eba. probl emis ganxil va da misi Sefaseba im periodis saerTaSoriso samarTI isa da qarTvel i eris erovnul i saxel mwifos interesebis gaTval iswinebiT unda moxdes da ara sabWouri, an separatistul i zedapirul i ideol ogiis mxarda-mWer- Ta mixedviT.

qveynis gadarCenis mizniT zemoarNi Snul i formis gamosayenebl ad, saqarT- vel os xel isufli eba osebis mxridan damoukidebel i saqarTvel os saxel - mwifos ngrevis permanentul i mcdel obiT ganpirobepul ma izul ebam miyva- na da ara osebis sizul vil ma. Tuki Cveni eris warsul istorias gadavxe- davT, aRmoCndeba, rom XIII saukunis 60- ian wl ebSi saqarTvel oSi Semoxi- znul i da daviT ul us mier pativiT miRebul i osebi, saqarTvel os saxel m- wifos dauZinebel mtrebad iqnen. qarTul istoriografiaSi dadasture- bul ia, rom saqarTvel os saxel mwifos dasustebiT, saqarTvel oSi mcxovreba osebma isargebl es da Sida qarTI Si gabatondnen, monRol Ta samsaxurSi Cadgnen da aTeul i wl ebis ganmavl obaSi qarTvel Ta winaaRmdeg monRol uri sapol icio damsjel i Zal is funqcias asrul ebdnen. qarTvel ebisa da qar- Tul i saxel mwifos winaaRmdeg osebis ZirgamomTxrel i saqmianobiT iyo ganpirobepul i giorgi V brwyinval is mier osebtan mimarTebsi gatarebu- l i radikal uri zomebi. amastan dakavSirebiT vaxuSti batoniSvil i wers: `mZl avrobdnen ovsni qarTI sa da daepyraT adgil adgil Ta dabnebi da cixeni. aman mefeman ganasxna Zl ierebiTa TvisTa da waruxuna cixeni da dabnebi, merme Sevida da Semusrna kavkassa Sina myofni, urCni mosrna da daimorCil na da moxarke hyvna yovel ni igini da daamSvida qarTI i ovsTa- gan, vinaiTgan gzani yovel ni TviT dai pyrna.¹³ am faqts, Cemi azrit prof. n.l omouri swor komentars ukeTebis da savsebiT samarTI ianad dasZens: `giorgi brwyinval em ara marto `ganasxna da aRfxurna- osebi saqarTve- l odan, aramed TviT oseTSi miuxda... daimorCil a da daxarka, xol o qarT- l i osTagan `daamSvida- imiT, rom yvel a zekarebi TviT dai kava da Caketa... XIV saukunis dasawyisSi giorgi brwyinval is mier osebi pirwmi ndad gaZeve-

bul i iqna saqarTvel os sazRvrebidan da maT... Semobrunebis gzebic Caeke-
ta.¹⁴ es iyo iZul ebiTi RonisZieba, radgan im periodSi osebma sxva gza
giorgi brwyinval es ar dautova. anal ogiuri probl emis winaSe aRmoCnda
damoukidebel i saqarTvel os mTavrobac.

warsul is mZime gamocdil ebidan gamomdinare, Sida qarTI is mTis oseb-
Tan mimarTebaSi, saqarTvel os xel isufl eba ramdenadac im etapze sxva
gamosaval s ver xedavda, Crdil oetis sazRvrspira zol idan mTis osebis
mocil eba da saqarTvel os sxva regionebsi gadasaxl ebis aucil ebl oba
maTi mxridan erTxmad iqna dadasturebul i. am mxriv, gansakuTrebul yur-
adRebas samxedro saminstros general ur StabSi gamarTul i respubl -
ikis Tavdacvis sabWos 1920 wl is 18 ivnisis sxdomaze miRebul i dadgeni-
l eba iqcevs. igi saqarTvel os saxel mwifosa da Sida qarTI is qarTul
mosaxl eobasTan mimarTebaSi osebis mier 1918- 1920 wl ebSi Cadenil i da-
naSaul ebrivi qmedebis Sej amebas warmoadgenda. damoukidebel i saqarTve-
l os saxel mwifosTvis Crdil oetidan usafrTxoebis garantiis Seqmnis
aucil ebl obidan gamomdinare, Sida qarTI is damnaSave mTis osebis mimarT,
vj uRel i umkacresi RonisZiebebis gatarebas moiTxovda. aRniSnul saki-
Txze mis mier gakeTebul i moxsenebis ZiriTadi debul ebebi daedo safuZ-
vl ad respubl ikis Tavdacvis sabWos 18 ivnisis sxdomaze miRebul dadge-
nil ebas. igi 19 ivniss saqarTvel os mTavrobas gadaegzavna. am dokumentis
mixedviT: **a)**sofel rokis osuri mosaxl eoba mTI ianad unda aesaxl ebinaT
da qarTul i sanapiro jarisaTvis mxol od saWiro binebi daetovebinaT;
b)Crdil o kavkasiaSi (dval eTSi) gadasavl el i gzebi, garda mamisonisa
aefeTqebinaT; **g)**Crdil o kavkasiaSi gadasul i damnaSave osebisatvis ukan
dabrunebis SesaZl ebl oba ar miecaT. es dadgenil eba, Sida qarTI is osur
mosaxl eobas sam kategoriad yofda: **1)**saqarTvel os xel isufl ebisadmi
mxardamWerebad; **2)**saeWvo pirebad; **3)**damoukidebel i saqarTvel os saxel m-
wifos winaaRmdeg mebrZol ebad. am kriteriumebiT iyo gansazRvrul i sa-
qarTvel os mTavrobis mxridan TiToeul i maTganisadmi damokidebul eba.
im osebs, vkiTxul obT dokumentSi_ roml ebmac Cvendami l oial oba gam-
oiCines, TavianT sofl ebSi darCenis neba mieces. xol o saeWvo pirebs, mTavro-
bis gankargul ebiT respubl ikis sxva raionebsi gadasaxl ebis saSual eba
mieces; **d)**srul ebiT gadasaxl ebul i iqnas j avis midamoebis osebi (l iax-
visa da facis xeobebe) da maT magier es adgil ebi miwaTmoqmedebisa da Si-
nagan saqmeTa saminstroebis gankargul ebiT dasaxl ebul i iqnes qarTve-
l ebiT; **e)**ar daubrundes osebs CamorTmeul i pirutyvi; **v)**yovel gvარი zaral i,
romel ic miadga samxedro moqmedebeb iT Cvens momxre osebs, anazRaurdes
republ ikis xazinidan; **z)**l tol vil osebs, roml ebic Cvens teritoriaze
amJamad imyofeba, Sinagan saqmeTa saminstros gankargul ebiT daxmareba
mieces da erobaTa kavSiris gankargul ebiT isini Casaxl ebul i iqnan res-
publ ikis sxva teritoriaze.¹⁵

am dokumentis mkacri tonis miuxedavad, masSi kargad Cans, rom saqarTve-
l os xel isufl eba ebrZoda ara saerTod osebs, aramed mxol od im osebs,
roml ebsac saqarTvel os saxel mwifos winaaRmdeg mowyobil i oTxgzis aj a-
nyebiT, Sida qarTI is qarTvel Ta genocidisa da eTnowmendis mcdel o-
bidan gamomdinare, qveynis winaSe Ral atis tol fasi danaSaul i qonda Cade-
nil i. am SemTxvevaSi, respubl ikis Tavdacvis sabWosa da qarTul i pol iti-
kuri speqtris (sakanonmdebl o organosa da qveynis mTavrobis) pozicia
identuri iyo. probl emisadmi aRniSnul i formiT midgomis amosaval
safuZvel s_ saqarTvel os damoukidebl obis, qveynis teritoriul i
mTI ianobis SenarCunebis, Sida qarTI is qarTul i mosaxl eobis usa-
frrTxoebisa da misi Rirsebis dacvis garantiis Seqmna warmoad-
genda.

rac Seexeba osTa namosaxl arze qarTvel Ta Casaxl ebas, am process miwa-

Tmoqmedebis saministros agrarul ganyofil ebasTan Seqmnil i gadasaxl ebis qveganyofil eba xel mZRvanel obda. mosaxl eobis Sesabamis adgil - ebze Casaxl ebis procesis zedamxedvel obas, damfuZnebel i krebis wevris I JRentis Tavmj domareobiT Seqmnil i adgil obrivi komisia axorciel ebda. miwaTmoqmedebis saministrosTan arsebul i gadasaxl ebis ganyofil ebis mier, Sinagan saqmeTa saministrosadmi gagzavnil i 1920 wl is 24 ivl isiT daTariRebul i dokumentiT irkveva, rom j avis raionSi axl adCasaxl ebul i qarTvel ebi, osebisagan Tavdausxmel obis garanti iT ar iyvnen dazRveul ni, miTumetes, wunarisa da yornisis TemebSi osi SeiaraRebul i yaCaRebi aqtiurad moqmedebdnen. `amnair pirobebSi_ vkiTxul obT dokumentSi_ ara Tu gadasaxl ebul ebi, adgil obrivi mcxovrebi qarTvel ebic SiSoben darCenas da Tu administraciis gaZl ierebas ar mieqca seriozul i yuradReba, erT mSvenier dRes gadasaxl ebul ebica da adgil obrivi mkvidri qarTvel i mcxovrebl ebic daiZvrebian iqedan.- mosal odnel i sirTul eebis acil ebis mizniT, miwaTmoqmedebis saministrosTan arsebul i sagadasaxl ebo ganyofil eba, Sinagan saqmeTa saministros winaSe principul ad ayenebda sakiTxs: **a)**zemoaRniSnul sofl ebSi momxdariyo administraciisa da mil iciis Zal ebis dayovnebl ivi gaZl iereba; **b)**Sinagan saqmeTa saministros eSuamdgoml a samxedro saministrosTan, raTa arsebul i saj ariso SenaerTebi damatebiTi kontigentiT gaezarda da j avis xeobaSi qarTvel Ta Casaxl ebis damTavrebamde hyol oda.

es faqti imaze migvaniSnebs, rom im etapze osuri safrTxe j er kidev arsebobda da misi SeCereba mxol od Zal ismieri meTodis demonstrirebiT iyo SesaZl ebel i. rac Seexeba osebis `sagadasaxl ebo- pol itikas, am sakiTxis dasmis iniciatorad saqarTvel os xel isufl eba namdvil ad ar CaiTvl eba. igi TviT osebidan momdinareobs. mxedvel obaSi maqvs 1919 wl is 20 seqtembers sof. j avaSi gamarTul i osebis VIII yril obis mier miRebul i dadgenil eba. am dokumentis mixedviT, yril obam osebis erovnul sabWos daaval a, eSuamdgoml a saqarTvel os xel isufl ebis winaSe, raTa mciredi mamul ebis mqone mTis osebi qveynis im adgil ebSi Caesaxl ebinaT, sadac isini SedarebiT ufro met miwas mi iRebdnen. aRniSnul i dadgenil eba, romel ic osebis erTi adgil idan respublikis sxva regionSi Tavisufal miwebze gadasaxl eba- Casaxl ebas exeba, bol Sevikebis mxridan yuradRebis miRma Segnebul ad iqna datovebul i. magram, roca igive sakiTxi saqarTvel os xel isufl ebam qveynis usafrTxoebis interesebidan gamomdinare wina pl anze wamoswia, qarTvel ma bol Sevikebma f.maxarazis meTaurobiT aJiotaJi atexa da damouki debel i saqarTvel os mTavroba `kacTmoZul e- pol itikuri kursis gamtarebl ad gamoacxada.²⁴ rogorc yovel Tvis, am SemTxvevaSi ac qarTvel i bol Sevikebi saqarTvel oSi mimdinare pol itikuri da ekonomikuri procesebis obieqtur analizs Segnebul ad gaurbodnen, Taviant Sexedul ebebsa da daskvnebs sabWouri ideol ogiisaTvis misaReb formebsi sTavazobdnen mkiTxvel sazogadoebas. gverds uvl idnen im faqts, rom saqarTvel os xe-l isufl ebis agrarul i reformis proeqti, roml is Semoqmedi n.xomeriki iyo, mciremiwiani gl exebis sxva adgil ebSi_ Tavisufal miwebze Casaxl ebas iTval iswinebda. **am reformas, ekonomikurTan erTad, pol itikuri mxarec gaaCnda. mxedvel obaSi maqvs respublikis sazRvriskura auTvisebel miwebze qarTvel i gl exebis Casaxl ebisa da qarTul i sofl ebis Seqmnis idea. exeboda ra aRniSnul sakiTxs, miwaTmoqmedebis ministri n.xomeriki xazgasmit werda: `ganapira adgil ebi yvel a TiTqmis ukl ebl iv dasaxl ebul ia araqarTul i el ementebiT, romel nic...**

xSirad mtrul ganwyobil ebas iCenen respubl ikisadmi, dawyebul i mexadiridan, respubl ika rkal iviT garsSemortymul ia an ucxo to- mis xal xiT, an kidev iseTebiT, romel nic SegnebiT qarTvel ni ar arian da arc mainca da mainc siyvarul s iCenen Cveni kul turisa da saxel mwifosadmi. amitom, saqarTvel os karebi Tu gnevavT mudam Riaa momxdurTaTvis.- amis real ur dadasturebas 1918- 1920 wl ebis mimdinare movl enebi warmoadgenda. aseT pirobebSi myofi qveynis mdgomareobis nawil obrivi gamosworebis SesaZl ebl obas, n.xomerikis azriT sagadasaxl ebo pol itikis gatareba Seqmnida. `gadasaxl ebis pol itika_ ambobda igi_ saSual ebas mogvcems es mdgomareoba cota- Ti mainc gamovasworot da saxel mwifos sazRvarze daraji davaye- noT... saWiroa mxol od iq ucxo tomel Ta dena Sewydes da maT ma- gier qarTvel umiwawyl o gl exs mieces mamul i Tavis qveyanaSi.-¹⁷

am metad mniSvnel ovani reformis pirvel safexurs_ raWis, duSeTisa da ozurgeTis mazrebidan gadmosaxl ebul i qarTvel ebis j avis xeobaSi Casa- xl ebis procesis dawyeba warmoadgenda. aRni Snul sakiTxTan dakavSi rebiT, gazeTi `saqarTvel o- statiaSi_ `j avis xeoba,- gansakuTrebul yuradRebas mTis macxovrebel gudamayar- moxeveebis 80 oj axis am xeobaSi Casaxl ebis faqtze amaxvil ebda. imavdroul ad, mkiTxvel sazogadoebas maTis mxridan tradiciul ad maRal i meomrul i sul iskveTebis faqtebs Seaxsenebda da dasZenda: gudamayar- moxeveebis `gmirul i warsul i aqvs, Crdil oeTidan Se- mosul i mtris damarcxebaSi da ukuqcevaSi awmyoSiac isaxel es Tavi... war- sul saukuneebSi mTis xal xi rusebs ebrZoda da maTi saqarTvel odan garekva surda... axl andel droSi mTiel - moxeveebis gadmosaxl ebas j avis xeobaSi msgavsi istoriul i mizani aqvs. es mTis arwivni ampartavanni da avgul ni gadmoasaxl a Cvenma mTavrobam im mizniT, rom dai cvan Crdil oeTis mtris Semosevisagan osebisgan dacariel ebul i j avis xeoba.- aRni Snul i amonaweri imis damadasturebel ia, rom j avis xeobaSi saqarTvel os xel isufl eba ZiriTadad mxol od im qarTvel obas asaxl ebda, rom- l ebSiac sofl is meurneobis gaZRol isa da meomris sul iskveTeba erTmaneTTan iyo Sexamebul i. am gegmis ganxorciel ebaSi xedavda saqarTvel os xel isufl eba Crdil oeTis sasazRvro zol is gamagrebis SesaZl ebl obas. meore mxriv, igi imazedac miuTitebs, rom maSinde- li qarTul i pol itikuri azri, saqarTvel os xel isufl ebis am pol i- tikuri kursis mxardamWeris rol Si gamodioda.

saqarTvel os saxel mwifosaTvis usafrTxoebis Seqmnis mizniT, erovnul i ideiiT datvirTul i zemoaRni Snul i reformis _sagadasaxl ebo pol itikis erT- erT Stos, osebis sazRvriskira zol idan asaxl eba da qveynis sxva regionSi Casaxl eba warmoadgenda. am proceduris praqtikul ad ganxorci- el ebis pirvel save etapze, qarTvel ma bol Sevikebma erTi aurzauri atex- es_ saqarTvel os xel isufl ebas osebis borCal osa da yaraiazSi Casaxl e- ba aqvs gadawyvetil io. saxel mwifos es pol itikuri kursi, maTi mxridan damoukidebel i saqarTvel os mTavrobis ara marto dausabuTebel i kriti- kis, aramed ganqiqebis sagani gaxda. XX saukunis 20- iani wl ebis qarTvel i bol Sevikebis Tval sazriss sabWouri istoriografiac icavda. am mxriv ga- nsakuTrebul yuradRebas a.surgul aZis mosazreba iqcevs. `menSevikebma_ wers igi_... miznad dai saxes oseTidan mkvidri macxovrebl ebis savsebiT ayra da yaraiazis vel ze gadasaxl eba. es iyo saSinel i gegma, romel ic oseTis mosaxl eobas ganadgurebas uqadda.-¹⁸ am striqonebis avtori isto- riis total ur gayal bebas axdens; a)rogorc aRni Snul i mqonda, saqarTve-

l os xel isufli eba, aj anyebaSi monawil e Sida qarTl is mTiani osuri sof-
l ebis macxovrebel Ta gadasaxl ebis sakiTxs ayenebda dRis wesrigSi da
ara oseTis, romel ic ruseTis federaciis Semadgenl obaSi iyo da romel ze-
dac saqarTvel os iurisdiqcia ar vrcel deboda; b) saqarTvel os sazRvrispi-
ra zol Si mcxoverbi osebis yaraiazis vel ze Casaxl eba, oseTis mosaxl e-
obas veranair safrTxes ver Seuqmida. es yal bi Sexedul eba, damouki debel
l i saqarTvel os mTavrobis maqsimal ur diskreditaciaze iyo gaTvl il i.
winaaRmdeg SemTxvevaSi a.surgul aZesa da sxvebs, ramdenime si tyviT mainc
unda eTqvaT, rom imave yaraiazSi 1920 wel s Casaxl ebul i qarTvel ebisgan
sami axal i qarTul i sofel i_ `Zmoba,- `erToba,- da `Tavisufli eba- Sei qmna,
roml ebsac 3368 desetina miwis farTobi eWira.¹⁹ agrarul i reformis am ku-
rsTan mimarTebaSi n.xomeriki ambobda: `dasaxl eba im adgil ebSi sadac
Tavisufal i miwebia, saSual ebas mi scems saxel mwifos ufro mi zanSewonil ad
gamoienos mraval i aTasi adamianis Sroma da qveynis bunebrivi simdidre.
ekonomiurad es respublikas Zl ier gaamagrebs.-²⁰

osebis sagadasaxl ebo pol itikas, swored am principiT ganxil avda ga-
zeTi `kl de- 1920 wel s gamoqveynebul statiaSi_ `osebis aj anyebis gakve-
Til i.- aRni Snul sakiTxTan mimarTebaSi Tavis pozicias igi Semdegnairad
ayal ibebda: `zurgidan osebs SeuZl iaT muSaoba da maTi ekonomiuri unari
gamosayenebel ia saxel mwifosaTvis, magram pol itikuri upiratesobani Cvens
xal xzed rac eZl eodaT rusebisa da Cveni mTavrobisagan_ yovl ad dau-
Svebel ia.-

erovnul - demokratebis mxridan saqarTvel os xel isufli ebisadmi gamo-
Tqmul am sayvedurSi simarTl is marcval i iyo Cadebul i. mxedvel obaSi
maqvs: 1)osebis kul turul i da ekonomikuri mdgomareobis gaumj obesebis
mizni T, qveynis saxel mwifo xazini dan gaRebul i didZal i dafinanseba; 2)1918-
1919 wl ebis osebis antisaxel mwifoebri vi permanentul i aj anyebebis Sede-
gad, damnaSave osi mosaxl eobis sanimuSod dausjel oba da saqarTvel os
saxel mwifos erTgul i moqal aqeebisadmi ufl ebrivad maTi gaTanabreba.
saqarTvel os mTavrobis mier osebtan mimarTebaSi daSvebul i es `Secdo-
ma,- imave qarTul i pol itikuri azris warmomadgenel Ta mixedviT, qveynis
agrarul proeqtSi Cadebul i osebis sagadasaxl ebo pol itikuri kursis
praqtikul ad dawyebiTi qna gamosworebul i. am pragmatul i nabjis gada-
dgmiT, saqarTvel os xel isufli ebam osuri sakiTxis erTxel da samudamod
gadasawyvetad da Crdil oetis sazRvris gasamagrebl ad myari niadagi Se-
amzada. dawyebul i saqmis bol omde miyvana, qveynis garSemo Semdgomi po-
l itikuri procesebis ganvitarebaze iyo damokidebul i.

amrigad; 1)saqarTvel os xel isufli ebis mier osebtan mimarTebaSi
gatarebul i sasikeTo Roniszieebis (miwis, tyis, saZovrebis gadace-
ma, osuri skol ebis Seqmna) sapasuxod, damoukidebel i saqarTvel os
saxel mwifos winaaRmdeg osebis mxridan 1918- 1920 wl ebSi ganxor-
ciel ebul ma `Sidaj varosnul ma l aSqrobebma,- qarTul i pol itikuri
azris l iderTa Soris osebi qveynis danamat parazitebad warmo-
acina. osebis namoqmedaris safuZvl ianma anal izmma, qarTul i pol i-
tikuri speqtris winaSe kanonzomierad dasva sakiTxi_ rit iyo ga-
npirobebul i qarTvel ebisadmi osebis gansakuTrebul i siZul vil i,
imsaxurebdnen Tu ara isini qarTvel ebTan Tanacxovrebis moral ur,
zneobrivi da samarTl ebriv ufl ebas. qarTvel Ta Znel bedobis Jams,
osebis oTxgzis aj anyebam da qarTul i saxel mwifos dauZl urebis
mcdel obam, qarTul i pol itikuri speqtri osebisadmi gaweul i sike-

Tis Secdomad aRiarebamde miyvana. am fonze, savsebiT l ogikuri iyo erovnul - demokratebis mier gakeTebul i radikal uri gancxada_ `osebi sabediswero muwukia saqarTvel os sxeul ze da igi aucil ebl ad unda moviSoroT;- 2)rokisa da mamisonis sauRel textil o xeobebis osuri separatistul i mosaxl eobisagan gawmenda da sanacvl od qarTvel ebis Casaxl ebis sakiTxis dayeneba, osebisadmi, rogorc arasaimedo eTnosisadmi undobl obiT iyo ganpirobetul i. am SemTxvevaSi, qarTul i saxel mwifos dasangrevad 1918- 1920 wl eb-Si sabWoTa ruseTis agenturis mier osebisadmi SekveTil i da dafinansebul i aj anyebebis faqtebia gasaTval iswinebel i. osuri safrTxis neutral izebisa da saqarTvel oSi mSvidobiani cxovrebis el ementarul i pirobemis Sesaqmnel ad, qarTul i pol itikuri azris warmomadgenl ebi erTadert gamosaval s osebis sanimuSod dasjaSi da qarTul i saxel mwifos samsaxurSi CayenebaSi xedavda; 3)damoukidebel i saqarTvel os mTavrobis mier osebtan mimarTebaSi gatarebul i `sagadasaxl ebo- pol itikis srul yofil ad ganxorciel eba orwel ze iyo gatvili i. igi sabWoTa ruseTidan mosal odnel i Tavdaxmisadmi Rirseul daxvedras, misi mxardamWeri osuri mosaxl eobis sasazRvro zol idan mocil ebas, Sida qarTl is mTian zol ze aRmocenebul i mtkivneul i osuri wyl ul isgan saqarTvel os sxeul is gankurnebas da misi usafrTxoebis garantiis Seqmnas emsaxureboda. osebis mier saqarTvel os saxel mwifos damoukidebel obis kiTxvis niSnis qveS ramdenjerme dayenebam, saqarTvel os xel isufl ebas sxval ternativa ar dautova. Zal momreobaze dafuznebul i osuri separatizmisa da osianobis safexurebrivad aRmasvl is dauyvneblivi likvidacia erTadert aucil ebel meqanizms warmoadgen- da. zemoT aRniSnul i radikal uri RonisZiebebi, osuri mosaxl eobis mxol od im nawil s Seexo, roml ebsac qveynis winaSe Ral atis tol fasi qmedeba qonda Cadenili. meore mxriv, `sagadasaxl ebo- pol itika, damoukidebel i saqarTvel os xel isufl ebis agrarul i reformis erT- erTi Semadgenel i nawil i iyo da qarTul mosaxl eobasTan erTad, osebis Sromis mizanmimarTul ad gamoyenebas iTval - iswinebda.

Tavi II

sabWoTa ruseTTan damarcxebul i damouki debel i saqarTvel o da osuri separatizmis zeimi (1921- 1925 ww.)

\$.1. saqarTvel os bol Sevikuri okupacia da osianobis ganaxl ebal NA Sida qarTI Si

damouki debel i saqarTvel os xel isufl ebis mier teritoriul i mTI i-
anobis SesanarCunebl ad da separatizmis aRmosafxvrel ad 1918- 1920 wl eb-
Si gatarebul i RonisZiebebi mxol od im SemTxvevaSi aRmoCndeboda Sede-
gis momtani, Tuki dasavl eT evropis saxel mwifoebidan qveyana garkveul
mxardaWeras miRebda. mxedvel obaSi maqvs iaraRiT, ful adi sesxiT dax-
mareba da erTa l igaSi gawevrianebis Sesaxeb saqarTvel osaTvis micemul i
pirobis Sesrul eba. evropis qveynebis mTavrobebis mxridan am mi marTul ebiT
pragmatul i nabij is gadadgma, saqarTvel os pirvel respubl ikas usafrTxo-
ebis garantias Seuqmni da da aRmSenebl obis mi zniT dawyebul i reformebis
bol omde miyvanis SesaZI ebl obas miscemda. samecniero l literaturaSi
dadasturebul ia, rom saqarTvel os dipl omatiuri korpusis muxl Cauxre-
l i brZol is miuxedavad, evropidan saqarTvel os si tyvieri dapirebis gar-
da, real urad aranairi daxmareba ar miuRia. evropis saxel mwifoebis
umetesobis waj eq- ukuj eqis pol itikuri kursis Sedegad, erTa l igaSi
saqarTvel os argawevrianebiT da am procesis 1921 wl is seqtembri-
saTvis gadadebiT, im Znel bedobis Jams qarTvel i eris mi marT mi za-
nmimarTul i pol itikuri da ideol ogiuri mkvl el oba ganxorciel -
da. am SemTxvevaSi, gadamwyveti rol i ingl isisa da misi satel iti qveyneb-
is mier saqarTvel os sawi naaRmdegod aRebul ma kursma ganapiroba. am faqtiT,
evropam saqarTvel o gawira da sabWoTa ruseTs `saj ij gnad- mi ugdo. me-
ore mxriv, imave ruseTs, 1921 wl is seqtembramde saqarTvel os winaaRmdeg
moqmedebis garkveul i dro misca. XX saukunis 20- iani wl ebis urTul esi
pol itikuri movl enebis fonze, saqarTvel o, sabWoTa ruseTisa da osmal e-
Tis piri spir martod- marto aRmoCnda. saerTaSoriso arenaze Zal Ta bal -
ansis cval ebadoba, sabWoTa ruseTs imperiul i ambiciebis dasakmayofil e-
bl ad aqtiuri moqmedebis SesaZI ebl obas aZI evda. am SemTxvevaSi mis amo-
canas samxreT kavkasiaSi, kerZod saqarTvel os winaaRmdeg samxedro moqme-
debis dawyeba warmoadgenda. dasaxul i gegmis warmatebiT ganxorciel ebis
garantias Semdegi faqtorebi ganapirobebda: **1)**ruseT- osmal eTis al iansi;
2)gasabWoebul i azerbaijani da somxeTi; **3)**dasavl eT evropis saxel mwifo-
Ta mxridan samxreT kavkasiisadmi, kerZod saqarTvel osadmi indiferentu-
l i damokidebul eba. am bol o sakiTxTan mi marTebaSi gadamwyveti rol i
ingl isis mTavrobis prosabWourma pol itikurma kursma Seasrul a. doku-
menturi masal iT dadasturebul ia, rom 1920 wl is meore naxevridan, **sabWo-**
Ta ruseTTan ingl isis mier dawyebul i ekonomikuri mol aparakeba
da kavkasiis saqmeebiT ardainterebis Sesaxeb komerciul i xel
l Sekrul ebiT oficial urad aRiareba, saqarTvel os winaaRmdeg ruse-
Tis waqezebas niSnavda. ingl isis maSindel ma pol itikurad meZavma
xel isufl ebam, saqarTvel o gasawirad gaimeta da sabWoTa ruseTis
axl oaRmosavl uri pol itikuri interesebis samsxverpl oze miitana.¹

saqarTvel os garSemo Seqmnil rTul pol itikur situacias, azerbaij anisa da somxeTis gasabWoeba (1920 wl is 28 april i, 1920 wl is 19 noemberi) kidev ufro amZimebda. evropis saxel mwifoebma im etapze saqarTvel osadmi ara Tu mfarvel oba, oficial uri pol itikuri Tanadgomac ar ikisra. es faqti da saqarTvel osTvis erTa l igis wevrobaze uaris Tqma, gasabWoebu- l i ruseTis xel isufl ebas dauyovnebl ivi moqmedebisaken ubi Zgebda. qarTve- l i istorikosebis mier bol o periodSi gamoqveynebul samecni ero SromebSi dadasturebul ia, rom 1921 wl is Tebervl isaTvis sabWoTa ruseTi saqarTve- l oze TavdasxmisaTvis seriozul ad iyo momzadebul i. samxedro operaci- ebis dasawyebad mxol od sababs eZebda. am mxriv, sabWoTa ruseTis mier xe- l CasaWid argumentad, l oreSi 11 Teberval s mowyobil i `aj anyebis- insce- nireba iqna gamoyenebul i. marTal ia, momxdari faqti uniWod dadgmul i spe- qtakl i iyo, magram, miuxedavad amisa, ruseTis sainformacio saSual ebebma igi `saqarTvel os mSromel i xal xis aj anyebad- gamoacxada.² am SemTxveva- Si, sabWoTa ruseTi saqarTvel oSi wiTel i armiis Sesvl is `samarTI ebrivi- fonis Seqmnas cdil obda. ucxo saxel mwifos mxridan agresiu l i qmedebis SefuTvis mizniT, saqarTvel os xel isufl ebis winaaRmdeg `aj anyebul ebi- sadmi- XI armiis daxmarebis motivacias eWi deboda. amis dadasturebas v.l enis mier XI armiis revol uciuri samxedro sabWosadmi gagzavnil i 1921 wl is 15 Tebervl iT daTariRebul i depeSa war moadgens. `cekas mi aCnia_ vkiTxul obT dokumentSi_ rom me- 11 armiis revol uciuri samxedro sab- Wos operaciebi neitral uri zonis aj anyebul Ta adgil obrivi dacvaa TeTrg- vardiel Ta mxriv mosal onel i ganadgurebisagan. angariSi gauwiet Tqveni operaciis pol itikur xasiaTs yvel a Tqvens saj aro gamosvl aSi.³ histori- ografiaSi dadasturebul ia, rom l ores `aj anyebul ebs- TeTrgvardiel Ta aranairi safrTxe ar emuqreboda, igi saqarTvel os winaaRmdeg XI armiis moqmedebis dawyebis gamarTI ebis pol itikuri Sirma unda yofil iyo.⁴

Sesabamisi ideol ogiuri bazis momzadebis Sedegad, XI armiis saqarTve- l os winaaRmdeg SeteviTi samxedro RonisZiebebis dawyeba, sabWoTa ruse- Tis xel mZRvanel obis mxridan aucil ebl obad iqna miCneul i. amis Sesaxeb **i.stal inis mier s.orj onikiZisadmi gagzavnil depeSaSi vkiTxul obT: «Ахлаве шеугие, дастуриа, аиге калаки.»** am nebar- Tvis miRebisTanave, XI armiis nawil ebma azerbaij anidan saqarTve- l oze Tavdasxma ganaxorciel a. imavdroul ad, sabWoTa ruseTma samxedro operaciebi daiwo vl adikavkazidan, mamisonis uRel texi- lidan da Savi zRvis sanapirodan. brZol aSi Cabmul i iqna me- 8, me- 9, me- 13 armiebi, budionisa da Jl obas kaval eris nawil ebi. am urT- ul es situaciaSi myof qveyanas, osmal eTma Sesafetisi momenti SeurCia da saqarTvel os xel isufl ebas arTvin- ardaganis okrugebis dac- la (1921 wl is 22 Teberval i) kategoriul i formiT mostxova. mowi- naaRmdegisadmi axal i frontis gaxsnis sababis armicemis mizniT, qarTul ma mxarem aRniSnul i okrugebidan jaris nawil ebi gamoiyva- na. am gadawyvetil ebis miReba imiT iyo `gamarTI ebul i-, rom qvey- nis gadarCenis erTaderT SesaZl ebl obas, damoukidebel i saqarTve- l os xel isufl eba, im etapze mxol od bol Sevikuri ruseTis Seiar- aRebul i Zal ebis winsvl is SeCerebaSi xedavda.⁵

qarTul i mxedrobis mier 18- dan 23 Tebervl is CaTvl iT Catarebul i gm- irul i brZol ebis miuxedavad, gamarj veba SeuZl ebel i iyo. Crdil oel i dampyrobel i, patara saqarTvel os TiTqmis yovel i mxridan hyavda Semo- seul i. umaRl esi mTavarsardl is g.kvini taZis mier 24 Teberval s gacemul i

131 brZanebis safuZvel ze, frontidan qarTul i saj ariso SenaerTebi moixsna da Tbil isi datovebul i iqna. XI armia, s.orj onikizis, Sel iavasa da sxva qarTvel i renegatebis sardl obiT Tbil isSi 25 Teberval s Sevida da qveyanaSi sabWoTa xel isufl ebis damyareba gamoacxada. damouki debel i saqarTvel o aRar arsebobda. momxdari faqtiT, sabWoTa ruseTma nanatri ocneba aisrul a da qarTvel ers monobis sabWouri uRel i daadga qedze.⁶

qarTvel i erisadmi Tavsdaxil i am ubedurebidan gamomdinare, konkretul ad ismeba kiTxva: roca qarTul i samxedro SenaerTebi qveynis damoukidebl obis gadasarCenad XI armias Tbil isis misadgomebTan erkineboda da qarTvel i axal gazrdebis sisxl i iRvreboda, qarTvel i erisaTvis am umZimes periodSi ras akeTebda Sida qarTl is saqarTvel os moqal aqe osebi? am kiTxvaze mxol od erTaderTi pasuxi arsebobs: qarTvel erTan mimarTebsi daCveul i Ralatis `osur tradicias- agrZel ebda. arcert matgans Crdil oel i dampyrobli is winaarmdeg iaraRi ar aRumarTavs. qarTvel ebis dace-misa da gaubedurebis xarj ze, sabWoTa ruseTis mfarvel obiT Sida qarTl is savaneSi osuri saxel mwifos sokosaviT aRmocenebis gegmas adgenda. amis dadasturebas, ararsebul i `samxreT oseTis- rkp (b) saol qo komitetis mier vl adikavkazSi gamarTul i sxdoma (1921 wl is 25 Teberval i) warmoadgens. igi saqarTvel oSi `samxreT oseTis- pol itikuri erTeul is Seqmnas, mis TviTgamorkvevasa da mmarTvel obiTi organos Camoyal ibebis sakiTxis gadawyvetas isaxavda miznad. amastan dakavSirebiT miRebul rezoluciaSi vkiTxul obT: `viRebT ramxedvel obaSi samxreT oseTis RaribTa Seuryevel survils, romelic gamoTqmulia: 1)samxreT oseTis mSromel Ta memorandumSi 1920 wl is 28 maiss, 2)samxreT oseTis xal xis deklaraciaSi mTis xal xTa yril obaze 1920 wl is 15 noembers, 3)samxreT oseTis revolucionur emigrantTa yril obis dadgenil ebaSi 1921 wl is 15 Teberval s q. kavkazSi, 4)sabWoTa xel isufl e-bisaTvis ganuwyveteli, TiTqmis sami wl is brZol aSi samxreT oseTis mSromeli xal xisa saqarTvel os social - moRal ateTa winaarmdeg, samxreT oseTis saol qo komiteti adgens: a)xel axl a gamocxaddes sabWoTa xel isufl eba samxreT oseTis; b)samxreT oseTisgan Seqmnas cal ke pol itikuri erTeul i centriT cxinval Si; g)samxreT oseTis revkomi daarsdes Semdegi amxanagebisgan: v.sanakoevi, r.kozaevi, ajatievi, y.butaevi, s.gagl oevi, n.gadievi da aplievi; d)samxreT oseTis mSromel Ta masis nebis sabol ood gamorkvevamde, sabWoTa yril obamde mTel i Zal aufl eba gadaeces samxreT oseTis revkoms; e)Sedges partbiuro Semdegi amxanagebisgan: ajatievi, aplievi, v.sanakoevi, s.gagl oevi, r.kozaevi.⁷

aRniSnul i dokumenti pirobitad or nawil ad SeiZl eba daiyos: 1)damoukidebel i saqarTvel os periodSi osebis mier miRebul i im dadgenil ebebis Segnebul ad win wamoweva, romlebic sinamdvil is gayal bebas emsaxureboda, qarTul i saxel mwifosa da qarTvel i xal xis siZul vil is el fers atarebda. meore mxriv, saqarTvel os saxel mwifoebrivi damoukidebl obis mizanSeuwonl obas, ruseTis federaciis Semadgenl obaSi Tbil isisa da quTaisis guberniebis statusiT Seyvanis aucil ebl obis `dasabutebis- mcdel obas Seicavda. am faqtiT, osi separatistebi sabWoTa xel isufl ebas im damsaxurebas Seaxsenebdnen, romelic gasabwoebul ruseTTan SeerTebis mizniT, damoukidebel i saqarTvel os winaarmdeg 1918- 1920 wl ebSi mowyobil i aj anyebiT miuZRodaT. 2)igive rezolucia, qarTvel i eris xarj ze, osebis gansakuTrebul privilegierebul formebsi Cayenebis aucil e-

bl obis sakiTxs oficial uri formiT ayenebda da am fonze; a)Sida qarTI is `samxreT oseTad- moazrebul i teritoriis saqarTvel os-agan Segnebul ad gaucxoebis samarTI ebrivi bazis momzadebas isax-avda miznad. aqedan gamomdinaere, iseT ideol ogiur garemos qmnida, TiTqos `samxreT oseTi- gasabWoebul i saqarTvel os Semadgenel nawil s ar warmoadgenda da iq sabWoTa xel isufl ebis Tavidan gamocxadeba aucil ebl obiT iyo nakarnaxevi; b)am mimarTul ebiT nabij is gadadgma, osebis morig mzakvrul gegmas ukavSirdeboda. igi `samxreT oseTis- damoukidebel i revkomis Seqmnaze da Sida qarTI Si mTel i Zal aufl ebis am organosadmi daqvemdebarebaze iyo gaTvl il i.

dasaxul i gegmis gansaxorciel ebl ad, SeiaraRebul ma osebma wiTel i ar- miis nawil ebTan erTad saqarTvel os dal aSqvra Crdil oetidan daiwyo. `naxebrad mSier- titvel ma meomrebma _wers asurgul aZe_ ucveul o simam- ace gamoiCines da pirnaTI ad Seasrul es sardl obis daval eba. samxreT oseTis partizanTa erTma j gufma gadmol axa rokis, j omagis da Trusos uRel texil ebi.-⁸ advil i warmosadgenia Tu ra mdgomareobaSi Caayenebda Sida qarTI is qarTul mosaxl eobas wiTel faraj aSi gamowyobil i Crdil oetidan SemoWril i `naxebrad mSier- titvel i- SeiaraRebul i osuri razmebi, roml ebsac sabWouri istoriografia ratomRac partizanebad asaReb- da. am `mSier- titvel ma partizanebma- 1921 wl is 2 marts roki, xol o 5 ma- rts cxinval i daikaves. imave wl is martSi `samxreT oseTis- revol uciuri komi tetis Seqmna, ukve saqarTvel os teritoriaze xel meored gamoacxades. am faqtTan dakavSirebiT, vinme osis fsevdonimiT gazeT `social ist- fed- eral istSi- dabeWdil statiaSi_ `mTl iani fronti Tu revol uciis de- zertiroba?- xazgasmiT iyo miTiTebul i: `Tu es xal xi marTI a gul wr-fe- l i revol ucionerebia, maSin maT gadawyvetil ebaSi bevri ramaa gaugebari. ra saWiroa saqarTvel os teritoriaze erovnebebis mixedviT revkomebis daarseba? es xom mTl iani frontis daSl aa, nacional uri brZol is da Su- RI is gaRrmavebaa?... araviTari saWiroeba araa imaSi, rom `domoroScenie- revkomebi Ria karebSi SeiWran da saqarTvel os teritoriis erT naWerze Tavisi iarl iyiT sabWoTa sistema gamoacxadon.- statiis avtoris es gul isw- yroma savsebiT kanonzomieri iyo, magram auxnel i rCeboda is ZiriTadi mizezi, romel sac osi separatistebis mier gadadgmul i aRniSnul i nabiji da maTi mxridan samomavl od gaTvl il i gegmebi emyareboda. momxdari faqtis erT- erT gasaRebs, `samxreT oseTis- revkomis xel moweriT v.l eninisadmi gagzavnil i depeSa warmoadgens. es dokumenti yura- dRebas imiT ipyrobs, rom igi Sida qarTI s, osebis kuTvnil teri- toriad acxadebda da mis samomavl o beds, sxvisgan_ qarTvel ebisa- gan daukiTxavad osebis Sexedul ebisamebr gadawyvetas ukavSireb- da. `samxreT oseTis Raribi gl exoba, _vkiTxul obT dokumentSi_ Tavis miwa- wyal ze daamkvidrebs sabWoTa xel isufl ebas... mas ver- avin... SeuSl is xel s Tavisi cxovreba moawyos sakuTari Sexedul e- baTa mixedvit da ara sxvaTa karnaxiT-⁹

es depeSa im dros daiwera, roca Crdil o kavkasiis oseTi gasab- Woebul i iyo, magram osebistvis iq osuri politikuri erTeul i ar SeuqmniaT da arc cxovrebis sakuTari Sexedul ebisamebr mowyobis ufl eba miuciaT. sabWoTa xel isufl ebis mesveurebma kargad icod- nen, saatis zambarasavit momarTul i osuri separatizmi, qarTvel i eris winaaRmdeg ra formiTa da mimarTul ebiT aemoqmedebinaT. isic SesaniSnavad hqondaT gacnobierebul i, rom 1920 wl is aj anyebis

gamo dasjil i osoba, saqarTvel oSi qarTvel Ta SurissaZiebl ad brundeboda. am procesesebis dacqarebas, qarTvel Ta Ral atisaTvis 1920 wels deportirebul i osebis, s.orj onikizis iniciativiT saqarTvel oSi usistemod dabrunebam da maTi qmedebis makontrol ebel i meqanizmis winaswar arSeqmnam Seuwyo xeli. am faqtTan dakavSirebiT, yuradRebas ori dokumenti iqcevs: 1)Tergis ol qisj arebis sardl is smirnovisa da genStabis ufrosis Savrovis mier s.orj onikizisadmi 14 marts gamogzavnili depeSa, romel Siac rkp (b) Crdil oeT oseTis saol qo komitetis saxel iT iyo dasmul i SekiTxva_ cal keul os emigrantebis `samxreT oseTSi- dabrunebis nebas miscemden Tu ara; 2)Tergis ol qisj arebis sardl isa da rkp (b) Tergis saol qo komitetisadmi s.orj onikizis mier 1921 wl is 17 marts gagzavnili sapasuxo depeSa. am dokumentSi vkiTxuli obT: `menSevikebis mier gadasaxlebul osTa dabrunebis absol utur Tavisuflebas Tavistavad wyvets saqarTvel oSi sabWoTa xelisuflebis gamocxadeba. osTa sakiTxi aRar arsebobs, osebi Taviant bed- iRbl is sruli baton- patronebi arian. saqarTvel os sabWoTa mTavrobam mil iardi maneTi gaiRo menSevikTa mier gaCanagebul samxreT oseTis osTa dasaxmarebl ad. gadaeciT getayva, samxreT oseTis yvel a oss, rom Taviant kerebSi maT dabrunebas xels srul iad araferi uSli is.¹⁰

marTalia, damnaSave osebis saqarTvel oSi dabrunebaze s.orj onikize Tanxmobas acxadebda da maT dasaxmarebl ad erTi mil iardi maneTis gamoyofis pirobasac izleoda, magram, uyuradRebod toveda 1919 wl is ianvarSi osebis mier al agiridan deportirebul i udanaSaul o 500 qarTuli ojaxis (2700 sul i) bedis sakiTxs. es arc aris gasakviri, radgan al agirel qarTvel Ta qoneba da saxl - kari osebs atvisebul i hqonda, xolo kosmopol itizmis seniT daavadebul i naqarTvel ari, qarTvel Ta interesebis el ementarul dacvas gadametebul nacional izmad da Sovinizmad aRiqvamda. aqedan gamomdinare, s.orj onikizis xel mZRvanel obiT saqarTvel oSi gatarebul i erovnul i politikuri kursi, qarTvel Ta sizul vil ze da Segnebul ad mis damcrobaze iyo gatvili. am principebze agebda igi osebtan l oial ur damokidebul ebas da misadmi mfarvel obas. amis saukeTeso magal its winaswari mosamzadebel i samuSaoebis Catarebis gareSe, `deportirebul i- osebis saqarTvel oSi dabrunebis nebarTvis gacema warmoadgens. s.orj onikizis zemoaRniSnuli depeSa savsebiT sakmarisi armoCnda imisaTvis, rom `mSier- titvel i- osebis uzarmazari masa Crdil oeTidan Sida qarTli is qarTul soflebs Seseoda da qarTvel i gl exebisgan gadanaxuli sasofl o- sameurneo produqtebis mewile gamxdariyo. Sinagan saqmeTa saxal xo komisariatის mier saqarTvel os revkomisadmi 1921 wels wardgenili moxsenebis mixedviT Tuki vimsjel ebT, osebis Semosevis procesi 1921 wl is martSi dawyebul a. es is periodia, roca saqarTvel oSi sagazafxulo sasofl o- sameurneo samuSaoebi mimdinareobs da saSemodgomo mosavlis misaRebad qarTvel i gl exi Sesabamis niadags amzadebs. adgil obriv mosaxleobas Tu ra mdgomareobaSi Caayenebda qarTvel ebze ganawyenebul i da damSeuli osebis aseT dros qveyanaSi ukontrol od Semosvl a_ advili warmosadgenia. saarqivo masalebis mixedviT, aRniSnul sakiTxiTan mimarTebaSi gasabWoebul i saqarTvel os xelisuflebis danaSaul ebrivi qmedeba aSkarad ikveTeba. im SemTxvevaSi, Tuki 1920 wels qveynis Ral atis gamo deportirebul i osebis Sida qarTli Si

dabruneba aucil ebl obas warmoadgenda, saxel isufi ebo wreeps winaswari programa unda SeemuSavebina, saTanado baza moemzadebina da es procesi etapobrivad ganexorciel ebina. saarqivo masal iT dasturdeba, rom am mimarTul ebiT praqtikul i nabijis gadadgmis mcdel obas mxol od mas Semdeg hqonda adgili, roca tabarukad Semoxiznul i osebi SimSil is winaSe aRmoCnda da qarTvel mosaxl e-obas kiserze daawva. mxedvel obaSi maqvs saqarTvel os revkomis prezidiumis 1921 wl is 7 april is dadgenil eba, roml is mixedviTac, saWiroebisaTvis `samxreT oseTis- revkoms 200 milioni maneTi, xol o `samxreT oseTis- dabrunebul i `deportirebul i- osebisaTvis sacxovrebel i pirobebis mosamzadebl ad erTi miliard maneTi unda gamoyofil iyo. imave dokumentiT aRniSnul i Tanxis mizanmimarTul ad gankargvis sazedamxedvel o ufl ebebi Sinagan saqmeTa saxal xo komisariats daeval a.¹¹

yuradsaRebia is faqti, rom amierkavkasiis ful is niSnebis SemoRebamde (1923 w.), im etapze respublikis teritoriaze ZiriTadad damoukidebel i saqarTvel os boni iyo mimoqcevaSi. samecniero l iteraturaSi dadasturebul ia, rom erTi qarTul i boni sabWoTa ruseTis 100 maneTs udrida. marTalia, zemoaRniSnul i Tanxa osebisaTvis saTanado sacxovrebel i pirobebis Seqmnas iTval iswinebda, magram gaurkvevel i rCeba, erT miliardSi qarTul bons gul isxmobda saqarTvel os revkomi Turusul sabWoTa maneTs. sakiTxis am kuTxiT dasma imiTac aris ganpirobebul i, rom 1921 wl is noembris dasawyisisaTvis, saqarTvel o- finansuri katastrofis zRvarze idga. saarqivo masal ebiT dadasturebul ia, rom 5- 10 grami puris Rirebul eba im etapze 15- 30 aTas sabWoTa maneTs Seadgenda. ful is am donemde gaufasurebidan gamomdinare, advil i warmosadgenia Turadonis moTxovnebs gawvdeboda osebistvis dapirebul i erTi miliard. rac Seexeba ful is praqtikul ad gamoyofas, garkveul dros moiTxovda.

miTumetes, Cems mier motanil i dadgenil ebis operatiul ad Sesrul ebarSesrul eba, respublikis biujetis SesaZl ebl obis gaTval iswinebiT, finansTa saxal xo komisariatze iyo damokidebul i. amasTan erTad, sabWouri biurokratiul i aparatis specifikasac Tuki gaviTval iswinebT, osebi sadmi erTi miliard manTiT daxmareba_ samomavl o perspeqtivas warmoadgenda. am Tval sazriss, Sinagan saqmeTa saxal xo komisariat is aRniSnul i moxseneba kidev ufro amyarebs. `erTi miliard maneTis gadadebiT..._ vkiTxul obT dokumentSi_ dRevandel mTavrobas saxel mwifo xazinidan osebis dakmayofil eba surda. **magram es gza, rogorc ufro Soreul i, osebs swraf daxmarebas ver aRmouCenda.** Crdil o kavkasiidan dabrunebul osebs esaWiroebodaT sursaT- sanovage da sxva pirvel adi moTxovnil ebis sagnebi. es ki maT ar gaaCndaT da verc adgil obrivma revkomma SeZl o saWiro sanovagiT osebis momarageba.- aqedan gamomdinare, s.orj onikiZis danapirebis miuxedavad, uqonel i da Rataki osebis Crdil oeti dan Si da qarTI Si masobrivad Semosevis gamo, isini umZimes mdgomareobaSi aRmoCndnen. amis damadasturebl ad `samxreT oseTis- revkomis Tavmj domaris ajatievisa da imave revkomis oTxi wevris xel moweriT saqarTvel os central uri komitetisa da saqarTvel os revkomisadmi 1921 wl is 12 maiss wa-rdgenil moxsenebaSi motanil i faqtebi gamodgeba. am dokumentis mixedviT; **1)mSieri,** CamoZenZil i da usaxl karo osebi, l ukmapuris saSovnel ad qarTul softl ebSi dadiodnen; **2)fizikurad** da sul ierad gamofitul osebs, Si da qarTI - Si tifi da Savi Wiri Semohqonda; **3)osebi** im saqonel isa da inventaris ukan dabrunebas iTxovdnen, roml ebsac softl ebSi poul obdnen da Tavisdad Tv-

l idnen; 4)saqarTvel os revkomi da central uri komiteti Tuki cxinval is raions damSeul i osebisatvis Sesabamis produqtebs dauyovnebl iv ar mi-awvdida, farTomasStabiani Zarcvis dawyeba garduval i iqneboda; 5)cocxali saqonel i da Sesabamisi inventari osebisTvis dauyovnebl iv unda mi ecaT.¹²

situacia imdenad daZabul i iyo, rom saqarTvel os revkomis prezidumi iZul ebul i gaxda, am sakiTxebis Sesaxeb sagangebod emsj el a. mxedvel obaSi maqvs `samxreT oseTis- revkomisadmi sursaTiT daxmarebis mizniT, saqarTvel os revkomis prezidumis 1921 wl is 11 maisis sxdomis dadgenil eba. am dokumentis mixedvit, `samxreT oseTis- revkomi saTvis saswrafod erTi vagoni marili da ori vagoni simindi unda gaegzavnaT. aRniSnuli dokumentis miRebidan or TveSi, imave saqarTvel os revkomis prezidumis 1921 wl is 11 ivl isis dadgenil ebit, Sida qarTI Si Semoxiznul i damSeul i osebis dasapurebl ad, `samxreT oseTis- revkomi saTvis 200 fuTi (3200 kil o) fqvil is gamoyofis sakiTxi daisva. Cems xel T arsebul i saarqivo masal is anal izi safuZvel s maZl evs ganvacxado, rom zemoaRniSnuli dadgenil ebebi, piarkampaniisaTvis gamiznul erTjerad RonisZiebas warmoadgenda, radgan dasaxel ebul i produqtis raodenoba, Crdil oetidan Sida qarTI Si gadmoxvewil atiaTasobit damSeul oss, umniSvnel o SeRavaTsac ver miscemda. imave (11 ivl isis) dadgenil ebis mesame muxl is mixedvit, miwaTmoqmedebis saxal xo komisariats, muSa pirutyvis ganawil ebis dros, pirvel rigSi `samxreT oseTis- osuri mosaxl eobis dakmayofil eba daeval a.¹³ garukveveli rCeboda yvel aze mniSvnel ovani; muSa pirutyvi xel isufl ebas saidan unda moeyvana. aseTi arapragmatuli xasiaTis dadgenil ebit ganpirobepul ma uaryofiTma Sedegebma mal eve icina Tavi. amis dadasturebas Sinagan saqmeTa saxal xo komisariatis moxsenebaSi motanili faqtebi warmoadgens. **am dokumentidan irkveva, rom respublikis revkomma, osuri mosaxl eobis saWiro sursaTiT momarageba ver SeZlo, da rac mTavaria, osebis saqarTvel oSi `dabrunebis- process sruliad moumzadebel i, safexurebrivad gaTvlili winaswari gegmis gareSe Sexvda. isic gasaTval iswinebel ia, rom Sesabamis saxel isufl ebo struqturebs, SurismaZiebeli osi mZarcvel ebisagan Sida qarTI is qarTuli mosaxl eobis damcavi meqanizmi im etapze ar SeumuSavebia. es faqtori, osebs, qarTvel Ta winaaRmddeg moqmedebis met SesaZlebl obas aZle vda, ramac Sida qarTI is qarTuli mosaxl eoba gausaZl is mdgomareobaSi Caayena. amastan dakavSirebit arsebul zogierT faqts yuradReba asonRul asvil mac miacqia da mkiTxvel sazogadoebas saintereso masala miawoda.¹⁴ winamorbed mkvl evarTagan gansxvavebit, Sevecade samecni ero brunvasi axali damatebiti saarqivo dokumentebi Semogvetana da misi anal izis safuZvel ze Sida qarTI Si osianobis safexurebrivad ganaxl ebis mimdinare procesi mkiTxvel isaTvis Sedarebit amomwuravi formiT SemeTavazebi na. Cems mier arqivsacavebsi mikvl euli **dokumenturi masal iT dasturdeba, rom osebma, qarTvel ebze SurisZiebis ori gza airCia: 1)qarTvel TamizannimarTul ad Seviwroeba da 2)qarTvel ebis mamapapeuli sacxovrisidan gamodevna.****

rac Seexeba pirvel sakiTxs_ qarTvel TamizannimarTul ad Seviwroebas, igi Sida qarTI is qarTvel ebis qonebis osebis mxridan mitacebaSi gamovlinda. amis Sesaxeb Sinagan saqmeTa saxal xo komisariatis fondSi sayuradRebo masal ebia daculi. am dokumentebit irkveva, rom osebis mier qarTuli sofl ebidan Zal datanebis gziT gamodevnil i qarTvel ebis upatronod darCenili qoneba, osma mZarcvel ebma daitaces da adgil obrivi xel isu-

fl ebis dasanaxad datvirTul i urmebiT j avisken waiRes. imave saarqivo masal ebis mixedviT, qarTvel Ta kuTvnil i Sinauri pirutyvis misaTvisebl ad, osebma `original ur- meTods mimarTes. konkretul ad Tu raSi mdgomareobda igi, amis Sesaxeb sayuradRebo masal as Sinagan saqmeTa saxal xo komisariatTan arsebul i sagangebo komisiis wevrTa (ratiSvil i, iobiZe) mier motanil i faqtebi da masze dayrdnobiT gakeTebul i daskvnebi iZl e- va. am dokumentebSi garkveviTaa miTiTebul i, rom sasofl o- sameurneo samuSaoebis Catarebis mizniT, osebma pirvel rigSi qarTvel ebisatvis muSa pirutyvis wartmeva daisaxes miznad. am SemTxvevaSi, isini mTavrobis im gankargul ebis mixedviT moqmedebden, romel ic osebs 1920 wels dakargul i qonebis_ maT Soris saqonl is dabrunebis SesaZl ebl obas aZl evda. Tu rogor iyenebda osebi am ufl ebas, amastan dakavSirebiT, imave komisiastan arsebul i erT- erTi qvekomisiis Tavmj domare ratiSvil i Tavis moxseneba- Si werda: `Tu romel ime osma odesme qarTvel s mihyida raime pirutyvi, cxinval is administracias ucxadebs, rom viTom misi saqonel i ama da am qarTvel s hyavs gatacebul i da am saSual ebiT saqonel s `ukanve ibrunes-. yofil a agreTve mraval i SemTxveva, rodesac osi sofl is naxirSi misul a, dauTval ierebia da dauswavl ia romel ime saqonl is niSnebi, Semdeg ganucxadebia, rom is gatacebul i saqonel ia.~ osebis es qmedeba mizanimarTul da masiur xasiaTs atarebda. osi mtacebl ebisgan qarTul i oj axeb- is dacvis mizniT, xel isufl ebas im etapze aranairi kanoni ar miuRia. ama- stan dakavSirebiT, goris mazris revkomis Tavmj domaris gabunias mier Sinagan saqmeTa saxal xo komisariatSadmi 1921 wl is 18 maiss gagzavnil weril Si xazgasmiT iyo miTiTebul i. `osebi_ vkiTxul obT dokumentSi_ ganuwyvetl iv daiarebian qarTul sofl ebSi da eZeben saqonel s. SeaTval iereben ra mosawon saqonel s, ixsomeben niSnebs da Semdeg moaqvT samxret osetidan mowmoba, sadac dawvril ebiT weria gvari da saxel i maZiebel i osisa, saqonl is niSnebis aRwera da Tandart- ul ia _dauyovnebl iv daubrunes kuTvnil ebisamebr. aris xSirad imiTana magal iTebi, rom osebi xel s adeben da Cemul oben iseT sa- qonel s, romel sac Tavis dReSi nabijic ar daudgams cxinval is ra- ionis fargl ebSi... amiTana movl ena xSiria da qarTvel i gl exka- coba... arasasurvel mdgomareobaSia Cavardnil i... saWiroa gaices gankargul eba, raTa osebs aekrZal os saqonl is Zebna da isini dak- mayofil ebul i iqnan an ful iT, an sxva raime saSual ebiT.~

Cems mier motanil i masal ebidan gamomdinare Tuki vimsjel ebT, igi sru- l ad asaxavs osebis mxridan qarTvel Ta qonebis miTvisebis tradiciul dauokebel swrafvas da am mavnebl uri tendenciisadmi gasabWoebul i sa- qarTvel os xel isufl ebis indiferentul damokidebul ebas. miTumetes, goris samazro revkomis Tavmj domaris mier xel isufl ebis winaSe dasmul i Txo- vna_ osebisatvis saqonl is Zebna aekrZal aT da ful iT daekmayofil ebi- naT_ Seusrul ebel i darCa. aseT danaSaul ebriv faqtze, xel isufl ebisagan mkacri reagirebis argatareba, Sida qarTl Si mcxovrebe qarTvel Ta uyura- dRebod mitovebas da garkveul i formiT osi separatistebis waxal isebas niSnavda. dokumenturi masal iT dasturdeba, rom qarTvel Ta winaarmdeg osebis moqmedeba, saqarTvel oSi Seqmnil i pol itikuri situaciis koniunq- turaze iyo gaTvl il i. ramdenadac im etapze osi mtacebl ebis mimarT Sesabamisi dasj adi meqanizmi ar moqmedebda, es faqtori Crdil oetidan saqarTvel oSi Semoxiznul osebs, qarTvel Ta saZarcvavad ufro aqtiuri moqmedebi saken ubiZgebda. **Sinagan saqmeTa saxal xo komisariatTan**

aršebul i sagangebo komisiis moxsenebebidan irkveva, rom qarTul sofl ebSi Seiararebul i osebi urmebiT dadiodnen da qarTul i mosaxl eobisgan muqaris Zal iT miqondaT sofl is meurneobis produqtebi, tansacmel i, TeTreul i, aveji, miyavdaT saqonel i. aRniSnul danaSaul ebriv qmedebasTan dakavSirebiT, imave komisiis erT- erT moxsenebaSi vkiTxul obT: `cxinval is Crdil oeTiT, l iaxvis marjvena mxares Svidi qarTul i sofel ia: dgvrisi, aCabeTi, TamaraSeni, TamaraSeni meore, monasteri, qurTa da kexvi, roml ebic amJamad ganicdian mware wuTebS da unugeSo mdgomareobas. moxsenebul sofl ebSi TareSoben bnel i pirebi, roml ebic ar indoben mSvidobian mcxovrebl ebs da yovel i mxridan awiokeben maT.- amis damadasturebl ad, imave dokumentSi CamoTvl il i sofl ebis mosaxl eobis mier Sinagan saqmeTa saxal xo komisariatسادمي 1921 wl is 17 maiss wardgenil gancxadebaSi motanil i faqtebia damowmebul i. gansakuTrebul i yuradRebaa gamaxvil ebul i osi mZarcvel ebis mier qarTul i sofl ebis mcxovrebtTa mimarT Cadenil danaSaul ebriv qmedebebze. `sofl is gl exebS_ vkiTxul obT dokumentSi_ avazakebi saSual ebas ar aZl even gavides da daamuSaos Tavisi miwa da amiT saSual eba misces Tavis Tavs mTel i wel iwadi mSieri ar darCes. avazakTa TareSi wres gadasul ia: 1)maisis TerTmets borotmomqmedebi daecnen sofel kexvis axl os mTel guTneul s da srol a autexes. maT saqonl is gataceba undodaT, magram mexreebma saqonel i saswrafod gamouSves da sofel Si uvnebl ad Camorekes; 2)arDgoma dRes, ucnobma avazakebma sofel kexvidan sami Zroxamoitaca; 3)cxraSi sofel kexvidan gaitaces oTxi Zroxam. maT aTi adgil obrivi mil ociei daedevna. mihyven avazakebis kval s da gadavidnen osebis sofel egraSi (al baT edisaSi S.v.), sadac gatacebul i saqonel i aRmoCnda... saqonl is dabrunebis dros, osebis xsenebul i sofl idan mil iciei ebs srol a kvl avdauwyes, magram saqonel i mainc dabrunebul i iqna. 4)arTSi saqonel i da cxvari iqna gatacebul i, borotmomqmedni miimal nen; 5)april is bol oricxvebSi qurTaSi bol otaSvil is qvrivs daecnen da waiRes rac ebada. avazakebi miimal nen; 6)maisis pirvel ricxvebSi sofel qurTaSi avazakebi yaCiSvil s daecnen, waiRes ris waRebac SeZl es. avazakebi miimal nen; 7)amave ricxvebSi kvl av daecnen xsenebul bol otaSvil is qvrivs, moukl es Zroxam, ori xari da dasWres 80 wl is moxuci.- Cems mier motanil i faqtebidan da qarTvel i eris mZime warsul is gamocdil ebidan gamomdinare, erTaderTi daskvnis gakeTeba SeiZl eba; Tuki XVIII saukunis II naxevis qarTI - kaxetis samefos mosaxl eobis darbeviTa da ZarcviT l ekebma `isaxel a- Tavi, XX saukunis 20- ian wl ebSi, gasabWoebul saqarTvel oSi, Sua saukuneebis l ekianoba, osianobam Caanacvl a. es procesi imdenad mZl avri formiT mimdinareobda, rom Sida qarTI is udreki qarTul i mosaxl eoba SiSma da panikam moicva. `mTel i es aremare_ vkiTxul obT imave dokumentSi_ SiSis zariT aris mocul i. arcerTi Rame damSvidebul i ar Tendeba, radgan yovel Tvis el ian dacemas da awiokebas. saqonel s tyeSi da mindorSi vermidenian, radganac brboebis eSiniaT. varT aseT mdgomareobaSi da ganvicdiT mware dReebS.- osebisagan safuZvl ianad gaZarcvul i da daSinebul i Sida qarTI is qarTvel oba, xel isufl ebisagan daxmarebas iTxovda. `gTxovT gasceT gankargul eba, raTa osebma dagvi brunon Cveni saqonel i, romel ic imyofeba j avisken: xari, kameCi, Zroxam, cxvari, Txa, Rori, cxeni da aveji.- gasabWoebul i saqarTvel os mmarTvel i wreebis wayruebisa da osi mZarcvel ebis Zal isxmevis Sedegad, cxinva-

l is raionis qarTvel oba ul ukmapurod, tansacml isa da marCenal i saqonl is gareSe darCa.

zemoT motanil faqtebs, qveynis samTavrobo uwebebi da misadmi daqvem-debarebul i masmediis saSual ebebi Segnebul ad asaiduml oebda. erTader-Ti beWdviTi organo, romel ic im etapze Sida qarTI is qarTvel Ta gasaWi rs axmaurebda da mkiTxvel sazogadoebamde miqonda, memarcxene social ist-federal istebis gazeTi `social ist- federal isti- iyo. igi osebisgan qarTvel Ta Zarcvis permanentul procesebs Seexo da osebis mxridan qarTul i oj axebidan Wirnaxul is, tansacml is, saqonl isa da Zvirfasi nivTebis data- cebis faqtebi Tanmimdevrul ad aRwera. osebis Tavdasxmebisagan qarTvel - Ta dacvis saqmes, ramdenadac gasabWoebul i saqarTvel os xel isufl ebis adgil obrivi organoebi Tavsver arTmevda, osi mZarcvel ebisadmi qarTvel Ta Rirseul ad daxvedris mizniT, qarTul i sofl ebis mcxovrebtTa SeiaraRebas, gazeTi mizanSewonil ad miicnevda.

gazeTi `social ist- federal isti- dokumentur masal aze dayrdnobiT: 1)osebis, rogorc mZarcvel ebis mamxil ebel i faqtebis win wamoweviT, sazogadoebis samsj avroze gamotaniT, Sesabamisi samTavrobo komisi ebisgan misi dadasturebiT, da 2)moZal ade osebis wi naaRmddeg gawamebul i qarTvel ebisagan iaraRis gamoyenebis didi al baTobisadmi yuradRebis gamaxvil ebiT, qveynis Zal ovan struqturabs, osebtan mimarTebaSi mkacri RonisZiebebis gatarebis aucil ebl obisken mouwodebda. mi uxedavad amisa, saarqivo masal e- biT ar dasturdeba, rom gasabWoebul i saqarTvel os xel isufl ebis Se- sabamis uwebas, qarTul sofl ebSi osebis TareSis asal agmad farTomas- Stabiani droul i operatiul i RonisZiebebi gaetarebinos. Sida qarTI Si arsebul i urTul esi probl emisadmi Zal ovani uwebebis maRal CinosanTa damokidebul eba, im etapze mxol od komisi ebis SeqmniT da maT mier gakeTe- bul i moxseneba- daskvnebis mosmeniT Semoifargl a. samTavrobo uwebebma, ramdenadac arsebul i situaciis Sesatyvisi droul i pragmatul i gada- wyvetil ebebi ver miiRo, es faqti, qarTvel Ta moZul e osebs, Cafiqrebul i SurisZiebis اساسrul ebl ad met SesaZl ebl obas uqmnida. miTumetes, maTi mfarvel oba `samxreT- oseTis- revkomsa da mil icias Tavis- Tavze hqonda aRebul i. amis damadasturebl ad qarTul i sofl ebis mosaxl eobis mier saqarTvel os mTavrobisadmi 1921 wl is maisSi gagzavnil i special uri ga- ncxadeba gamodgeba. am dokumentis mixedviT, qarTul i sofl ebis; vanaTis, bel oTis, sacxeneTis da awrisxevis sofl is mosaxl eobis warmomadgenl ebi, Sesabamisi faqtebis dasaxel ebiT im ukanonobas amxel da, romel sac osebis revkomi da osuri mil iciis xel mZRvanel oba SeiaraRebul i osi yaCaRebisa da mZarcvel ebis mfarvel obasTan mimarTebaSi iCenda. amis Sesaxeb imave gancxadebaSi 18 SeiaraRebul i osi yaCaRis mier sofel sveris qarTul i mosaxl eobis gaZarcvis Sesaxebaa saubari. iqve am yaCaRebis daWeraze da maTdami `samxreT oseTis- revkomis warmomadgenel Ta mZrunvel obazea yu- radReba gamaxvil ebul i. amasTan dakavSirebiT imave weril Si vkiTxul obT: `18 osi daWeril i mZarcvel i Camoiyvanes daba cxinval is mil iciis ufrosTan. am dros movida oseTis revkomidan gankargul eba, rom daWeril i osebi gaenTavisufl ebinaT. tusaRebi gauSves. dResac ar viciT ratom moxda ase.- `samxreT oseTis- mil iciis ufrosis j ij ikaevis mxridan os mZarcvel ebT- an dakavSirebiT anal ogiuri saxis mZrunvel obis faqtzea yuradReba gam- axvil ebul i imave gancxadebaSi. saqme exeba sofel eredvis mosaxl eobis mier daWeril i yaCaRebis ganTavisufl ebasa da TviT mil iciis ufrosis j ij ikaevis TviTnebobas. `yaCaRebis daWeraSi _vkiTxul obT dokumentSi

_sofel eredvis revkomisadmi daxmarebis nacvl ad, osebis mil iciam sofel
eredvis revkomis Tavmj domare daatusaRa... osebis mil iciis ufrosi jiji-
kaevi misi survil isamebr moqmedebs. mas sityvas veravin ubedavs... rac
surs imas scadis. arafers ekiTxeba cxinval is revkoms, romel sac faqti-
urad araviTari ufl ebebi ar aqvs. cxinval is raionSi amistanu uwesoba
unda ail agmos.-

yovel ive zemoTqmul i imaze migvaniSnebs, rom saqarTvel os revkomi
da qveynis central uri aRmasrul ebel i xel isufl eba, Sida qarTI -
Si xel ovnurad Seqmnil i `samxret oseTis- revkomis mimarT, qmedi-
Ti RonisZiebebis gatarebas gaurboda. es iqedanac cans, rom saqarTve-
l os revkomsa da central ur aRmasrul ebel komitets im etapze
osebis revkomis TviTnebobis SesaCerebl ad aranairi gamafrTxi-
l ebel i dadgenil eba ar miuRia. amitom iyo, rom `samxret oseTis-
revkomi moqmedebda rogorc damoukidebel i qveynis da ara saqarTve-
l os revkomis qvemdebare organo. momxdari faqti gasabWoebul i sa-
qarTvel os saxel isufl ebo Stoebis upasuxismgebl obiT iyo ganpirobebu-
l i. aseTi gancxadebis gakeTebis safuZvel s, zemoaRniSnul i sofl ebis mier
saqarTvel os mTavrobisadmi 1921 wl is 25 april s wardgenil gancxadebaze
35 dRis dagvianebl gakeTebul i reagireba izl eva. amis damadasturebl ad
Sesabamis saarqivo dokuments movitan da Tavad mkiTxvel ma gansaj os, sa-
qarTvel os maSindel i xel isufl eba Tu ramdenad gul isxmirebl ekide-
boda Sida qarTI Si macxovrebel qarTvel Ta gasaWirs. qarTul i sofl eb-
is gancxadebas, saqarTvel os mTavrobis kancel ariis ufrosis xel mower-
iT dadasturebul i Semdegi saxis mcire mocul obis weril i erTvis:
`saqarTvel os ssa sabWoTa mTavrobis kancel aria # 5721. 1921 w. ivnisis 2.
tfil isi. sasaxl e. Sinagan saqmeTa saxal xo komisariats. Tanaxmad rezol uci-
isa gegzavnebaT gankargul ebisaTvis gancxadeba im uwesobis Sesaxeb, romel -
sac adgil i aqvs cxinval is raionSi.- rogorc irkveva, 25 april s daregis-
trirebul i qarTvel Ta gancxadeba, saqarTvel os mTavrobis kancel ariam 2
ivniss ganxil a da reagirebisaTvis Sinagan saqmeTa saxal xo komisariats
gadaugzavna. im periodis sabWoTa biurokratiul i aparatis damaxasiaTebel
specifikasac Tu gaviTval iswinebT, osebisagan Seviwroebul i qarTvel ebi-
sadmi operatiul i xasiaTis droul i daxmarebis aRmoCena gamoricxul i
iyo. amas isc adasturebs, rom xel isufl ebisagan upatronod mitovebul i
da osi separatistebis saj ij gnad ganwirul i uiaraRo qarTvel oba, Tav-
dacvis mizniT momxdurisadmi winaaRmdogobis gasawevad, xel isufl ebisa-
gan iaraRs, an ukidures SemTxvevaSi sofl ebSi rusi wiTel armiel ebis
nacvl ad qarTul i jaris qvedanayofis Cayenebas moITxovda. amis Sesaxeb
devnil obaSi myofi qarTvel ebis mier xel isufl ebisadmi oficial urad
gagzavnil weril ebSi xazgasmiT iyo miTitebul i: `umorCil esad gTxovT
mogvceT iaraRi, rom daviCvaT Cveni Tavi da miViDeT Cvens saxl ebSi.- qarTul i
sofl ebis; sveris, mindianis, yafli anis, kasranis da monasteris mcxovrebl e-
bi cxinval is revkoms uyuradRebobaSi da umoqmedobaSi adanaSaul ebda.
`sami Tvea rac sTxoven cxinval is revkoms, _vkiTxul obT weril Si_ Tu
Tqven ar gamogzavniT vismes, maSin mogveciT iaraRi raTa Cveni Tavi Cvenve
daviCvaT. magram revkomma ver SeZl o amis mogvareba. dResac aris xuTi
sofel i mitovebul i. es sofl ebi dauXnav- dauTesavi rCeba. saWiroa revkomma
miiRos Sesabamisi zomebi.- aRniSnul i faqtebi im ganukiTxaobaze migvaniS-
nebs, romel ic gasabWoebul i saqarTvel os xel isufl ebis umoqmedobiTa
da osi separatistebis Tavgasul obis Sedegad iyo damkvidrebul i Sida

qarTl Si. Cems mier mikvl eul i saarqivo masal ebidan dasturdeba, rom `samxreT oseTis- avtonomiur ol qad moazrebul i teritoriis fargl ebSi moqceul i qarTul i sofl ebis safuZvl ianad gaZarcvis Semdeg, osebi mezo- bel i mazrebis qarTul sofl ebsac Seesia. amis erT- erT dadasturebas, Sorapnis mazris mil iciis ufrosis mier Sinagan saqmeTa saxal xo komi sar- iatisadmi 1923 wl is 25 maiss gagzavnil i ori weril i (# 1989; # 1994) war- moadgens. pirvel maTganSi (# 1989) Wal is Temis sof. perevis qarTul mosaxl eobaze Tedel eTis osebis TavdasxmebiT ganpirobebul i vel uri namo- qmedaria wina pl anze wamoweul i. `vel uri Tavdasxma sof. Tedel eTis os- ebisgan_ vkiTxul obT dokumentSi, _ roml ebic ar aZl even mosvenebas mSvi- dobian mcxovrebt,... mosal odnel ia sisxl is Rvra... sofel perevis mcx- ovrebl ebisa, Tu ar iqna miRebul i zomebi Tedel eTis osebis winaaRmdeg.~ rac Seexeba meore weril s (# 1994), masSi Sorapnis mazris saTemo mil iciis ganyofil ebaze SeiaraRebul i osebis Tavdasxmis, mil iciis cxenis gataceb- is, mZarcvel - Tavdamsxmel Ta da mil iciis TanamSromel Ta iaraRiT dapir- ispirebis faqtebia dafiqsirebul i. es dokumenti imiTacaayuradRebo, rom masSi mZarcvel ebisadmi `samxreT oseTis- qoTinakos Temis aRmasko- misa da osuri mil iciis aSkara mxardaWeraa dadasturebul i. `am garemoeb- as_ vkiTxul obT weril Si_ uyurebdnen adgil obrivi oseTis Temis aRma- skomi da mil icia, magram araviTari daxmareba Cveni mil iciisaTvis ar aRmouCeniaT. piriqit, daxmareba gauweviaT qurd- bacacebisaTvis.¹⁵

saarqivo masal ebis safuZvl iani da miukerZoebel i anal izis mixedviT Tuki ganvixil avT qarTul sofl ebze osi SeiaraRebul i mZarcvel ebis Tavdasxmebis mi mdinare procesebs, misi permanentul i xasiaTi aSkarad ikveT- eba. amis Sesaxeb xazgasmiTaa miTitebul i goris samazro partiul i komi- tetis pl enumis 1924 wl is 30 ivl isis sxdomis saoqmo (oqmi # 2) Canawereb- Si. am dokumentidan irkveva, rom aRniSnul sakiTxTan dakavSirebiT, saga- ngebo gancxadeba goris samazro komitetis erT- erTma maRal Cinosanma fsitizem gaakeTa. misi mtkicebit, ramdenadac goris mazris qarTul sofl ebSi osebi saqurdl ad da saqonl is mosatacebl ad gamudmebit gadadi- odnen, arsebul i mdgomareobis gansamuxtrad da osi mZarcvel ebis asal ag- mavad, samazro komitets ramdenime dadgenil eba qonda miRebul i. imave saoqmo Canawerebis mixedviT, arcerTi maTgani praqtikul ad ar ganxorci- el ebul a. miuxedavad amisa, verc imave sxdomam miRo arsebul i mZime situ- aciiis ganmuxtvis pragmatul i gadawyvetil eba. igi mxol od probl emis Sem- swavl el i komisiis Seqmnis moTxovniT dakmayofil da. `eTxovos cekas, _vki- Txul obT dokumentSi_ raTa am sakiTxis erTxel da samudamod mosagvare- bl ad gamoyofil i iqnas komisia, romel ic adgil ze gamoarkvevs yovel gvar uTanxmoebas da miRebs saWiro zomebs.~ es dadgenil eba Sesabamisi weril is darTvit goris samazro revkomma cxovrebaSvil isa da parkaZis xel - moweriT (13 dRis Semdeg) 12 agvistos saqarTvel os central ur komitets gadaugzavna. `gaaxl ebT ra amastanave erTad gormazrkomis pl enumis sx- domis oqmidan # 2 amonawers, imis Sesaxeb, rom samxreT oseTidan gadmosu- l i osebi did zians ayeneben qarTvel gl exobas da es mdgomareoba dRem- de ar aris mogvarebul i, amitom gormazrkomi gTxovT pl enumis dadge- nil eba am sakiTxis Sesaxeb moyvanil i iqnas sisrul eSi.~ saarqivo masa- l ebidan irkveva, rom zemoaRniSnul i dadgenil eba da weril i central uri komitetis ganxil vis sagani ar gamxdara. amis dadasturebas, saqarTvel os kompartiis central uri komitetis saorgenizacio ganyofil ebis gangis al .boboxiZis mier imave dokumentebze TandarTul i rezol ucia warmoad-

gens. Sinagan saqmeTa saxal xo komisars. gigzavniT ra goris samazro komitetis momarTvas 12/VIII- 24 w. # 2008 c.k. winadadebas gaZl evT miiRoT saTanado zomebi. Tqvens mier miRebul zomebze acnobeT cekas.-

am rezol uciis mixedviT, central uri komiteti pasuxismgebl obas ixsnida da saqmis mogvarebas Sinagan saqmeTa saxal xo komisariats akisrebda. igi aRniSnul i uwyebisgan ara umkacresi, aramed saTanado zomebis miRebas moiTxovda. sxvadasxva mel niT Sesrul ebulli da praqtikul i Sedegis armontani aseTi saxis rezol uciebiT, im periodis dokumentebi mravl adaa aWrel ebul i. magram, 1921- 1924 wl ebis periodSi, Cven ver wavawydiT umkacresi xasiaTis iseT dadgenil ebas, romelic osi mZarcvel ebis asal agmad iqneboda mimarTulli. es faqti imaze metyvel ebs, rom gasabWoebul i saqarTvel os xel isufleba, garkveul i mosazrebebidan gamomdinare, osebisdmi l obistis rol Si gamodioda. es arc aris gasakviri, radgan osebis danaSaul ebriv qmedebebTan mimarTebaSi im etapze gatarebul i adeqvaturi RonisZiebebi, deportirebul i osebis Sida qarTI Si dabrunebis s.orj onikiZiseul gadawyvetil ebas Secdomad warmoaCenda. am real obis gaTval iswinebidan gamomdinare, saqarTvel os xel isufleba arsebul i sinamdvil is yovel mxriv mifuCeCebas cdil obda, Tundac igi Sida qarTI is qarTul i mosaxl eobis gaubedurebis xarjze momxdariyo. amitom, usamarTI obisa da ganukiTxaobis politikuri kursi, qarTul mosaxl eobasTan mimarTebaSi Segnebul admimdinareobda. amis erT- erT magal iTs, saqarTvel os revkomis prezidiumis 1921 wl is 5 maisis dadgenil ebis IV muxl is (g) punqtis safuZvel ze (oqmi # 11), Sida qarTI is qarTul i sofl ebis gl exebis oj axebSi XI armis cxenosani samxedro nawil is jariskacta Cayeneba warmoadgens. osi mZarcvel ebisgan gaRatakebul i da gaubedurebis zRvramde misul i qarTveli gl exis oj axebs, osebis damxmare wiTel armiel ebis rCena gauxades saval debul od. Turamdenad mZime mdgomareobaSi aRmoCnda amis gamo qarTul i mosaxl eoba, amastan dakavSirebiT Sinagan saqmeTa saxal xo komisariat is mier saqarTvel os revkomisadmi 1921 wels wardgenil moxsenebaSi vkiTxul obT: `cxinval is raionSi 200 kacisgan Semdgari wiTel i armis nawil ia dabanakebul i, romlebic sxvadasxva sofl ebSia gafantul i da gl exkacobis binebSia Casaxl ebul i. am binebis mamakacebi saxl s ver toveben da mindorSi samusaod ver midian. es garemoeba kargs arafers uqadis momaval Si cxinval is raions. sazogadod, jariskacebis cxovreba kerZo binebSi ar aris sasurveli, mitumetes, rom am raionSi, sadac puris mosavalli mcirea, sursat- sanovagis moyvana xal xisa da cxenebis gamosakvebad Znel ia.- aseTi gafrTxil ebis miuxedavad, arsebul i probl emis mosagvarebl ad xel isuflebas iotisodena nabij ic ar gadaudgams. es arcaa gasakviri, radgan jariskacebis rCena axl adSeqmnil i sabWouri `saxel mwifosxel isuflebas ar SeeZlo da es funqcia, begaris wesiT Sida qarTI is qarTul mosaxl eobas daakisres. xel isufal Ta wayruebiT, rusi jariskacebic sargebl obdnen da qarTul i mosaxl eobisagan sakvebi produqtების amoRebas maqsimal urad cdil obdnen. amastan dakavSirebiT, qarTul i sofl ebis mier saqarTvel os mTavrobisadmi 1921 wl is 25 april iT daTariRebul weril Si vkiTxul obT: `Segvawuxa j arma, romelic dRes cxinval Si dgas. modian saxl ebSi da gvawuxeben, gv-Txoven Wirnaxul s, sakl avs da afuWeben naTesebs, venaxebis da ar gvaqvs Rame Zili.- aseTi situaciidan gamomdinare, qarTul mosaxl eobaSi rusi wiTel armiel ebisadmi ara mar to

undobl obam, aramed zizRmac daisadgura. es faqti, Sinagan saqmeTa saxal xo komisariatTan Seqmnil i komisiis wevrebs SeumCnevel i ar darCenia da amis Sesaxeb imave moxsenebaSi xazgasmiT mi uuTiTes. `rac Seexeba j ars_ vkiTxul obT dokumentSi_ verc aman moipova xal xis pativiscema. cxinval is raions ar SeuZl ia orasi jariskacis Senaxva. amasTanave naxevari maTgani cxenosania. Tu miviRebT mxedvel obaSi im garemoebas, rom es jari Casaxl ebul ia gl exobis kerZo binebSi, maSin gl exobasa da j ars Soris damokidebul eba naTel i gaxdeba... isic aRsanisnavia, rom arc samxedro uweba da arc sasursaTo komiteti raionSi myof j ars da maT cxenebs saWiro sursaT- sanovages ar aZl evs da maSasadame, isini arseboben adgil obrivi gl exkacobis xarj ze. amgvarad, gaboroteba qarTvel gl exkacobaSi Zl ierdeba da sabWoTa xel isufl ebis prestiJi ecema.- aseTi daskvnis miuxedavad, Cven ver mi vakvl iet iseTi saxis dokuments, romel ic qarTul i sofl ebidan im etapze rusi jariskacebis gayvanis faqts daadasturebda. yovel mxriv Seviwroebul i da gawamebul i Sida qarTI is qarTul i mosaxl eoba imeds ar kargavda, gasabWoebul i saqarTvel os mTavro-bisa da revkomisadmi gagzavnil weril ebSi wiTel i armiis jaris nawil ebis gayvanas kategoriul i formiT moiTxovda. `amJamad sofel kexvSi_ vkiTxul obT erT- erT dokumentSi_ dgas samxedro Zal a, romel sac hkvebavs isedac gamwarebul i da dabeCavebul i gl exkacoba. am samxedro Zal is Senaxva Cven ar SegviZl ia da gTxovT gagvanTavisufl oT am xarj isagan.-

aRniSnul sakiTxTan dakavSirebiT, xel isufl ebis samxil i masal ebi gazeTma `social ist- federal istma- gamoaqveyna. mxedvel obaSi maqvs imave gazeTSi miminos fsevdonimiT dabeWdil i statia `cxinval is raioni safrTxeSia.- qarTul i sofl ebis gl exis oj axebSi or- ori rusis jariskacis Cayenebis faqti masSi xazgasmiT aris miTiTebul i. `yovel i xarji am jariskacebis gamokvebisa_ vkiTxul obT weril Si_ awevs oj axis patrons, romel sac jariskacebi xSirad ar eridebian da SerCeul saWmel ebs sTxoven. garda amisa, yvel am icis Tu ra gacxarebul i muSaobaa exl a sofl ad da am dros bevri oj axis patroni mamakaci oj axis Tavs ver anebebs da samuSaos scdeba im mizeziT, rom mas ar SeuZl ia mandil osnebi saxl Si datovos ucxo stumrebis amara.- Cems mier motanil i faqtebidan kargad Cans, rom qarTul sofl ebSi Cayenebul i wiTel armi el ebi, qarTul i mosaxl eobis dasacavad ar iyo gaTval iswinebul i. mas osi mZarcvel ebis winaaRmdeg qarTvel ebis mxridan iaraRiT gal aSqrebis xel SemSl el i da adgil obrivi qarTul i mosaxl eobis ekonomikurad gaRatakebis funqcia unda Seesrul ebina. saarqivo masal iT dasturdeba, rom Sida qarTI is qarTul i mosaxl eobis mimarT gatarebul ma ganukiTxaobisa da usamarTI obis pol itikurma kursma, osi mZarcvel ebis Segnebul ad arSeCerebam da XI armiis 200 cxenosani jariskacis Senaxva- gamokvebis qarTul i sofl ebisadmi iZul ebiT dakisrebam, qarTvel i gl exobis meurneobis ngrevas da mis srul gaCanagebas Seuwyo xel i. Sida qarTI Si `mSier- titvel i- osebis Semosevam da misadmi sabWoTa xel isufl ebis mfarvel obam, erT- dros wel Si gamarTul i qarTvel i gl exis oj axi maTxovris donemde daiyvana. amis dadasturebas qarTul i sofl ebis: sveris, qemertis, mindianis, yafl anis, kasranis, monasteris mcxovrebtami er saqarTvel os mTavro- bisadmi wardgenil i gancxadeba warmoadgens. `gTxovT_ vkiTxul obT dokumentSi_ aRmogviCi noT daxmareba sanovagiT, avej iT da farTI iT. ganvi cdi T autanel mdgomareobas, ar gvyavs saqonel i, ar gvaqvs Casacmel i da saWme-

ლი.- ასეთ უმჯობესი წარდგინა ვარაუდის გაცხადება, ოსების მიერ დამატების და სასაქონლო მოსავლის მისაღებად სათანადო პირობების მომზადების სასაუბროებს არ აქვს ადგილი. აღნიშნული ვითარების გზით ვარაუდის უფასო მომარაგებად გამოყენებას ცდილობდა. ამასთან დაკავშირებით ერთ-ერთ დოკუმენტს ვიკითხავ: `ახალი გადასახადი შემოსევის; ცენი ხარჯით, საკონსტრუქციო, ხალიხით და ტესტით გვარსებობს და გვარსებობს ოსების მიერ და ეს ხდება მაშინ, როცა ცენი საკონსტრუქციო საშუალება ვიკითხავ. მოგახსენებთ რა ამას, გთხოვთ გვიპრობოთ, მოგვცეთ თქვენთვის თავისუფალი სარგებლობის სასაუბროებს. ამოგვაცილებთ ზედმეტი უკანონო ხარჯები.- ასეთ გასაზრდის ყოფასი ყოფილი ვარაუდის გაცხადება ოსების ხარჯებით აღნიშნული უფასო ბეგარაზე მიყვანდა ჯავასი და თავიანთი საკონსტრუქციო აქტივობებში. ამ და ზემოაღნიშნული სხვა უკანონო მოქმედებებთან მიმართებაში, `სამხრეთ ოსეთის- რევკომის (მისადმი დაკვამდებარებული ადგილი ოსების რევკომის) და ვართლ სოფლების წყობის რუსი ჯარისკაცები არაირი რეაგირებას არ აქვთ. პირიქით, ისინი ოს მზარცვლებს ვართლს ოსების დარბაზის უწყობდნენ ხელს და ხსრად მათი მხარდაჭერა ახრად აქვთ დასრულდნენ. ამ ფაქტის ზრითადი მიზნის ახსნას, სინაგან საკონსტრუქციო სახალიხო კომისიისთან შეკმნილი კომისიის ერთ-ერთი კვებკომისიის თავმჯდომარე იობიზე თავის მოხსენებაში შემდეგი ფორმით ცდილობდა: `რამდენად ოსები უფრო რარობები არიან ვიდრე ადგილი ოსების მხოვრები ვართლს ები, ამიტომ, მთელი სიმართლია, როგორც სამხრეთ ოსეთის რევკომისა, ისე მთელი მომსახურებისა და ჯარისა_ ოსების მხარეზეა. აი სწორედ ამიტომ არის, რომ ვართლს ები სწორედ სოფლებს და გარბიან აქვან.-

`სამხრეთ ოსეთის- რევკომისადმი დაკვამდებარებული უწყობებისა და რუსი ჯარისკაცების ხელ შეწყობით, ოსების მხრიდან ვართლს მოსახლეობის მიმართ მიზანმიმართული ადგილი ავთელი ყოფასი იობიზე შემდგენილად არხრდა: `ვართლს ები_ ხრდა იგი_ აღნიშნული დამონებული და დანიშნული არიან საბჭოთა ხელისუფლების დამყარების დრიდან ვართლს ოსი... ოსები კი არიან ისეთი პირნი, რომელიც ბოროტმოქმედებას სცადიან და პასუხისგებაში მიუცემენ რეგებიან.- ეს ფაქტი ერთხელ კიდევ მიგვანიშნებს, რომ ცადენილი დანაშაული ოსების დასჯელობა, არსებული ხელისუფლების მხრიდან არაოფიციალური ფორმით შეგნებული ახორციელდებოდა. იგი ოსი სეპარატისტების მიერ ცაფიკრებული საბოლოო მიზნის მიხედვით პირველი საფეხურის მომზადებას_ სიდა ვართლის ვართლს მოსახლეობის გაჩაღებას და მათი კონების ოსებისგან მითაცების დააწყებას ითვალისწინებდა. თუკი ეს ანტივართლის პოლიტიკური კურსი კავბიუროსა და გასაბჭოებულის ვართლს ოს ხელისუფლების ფარული ხელ შეწყობით არ ხორციელდებოდა, მაშინ გაუგებარი რეგება, პასუხისგებაში რატომ არ აქვს დენი `სამხრეთ ოსეთის- ტემის, რაიონის, ვალი აკის და მარის რევკომების ხეხრებას და ხელ მზრვანელი პარტიული მოსახლებს, რომლებიც ელემენტარული ხეხრის დაცვას შეგნებულად გაუბოდნენ? იმასთან დაკავშირებით, თუ რა უფლებები ვინაში ვინაში იმისა და ზემოაღნიშნული რევკომების, ამის საილ უსრაციოდ ვართლს ოს საბჭოთა სოციალისტური რესპუბლიკის რევიუციური კომიტეტის მიერ 1921 წლის 15 აპრის მიხედვით დეკრეტი # 23 გამოცხადდა. ამ დოკუმენტის მიხედვით: 1) ტემის, რაიონის, ვალი აკისა და მარის რევკომები თავიანთი მოქმედების საზრვრებისა უმარისი ხელისუფლების ორგანოს ხარმოდგენდა. მათი მხრიდან მიხედვით დიდგენილი ება და კანონი, მისადმი კვამდებარე ტერიტორიაზე მხოვერბლები-სათვის სავალი დებულებები; 2) თითოეული რევკომის ზრითადი მოვალეობა ხარმოდგენდა: ყოველი გვარი ზომები მიერო ხეხრის დასაცავად, დანაშაული ოსების კვამდებარების ხინაარმდეგ საბჭოთა ხელისუფლების ადგილი ოსების

mcxovrebl ebis sameurneo mdgomareobis gasaumj obesebl ad; 3)pasu-
xisgebaSi mieca yvel a is moqal aqe, romel ic sabWoTa mTavrobis ga-
nkargul ebebs daarRvevda da kanonis aRmsrul ebl ebis moTxovnebs
winaaRmdegobas gauwevda; 4)mazris revkomi, misadmi daqvemdebare-
bul i raionebisa da Temebis revkomebis muSaobis avkargianobis pa-
suxismgebel i iyo; 5)mazrisa da qal aqis revkomebi kanonis winaSe
mTel i simkacrit agebdnen pasuxs urCobis, sabWoTa kanonebis cxo-
vrebasi gautarebl obis, umoqmedobis, borotmoqmedebis, samsaxure-
brivi ufl ebebis gadametebisa da mcxovrebl ebisadmi uxeSad mopy-
robisatvis.¹⁶

zemoT motanil i masal ebidan kargad cans, rom dekretiT gaTval-
iswinebul i CamoTvlil i moTxovnebi `samxret oseTis- saTemo, sara-
iono da samazro revkomebis mxridan qarTul mosaxl eobasatan mi-
marTebasi maqsimal urad irRveoda. miuxedavad amisa, isini aravis
dausjia. am poziciidan Tuki ganvixil avT aRniSnul dokuments, igi
Sida qarTl is qarTul i mosaxl eobisTvis ubral o faratina qaRal ds
warmoadgenda da ara moqmed sakanonmdebl o aqts. ragind ucnaura-
dac ar unda moCandes, im periodis Sida qarTl is qarTul i mosaxl eobis
godeba da xvewna- mudara, saqarTvel os maSindel i xel isufl ebis mier
(Sinagan saqmeTa saxal xo komisariati, saqarTvel os revkomi) Seusmenel i
darCa. am sakiTxTan mimarTebasi misi damokidebul eba 1921 wl is bol osac
ar Secvlil a. igi mxol od, osebis mier qarTul i mosaxl eobis gaubedure-
bis damadasturebel i masal is isev SegrovebiT da masze dayrdnobiT Ses-
bamisi moxsenebis dawerit ifargl eboda. saarqivo masal ebit ar dastur-
deba, rom qarTvel Ta damcavi meqanizmis SesamuSavebl ad da operatiul ad
gasatarebl ad, Sesabamis uwebebs qarTvel Ta usafrTxoebis Tundac el e-
mentarul i formiT uzrunvel sayofad raime saxis dadgenil eba mieRo. erTi
Sexedvit, es imdenad aris gasakviri, ramdenadac im etapze saqarTvel os xel
isufl ebas `nacional - ukl onistebad- wodebul i adamienebi edga saTa-
veSi. Tuki am sakiTxTan dakavSirebit uaxl esi periodis samecniero l i te-
raturaSi gatarebul Tval sazriss da Sesabamis saarqivo masal ebs gavec-
nobiT, saqarTvel os xel isufl ebis umoqmedobis mizezic gasagebi gaxdeba.
am mxriv, gansakuTrebul yuradRebas f.maxaraZis mier v.l enisadmi 1921
wl is 6 dekembers gagzavnil i weril i_ `saqarTvel oSi muSaobis Sesaxe-
iqcevs. CvenTvis saintereso sakiTxTan dakavSirebit, masSi garkveviTaa mi-
Titebul i, rom saqarTvel os gasabwoebistanave, qveynis martvis prete-
nzias im etapze ramdenime organo acxadebda; `ertis mxriv, saqa-
rTvel os central uri komiteti da revkomi, roml ebic mxol od no-
minal urad warmoadgenen umaRl es organoebis qveyanaSi, meore mxriv,
rkp (b) central uri komitetis kavbiuro, srul iad ruseTis profkavSi-
rebis central uri sabwo da me- 11 armiis revol uciuri samxedro
sabwo, roml ebic faqtobrivad arian xel isufl ebis umaRl esi orga-
noebi. es ukanasknel ni umetes SemTxvevasi srul iad uapel aciod,
saqarTvel os central uri komitetis da revkomis daukiTxavad wyveten
yvel a pol itikur sakiTxs, roml ebic uSual od saqarTvel os Seexe-
ba.¹⁷

f.maxaraZis mier v.l enintan dasmenis am dokuments Tuki daveyrd-
nobiT, gasagebi gaxdeba, rom saqarTvel oSi im etapze mimdinare po-
litikur procesebs qarTvel Ta moZul e saWurisi s.orj onikize da
misi TanamebrZol i rusi samxedro maRal Cinosnebi martavdnen. swored

maTi mxridan xdeboda osi separatisti damnaSaveebis l obireba. Sida qarTI Si Seqmnil i urTul esi probl emisadmi indiferentul i damokidebul ebis da damnaSaveTa dausjel obis pol itikuri foni, os separatistebis dasaxul i programis ganxorciel ebis meore safexuris_ mamapapeul i sacxovrisidan qarTvel Ta gamodevnis dawyebis SesaZl ebl obas aZl evda. am danaSaul ebrivi Canafiqris aRsrul ebisaTvis Sesabamisi safexuris mosamzadebl ad, pirvel i rigis amocanad, osma separatistebma Sida qarTl is mTiani zol is qarTul i mosaxl eobis usastikesi teroris qveS moqceva da misi daSineba daisaxes miznad. am mimarTul ebiT maTdami gansakuTrebul xel Sewyobas, rus samxedroebTan erTad, cxinval is regionSi dabanakebul i somxebis ori cxenosani aseul ic avl enda. amis Sesaxeb, saqarTvel os pol itikuri partiebis warmomadgenel Ta stambol Si gamarTul krebaze (1921 wl is 19 noemberi) S.qarumiZem sagangebod gaamaxvil a yuradReba.

Cems mier mikvl eul i saarqivo masal ebis mixedviT Tuki vimsjel ebT, s.orj onikizis mier Sida qarTI Si `mopatiJebul ma- osebma, zemoaRniSnul i mZarcvel uri saqmianobis paral el urad, qarTvel Ta mSvidobiani mosaxl eobis winaaRmdog moqmedebis vandal uri meTodebi airCies. mxedvel obaSi maqvs wiTel armiel Ta faraj aSi gamowyobil i osebis mier sofel Zarwensa da qemertSi qarTvel ebis 80 saxl is dawva, maTi survil is mixedviT, imave sofl ebis macxovrebl ebidan amorCeul i 32 udnaSaul o adamiani TviTneburad daxvrita, cocxl ad darCenil ebidan zogi maTgani cecxl Si dawva, zogic cemaSi mokl a. arasrul wl ovani bavSvebidan dawyebul i didebis CaTvl iT qal ebi gaupatiura. kidev ufro amazzeni faqtebia motanil i Sinagan saqmeTa saxal xo komisariat is mier saqarTvel os revkomisadmi 1921 wel s wardgenil moxsenebaSi. am dokumentis mixedviT, javis xeobidan wamosul qarTul oj axebs `gaborotebul i osebis brbo gzaSi daewia, yvel as al ya Semoartya... da sikvdil is ganaCeni gamoucxada. magram, TaTbiris Semdeg, datovebul Ta Soris 41 mamakaci gamoarcies, sabZel Si Serekes, yvel a daxoces, Semdeg sabZel s cecxl i waukides da daxocil ebi Sig gamowves. danarCenitvebi srul iad gaaSiSvl es, ganurCeul ad wl ovanebisa, qal ebi rva wl idan dawyebul i yvel a gaupatiures, naZarcviT da nadavl iT Sin dabrundnen.~ aseTi danaSaul is CadenisaTvis, nebismeri qveynis xel isufl eba osebis qmedebes umkacresi sadamsjel o RonisZiebis gatarebiT upasuxebda. XI armiis jariskacebs, qarTvel i gl exebis oj axebs nacvl ad osebis sacxovrebel saxl ebSi Caayenebda da qarTul sofl ebze osebis gamudmebul Tavdasxmebis samudamod aRkveTda. urCebs da gamousworebl ebs isev Crdil oetisken gaistumrebda. aseTi saxis gadawyvetil ebis miRebas mxol od qarTvel Ta gasaWiris Sesmena da Sida qarTI Si mimdinare procesebis obieqturi Sefaseba sWirdeboda. samwuxarod, rkp (b) central uri komitetis kavbiuros xel mZRvanel obas_ piradad s.orj onikizes, Sida qarTI is qarTvel Ta bedi didad ar awuxebda. piriqIT, wiTel faraj aSi gamowyobil zemoaRniSnul osur SeiaraRebul razmebs, pol itikuri situaciis Sesabamisad, qarTvel ebze SurisZiebis maqsimal ur SesaZl ebl obas aZl evda. mxedvel obaSi maqvs: a) qarTvel Ta 1924 wl is agvistos cnobil i SeiaraRebul i aj anyebis damarcxebis Semdeg, imave osuri SeiaraRebul i razmebis mier xevsureTis ramdenime sofl is darbeva, osebisatvis damaxasiaTebel i formiT gaZarcva da sacxo-

vrebel i saxl ebis gadawva; b)am barbarosul faqtTan mimarTebaSi winaaRmdegobis gawevis gamo, xevsurTa Tavkacis- 80 wl is xevisberis gaga gogoWuris cecxl ze cocxl ad dawva.¹⁸ aRniSnul i araadamianuri qmedebis `gamarTI ebis- ZiriTad motivad, imave osuri razmebis xel mZRvanel obam, xevsureTis sofl ebis mosaxl eobis mxridan 1924 wl is aj anyebul ebisa da misi meTauris_ qaquca Col oyaSvil isadmi adgil obrivi mosaxl eobis mxridan Tanadgoma da mfarvel oba daasaxel a. xevsurTa sofl ebisa da misi mosaxl eobis ganadgurebasTan dakavSirebiT, osebis mier Cadenil zemoT dasaxel ebul danaSaul ebriv faqtTan mimarTebaSi, saqarTvel os maSindel i xel isufl ebis maRal Cinosnebma da kavbiuros xel mZRvanel obam_ piradad s.orj onikiZem, momxdari danaSaul is mifuCeCebis mizniT, dumil is gza airCia. es arc aris gasakviri, radgan aseTi qmedebiT, sabWoTa ruseTis xel isufal Ta winaSe igi Tavis misias pirnaTI ad asrul ebda. amitom iyo, Crdil oetidan gadmoxvewil i da qarTvel Ta qonebaze daxarbebul i Seiararebul i osi barbarosebis Sida qarTI Si misi Zal isxmeviT Semosevas, osianobis ganaxl ebisaTvis saTavis dadebas_ `nacional uri mSvidobis- wamosasxamSi rom fuTavda. `is nacional uri mSvidoba,_ ambobda s.orj onikiZe_ roml iTac menSevikuri xel isufl ebis dacemis momentidan sargebl oben saqarTvel os mSromel i masebi, saukeTeso damamtkicebel i sabuTia im yvel aze rTul i da daxl arTul i probl emis swori gadawyvetisa, romel sac nacional uri sakiTxi ewodeba.¹⁹ Tu ra donis `nacional uri mSvidoba- miRo saqarTvel os gasabWoebiT Sida qarTI is qarTul ma mosaxl eobam da am fonze, ramdenad did siyal bes Seicavda s.orj onikiZis mier saqarTvel os kompartiis pirvel yril obaze (1922 w. ianvari) gakeTebul i es gancxadeba, amis dadasturebas, zemoT motanil i faqtebi warmoadgens. erTi ram cxadia, am SemTxvevaSi igi sazoga- doebiosaTvis sinamdvil is damal vas da sabWoTa xel isufl ebis gafetiSebas cdil obda. miuxedavad amisa, Sida qarTI is mTian zonaSi mcxovre- b qarTvel Ta gasawiri da osi separatistebis barbarosul i namoqmedri, Tbil isis muSebis mowinave nawil s mxedvel obidan ar gamorCenia da aRniSnul sakiTxTan mimarTebaSi, Sesabamisi reagireba maSinve gaakeTa. mxedvel obaSi maqvs 5132 muSis saxel iT, Tbil isis 9 kaciani muSaTa del egaciis mier saqarTvel os revkomisadmi 1921 wl is 24 oqtomers wardgenil i memorandumi. am dokumentis erT- erTi muxl i cxinval is regionsac exeba. `samxreT oseTSi osi nacional istebis barbarosul i moqmedebiT_ vkiTxul obT dokumentSi_ qarTul i sofl ebi gapartaxebul ia. cxinval is raionSi didi da patara liaxvis, mej vrisxevis da sxva sofl ebSi grZel deba qarTvel i gl exebis mimarT Zal adoba.-

im sabWour eqsperiments, romel ic Sida qarTI is mTiani zonis qarTvel e- bTan mimarTebaSi saqarTvel os revkomi atarebda, arcerTi Tavmoyvare eri ar moiTmenda. samwuxarod, zemoaRniSnul Semzarav faqtebze qarTul i intel igencia ratomRac dumda. TiTqos Sida qarTI is qarTvel Ta ubedureba, srul iad saqarTvel os tragedias ar warmoadgenda. Sida qarTI Si qarTu- li mosaxl eobis umZimesi yofisa da osi separatistebis vel uri namoqme- daris farTo samsj avroze gamotna, mxol od gazeTma `social ist- feder- al istma- SeZl o. mxedvel obaSi maqvs miminos fsevdonimiT dabeWdil i sta- tia `cxinval is raioni safrTxeSia.- Tu ra autanel mdgomareobaSi im- yofeboda qarTul i mosaxl eoba da ra danaSaul i qonda Cadenil i osebs, amis Sesaxeb statiis avtori momxdari faqtebisadmi sazoga-

doebis yuradRebis mi pyrobis mizniT xazgasmiT werda: `ramdenime qarTul i sofel i gadamwvaria osebigan, asamde kaci sabZel Sia gamomwvari da mokl ul i, maTi qoneba mTl ianad gatacebul ia, xol o saxl ebi dangreul i.- aqedan gamomdinare, imave publ ikaciaSi sazoga- doebisa da xel isufl ebi sayuradRebod garkveviT iyo miTiTebul i: `dRes qarTul i mosaxl eoba kvnesis da gminavs. is j o j oxeTi, romel ic gamefebul ia... am sofl ebSi kargis momaswavebel i ar aris da Tu mas droze wamal i ar daedo, Cven darwmunebul i varT, metad mZime Sedegs miviRebT. SeiZl eba CvenSi dRes kidev moipovebian iseTi gul ubryvil o pirebi, romel nic gamodgebian da exl andel i os- qarTvel Ta mdgomareoba ideal urad dasaxon, anda SeiZl eba winaswarve hqondeT ganzraxul i survil i, rom os- qarTvel Ta exl andel i gamwvavebul i mdgomareoba katastrofiT gaTavdes.- am SemTxvevaSi, osebis mier Sida qarTl iSi qarTul mosaxl eobastan mi- marTebaSi Cadenil i danaSaul ebrivi faqtebi, roml is damal vasa da argamJravnebas saqarTvel os xel isufl eba cdil obda_ saaSkaraoze iqna gamotanil i. aRniSnul i statiis Rirseba imaSiac mdgomareobs, rom man gasabWoebul i saqarTvel os mmarTvel i partiis l iderTa umoqmedobis mxil ebi paral el urad, `samxreT oseTis- revkomis saxec aCvena. `am dros_ vkiTxul obT imave statiaSi_ samxreT ose- Tis revkomis warmomadgenl ebi musikiT daseirnoben qarTul sof- l ebSi da Sabl onuri Sinaarsis mitingebis awyoben, sadac xal xi vi- Tomda aRtacebas da kmayofil ebas gamoTqvams exl andel i Tavis mdgomareobiT.- Tuki Cems mier zemoT motanil i masal ebi mixed- viT vimsjel ebT, os separatistebis da mis revkoms, marTl acda sa- zeimod hqondaT saqme. istoriis bedukuRmarTobidan gamomdinare, isini Sida qarTl is qarTel ebze gamarjvebul ebi iyvnen. damarcxe- bul i da RirsebaSel axul i qarTvel oba, momxdurisadmi iaraRiT dapirispirebis nacvl ad, `arzebis- weriT iyo dakavebul i da saqarTve- l os Zal ovani struqturabisgan Svel as iTxovda. dokumenturi masal iT dasturdeba, rom aRniSnul faqtebTan dakavSirebiT, probl emis Seswavl is mizniT, Sinagan saqmeTa saxal xo komisariatma cxinval is raionSi mxol od sagangebo ufl ebebiT aRWurvil i sameul i gagzavna.

osebisgan Seviwroebul i, gaZarcul i da aoxrebul i Sida qarTl is cxin- val is raionis qarTul i sofl is mosaxl eoba, Sinagan saqmeTa saxal xo komisariatisa da qveynis mTavrobisadmi gagzavnil weril ebSi xazgasmiT miuTiTebdnen: `gvi patroneT qarTvel ebs!- `uzrunvel yaviT Cveni sicocx- l el!- qaTvel Ta am samarTl ian moTxovnasa da godebas, saqarTvel os xel i- sufl eba da rkp (b) central uri komitetis kavbiuro, roml is xel Siac uze- naesi Zal aufl eba iyo Tavmoyril i, dumil iTa da srul i umoqmedobiT Sex- vda. aseTi gancxadebis gakeTebis SesaZl ebl obas Cems mier Catarebul i kvl evis Sedegebi iZl eva. unda ganvaxado, rom j erj erobiT ver moxerxda iseTi saarqivo dokumentis mikvl eva, romel ic osebisagan ganawamebi Sida qarTl is cxinval is raionis qarTul i mosaxl eobis mxardasaWerad da osi damnaSaveebis sanimuSoT dasasjel ad iqneboda miRebul i. am mimarTul ebiT im etapze romel ime uwyeba Tuki raimes akeTebda, SedarebiT Sinagan saqme- Ta saxal xo komisariati iyo. samwuxarod, misi ufl ebebi komisi ebiS Seqm- niT, Sesabamisi moxsenebebis, rekomendaciebisa da daskvnebis gakeTebiT ifargl eboda. amis erT- erT dadasturebas saqarTvel os revkomisadmi 1921 wel s gadagzavnil i moxseneba warmoadgens. masSi xazgasmiT

iyo miTiTebul i, rom `sabWoTa xel isufli ebis saqarTvel oSi damyaribis dRidan- dRemdis, Sinagan saqmeTa saxal xo komisariatSi TiTqmis yovel dRe Semodis saCivari qarTvel ebisgan, magram arcerTi saCivari osebisagan qarTvel ebze. es ki imis maCvenebel ia, rom osebi TviTon asamarTi eben qarTvel ebs da am gasamarTi ebiT kmayofil ni arian.~ es faqti erTxel kidev migvaniSnebs, Tu ra donis TviTneoba da ganukiTxaoba iyo damkvidrebul i cxinval is raionSi. qarTveli ebTan mimarTebsi osebis mier Cadenili danaSaul ebebis safuZvliani anal izidan gamomdinare, am dokumentis daskvniTi nawili, Sida qarTi Si arsebul i urTul esi situaciis ganmuxtvis da qarTul i mosaxl eobis safrTxoebis damcavi meqanizmis Seqmnis rekomendaciebs Seicavda. Sinagan saqmeTa saxal xo komisariat, saqarTvel os revkomisagan Semdegi RonisZiebebis gatarebas moitXovda: `1)dauyovnebl iv iqnas gadayenebul i cxinval is raionis revkomi da mis nacvl ad xal xma saerto yril obaze patiosan da uangaro muSakTagan iseTi revkomi arCios, romel sac is endoba. cxinval is raionis gansakuTrebul i mdgomareobis gamo, am revkomis Tavmj domared dainiSnos loial uri taqtikis mqone partiul i komunisti, gamocdil i da patiosani adami- ani. cxinval is revkomis gadayenebis da mis nacvl ad Sesaferi pirebis dayenebis saWiroeba, Sinagan saqmeTa saxal xo komisariatma saqarTveli os kompartiis central ur komitets acnoba, magram ukanasknel s dRemdis araviTari gankargul eba ar mouxdenia; 2)cxinval is raonidan duyovnebl iv unda iqnas gayvanili wiTel i armiis nawilebi da maT magier gaigzavnos qarTul i jaris erTi rota, romel is saTaveSi unda dainiSnos patiosani da miudgomeli komunisti. am jaris arseboba, cxinval is raionSi borotmomqmedi osebis madas ZirSive arKveTs da qarTi is sofl ebs daamSvidebs; 3)oseTis revkomi duyovnebl iv unda iqnas gadayvanili sof. javaSi, sadac Sinagan saqmeTa saxal xo komisariat, mier miRebul i utyuari faqtebiT arcerTi saxli ar aris damwvari an ganadgurebul i. binebi ki revkomis mosatavsebl ad srul ad sakmarisia. saqarTvel os revkoms movaxseneb ra amas, vSuamdgomlob, raTa zemoaRniSnuli zomebi duyovnebl iv da saswrafod iqnas cxovrebaSi gatarebul i.-

Tuki am rekomendaciebs safuZvliana d gavaanal izebt, davrwunde- bit, rom misi droul ad gatareba, Sida qarTi is mTian zonaSi Seqmnil urTul es situacias radikal urad Sevlida. os separatist mZarcvel ebs `samxreT oseTis- revkomisa da XI armiis jariskacTa saxiT mfarveli arar eyol eboda. regionis kontrol i qarTul samxedro SenaerTebsa da qarTul i mosaxl eobis mier arCeul revkomebs daeqvemdebareboda. amis aucilebi oba imiTac iyo ganpirobebul i, rom cxinval is revkomi, romelic `samxreT oseTis- revkomis zegavl enis qveS imyofeboda da ratomRac qarTul revkomad iwodeboda, misi erovnuli Semadgenloba (7 kacidan_ erTi qarTveli da erTi osi) Ziritadad somxuri iyo. bunebrivia, qarTvel Ta gasawiri mas didad ar adardebda da mTel saqmianobas osebis sasargebl od warmarTavda. yovel ive zemoaRniSnul idan gamomdinare, komisiis rekomendaciebis gaTval iswinebit, pragmatizmze dafuznebul i gadawyvetilebis miRebas ara marto qarTul i mosaxl eoba, aramed saxeli mwifoebrivi interesebic moitXovda. mitumetes, zemoT CamoTvili rekomendaciebis mesame punqtis_ `samxreT oseTis- revkomis

javaSi gadatanis Sesrul eba, cxinval is raionis qarTul i sofl is mosaxl eobas osuri revkomis mbrZanebl uri mmarTvel obisagan gaanTavisufli ebda. amis SesZl ebl obis safuZvel s, saqarTvel os revkomis 1921 wl is 11 ivl isis dadgenil ebis mexuTe muxl i iZl eoda. `winadadeba mieces saxal xo meurneobis umaRl es sabWos_ vkiTxul obT dokumentSi_ dauyovnebl iv Seudges samxreT oseTis revkomis saWiroebisaTvis Senobis mowyobas javaSi.~ dokumenturi masal iT dasturdeba, rom kavbiurom da saqarTvel os revkomis xel mZRvanel obam, Sida qarTl is qarTul i mosaxl eobisaTvis am metad mniSvnel ovan da qarTvel Ta demografiul i bal ansis upiratesobis Senarcunebis damcavi meqanizmis praqtikul amoqmedebas Tavi aarida, ris gamoc, aRniSnul dokumentebSi dasmul i sakiTxebi yovel gvari ganxil vis gareSe datova. qarTvel Ta interesebis aseTma ignorirebam da osi damnaSaveebis dausjel obis tendenciis damkvidrebam, os separatistTa kidev ufro gaaqtiureba ganapiroba.

ramdenadac 1918, 1919, 1920 wl ebSi osebma goris mazris cxinval is raionidan qarTvel Ta eTnowmendis dasaxul i programis ganxorciel eba ver SeZl o, mis aRsrul ebas 1921 wl is martidan Seudga. am mmarTul ebiT dawyebul i saqmis warmatebiT dasrul ebis myar garantias, maT sasargebl od saqarTvel oSi Seqmnili xel sayrel i politikuri situacia iZl eoda. dokumenturi masal iT dasturdeba, rom demografiul i bal ansis osebis sasargebl od xel ovnurad Seqmnas, osi separatistebi daCqarebul i tempiT cdil obda. am `programisumTavresi nawil i, rogorc aRniSnul i mqonda, Sida qarTl is mTiani zol is qarTul i mosaxl eobisagan `gawmendas- isaxavda miznad. saarqivo masal ebis mixedvit, 1921 wl is martidan 25 april amde, Sida qarTl is 13 qarTul i sofel i_ sveri, qemerti, mindiani, yafl ani, kasrani, monasteri, awrisxevi, sacxeneTi, bel oTi, qvemo da zemo niqoza, qvemo da zemo xviti qarTul i mosaxl eobis mier mitovebul i iqna da erT dros Sida qarTl is cxinval is raionis mkvidri qarTvel oba, saqarTvel oSi devnil ebad iqca. osi separatistebis mxridan qarTvel Ta ojaxebis amowyvetis real uri al baTobidan gamomdinare, devnil i qarTvel ebi Taviant saxl ebSi veRar brundeboda. am faqtiT, osebi sargebl obdnen, qarTvel Ta mitovebul saxl ebs masiurad arRvevdnen da javis raionisken miqondaT. erT dros Sida qarTl is mTiani zol is aRorZinebul i da qarTul i mosaxl eobiT datvirTuli i sofl ebi, osma separatistebma namosaxl arebad aqcia. am danaSaul ebriv qmedebas gasabWoebul i saqarTvel os xel isufli eba mal avda da samTavrobo doneze aranair qmediT reagirebas ar axdenda. faqtiurad, Sida qarTl is qarTul i mosaxl eoba kavbiurosa da saqarTvel os mTavrobis Semawuxebel danamat tvirtad gadaiqca. is, vinc Sida qarTl is qarTul sofl ebSi darCa da mamapapeul i karmidamosadmi erTgul ebiT piradi sicocxl e sasworze dado, osebis Seiararebul yaCaRTa razmebis gamudmebul i Tavdasxmebis obieqti gaxda. `osis yaCaRebi_ vkiTxul obT erT- erT dokumentSi_ farTod daTareSoben sofel Si, dRe ar gava, rom isini qarTul sofl ebs ar daecnen, aris kacis kvl a.-

Cems mier zemoT motanil amazrzen faqtebs Tu ra axsnas uZebnida `samxreT oseTis- revkomi, amis sail ustraci od imave `samxreT oseTis- revkomis mier saqarTvel os revkomisadmi 1921 wl is 5 ivl iss gagzavnil i mox-

seneba gamodgeba. mas, `samxreT oseTis- revkomis Tavmj domaris moadgil e nikol ai gadievi awerda xel s. am dokumentis mixedviT: 1)cxinval is raionis sofl ebSi TiTqos SeiaraRebul i osebi ar moqmedebden; 2)cxinval isa da `samxreT oseTis- revkomebs aseTi SeiaraRebul i jgufebis Sesaxeb araviTari informacia ar gaaCnda; 3)igi menSevikebisa da sxva kontrrevolucionerobis mier Sedgenil i jgufebisgan xel ovnurad mowyobil i provokacia iyo.²⁰ `samxreT oseTis- revkomis Tavmj domaris moadgil is es argumentebi, Tavis marTI ebis ususus formas warmoadgenda da osebisagan Cadenil i danaSaul is `menSevikebisadmi- gadabral ebis mcdel obas Seicavda. n.gadiev is mtkicebiT ise gamodis, TiTqos qarTvel Ta qonebis datacebas, qarTul sofl ebSi mitovebul i saxl ebis daSi as da datvirTul i urmebiT javaSi waRebas, qarTvel ebis daxvretas da cexli Sidawvas, qarTvel i mandil osnebis gaupatiurebas, Sida qarTI is qarTul i sofl ebidan qarTvel Ta masobrivad gamodevna da a. S. TurmenSevikebi eweodnen. `samxreT oseTis- revkomi, misi xel qveiti organizaciebi, osuri milicia da TviT osi separatistebi arafer SuaSi yofilan. am tyulze, maSindel i saqarTvel os revkomis xel mZRvanel obas aranari reagireba ar gauketebia. aseTi ganxadebis gakeTebis SesaZl ebl obas saqarTvel os revkomis prezidiumis 1921 wl is 11 ivl isis sxdomis dadgenil eba iZl eva. am dokumentidan irkveva, rom n.gadiev is moxsenebaSi dasmul i sakiTxebis qarSemo, saqarTvel os revkomis prezidiums sagangebod umjel ia da Sesabamisi dadgenil ebac miuRia. magram, imave moxsenebaSi motanil i zemoaRniSnul i tyul is mxil ebis Tval sazrisiT, 6 punktian dadgenil ebaSi araferia naTqvami. arc `samxreT oseTis- revkomisadmi el ementarul i formiT gamafrTxil ebel i minisnebac ar aris dafiqsirebul i. arada, osi separatistebis Zal isxmevit, Sida qarTI Si qarTvel - Ta gausaZl isi yofidan gamomdinare, amis saWiroeba aucil ebel i iyo. mitumetes, Sinagan saqmeTa saxal xo komisariatTan arsebul i komisiis mier umZimes faqtebze dayrdnobiT gakeTebul i moxsenebebi, saqarTvel os revkoms xel T hqonda, sadac `samxreT oseTis- revkomisa da osuri miliciis danaSaul ebrivi qmedebebi aSkarad iyo gamokvetil i.

dokumenturi masal iT dasturdeba, rom qarTvel Ta mxridan gamudmebul i saCivrebis SeCerebisa da osebis namoqmedaris argaxmaurebis miznit, `samxreT oseTis- revkomi da misadmi daqvemdebarbul i uwebebi SeuzRudavi ufl ebebiT moqmedebden. am faqtTan mimatebaSi, saqarTvel os mTavroba da respublikis revkomi qmedit reagirebas Segnebul ad ar akeTebda. `samxreT oseTis- revkomi amit sargebl obda, `mavne el ementebis- motivaciit im gamorCeul qarTvel ebs apatimreba da asamarTI ebda, roml ebic osi separatistebis samxili saCivrebis Sedgenas, mTavrobaTan gasagzavni del egaciebisa da Sida qarTI Si qarTvel Ta interesebis dacvas edga saTaveSi. aseTi kursis gatarebit, `samxreT oseTis- revkoms qarTvel Ta dabeCaveba da yovel gvare saxis usamarTI obisadmi Seguebis tendenciis damkvirdreba hqonda miznad dasaxul i. saqarTvel os xel isufl ebis wayruebis polititkuri kursidan gamomdinare, `samxreT oseTis- revkomam am mimatebul ebit dasaxul mizans garkveul wil ad miarwia. amas qarTvel Ta weril ebSi motanil i faqtebic adasturebs. amis Sesaxeb erterT dokumentSi vkiTxul obT: `saqonl is maZebar qarTvel ebs revkomis kancellariaSi scemes, magram amis Sesaxeb sul ac ar ganucxadebiaT.~ an kidev; `Cven bevri ram gvaqvs saTqmeli, magram gveSinian.~ es SiSi SemTxvevit ar

iyo ganpirobepul i. mis ZiriTad safuZvel s respubl ikis xel isufli ebisa-
 gan qarTul i mosaxl eobis mimarT konkretul i daxmarebis gauwevl oba da
 `samxreT oseTis- revkomis gansakuTrebul i TviTneoba ganapi robebda. Si da
 qarTI Si Seqmnil am ganukiTxaobasTan dakavSirebiT, gazeT `social ist-
 federal istSi- dabeWdil weril Si `cxinval is raionis qarTvel oba moiTx-
 ovs mTavrobis yuradRebas- garkveviT iyo miTiTebul i: `yovel ive amas
 unda mieqces saTanado da seriozul i yuradReba, xal xi itanj eba, mas dRes
 Tu ara, xval aevseba moTminebis fiala da arasasurvel i Sedegebis mom-
 swre gavxdebiT, Tu saTanado zomebi ar iqna miRebul i visganac jer ars.
 ubedurebis cecxli anTia, mas Caqroba esaWiroeba, Torem Semdeg gvian
 iqneba.- Sesabamisi faqtebis anal izis safuZvel ze gakeTebul am gafrTx-
 il ebas, saqarTvel os xel isufli eba da misi sainformacio saSual ebebi
 sasxvaTaSoriso poziciidan moekida, Sida qarTI Si Seqmnil i urTul esi
 situaciis mi fuCeCebas Seecada. amis dadasturebas gazeT `komunistSi- gamo-
 qveynebul i statia `Cveni nacional uri politika- warmoadgens. misi av-
 tori, sinamdvil is gayal bebiT mkiTxvel sazogadoebas `arwmunebda- TiTqos
 saqarTvel oSi, gansakuTrebiT Sida qarTI Si erovnul i Tval sazrisiT srul i
 simSvide iyo damyarebul i. `veravin uaryofs, rom dRes_ vkiTxul obT weil Si_
 saqarTvel o warmoadgens mSvidobianobiT mocul mxares. Tu aq dawynare-
 bul ia erovnul i SuRI i da sxva, es Sedegia sabWoTa xel isufli ebis, komu-
 nisturi partiisa.- samTavrobo gazeTma, Sida qarTI Si osi separatistebis
 mxridan qarTvel Ta dawiokebisa da eTnowmendis dawyebis faqtebs Segneb-
 ul ad gverdi auara da mkiTxvel i sazogadoebis winaSe sabWouri erovnu-
 li politika vardisfrad warmoadgina. am faqtTan mimarTebsaSi saRad
 moazrovne qarTul i politikuri azris warmomadgenl ebma dumili dana-
 Saul ad CaTval es da aRniSnul i siyal bisadmi pasuxis gacema pirvel x-
 arisxovan amocanad miicnies. am mxriv, gansakuTrebul yuradRebas gazeT
 `tribunaSi- presis mimoxil vaSi dabeWdil i publ ikacia iqcevs. masSi konkre-
 tul faqtebze dayrdnobiT obieqturi poziciidanaa danaxul i saqarTvel oSi
 erovnebaTaSorisi urTierTobis sferoSi Seqmnil i daZabul i mdgomareo-
 ba. am fonze, weril is avtori gazeT `komunistis- winaSe savsebiT kanon-
 zomierad svamda kiTxvas: `sad xedavs gazeTi `komunisti- erovnul i SuRI -
 is dawynarebas da sol idarobas? TanamSroml obis dawyebas? rodesac si-
 namdvil eSi sawinaaRmdegos vxedavT? bol Sevikebis Semosvl is Semdeg gai zar-
 da saqarTvel oSi erovnul i SuRI i da mtroba... yovel ive amis dasanaxad
 saWiroa gazeTi ganikurnos partiul i dal tonizmisgan, rom mis Tval Si
 movl enebi aRibeWdos ise, rogorc sinamdvil eSia da ara gadasxvaferebu-
 li. icis Tu ara gazeTma, ra saSinel i ubedureba daatexa Tavs cxinval is
 raionis qarTvel ebs bol Sevikebis gabatonebam saqarTvel oSi? icis Tu
 ara `komunistma- ramdeni qarTul i sofel i gaanadgures osebma am kuTxe-
 Si? icis Tu ara... dRes es kuTxe orad gayofil mtrul banaks warmoadgens.
 gana amis damal va politikaa da saqmes uSvel is? -²¹ SekiTxvis formiT saki-
 Txis ase mwaved dayenebis miuxedavad, gazeT `komunistis- redkol egia
 pasuxs Tavs aridebda da erovnul i sakiTxis Wril Si, zogadfrazeeol ogiuri
 formiT saqarTvel os xel isufli ebis antiqarTul i politikuri kursis,
 `gamarTI ebas- cdil obda. amis erT- erT dadasturebas imave gazeTSi gamo-
 qveynebul i saredaqcio weril i `samxreT oseTis avtonomia- warmoadgens.
 aRniSnul i publ ikacia gazepirebul i l eqsis formiT imeorebda: `sabWoTa
 xel isufli ebis damyarebas saqarTvel oSi srul i erovnul i mSvidobis
 Camogdeba moyva.- xol o osebi sadmi saqarTvel os mTavrobis mxridan gaweul i

nivTieri daxmareba, qarTvel ebsa da osebs Soris undobl obis aRmofx-
vrisa da erTmaneTTan daaxl oebis ganaxl ebis safuZvl ad miaCnda. am mo-
mentidan_ wers gazeTi_ iwyeba xal xTa Soris arsebul i undobl obis da
siZul vil is TandaTan daZl eva, maTi erTmaneTTan daaxl oeba.⁻²²

saqarTvel oSi Seqmnil i real obis mrude sarkeSi warmoCenam, Sida
qarTI is qarTul i mosaxl eobis moTxovnebTan mimarTebaSi xel isuf-
fl ebis wayruebis pol itikurma kursma, qarTvel Ta usafrTxoebis
damcavi meqanizmis droul ad arSemuSavebam, osi separatistebi kidev
ufro gaaTamama. mxedvel obaSi maqvs Sida qarTI Si mcxovrebi qar-
rTvel ebis winaaRmdog mebrZol i osuri SeiaraRebul i razmebis aq-
tiuri moqmedeba. am mxriv gansakuTrebiT osi erovnebis petre go-
giSvil is razmi gamoirCeoda. am faqtTan dakavSirebiT gansakuTre-
bul juradRebas sofel wunaris 35 warmomadgenl is xel moweril i
saCivari iqcevs. igi 1921 wl is dekemberSi saqarTvel os central ur
aRmasrul ebel komitetSi iqna Setanil i. am dokumentis mixedviT,
p.gogiSvil is meTaurobiT osi bandformirebebi 5 dRis ganmavl oba-
Si (13- dan 17 dekemberi) Zarcvavdnen da arbevden qarTul sofl e-
bs, arasrul wl ovanidan didebis CaTvl iT aupatiurebdnen qarTvel
qal ebs. oj axis Rirsebis dacvis SemTxvevaSi, qarTvel mamakacebs
wamebiT kl avdnen. am Semzaravi faqtebidan gamomdinare, qarTul i
mosaxl eoba xel isufll ebis gan daxmarebas iTxovda. imis nacvl ad,
rom saqarTvel os xel isufll ebas sagangaSo zarebi daerisxebina,
osebis arweinebis motiviT, dumil is gza airCia da qarTvel Ta es
gasaWiri uyuradRebod datova. aseTi ganxadebis gakeTebis safuZ-
vel s Tundac is garemoebac izl eva, rom xel isufll ebis mxridan
qarTvel Ta am saCivaris ganxil vis damadasturebel i dokumenti ar
Seqmnil a. Sida qarTI is qarTul i mosaxl eobisadmi aseTi sasx-
vaTaSoriso damokidebul eba, os separatistebis samoqmedo areal is
gafarToebis perspeqtivas usaxavda.

osebis mxridan qarTvel ebze Tavdasxmam da Zarcvam imdenad farTo xa-
siaTi miRo, rom cxinval is raionis qarTul mosaxl eobaSi osebisadmi
iaraRiT angariSsworebis aucil ebl obis tendencia moamwifa. im SemTx-
vevaSi, Tuki xel isufll eba osebis TareSs ar aRkveTda da maT qmedebas ka-
nonis CarCoSi ar moaqcevd, os- qarTvel Ta sisxl isRvra garduval i gaxde-
boda. mi Tumetes, osebi sagan Seviwroebul i, qonebrivad gaZarcul i, mi zanmi-
marTul ad gaRatakebul i da damcrobil i Sida qarTI is qarTvel Ta moT-
minebis fial a avsebul i iyo. es feTqebadi situacia, Sinagan saqmeTa saxal
xo komisariats mxedvel obis miRma ar darCenia da izul ebul i gaxda
osebis TviTnebobis al agmvis mi zni T Sesabamsi Roni sZiebis gatarabis gzas
dadgomoda. am mxriv gansakuTrebul juradRebas saqarTvel os revkomis
prezidiumis 1921 wl is 5 maisis dadgenil ebis IV muxl is (d) punqti iqcevs.
am dokumentis mixedviT, os- qarTvel Ta Soris arsebul i daZabul i urTier-
rTobis mosagvarebl ad, cxinval Si Sinagan saqmeTa saxal xo komisariatis
kol egiis wevri da saxal xo komisaris moadgil e xutul aSvil i iqna gagza-
vnil i. j erj erobiT SeuZl ebel i xdeba imis garkveva Tu ra saxis samuSao
Caatara man cxinval Si Casvl isa da arsebul i probl emis Seswavl idan ga-
momdinare. saarqivo masal ebidan irkveva, rom zemoaRni Snul i dadgenil ebi dan
25 dRis Semdeg, imave revkomis prezidiumis sxdomas (1921 w. 30 maisi) cxin-
val is raionis mdgomareobis Sesaxeb xutul aSvil is moxseneba mousmenia.
samwuxarod, am moxsenebis teqstis mikvl eva SeuZl ebel i gaxda. rac Seexe-

ba miRebul dadgenil ebas, igi zedapirul xasiaTs atarebs da arsebul probl emastan mimarTebaSi aranair informacias ar Seicavs. imave dokumenti mxol od imas vgebul obT, rom saxal xo meurneobis umaRI es sabWos, `samxreT oseTis- dazaral ebul i raionebis Sesaxeb moxsenebis dawera daeval a. `mieces winadadeba saxal xo meurneobis umaRI es sabWos_ vkiTxul obT dokumentSi_ warmoadginos moxseneba, ra zomebi aris miRebul i revol ucionuri komitetis dadgeninil ebis ganxorciel ebisatvis samxreT-oseTis dazaral ebul i raionebisatvis saWiro masal is miwodebis Sesaxeb.- ramdenadac zemoaRniSnul ma dadgenil ebebma dadebiti Sedegi ver gamoiRo, respubl ikis Sinagan saqmeTa saxal xo komisariati izul ebul i gaxda, arsebul i situaciis Sesatyvi pragmatul i gadawyvetil eba mieRo. aseTi nabij is gadasadgmel ad mas wel iwadi da oTxi Tve (1921 wl is martidan-1922 wl is ivnisi) dasWirda. amis dadasturebas, Sinagan saqmeTa saxal xo komisaris moadgil is xutul aSvil is mier mil iciis sammarTvel osadmi 1922 wl is 8 ivniss gagzavnil i weril i warmoadgens. CvenTvis sainteresoso sakiTxTan dakavSirebit aRniSnul dokumentSi vkiTxul obT: `rogorc komisar iatSi Semosul i cnobebidan Cans, SesaZl oa osTa da qarTvel Ta Soris damokidebul ebam mwvave xasiaTi miiRos. gatyobinebT ra amas, winadadebas gaZl evT miiRoT saWiro zomebi raTa gaZl ierebul i iqnas cxinval is raionis mil iciis Semadgenl oba ganapira sofl ebSi orasi kaciT.- **yuradReba unda mivaqciot im garemoebas, rom Sinagan saqmeTa saxal xo komisar iatma cxinval is raionSi Seqmnil urTul es situaciastan mimarTebaSi reagireba mxol od mas Semdeg gaakeTa, roca osebis Tavgasul obisadmi qarTvel Ta Zal ismieri meTodis gamoyenebis real uri safrTxe dainaxa. usamarTI obiT gawamebul i qarTul i mosaxl eobis mxridan mosal odnel i saprotesto cecxli is gaRvivebis SeCerebis, osebisadmi, qarTvel ebisgan iaraRiT dapirispirebis saTaveSive aRkvetas da ara osi yaCaRebis ganadgurebas isaxavda miznad zemoaRniSnul i dokumentis Seqmna.** rogorc Cans, im etapze qarTvel Ta mxridan osebis sawinaaRmdedgod mSvil di imdenad daWimul i iyo, rom zemoaRniSnul weril ze, mil iciis mTavari sammarTvel os ufross k.xaratiSvil s droul i reagireba gaukeTebia. amastan dakavSirebit, Sinagan saqmeTa saxal xo komisar iatisadmi 1922 wl is 18 ivniss gagzavnil sapasuxo weril Si xazgasmit iyo mititebul i; `pasuxad Tqveni moweril obisa mogaxsenebT; goris mazraSi osTa da qarTvel Ta Soris uaryofiti urTierTobis Tavidan asacil ebl ad da maT Soris normal uri damokidebul ebis dasamyarebl ad miRebul ia Semdegi zomebi: **1)saqmis yovel mxriv gamosarkvevad da adgil obrivi zomebis misaRebad samxreT oseTSi gaigzavna administraciis inspeqtori mixail ovski; 2)mil iciis gasaZl ierebl ad da saqmis mosagvarebl ad, gundis 200 mil icieel is Semadgenl obiT mosawyobad, mazris mil iciis ufrosis dasaxmarebl ad goris mazraSi gaigzavna marqafa razmis ufrosis TanaSemwe amx. TuSmal aSvil i; 3)goris mazris revkoms weril obiT eTxova, zemoaRniSnul TanamdebobaTa pirebs aRmouCinos yovel gvari daxmareba maTze dakisrebul mindobil obaTa aRsrul ebaSi da kerZod gundis Sesadgenad saTanado pirebis daniSvnaSi.- marTal ia, cxinval is raionSi osi mZarcvel ebisa da yaCaRebis TviTnebobis SeCerebis miznit garkveul i nabij is gadadgmis mcdel obas qonda adgil i, magram, jer- j erobit SeuZl ebel i xdeba imis dadgena, goris mazraSi TuSmal aSvil is xel mZRvanel obiT marTI ac Seiqmna Tu ara 200 kaciani mil iciis damatebiti qvedanayofi. isic angariSgasawevia, rom asTi saxis mil iciis razmis Sedgena da misi wevrebis tansac-**

mi iT, xel fasiTa da iaraRiT uzrunvel yofa, Sesabamis xarj TaRricxvas saWiroebda. aseTi saxis dokumenti im etapze Sinagan saqmeTa saxal xo komisariats ar Seudgenia. aRniSnul i mil iciis qvedanayofi marTI ac rom Seqmnil iyo da osi mZarcvel ebis winaaRmdeg raime saxis RonisZieba ganxorciel ebina, Sinagan saqmeTa saxal xo komisariatis, mil iciis sammarTvel os da goris mazris mil iciis xel mZRvanel obis mimowerebSi, moxsenebebSi, patakebSi igi aucil ebl ad aisaxeboda. samwuxarod, amis Sesaxeb Cems mier CamoTvl il i uwebebis mier Sedgenil dokumentebSi araferia naTqvami.

saarqivo masal ebidan irkveva, rom Sinagan saqmeTa saxal xo komisariatis zemoaRniSnul gadawyvetil ebas, `samxreT oseTis- partiis saol qo komiteti `SemoqmedebiTad- miudga da mis gamoyenebas isev qarTvel Ta sawinaaRmdegod Seecada. amis safuZvel s Sinagan saqmeTa saxal xo komisariatis 1922 wl is 8 ivnisis dadgenil ebidan 10 dRis Semdeg, `samxreT oseTis- partiis saol qo komitetis mier 1922 wl is 22 ivniss miRebul i dadgenil eba (oqmi # 18) iZl eva. am dokumentis mixedviT; **a)** qarTul i sofl ebi: dvani, Sindisi, zemo da qvemo xviTi, zemo da qvemo niqozi, dici, fl avismani da mereTi gaqceul i kontrrevol ucionerebis TavSesafrad da arasaimedo sofl ebad iyo gamocxadebul i; **b)** dasaxel ebul i sofl ebis mosaxl eobis TiTqos gamal ebul i SeiaraReba mimdinareobda da misi dauyovnebl ivi ganiaraReba aucilebl obas warmoadgenda.²³ am SemTxvevaSi, `samxreT oseTis- partiis saol qo komiteti, qarTul sofl ebze morigi dartyms ganxorciel ebas isaxavda mi znad. igi Sinagan saqmeTa saxal xo komisariats pirdapir mianiSnebd, rom mTel i Zal isxmeva `kontrrevol ucionerTa budeT- qceul i da `SeiaraRebis procesSi- myofi qarTul i sofl ebis winaaRmdeg waremarTa. am mavnebl uri Canafiqris saRi gonebiT Sefaseba da swori gadawyvetil ebis miReba, mxol od Sinagan saqmeTa saxal xo komisariatis xel mZRvanel obaze iyo damokidebul i. ramdenad sandod miicnevda `samxreT oseTis- partikul i komitetis dadgenil ebaSi motanil faqtebs.

rac Seexeba osebis mxridan qarTul i mosaxl eobis Zarcvisa da awiokebis gagrZel ebis dadasturebas, amis Sesaxeb qarTul i mosaxl eobis mier Sinagan saqmeTa saxal xo komisariatSi Setanil saCivrebiSi da mazris mil iciis Sesabamisi ganyofil ebis operatiul monacemebSi xazgasmiTaa miTitebul i. dokumenturi masal is Seswavi is safuZvel ze irkveva, rom qarTul i mosaxl eobis maqsimal urad Sesaviwroeb ad, osma separtistebma osuri SeiaraRebul i bandformirebebi aamoqmeda. am mxriv gansakuTrebul yuradRebas **j atin kokoevis** 15 kaciani SeiaraRebul i razmi iqcevs. cxinval is raionis qarTul i mosaxl eobis safuZvl ianad gaZarcvisa da darbevis Semdeg, **j .kokoevma** moqmedeba duSeTis mazraSi gadaitana. Sinagan saqmeTa saxal xo komisariatisa da duSeTis mazris mil iciis sammarTvel os operatiul i monacemebidan irkveva, rom j .kokoevis SeiaraRebul i razmi ara marto duSeTis mazris qarTul i mosaxl eobas arbevda, aramed man saqarTvel os revkomis mier daniSnul _erovnebiT qarTvel adgil obriv saxel mwifo moxel ebsac Seutia. isini Tanamdebobidan gadaayena, patimrobaSi aiyvana, xol o duSeTis mazris Crdil o- dasavl eTi_ l exuris, monasteris da qsnis xeobebl Crdil o- oseTis teritoriis Semadgenel nawil ad gamoacxada. aRniSnul i qmedebiT, j .kokoevi arsebul xel isufl ebas daupirispirda. am faqtma da ara qarTul i mosaxl eobis darbeva- awiokebam, qveynis Zal ovani struqturabis maRal Cinosnebi wonasworobidan gamoiyvana da j .kokoevis winaaRmdeg qmediTi sadamsjel o RonisZiebis gasatarebel i nabiji gadaadgmevina. osi yaCaRebisagan Seviwroebul i qarTul i sofl is mosaxl eobis

ganxadebebi Tuki uyuradRebod da ganxil vis gareSe rčeboda, adgil o-
brivi saxel mwifo organoebisa da misi TanamSroml ebisadmi safrTxis
SeqmnisTanave, d.kokoevis bandformirebis TareSis aRkveTis mizniT, xel isu-
fl ebis Sesabamisma organoebma operatiul RonisZiebebs maSinve mimarTa.
amis damadasturebl ad, duSeTis mazris revkomis Tavmj domaris mier
saqarTvel os revkomis Tavmj domarisadmi gagzavnili werili gamodgeba.
aRniSnul dokumentTan dakavSirebiT, saqarTvel os revkomis saqmeTa
mmarTvel ma b.gigineiSvil ma, saqarTvel os Sinagan saqmeTa saxal xo komis-
ariats (1921 wl is 28 maisi) Semdegi Sinaarsis depeSa # 331 gagzavna: `duSe-
Tis mazris zogierT raionebSi Tavisi Tavi ufrosad gamoucxadebia goris
mazridan Seiararebuli j.gufiT gadmosul vinme kokoevs, roelic scems
gankargul ebebs, arbevs da awiokebs mcxovrebl ebs da duSeTis mazris nawil
s acxadebs Crdil o- osetis teritoriis nawil ad. saqarTvel os revko-
mis Tavmj domaris gankargul ebis Tanaxmad geval ebaT miRoT saswrafo
zomebi mdgomareobis gamorkvevisa da d.kokoevis likvidaciisaTvis da
amasTanave Sedegebi acnobot saqarTvel os revkoms.~ am dokumentis 1921
wl is 31 maisis ricxviT Semdegi saxis rezolucia adevs: `gagzavnos tra-
paiZe da daeval os mas am bandis likvidacia. miweros osetis revkoms da-
apatimros kokoevi da TbilisSi gamogzavnos.~ aRniSnul sakiTxTan dakav-
SirebiT, Sinagan saqmeTa saxal xo komisariatis mier `samxreT osetis-
revkomisadmi 1921 wl is 27 ivnis gagzavnili werili vkiTxul obT: `rogorc
duSeTis mazris revkomis Tavmj domare ityobineba, vinme kokoevs Seiar-
arebuli bandebis meoxebiT daukavebia aRniSnuli mazris ramdenime raioni,
gamoucxadebia Tavisi Tavi ufrosad da cdil obs dauqvemdebaros duSe-
Tis mazris nawili Crdil o osetis. Seiararebuli bandebi umowyal od ar-
beven da awiokeben adgil obriv mcxovrebt. gacnobebT ra amas, winadadebas
gaZl evT dauyovnebl iv daatyvevoT kokoevi, warmoadginoT is TbilisSi da
agretve miRoT usastikesi zomebi wesrigis aRsadgenad.~ am dokumenti-
dan kargad cans, rom Sinagan saqmeTa saxal xo komisariatma j.kokoevSi
pirvel rigSi xel isufl ebis sawinaaRmdego Zal a dainaxa. amitom
iyo, rom mis mimarT umkacresi sadamsjel o RonisZiebebis gatareba
moitxova. Tu ramdenad Sesrul da aRniSnuli motxovna, an ra bedi
ewia j.kokoevis 15 kacian Seiararebul yaCaRTa razms, amis Sesaxeb
Sinagan saqmeTa saxal xo komisariatis fondSi dacul saarqivo
masal ebSi araferia naTqvami. j.kokoevi rom daeWiraT, an misi razmi
gaenadgurebinaT, es faqti Sinagan saqmeTa saxal xo komisariatisa
da duSeTis mazris miliciis xel mZRvanel Ta mimowerebSi aucil e-
bl ad aisaxeboda. ramdenadac `samxreT osetis~ revkoms j.kokoevis
dapatimrebis da TbilisSi gadagzavnis kategoriul i mititeba miaca,
unda vivaraudot, rom misive Zal isxmevit j.kokoevi da misi razmi
saqarTvel odan Crdil o osetSi gaiyvanes. amis safuzvel s, duSeTis
mazris miliciis mier 1921 wl is noembris bol odan Sinagan saqmeTa
saxal xo komisariatis sammarTvel osadmi miwodebul operatiul
monacemebSi, j.kokoevisa da misi bandformirebis arfigurirebis
faqti izl eva. miuxedavad amisa, qarTuli sofl ebis marbieli Seiararebu-
li osuri bandformirebebi moqmedebas ar wyvetda. amis damadasturebl ad,
konstantinopol Si arsebuli qarTuli politikuri komisiisadmi, saqarTve-
l odn gagzavnili (1922 wl is 14 seqtemberi) dasifruli monacemebi gamodgeba.
am dokumentis mixedvit, sabwota xel isufl ebis winaaRmdeg mebrZol ma
gedevaniSvil is partizanul ma razmma, qarTuli sofl ebis marbieli i

osi yaCaRebis 5 kaciani razmi sofel mej vrisxevTan 1922 wl is 4 agvistos gaanadgura. imave monacemebis mixedviT, os yaCaRebs, cxinval is osuri revkomi uwevda mfarvel obas. am danaSaul ebriv qmedebas, saqarTvel os revkomis maRal Cinosnebi samwuxarod reagirebis gareSe tovebda. Cems mier mopovebul i saarqivo masal ebidan irkveva, rom 1921 wl is dasasrul idan, duSeTis mazraSi qarTvel Ta SesaviwroebI ad da saZarcvavad **dianoza Zaxoevis** meTaurobiT Seqmnil i osebis SeiaraRebul i axal i bandformireba iwyebs moqmedebas. mis ZiriTad mizans, qarTul i sofl ebis mosaxl eobis yovel mxrivi Seviwroeba (Zarcva, qal ebis gaupatiureba, oj axis Rirsebis damcavi mamakacebis mkvl el oba) warmoadgenda. am faqtebis Sesaxeb, duSeTis mazris mil iciis ufrosi WurRul ia, Sinagan saqmeTa saxal axo komisariatis administraciul i ganyofil ebis ufrosis saxel ze 1924 wl is 2 dekembriT daTariRebul moxsenebaSi xazgasmiT miuTitebda. mis mier Sedgenil dokumentSi **dianoza Zaxoevi** mSvidobiani qarTul i mosaxl eobis Seurigebel da dauZinebel mtradaa gamocxadebul i. iqve dasaxel ebul ia meore yaCaRi **gurgena gul araSvil** i. `duSeTis mazris mSromel gl exobas **_vkiTxul obT moxsenebaSi_** Tavzari hqonda dacemul i cnobil i yaCaRebis **dianoza Zaxoevis** da **gurgena gul araSvil** is mxe-curi moqmedebebiT. xsenebul ma yaCaRebma duSeTis mazraSi ramdenime wel iwads (1921 wl is dekembri dan 1924 wl is noemberi. S.v.) iTareSes.- dokumenturi masal iT dasturdeba, rom qarTvel Ta marbiel i osi yaCaRebis zemoaRniSnul razmebs, 1922 wel s vl adikavkazidan dabrunebul i **cicia Zaxoevis** yaCaRTa razmi Seuertda. Sinagan saqmeTa sdaxal xo komisariatis masal ebSi dacul i monacemebis mixedviT, gurgena gul araSvil i 1924 wl is 23 noembers sof. xofcaSi Sei pyres, xol o imave wl is 30 noembers Trusos xeobaSi (kobis raioni) dianoza Zaxoevi sofl is ganapiras mcxovrebi erTerTi osi gl exis oj axSi SeCixes da mokl es. am operaciis CatarebasTan dakavSirebiT, imave WurRul ias mier 1925 wl is 11 Teberval s Sedgenil patakSi xazgasmiT iyo miTitebul i. `cnobil i banditebis **dianoza Zaxoevis** da **gurgena gul araSvil** is mosaspobad **_werda igi _yovel gvari zomebi iyo miRebul i,** rac sasurvel ad damTavrda, maT TareSs bol o moeRo duSeTis mazraSi.- aseTi preambul is Semdeg, zemoT dasaxel ebul i yaCaRebis sal ikvidaci od Catarebul i operaciisaTvis, val is saxiT sexxad aRebul i 600 maneTis dafarvas Sinagan saqmeTa saxal xo komisariats sTxovda. es faqti imaze mi gvani Sbnebs, rom osi yaCaRebis winaaRmdeg gatarebul i operatiul i RonisZieba, ara xel isufl ebis umaRl esi eSel onebis, aramed duSeTis samazro pol iciis xel mZRvanel obis individual uri gadawyvetil ebiT_ nasesxebi ful iT ganxorciel da.

am SemTxvevaSi gansakuTrebul i yuradReba erT metad mniSvnel ovan niuans unda mieqces. mxedvel obaSi maqvs aRniSnul i yaCaRebis misamarTiT gakeTebul i gancxadeba: `duSeTis mazraSi ramdenime wel iwads iTareSes.- es `ramdenime wel iwadi,- 1921 wl is dekembri dan 1924 wl is noembris Catvl iT_ periods moicavs. e.i. TiTqmis sam wel s. ismeba kiTxva; qarTul i mosaxl eobis amomgdebi osuri bandformirebebis xel mZRvanel Ta mimarT, umkacresi operatiul i zomebi ratom droul ad ar iqna gatarebul i da maTi l ikvidaciis sakiTxi mxol od 1924 wl is noemberSi daisva? Sesabamisi saarqivo dokumentebis miukvl evl obis gamo, am kiTxvaze pirdapiri pasuxis gacema SeuZl ebel i xdeba. im etapze saqarTvel oSi Seqmnil i umZimesi pol itikuri situaciis gaTval iswineba mxol od varaudis gamoTqmis SesaZl ebl obas iZl eva. mxedvel obaSi maqvs; a)1924 wl is agvistos aj anyebis monawil e-

Ta da maT TanamgrZnobTa winaaRmdeg dawyebul i umkacresi represiebi; b)arsebul i xel isufli ebisadmi duSeTis mazris mcxovrebtTa Sinaganad mtruli i damokidebul eba. aseT fonze, Sesabamis samTavrobo uwyebes mosaxl e-obisaTvis unda eCvenebina, rom igi ara mar to sabWoTa xel isufli ebis mow-inaaRmdegeebis, aramed, adgil obrivi gl exkacobis mZarcvel os yaCaRebsac ebrZoda. am mimarTul ebiT duSeTis mazris Sesabamisi Zal ovani uwyebis mier miRebul i gadawyvetil eba, izul ebiTi politikuri da ideol ogiuri faqtorebiT iyo ganpirobebul i. winaaRmdeg SemTxvevaSi, zemoaRniSnul i yaCaRebis neitral izebas 1922 an 1923 wel s moaxdenda. saarqivo masal ebiT ar dasturdeba, rom Sinagan saqmeTa saxal xo komisariatis miTiTebiT, duSeTis mazris miliciis ganyofil ebas 1922 -1923 wl ebSi maT winaaRmdeg raime mniSvel ovani operacia Caetarebinos.

qarTul i sofl ebis gl exkacobis Semawuxebel i osuri bandformirebis meTaurTa (dianoza Zaxoevi, gurgena gul araSvil i) ganadgureba, im etapze duSeTis mazris xel mZRvanel obam, mosaxl eobis interesebis dacvis ideol ogiuri propagandis xel CasaWid saSual ebad gamoiyena. amis Sesaxeb garkveul i minisnebaa gakeTebul i imave mazris miliciis ufrosis Wur-Rul ias moxsenebaSi. `marTal ia _vkiTxul obT dokumentSi_ mazrmilicias... bevri Sromis da energiis daxarj va dasWirda... sanam gl exobis gul s moigebda da maTSi ndobasa da Tanadgomas ganimtkicebda, magram, Cveni saqmi-anobis nayofi naTI ad Cans. Cvens Sromas muqTadar Cauvl ia, rac gacil ebiT ufro sagrZnob gamarj vebad unda CaiTval os, vidre TviT yaCaRebis Sepyroba.- es faqti imaze miuTitebs, rom osi yaCaRebis_ dianoza Zaxoevis da gurgena gul araSvil is sal ikvidaci od Catarebul i operacia, arsebul i xel isufli ebiT ukmayofil o duSeTis mazris gl exkacobis gul ismosageb piarkampaniaze iyo gaTvl il i.

saqarTvel os xel isufli ebis Sesabamisi uwyebebi sagan osebis mier qarTul i mosaxl eobis gaZarcvis, darbevsa da sacxovrisidan gamozevebis aRiarebas Tuki gaviTval iswinebT, advil i warmosadgenia ra mZime mdgomareobaSi imyofeboda Sida qarTl is Crdil oetis mTiani zolis qarTvel oba. am fonze pasuxi unda gaeces kiTxvas; dazaral ebul qarTvel Ta dasaxmarebl ad da Sida qarTl Si qarTvel Ta demografiul i upiratesobis SesanarCunebl ad, ra qmediT RonisZiebebs mimarTavda gasabWoebul i saqarTvel os xel isufli eba. amastan dakavSirebiT sagangebod Seviswavi e Sinagan saqmeTa saxal xo komisariatis, saqarTvel os revkomis, saqarTvel os kp (b) central uri komitetisa da central uri armasrul ebel i komitetis fondebSi dacul i masal ebi. samwuxarod, zemoaRniSnul uwyebes, gaZarcul i da l to- l vil ebad qceul i qarTvel ebis dasaxmarebl ad didad Tavi ar Seuwxebia. 1921- 1925 wl ebis saqmo CanawerebSi jerjerobiT ver mi vakvl ie vercerTi saxis dadgenil ebas, romelic devnil i qarTvel ebis saxl ebSi dabrunebisa da usafRTxo cxovrebis pirobebis Seqmnis garantiis faqts daadasturebda. Sinagan saqmeTa saxal xo komisariatis masal ebSi mxol od zogadi xasiaTis oTxi dokumenti armoCnda, romelic osebis mier cxinval is raionSi dazaral ebul i qarTvel ebis zaral is gamorkvevasa da mis anazRaurebas exebs. am mxriv gansakuTrebul yuradRebas saqarTvel os revkomis prezidiumis 1921 wl is 13 ivl isis sxdomis saqmo Canaweri iqcevs. rogorc dokumentidan irkveva, aRniSnul sxdomas istal ini da s. orj onikiZe daswrebia. gansaxil vel 26- e sakiTxad, osebsgan dazaral ebul i qarTvel ebisadmi daxmarebis armoCenis Sesaxeb, saqarTvel os revkomisadmi Sinagan saqmeTa saxal xo komisariatis Suamdgoml oba iqna sxdomaze gatanil i. miRebul

dadgenil ebaSi vkiTxul obT: `1).mieces ufl eba Sinagan saqmeTa sax. komisars dazaral ebul Tagan gancxadebis miReba ganagrZos; 2).masve mieces winadadeba dazaral ebul Ta ricxvis gamorkvevis Semdeg, Suamdgoml oba aRZras revkomis winaSe dazaral ebul Ta dasakmayofil ebl ad saWiro Tanxis gadebis Sesaxeb.- erTi SexedviT, aRniSnul i dokumenti saqmian STabeWdil ebas tovebs. miTumetes, am dadgenil ebidan me- 16 dRes, saqarTvel os revkois 1921 wl is 29 ivl isis sxdomaze sagangebod iqna ganxil ul i Sinagan saqmeTa saxal xo komisariatis Suamdgoml oba_ osebisgan dazaral ebul i qarTul i sofl ebis mcxovrebaTa dasaxmarebl ad 500 mil ion manetis gamoyofis Sesaxeb. miRebul dadgenil ebaSi vkiTxul obT: `1).Sinagan saqmeTa komisaris Suamdgoml oba dakmayofil ebul i iqnas; 2).winadadeba mieces finansTa saxal xo komisars, gaxsnas Sinagan saqmeTa saxal xo komisaris gankargul ebisatvis 500 mil . man. krediti osebisgan dazaral ebul i qarTul i sofl ebis mcxovrebl ebisatvis daxmarebis aRmosacnad.- Cems mier motanil dadgenil ebebs, Semdgom etapze miRebul dokumentebs Tuki SevudarebT da mis erTobl iv anal izs movaxdenT, aRmoCndeba, rom saqarTvel os revkomis 1921 wl is 13 da 29 ivl isis dadgenil ebebi piarkampaniaze iyo gatvil il i da moCvenebit_ zedapirul xasiaTs atarebda. aseTi daskvnis gakeTebis ufl ebas, dazaral ebul i qarTul i sofl ebis mosaxl eobis zaral is gamorkvevi da amnazRaurebel i komisiis masal ebis Seswavl a izl eva. imave komisiis Tavmj domaris yefianis mier 1922 wl is 30 ianvars saqarTvel os revkomisadmi gagzavnul i mokle angarisSis mixedvit, Cems mier zemoT motanil i dadgenil ebebis Sesrul ebisa da komisiis mxridan farTomasStabiani samuSaos Catarebis faqti ar dasturdeba. komisiis mxol od mesame jgufis dazaral ebul Ta 87 kaciani sia Seudgenia, romel Ta saerto zaral i 2. 007. 400. 000 manets aRemateboda. ramdenadac dazaral ebul ebis am motxovnas Sinagan saqmeTa saxal xo komisariatma uarit upasuxa, qarTul ma mosaxl eobam daxmarebisaTvis saqarTvel os revkoms mimarTa. dokumenturi masal iT ar dasturdeba, rom imave revkoms, 87 mTxovnel i qarTul i oj axebs sasargebl od raime saxis gadawyvetil eba mieRo. aq erT metad mniSvnel ovan faqts unda mieqces gansakuTrebul i yuradReba. mxedvel obaSi maqvs komisiis mier dazaral ebul Ta kategori ebad dayofa da gansakuTrebul i yuradRebis mesame jgufisadmi gamaxvil eba. **dokumentSi arsad ar figurirebs;** 1)Tu ra **principis emyareboda aRniSnul i kl asifikacia;** 2)**ratom gauketa ignorireba pirveli da meore jgufis dazaral ebul ebs, raodenobrivad ramden oj axs Seadgenda igi;** 3)**dazaral ebul Ta romel jgufs miekuTvneboda Sida qarTlidan gamodevnil i da usaxl karod darcenil i qarTvel oba, an is oj axebi, roml ebsac osebma saxl kari daungries, mamapapaTa Sromis Sedegad SeZenil i qoneba waartves da wel Si gamartul i qarTvel i meurne gl exoba l umperproletaris mdgomareobaSi Caayenes. ramdenadac aRniSnul sakiTxebTan mimarTebaSi komisiis Sesabamisi dokumentacia ar Seuqmnia (yovel SemTxvevaSi aseT masal ebs jer- jerobit ver mivakvl ie), misi arseboba formal urad unda CaiTval os. es faqti erTxel kidev migvaniSnebs, rom Sida qarTl is qarTul mosaxl eobaze zrunva da misadmi yuradRebis gamocena, gasabWoebul i saqarTvel os xel isufl ebas meorexarixovan sakiTxad miaCnda da amas os separatistebis aSkarad agr Znobi nebda.**

sabedniero istoria im mecnierebaTa dargs ganekutneba, romel ic warsul is movl enebis amsaxvel i mtverit dafarul i, gaxunebul i da STamomav-

I obisaTvis gadanaxul i saarqivo fol iantebis Seswavl is safuZvel ze WeSmaritebis dadgenas cdil obs. saWiroebis SemTxvevaSi ama Tu im movl e-nas wina pl anze wamoswevs da sazogadoebis gansj is sagnad aqcevs. masve unda vumadl odeT, rom dokumenturi masal is miukerZoebel i anal izis Sedegad, im barbarosul i namoqmedaris `gamomzeurebis- SesaZl ebl obas qmnis, romel ic Sida qarTI is cxinval is raionis qarTul mosaxl eobasTan mima-rTebaSi saqarTvel os gasabWoebis pirvel da momdevno wl ebSi osma separa-tistebma Caidines.²⁴

amrigad, Cems mier motanil i masal ebis anal izidan gamomdinare, dabej iTebiT SeiZl eba vamtkicoT: 1)damoukidebel i saqarTvel os xel isuflebis mier teritoriul i mTI ianobis SesanarCunebl ad da osuri separatizms sabol ood aRmosafxvrel ad dawyebul i Ronisz-iebebis bol omde miyvana, dasavl eT evropis saxel mwifoTa pol itikur da ekonomikur mxardaWeraze iyo damokidebul i. evropis didi saxel mwifoebis prosabWourma orientaciam da saqarTvel osadmi micemul i pirobis arSesrul ebam, sabWoTa ruseTs saqarTvel os dapyro-bis xel sayrel i pol itikuri garemo Seuqmna. 2)saqarTvel odan 1920 wel s `deportirebul i- damnaSave osebis 1921 wl is martidan s.orj onikizis iniciativiT Sida qarTI Si qaoturad dabrunebam da SurismaZiebel i osebisagan qarTul i mosaxl eobis damcavi meqaniz-mis winaswar armomzadebam, tragikul i Sedegebi gamoiRO. mxedvel o-baSi maqvs: a)Sida qarTI is qarTul i mosaxl eobis osebisagan Zarc-va (saqonl is, muSa pirutyvis, tansacmel is, TeTreul is, avej is, sasofl o- sameurneo produqtebis dataceba) da mizanmimarTul ad Sevi-wroeba; b)mamapapeul i sacxovrisidan qarTvel Ta gamodevna. doku-menturi masal iT dasturdeba, rom osebis am danaSaul ebriv qmede-bebs, gasabWoebul i saqarTvel os xel isuflebam Sesabamisi sadam-sjel o meqanizmi ar daupirispira. aRniSnul i faqti, qarTvel Ta qo-nebis saZarcvavad osebs xel sayrel pirobebs uqmni da. miTumetes, osebisadmi ificial uri mfarvel is rol s, `samxreT oseTis- revko-mi, osuri milicia da qarTul sofl ebSi Cayenebul i XI armis na-wil ebi asrul ebda. 3)gasabWoebul saqarTvel oSi Seqmnil i pol i-tikuri foni, os separatistebis qarTvel Ta winaRmdag Zal ismieri meTodis gamosayenebl ad aqtiuri moqmedebisaken ubiZgebda, mamapa-peul i sacxovrisidan qarTvel Ta gamodevnis real ur SesaZl ebl o-bas uqmni da. mZarcvel obiTi saqmianobis paral el urad, osebis mxri-dan vandal uri meTodebis gamoyenebam (qarTvel ebis saxl karis gada-wva, mkvl el oba, mosaxl eobis cecxl Si dawva, arasrul wl ovanidan didebis CaTvl iT qal ebis gaupatiureba) da aseTi saxis qmedebisa-dmi permanentul i saxis micemam, osi separatistebis Canafiqris pirve-li safexuris momzadebis myari safuZvel i Seqmna. osebis am dana-Saul ebriv namoqmedarTan mimarTebaSi, kavbiuro da gasabWoebul i saqarTvel os xel isuflebis Sesabamisi uwyebebi mkacr reagirebas ar akeTebda. isini mxol od komisiebis SeqmniTa da saTanado mox-seneba- daskvnebis momzadebiT ifargl ebodnen. qveynis mmarTvel i organoebis mxridan qarTvel Ta siZul vil ze agebul ma araerovnul ma pol itikurma kursma, Sida qarTI is cxinval is raionSi osianobis ganaxl ebas da qarTvel Ta eTnowmendas daudo saTave. 4)gasabWoebul i saqarTvel os marionetul i mTavrobis xel SewyobiT, osi separa-tistebi Sida qarTI is mTian zonaSi demografiul i bal ansis

osebis sasargebl od Secvl as daCqarebul i tempiT maqsimal urad cdil obda. maTi Zal isxmeviT, 1921 wl is martidan 25 april is CaTv- l iT, drois am mcire monakveTSi, Sida qarTI is 13 qarTul i sofel i (sveri, qemerti, mindiani, yafI ani, kasrani, monasteri, awrisxevi, sacx- eneTi, bel oTi, qvemo da zemo niqoza, qvemo da zemo xviTi) qarTvel ebisagan daical a. am danaSaul ebriv faqts, saqarTvel os xel i- sufl eba Segnebul ad mal avda da samTavrobo doneze Sesabamis reagirebas ar akeTebda. Sida qarTI is qarTul i mosaxl eoba kavbi- urosa da sabWoTa saqarTvel os mTavrobis Semawuxebel danamatad iqca. 5)Sida qarTI idan qarTvel Ta iZul ebiTi gamodevnis erT- erT formad, qarTvel Ta winaaRmdeg osi separatistebis mier, osuri Se- iaraRebul i razmebis (meTaurebi: osi petre gogiSvil i, jatin koko- evi, dianoza Zaxoevi, cicia Zaxoevi, gurgena gul araSvil i) aqtiuri moqmedeba iqna gamoyenebul i. dokumenturi masal iT dasturdeba, rom sabWoTa xel isufl ebam, Sida qarTI is qarTul i mosaxl eoba gasawirad gaimeta da os separatistebis wl ebis manZil ze `saj ij g- nad- miugdo.

\$ 2. osi separatistebis brZol a Sida qarTI Si gavl enis sferoebis gasafarToebl ad

Zal datanebis gziT saqarTvel os gasabWoebam da xel isufli ebis umaRI es organod revkomis gamocxadebam, os separatistebis TaviantI gegmis mesame safexuris ganxorciel ebis real uri Sansi gauCina. mxedvel obaSi maqvs: **a)** Sida qarTI is Crdil oeTi nawil is da misi momij nave mazrebis garkveuli teritoriis mitacebis warmatebul i mcdel oba, **b)** qarTuli mosaxl eobis gamodevnis xarj ze, osebis gansaxl ebis areal is gafarToeba. qarTveli eris sawinaaRmdegod mimarTuli am mavnebl uri Canafiqris Sesrul ebis SesaZl ebl obas, saqarTvel os revkomis 1921 wl is 12 martis dadgenil eba izl eoda. Sida qarTI Si, sadac wmindა osuri mosaxl eoba cxovrobdა, am dokumentis mixedviT `samxreT oseTis- revkomi unda Seqmnil iyo. Tbil is- Si mokal atebul i qarTvel i renegati bol Sevikebisagan gacemul i nebarTvis safuzvel ze, osma separatistebmac ar daayovna da Sida qarTI Si `samxreT oseTis- revkomis Seqmna xel meored gamoacxada. imave revkomis mier 1921 wl is 26 marts miRebul i # 1 brZanebis mixedviT, `samxreT oseTis- revkomis ufl ebamosil eba, mTiani Sida qarTI is_ maT mier moazrebul , magram jer kidev samarTI ebrivad ararsebul e.w. `samxreT oseTis mTel teritoriaze- gaavrcel a. metic, goris mazris Crdil oeT nawil Si Semavali raionebi, Temebi, sofl ebi da dawesebul ebebi `samxreT oseTis- revkoms TviTneburad dauqvemdebara.¹

ramdenadac `samxreT oseTis- revkomis moqmedebis sazRvrebis im etapze oficial urad mkacrad ar iyo Semofargl ul i. es faqti; 1) Sida qarTI Si Seqmnil i qarTuli da osuri revkomebis urTierT- dapirispirebis real ur safuzvel sqmnida; 2) osi separatistebis revkoms, Sida qarTI Si moqmedebisa da ufl ebebis survil isamebr ganvrcobis farTo SesaZl ebl obas azl evda. mitumetes, saqarTvel oSi sabWoTa xel isufli ebis damyarebidan 15 dRis Semdeg, `samxreT oseTis- niRbiT Sida qarTI is mTian zonaSi formal urad sabWoTa xel isufli ebis xel meored `gamarjvebis- gamocxadebas qonda adgili. am faqtiT, Sida qarTI is Crdil oeTi nawil i, saqarTvel osgan xel ovnurad iqna gaucxoebul i. dokumenturi masal iT dasturdeba, rom `samxreT oseTis- revkomi, qarTvel Ta saziანod Seqmnil arsebul politikur real obas maqsimal urad iyenebda. am Tval sazrisiT, isini Seudarebel ni iyvnen. maSindel i saqarTvel os xel isufli ebis antiqarTuli politikuri kursis erT- erT gamovl inebas, `samxreT oseTis- revkomis cxinval Si TviTneburad ganTavsebazე da osuri revkomis mier cxinval is rezidenciad gamocxadebaze reagirebis argakeTeba warmoadgenda. momxdari faqtiT, osurma revkoma Sesani- Snavad isargebl a da cxinval is `qarTul revkoms- mmarTvel obis ufl ebebi waarTva. Zal ismieri meTodis gamoyenebiT, cxinval is garSemo arsebul i 26 qarTuli sofl is mosaxl eobis `samarTI ebrivad- gavl enis sferoSi moqcevas Seecada.

am mimarTul ebiT, osuri revkomebis TviTnebobis gamovl enis erT_ erT dadasturebas, sofel satixaris Temis revkomis Tavmj domaris oficial - uri gancxadeba warmoadgens: `satixaris Temis revkomi emorCil eba samxreT oseTis revkoms da ara sxvas.- am faqtTan dakavSirebiT, Sinagan saqmeTa saxal xo komisariatისადმი goris mazris revkomის Tavmj domaris mier 1921 wl is ivl isSi gagzavnil SekiTxvaze_ ra zomebi mieRo satixaris revkomis

Tvi TnebobasTan mimar TebaSi, Sinagan saqmeTa saxal xo komisariati pasux- obda: 1)sof. saTixari, Warebi, snekvi da xel Cua, tyviavis raionis mer-eTis Temis Semadgenl obaSi Sedis da masze goris mazris revkomis xel i-sufl e- ba vrcel deba; 2)saTixaris Temis revkomis Tavmj domaris ganxadeba kanonier safuZvel s mokl ebul ad unda CaiTval os; 3)Tuki saTixaris Temis revkomi goris mazris revkomTan mimar TebaSi urCobas gaagrZel ebda, misi xel mZRV- anel oba `sarevol ucio drois kanonebis mixedviT- daisj eboda. samwuxar- od, Sinagan saqmeTa saxal xo komisariatis aRniSnul i dapirebis Sesrul eba dokumenturi masal iT ar dasturdeba. amis Tval saCino magal iTs goris mazris revkomis Tavmj domaris da imave mazris sasursaTo komisaris mier Sinagan saqmeTa saxal xo komisariatسادmi 1921 wl is 28 seqtembers gagza- vnil i weril i warmoadgens. am dokumentis mixedviT, `samxreT oseTis- cen- tral uri xel isufl eba da saTixaris Temis revkomis Tavmj domare urCo- bas isev agrZel ebda, saxel mwifos Sesabamisi uwyebis mier gamoyofil ko- misias mosaxl eobisagan natural uri gadasaxadis amoRebis ufl ebas ar aZl evda. aRniSnul i faqtdan gamomdinare, Sinagan saqmeTa saxal xo komi- sariatis winaSe, igive dokumenti urCi moxel eebis ukangawvevisa da dasj is meqanizmis amoqmedebis aucil ebl obas kategoriuli formiT moiTxovda. am weril Si motanil faqtTan mimar TebaSi, central ur xel i-sufl ebas mkacri reagireba ar gaukeTebia. saarqivo masal iT mxol od is irkveva, rom Sida qarTI Si arsebul i urTul esi situaciis Seswavl is mizniT, Sinagan saqmeTa saxal xo komisariatma mxol od sagangebo komisia Seqmna. igi ramdenime qve komisiad daiyo da Sida qarTI Si sxvadasxva mimarTul ebiT daigzavna. am SemTxvevaSi, Cveni yuradReba erT- erTi qvekomisiis Tavmj domaris Svel iZ- is moxsenebam miqcia. `samxreT oseTis- revkomis mier cxinval sa da mis garSemo mimdebare qarTul sofl ebSi Seqmnil i mZime situaciis aRweris fonze, masSi konkretul ad iyo dasmul i kiTxva: `vin aris im teritoriis gamgebel i, romel ic cxinval isa da osebiT dasaxl ebul i teritoriis Sua imyofeba? vin aris gamgebel i im qarTul i sofl ebisa, roml ebic osur sofl ebTan imyofebian, an osuri sofl ebisa, roml is irglv iv qarTul i sofl ebisa? am kiTxvebis gadauWrel oba_ wers Svel iZe_ dids ube-durebas iwvevs da isedac gaborotebul xal xs aRizianebs. TviT cxinval Si... aris erTgvari gaugebroba da mcxovrebl ebma ar ician vis xel Sia so-fel i. sofl ebi: vanaTi, bel oTi, sacxeneTi, awrisxevi da sxva, qarTvel ebiT aris dasaxl ebul i. cxinval is raionis qarTul ma revkomma am sofl ebSi revko- mis wevrebard qarTvel ebi gagzavna, magram, osebis revkomma isini gadaayena da maT magier osebi daniSna. amas Sedegad xal xis aRSfoTeba mohyva da bevrma oseTis revkomis qveS darCenas gadasaxl eba amj obina.~ es vrcel i amonaweri, qarTul sofl ebze osuri revkomebis mxridan Zal momreobis gziT Zal aufl ebis gavrcel ebis mcdel obas, usamarTI obis damkvidrebas da am danaSaul ebriv faqtebTan mimar TebaSi qveynis Sinagan saqmeTa sax- al xo komisariatis ususurobas erTxel kidev adasturebs.

ramdenadac, cxinval is raionSi osebis TviTnebobis dausj el oba, ukanonoba da ganukiTxaoba zeimobda, osi separatistebi arsebul situaciis SesaniSnavad iyenebda da imisdamixedviT moqmedebda, rasac maTi erovnul i interesebi moiTxovda_ kerZod: a)ararsebul i `samxreT oseTis~ sazRvrebSi moazrebul Sida qarTI is teritoriaze Zal au- fl ebis gavrcel ebis daCqareba da misi aneqsiis aucil ebl oba; b)mo- mxdari faqtiT momaval Si `samxreT oseTis~ samarTI ebrivad daka- nonebis saWi roebisaTvis Sesabamisi fundamentis momzadeba. am mima-

rTul ebiT osebis partiul i el itis mxridan gaweul i praqtikul i saqmianoba_ safexurebrivad mimdinareobda. mxedvel obaSi maqvs, osuri mil iciis ganyofil ebebis qarTul sofl ebSi unebartvod Seqmna. am sakiTxTan dakavSirebiT, goris mazris pol itikuri biuros mier saqarTvel os Sromis saxal xo komisariatisadmi 1921 wl is 28 ivniss gagzavnil weril Si xazgasmiT iyo miTiTebul i. `samxreT oseTis revkomma_ vkiTxul obT dokumentSi_ Tavisi mil icia Seqmna oqonaSi da mej vrisxevSi. es raionebi goris mazras ekuTvnis da goris samazro mil iciaa gaxsnil i. amJamad ori mil iciaa. isini erTmaneTis muSaobas aferxeben. mosaxl eobaSi es faqti qmnis antagonizms osebsa da qarTvel ebs Soris. saswrafod mi iReT zomebi erT- erTi romel ime mil iciis sal ikvidaci od.- marTal ia, es dokumenti zemoaRniSnul sofl ebSi osuri mil iciis ganyofil ebebs ukanonod gaxsnil ad acxadebda, magram konkretul ad misi gauqmebis sakiTxs ar ayenebda. Serbil ebul i formiT, qarTul sa da osur mil icias Soris arCevanis gakeTebis ufl ebas Sromis saxal xo komisariats aZl evda. arada, goris mazraSi Seqmnil i umZimesi situaciidan gamomdinare, yovel gvaxis saxis ukanonobis dauyovnebl ivi aRmofxvra principul i da kategoriul i formiT unda yofil iyo am weril Si dasmul i. Tuki ase ar gakeTda, es iyo danaSaul i, radgan osebis revkomTan da mil iciasTan mimarTebaSi samTavrobo struqturabis nebsmieri kompromisi, os separatistebis aqtiuri moqmedebisaTvis kidev ufro ganawyobda. saarqivo masal ebis Seswavl idan irkveva, rom osuri revkomebisa da osuri mil iciis mxridan zemoaRniSnul i gadametebul i TviTnebobis msgavs faqtebs qonda adgil i Casavl is, rexul is, xurval eTisa da sxva sasofl o TemebSi. saarqivo dokumentebiT dasturdeba, rom Casavl is sazogadoebis (raWis mazra) Tavmj domarem, aRniSnul i sazogadoeba, j er kidev oficial urad ararsebul i `samxreT oseTis- Sema dgenel nawil ad gamoacxada, xol o `samxreT oseTis- mesame raionis mil iciis ufrosma qoqoevma, sofel rexul is, monastris da qsanis mosaxl eoba iZul ebiT osuri mil iciis ufl ebebs dauqvemdebara. am faqtTan dakavSirebiT, goris mazris komisar ma mil iciis mTavar sammarTvel os 1921 wl is 8 agvistos TxovniT mimarTa_ aRniSnul sofl ebSi `samxreT oseTis revkomis gankargul ebiT ukanonod aRmocnebul i osuri mil iciis ganyofil ebebis- dauyovnebl ivi gauqmebisa da saTanado zomebis miRebis Sesaxeb. osuri mil iciis ganyofil ebebi TviTneburad iqna Seqmnil i cxinval ze miweril 9 qarTul sofel Siac (vanaTi, bel oTi, awrisxevi, sacxeneTi, xoSura, xadurianTkari, dvani, zemo avnevi da qvemo avnevi). aRniSnul faqtTan dakavSirebiT, imave goris mazris revkomma, mil iciis mTavar sammarTvel os analogiuri Sinaarsis weril i gaugzavna. Sinagan saqmeTa saxal xo komisariatis fondis Sesabamisi saqmeebis safuZvl ianad Seswavl is miuxedavad, j er j erobiT ar aRmoCnda iseTi dokumenti, romel ic goris mazris revkomis zemoaRniSnul moTxovnebs srul ad daakmayofil ebda, osuri revkomebisa da osuri mil iciis ganyofil ebebis TviTnebobas al agmavda, maT xel mZRvanel pirebsa da xel qveiT personal s kanonis Sesabamisad pasuxisgebaSi miscemda. arada, imave sabWoTa xel isufl ebis mier miRebul i dekretebis mixedviT, saqarTvel os revkomi qveynis umaRl es sakanonmdebl o, ganmkargul ebel da makontrol ebel organod iTvl eboda. xol o nebsmieri saraiono revkomis Seqmna Sinagan saqmeTa saxal xo komisariatis prerogativas warmoadgenda. amis damadasturebl ad, `saqarTvel os sabWoTa social isturi respublikis revol uciuri komitetis xel isufl eb-

is organizaciis Sesaxeb- 1921 wl is april Si miRebul i dekreti # 27 gamodgeba. masSi garkveviTaa naTqvami: `1)revol uciuri komite- ti aris saqarTvel os social isturi sabWoTa respubl ikis uze- naesi sakanonmdebl o, ganmkargul ebel i da kontrol is organo. SeniS- vna: saraiono revkomi arsdeba Sinagan saqmeTa saxal xo komisaria- tis cnobiT iq, sadac adgil obriv da sxva garemoebis gamo aris amis saWiroeba.-²

`samxreT oseTis- revkomi, ramdenadac oficial urad saqarTve- l os revkomis mier iyo daarsebul i da samarTI ebrivad mis qvem- debare organos warmoadgenda, saqarTvel os revkomsa da Sinagan saqmeTa saxal xo komisariats zemoaRniSnul faqtebTan mimarTeba- Si umkacresi RonisZiebis gatarebis srul i ufl eba gaaCnda. sam- wuxarod, am mimarTul ebiT maTi mxridan droul i praqtikul i nabiji ar gadadgmul a.

osuri revkomebisa da osuri mil iciis ganyofil ebebis zRvargadacil e- bul qmedebes, Sida qarTI is qarTul i sofl ebis mosaxl eoba apreste- bda da saqarTvel os xel isufl ebisagan damnaSaveebis dauyovnebl iv das- jas moiTxovda. saqarTvel os mTavrobis kancel ariaSi qarTul i sofl eb- is mosaxl eobis rwmunebul Ta mier Setanil gancxadebaSi (1921 wl is mai) vkiTxul obT: `sifel vanaTSi, bel oTSi, sacxeneTSi da awrisxevSi iyo... Semd- gari qarTul i revkomi, romel ic ekuTvnoda cxinval is revkoms. ramde- nadac es sofl ebi arian qarTul i sofl ebi, oseTis revkomma am sofl ebSi gagzavna mil icia da gamoacxada Tavisi orientacia. ase rom es sofl el e- bi iZaxian, Tu Cven amaT xel Si davrCebiT, maSin aqedan avi yrebiT. ase moxda, mosaxl eobis nawil i aiyara da barisken wavida.- anal ogiuri xasiaTisaa qvemo Wal is Temis 7 qarTul i sofl is mcxovrebtTa mier 1921 wl is 12 ma- rts miRebul i dadgenil eba. `Cven qvemo Wal is raionis sofl ebis: zemo baRebis, qvemo baRebis, gudi aanTkari, saRoreTis, biCia anTkari, metesmanis da Rvdul eTis warmomadgenl ebma davadgineT: radganac awrisxevis me- 3 raionis aRmaskomi Zal iT moiTxovs am sofl ebis mcxovrebtagan maTTan administraciul ad SeerTebas da axdens Cvens mimarT sxvadasxva gankargu- l ebebs, Cven ki maTTan kavSiri ar gvaqvs, vugzavniT dadgenil ebas umaRl es mTavrobas, raTa man winadadeba misces me- 3 raionis awrisxevis aRmaskoms (osuri aRmaskomia), rom igi Camogvexsnas, radgan Cveni Rma survil ia ve- qvemdebarebodeT qvemo Wal is raionis aRmaskoms (qarTul i aRmaskomia), rogorc es mTavrobisgan aris daweril i.-

`samxreT oseTis- revkomisa da osuri mil iciis ganyofil ebebi- sagan Sewuxebul i qarTul i mosaxl eobis gasaWiri, maT mier wardge- nil i saCivrebis safuZvel ze gakeTebul i moxsenebebi da daskvnebi sagangebo ganxil vis mizniT, gasbWoebul i saqarTvel os maSindel partiul el itas, skp (b) central uri komitetis arcerTi pl enumis sxdomis dRis wesrigSi ar Seutania. miTumetes, 1921 wl is 24 mar- tidan 26 noembris CaTvl iT, skp (b) pl enumis 40 sxdoma Catarda. da- dgenil ebis saxiT saargivo masal ebSi j erjerobit iseTi dokume- nts ver mi vakvl ie, romel ic `samxreT oseTis- revkomis antiqarTul qmedebes oficial urad mTel i simkacrit dagmobda, osuri mil ici- is ukanono ganyofil ebebs gaauqmebda, damnaSaveebs gansasj el Ta skamze dasvamda da Sida qarTI is mTiani zol is qarTul mosaxl e- obas mamapapeul miwa- wyal ze cxovrebis normal ur pirobebs Seu- qmnida. respubl ikis revkomi, partiis central uri komiteti, misi

umaRI esi organo_ pl enumi da kavbiuro, aRniSnul sakiTxebTan mima-
rTebaSi srul umoqmedobas iCenda da qarTvel Ta gasaWirs TiTqmis
uyuradRebod tovebda. isic xazgasasmel ia, rom cxinval is raionis
qarTvel Ta saprotesto saCivrebs maqsimal urad asaidual oebda da
farTo sazogadoebisaTvis xel miuwvdomel s xdida. amis udao da-
dasturebas im periodis bol Sevikuri presa warmoadgens. Sida qarTI is
qarTul i mosaxl eobis umZimesi mdgomareobis Sesaxeb, mis furcl ebze mcir-
eoden informaciasac ver wavawydi. erTaderTi gazeTi, romel mac gabeda
da `samxreT oseTis- revkomis danaSaul ebriv qmedebes farda axada, gaze-
Ti `social ist- federal isti- iyo. am mxriv, gansakuTrebul yuradRebas
Wiyos fsevdonimiT gamoqveynebul i statia `cxinval is raionis qarTvel o-
ba moiTxovs mTavrobis yuradRebas- iqcevs. Sida qarTI is qarTvel ebis
mTel i rigi probl emebis win wamowevis paral el urad, masSi `samxreT ose-
Tis- revkomis TviTnebobazea aqcentireba gakeTebul i. statiis avtori mkiTx-
vel sazogadoebas auwyebda, rom `samxreT oseTis- revkomi Tavs Sida qarT-
I is Crdil oeTi nawil is baton- patronad da ganmkargul ebl ad Tvl ida.
aqedan gamomdinare, qarTul i mosaxl eobis damorCil ebas yovel gvare sa-
Sual ebebiT cdil obda. amis damadasturebl ad imave statiaSi `samxreT
oseTis- revkomis mier sofel Sindisis Temis revkomisadmi gagzavnil i
erT- erTi brZanebaa motanil i. `vinaidan samxreT oseTis revkomi_ vkiTx-
ul obT dokumentSi_ ar eqvemdebareba saqarvel os revkoms, winadadebas
gaZl evT yovel ive Cveni moweril oba dauyovnebl iv iqnes sisrul eSi moyva-
nil i. es faqti mraival mxrivaa sayuradRebo; 1) saqarTvel os revkomis dad-
genil ebis safuzvel ze Seqmnil i `samxreT oseTis- revkomi, saqarTvel os
revkoms oficial urad daumorCil ebl obas ucxadebda da 2) `samxreT ose-
Tis- revkomi, Sida qarTI is mTiani zol is, osi separatistebis mier `samxreT
oseTad- moazrebul i teritoriis baton- patronad da mis ganmkargul e-
bl ad acxadebda Tavs. aqedan gamomdinare, qarTul i mosaxl eobisgan mor-
Cil ebas da osebis survil is aRsrul ebas kategoriul i formiT moiTxov-
da. yovel ive amas, oficial uri brZanebebiTa da Sesabamisi weril ebiT adas-
turebda. aseT faqtebtan mimarTebaSi, respublikis revkomis xel mZR-
vanel oba aranair reagirebas ar akeTebda, riTac os separatistebis
TavianTi preenziul i miswrafebebis gamovlenis da qarTul mosax-
l eobaze zewol is Sesazl ebl obas azl evda. nebismieri Tavmoyvare
eris mTavroba, `samxreT oseTis- revkomis aRniSnul i qmedebisa da
qveynis xel isufle ebis Seuracmyofel i gancxadebidan gamomdinare,
administraciul sadamsjel o RonisZiebes dauyovnebl iv gaatarebda.
Tuki igi am mimarTul ebiT raime saxis adeqvatur praqtikul gada-
wyvetil ebas ar Rebul obda, `samxreT oseTis- revkoms `damouki-
debel ~ organod, xol o Sida qarTI is mTian zol s saqarTvel osgan
gaucxoebul `samxreT oseTis qveynad- moiazrebda. winaarmdeg SemTx-
vevaSi, saqarTvel os revkoms aRniSnul i statiis avtorisagan im
faqtis Sexseneba ar dasWirdeboda, rom `samxreT oseTis- revkomis
moqmedeba saqarTvel os mTavrobis ufl ebebis miTvisებაsa da mis
Seuracmyofas warmoadgenda. amastan dakavSirebiT imave statiaSi vkiTx-
ul obT: `guSindel straJnikebs da dRes komunistur qudebSi gamowyobil T
aviwydebaT, rom Sindisis revkoms igive ufl eba aqvs Tavis raionSi, rac j a-
vis revkoms Tavis fargl ebSi. amgvare TviTnebobada da saqarTvel os soci-
al isturi sabWoTa respublikis mTavrobis ufl ebaTa miTvisება aris Cveni
saxel mwifos ufl ebebis Seuracmyofa da anarqis Seqmna mmarTvel obaSi...

yovel ive amas unda mieqces saTanado da seriozul i yuradReba. xal xi itanj eba, mas dRes Tu ara xval moTminebis fial a eevseba da arasasurve- li Sedegebis momswre gavxvdebiT Tu saTanado zomebi ar iqna miRebul i visganac jer ars.³

igive gazeTi, `samxreT oseTis- revkomis TviTnebobis Sesaxeb meore faqtzedac amaxvil ebda yuradRebas. saqme exeba `samxreT oseTis- revkomis mier sofel mereTis revkomisadmi dasjis muqariT gagzavnil weril s. aRniSnul sakiTxTan dakavSirebiT miminos fsevdonimiT gamoqveynebul statiaSi `cxinval is raioni safrTxeSia- vkiTxul obT: `sof. mereTi wminda qarTul i sofel ia, Sedis tyviavis sazogadoebaSi. samxreT oseTis revkomTan araviTari damokidebul eba ara aqvs da Cven gvikvirs, rom osebis revkomi iseT kadnierebamdis midis, rom Tavis Tanave revkoms dasj iT emuqreba. mkiTxvel i amis Semdeg advil ad mixvdeba, samxreT oseTis revkomis gavlenaSi myofi qarTul i sofl ebi ra siamtkbil yofaSi iqnebian.⁴

marTalia, gazeTis mier zemoT motanil i faqtebi da saqarTvel os xel isuflebis misamarTiT gakeTebul i sayveduri Sida qarTl is mTiani qarTul i mosaxleobis dacvis mizniT Sesabamisi RonisZiebebis gatarebisaken mowodebas warmoadgenda, magram igi umaRl esi saxel isuflebo organoebis mxridan uyuradRebod darCa. iseTi STabeWdil eba iqmneba, gasabWoebul i saqarTvel os mTavroba, `samxreT oseTis- revkomis danaSaul ebriv qmedebasTan mimarTebaSi TiTqos Segnebul ad xuWavda Tval s da cxinval is raionis qarTul i mosaxleoba gasawirad hyavda gametebul i. aseTi mkacri Tval sazrisi, imave statiaSi motanil faqtebs emyareba. mxedvel obaSi maqvs `samxreT oseTis- revkomTan arsebul i `damnaSaveTa samZebro ganyofil ebis- mier qarTul i mosaxleobis dasinebis mizniT gatarebul i RonisZieba. `ganyofil eba_ vkiTxul obT statiaSi_ raionSi iseT gankargul ebebs iZi eva, romel sac ukanonobis da TviTnebobis beWedi azis. Cven SemTxveva gvqonda gavcnobodiT... zemoT dasaxel ebul i dawesebul ebis ufrosis 4 maisis me- 139 nomrit nik.qobul ovis saxel ze gacemul dokumentis, roml is mixedvitac, qobul ovs ufl eba hqonda miniWebul i_ daetusaRebina yvel a, visac moisurvebda, xol o winaarmdegobis gawevis SemTxvevaSi iaraRi exmara.⁵ advil i warmosasdgenia, osi separatistebi Tu ras damarTebda Sida qarTl is im qarTvel ebs, vinc osuri revkomisa da osuri miliciis ukanono qmedebebs asaCivrebda. msgavs faqtebtan mimarTebaSi, maSindel i saqarTvel os xel isuflebis qmediTi reagirebis dadasturebis kval i im etapze samwuxarod ar ikveTeba. saarqivo masal ebis Seswavidan irkveva, rom erTaderTi, rac saqarTvel os revkomma im etapze gaakeTa, cxinval is raionSi wesrigis dasamyarebl ad da arsebul i mdgomareobis gamosasworebl ad xutul aSvil is xel mZRvanel obiT gansakutrebul i ufl ebebiT aRWurvil i sameul i gagzavna. es faqti, garegnul ad moval eobis moxdis el fers atarebda da igi Sida qarTl is cxinval is regionis qarTul i mosaxleobis damcavi meqanizmis Sesaqmnel ad gadadgmul nabij s namdvil ad ar warmoadgenda. saarqivo masal ebiT ar dasturdeba, rom aRniSnul i `sameul is- saqmianobas raime dadebiTi Sedegi gamoeRo. piriqit, saqarTvel os xel isuflebis mxridan dasjel obis imedidan gamomdinare, osi separatistebi pirtandel poziciaze idgnen, mxedvel obaSi maqvs: **a)**cxinval is isev `samxreT oseTis- rezidenciad miCneva; **b)**cxinval is garSemo arsebul 26 qarTul sofel ze mmarTvel obis ufl ebis SesanarCunebl ad swrafva; **g)**raWisa da duSetis mazrebis teritoriebis garkveul nawil ze TviTneburad, Zal datanebis meTodis gamoyenebiT `samxreT oseTis- revkomis Zal aufl ebis gavr cel ebis maqsimal u-

rad mcdel oba. amas bedavdnen da akeTebdnen maSin, roca j er ki dev `samxreT oseTis- avtonomiuri ol qi samarTI ebrivad ar iyo Seqmnil i da misi sazRvrebis damdgeni komisia muSaobas agrZel ebda. mdgomareoba imdenad garTul - da, rom saqarTvel os revkomi iZul ebul i gaxda sazRvrebis damdgeni komi- siasTan mimarTebaSi Semdegi saxis dadgenil eba (1921 wl is 11 ivl isi) mie- Ro: `daeval os arsebul komi- sias saswrafod gamoarkvios samxreT oseTisa da sxva mezobel i revkomebis samoqmedo sazRvrebi.-⁶ es dokumenti arapra- gmatul xasiaTs atarebda im Tval sazrisiT, rom momqmed komi- sias, dasmul i sakiTxis saswrafod gadawyveta namdvil ad ar SeeZl o, radgan es proce- dura Tavisi sirTul iT garkveul dros moiTxovda. amis dadasturebas is saarqivo dokumenturi masala warmoadgens, roml is mixedviTac `samxreT oseTisa- da misi revkomis samoqmedo sazRvrebi 1922 wl is martisTvisac ar iyo garkveul i. aqedan gamomdinare, erTaderT gamosaval s `samxreT oseTis- revkomis umkacresi formiT gafrTxil eba, misi ufl ebamosil ebis qarTul da Sereul sofl ebze manamde SeCereba warmoadgenda, sanam avto- nomiis sazRvrebi ar dazustdeboda da osebis avtonomia oficial urad samarTI ebriv statuss ar SeiZenda. Sida qarTI Si `samxreT oseTis- re- vkomis mier mizanmimarTul ad Seqmnil i ganukiTxaobis miuxedavad, saqarTve- l os revkomi, partiis central uri komiteti da kavbiuro, aRniSnul faqt- Tan mimarTebaSi `samxreT oseTis- revkomisadmi arwyeni nebis pozicias adga. es iqedanac Cans, rom Cems mier CamoTvl il i xel isufl ebis umaRI esi or- ganoebi, arsebul i real obis oficial ur Sefasebas ar axdenda da Sesaba- misi xasiaTis dadgenil ebis miRebisagan Tavsi ikavebda. amis udao dada- sturebas, zemoaRniSnul i dokumentis miRebidan oTxi Tvis Semdeg, saqar- Tvel os revkomis prezidiumis 1921 wl is 20 dekemberis dadgenil eba wa- rmoadgens. `im dromde_ vkiTxul obT dokumentSi_ sanam cxinval is raion- is qarTul i mosaxl eobis sul ieri mdgomareoba ar SeiZvl eba q.cxinval is raionis avtonomiuri ol qis teritoriis miCnevis sasargebl od, q.cxinval Si da mis irglv iv arsebul i qarTul i mosaxl eobis sofl ebSi Zal aufl eba dautovos saraiono revkoms, romel ic Sedis goris mazraSi.~ marTal ia, aq sakiTxi konkretul adaa gamokveTil i da cxinval is raionis qarTul sofl ebis goris samazro revkomis daqvemdebarebaSi tovebs, magram, igi orazrovani formiTaa (im dromde... sanam...) Sedgenil i da `samxreT oseTis- revkomTan mimarTebaSi mbrZanebl ur xasiaTs ar atarebs. da rac mTavaria, misi arSe- srul ebis SemTxvevaSi pasuxismgebl obas aravis akisrebs. amitom iyo, rom es dadgenil ebac `samxreT oseTis- revkomis mxridan Seusrul ebel i dar- Ca. arada, cxinval is raionis qarTvel Ta umZimesi yofa, `samxreT oseTis- revkomis ambiciuri qmedebebis dauyovnebl iv moTokvas, teritoriebis mi- tacebis mizniT gavlenis sferoebis gafarToebis mcdel obebis droul ad SeCerebis aucil ebl obas moiTxovda. Sida qarTI Si am mxriv arsebul i ganukiTxaobis damadasturebel i masal ebi, Sinagan saqmeTa saxal xo komi- sariatTan Seqmnil i komi- siebis moxsenebebSi da imave komisariatSi Setani- l i qarTvel i mosaxl eobis saprotesto weril ebSi mravl ad iyo warmod- genil i.

samwuxarod, saqarTvel os revkomis saarqivo fondis Sesabamis saqmeebSi ar aRmoCnda iseTi dokumenti, romel ic `samxreT oseTis- revkomis danaSaul ebriv qmedebebis amxel da da misi qvemdebare uwyebisadmi mbrZanebl uri xasiaTis miTitebebi iqneboda dafiqsi- rebul i. rogorc sCans, `samxreT oseTis- revkomis arwyeninebas da Sida qarTI Si Seqmnil i situaciis mogvarebas, saqarTvel os revko-

mi garkveul i mosazrebebidan gamordinare Segnebul ad gaurboda. mxedvel obaSia misaRebi saxel isufl ebo struqturbisadmi Seiar- aRebul i osebis mxridan dapirispirebis didi al baToba. miTumetes, am mxriv ramdenime precedents hqonda adgil i. amis erT- erT magal - iTs, duSeTis mazris samxedro komisaratisa da adgil obrivi saxel isu- fl ebo organoebisadmi, kobisa da axal goris raionis osebis daumorcil e- bl oba warmoadgens. aRniSnul sakiTxTan dakavSirebiT, gansakuTrebul yuradRebas duSeTis mazris samxedro komisaratis mier samxedro, sazRvao komisaratis Stabis ufrosisa da Sinagan saqmeTa saxal xo komisarati- sadmi 1921 wl is 11 agvistos gagzavnil pataki iqcevs. damatebiT Cemi patak- isa a/w. 28 ivnisi dan # 1136 ganmeorebiT mogaxsenebT, vkiTxul obT dokumen- tSi_ rom kobis da axal goris raionis mobanake osebi ar emorcil ebian adgil obriv administracias da il aSqreben ukanasknel Ta winaaRmdeg Sei- araRebul i Zal iT, rac imiT aixsneba, rom 1899- 1900 wl ebSi dabadebul i arcerTi samxedro val debul i dRemdis ar gamocxadebul a da siebs 1901- 1902 wl ebSi dabadebul ebiT adgenen. zemoaRniSnul is Sesaxeb Cems mier ecnoba Crdil oet_ oseTis revkoms gankargul ebisatvis 21 ivnisi dan # 1067, magram dRemdis pasuxi ar maqvs. garda amisa, rogorc patakSi # 1136 mogax- senebdiT, isini SesamCnevad arian Seiararebul ni da adgil obrivi milicia maT ver daimorcil ebs Tu ar iqna damxmare samxedro jaris nawil i. aseTi arasasurveil i movl ena moqmedebs maT mezobl ad mobanake mcxovrebl ebze, rasac SeiZl eba mohyves farTo arasasurveil i Sedegi. zemoaRniSnul idan gTxovT gankargul ebas.~ es dokumenti mraval mxrivaa sayuradRebo: 1) sabWoTa ruseTis mier damoukidebel i saqarTvel os winaaRmdeg sabrZol vel ad Seiararebul i osuri SenaerTebi, qveynis gasabWoeb- is Semdeg saxel mwifos arcerT Zal ovan uwyebas ar daqvemdebare- bia. misa wevrebma wiTel i faraja samoqal aqo tansacml iT Secval es da iaraRic SeinarCunes. swored imave iaraRiT im doneze daupir- ispi rdnen gasabWoebul i saqarTvel os adgil obriv xel isufl ebas, rom maTi damorcil eba da samarTI ebriv CarCoSi moqceva samxedro jaris nawil ebis Carevis gareSe SeuZl ebel i xdebida. es faqti ima- ze migvaniSnebs, rom osi separatistebi da misi mfarvel i osuuri revkomebi winaswar dasaxul i miznis misaRwevad, saWiroebis SemTx- vevaSi iaraRis gamoyenebiTac moqmedebdnen; 2) imave dokumentidan aSkarad ikveTeba, rom a) os separatistebs da mis revkomebs, Crdil - oet oseTis revkomisgan garkveul i mxardaWera qonda, an b) Seiarare- bul i osebis garkveul i nawil i, Crdil oet oseTis revkomis daqvem- debarebaSi myofi Zal ovani uwyebis wevrebs warmoadgendnen. winaaRm- deg SemTxvevaSi, duSeTis mazris samxedro komisaratis Crdil oet oseTis revkomisadmi Sesabamisi mimarTvis gagzavna ar dasWirde- boda; 3) Seiararebul i osebisadmi saxel mwifos mxridan Zal ismieri meTodis gamoyenebas, SesaZl oa osebis aj anyeba gamoewvia. miTume- tes, 1921 wl is martis dasawyisSi Crdil oetidan Semosul i osi `pa- rtizanebis- ramdenime SenaerTi, im etapze maRal doneze iyo Seiar- arebul i. Sesabamisi uwyebisadmi zemoaRniSnul i probl emis mog- varebis aucil ebl obis meored Sexsenebis miuxedavad, gasabWoebu- l i saqarTvel os xel isufl eba, osebtan iaraRiT dapirispirebas da Sida qarTI is 1920 wl is movl enebis SesaZl o ganmeorebas maqsima- l urad gaurboda. am daTmobiT, osebis mier sapretenzi od qceul teritoriaze macxovrebel qarTvel Ta interesebi, arsebul xel isu-

fl ebas, sabWouri ideol ogiis samsxverpl oze Sesawirad miqonda. yovel ive zemoTqmul is gaTval iswinebidan gamomdinare, SeiZI eba davaskvnaT, rom qarTvel i erisTvis im urTul es situaciaSi, `samxreT oseTis- revkomze, saqarTvel os xel isufl ebis ufl ebebi TiTqmis nominal ur xasiaTs atarebda da bunebrivia, goris, duSeTisa da Sorapnis mazrebis teritoriaze macxovrebel qarTvel Ta interesebis dacva ar SeeZI o. yovel SemTxvevaSi, am mimarTul ebiT pragmatul i xasiaTis umkacresi RonisZiebis gatarebas maqsimal urad erideboda. Cemi es pozicia xmamaRal ganxadebad rom ar CameTval os, amis damadasturebl ad Sesabamis faqts movitan; `samxreT oseTis- revkomTan arsebul i samxedro sazRvao komisar is brZanebis Tanaxmad (1921 wel i) `samxreT oseTis samazro, igive cxinval is samazro samxedro komisrebi amieridan unda iwodebodes samxreT oseTis samxedro komisrebadi. rogorc vxedavT, saxel wodebidan amoRebul i iqna sityva **_samazro**, radgan mazris cnebis oficial urad figurireba, `samxreT oseTis- revkoms xel s ar aZl evda. im periodis sabWouri kanonmdebl obis mixedviT, ama Tu im saxel mwifo uwyebis an misi qvemdebare organizaciis saxel wodebaSi saTanado cvl il ebis Setana, mxol od saqarTvel os revkomis prerogativas warmoadgenda. igi qveynis umaRI esi sakanonmdebl o organos (im etapze revkomis) Sesabamisi dekretiT an dadgenil ebiT unda momxdariyo. `samxreT oseTis- revkomma es sakiTxi TviTneburad, misi Sexedul ebisamebr gadawyvita, xol o saqarTvel os revkoms aRniSnul darRvevasTan mimarTebaSi Sesabamisi reagireba ar gaukeTebia. Sida qarTI is mTiani zol is qarTvel - Ta probl emis mougwarebl obas, osuri revkomis gadametebul TviTnebobas da saqarTvel os xel isufl ebis mxridan sadamsjel o RonisZiebebis argatarebas, Cems mier zemoT motanil i faqtorebic ganapirobebda.

Sida qarTI Si Seqmnil i urTul esi probl emisadmi central uri xel isufl ebis wayruebam, goris mazris revkomis Tavmj domares aqtiuri moqmedebisaken da mazraSi Seqmnil i daZabul i situaciis daregul irebis gzebis Ziebis aucil ebl obisaken ubiZga. es arc aris gasakviri, radgan `samxreT oseTis- revkomis moqmedebis areal i, goris mazris Crdil oeT nawil s warmoadgenda da am samazro erTeul is amforiaqebli is funqcias asrul eba. aRniSnul is gaTval iswinebidan gamomdinare, goris samazro revkomis 1921 wl is 13 maisis gankargul ebiT, goris mazris administraciul erTeul Ta damyofi komisia (q.qarumiZe, d.qarumiZe, g.martaSvil i) iqna Seqmnil i. mis mier Segrovil i masal ebi safuZvl ad im proeqts daedo, romelic 1921 wl is 31 maiss goris samazro revkomis prezidiums gansaxil vel ad wardgina.

aRniSnul i dokumenti sami nawil isagan Sedgeba: **1)**goris mazris administraciul erTeul ebad damyofi komisiis dadgenil eba; **2)**goris mazris raionebad da Temebad dayofis damadasturebel i aqti da **3)**goris mazris raionebad da Temebad dayofis proeqtis sqema. proeqtis sqemisadmi TandarTul i aqtis mixedviT Tuki vimsjel ebT, proeqtis Sedgenisas komisiis wevrebis mier miRebul gadawyvetil ebebs eTnografiul i, strategiul i, geografiul i da sxva mniSvnel ovani faqtorebi daedo safuZvl ad. aqedan gamomdinare, komisi am goris mazra 12 administraciul raionad dayo (mej vrisxevi, qvemo Wal a, tyviavi, cxinval i, ruisi, gomi, qarel i, xaSuri, borj omi, xidisTavi, axal qal aqi (sof. kaspis raionSi), kavTisxevi). rac Seexeba qal aq gors_ sadguris nawil iT, igi mecamate raionis saxiT iqna proeqtSi Setanil i. imave proeqtis mixedviT, zemoaRniSnul i raionebi Temebad (sul 32

Temi) daiyo. (ix. cxril i # 4) am SemTxvevaSi, komisia goris mazris yovel i raionisa da Temis mosaxl eobis raodenobasac iTval iswinebda. amis dada-sturebas imave dokumentSi motanil i statistikuri monacemebi warmoadgens. TiToeul i Temis Seqmna winaswar Sedgenil i sqemis mixedviT_ mosaxl eobis garkveul i koml obrivi raodenobis dakmayofil ebis SemTxvevaSi xdeboda. rac Seexeba goris mazris mosaxl eobis saerTo raodenobis dadgenas, komisia am SemTxvevaSi 1907 wl is aRweris statistikiT xel mZRvanel obda, radgan goris mazris mcxovreba 1917 wl is aRweris monacemebi komisi am arasrul yofil ad mi iCnia. imave komisi is mier Sekrebi i masal ebis mixedviT, goris mazraSi 35394 koml i cxovrobd, romel Ta sul adobrivi raodenoba 176970 kacs Seadgenda. isic sayuradReboa, rom komisi am, goris mazris mTel rig raionebSi mcxovrebi osebis procentul i raodenobac daadgina. mis mier motanil i statistikis mixedviT, mej vrisxevis raionSi osebis mosaxl eobis saerTo raodenoba 2,98 %- s Seadgenda, qvemo Wal is raionis_ 5,13 %- s, tyviavis raionis_ 1,27 %- s, qarel is raionis_ 4,27 %- s, xidistavis raionis_ 2,74 %- s, borj omis raionis_ 1,3 %- s. sakiTxis gadayvetisas, komisia aRniSnul monacemebsac iTval iswinebda. saqarTvel os revkomis 1921 wl is 15 april is # 23 dekretis meore ganyofil ebis \$.2- is safuZvel ze, komisi am revkomebis Seqmna mizanSewonil ad Semdeg raionebSi CaTval a: mej vrisxevSi, xaSurSi, cxinval Si, axal qal aqSi (sof. kaspis raionSi) da borj omSi. amis aucil ebl obas, komisi is wevrTa azriT, imave raionebSi mcxovrebi sxvadasxva erovnebis mosaxl eobis tradiciul i da administraciul i garemos gaTval iswineba moiTxovda. proeqti Sida qarTI is mTis osebis sakiTx sac exeboda. amasTan dakavSi rebiT, proeqtisadmi TandarTul aqtSi vkiTxul obT: `rac Seexeba mTa oseTis nawil s, yofil i Zvel i mTavrobis sazogadoebes: or tevis 16 sofl iT, garda vanaTisa, romel ic Sevida dicis saTemoSi- cxinval is raionSi; 2) bel oTis 31 sofl iT, garda awrisxevis, sacxeneTis, xoSorisa da xadurianTkari sa, roml ebic miweren dicis saTemos da cxinval is raions; 3) yornisis 12 sofl iT; 4) javis 23 sofl iT; 5) yemul Tis 20 sofl iT; 6) rokis 33 sofl iT; 7) wunaris 30 sofl iT, garda dvanisa, zemo da qvemo avnevisa, roml ebic miweren dirbis saTemos da ruisis raions, _ datova Tanaxmad mTavrobis gankargul ebisa samxreT oseTis gamgebl obaSi.- (ix. cxril i # 5) am amonaweris mixedviT, `samxreT oseTis- revkomis daqvemdebarebas bevri qarTul i da Sereul i sofl ebi Camocil da da isini goris mazris winandel Temebze manamde rCeboda miweril i, sanam `samxreT oseTis- sazRvris sakiTxs sagangebod gamoyofil i komisia sabol ood ar gaarkvevda. Sida qarTI is mTian zonaSi `samxreT oseTis- revkomis Zal adobrivi da ukanono qmedebebidan gamomdinare, am proeqtis dadebiTi mxare imaSi mdgomareobda, rom; 1) igi `samxreT oseTis- revkomis moqmedebis areal s kvecavda da garkveul teritoriul sazRvrebSi aqcevd; 2) cxinval is raionsa da mis garSemo arsebul 51 qarTul sofel s goris mazris revkomis mmarTvel obas uqvemdebarebda da rac mTavaria, `samxreT oseTis- revkomis rezidenciad cxinval i aRar iqneboda; 3) goris samazro revkomis Semadgenl obaSi Semaval i raionebi da Temebi, proeqtiT gamokveTil i formiT iyo warmodgenil i. imave komisi is mier am dokumentisadmi gakeTebul daskvnaSi vkiTxul obT: `vinaidan goris mazra... teritoriul i sivrciT da mosaxl eobis Semadgenl obi T... sxva mazrebTan SedarebiT udi desi mazra aris,... misi dayofa imazed nakl eb Temebis ricxvzed, rogorc amJamad daiyo, yovl ad SeuZl ebel ia, xol o maTi gamravl eba mazras araviTar

sargebl obas ar moutans. ami tom, prezidi umi sxdomam amnairi gadawyvetil e-
ba scno friad mizanSewonil ad da saqmisaTvis sasargebl od. amasTanave
dasZens, rom mazra aris dayofil i: erT samazro revkomad, sadac aris mo-
Tavsebul i mazris central uri organo Tormeti raionis revkomiT (am ra-
ionSive iqnebian administraciul i raionis punqtebic) da ocdaori Temis
revkomiT, sul ocdaTxuTmet erTeul ad.-

aRniSnul dokumenti goris mazris revkomma Sinagan saqmeTa saxal xo
komisariats gansaxil vel ad warudgina. saarqivo masal ebidan irkveva, rom
igi garkveul i mosazrebebidan gamomdinare dawunebul i iqna. marTalia,
proeqti xarvezesac Seicavda, magram igi imdenad umniSvnel o iyo, rom
gadamuSavebas eqvemdebareboda da im etapze misi xel aRebiT uaryofa, Si-
da qarTI Si arsebil damZimebul situacias kidev ufro arTul ebda. mi-
Tumetes, Sinagan saqmeTa saxal xo komisariats im momentSi goris samazro
revkomis xel mZRvanel obisaTvis al ternatul i proeqti ar SeuTavazebia.
osi separatistebis mxridan mdgomareoba droTa ganmavl obaSi imdenad
rTul deboda, rom cxinval is raionis garSemo arsebul i 25 sofl is re-
vkomebis warmomadgenel Ta sagangebo yril obam, Seqmnil i mdgomareobis
Sesaxeb special urad imsj el a da probl emis mogvarebis mizniT, Sinagan
saqmeTa saxal xo komisariats Sesabamisi TxovniT mimarTa. `samxreT ose-
Tis- revkomisa da osebis mil iciis ganyofil ebebisagan gatanj ul i qarTu-
l i sofl ebis mcxovrebaT godebis Sesmena, mxol od amis Semdeg gaxda Se-
saZl ebel i. mxedvel obaSi maqvs imave komisariatis mier 1921 wl is 9 agvis-
tos miRebul i dadgenil eba # 30. sanam uSual od am dokumentis ganxil vas
Sevudgebode, yuradReba erT metad mniSvnel ovan faqtze minda gavamaxvi-
l o. saqme exeba zogierTi Cemi kol egis mier bol o periodSi gamoqveyne-
bul naSromSi gatarebul mcdar Sexedul ebas: TiTqos saqarTvel oSi `sab-
WoTa xel isufl ebis damyarebis pirvel dReebSi sabWoTa mTavroba saer-
Tod ar iyenebda termins_ `samxreT oseTi.-' am debul ebis gasamyarebl ad,
avtors Sinagan saqmeTa saxal xo komisariatis zemoaRniSnul i dadgenil e-
ba aqvs damowmebul i. amasTan dakavSirebiT unda ganvaxado, rom es doku-
menti exeba ara Sida qarTI is mTian zol s, romel sac im periodSi `samxreT
oseTad- moiazrebdnen, aramed cxinval is raionis garSemo mdebare mxol od
31 qarTul sofel s, roml ebic yvel aze mZime mdgomareobaSi imyofeboda.
miTumetes, maTze pretenzias `samxreT oseTis- revkomi TviTneburad acxa-
debda da mis damorCil ebas Zal ismieri meTodis gamoyenebiT cdil obda. 9
agvistos dadgenil eba, swored aRniSnul i probl emis mogvarebas iTval -
iswinebda da cxinval is raionis qarTul sofl ebs kanoniT oficial urad
goris samazro revkoms uqvemdebareboda. am sakiTxTan dakavSirebiT, Ses-
abamisi gankargul ebis droul ad miRebis mizniT, imave dadgenil ebis mesame
muxl iT, goris samazro revkomi da republ ikis mil iciis sammarTvel o,
saqmis kursSi iqna Cayenebul i. es dokumenti, `samxreT oseTis- revkomis
moqmedebis areal s zRudavda da rac mTavaria, qarTul sofl ebze zemo-
qmedebis gatarebis ufl ebas arTmevda. ramdenadac aRniSnul i dadgenil e-
ba cxinval is raionis qarTul i sofl ebisa da mis bazaze Seqmnil i saTemo
revkomebis goris mazrisadmi uSual od daqvemdebarebis dakanonebas ax-
denda, bunebrivia, termins_ `samxreT oseTis- masSi Cawera, sakanonmdebl o
Tval sazrisiT mizanSeuwonel i iyo. rac Seexeba gasabWoebul i saqarTve-
l os xel isufl ebis Sesabamis uwebebs, termins_ `samxreT oseTs- daniS-
nul ebisamebr SeuZrudavad xmarobda. Tuki 1921 wl is 25 Tebervl idan imave
wl is 9 agvistomde ganvl il i periodi `sabWoTa xel isufl ebis damyarebis

pirvel dReebad- SeiZl eba CaiTval os, am eqvsTvi an monakveTSi mi Rebul dadgenil ebebSi `samxreT oseTi- xSiradaa dafiqsirebul i. amis damamtkicebl ad Tveebis mixedviT mxol od ramdenime dokumentis davasaxel eb: 1)saqarTvel os revkomis 1921 wl is 26 martis dadgenil eba `samxreT oseTis- revkomis Seqmnis Sesaxeb; 2)saqarTvel os revkomis prezidiumis 1921 wl is 7 april is dadgenil ebis meore punqti, romel ic `samxreT oseTis- sofl ebis aRdgenisaTvis Tanxis gamoyofas exeba; 3)saqarTvel os revkomis prezidiumis 1921 wl is 11 maisis dadgenil eba, roml is mixedviTac, sofl ebis aRdgenis Sesaxeb `samxreT oseTis- revkomis iniciativa iqna mowonebul i; 4)1921 wl is 27 ivnisi. Sinagan saqmeTa saxal xo komisar is mier `samxreT oseTis- revkomisadmi gagzavnil i weril i, sadac `samxreT oseTi- ramdenjermea naxsenebi; 5)saqarTvel os revkomis prezidiumis 1921 wl is 11 ivl isis dadgenil eba, sadac `samxreT oseTi- xuTj eraa naxsenebi; 6)Sinagan saqmeTa saxal xo komisariatis 1921 wl is 20 ivl isis dadgenil eba `samxreT oseTis- avtonomiuri ol qis Seqmnis Sesaxeb. am xuTpunqtian dokumentSi `samxreT oseTi- xuTj eraa naxsenebi. aseTi saxis saarqivo dokumentebis motana mravl ad SeiZl eba. vfiqrob, aRniSnul ic sakmarisia imis sail us-traci od, rom gasabWoebul i saqarTvel os xel isufl ebis Sesabamisi uwyebebi (1921 wl is 25 Tebevli dan 9 agvistomde) termins_ `samxreT oseTs- ara Tu saerTod ar iyenebda, aramed mas TiTqm is yovel nabij ze xmarobda.

rac Seexeba 1921 wl is 9 agvistos mi Rebul dadgenil ebas, am dokumentis mixedviT, goris mazris cxinval is raionSi ramdenime sofl is gaerTiane- bis safuzvel ze 5 saTemo revkomi unda Seqmnil iyo: 1)qvemo aCabeTis Temi (so-fl ebi: dgvr is i, TamaraSeni, zemo aCabeTi, qurTa, kexvi, kverneTi da mon- asteri); 2)zemo niqozis Temi (sofl ebi: qvemo niqozi, zemo xviTi, qvemo xviTi, dvani, avnevi da nul i); 3)dicis Temi (sofl ebi: kodi, arbo, eredvi, bJol eTi, tirZnisi, meRvreki si da ergneTi); 4)Zarwemis Temi (sofl ebi: qemer- ti, xeiTi da sveri); 5)vanaTis Temi (sofl ebi: sacxeneTi, bel oTi da awrisx- evi).⁸ Tuki aRniSnul dadgenil ebas da goris mazris administraciul er- Teul ebad danyofi komisi is mier Sedgenil proeqts erTmaneTs Sevadar ebT, cxinval is raionis sakiTxTan mimarTebaSi udides sxvaobas davinaxavT. kerZod, goris samazro komisi a cxinval is raions marTal ia 4 saTemo revkomad yofda, magram mis mmarTvel obas 51 qarTul sofel s uqvemdebarebda. esenia: 1)cxinval is Temi: cxinval i, guj abauri; 2)dicis Temi: arbo, browl eTi, dici, koxaTi, qordi, meRvreki si, frisi, sarabuki, tirZnisi, Tergvisi, ergneTi, eredvi, vanaTi, sacxeneTi, xoSuri, bel oTi, awrisxevi, xadurianTkari; 3)TamaraSenis Temi: dgvr is i, TamaraSeni, qvemo aCabeTi, zemo aCabeTi, qurTa, monasteri, kexvi, qemer ti, sveri, patara Zarwemi, di di Zarwemi, xeiTi, zRudaris ubani, sabawmi n- da, xeiTisfrisi; 4)Sindisis Temi: araSenda, axal daba, variani, zemo niqozi, qvemo niqozi, zemo xviTi, qvemo xviTi, yel qceul i, saqaSeTi, fxvenisi, Sindisi. goris samazro revkomis komisi is mier Sedgenil proeqtsa da saqarTve- l os revkomis 9 agvistos dadgenil ebas Soris is gansakuTrebul i sxvaob- ac Sei niSneba, rom am ukanasknel i dokumentis mixedviT, cxinval is xuTi saTemo revkomi 51- is nacvl ad, mxol od 31 qarTul sofel s, e.i. 20 sofl iT nakl ebs aerTianebda.

aRniSnul i faqtebidan gamomdinare dasturdeba, rom goris sama- zro revkomis komisi is mier SemuSavebul i proeqti, `samxreT ose- Tis- revkomis samoqmedo areal s metad kvecavda, vinem Sinagan saqmeTa saxal xo komisariatis dadgenil eba. miuxedavad amisa, cxinval is raionSi Seqmnil i situaci is fonze, igi wingadadgmul nabij ad mx-

ol od im SemTxvevaSi CaiTvl eboda, Tuki arsebul i probl emis praqtikul ad gadawyveta am dokumentis mixedvit moxdeboda. aseTi gancxadebis gakeTebis safuZvel s `samxreT oseTis- revkomis Seupovari `sasazRvro brZol a- da qarTul sofl ebze zemoqmedebis berketebis SenarCunebis warmatebul i mcdel obis amsaxvel i saarqivo masal ebi izl eva. faqtiurad, Sinagan saqmeTa saxal xo komisariati `samxreT oseTis- revkomis mosatokad uZl uri aRmoCnda. mis mier miRebul i dadgenil eba, `samxreT oseTis- revkomis TviTnebuli moqmedebidan gamomdinare_ Seusrul ebel i darCa. es imdenad ar aris gasakviri, ramdenadac, Sida qarTl is qarTul i mosaxl eobis el itarul i nawil is amowvetisa da osebis batonobis saprotesto muxtis matarebel i qarTul i mosaxl eobis mamapapeul i sacxovrisidan mizanimarTul ad gamozevebis danaSaul ebrivi qmedebis gamo, osi separatistebi, gasabWoebul i saqarTvel os xel isufl ebas ar dausj ia. es faqtori, `samxreT oseTis- revkomis xel mZRvanel obasa da misadmi daqvemdebarebul uwyebes, Sida qarTl is mTian zonaSi da momij nave mazrebi (duSeTi, raWa, Sorapani) garkveul teritoriaze gavlenis sferoebis gafarToebis paral el urad, qarTvel Ta istoriuli i miwa- wyl is osebis kuTvnil ebad gaTavisებასათვის Sesabamisi propagandis gawevis Sesazl ebl obas azl evda.

amrigad, Cems mier zemoT motanil i dokumenturi masal is anal izidan gamomdinare SeiZl eba davaskvnaT: 1)saqarTvel os Zal datanebiti gasabWoebis Semdeg, Sida qarTl is mTian zonaSi `samxreT oseTis- niRbit sabWoTa xel isufl ebi gamarjvebis formal urad gamocxada, `samxreT oseTis- revkomis xel meored oficial urad Seqmna da misi cxinval Si ganTavseba, osebis revkomisadmi qarTul i sofl ebi daqvemdebarebas da cxinval is regionis saqarTvel osgan xel ovnurad gaucxoebas isaxavda miznad; 2)saarqivo masal iT dasturdeba, rom `samxreT oseTis- revkomisa da mis mier qarTul sofl ebSi Seqmnil i osuri miliciis ganyofil ebebis TviTnebuli saqmi- anoba (qarTul i mosaxl eobis mizanimarTul i Seviwroeba), `sarevoli ucio drois kanonebis- darRvevas warmoadgenda. miuxedavad amisa, saqarTvel os revkomi da Sinagan saqmeTa saxal xo komisariati, `samxreT oseTis- revkomTan mimarTebaSi radikal ur zomebs ar mimarTavda, Sida qarTl is qarTul i mosaxl eobis gasawirs Segnebul ad asaiduml oebda da farTo sazogadoebisaTvis xel miuwdomel s xdida. dokumenturi masal idan irkveva, rom SeiaraRebul i osuri mosaxl eobis sabWoTa xel isufl ebi sadmi ardapirispirebis miznit, saqarTvel os maSindel i mmarTvel i wreebi, osebTan mimarTebaSi yovel gvari saxis datmobaze midioda da Sida qarTl is qarTul i mosaxl eobis interesebi, sabWouri ideol ogiis samsxverpl oze mihqonda; 3)goris mazris administraciul erTeul ebad damyofi komisiis mier Sedgenil i proeqti, mazris eTnografiul i, strategiul i, geografiul i da sxva mniSvnel ovani faqtorebis gaTval iswinebaze iyo damyarebuli. misi praqtikul ad ganxorciel ebi SemTxvevaSi: a)cxinval is raionis 51 qarTul i sofl i goris mazras daeqvemdebareboda; b)`samxreT oseTis- revkomis moqmedebis areal i Seikveceboda da garkveul CarCoSi moeqceoda; g)`samxreT oseTis- rezidenciad cxinval i ar iqneboda. Sinagan saqmeTa saxal xo komisariatის 1921 wl is 9 agvistos dadgenil eba # 30, goris mazris Semadgenl obaSi cxinval is raionis mxol od 31 qarTul i sofl is (20- iT nakl ebi) Seyvanas

iTval iswinebda. aRniSnul i xarvezis miuxedavad, goris mazris Crdi-
l oeT nawil Si Seqmnil i mZime pol itikuri situaciis fonze, am da-
dgenil ebis praqtikul ad ganxorciel eba wingadadgmul nabij ad
CaiTvl eboda. `samxreT oseTis- revkomis Seupovari `sasazRvro
brZol isa- da saqarTvel os xel isufi ebis kompromisul i pol iti-
kidan gamomdinare, `samxreT oseTis- revkomma qarTul sofi ebze
batonobis SenarCuneba SeZl o. am faqtIT, dasaxul mizans ZiriTad-
dad miaRwia da momdevno etapisaTvis sabrZol vel ad Sesabamisi
safexuri moamzada.

§. 3. saqarTvel os teritoriis mitacebiT osuri sabWouri avtonomiis Seqmna da qarTul i sinamdvil e

gasabWoebul i saqarTvel os xel isufli ebis mier osebtan mimarTebaSi aRebul i politikuri kursi, `samxreT oseTis- revkoms, Sida qarTl is Crdil - oeTi nawil is teritoriis mitacebis real ur SesaZl ebl obas uqmni da. aSkarad iyo gamokveTil i is xel Semwyobi konturebi, romelic osebis ufrosi Taobis mier Cafiqrebul `istoriul misias- osebis mTidan barSi Camosaxl ebas da saqarTvel os teritoriis xarj ze osuri saxel mwifo warmonaqmnis Seqmnas ganapirobebda. am mimarTul ebiT `samxreT oseTis- revkoms winaswari mosamzadebel i sauSao Catarebul i hqonda. mxedvel obaSi maqvs goris mazris mTian zonaSi da momij nave mazrebis (duSeTi, raWa, Sorapani) garkveul teritoriaze gavlenis sferoebis TviTneburad gafarToeba, Temebisa da sofli ebis osuri revkomis iurisdicqisadmi daqvemdebareba. es procesi imdenad aSkarad da swrafi tempiT mimdinareobda, rom `samxreT oseTis- revkomis droul ad SeCereba da samarTl ebriv CarCoSi moqceva aucil ebl obas warmoagdenda. rogorc saarqivo masal ebidan irkveva, maSindel i saqarTvel os revkomi, central uri komiteti da kavbiuro, am mimarTul ebiT konkretul i gadawyvetil ebebis miRebisgan Tavs ikavebda. arada, drois faqtori Sida qarTl is qarTvel Ta sazianod moqmedebda. Seqmnil i situacia probl emis saRi gonebiT Sefasebas da swori gadawyvetil ebis miRebis aucil ebl obas saWiroebda. miTumetes, `samxreT oseTis- revkomis Tavmj domaris moadgil is ngadievis mier, saqarTvel os revkomisadmi 1921 wl is 5 ivl iss wardgenil i moxsenebis meoTxe punqtSi, special uri komisiis Seqmnisa da samarTl ebrivad ararsebul i `samxreT oseTis- administraciul i erTeul is sazRvris saswrafod dadgenis moTxovna iyo dayenebul i. aRniSnul is gaTval iswinebidan gamo mdinare, `samxreT oseTis- revkomis xel mZRvanel obisadmi raime sababis armicemis da maTi samoqmedo sivrcis garkveul CarCoSi samarTl ebrivad moqcevis mi znit, mimdinare politikuri procesebi pragmatul i xasiaTis gadawyvetil ebis miRebis aucil ebl obas sWirdeboda. miTumetes, amas pirvel rigSi Sida qarTl is qarTvel Ta interesebi moiTxovda. am mxriv, gabedul i nabiji Sinagan saqmeTa saxal xo komisariatma gadadga. mxedvel obaSi maqvs, imave komisariat is mier 1921 wl is 20 ivl iss miRebul i dadgenil eba_ `samxreT oseTis avtonomiuri ol qis Seqmnis Sesaxeb.- teritoriis Tval sazrisiT Tu ra fargl ebSi iTval iswinebda aRniSnul i dokumenti osuri sakiTxis gadawyvetas da misi praqtikul ad gatareba ramdenad momgebiani aRmoCndeboda saqarTvel osaTvis, amis sail ustraci od dadgenil ebis srul teqsts movitan da dRevandel i gadasaxedidan misi avkargianoba Tavad mkiTxvel ma gansaj os. `1)Seiqmnas avtonomiuri samxreT oseTis ol qi Semdegi Svidi yofil i sazogadoebisagan: a)rokis, wunaris, yornisis, javis, yemul Tis, ortevs da bel oTis; b)is sofli ebi, roml ebSiac mosaxl eoben qarTvel ebi; vanaTi, awrisxevi, sacxeneTi, xoSori, xadurianTkari, dvani, zemo avnevi da qvemo avnevi, darCebian goris mazris cxinval is raionSi; 2)samxreT oseTis sabWoTa pirvel i yril obis mowvevamdis mTel i xel isufli eba miniWebul i aqvs samxreT oseTis revkoms, roml is centr ad droebiT aRiarebul i iqnas qal . cxinval i; 3)sabWoTa yril oba airCevs aRmasrul ebel komitets, romel sac mieniWeba mazris aRmasrul ebel i komitetis ufl eba; 4)daeval os Sinagan saqmeTa saxal xo komisariats Seqmnas

Sereul i komisia samxreT oseTis sazRvrebis dadgenisaTvis; 5) daeval os goris revkoms dauyovnebl iv gadasces samxreT oseTis revkoms yvel a saqmeebi, romel ic exeba samxreT oseTis teritorias da mis mcxovrebl ebs.- es dokumenti mraival mxriva sajuradRebo: 1) samxreT oseTis- administraciul i sazRvari mxol od goris mazris Crdil oeTi nawil is 7 sasofl o- sazogadoebiT ifargl eboda da igi duSeTis, raWisa da Sorapnis mazris sazRvrebSi ar iWreboda. Tuki am dokumentis goris mazris administraciul erTeul ebad danyofi komisiis mier Sedgenil proeqts SevudarebT, davrwmundebiT, rom sasofl o sazogadoebebis Tval sazrisiT, isini identuria (ix. cxril i # 5; # 6; ruka # 5, # 6); aqedan gamomdinare, srul i safuZvel i maqvs ganvacxado, rom Sinagan saqmeTa saxal xo komisariat 1921 wl is 20 ivl isis dadgenil ebis amosaval safuZvel s, goris samazro komisiis proeqti warmoadgenda; 2) marTalia, dadgenil ebis meore muxl is mixedviT `samxreT oseTis- revkomis droebiT rezidenciad q. cxinval ia dasaxel ebul i, magram, imave dokumentis pirvel i muxl is (b) punqti, q. cxinval sa da mis garSemo arsebul qarTul sofl ebs, goris mazris Semadgenel nawil ad acxadebda. aqedan gamomdinare, es dadgenil eba `samxreT oseTis- centrad q. cxinval s saTaveSive gamoricxavda; 3) `samxreT oseTis- sabWoebis yril obis mier arCeul i xel isufl ebis umaRI esi organo_ aRmasrul ebel i komiteti, samazro aRmasrul ebel i komitetis ufl ebebiT isargebl ebda; 4) samxreT oseTis- sazRvris sabol ood dasadgenad, Sinagan saqmeTa saxal xo komisariatTan Sereul i komisia unda Seqmnil iyo, romel - sac mxol od zemoT CamoTvl il i 7 sasofl o- sazogadoebis fargl ebSi unda emoqmeda. aRniSnul i dokumenti osuri sakiTxis gadawyvetas Sida qarTI Si im etapze Seqmnil i urTul esi situaciis maqsimal urad gaTval iswinebis safuZvel ze axdenda. im SemTxvevaSi, Tuki am dadgenil ebas saqarTvel os revkomi samoqmedo programad aRiarebda, administraciul i sazRvrebis damdgeni Sereul i komisia faqtis winaSe aRmoCndeboda da sazRvrebTan mimarTebaSi mxol od `kosmetikuri- cvl il ebebis Setanis SesaZl ebl oba miecemoda. Cems mier zemoT motanil dokumentis, damouki debel i saqarTvel os Sinagan saqmeTa saministros 1919 wl is proeqtTan mimarTebaSi is upiratesoba gaaCnda, rom raWisa da Sorapnis mazrebis teritoriebs ar exeboda. `samxreT oseTis- Semadgenel obaSi dasaxel ebel i mazrebidan arcerTi sasofl o sazogadoba da sofel i ar Seyavda. am faqtis gaTval iswinebidan gamomdinare, es dadgenil eba osur separatizms frTebis maqsimal urad ukvecavda, saqarTvel os winaSe wamoWril Sida qarTI is mTiani zol is arsebul osur probl emas, goris mazris Crdil oeT nawil Si qarTul i mosaxl eobis teritoriul i Seviwroebis gareSe, ZiriTadad qarTvel Ta sasargebl od wyvetda. manamde miRebul i dadgenil ebebis fonze, igi udaod wingadadgmul nabjad CaiTvl eboda im SemTxvevaSi, Tuki mas saqarTvel os revkomi daamtkecebda, kanonis datvirTvis funqcias SeZenda da real urad aamoqmedebda.

dokumenturi masal iT irkveva, rom Sinagan saqmeTa saxal xo komisariats, osuri probl emis aRniSnul i formiT gadawyveta im etapze erTaderT gamosaval saSual ebad miaCnda. igi dadgenil ebis praqtikul ad ganxorciel ebas da saqarTvel os revkomis faqtis winaSe dayenebas yovel mxriv cdil obda. amis saukeTeso nimusad 20 ivl isis dadgenil ebis mixedviT `samxreT oseTis- avtonomiuri ol qis sazRvrebis rukis Sesadgenad miRe-

bul i gadawyvetil eba gamodgeba. dasaxul i miznis gansaxorciel ebl ad, Sinagan saqmeTa saxal xo komisari b.kvir kvel ia, saqmeTa mmarTvel i iv.yifiani da administraciul erTeul Ta ganyofil ebis gamge gr.gvel esiani, respubl ikis mTavari Stabis topografiul i ganyofil ebisadmi gagzavnil i oficial uri weril iT (1921 wl is 8 agvisto), saqarTvel os xuT verstiani topografiul i da fizikuri rukis axal i gamocemis administraciul erTeul Ta ganyofil ebisadmi gagzavnas moiTxovda. j er- j erobiT SeuZI ebel i xdeba imis dadgena, aRniSnul i moTxovna dakmayofil ebil i iqna Tu ara. dabej iTebiT SeiZI eba imis Tqma, rom `samxreT oseTis- avtonomiis teritoriisa da misi revkomis moqmedebis sazRvrebis garkveviT, saqarTvel os umaRI esisaxel isufli ebo organoebis mTel i rigi uwyebebic iyo dainteresebul i. amis dadasturebas j anmrTel obis saxal xo komisariatis samkurnal o ganyofil ebisa da iusticiis saxal xo komisariatis mier Sinagan saqmeTa saxal xo komisariatisadmi SekiTxvis saxiT gagzavnil i weril ebi (1921 wl is 28 ivl isi # 1850; 1921 wl is 15 agvisto # 253) warmoadgens. am dokumentebSi xazgasmiT iyo miTiTebul i, rom Sinagan saqmeTa saxal xo komisariats zemoaRniSnul i uwyebebisadmi ecnobebina; ra teritorias moicavda `samxreT oseTis- samazro erTeul i da imave `samxreT oseTis- revkoms ra sazRvrebSi hqonda moqmedebis ufl eba. am sakiTxTan dakavSirebiT, Sinagan saqmeTa saxal xo komisaris, saqmeTa mmarTvel is da administraciul erTeul Ta ganyofil ebis gamgis xel moweriT gagzavnil i sapasuxo weril ebi (1921 wl is 10 agvisto # 23; 1921 wl is 20 agvisto # 29), 1921 wl is 20 ivl isis dadgenil ebis pirvel muxl s emyareboda da Semdegi formul irebiT iyo warmodgenil i: `gacnobebT, rom Tanaxmad droebiT saxel mZRvanel od miRebul i dadgenil ebisa (ama wl is 20 ivl isis dadgenil eba Sin. saq. sax. komisariatisa) samxreT oseTis revkomis moqmedebis fargl ebi isazRvreba Svidi Semdegi sofl is sazogadoebiT: 1)or teviT, 2)bel oTiT, 3)yornisiT, 4)j aviT, 5)yemul - TiT, 6)rokiT da 7)wunariT. amasTanave unda aRvniSnoT, rom ortevs, bel oTis da wunaris sazogadoebaSi Sedis rva wminda qarTul i sofl ebi (vanaTi, awrisxevi, sacxeneTi, xoSura, xadurianTkari, dvani, zemo avnevi da qvemo avnevi), romel nic droebiT, vidre sakiTxi maT Sesaxeb sabol ood gadawydebodes, zemoT aRniSnul i dadgenil ebis Tanaxmad datovebul ni arian administraciul ad cxinval is raionSi da maSasadame samxreT oseTis revkoms ar eqvemdebareba.-

saarqivo masl is Seswavl is Sedegad irkveva, rom Sinagan saqmeTa saxal xo komisariatis doneze Seqmnil i aseTi saxis oficial uri dokumentebis miuxedavad, saqarTvel os maSindel i mmarTvel i xel isufli ebisa da kavbiuros Zal isxmeviT, Sinagan saqmeTa saxal xo komisariatis 1921 wl is 20 ivl isis dadgenil ebas praqtikul ad ar umuSavia. amis dadasturebas, Sinagan saqmeTa saxal xo komisaris mier, saqarTvel os revkomis Tavmj domarisadmi 1921 wl is noemberSi gagzavnil i Suamdgoml oba warmoadgens. Sinagan saqmeTa saxal xo komisari, revkomis Tavmj domares TxovniT mimarTavda; qarTvel Ta da osTa Soris urTierTobis mowesrigebamde, revol uciuri komitetis xel mZRvanel obas, `samxreT oseTis- administraciul i erTeul is Seqmnis sakiTxze droebiT Tavi Seekavebi ona da Zal aSi 1921 wl is 20 ivl isis dadgenil eba daetovebina. am winadadebis miReba, `samxreT oseTis- revkomis usazRvro pretenziebis Sekvecas da konkretul samarTl ebriv sazRvrebSi moqcevas niSnavda. samwuxarod, es kanonieri Txovna im etapze gaTval iswinebul i ar iqna. am faqtma, `samxreT oseTis- revkomsa da saerTod, os separatistebis aqtiurad amoqmedebis stimuli misca. **mxedve-**

I obaSi maqvs, osi separatistebis mier Cafiqrebul sazRvrebSi `samxreT oseTis- teritoriis samarTi ebrivad dakanonebis Tavgamodebul i mcdel oba. am mimarTul ebiT, osebis partiul i el ita, drois faqtoris da politikuri situaciis gaTval iswinebiT, koordinebul ad SesaSuri enrgiIT moqmedebda. amis saukeTeso dadasturebas, `samxreT oseTis- revkomis, partkomisa da pasuxismgebel i partiuli muSakebis 1921 wl is 6- 8 seqtembris gaerTianebul i sxdomis masal ebi warmoadgens. miRebul i dokumentebidan, amjerad yuradRebas `samxreT oseTis sabWoTa social isturi respublikis sazRvrebis proeqtze- SevaCereb. masSi, `samxreT oseTis- sasazRvro xazi mTebis (simaRI eebis CvenebiT), borcvebis, xevebis, mdinareebis da softlebis dasaxel ebiTaa warmodgenili. am proeqtis mixedvit, raWis, Sorapnis, gorisa da duSeTis mazrebidan `samxreT oseTis- Semadgenl obaSi 1 qal aqi (cxinval i), 21 softlebis sazogadoeba da mxolod is 47 softlebia dasaxel ebul i (ix. cxrili # 7), romlis mosaxleoba ZiriTadad qarTul i iyo da `samxreT oseTis- Semadgenl obaSi Seyvanaze xel isufl ebas SeiZl eba uari eTqva. rac Seexeba CamoTvili softlebis bol oSi darTul _ SXVAS, Znel i saTqmelia, am cnebaSi osi separatistebi kidev ramden softlebs gulisxmobda.

Tuki osebis erovnul i sabWos mier 1918 wl is 10 ianvars amierkavkasiis komisaratisadmi wardgenil proeqtsi da osi social - demokratebis 1919 wl is april Si miRebul dadgenil ebaSi gacxadebul pretenziebs (ix. cxrili # 1; # 2) `samxreT oseTis- revkomisa da partkomis 1921 wl is 6- 8 seqtembris sxdomaze miRebul erTobl iv proeqts (ix. cxrili # 7) SevadarebT, davrwmundebiT, rom amjerad, osi separatistebis mxridan qarTul i teritoriebis mitacebisa da misi `samxreT oseTad- dakanonebis mada TiTqmis identuri iyo. osebis aseT mi zanmimarTul swrafvas, saqarTvel oSi im etapze samTavrobo doneze Seqmnil i politikuri situaciac uwyobda xel s. dokumenturi masalis safuZvel zedgindaba, rom aRniSnuli proeqtis avtorebma, mxolod is softlebi daasaxela, romlebic geografiuli, ekonomikuri da mosaxleobis erovnul i Semadgenl obis Tval sazrisiT, `samxreT oseTis- sazRvrebSi mosal odnel moxvedras, samTavrobo komisiis mxridan kiTxviti nisnis qveS ayenebda. aseTis svliT, osi separatistebi Tavswinaswar izRvevda im Tval sazrisiT, rom sazRvrebis damdgeni komisiis sxdomebze warmoqmnili diskusiis dros, ukidures SemTxvevaSi `damTmobl is- scenari gaeTamaSebina da `kompromisuli- variantis Setavazebis SesaZl ebl oba miscemoda. aseTis politikuri eSmakobit fiqrobdnen `samxreT oseTis- teritoriis maT mier Cafiqrebul ZiriTad sazRvrebSi Senarcunebas. isic angari Sgasavevia, rom es proeqti, samTavrobo komisiis Seqmnasa da mis mier miRebul gadawyvetil ebebs uzRoda win. am faqtIT, osi separatistebi mTavrobas ara marto Tavis pozicias sTavazobda, aramed `samxreT oseTis- mosal odnel i teritoriul i sazRvrebis winaswar afiSirebas akeTebda. xel isufl ebaze da misgan Seqmnil i komisiis wevrebze garkveuli zemoqmedebis moxdenas cdil obda. rogorc saarqivo masal ebidan irkveva, aRniSnuli dokumenti osebma saqarTvel os revkoms warudgina. igi revkomis 1921 wl is 16 noembris prezidiumis sxdomam ganixil a da miRebul dadgenil ebas Semdegi saxis formulireba misca: `sazRvrebis sakiTxis gadawyveta manam gadaidos, vi-dre adgil obriv momuSave komisia saTanado moxsenebas warmoadgens.-² dadgenil ebaSi naxseneb `adgil obriv momuSave komisiaSi-__

gorisa da Sorapnis mazrebSi adgil ebze saqmis Sesaswavl ad Sinagan saqmeTa saxal xo komisariatis mier gagzavnii i komisiebi (komisiebis Tavmj domareebi: iobiZe, ratiSvili, xovel iZe, SveliZe) unda igul isxmebodes. swored maT mier Sekrebi i masal ebi daedo safuZvl ad im moxsenebas, romel ic Sinagan saqmeTa saxal xo komisariatis saqmeTa sammarTvel om saqarTvel os revkoms 1921 wel s gadaugzavna.

revkomis dadgenil ebidan Cems mier motanil i amonaweris mixedviT, `samxreT oseTis- sazRvris sakiTxis gadawyveta, adgil ebze momuSave komisiebis moxsenebebze dayrdnobiT gakeTebul i ganmazogadebel i daskvnis Seqmnande unda gadadebul iyo. miuxedavad amisa, zemoaRniSnul i dadgenil ebis miRebidan meore dRes (17 noemberi), saqarTvel os komunisturi partiis central uri komitetis prezidiumma, ajatievisa da moraxel aSvil is moxsenebebis safuZvel ze, sawinaaRmdego xasiaTis dadgenil eba miRo. am dokumentis mixedviT, qal aqi cxinval i jer kidev ararsebul i `samxreT oseTis-avtonomiuri ol qis centradiqna gamocxadebul i.³ am faqtiT, saqarTvel os revkomis 16 noembris dadgenil ebis anul ireba moxda. central uri komitetis prezidiumis 17 noembris dadgenil ebas rom samarTl ebrivi saxe SeeZina, `samxreT oseTis- pol itikuri erTeul is sasazRvro xazis gavleba iseTi komisiisaTvis unda daeval ebinaT, romel ic sabol oo daskvnaSi mmarrTvel i partiis pozicias gaiziarebda. miTumetes, `samxreT oseTis- sazRvris gamorkvevasTan dakavSirebiT, kavbiuros 1921 wl is 31 oqtombris dadgenil eba, saqarTvel os revkomisa da `samxreT oseTis- aRmasrul ebel i komitetis warmomadgenl ebisgan erToblivi komisiis Seqmnas iTval iswinebda.⁴ cnobil i faqtia, rom am mimmartul ebiT praqtikul i nabiji saqarTvel os kompartiis central uri komitetis prezidiumis 1921 wl is 23 noembris dadgenil ebiT gadaidga. am SemTxvevaSi, `samxreT oseTis- sazRvrebis gammijnavi `Sereuli- komisiis (k.kakabaZe_ Tavmj domare, el erdovi, Soti, ajatievi, s.gagl oevi) Seqmna maqvs mxedvel obaSi. Tuki komisiis erovnul Semadgenl obas gadavxedavT, paritetis principis darRveva (erTi qarTvel i da 4 araqarTvel i) aSkarad warmocndeba. arada, sakiTxis mogvareba, mxol od os- qarTvel Ta Semadgenl obiT Seqmnil i komisiisaTvis unda miendoT. Tuki es ar gakeTda, winaswar gamiznul i qmedebiT iyo ganpirobepul i, radgan komisiis sxdomebze nebsmieri sadao sakiTxis miReba- armiReba, xmaTa umravl esobiT wydeboda.

yovel ive zemoaRniSnul idan gamomdinare, SekveTis formiT winaswar iqna gansazRvrul i Tu rogori saxis dadgenil eba unda mieRo komisiis. amis damadasturebl ad, imave komisiis pirvel sxdomaze (momxsenebel i el erdovi), miRebul dadgenil ebaSi vkiTxul obT: `uzrunvel yofil i iqnas saqarTvel os central uri komitetis dadgenil ebis (1921 w. 17 noemberi S.v.) cxovrebaSi ganxorciel eba, roml iTac cxinval i samxreT oseTis administraciul centradiqna cnobil i.⁵ dokumentis komisiis sami wevri da mdivani awerda xel s. es imas niSnavda, rom komisiis mier Semoxazul `samxreT oseTis- sazRvrebSi cxinval i aucil ebl ad unda Sesul iyo. Tuki es miTiteba Sesrul deboda, bunebrivia, cxinval is Crdil oetiT mdebare 51 wmindaqarTul i sofel i `samxreT oseTis- Semadgenl obaSi moeqceoda. dasaxul i amocanis ganxorciel eba garkveul sirtul eebTan iyo dakavSirebul i im Tval sazrisiT, rom `samxreT oseTis- revkomisa da misadmi daqvemdebarebul i miliciis ganyofil ebebisagan ganawamebi qarTul i mosa-

xl eobis poziciis garkveva aucil ebl obas warmoadgenda. amis saWi roeba k.kakabaZis komisiis wevrebs kargad esmodaT. mi Tumetes, Sida qarTI is qarTvel Ta daZabul obis mSvil di imdenad iyo daWimul i, rom mis argaTval iswinebas SeiZl eba ubedurebis tal Ris agoreba moyol oda. am SemTxvevaSi, komisiam gul Sematkivris niRabi aifara da mosal odnel i aal e-badi cexl is ganel ebis mizniT, cxinval Si eqvskaciani Semadgenl obiT Cavida. mas xal xistvis garegnul ad unda eCvenebina, rom gamokitxvisa da probl emis safuzvl ianad Seswavl is Sedegad obieqturi daskvna gakeTdeboda. es iyo cxinval is raionis qarTul i sofl ebis mosaxl eobisaTvis winaswargaTval iswinebul i satyuari bade. aseTi gancxadebis gakeTebis SesaZl ebl obas is saarqivo dokumenturi masal ebi iZl eva, romel ic k.kakabaZis komisiis mxil ebas Seicavs. mxedvel obaSi maqvs qarTul i sofl is mosaxl eobis mier mTavrobisadmi gagzavnil i saprotesto weril ebi. am masal ebidan irkveva, rom 1921 wl is 5 dekembers cxinval Si gamarTul i qarTul i sofl ebis warmomadgenel Ta krebas, cxinval is Crdil oeTiT arsebul i 45 qarTul i sofl is 5-5 warmomadgenel i e.i. 225 kaci eswreboda. gansaxil vel ad dRis wesrigSi erTaderTi sakiTxi iyo Setanil i; cxinval is da misi raionis `samxreT oseTis- administraciul mmarTvel obaSi mosal odnel i gadasvl is Sesaxe-eb_ moxseneba el erdovma gaakeTa. misi azriT, `samxreT oseTisadmi- cxinval is gadacemaze da avtonomiuri ol qis administraciul centrad gamocxadebaze qarTvel ebi winaaRmdegni ar unda yofil iyvnen. aqedan gamomdinare, principul ad daayena sakiTxi, raTa es pozicia krebis monawil e del egatebsac oficial urad daedasturebina. el erdovis mier SeTavazebul i winadadeba qarTvel ebis mier uaryofil i iqna. am gadawyvetil ebis miRebaSi isini erTsul ovanni iyvnen. amis SesaxeberT- erT dokumentSi vkiTxul obT: `rac Seexeba... q.cxinval i Tavisi raioniT gadaeces samxreT oseTs, aseTi moTxovnil eba krebam mizanSeuwonl ad da ukanonod scno, radgan igi gamoiwvevs Cveni eris politikurad da zne- Cveul ebriv daCagvra_ damonavebas. krebam didi protesti erTxmad ganucxada komisiis cxinval is da misi raionis samxreT oseTis marTva- gameobaSi gadacemis Sesaxe-eb.- es imas niSnavda, rom cxinval i da mis Crdil oeT nawil Si mdebare 45 qarTul i sofel i, `samxreT oseTis- Semadgenl obaSi ar unda Sesul iyo da oficial - urad goris mazras daqvemdebareboda. momxdari faqtiT, k.kakabaZem da el erdovma, Sesabamisi uwyebisagan miRebul i daval eba ver Seasrul a. amitom iyo, rom komisiis xel mZRvanel obam, krebis monawil eTa nebis gamomxatvel i rezol iuciiis im dResve wakiTxvisagan Tavi Seikava. krebase warmodgenil del egatebs ganucxada, rom rezol iuciiis teqsts meore dRes gaacnobda, xol o ramdenime dResi Sesabamis dokumentis TiToeul i sofl is revkoms weril obiT gadaugzavni da. am xerxiT, krebis monawil e 45 qarTul i sofl is 225 qarTvel i del egati eqscesebis gareSe daiTxova. miuxedavad amisa, imave del egatebidan TiTo warmomadgenel i_ 45 kaci meore dResac cxinval Si darCa da komisiisagan rezol iuciiis teqstis miRebas el odeboda. amastan dakavSirebiT, sofel tirZnisis Temis mcxovrebaTa 26 dekembriT daTariRebul gancxadebaSi vkiTxul obT: `sagamomZiebl o komisiis del egatebma mostxoves weril obiT ecnobebinaT... gamoZiebis Sedegebi da miRebul i rezol iucia. pasuxs meore dRemdis ucades... magram amaod. maT vera gaiges ra da Taviant saxl ebSi dabrundnen. egonaT, simarTI es revkomiis SemweobiT gavigebTo, magram vera gaiges ra da darCnen motyuebul ni. dRemdisac vel odiT_ gavigebT rameso, magram tyuil ad.- k.kakabaZis komisiis am

qmedebam, cxinval is raionis qarTul i sofl ebis mosaxl eobis safuZvl i ani gul iswyroma da protesti gamoiwvia. amis udao dadasturebas 1921 wl is 24 dekembri dan 31 dekembri s CaTvl iT, saqarTvel os mTavrobis saxel ze gagzavnil i weril ebi warmoadgens. qarTul i sofl is mosaxl eoba kategoriul i formiT moiTxovda: a) gagvagebinon Sinaarsi im gadawyvetil ebisa, rac gadaWyda mTavrobis komisiis mier daba cxinval Si saxal xo yril obis dros, romel i yril obac mowveul i iyo komisiis mier dekembri s pirvel ricxveb-Si.- b) Tu ramdenad gauwia angariSi komisi am xal xis protests, an ranairi rezol iucia gamoitana, aris Tu ara igi xal xis survil is damakmayofil ebel i, dRevandl amd is am komisiis dadgenil ebis Sinaarsis Sesaxeb Cven arafe ri ar gagvigia. ami tom amazed mi vmarTavT s.s.r. mTavrobas, raTa Cven mier amorCeul i del egatebis piriT gvacnobos viTareba am friad saWi ro sakiTxis Sesaxeb.- g) komisiis mier daba cxinval Si mowveul i raionis sofl ebis warmomadgenel Ta yril obaze gamoirkva, rom xal xi erTxmad winaaRmdegia saqarTvel os respubl ikas CamoSordes cxinval is raioni da miweros oseTis respubl ikas. miuxedavad aseTi aSkara protestisa, yril obaze oficial urad ar iyo gamotanil i rezol iucia... aseTi mopyroba mSromel i xal xisadmi srul iad usamarTI od mi gvaCnia, vinai dan xal xma ar icis, komisia ra azriT da gadawyvetil ebiT warsdgeba s.s.r. mTavrobasTan am friad mwave da mniSvnel ovani sakiTxis Sesaxeb.- imave dokumentebiT irkveva, rom cxinval is raionis sofl ebis qarTvel obam, yovel i sofl idan ndobiT aRWurvil i TiTo warmomadgenel i airCia da 40 kaciani del - egacia, aRniSnul saprotesto weril ebTan erTad, Tbil isSi saqarTvel os mTavrobisa da Sinagan saqmeTa saxal xo komisariatis winaSe warsdga. am faqtma, k.kakabaZis komisia iZul ebul i gaxada, cxinval is qarTul i sofl ebis 1921 wl is 5 dekembri s krebis rezol iucia oficial urad Seedgina. iZul ebul i gaxdao imitom vambobT, rom amis Tqm is SesaZl ebl obas TviT imave rezol iuciis teqsti iZl eva. marTalia, am dokumentiT `samxreT oseTisadmi- cxinval is gadacemis sakiTxTan mimarTebaSi krebis monawil eTa protestia dadasturebul i, magram, iqve aRniSnul ia, rom krebis umravl esoba kul akurmenSevikur el ements warmoadgenda, roml ebmac adgil obriv komunistebs, TiTqos maT winaaRmdeg sityviT gamosvl is SesaZl ebl oba ar misca.⁶ am dokumentidan ise gamodis, rom cxinval is Crdil oetiT mdebare 45 qarTul i sofl is mier wargzavnil i 225 del egati, kul akebi da menSevikebi iyvnen mxol od imis gamo, rom cxinval isa da 45 qarTul i sofl is `samxreT oseTisadmi- gadacemas mxari ar dauWira. rezol uciis meore nawil is forma am SemTxvevaSi aSkarad darRveul ia. mxedvel obaSi maqvs kul akurmenSevikuri el ementebis mxridan komunistebisadmi sityvis armicemaze yuradRebis gamaxvil eba. ramdenadac saqme qarTvel Ta krebis mier miRebul rezol uciastan gvaqvs, dabej iTebiT SeiZl eba imis Tqma, rom cxinval is qarTvel Ta krebase, komisiis wevreb i rezol uciis aseTi saxis teqstis wardgenas ver gabedavda. miTumetes, krebis monawil eTa mimarT kul akurmenSevikuri el ementebis bral debiT Sedgenil rezol uci as, igive kreba namdvil ad ar daamtkicebda. meore mxriv, momxdari faqti garkveul i formiT Sinagan saqmeTa saxal xo komisariatisadmi gagzavnil saprotesto weril ebSi ac aisaxeboda. zemoaRni Snul i rezol uciisadmi komisiis mxridan ideol ogiuri datvirTvis micema, romel i Rac uwyebis winaSe Tavis marTI ebis mcdel obas warmoadgenda. ami s

erT- erT safuZvel s imave komisiis mier 5 dekembers cxinval Si Catarebuli qarTuli sofl ebis komunisturi uj redebis krebis mier miRebuli dadgenil eba izl eva. am dokumentiT, cxinval i, j er kidev ararsebuli `samxreT oseTis- avtonomiuri olqis centradiqna gamocxadebuli.⁷

Cems mier motanili faqtebiT aSkarad ikveTeba, rom es dokumenti, cxinval is qarTvel Ta krebis gadawyvetil ebis sapirispitod iqna miRebuli. komisiis wevrebs maTi damkvetisadmi unda daedasturebina, rom, Tuki cxinval is raionis kul akur- menSevikuri nawili `samxreT oseTisadmi- cxinval isa da 45 qarTuli sofl is gadacemis winaarmdeg gamodioda, imave raionis komunisturi uj redebis warmomadgenl ebi (raodenoba dasaxel ebuli ar aris) gansxvavebul poziciaze idga da `samxreT oseTis- revkomis interesებს icavda. xel isufl ebis mxridan qarTvel Ta sawinaarmdegod gamiznuli Canafiqri, komisiამ mxol od nawil obrivad Seasrul a. miuxedavad amisa, Semdegi nabij is gadasadgmel ad man garkveuli safexuri moamzada. am SemTxvevaSi `samxreT ioseTis- sazRvris gammij navi komisiis 1921 wl is 8 dekembri sxdomis # 4 oqmi maqvs mxedvel obaSi. es dokumenti ori nawil isgan Sedgeba: I).pirveli_ usual od `samxreT oseTis- sazRvars eba. am dokumentSi sasazRvro xazi mTebis, maRl obebis, uRel texil ebis (simaRl eebis CvenebiT), mdinareebis, xevebis da sofl ebis dasaxel ebit aris warmodgenili. Tuki mas osebis mier 1921 wl is 6- 8 seqtembers miRebul proeqts SevadarebT, aRmoCndeba rom masSi mxol od umniSvnel o `kosmetikuri- cvl il ebaa Setanili. rogorc Cans, mTavrobis winaSe pirnaTI ad gamosvl is mizniT, k.kakabaZis komisiამ, probl emis safuZvl ian Seswavl as Tavi aarida, osebis mier Sedgenil proeqts daeyrdno da sasazRvro xazis aRmniSvnel i mTebis, uRel texil ebis (simaRl eebis CvenebiT), xevebis, mdinareebisa da dasaxel ebuli punqtebis geografiul i saxel wodebebi ucvl eli TanmimdevrobiT gaimeora. gamotovebul ia mxol od simaRl e_ 7,234 da sofel i mrtkadJini. Cems mier zemoT motanili faqtebiT dasturdeba, rom Sida qarTli is teritoriis misatacebl ad da `samxreT oseTadgasaTavisebl ad, saqarTvel os mTavroba da mis mier Seqmnil i k.kakabaZis komisia os separatistებს aSkarad uwyobda xel s. II).aRniSnuli danaSaul ebrivi qmedebis da tendenciurobis SeniRbvis mizniT, imave oqmis meore nawil s komisiამ Semdegi saxis formul ireba misca: 1)sasazRvro xazis Sesaxeb Sinagan saqmeTa saxal xo komisariatisa da `samxreT oseTis- revkomis warmomadgenl ebs Soris, komisiis sxdomaze TiTqos raime saxis urTierTsawinaarmdego pretenzia ar gamoTqmul a; 2)sadao sakiTxebis gamokvl evas, arsebul i masal ebis damatebiti Semowmebis safuZvel ze komisia adgil ebze moaxdenda. xazgasmiT unda iTqvas, rom dokumentis es meore nawili, winaarmdegobaSi modis pirvel Tan im Tval sazrisiT, rom a)`samxreT oseTis- sasazRvro xazi, komisiis mier naCqarevad miRebuli dadgenil ebit faqtiurad winaswar iqna dadasturebuli, ris gamoc misi safuZvl i- anad gadasinj vis SesaZl ebl oba saTaveSive gamoiricxa; b)komisiis mier `samxreT oseTis- teritoriis Semofargvl is es procedura, arsebul i masal ebis damatebiti gadamowmebisa da sadaod qceuli sazRvris sakiTxis adgil ebze gamokvl evis gverdis avl iT ganxorciel da. aseTi l ogikuri winaarmdegobis Semcvl el oqms, xel s komisiis Tavmj domare k.kakabaZe awerda. misi erTi piri saqarTvel os revkoms, xol o meore Sinagan saqmeTa saxal xo komisariatის administraciul erTeul Ta ganyofil ebas gadaegzavna.

saarqivo masal ebidan irkveva, rom k.kakabaZis komisiis mier Sedgenil i es dokumenti, Sinagan saqmeTa saxal xo komi sariatTan arsebul i administraciul erTeul Ta ganyofil ebis xel mZRvanel is gr.gvel esianis sagangebo ganxil - vis sagani gaxda. amis damadasturebl ad, Sinagan saqmeTa saxal xo komi sar iatis saxel ze mis mier gagzavnil i moxseneba gamodgeba. Tu ra pozicia daiWira gr.gvel esianma am proosur da antiqarTul dadgenil ebasTan mima rTebaSi, amis sail ustraci od imave moxsenebidan Sesabamis amonawers mov itan da Sida qarTI is qarTul i sofl ebis interesebidan gamomdinare, k.kakabaZis komisiis saqmi anobas Tavad mkiTxvel ma gamoutanos ganaCeni. `1)ko misiis mier sazRvrebis Sesaxeb miRebul dadgenil ebas _wers gr.gve l esiani _partiisa da mTavrobis sanqcia ar aqvs, amitom, dekretis Sedgenis dros mas araviTari saval debul o da saxel mZrvanel o mniSvnel obis Zal a ar eqneba, radgan komisiis es oqmi damtkicebu l i da dadasturebul i ar aris mTavrobisa da partiis central uri komitetis mier. es sxvaTa Soris iqedanac Cans, rom partiis 12 de kembris da mTavrobis 20 dekembri dadgenil ebebSi naTqvami ar aris imis Sesaxeb, rom komisiis am dadgenil ebas saval debul o Zal a eZl eodes. piriqit, meore muxl i orive dadgenil ebisa saWi rod scnobs sazRvrebis detal izacias. cxadia, es oqmi Cven SegviZi ia gavsinj oT rogorc marto masal a sazRvrebis sakiTxSi; 2)da rogorc masal a rom gavsinj oT, komisiis dadgenil eba radikal urad ewina armdegeba partiisa da mTavrobis zemoT aRniSnul dadgenil ebebs: a)samxreT oseTis avtonomiur ol qSi Setanil ia dasavl eTIT raWi sa da Sorapnis mazris nawil ebi; b)aRmosavl eTIT didi nawil i du SeTis mazrisa; g)samxreTIT, samxreT oseTis avtonomiuri ol qis teritoriaSi Setanil ia mTel i wyeba sofl ebisa, romel nic parti isa da mTavrobis zemoT aRniSnul dadgenil ebaTa Tanaxmad (muxl i mesame), Setanil i unda iqnas am teritoriaSi mxol od im SemTxveva Si, Tu goris mazris osTa Soris qarTul i mosaxl eoba Tu mezo bl ad mcxovrebi, gamoTqvams Tavis kategoriul survil s_ dadges osTa avtonomiuri xel isufl ebis qveS. manamdi ki es qarTvel i mo saxl eoba eqvemdebareba goris mazris xel isufl ebas.~ marTal ia, gr.gvel esianis es pozicia dokumentur masal as emyareboda da safuZvl ian argumentebs Seicavda, magram, k.kakabaZis komisiis saqmi anobasTan da mis mi er Seqmnil proeqtTan mimarTebaSi, uaryofiti damokidebul eba xel isu fl ebas gamokveTil i formiT ar daufiqsirebia.yovel SemTxvevaSi, `samxreT oseTis- sazRvrebis sakiTxze miRebul dadgenil ebebSi aseTi ram ar das turdeba. iseTi STabeWdil eba iqmneba, rom saqarTvel os revkomi da cen tral uri komiteti, mis mier Seqmnil i komisiisagan (k.kakabaZis komisi a) Se muSavebul i antiqarTul i proeqtis oficial ur kritikas Segnebul ad gaur boda. aseTi Sexedul ebis gamoTqmis safuZvel s, saqarTvel os kompartiis pl enumis, pol itbiuros da orgbiuros 1921 wl is 12 dekembri da saqarTve l os revkomi s prezidi umis imave wl is 20 dekembri dadgenil ebebi (# 39, # 94) iZl eva. marTal ia, 12 dekembri sxdomebze k.kakabaZis, g.gagl oevs da b.kvirkvel ias moxsenebebi iqna mosmenil i, magram, misi mikvl eva SeuZl ebe l i gaxda. arada, dRevandel i gadasaxedidan am masal ebis gansakuTrebul i Rirebul eba imaSi mdgomareobs, rom misi meSveobiT SesaZl ebl oba mogvce moda gagverkvia: 1)ra poziciaze idga TiToeul i momxsenebel i da iTval i swinebdnen Tu ara qarTul i saxel mwifos interesebs; 2)ama Tu im debul eb is gasamyarebl ad ra argumentebs iSvel iebden da ramdenad Seesatywise-

boda igi Sida qarTl is qarTul i mosaxl eobis moTxovnebs; 3)es moxsenebe-
bi imiTac iqneboda saintereso, rom erovnul saxel mwi fosTan mimarTebaSi,
im etapze qarTul i politikuri azrovnebis donesac warmoaCenda. samwuxa-
rod, imave sxdomebis stenografiul i Canawerebic ar arsebobs. Tuki sabWo-
Ta xel isufli ebis CinovnikTa saqmis warmoebis specificas gaviTval iswinebT,
samTavrobo doneze Catarebul i mniSvnel ovani sxdomis stenograma yove-
l Tvis iqmneboda. mosmenil moxsenebasTan erTad, am dokumentis miRebul
dadgenil ebas urTavdnen. rogorc cans, garkveul i politikuri mosazre-
bebidan, an saarqivo saqmis armcodneTa daudevrobidan gamomdinare, es
masal ebi Semdgom etapze meorexarisxovnad- iqna miCneul i da ganadgur-
da. datoves mxol od dadgenil ebebi, romel Ta meSveobiT sakiTxis siRm-
iseul i Seswavl a da srul yofil i suraTis aRdgena SeuZl ebel i xdeba.
arsebul i dokumentebis mixedvit, k.kakabaZis komisiis proeqtSi
garkveul i cvl il ebebi iqna Setanil i. mxedvel obaSi maqvs: 1)Casav-
l is sazogadoebis raWis mazris Semadgenl obaSi datoveba; 2)duSe-
Tis mazrisadmi CamosaWrel i teritoriidan, misi Crdil oeTi nawil
l is_ kobi- Trusos raionis isev duSeTis mazrisadmi gadacema.
aRniSnul i cvl il ebebis gaTval iswinebiT, imave dadgenil ebis me-
ore muxl iT, `samxreT oseTis- sazRvris dawvril ebiTi gamokvl eva,
Sinagan saqmeTa saxal xo komisariatsa da k.kakabaZis komisiis erTo-
bl ivad daeval a. rac Seexeba mesame muxl s, igi cxinval is kuTvnil
l ebis sakiTxis exeboda. arCevani ori mimarTul ebiT_ `samxreT ose-
Ti- an goris mazra_ unda gakeTebul iyo. saqarTvel os kompartiis
central uri komitetis prezidiumis 1921 wl is 17 noembris, k.kakabaZis
komisiis 5 dekembris da imave dRes cxinval is raionis qarTul i
sofli ebis komunisturi uj redobis mier miRebul i dadgenil ebebi,
ramdenadac cxinval s `samxreT oseTis- centrada axadebda, am fonze,
1921 wl is 12 da 20 dekembris dadgenil ebebi wingadadgmul nabij s
warmoadgenda. mxedvel obaSi maqvs am dokumentebis mesame punqti,
romel ic cxinval is kuTvnil ebis sakiTxTan dakavSirebiT, zemoaRniS-
nul i dadgenil ebebis anul irebas axdenda. `im dromde_ vkiTxul o-
bT dokumentSi_ sanam cxinval is raionis qarTvel i mosaxl eobis
sul ieri mdgomareoba ar Sei cvl eba q. cxinval is raionis avtonomi-
uri oseTis teritoriis miCnevis sasargebl od, q. cxinval Si da mis
irgvl iv arsebul i qarTul i mosaxl eobis sofli ebSi Zal aufl eba
dautovos saraiuno revkoms, romel ic Sedis goris mazraSi.-

dadgenil ebis am muxl s im etapze gansakuTrebul i mniSvnel oba
hqonda im Tval sazrisiT, rom igi, cxinval isa da mis garSemo arse-
bul i qarTul i sofli ebis samomavl o bedis gadawyvetas, cxinval is
raionis mosaxl eobis pl ebiscitis Sedegebs ukavSirebda. Tuki am
mimarTul ebiT xel isufli ebis mxridan pragmatul i nabiji gadaidg-
meboda da mosaxl eobis interesebis gaTval iswineba moxdeboda,
Sida qarTl is osebsa da qarTvel ebs Soris wamoWril i urTul esi
problemis am fonze mogvareba samarTl ebriv saxes miRebda. sam-
wuxarod, maSindel i saqarTvel os xel isufli eba da kavbiuro, oficial u-
rad miRebul i dadgenil ebebis sawinaaRmdego praqtikul saqmi anobas eweo-
da. aseTi gancxadebis gakeTebis SesaZl ebl obas 20 dekembris dadgenil eb-
is pirvel i variantis meoTxe muxl i iZl eva. `daeval os adgil obriv parti-
ul organizaciebs_ vkiTxul obT masSi_ awarmoon muSaoba (propaganda, ag-
itacia, kompaniebi), rom saWi roa qal . cxinval i da maxl obel i raioni Sev-

ides avtonomiur samxreT oseTis ol qis Semadgeni obaSi.- es muxl i, dadgenil ebis mesame muxl s ewinaaRmdegeba da faqtiurad xel isufli ebis winaswargamiznul proosur pozicias adasturebs. amitom, ideol ogiuri da pol itikuri mosazrebidan _Sida qarTl is qarTul mosaxl eobaSi mTavrobisadmi undobl obis arSeqmni dan gamomdinare, igi dadgenil ebis oficial -uri tegstidan iqna amoRebul i. miuxedavad amisa, saqarTvel os xel isufli ebis Sesabamisi organoebi praqtikul saqmianobas dadgenil ebidan amoRebul i meoTxe uxl is mixedvit anxorciel ebda. mxedvel obaSi maqvs xel isufli ebis mier osuri avtonomiis sasargebl od dawyebul i kampania. Sesabamisi saarqivo masal iT dasturdeba, rom garkveul i uwyebebi am mimarTul ebit saTanado dokumenturi masal is Seqmnas cdil obda. ramdenadac k.kakabaZis komisi am mTavrobis maRal CinosanTa dakveTa ver Seasrul a, saqmeSi saqarTvel os kompartiis central uri komiteti CaerTo. amis erT- erT saukeTeso nimuSs l evan dokaZis xel mZRvanel obiT 1921 wl is 30 dekembers sofel aCabeTSi mowveul i `mitingis- damadasturebel i oqmi warmoadgens. am dokumentidan irkveva, rom RonisZiebas cxinval is raionis 15 qarTul i sofl -idan 2000 kaci daswrebia. moxseneba_ `samxreT oseTis- avtonomiuri ol qis Seqmna qal aq cxinval iT,- saqarTvel os kompartiis central uri komitetis Tavmj domarem k.kokoSaZem gaakeTa. Tanamoxsenebit goris samazro partiul i komitetis mdivani agorgaZe gamovida. miRebul dadgenil ebaSi miTiTebul ia, rom `mitingis- monawil eni erTxmad miesal mebian saqarTvel os muSaTa da gl exTa central uri xel isufli ebis dadgenil ebas qal aq cxinval is centriT `samxreT oseTis- avtonomiuri ol qis Seqmnas. iqve aRniSnul ia, rom sakiTxis am formiT gadawyveta, mSromel i gl exobis mSvidobiani erTobl ivi cxovrebis mtkice fundamenti gaxdeboda `samxreT oseTSi.- am dokumentidan yuradReba Semdeg ZiriTad sakiTxebze unda iqnas gama-xvil ebul i: 1) oqmSi zogadadaa aRniSnul i `saqarTvel os muSaTa da gl exTa central uri xel isufli ebis dadgenil eba.- am SemTxvevaSi, gaurkvevel i rCeba, romel i ricxvit miRebul dadgenil ebazea saubari. Tu gaviTval i-swinebT, rom sakiTxi cxinval is `samxreT oseTis- administraciul centradaRiarebas exeboda, am mxriv, samecni ero wreebi saTvis mxol od saqarTvel os kompartiis central uri komitetis prezidiumis 1921 wl is 17 noembris dadgenil ebaa cnobil i. magram, misi anul ireba, rogorc zemoTac mqonda miTiTebul i, saqarTvel os kompartiis pl enumis, pol itbiuros, orgbiuros 12 dekembris da saqarTvel os revkomis 20 dekembris dadgenil ebebma moaxdina. aseTi saxis dokumentebis miRebidan 10 dRis Semdeg, 17 noembris dadgenil ebis isev win wamoweva, xel isufli ebis mzakvrul i Canafiqrit unda yofil iyo ganpirobepul i; 2) yuradReba unda mi vaqci oT im garemoebasac, rom 12 da 20 dekembris dadgenil ebebis mesame muxl i, sakiTxis gadawyvetas pl ebiscitis Sedegebs ukavSirebda. safiqrebel ia, rom zemoaRniSnul i `mitingisadmi,- xel isufli ebas pl ebiscitis funqciis dakisreba hqonda dasaxul i. Tuki am mosazrebas oponentebi gamouCndebian, keTil i inebon da pasuxi gascen kiTxvas: a) 1921 wl is 12 da 20 dekembris dadgenil ebebis mesame muxl s, partiis central urma komitetma ratom gaukeTa ignorireba. miTumetes, Sinagan saqmeTa saxal xo komisariatTan da revkomTan Seqmnil komi-sias, `samxreT oseTis- sazRvrebis sakiTxTan dakavSirebit im etapze muSaoba srul yofil ad damTavrebul i ar qonda; b) `samxreT oseTis- sakiTxis forsirebul i tempiT gadawyvetas ratom Cqarobda saqarTvel os central uri komiteti. visi miTiTebiT Caatara l .dokaZem 1921 wl is 30 dekembers `mitingi.- ra ufl ebit moaxdina cxinval is raionis sakiTxTan mimarTebaSi 1921

wl is 17 noembris anul irebul i dadgenil ebis isev win wamoweve da misi mxardamWeris dokumentis miReba; 3)saarqivo masal iT dasturdeba, rom aRniSnul `mitingTan- mimarTebaSi oqmis Semadgenil ebi, uaRresad winaaRmdego-briv mdgomareobaSi aRmoCndnen im Tval sazrisiT, rom maTi mxridan, Sida qarTl is qarTul i mosaxl eobis pol itikuri neba nawil obrivadac ar iqna gaTval iswinebul i. mxedvel obaSi maqvs: a) oqmis mixedviT, 30 dekembers sof. aCabeTSi gamarTul i mitingis monawil eTa Soris is 15 qarTul i sofel ia dasaxel ebul i, roml ebmac saprotesto weril ebTan erTad Tavianti warmomadgenil ebi xel isufl ebas Tbil isSi gaugzavna. kuriozul i situacia iqm-neba sofel ebis_ TamaraSensa da dgvriscan mimarTebaSi. I .dokaZis mier Sedgenil i dokumentis mixedviT, mis mier mowveul i `mitingis- muSaobaSi TamaraSensa da dgvriscan moasxl eobac monawil eobda, romel mac TiTqos mxari cxinval is `samxreT oseTis- administraciul centrada gamocxadebas dauWira. saarqivo masal ebiT dasturdeba, rom momxdari faqtidan meore dRes_ 31 dekembers, imave TamaraSenis (52 koml i) da dgvriscan (277 koml i) mosaxl eoba, cxinval is `samxreT oseTisadmi - mosal odnel i gadacemis gamo, saqarTvel os mTavrobas saprotesto weril Tan erTad, 40 qarTul i sofel is 40 kacian del egaciaSi Tavis warmomadgenel sac agzavnis. ise gamodis, rom TamaraSensa da dgvriscan mosaxl eobam, 30 dekembers TiTqos I .dokaZis mier SeTavazebul dadgenil ebas dauWira mxari, xol o 31 dekembers mowveul sofel is yril obaze sawinaaRmdego dadgenil eba miRo. anal ogiuri mdgomareoba gvaqvs sxva qarTul sofel ebTan mimarTebaSi ac. osebis mier ganawamebi qarTul i sofel is mosaxl eobisagan aseTi orpiri TamaSi gamoricxul i iyo. amas xel isufl ebisadmi gagzavnil weril ebSi mkacri da kategoriul i formiT gamoTqmul i protestic adasturebs; b)Tuki cxinval is raionis `samxreT oseTisadmi - gadacemis sakiTxTan mimarTebaSi, cxinval is Crdil - oeTiT mdebare qarTul i sofel ebis Seurigebel da ukompromiso pozicias gaviTval iswinebul, I .dokaZis xel mZRvanel obiT `mitingis- mowveve da qarTul i sofel is mosaxl eobis mxardaWeris namdvil oba eWvqveS dgeba. es mitingimartl ac rom Catarebul iyo da zemoaRniSnul i saxis dadgenil eba miRo, ideol ogiuri da pol itikuri Tval sazrisiT, xel isufl eba mas Sida qarTl is qarTul i mosaxl eobis saprotesto weril ebisa da del egaciis sawinaaRmdegod aucil ebl ad gamoiyenebda. meore mxriv, aRniSnul i faqti Sinagan saqmeTa saxal xo komisariat is da masTan arsebul i Sesabamisi komisiabis moxsenebebSi, revkomisa da partiis central uri komitetis dadgenil ebebSi sxva dokumentebis msgavsad garkveul i formiT aisaxeboda. Sesabam is saarqivo fondebze Cems mier gul dasmiT Catarebul i muSaobis miuxedavad, aseTi saxis dokumentis jerjerobiT ver mi vakvl ie.

dokumenturi masal iT irkveva, rom cxinval isa da mis Crdil oeT iT mdebare qarTul i sofel ebis mosaxl eoba xel isufl ebasTan gari gebas ar awarmoebda da goris mazris Semadgenil obaSi darCenas dabej iTebiT moitxovda. amis utyuar dadasturebas 1921 wl is 24 dekembri dan 1922 wl is oqtombris CaTvl iT saqarTvel os mTavrobisadmi gagzavnil i qarTvel Ta weril ebi warmoadgens. es masal ebi, Sida qarTl is qarTul i mosaxl eobis poziciis ara marto dadasturebas, aramed arsebul i xel isufl ebis mxil ebasac Seicavs. erovnu l i cnobierebis mqone nebis mieri pirovneba, visac eris gasaWiri gaTavisebul i aqvs, am dokumentebis gacnobisas SeuZl ebel ia aRSfoTeba ar gamoxatos im usamarTl obis gamo, rasac gasabWoebul i saqarTvel os marionetul i mTavroba da kavbiuro icenda cxinval is

raionis qarTul mosaxl eobasTan mimarTebaSi. ramdenadac, cxinval isa da misi Crdil oeTIT mdebare qarTul i sofl ebis teritoriul ad miweris sakiTxis gadawyveta 12 da 20 dekembris dadgenil ebebis Sesabamisad mosaxl eobis nebis gamovl inebas unda gane-sazRvra, qarTvel obam, momavl is ganWvretis Tval sazrisiT Sesasuri sifxizl e, windaxedul eba, erTsul ovneba da maRal i donis organizebul oba gamoamJRavna. mxedvel obaSi qarTul i sofl ebis yril obebze miRebul i is dadgenil ebebi maqvs, roml ebic weril obiT ramdenime nakadad xel isufl ebis Sesabamis uwebebs gaegzavna. misi avtorebi da xel ismomwerebi ara marto cxinval is raionis `samxreT oseTis- Semadgenl obaSi moqcevas aprotestebdnen, aramed, aRniSnul sakiTxze mTavrobis winaSe konkretul kiTxvebsac svamdnen da kategoriul i formiT misgan pasuxs moiTxovdnen. amastan dakavSirebiT ramdenime magal iTs movitan: sof. sverisa da qemertis mcxovrebTa mier Sedgenil weril Si vkiTxul obT: `erovnebaTa TviTgamorkvevis aRsastrul ebl ad raisTvis unda viqneT moqceul ni osebis TviTgamorkvevis fargl ebSi?- aseTi saxis SekiTxvaze qarTul mosaxl eobas oficialuri pasuxi samwuxarod ar miuRia. xel isufl ebis mxridan probl emisadmi aseTi gul gril i damokidebul ebis gamo, saprotesto muxti qarTul mosaxl eobaSi Zl ierdeboda. sofel browl eTis 60 koml is mier sofl is yril obaze miRebul dokumentSi xazgasmiT iyo miTiTebul i: `ganmeorebiT vacxadebT protests cxinval isa da misi raionis osebis xel Si gadacemis Sesaxeb.- `Cven sof. qordbis mcxovrebni_ 100 koml i, ganmeorebiT vucxadebT protests osebis xel Si cxinval is gadacemis Sesaxeb miRebul gadawyvetil ebas.- `Cven 120 koml i mcxovrebni sof. meRvrekisisani ganmeorebiT vacxadebT protests cxinval isa da misi raionis osebze gadacemis Sesaxeb.- am amonawerebi dan kargad Cans, rom Sida qarTl is qarTul i sofl is mosaxl eoba arsebul xel isufl ebas protestiT meored mimarTavda. imave weril ebSi kategoriul i formiT iyo sakiTxi dasmul i, cxinval isa da misi Crdil oeTIT mdebare qarTul i sofl ebis goris mazris Semadgenl obaSi darCenis aucil ebl obaze. am masal is gansakuTrebul i mniSvnel oba imaSi mdgomareobs, rom qarTul i mosaxl eoba undobl obas ucxadebda k.kakabaZis komisas da xal xis dasakiTxad cxinval Si axal i komisi is gagzavnas moiTxovda. imavdroul ad xazgasmiT miuTiTebda: `saqarTvel os mTavroba Tu moisurvebs danamdvil ebiT gaigos Cveni gul is pasuxi, Cveni gul is nadebi da am Cvenis oqmiT ver dakmayofil deba,... maSin Cven del egatebis magier Tundac qudze kacs gamovagzavniT. Cven vacxadebT, cxinval i Tavisi raioniT darCes ise, rogorc iyo aqamde, e.i. s.s.s. respublikis fargl ebSi.- am sakiTxTan dakavSirebiT, sofl ebis: zemo da qvemo niqozis, zemo da qvemo xvitis mcxovrebTa 1921 wl is 27 dekembriT daTariRebul dadgenil ebaSi vkiTxul obT: `cxinval i uxsovare droidan, rogorc istoriul ad ise eTnografiul ad Seadgenda da Seadgens saqarTvel os gul s_ saqarTvel os ganuyofel nawil s. mas Crdil oeTIT, Tormeti versis manZil ze, e.i. sof. sveris Tavamde, Crdil o- aRmosavl eTis mxriv 25- 30 versis manZil ze, e.i. sof. awrisxevis Tavamde, aRmosavl eTIT meWuris xavis zonis midgmamde, samxreTIT 16 versis manZil iT da dasavl eTIT 8-12 verszed Semortymul i aqvs wminda qarTul i mosaxl eobiT dasaxl ebul i 42 qarTul i sofel i, romel Ta koml Ta raodenoba udris 5500 da Seadgens cxinval is raions. TviT q.cxinval is umravl es nawil s mosaxl eobisas... Seadgens namdvil qarTvel ebrael Ta mo-

saxl eoba. amitom, erTxmad vadgenT: eTxovos saqarTvel os s.s. res-
publ ikis mTavrobas... miRos Cveni Txovna da q.cxinval i Tavisi
raioniT datovos qarTvel Ta eris_ saqarTvel os mTavrobis mar-
Tva- gamgeobaSi da araviTar SemTxvevaSi neba ar misces samxreT
oseTis revkoms iqonios raime administraciul i centri arc cxin-
val Si da arc mis raionSi, Tu mTavrobas ar unda Cvensa da osebs
Soris gaiTxaros saSvil iSvil o ufskrul i.-

am dokumentSi gamoTqmul angariSgasawev mosazrebasTan erTad,
uaRresad sayuradRebo faqtebicaa motanil i: 1)qarTul i sofl ebis
CaTvl iT dazustebul ia cxinval is raionis sazRvrebi; 2)konkretu-
l i cifriTaa warmodgenil i cxinval is raionis qarTul i mosaxl e-
obis koml Ta raodenoba; 3)Sesabamisi faqtebis gaTval iswinebiT,
`samxreT oseTis- revkomi, TviTneburi qmedebebidan gamomdinare
ucxo saxel mwifos mmarTvel organostanaa asociirebul i. 4)savse-
biT kanonzomieradaa dasmul i sakiTxi, cxinval is raionSi `samxreT
oseTis- revkomis argantavsebisa da imave raionis saqarTvel os
mTavrobis iurisdicciis_ anu goris mazris Semadgenl obaSi moqce-
vis aucil ebl obis Sesaxeb. aRniSnul i moTxovnis fargl ebSi sak-
iTxis gadawyveta, cxinval is raionis 42 qarTul sofl s goris ma-
zras samarTl ebrivad dauqvemdebarebda, da rac mTavaria, osebsa
da qarTvel ebs Soris `saSvil iSvil o ufskrul is- samomavl od Se-
qmnis al baToba minimumamde iqneboda dayvanil i. swori gadawyve-
til ebis miReba mxol od im SemTxvevaSi gaxdeboda Sesazl ebel i,
Tuki amosaval safuzvl ad, erovnul i saxel mwifosa da qarTvel Ta
interesebis dacva xel isufl ebis mier prioritetad gamocxadde-
boda. arc is iyo gamoricxul i, rom sabWouri ideol ogiidan gamom-
dinare, internacional izmisadmi upiratesobis micema da osuri sep-
aratizmis mtacebl uri madis dakmayofil eba, mmarTvel politikur
partias pirvel xarixxovan amocanad mieCnia. ramdenadac saqarTve-
l os marionetul i xel isufl eba arCevanis winaSe idga, arsebul i
probl emis osebis sasargebl od gadawyvetis didi al baToba arse-
bobda. es faqti, Sinagan saqmeTa saxal xo komisariatTan Seqmnil i
komisiis (gr.gvel esiani_ Tavmj domare, d.kariWaSvil i, s.gorgaZe) we-
vrebs yuradRebis miRma ar darCenia da cxinval is raionis Sesaxeb
wamoWril i sakiTxis siRrmiseul Seswavl as maqsimal urad cdil obd-
nen. amis utyuar dadasturebas imave komisiis mier momzadebul i
moxseneba warmoadgens. dokumentur masal aze dayrdnobiT komisiis
wevreb i qveynis xel isufl ebas Seaxsenebda, rom Sida qarTl is `mTel i
qarTul i mosaxl eoba oSta mosazRvre, araerTxel gamoTqvams Tavis
kategoriul da uryev survil s darCes goris mazris xel isufl eb-
is qveS. maT aseT survil s naTel s hyofs... im drois sabuTebi, ro-
desac samxreT oseTis avtonomiuri teritoria jer kidev... sabo-
l ood Semofargl ul i ar iyo. mogvyavs am sabuTebis nusxa Sinaar-
sis sqematurad gadmocemiT: a)gasul i wl is oqtomber- noembris
TveebSi, rodesac xmebi gavrcel da, rom cxinval is raioni qal aqi-
TurT unda gadavides samxreT oseTis xel isufl ebaze, mTel ma qa-
rTvel ma mosaxl eobam cxinval is raionisa, saxel dobr sofl ebma;
kexvma, qvemo aCabeTma, zemo aCabeTma, arbom, dicma, qordma, qvemo
niqozma, zemo niqozma, avnevma, Zarwemma, dgvrisma, nul ma, zemo xvitma,
yel qceul ma, qurTam, TamaraSenma da TviT cxinval ma, ese igi, 20 so-

fel ma gamogzavna Sinagan saqmeTa saxal xo komisariatSi Tavisi weril obiTi dadgenil ebani, roml ebiTac isini Txoul obdnen Zvel administraciul e.i. goris mazris fargl ebSi darCenas. Suamdgoml oba amaTi imdenad kategoriul i formiT iyo gamoTqmul i, rom aravis eWvi ar Separvia maTi aseTi neba- survil is sinamdvil esa da gul wrfel obaSi.- imave dokumentiT irkveva, rom goris mazraSi darCenas, qarTvel ebTan erTad cxinval is raionis somexi da ebrael i mosaxl eobac iTxovda. amis Sesaxeb komisiis daskvnaSi vkiTxul obT: `a)ama wl is (1922 wel i S.v.) ianvris TariRiT komisariatma miiRo qal . cxinval is qarTvel , somex da ebrael Ta sazogado dadgenil eba, roml iTac moiTxovdnen cxinval is da misi raionis kvl av istoriul sazRvrebSi darCenas; b)igive survil i gamoTqvess cxinval is raionis mcxovrebl ebma piradad gadmoce- miT, special uri del egaciis Tbil isSi warmogzavnis saSual ebiT, roml eb- Siac am raionis TiTqmis yvel a sofl is warmomadgenel i Sedioda (ricxviT 40 kaci) da wel s warudga rogorc saqarTvel os mTavrobas, ise Sinagan saqmeTa saxal xo komi sars da mTel i saqmi s viTareba auxsna. amasTan warudgina sofl ebis ganaCeni, roml ebiTac isini Suamdgoml obdnen maTi sofl ebis goris mazris teritoriis fargl ebSi datovebas.- imave komisiis daskvni dan isic irkveva, rom mTel rig sofl ebSi mcxovrebi osebi, osuri revkomisa- gan CamoSorebas da goris mazraze miweras moiTxovdnen. `bevria imiTana magal iTebi_ vkiTxul obT dokumentSi,_ rom sxvadasxva raionebSi osebi acxadeben survil s, raTa isini CamovaSoroT oseTis revkoms, radgan maT surT qarTvel ebTan erTad cxovreba.- amis damadasturebl ad xurval eTis Temis sof. winagaris osebis mier 1922 wl is 13 martiT daTarirebul i dadgenil ebaa motanil i, roml is mixedviTac isini uerTdebodnen qvemo Wal is TemSi Semaval i sofl ebis (qvemo baRebi, zemo baRebi, gudiaanTkari, saRoreTi, biCiaanTkari, metesmani, Rvdul eTi) 1922 wl is 12 martis dadge- nil ebas. `Cven xurval eTis Temis sof. winagaris mcxovrebtTa warmomad- genel ni: xubul uri da biCanaSvil i (osebia), Cveni sofl is mcxovrebtTa daval ebiT_ vkiTxul obT dokumentSi_ vacxadebT survil s zemoxsenebul dadgenil ebaSi aRniSnul sofl ebTan erTad... SevuerTdeT qvemo Wal is raions, rogorc vyofil varT mamapapurad, radgan ufro axl o da moxerxe- bul ia CvenTvis.- am faqtTan dakavSirebiT, imave komisiis daskvnaSi vkiTxul obT; `ras gviCvenebs es saintereso dokumenti? a)rva sof- l is osoba Txoul obs qarTvel Tagan nu gamogvTisavT da qvemo Wa- l is xel isufl ebis qveS dagvtoveTo; b)es rva sofel i ise ekuTvnis udao wminda qarTul teritorias, rogoric aris xurval eTis Temi; g)pretenzias Zal aufl ebis gavrcel ebisas am rva qarTul sofel ze acxadebs, rogorc cans arwevis ufro Crdil oeTIT mdebare sofl is aRmaskomi, sadac avtonomiuri oseTis xel isufl eba gaCenil a.- am da sxva saxis masal ebze dayrdnobiT, komisia akeTebda daskvnas: `amgvarad, qarTvel i mosaxl eoba goris mazrisa daJinebiT, katego- riul ad erTsa da imaves iTxovs. ara erTxel da sxva dros, sxvada- sxva saxiT (weril obiT Tu piradi deputaciis saSual ebiT) erTsa da imave survil s gamoTqvams oTxjer, ar daumorCil on igi osTa xel isufl ebas. aseTive survil s gamoTqvams raWis da duSeTis mosa- xl eoba. maSasadame, Cven srul i safuZvel i gvaqvs vsTqvaT, rom Seki- Txva am mosaxl eobisa, rasac... mTavrobisa da komunisturi partiis central uri komitetis 12 da 20 dekembris dadgenil ebaTa me- 3 muxl i gul isxmobs, faqtiurad ukve moxda, da rom am SemTxvevam

cxadad gviCvena: goris mazris da kerZod cxinval is raionis qarTvel oba, agreTve raWis da duSeTis mazrebisa, winaaRmdegia imisa, rom qarTuli sofl ebi da raionebi goris mazrisa, kerZod qal . cxinval i da misi raioni, agreTve duSeTis da raWis mazrebis nawil ebi SeuerTdes samxreT oseTis avtonomiur ol qs.-

komisiis daskvniidan Cems mier motanil i am amonaweridan kargad Cans: 1)cxinval is raionis qarTul ma mosaxl eobam, 1921 wl is maisidan 1922 wl is ianvris CaTvl iT, cxinval is raionis `samxreT oseTTan-SeerTebis dasmis sakiTxi oTxjer gaaprotesta da goris mazraSi darCena kategoriul i formiT moiTxova; 2)komisiis mier Catarebul i gamokvl evisa da Sinagan saqmeTa saxal xo komisariatSi Sesul i qarTvel Ta saprotesto weril ebze dayrdnobiT gakeTebul i daskvnis mixedvit, komisiამ pl ebisciti Catarebul ad CaTval a. aqedan gamodinare, 12 da 20 dekembris dadgenil ebaTa gaTval iswinebis safuZvel ze, arsebul i probl emis qarTvel Ta sasargebl od gadawyveta savsebit kanonzomierad moiTxova. Sida qarTli is qarTul i mosaxl eobis maRal i erovnul i TviTsegnebis faqtorma, saxel isufli ebo piarkampaniis ramdenime RonisZiebis Cavardnam, saqarTvel os xel isufli eba gamouval mdgomareobaSi Caayena. garkveul i mcde- l obis miuxedavad, xel isufli ebam sazogadoebaSi iseTi foni ver Seqmna, romelic proosuri politikuri kursis sasargebl od, xal x- is saxel iT Cafiqrebul i oficial uri dokumentis miRebas Seuwyob- da xel s. piriqit, qarTul i mosaxl eoba mTavrobas meramdened Seax- senebda: `Cven Tu gvekiTxebian am saganze,... cxadad da gul axdiT vambobT: Cven gvsurs vicxovroT saqarTvel os respublikis far- gl ebSi... Cven vacxadebT: cxinval i Tavisi raioniT unda darCes ise, rogorc iyo aqobamde.- e.i. goris mazris Semadgenl obaSi. yuradRe- ba unda mivaqciot im garemoebas, rom qarTvel Ta am samarTli ani pretenzi- is paral el urad, meore mniSvnel ovani sakiTxi iyo win wamoweul i. mxd- vel obaSi maqvs `samxreT oseTis- revkomis j avaSi gadatanis moTxovna. amastan dakavSirebit, sofel browl eTis mcxovrebnis sofl is yril obaze miRebul dadgenil ebaSi werdnen: `moviTxovT, rom oseTis revkomma izrun- os Tavisi bina dai dos dj avaSi.- sof. qordbis mcxovrebl ebis mier saqarTve- l os mTavrobisadmi gagzavnil dokumentSi vkiTxul obT: `s.s.r. mTavrobis- agan kidev moviTxovT, rom samxreT oseTis revkoms da maT xel qveiT osebs amcnos, rom izrunon, raTa Tavianti bina daidon dj avaSi, romelic aris maTTvis Sua adgil i.- sof. tirZnisis mcxovrebnis xel isufli ebas Seaxseneb- da: `osebis revkomma izrunos, Tavisi revkomi gadaitanos dj avaSi. iq awar- moos Tavisi saqmeebi ise, rogorc TiTona surT. ai es aris Cveni gul is pasuxi.- aseTi saxis kategoriul i formiT gamoTqmul i pretenziebia dafiq- sirebul i cxinval is raionis qarTul i sofl ebis mosaxl eobis yril obe- bze miRebul im uamrav ganxadebebsa da dadgenil ebebSi, roml ebic qvey- nis Senagan saqmeTa saxal xo komisariatsa da revkomSi Sevida. yvel a am dokumentur masal aSi qarTvel Ta optimizmnarevi rwmena iyo gamoTqmul i. `gamovTqvamT imeds, rom muSur- gl exuri mTavroba angariSs gauwevs xal x- is samarTli an moTxovnas.- im SemTxvevaSi, Tuki saqarTvel os xel isufli e- ba sakiTxs qarTvel Ta sasargebl od ar gadawyvetda, Sida qarTli is qarTu- l i sofl ebis mosaxl eoba mamapapeul i sacxovrisidan asaxl ebas da saqarTve- l os sxva regi onSi dasaxl ebas moiTxovda. `vTxovT saqarTvel os mTavrobas: mogvcen sxva adgil as sacxovrebel i bina da dagvasaxl on s.s. respubl iki s

fargl ebSi iseT adgil as, saidanac verc Cveni Tval i da verc gul i ver miswdes Cvens mier datovebul midamoebS.- ra donis boroteba unda Caedina osebs qarTul mosaxl eobasTan mimarTebaSi, rom qarTvel kacss, winaprisagan memkvudreobiT miRebul i sacxovrisisa da gamarTul i meurneobis datovebis, sxvagan gadasaxl ebisa da yvel afris Tavidan dawyebis moTxovnis survil i gasCenoda. qarTvel Ta am donemde miyvana, Sida qarTI Si osebis mier xel ovnurad Seqmnil i urTul esi politikuri situaciisadmi saqarTvel os mTavrobis mizanimarTul siyrueze, qarTul i mosaxl eobis interesebis ignorirebaze da misi damcavi meqanizmis aramoqmedebaze metyvel ebs. es tendencia, saqarTvel oSi sabWoTa xel isufl ebis damyarebis pirveli dRidanve SeiniSneboda da igi droTa ganmavl obaSi TandaTano biT Rrmavdeboda. am process osi separatistebi `gamadidebel i SuSiT- Sehyurebda da nebsmieri xel sayrel i momentis gamoyenebas maqsimal urad cdil obda. gr.gvel eianis sityvebiT rom vTqvaT, Tavianti interesebis win wamowevis safuZvel ze, osebi `qarTvel i eris xarj ze teritoriul gamdidrebas, mTI iani osuri teritoriis Seqmnas- da mis samarTI ebrivad dakanonebas cdil obda. amis dadasturebas, `samxreT oseTis- revkomis, partkomisa da pasuxismgebel i partiul i muSakebis 1921 wl is 6- 8 seqtembris gaertianebul sxdomaze miRebul i `samxreT oseTis- sabWoTa social isturi respublikis konstituciis proeqti warmoadgens. es dokumenti 15 muxl isgan Sedgeba da Sida qarTI Si `samxreT oseTis- sabWoTa social isturi respublikis Seqmnis sakiTxs dedaqal aqi cxinval iT ayenebda. imave dokumentis meore da mesame muxl is mixedviT, `samxreT oseTis- sabWoTa social isturi respublika, saqarTvel os Semadgenl obaSi federaciul i principiT unda Sesul iyo da misi xel isufl ebis mowyoba sabWoTa ruseTis federaciul i respublikis konstituciis safuZvel ze momxdariyo. am SemTxvevaSi, saqarTvel os saxel mwifos interesebis ignorireba xdeboda im Tval sazrisiT, rom konstituciis es proeqti, `samxreT oseTis- politikuri erTeul is mmarTvel obiT strukturas ara adgil obrivi, aramed ucxo qveynis (dampyrobl is) saxel mwifos model is mixedviT agebda. es faqti imazedac migvaniSnebs, rom osi separatistebi ara mar to ruseTisaken swrafvis tendencias inarCunebda, aramed, saqarTvel os xel isufl ebas garkveuli formiT qveynis mowyobis ruseTis federaciis model s Tavazobda.

rac Seexeba konstituciis proeqtis meoTxe da mexuTe muxl ebs, `samxreT oseTis- sabWoTa social isturi respublikis mmarTvel organod adgil obriv sabWoebS, central ur aRmasrul ebel komitets (25 kacis raodenobiT) da saxal xo komisarTa sabWos acxadebda. yuradsaRebia is faqti, rom konstituciis proeqtis arcert muxl Si ar figurirebs, qarTvel Ta raodenobis warmomadgenl oba iqneboda daSvebul i zemoT dasaxel ebul mmarTvel obiT organoebSi. imave dokumentis meeqvse muxl i, `samxreT oseTis- 9 saxal xo komisariatis (Sinagan saqmeTa_ fosta- tel egrafis sammarTvel oTi, iusticiis, ganaTI ebis, j anmrTel obis dacvis, social uri uzrunvel yofis, sasursaTo, miwaTmoqmedebis, finansTa, Sromis, saxal xo meurneobis sabWo_ gzaTa mimosvl is ganyofil ebiT, muSaTa da gl exTa inspeqcia) Seqmnas iTval i swinebda. aqedan, 6 maTgani (Sinagan saqmeTa, iusticiis, vaWrobis, j anmrTel obis dacvis, social uri uzrunvel yofis, saxal xo meurneobis) Taviant saqmanobaSi saqarTvel os mTavrobi sagan damouki debel ni iyvnen (muxl i 9). imave dokumentSi gakeTebul i SeniSvnis mixedviT, sagareo saqme-

bi da vaWroba, saqarTvel os Sesabamisi komisariatebis daqvemdebarebaSi rCeboda im pirobiT, rom isini `samxreT oseTis- sabWoTa social isturi respubl ikis winaSe iqnebodnen angariSval debul ni. es imas niSnavs, rom gasabWoebul i saqarTvel os Sesabamis uwyebes, sagareo saqmeebisa da sagareo vaWrobis sakiTxebTan mimarTebaSi gatarebul i RonisZieebis Sedegebis Sesaxeb, angariSi `samxreT oseTis- sabWoTa social isturi respubl ikis xel mZRvanel obisaTvis unda Caebarebina.

axl adSeqmnil i pol itikuri subieqtis teritoriaze samxedro saqmis xel mZRvanel oba (muxl i 10), osur samxedro komisariats eval eboda. marTalia, igi saqarTvel os saxal xo samxedro komisariatის daqvemdebarebaSi Sedioda, magram misi xel mZRvanel is daniSvna `samxreT oseTis- saxal xo komisariatTan SeTanxmebiT unda momxdariyo. aRniSnul i formul ireba, saqarTvel os xel isufl ebas aval debul ebda_ osebis mier wardgenil i kandidatisaTvis, Tundac igi qarTvel Ta moZul e da Sida qarTI is qarTul i mosaxl eobisaTvis miuRebel i yofil iyo_ angariSi gaewia. qarTul i saxel mwifos interesebis sawinaaRmdego moTxovnaa dasmul i imave konstituciis proeqtis meTerTmete muxl Si. mxedvel obaSi maqvs kontrrevol uciastan brZol is sababiT `samxreT oseTis- sagangebo cxenosani samxedro nawil is Seqmnis aucil ebl oba. Tuki, qarTul mosaxl eobasTan mimarTebaSi osebis namoqmedaris warmosaCenad Cems mier motanil dokumentur masal as gaviTval iswineb, srul i SesaZl ebl oba meZl eva ganvacxado, rom sityva_ `kontrrevol uciastan brZol a,- osi separatistebis niRabs warmoadgenda. amis safuZvel s, `samxreT oseTis- revkomis mier saqarTvel os central uri komitetisadmi gagzavnil i moxseneba (1921 wl is 12 maisi) iZl eva. am dokumentSi garkveviTaa aRniSnul i, rom `samxreT oseTis- qarTul sofl ebSi xel isufl ebas ar daeSva qarTvel i gl exebis bnel i da Seugnebel i el ementebis amboxeba. miTumetes, osi `devnil ebis- winaaRmdeg provokacias da momakvdi nebel Sovinistur agitacias TiTqos menSevikebi eweoda. aseTi fonis Seqmni T, imave moxsenebis mexuTe muxl i, kontrrevol ucionerebisa da aqtiuri agitatorebis winaaRmdeg, saqarTvel os central uri komitetisagan kategoriul i formiT represiu l i RonisZieebis dauyovnebl iv gatarebas moiTxovda.⁸ osi separatistebi am motiviT Tuki sagangebo cxenosani osuri samxedro nawil is Seqmnis da konstituciurad dakanonebis nebarTvas miRebda, es samxedro Zal a maT mier Sida qarTI is im qarTul i sofl ebis mosaxl eobis dasaSinebl ad, dasarbevad da istoriul i sacxovrisidan gamosadevna d iqneboda gamoyenebul i, roml ebic `samxreT oseTis- revkoms ar emorCil eboda da goris mazraSi darCenas kategoriul i formiT moiTxovda. miTumetes, qarTul i sofl ebis es mosaxl eoba, osi separatistebis mxridan ukve kontrrevol ucionerebad iyo gamocxadebul i. am mimarTul ebiT maTi mxridan represiebis gatareba srul real obas warmoadgenda, radgan qarTul i sofl is mosaxl eobis Seupovari winaaRmdegoba da simtkice, os ebs yel ze hqonda mibjenil i. miTumetes, imave konstituciis proeqtis 15 punqtian dokumentSi erTi sityviTac ar iyo naxsenebi maT mier `samxreT oseTad- moazrebul i teritoriis fargl ebSi mcxovrebi qarTvel ebis ufl ebis dacvis garantiis Sesaxeb. es dokumenti Tavidan bol omde osuri separatizmis saxes atarebs da iseT STabeWdil ebas tovebs, rom `samxreT oseTis- respubl ikis Seqmnis SemTxvevaSi, im pol itikuri erTeul is sazRvrebSi mcxovrebtTa Semadgenl oba TiTqos wmind a osuri mosaxl eoba iqneboda. es yal bi Tval sazrisi konstituciis proeqtisadmi darTul `mokl e ganmartebiT baraTSia- Cadebul i, romel ic 5 nawil isagan Sedgeba: 1) `samxreT

oseTis- geografiul i mdebareoba da mosaxl eobis raodenoba; 2) `samxreT oseTis- ekonomikuri mdgomareoba da misi mosaxl eobis kul turul i ganviTarebis done; 3) istoriul _social uri ganviTareba; 4) `samxreT oseTis- RaribTa revol uciuri brZol is istoria da 5) daskvna.

aRniSnul i dokumentis pirvel i nawil iT, `samxreT oseTis- sabWoTa social isturi respubl ikis teritoriad, osebis mier 6- 8 seqtembers miRebul i proeqtiT gavlebul i sazRvaria miCneuli, roml is mixedviTac, `samxreT oseTis- sabWoTa respubl ikis Semadgenl obaSi goris, duSeTis, raWisa da Sorapnis mazrebis didi nawilia Setanili. am teritoriis farglebSia moazrebul i osuri mosaxl eobis is statistikuri monacemebi, romelic 1917 wl is aRweras eyrdnoba da roml is mixedviTac, imave dokumentSi oSta raodenoba 92100 kacitaa gansazRvruli. `mokle ganmartebiT baratis- gansakutrebuli tendenciuroba imaSiac mdgomareobs, rom misma avtorebma, 47 qarTuli sofl is mosaxl eobis interesTa ignorireba moaxdines da TviTneburad `samxreT oseTis- respubl ikis Semadgenl obaSi Seiyvanes. am danaSaul ebrivi qmedebis gadafarvis mizniT, qarTvel - Ta ricxobrivi raodenobaze dumili amjobines. arada, 1917 wl is aRweris mixedviT, `samxreT oseTis- sabWoTa respubl ikad moazrebul teritoriaze mcxovrebi qarTvel ebis raodenoba aSkarad sWarbobda osebs. magalitad: TamaraSenis, cxinval is, wunaris, dirbis, avlevis, mereTis, ortevs, bel otis sasoflo sazogadoebebSi 11250 qarTveli da 1100 osi cxovrobda (ix. cxrili # 8). rac Seexeba usual odgoris mazraSi kompaqturad dasaxlebul i osebis raodenobas, imave aRweris mixedviT 32 atas sul s Seadgenda. aseTi faqtebis win wamowevea os separatistebis xel sar azledda, radgan `mokle ganmartebiT baratsi- `samxreT oseTis- sabWoTa social isturi respubl ikis Seqmnis aucilebl obis dasasabuteblad, eTnografiuli, geografiuli da ekonomikuri faqtorebis `ertianobis- damajerebel fons ver Seqmni dnen. imave `mokle ganmartebiT baratis- meotxe nawili, Ziritadad 1917-1921 wlebs exeba da masSi damoukidebel i saqarTvel os xelisuflebis l anZRva- ginebaa winapl anze wamoweuli. imavdroulad, faqtebisa da movlenebis Segnebul ad damaxinjebidan gamomdinare, araobieqtur Sefasebebs Seicavs. am fonzea gakeTebuli dokumentis 4 punqtiani Semajamebel i daskvniTi nawili, roml is mixedviTac: 1) osebis mier Sedgenili sazRvris proeqtiT gatval iswinebuli `samxreT oseTis- sabWoTa social isturi respublika, a) Titqos erT mTlian erTeuls warmoadgenda; b) misi mosaxleoba eTnografiul ad erTgvarovani iyo; g) ramdenadac aq macxovrebel osebs, maTi `mtkicebit- gansakutrebuli erovnuli, yofiti Tvissebebi da specifikuri nisnebi axasiatebda, aRniSnuli teritoriidan `samxreT oseTis- sabWoTa social isturi respubl ikis Seqmna aucilebl obadiyo gamocxadebuli. am SemTxvevaSi osi separatistebi aSkarad tyuodnen, im mxriv, rom saqarTvel oSi_ Sida qarTlSi geografiuli da istoriuli Tval sazrisiT `samxreT oseTi- ararsebobda. aqedan gamomdinare, goris, duSeTis, raWisa da Sorapnis mazrebisadmi xel ovnurad Camowrili teritoriebis safuzvelze Sekowiwebuli `samxreT oseTis- politikiuri warmonaqmni_ geografiuli, hidrografiuli da orografiuli pirobebis gatval iswinebit, erT mTlian erTeul ad ver CaiTveboda. amis Sesaxeb Sinagan saqmeTa saxal xo komisari b.kvirkelia, saqarTvel os revkomisadmi wardgenil moxsenebaSi (1921

wl is 27 seqtemberi) xazgasmiT werda: `samxreT oseTi, rogorc mT-
 l iani geografiul i erTeul i_ vkiTxul obT dokumentSi_ ar arseb-
 obs. aris mxol od osebiT dasaxl ebul i cal ke raionebi, romel Tac
 urTierT Soris araviTari damokidebul eba ara aqvs_ arc geografi-
 ul ad da arc ekonomiurad. TiToeul i am raionTagani warmoadgens
 ganuyofel organul nawil s sxvadasxva geografiul da sameurneo
 provinciebisas. es raionebi erTi meorisgan daSorebul i arian ga-
 dauval i mTebiT da amasTanave TiToeul maTgans aqvs srul iad Ta-
 visufal i gamosaval i mxol od barSi. isini erTi meores mowyvetil ni
 arian wl is ganmavl obaSi ramdenime TviT da TiToeul i maTgani ek-
 onomiurad dakavSirebul ia im vel Tan, romel Tanac dakavSirebu-
 l ia geografiul ad.- aRniSnul i debul ebis dasadasturebl ad, igive
 b.kvirkvel ia im geografiul da topografiul faqtorebs asaxel e-
 bs, romel ic goris, duSeTis da raWis mazrebi urTierTdakavSire-
 bas SeuZl ebel s xdida. mis mier motanil i monacemebis mixedvit;
 1)goris mazrasa da misi mosazRvre raWis mazris Casavl is sazoga-
 doebas, ramdenadac erTmaneTisagan 9000 futis simaRl is mTebi hyo-
 fda, Casavl is sazogadoebis mcxovrebt ekonomikuri kavSirurTier-
 Tobis daWera mxol od onis raionTan SeeZl o (10- 7 versiT oyo
 dacil ebul i); 2)goris mazris osebiT dasaxl ebul sofl ebs, duSe-
 Tis mazris kobis raionis osebis sofl ebisagan 11333 futis simaR-
 l is mTebi acal kevbda, roml is sauRel texil o gza wl is ganmavl -
 obaSi 7- 8 Tvis manZil ze Tovl is safarit iketeboda. aqedan gamom-
 dinare, goris mazrasTan kobis raions aranairi ekonomikuri urTi-
 erToba ar gaaCnda. igi faqtobrivad duSeTis mazrasTan iyo dakav-
 Sirebul i; 3)goris mazris osebiT dasaxl ebul i didi da patara
 l iaxvis da frones xeobebi (aq 32000 sul i osi cxovrobda), eko-
 nomikurad erTmaneTisagan iyo mowyvetil i. mag. yornis-
 wunaris raioni e.i. frones saTave, am mdinaris xeobit mxol od qarel is raions-
 tirifonas ukavSirdeboda. didi l iaxvis xeobidan mas 6230- 5684
 futis simaRl is rustav-zarikojaxis qedi hyofda. rac Seexeba didi
 da patara l iaxvis xeobebs, 11000- 6000 futis simaRl is mTebiT iyo
 gamoyofil i, zamTarsi sacal flexo bil ikebic iketeboda da erTma-
 neTisagan srul iad mowyvetil ni iyvnen. samagirerod, orografiu-
 l ad, hidrografiul ad, geografiul ad da rac mTavaria, kargi sau-
 rme gzit qarel is vel s ukavSirdeboda.

Cems mier zemoT motanil i faqtebis gaTval iswinebidan gamomdi-
 nare, imave moxsenebaSi xazgasmiTaa aRniSnul i rom, `adgil obrivi
 topografiul i da sameurneo pirobebi... SeuZl ebl ad xdian qarT-
 l is da raWis osuri mosaxl eobisgan erTi mazris gamokveTas, rad-
 gan osebis mier dasaxl ebul i raionebi mokl ebul i arian geografiul
 mTl ianobas da Seadgenen geografiul ad da ekonomiurad sxvadasx-
 va provinciebis nawil ebs. aseTi CamonaWrebidan xel ovnurad Semd-
 gari administraciul i erTeul is Seqmna ganuxorciel ebl ad unda
 CaiTval os topografiul i pirobebis gamo da srul iad ewinaaRmde-
 geba am raonebis sameurneo mdgomareobas.-

rac Seexeba meore sakiTxs_ osi separatistebis mier `samxreT oseTad-
 moazrebul i teritoriis fargl ebSi mcxovrebi mosaxl eoba TiTqos erTg-
 varovani (osuri) iyo, im etapze sinamdvil es ar Seesabameboda da isini
 aSkarad tyuodnen. amis damadasturebel i faqtebi b.kvirkvel ias imave mo-

xsenebaSi motanil i. konkretul ad Tu romel raionebSi cxovrobdas kompakturad dasaxl ebul i osebi, amis Sesaxeb dokumentSi vkiTxul obT: `saqarTvel oSi osebi mosaxl eoben: 1)goris mazraSi_ didi l iaxvis xeobaSi sof. kexvamdiz, xol o am sofl idan dawyebul i samxreTiT marto qarTveli ebiT dasaxl ebul i sofl ebia, sadac osebis ricxvi mcxovrebaTa 15 % ar aRemateba; 2)patara l iaxvis xeobaze, sofel vanaTamdis; vanaTs zeviTac Crdil oeTiT mdebareoben ramdenime qarTul i sofl ebi: bel oTi, ori xoSura, sacxene, awrisxevi da sxva; 3)mdinare frones saTaveze yornisis da wunaris raionebSi, sadac oSta mosaxl eoba mcxovrebaTa 88 % ar aRemateba; 4)duSeTis mazraSi_ md. aragvis da qsanis saTaveze; 5)raWis mazraSi_ mdinare j ej oras saTaveze. TiToeul am raions erTi meorisgan yofs gadauval i mTebi da maTi dakavSireba geografiul - topografiul i mizezebiT SeuZl ebel ia.- am fqtebis wina pl anze wamoweviT, osi separatistebis mier siyal beze agebul `mtkicebul ebebs- b.kvirvel iam mkacri ganaCeni gamoutana. unda aRiniSnos, rom TavianTi miznebis ganxorciel ebaSi, zemoT dasaxel ebul i xel SemSi el i dabrkol ebebis mniSvnel obas, osebis partiul i el ita SesaniSnavad acnobierebda. ami tom, geografiul ad da ekonomikurad erTmaneTisgan mowvyetil i sofl is sazogadoebebis xel ovrurad dakavSirebas daCqarebul i tempiT maqsimal urad cdil obda. amis damadasturebl ad, `samxreT oseTis- revkomis mier saqarTvel os kompartiis central uri komitetisadmi wardgenil i moxseneba (1921 wl is 12 maisi) gamodgeba. am dokumentis mi xedviT, `samxreT oseTis- revkomi kategoriul i formiT moiTxovda, raTa saqarTvel os xel isufl ebas dauyovnebl iv daewyo saurme gzis mSenebl oba cxinval i- rokis, cxinval i- kudaros, cxinval i- bel oTis, cxinval i- yornisis da sxva mimarTul ebiT.⁹

Cems mier motanil i faqtebis gaTval iswinebidan gamomdinare, dabej iTebiT SeiZl eba imis Tqma, rom 1)garegnul i moCvenebiTi fasadis Seqmnis mizniT, osi separatistebi `samxreT oseTis- politikur erTeul Si moazrebul i teritoriis fargl ebSi mcxovrebi qarTul i, ebraul i da somxuri mosaxl eobis arsebobas Segnebul ad ukeTebda ignorirebas. 2)`mokl e ganmar tebiTi baraTis- daskvnis mi xedvi T, `samxreT oseTis- kl asobrivi dayofisa da mSromel i masebis Segnebis xarisxi TiTqos imdenad maRal i iyo, rom igi savsebiT uzrunvel yofda respublikis kul turul i da ekonomikuri Zal ebis normal ur ganvitarebas; 3)`samxreT oseTis- sabWoTa social isturi respublikis Seqmna, sabWoTa xel isufl ebis mmarTvel obaSi `samxreT oseTis- mSromel Ta misazidad sasurvel niadags Seqmnida. xel s Seuwyobda skol ebis, sasamarTl osa da sxva dawesebul ebebis nacional izacias, im `erovnul i Cagvris- grZnobis aRmofxvras, romel - sac osebi TiTqos damoukidebel i saqarTvel os droidan gancdi da.

yovel ive zemoT Tqmul idan gamomdinare, ismeba kiTxva: a)saqarTvel oSi osi mSromel i masebis Segnebis xarisxi Tuki imdenad maRal i iyo, rom igi osebis respublikis kul turul i da ekonomikuri Zal ebis normal ur ganvitarebas uzrunvel yofda, ra mdgomareobaSi imyofeboda am mxriv ruseTis federaciaSi Semaval i Crdil o kavkasiis oseTis osuri mosaxl eoba? samecniero l literaturaSi dadasturebul ia, rom osebis istoriul samSobl oSi im etapze ara Tu respublikis, aramed avtonomiuri ol qis Sesaxebac sityvis Tqmasac ver bedavdnen; b)osebis sabWoTa respublikis Seqmna, sabWoTa xel isufl ebis mmarTvel obaSi Tuki osebis mizidvis, skol ebis, sasamarTl osa da sxva dawesebul ebebis nacional izaciis niadagis Seqm-

nis saukeTeso saSual eba gaxdeboda, Crdil o kavkasiis oseTis mosa-
 xl eoba am moTxovnas sabWoTa ruseTis xel isufl ebis winaSe ra-
 tom ar ayenebda? riT iyo ganpirobepul i maTi dumil i Crdil o ka-
 vkasiis oseTSi, osuri saxel mwifo warmonaqmnis arSeqmnasTan mima-
 rTebaSi? es kiTxvebi XX saukunis 20- iani wl ebis arc os separat-
 istebis, arc sabWoTa istoriografias da miTumetes dRevandel os
 istorikosebs ar dausvams. bunebrivia, igi dRemde maTi mxridan
 pasuxgaucemel i rCeba.

saqarTvel os `waRma- ukurma gadaxvnis- mizniT, kreml is maRal Ci-
 nosnebi os separatistebis gaavebul avCarkasaviT saqarTvel oSi `aye-
 febdnen,- xol o saqarTvel os maSindel i marionetul i xel isufl e-
 ba da kavbiuro am `yefis- monuri Semsrul ebel i iyo. qarTvel i er-
 is saxel mwifoebri vi interesebi, qarTvel ebze Semomwyral naqarTve-
 l ar gabol Sevikebul politikosta kaprizebs ewireboda. miuxeda-
 vad amisa, rusi da osi istorikosebi qarTvel i eris winaaRmdag usafuZvl o
 bral debebs dRemde mimarTaven. augad ixsenieben im ers, romel sac osuri
 eTnosisa da misi kul turis gadarCenaSi l omis wil i aqvs Setanil i. 4) imave
 `mokle ganmartebiTi baraTis- daskvnis mixedviT, `samxreT oseTisaTvis-
 Tavisufal i, warmatebul i kul turul i da ekonomikuri ganviTarebis pirobepi
 mxol od im SemTxvevaSi Sei qmneboda, Tuki `samxreT oseTis- Semadgenl oba-
 Si Sereul i mosaxl eobis im sofl ebs Sei yvandnen, roml ebic `samxreT
 oseTTan- TiTqos organul ad iyo dakavSirebul i, mis erTaderT kul tu-
 rul da ekonomikur centrs warmoadgenda.¹⁰

osi separatistebi aqac tyuodnen, radgan a) im teritoriis farg-
 l ebSi, roml is mixedviTac `samxreT oseTis- sabWoTa respublikis
 Seqmnas apirebdnen, goris, duSeTis, raWisa da Sorapnis mazrebSi
 arsebul i osur- qarTul i sofl ebis organul ad erTmaneTTan dakav-
 Sireba, geografiul i, hidrografiul i da orografiul i faqtore-
 bidan gamomdinare, rogorc zemoTac mqonda miTitebul i, im etapze
 SeuZl ebel i iyo; b) isini arafers ambobdnen goris mazris im 47
 wmindan qarTul i sofl is Sesaxeb, romel ic osebs `samxreT oseTis-
 respublikis Semadgenl obaSi Seyavda. zemoaRniSnul i dokumentis
 SedgeniT, osma separatistebma faqtiurad damoukidebel i saqarTve-
 l os mTavrobis mimarT 1919 wel s wayenebul i pretenziebi `gaaco-
 cxl a.- Tu maSin kantons iTxovdnen da mis `dasabuTebas- ekonomikuri,
 demografiul i, kul turul i da sxva faqtorebiT cdil obdnen, igive
 meTodi osuri respublikis Seqmnis gasamarTl ebl ad moimarj ves.
 risi miRwevac osebma 1918- 1920 wl ebSi ver SesZl o, oficial urad
 1921 wel idan mis real izacias Seecadnen. osi separatistebis preten-
 ziebi imdenad zRvargadacil ebul formas atarebda, rom igi gasabWoebul i
 saqarTRvel os xel isufl ebis zogierTi maRal CinosanisaTvisac miuRebe-
 l i aRmoCnda. am SemTxvevaSi gadamwyveti rol i qarTvel ma `nacional -
 ukl onistebma- Seasrul a, roml is erT- erTi warmomadgenel i Sinagan saqmeTa
 saxal xo komisari b.kvirkvel ia iyo. mis udao Rirsebad unda CaiTval os,
 roca Sinagan saqmeTa saxal xo komisiariatTan osur sakiTxze Seqmnil ko-
 misiaSi uaRresad mcodne da osur probl ematikaSi siRmiseul ad Caxedu-
 l i pirovneba_ gr.gvel esiani sapsuxismgebl o Tanamdebobaze rom iqna
 daniSnul i. maTi erTobl ivi muSaobis Sedegs warmoadgenda is moxsenebiTi
 baraTi, roml is Sesaxebac zemoTac mqonda saubari da romel ic 1921 wl is
 27 seqtembers saqarTvel os revkoms gansaxil vel ad gadaegzavna. imave mo-

xsenebisadmi TandarTul weril Si (xel s xaxanaSvil i da gr.gvel esiani awerda) vkiTxul obT: `Sinagan saqmeTa saxal xo komisariati, komisaris daval ebiT... gigzavniT moxsenebas samxreT oseTis cal ke administraciul erTeul ad gamoyofis Sesaxeb da gTxovT igi SeitanoT revkomis sxdomaze gansaxil vel ad.- saqarTvel os revkomis fondebSi dacul i masal ebis Seswavl is miuxedavad, misi ganxil vis faqts ver mivakvl ieT. imave saarqivo masal ebiT dasturdeba, rom aRniSnul ma uwyebam igi saqarTvel os central ur komitets gadaugzavna. am uaRresad sayuradRebo moxsenebas, qveynis partiul ma organom samwuxarod ignorireba gaukeTa. es gakvirvebas ar unda iwvevdes im Tval sazrisiT, rom aseTi saxis dokumentis SeqmniT, Sinagan saqmeTa saxal xo komisariati saqarTvel os revkomis, central uri komitetis zogierTi maRal Cinosanisa da kavbiuros pirvel i mdivni s-s. orj onikiZis pozicias aSkarad daupirispirda. zemoaRniSnul i moxseneba, ara Tu `samxreT oseTis- sabWoTa social isturi respublikis, aramed `samxreT oseTis- administraciul i samazro erTeul is mizanSewonil obasac SeuZl ebl ad miicnevda. `samxreT oseTis cal ke administraciul erTeul ad gamoyofa samazro erTeul is ufl ebebiT_ vkiTxul obT dokumentSi, _ geografiul i da ekonomiuri mosazrebebiT, sakiTxis detal urad Seswavl is Semdeg Sinagan saqmeTa saxal xo komisariats SeuZl ebl ad miaCnia... xel ovnuri gamokveTa samazro erTeul is osebisatvis goris, duSeTis da raWis mazrebidan SeuZl ebel ia. maSasadame, osebis mosaxl eoba TiToeul i am mazrebisa unda darCes im mazraSi, romel Siac iyo aqnobandis. amasTanave, TiToeul am raionSi garda wvrii i administraciul i erTeul isa_ Temisa, unda Seiqmnas saraiono erTeul i. aseTebi iqneba: Casavl is_ raWis mazraSi; kobisa_ duSeTis mazraSi; yornisisa, wunarisa, didi l iaxvis xeobisa da patara l iaxvis xeobisa_ goris mazraSi. amave dros TiToeul i am mazris revkomSi osur mosaxl eobas eyol eba warmomadgenel i, romel ic daicavs oSta interesebs mTel i mazris masStabiT.-

Tuki Cems mier motanil amonawers CaukvirdebiT, masSi ori ZiriTadi sakiTxis gamoyofa SeiZl eba: a)osuri samazro administraciul i erTeul is Seqmnis SeuZl ebl obis mtkiceba; b)goris, duSeTisa da raWis mazrebSi mxol od osuri wvrii i Temebisa da 6 saraiono (anu sazogadoebis) erTeul is arsebobis daSvebis mizanSewonil oba. am SemTxvevaSi, b.kvirkvel ia damoukidebel i saqarTvel os sako nstitutio komisiis mier eTnikuri umciresobebis mowyobis Sesaxeb 1920 wel s damtkicebul saTemo- saerobo TviTmmarTvel obiT gaTval iswinebul ufl ebebs sTavazobda osebs. osuri sakiTxis am formatSi gadawyveta, gasabWoebul i saqarTvel os revkomisa da kavbiuros xel mZRvanel obisatvis principul ad iyo miuRebel i. arsebul i dokumenturi masal is Seswavl is Sedegad iseTi STabeWdil eba iqmneba, rom Sida qarTI is mTis osebisatvis administraciul i erTeul is formis SerCevas, zemoaRniSnul saxel is ufl ebo organoebis TiTqos romel i Rac zemdgomi uwyeba karnaxobda. es niuansi osi separatistebisatvis im etapze SeumCnevel i ar darCenil a da winaswar dasaxul i miznebis gansaxorciel ebl ad_ Sida qarTI Si osuri politikuri warmonaqmnis Sesaqmnel ad SesaSuri energiiT muxl Cauxrel ad moqmedebdnen. siyal beze agebul i moxsenebebiT, umaRl es partiul organoebSi del egacias- del egaciazze agzavni dnen. amis udao Sedegs kavbiuros 1921 wl is 31 oqtombris sxdomis dadgenil eba war-

moadgens, romelic Sel iavas moxsenebis safuZvel ze iqna miRebuli. am dokumentis pirveli muxli geografiul ad ararsebul `samxreT oseTs-avtonomiuri ol qis ufl ebebs aniWebda.¹¹ es faqti, xel isuflebis umaRl es esel onebsi osuri sakiTxis araoficial urad winaswar gadawyvetaze mianisnebs. winaarmdeg SemTxvevaSi, im etapze probl emis safuZvl ianad Seuswavi el oba da cxinvalis raionis qarTuli mosaxleobis principuli pozicia, nebsmieri dampyrobli mier dasmul xel isuflebasacki, auCqarebl obisa da kompromisuli gzebis Ziebis aucilebl obis winase daayenebda. am mimarTul eb iTnabij is argadadgma imis dadasturebaa, rom kavbiuro, sabWota ruseTis xel isufal Ta usual o dakvetas asrul ebda da osebisatvis Tavis droze veqsil is saxitmicemul i dapirebis daCqarebul i tempiT Serul ebas moitxovda. dabej iTebiT SeiZl eba imis Tqma, rom kavbiuros zemoaRniSnuli dadgenileba, osi separatistebis udidesi gamarjveba iyo. maTi Zal isxmevisa da sabWota ruseTis maRal CinosanTa mfarvel obis Sedegad, avtonomiuri ol qis statusi geografiul ad ararsebul da xel ovnurad gamogonil etnoistoriul saxel wodebas amofarebul `samxreT oseTs- mieniwa. ramdenadac kavbiuro im etapze umaRl es mmarTvel obiT organod iTvle eboda, misi dadgenileba saqarTvel os yvel a saxel isuflebo uwyebisatvis saval debul o iyo. aRniSnulis gaTval iswinebidan gamomdinare, osuri avtonomiis statusi kavbiurom yovel gvარი saj aro ganxil vis, Sida qarTli is qarTuli mosaxleobisa da saqarTvel os saxel mwifoebrivi interesebis ignorebit winaswarve gadawyvita. amierkavkasiis umaRl esi saxel isufle o organos_ kavbiuros mier miRebuli es dadgenileba, im periodis opoziciurad ganwyobil i politiki azris warmomadgenel ebma diskusiis saganad aqcia. maTi damsaxureba imaSiac mdgomareobs, rom osuri avtonomiis statusTan mimarTebaSi iTiqmis `gasaiduml oebuli- formiT miRebuli gadawyvetilebebi, presis furcl ebze gamoitanes da qarTuli sazogadoeba saqmiskursSi Caayenes. am mxriv gansakuTrebuli yuradRebas gazeT `social ist- federal istSi- mebrZolis fsevdonimit dabeWdili publikacia_ `presis magier- iqcevs. masSi gansakuTrebuli yuradReba saqarTvel oSi erovnuli sakiTxis gadaWris mniSvnel obazea gamaxvilebuli. am fonze, mcire erovnuli j gufebis dacvisa da misi ufl eba- moval eobebis aRiarebis dasmis SemTxvevaSi aucilebl ad unda yofil iyo gaTval iswinebuli etnikuri umciresobebis ama Tu im qveyanaSi xel ovnurad Casaxlebis procesi, e.i. misi araaborigenoba. **imave avtoris mtkicebit, saqarTvel oSi mcxovrebe etnikur umciresobeb_ gansakuTrebit osebs, erovnuli ufl ebebze yalbi warmodgena qondaT. qarTvel ebTan mimarTebaSi maTi yovel i moqmedeba sizul vil is da revanSis saxes atarebda. aRniSnulis gaTval iswinebidan gamomdinare, osebisatvis j avis saxel mwifo warmonaqmnis formirebaze saubars igi danaSaul ebriv qmedebad miicnevda da iqve dasZenda: a)dauyovnebl iv gaetarebinaT praqtikul i zomebi, raTa saqarTvel oSi partikul arizms gasavali ar qonoda; b)Senarcunebuli yofil iyo saqarTvel os, rogorc suverenuli saxel mwifos teritoriuli erTianoba. `mcire erebs_ vkitxul obT weril Si_ unda mieces ara politiki_ saxel mwifoebrivi, aramed kul turuli ufl ebebi. mcire erovnuli j gufebis politika unda ganisazRvros personaluri politikis principiT, rac... Seinaxavs saqarTvel os, rogorc mTli an arsebas da mianiwebs mcire erebs kul turuli cxovrebis garantiებს.~ am amonaweris mixedvit kargad Cans, rom saqarTvel oSi mcxovrebi etnikuri umciresobebi-**

saTvis da maT Soris osebisatvis, weril is avtori mxol od kul - turul i avtonomiis miniWebaze acxadebda Tanxmobas da am mimarTul ebiT gadadgmul i nabiji, mas saqarTvel os teritoriul i mTl ianobis SenarCunebis garantad miaCnda. sxva mxriv, osuri probl emis gadawyvetas, maSindel i opoziciuri politikuri azris mesveurebi SeuZl ebl ad Tvl idnen, radgan Sida qarTI Si osuri avtonomiuri warmonaqmnis aRmocenebas saqarTvel os teritoriul i mTl ianobis sawinaaRmdegod gadadgmul nabijad ganixil avdnen. aRniSnul sakiTxTan mimarTebaSi gamoqveynebul i publ ikaciebidan gansakuTrebul yuradRebas p.mirianaSvil is statia `osebis sakiTxis gamo-iqcevs. avtoris azriT, saqarTvel os teritoria bedml aSe, bedSavi, bedkrul i da bedmwiri gamodga. am `epitetebidan- igi gansakuTrebiT bedmwirs gamoyofda da iqve dasZenda; `es saxifaTo sityvaa da imas niSnavs, rom xal xi iyves Tavis qveyanaSi, magram mas aravin arafrad agdebdes,... imis qveynis bedi sxvis xel T iyves.~ p.mirianaSvil is es Tval sazrisi sinamdvil es rom Seesabameba, amas Cems mier zemoT motanil i saarqivo masal ebic adasturebs. marTI acda, osuri sakiTxis gadawyvetisas, saqarTvel os maSindel i xel isufl eba da kavbiuro, Sida qarTI is qarTul i mosaxl eobisa da TviT saqarTvel os saxel mwifos interesebs nakl ebad iTval iswinebda. xel isufl ebis ideol ogiuri propaganda osebis sasargebl od muSaobda. am fonze xdeboda yvel a im debul ebebis ignorireba, romel ic saR azrovnebaze iyo dafuZnebul i da osuri Sovinizmis mxil ebas, misgan gamomdinare mosal odnel i safrTxis dasabuTebas Seicavda. miuxedavad amisa, xel isufl ebisadmi opoziciurad ganwyobil i qarTul i politikuri azris mesveurebi cdas ar akl ebda da Seusmenel mdgomareobaSi myofi gasabWoebul i saqarTvel os mmarTvel wreeps, presis saSual ebiT Seaxsenebda: 1)Sida qarTI is osebiT dasaxl ebul raionebSi, raodenobrivad osebi umciresobas warmoadgendnen; 2)Sida qarTI Si qarTvel Ta winaaRmdeg gamefebul i Sovnizmi Seuwynarebel i iyo; 3)oseTi saqarTvel oSi ki ara, Crdil oeT kavkasiaSi unda eZiaT. probl emis am mimarTul ebiT gaSuqebis fonze, p.mirianaSvil i bol Sevikuri ideol ogi is mesveurTa misamarTiT imave statiaSi gamwyril i toniT werda: `dRes araviTari samxreT oseTi saqarTvel oSi ar arsebobs. arian mxol od qarTvel Ta Soris Camosaxl ebul i osebi, romel nic maCabl ebs da sxva memamul eeps Tavianti piradi sargebl obisaTvis mkvidri gl exebis dasacagrad xiznebad SemouyvaniaT. saqarTvel os osebis avtonomia iseTi absurdia, romel ic dauskvnia an did veragobas,... an did gul ubryvil obas... erovnul - kul turul i ganvitareba saqarTvel os osebis jer aravis Seuferxebia da arc momaval Si Seferxdebba. istoria gveubneba, rom jer kidev meTvramete saukuneSi vaxtang sj ul - mdebel is TaosnobiT xucuri asoebiT daubeWdiaT osuri saekl esio wignebi osebisatvis. cil is wameba iqneba qarTvel ebs vuwodoT Sovinisti. sxva erovnebebis moZul e.~

Cems mier motanil i es vrcel i amonaweri, obieqturi sizustiT asaxavs sinamdvil es. amitom iyo, rom osuri avtonomiis momxreebma, p.mirianaSvil is vercerTi debul eba ver gaabaTil es. statiis avtoris mimarTisini mxol od muqarita da `social ist- Sovinistad- gamocxadebiT dakmayofil dnen. amis dadasturebas gazeT `komunistSi- dabeWdil i mowinave statia_ `social ist- Sovinistebi- warmoadgens. aRniSnul i publ ikaciidan irkveva, rom gazeT `tribunaSi- dabeWdil i p.mirianaSvil is statia, am gazeTis dax-

urvis erT- erTi mizezTagani gamxdara. gazeT `komunistis- redaqqiis azriT, p.mirianaSvil is Tavxedobas `sabWoTa mTavrobam l mobieri pasuxi gasca da mxol od gazeTis SeCerebiT dakmayofil da. mirianaSvil ebs aqedan is daskvna gamohyavT, rom ganaxl ebul gazeTSiac nacional izmis al i ar unda Caqres... es iwereba sabWoTa respubl ikaSi, ibeWdeba sabWoTa stambaSi, sabWoTa qaRal dze.- am mimarTul ebiT obieqturi saxis statiebi rom ar gamoqveynebul iyo, p.mirianaSvil is msgavsi saRad moazrovne adamianebis mimarT, gazeTi `komunisti- sabWoTa xel isufl ebas Semdegi saxis `samkurnal o receipts- sTavazobda: `srul i WeSmariteba iqneba_ vkiTxul obT weril Si_ zog saarqivo social ists vuwodoT Sovinisti da maSasadame moveqceT Sesafarisad. ar gavafuWebinoT qaRal di erovnul i siZul vil is gasaRvivebl ad, dadasadguroT sxva arqivSi, sadac is ramdenimeT mainc igrZnobs mSromel Ta diqtaturas, roml is daniSnul ebaa iseTi mdgomareoba Seqmnas sabWoTa saqarTvel oSi, rom marTI a `diogenes fanriT- saZebari gaxdes intel igenti Sovinisti.- am amonaweris mixedviT, p.mirianaSvil i, ideol o giuri Tval sazrisiT saj arod iqna damuSavebul i da simarTI is TqmisaTvis, sabWoTa xel isufl ebis mtrad gamocxadda. aseTi fonis SeqmniT gazeT `komunistis- igive saredaqqio weril i petre mirianaSvil isa da msgavsi intel igentebis mimarT, xel isufl ebis mxridan represiul i Ronisziebebis gatarebas moiTxovda. saxel isufl ebo oficioziT gakeTebul i aseTi muqarisa da Sida qarTI is osi separatistebisadmi l obirebis miuxedavad, mmarTvel i pol itikuri partiis mcdari erovnul i pol itikis mxil ebas, opoziciurad ganwyobil i maSindel i pol itikuri Zal ebi kvl avac ganagrZobda. am mxriv, gansakuTrebul yuradRebas T.Rl ontis statia `osebis avtonomia- iqcevs. didZal i faqtobrivi masal is anal izis safuZvel ze, aRniSnul publ ikaciaSi dasabuTebul i iyo, rom Sida qarTI Si `samxreT oseTis- avtonomiuri pol itikuri erTeul is Seqmna danaSaul ebriv qmedebas warmoadgenda. aqedan gamomdinare, xel isufl ebis mesveurt igi kategoriul i formiT Seaxsenebda, saqarTvel os sxel ze avtonomiebis Seqmnis eqsperimentebis Catarebas maqsimal urad morideboda, radgan yovel i axal i saxel mwifo warmonaqmni qveynisaTvis samomavl od damRupvel i Sedegebis momtani aRmoCndeboda. am debul ebis dasasabuTebi ad T.Rl ontma dawvril ebiT ganixil a saqarTvel oSi osebis Camosaxl ebisa da qarTul miwebze maTi gansaxl ebis ganmapirobebel i mizezebi. dokumentur masal aze dayrdnobiT motanil i faqtebis safuZvel ze, osuri sakiTxis merkantil izmis poziciidan ganxil va kategoriul i formiT dagmo da probl emis gadasawyvetad, saqarTvel os sinamdvil isaTvis misaRebi gza SesTavaza xel isufl ebas. misi samarTI iani mtkicebiT, ramdenadac osebi saqarTvel os mkvidr mosaxl eobas ar warmoadgenda da Sida qarTI Si sxvasaxva dros iyvnen Camosaxl ebul ni, teritoriul i avtonomiis nacvl ad maTTvis kul turul i avtonomia unda miecaT. aseTi poziciis dafiqsirebis paral el urad, T.Rl ontma sazogadoebis im nawil is winaarmddegac gail aSqra, roml ebic Sida qarTI is osebiT dasaxl ebul mTian zonas `oseTad- moixseniebda. `Cvens sazogadoebaSi_ wers T.Rl onti_ xSirad gaigonebT xsenebas `oseTi.- rasakvirvelia, saqarTvel oSi oseTi ar arsebobs, es bavSmac icis mSobl iuri geografiidan, magram arian osebi, gansakuTrebiT goris mazraSi Casaxl ebul ebi, romel Tac msxvil ma memamul eebma misces samuSao adgil ebi.- rac Seexeba goris mazraSi osTa raodenobis garkvevas, am

mizniT T.RI ontma 1886 wl is saoj axo aRweris statistika gamoiyena. mis mier motanil i cifrebis mixedviT, cxinval Si, suramSi, xidisTavSi, mej vrisxevs da borjomSi 1727 qarTul i da 547 osuri ojaxi cxovrobd. imave monacemebiT, cxinval is sammarTvel o ubanSi, osTa raodenoba 63 % ar aRemateboda. aRniSnul i ubani 37 sasofli o sazogadoebad iyo dayofil i, romel Siac 198 qarTul i sofel i Sedioda. aseTi preambul is Semdeg, T.RI onti cxinval is ubnis 37 sasofli o sazogadobebis mcxovrebaT erovnul i Semadgenl obis garkvevas Seecada. mis mier motanil i statistikuri macvenebel ebis mixedviT, zemoaRniSnul 37 sasofli o sazogadobaSi 53045 qarTvel i da 33683 osi cxovrobd. imave T.RI ontis mier damowmebul i monacemebiT, 37 sasofli o sazogadobidan 15 wmindaqarTul i, xol o 22 osuri sazogadoba iyo. yovel ive zemoTqmul is gaTval iswinebidan gamomdinare, 33 aTasi osisaTvis Sida qarTl Si teritoriul i avtonomiis micema T.RI onts SeuZl ebl ad miaCnda. `rasakvirvel ia_ wers igi_ l aparaki ki SeuZl ebel ia osebis avtonomiaze, rogorc politikur sistemaze. ra Taqma unda es imas ar niSnavs, rom osebis kul turul - nacional uri ufl ebebisaTvis ar vizrunoT. maTi deda ena, adaTi, Cveul eba, skol a, mmarTvel oba farTo administraciul i TviTmmarTvel obis fargl iT... unda mieniWos, rogorc yvel a SesamCnev eTnikur Zal as. sxva ufl ebebze l aparaki faqtiurad SeuZl ebel ia... didi sifrTxil e gvmartebs aseTi sakiTxis gadaWrisas.~ am debul ebis sisworis dasadasturebl ad igi saqarTvel os samxreTaRmosavl eTis regions asaxel ebda da iqve dasZenda; `saqarTvel oSi Cven ara erT sazogadobebis vnaxavT, gansakuTrebit borCal os mimarTul ebit, axal qal aqisa da axal cixis xaziT da yvel gan Tu avtonomiaze vil aparakeT, maSin deda saqarTvel o dagvrCeba diogenes fanrit saCxreki. aseT politikas unda veridoT, Tundac es droebiti taqtikuri zoma iyos.~

am amonaweris mixedviT, T.RI onti ara marto osebisatvis, aramed saqarTvel oSi mcxovrebi sxva eTnikuri umciresobebisaTvis politikuri avtonomiis micemis sastiki winaarmdegi iyo. misaRebad mxol od kul turul i avtonomia miaCnda da saqarTvel os teritoriul i mTl ianobis Senarcunebis samonavl o garants, praqtikul ad mis realizaciaSi xedavda. es saRi azri, kosmopol itizmis WaobSi Cafli ul i maSindel i gasabWoebul i saqarTvel os xel isuflebis da misi ideol ogebisaTvis miuRebel i aRmoCnda. amis erT- erT dadasturebas gazeT `komunistSi- r.k (raJden kal aZe) fsevdonimit gamoqveynebul i statiebis seria `erovnul i politika Tu kl asobrivi?~ warmoadgens. weril is avtoris `mtkicebit-, yovel gvani saxis erovnul i politika wvri l - burJuaziul i iyo da nacional izmis el ementebis Seicavda. aqedan gamomdinare, kategoriul i formiT uaryofda saxel mwifoebri v erovnul - politikur kurss da upiratesobas kl asobrivi aniWebda. am fonze, damouki debel i saqarTvel os (1918- 1921 ww.) mTavrobis mier eTnikuri umciresobebis mimarT miRebul i sakanonmdebl o aqtebis mixedviT gatarebul i RonisZiebeli, mis mier sabWota xel isuflebisatvis miuRebl ad iyo gamocxadebul i. `Cven bevrjer vTqviT da exl ac vimeorebT_ werda igi, _ rom Cveni xal xi menSevizmit da nacional izmit ukve mowaml ul ia. amitom,... am sawaml avisgan ganTavisuflebul i unda iqnas.~ am `seniT daavadmyofebul - politikur mimdinareobaTa Soris, r.kal aZe memarcxene social ist_ federal istebsac

asaxel ebda. weril is avtore imiT iyo gaRizianebul i, rom memarcxene social ist- federal istebma, osi separatistebis Setevbisgan Sida qarTI is qarTvel ebis dacva da erovnul i saxel mwifosaTvis Sesatyvisi pol itikuri kursis gatareba saqarTvel os revkomisagan kategoriul ad moiTxova. r.kal aZisaTvis isic miuRebel i aRmoCnda, roca imave social ist- federal istebma `ucxo nacional izmis gvel eSapisadmi Tavis gaWeWyvis- sakiTxi daayenes da amis aucil ebl oba Sesabamisi faqtebiT daasabuTes. ramdenadac weril is avtorma memarcxene social ist- federal istebis argumentebis gabaTil eba ver SeZl o, qveynis SigniT Seqmnil i urTul esi probl emis ganxil vas Tavi aarida da msjel obis formas demagogiuri saxe misca. `gamodis, rom qarTvel ma xal xma_ wers r.kal aZe_ Tavi unda gauWeWyos ucxo nacional izms da ara Sinaurs, e.i. brZol a unda gamoucxadon `ucxoel ebs- Tundac isini muSebi iyvnen da es ucxoel ebi Tavis saxel mwifoebriv fargl ebSi ar gaaWaWanon.⁻¹² erovnul sakiTxiTan mimarTebaSi saqarTveli oSi arsebul i urTul esi probl emebis ganxil vas, r.kal aZe Segnebul ad aridebda Tavs da memarcxene social ist- federal istTa samarTlian pretenziabs gaukuRmarTebul i formiT sTavazobda mkiTxvel sazogadoebas. im SemTxvevaSi, Tuki aRniSnul Sefasebas mikerZoebul ad miCneven, aseTma adami anebma pasuxi unda gascen kiTxvas: osebis mier Sida qarTI is qarTul mosaxl eobasTan mimarTebaSi Cadenil i danaSaul ebrivi qmedebebi (arasrul wl ovanTa Zal datanebiTi gaupatiurebebi, qarTvel ebis mi zanmimarTul ad amoxocva, adami anebis sabZel Si dawva, qarTvel Ta qonebis dataceba da saxl ebis gadawva, mamapapeul i sacxovrisidan qarTvel Ta Zal ismieri meTodiT gamodevna, qarTvel i gl exebis kuTvnil i pirutyvisa da Wirnaxul is dataceba da a.S.) saWiroebda Tu ara Sida qarTI is qarTul i mosaxl eobisatvis saxel mwifoebriv doneze damcavi meqanizmis amoqmedebas, osuri separatizmsadmi droul ad Tavis gaWeWyvas, Tundac aRniSnul i danaSaul ebrivi qmedebebi osi mSromel ebis mier yofil iyo ganxorciel ebul i. samwuxaroa is faqti, rom erovnul Rirebul ebebs mokl ebul i gasabWoebul i saqarTvel os xel isufli eba da kavbiuro, qarTvel Ta yvel a samarTlian moTxovnaSi `qarTul i nacional izmis gvel eSaps- xedavda. saxel mwifoebrivi ideol ogiuri manqana am mimarTul ebiT aqtiurad moqmedebda, xol o misi msaxurni, osur avtonomiasTan mimarTebaSi antisaxel mwifoebrivi pol itikuri kursis gamarTI ebas maqsimal urad cdil obda. amis dadasturebas, saqarTvel os Sinagan saqmeTa saxal xo komisariatis Jurnal `moambeSiddabeWdil i saredaqcio weril i_ `samxreT oseTis avtonomiuri erTeul is Sesaxeb- warmoadgens. aRniSnul i statia, erTaderT amocanas_ gasabWoebul i saqarTvel os xel isufli ebisa da kavbiuros mcdari, antisaxel mwifoebrivi erovnul i kursis gamarTI ebas emsaxureboda. masSi motanil i ZiriTadi debul ebebi Semdegnairad SeiZl eba Camoyal ibdes: 1) sabWoTa xel isufli eba saqarTvel oSi mcxovrebi yvel a erovnebis mSromel Ta interesebs icavda. es debul eba savsebiT sworia, radgan, rogorc Cems mier zemoT motanil i dokumenturi masal ebiTi qna dadasturebul i, saqarTvel oSi mcxovrebi eTnikuri umciresobebis, maT Soris osebis ufl ebebi da separatistul i interesebi maqsimal urad iyo dacul i. es xdeboda qarTvel i xal xis, Sida qarTI is qarTul i sofl is mSromel i mosaxl eobis interesebis ignorirebis xarj ze; 2) prole tariatatis mtrebi, erTa sol idarobis gasatexad nacional uri SuRI is gaRrmavebas cdil obdnen da provokaciul i saSual ebebiT osur sakiTxs iyenebdnen. `am provokacias da borot saqmes_ vkiTxul obT weril Si_ menSevikebi xel mZRvanel oben, roml ebsac surT max-

vil i Cascen sabWoTa mTavrobas-.

nebismieri saRad moazrovne adamiani, romel ic Sida qarTI is qarTul i sofl ebis mosaxl eobasTan mimarTebaSi `samxreT oseTis- revkomisa da misadmi daqvemdebarebul i uwyebebis mier gatarebul i teroristul i xasiaTis damadasturebel saarqivo masal ebs, gansakuTrebiT Sinagan saqmeTa saxal xo komisariatTan arsebul i komisiis daskvnebs gaecnoba, dameTanxmeba, rom osebis danaSaul ebrivi qmedebebis saaSkaraoze gamotana, provokaciul miznebs namdvil ad ar emsaxureboda. aseTi faqtebis win wamoweviT, memarcxene social ist- federal istTa partiis liderebi, osuri separatizmis gansakuTrebul i Setevisagan Sida qarTI is qarTul i mosaxl eobis damcavi meqanizmis droul ad SemuSavebis da demografiul i bal ansis SenarCunebis saWiroebis aucil ebl obas Seaxsenebda arsebul xel isufl ebas. progresul ad moazrovne da erovnul sawyisebze mdgomi pirovnebebis `proletariatis mtread- da `nacional uri SuRI is gamRvivebl ad- gamocxadeba, gakvirvebas ar iwvevs, radgan sabWouri ideol ogiis msaxurT, oponentTa dasamarcxebel ad dokumenturi masal iT gamagrebul i argumentebi ar gaaCnda. maT mxol od iol i gza airCies da simarTI is mTqmel ni maTTvis misaRebi `epitetebiT- Seamkes. am faqtiT, `boroti saqmis mkeTebel menSevikTa- siaSi moxvedril i adamianebis winaarmdeg, represiebis gatarebis garkveul i safexuri Seamzades; 3)cxinval isa da qarTul i sofl ebis `samxreT oseTis- avtonomiuri ol qisadmi gadacemis winaarmdeg qarTul i mosaxl eobis permanentul i xasiaTis protests, igive saredaqcio statia gaugebrobis da menSevikebis agitacia- propagandis nayofad acxadebda. `saqarTvel os sabWoTa mTavrobas xSirad mosdioda momarTvebi cxinval is raionis qarTvel mcxovrebtagan_ vkiTxul obT weril Si_ imis Sesaxeb, rom Tu cxinval i oseTis avtonomiur ol qs gadaeca, maSin iq mosaxl e qarTvel ebs ar SeuZliaT arseboba da mSvidobiani cxovreba. aseTi gancxadebebi srul gaugebrobazea aSenebul i. is aris Sedegi menSevikebis nacional istur_ provokatorul i propaganda- agitaciisa. adgil obriv qarTvel ebs hgoniaT, rom Tu cxinval i oseTs gadaeca, maSin aRaravin izrunებს maTi interesebis dacvaze. maT hgoniaT, rom... saqarTvel os da oseTis avtonomiuri mmarTvel oba... angariSs ar gauvevs maT interesebs da moTxovnil ebebs. aseTi Sexedul eba amtkicebs, rom cxinval is qarTvel obas kargad ver gauTvall iswinebia oseTis avtonomiuri ol qis daarsebis namdvil i mizezebi.⁻¹³ es iyo gasabWoebul i saqarTvel os politikurad meZavi xel isufl ebis mier sazogadoebis mosatyuebl ad sicrueze agebul i propaganda. Tuki saqarTvel osa da `samxreT oseTis- xel isufl ebas marTlacda Sida qarTI is qarTvel Ta interesebis dacvis survil i amoZravebda, ratom araferi ar iRones Sida qarTI Si osuri separatizmis asal agmavad, Sida qarTI is sofl ebidan gamoqceul i qarTvel ebis qonebisa da saxl karis dasacavad, mamapapeul sacxovrisze devnil Ta ukan dasabrunebl ad? samwuxar oa, magram faqtia, rom 1921 wl is martidan 1925 wl is CaTvl iT, saqarTvel os revkomis, kavbiuros, saqarTvel os Sinagan saqmeTa saxal xo komisariat, saqarTvel os komunisturi partiis central uri komitetis, srul iad saqarTvel os central uri aRmasrul ebel i komitetis mier miRebul iseT dokumentis ver mivakvl ie, sadac osi separatistebis dasjis, an `samxreT oseTis- xel mZRvanel obis da misadmi daqvemdebarebul i uwyebebis damnaSave xel mZRvanel Ta sisxl is samarTI is pasuxisgebl obis sakiTxi iqneboda dasmul i. isic gasaTval iswinebel ia, rom `sa-

mxreT oseTis- revkomis da `samxreT oseTis- partiis saol qo komitetis mier momzadebul moxsenebaSi mxol od Sida qarTI is osebis gaWirvebaze, misadmi daxmarebis aucil ebl obazea yuradReba gamaxvil ebul i. erTi winadadebiTac ar aris naxsenebi Sida qarTI is qarTvel Ta gausaZl isi yofis Sesaxeb. isini mxol od menSevikuri ideol ogiis mimdevrebad, kontrerevolucionerebad da sabWoTa xel isufli ebisatvis miuRebel el ementebad arian gamocxadebul ni. aqedan gamomdinare, am adamiანების winaarmddeg brZol is gaZl ierebis aucil ebl oba, imave dokumentebSi pirvel xarixovan amocnad iyo miCneul i. am motivit, `samxreT oseTis- revkomis da `samxreT oseTis- partiis saol qo komitetis xel mZRvanel oba im qarTvel ebs devnida, roml ebic Sida qarTI is qarTul i sofl ebis mosaxl eobaSi maRal i avtoritetiT sargebl obda, osebis xel isufli ebis Zal - momreobas ver urigdeboda da Rirsebis SesanarCunebl ad, qarTvel ebis konstituciur fargl ebSi moqmedebas edga saTaveSi. saqarTvel os xel isufli ebis mxridan, osuri separatizmis asal agmavad da Sida qarTI is qarTvel Ta dasacavad, im etapze aranairi meqanizmi ar amoqmedebul a; 4)imave statiaSi cxinval is da misi mimdebare qarTul i sofl ebis `samxreT oseTis- avtonomiuri ol qis Semadgenl obaSi ar Seyvanis qarTvel Ta daJinebul i moTxovna_ srul gaugebrobad, saqmis vitarebis argatval iswinebad da absurdad iyo gamocxadebul i im motivit, rom q. cxinval i da mTel i `samxreT oseTis- ol qi saqarTvel os respublikas isedac ekuTvnode. Sida qarTI is mTiani zona, romel ic ratomRac `samxreT oseTad- iwodeboda, saqarTvel os ganuyofel teritoriul nawil s rom warmoadgenda, es qarTul ma mosaxl eobam SesaniSnavad icoda. aRniSnul i statiiT iseTi fonia Seqmnil i, TiTqos Sida qarTI is qarTvel oba, am mimarTul ebit gaucnobierebel i iyo da misi `swor gzaze- dayenebis Tval sazrisiT, aRniSnul i statiiis avtori garkveul pretenziasac acxadebda.

Sida qarTI Si Seqmnil i umZimesi mdgomareobisadmi gverdis avl a da probl emis sul sxva mimarTul ebit manipuliereba, xel isufli ebis mxridan mizanmimarTul politikur da ideol ogiur svlas warmoadgenda. winaarmddeg SemTxvevaSi, imave saredaqcio statiaSi winapl anze is ZiriTadi mizezebi unda yofil iyo wamoweul i, ramac 51 qarTul i sofl is mosaxl eobas `samxreT oseTis- revkomisadmi mორცილებზე უარი ატყმევინა და კატეგორიული ფორმით გორის სამაზრო რევკომზე მიუერთებინა დაყენებინა. igive statia, yuradRebis miRma meore kiTxvasac tovebda. kerZod, ramdenad iyo gamarTlebul i cxinval is raionis 8 sofl is sazogadoebaSi mcxovrebi 11250 qarTvel is interesebis, 1100 osis interesTa samsxverpl oze mitana (ix. cxrili # 8). am umniSvnel ovanesi sakiTxisadmi Segnebul ad gverdis avl am, saredaqcio statiiis avtors, osi separatistebis mier wamoyenebul i pretenziebisadmi mxardaWerisa da garkveul i `mtkicebul ebebis- moSvel iebis Sesazl ebl oba misca. Tu ra formიტცილიობა იგი cxinval isa da misi mimdebare qarTul i sofl ebis `samxreT oseTis- Semadgenl obaSi Seyvanis aucil ebl obis `dasabuTebas,- amis sailustrაციოდ imave statiidan Sesabამის ამონაწერს მოვითან და თავად მკითხველმა განსაჯოს, რამდენად ობიექტური და არგუმენტირებულია ანისნული სარედაქციო ვერილის პოზიცია. `SeuZl ebel i da dauSvebel ia_ vkiTxul obT weril Si_ oseTis avtonomiuri ol qis arseboba ucentroT. centrs ki warm-

oadgens cxinval i. misi gamogl ej a oseTis avtonomiuri erTeul isagan yo-
 vl ad SeuZl ebel ia. es friad Seaferxebes adgil obriv sabWoTa aRmSenebl o-
 bis saqmes. amitom, cxinval i usaTuod unda darÇes avtonomiuri oseTis
 fargl ebSi. amas moiTxovs rogorc qarTvel i da osi mSromel i masebis,
 agreTve TviT sabWoTa xel isufl ebis interesebi... adgil obriv momuSave
 amx. komunistebis moval eobas Seadgens, rom gansakuTrebul i yuradReba
 mi aqcion am gar emoebas da rogorc saqmi T, ise propaganda- agi taci iT daumt-
 kicon adgil obriv mcxovrebe qarTvel ebs, rom sabWoTa xel isufl eba yvel -
 gan da yovel Tvis icavs mxol od mSromel Ta interesebs... adgil obrivi
 qarTvel ebi unda darwmundes, rom nacional uri mtrobis gamwvaveba xel s
 uSl is mSromel Ta diqtaturis ganmtkicebas da sabWoTa saxel mwifos aRm-
 Senebl obiT muSaobas.¹⁴

Tuki Cems mier motanil am amonawes safuZvl ianad gaavanal izebT, masSi
 ramdenime sakiTxi gamoikveTeba: **a)** cxinval isa da misi raionis `samxreT
 oseTisadmi - gadacema TiTqos im `aucil ebl obiT- iyo ganpirobebul i, rom
 aRniSnul i operaciis ganxorciel eba qarTvel i da osi mSromel ebis da
 TviT sabWoTa xel isufl ebis interesebSi Sedioda. Cems xel T arsebul i
 saarqivo masal ebis mixedviT Tuki vimsjel ebT, osebisatvis cxinval is
 raionis dakanoneba, osi separatistebis ocnebas warmoadgenda. amisaTvis
 ibrZodnen isini damouki debel i saqarTvel os xel isufl ebis winaaRmdeg
 1918- 1920 wl ebSi da dasaxul i miznis misaRwevad aj anyebebsac awyobdnen.
 osebis zemoaRniSnul i Canafiqrisadmi gasabWoebul i saqarTvel os mmar-
 Tvel i wreebis pol itikuri kursis damTxveva imis mimaniSnebel ia, rom qar-
 rTvel Ta niRbiT Semosil i bol Sevikebis marionetul i xel isufl eba, Sida
 qarTI is qarTul i mosaxl eobisa da saqarTvel os saxel mwifos interese-
 bis dasacavad, aranair dadgenil ebas da samarTI ebriv aqts ar mi iRebda.
 miTumetes, Sesabamisi saagitacio- propagandistul i muSaoba osebis sasa-
 rgebl od samTavrobo doneze oficial urad mimdinareobda. miuxedavad
 amisa, xel isufl ebis mcdari da erovnul i Ral atiT damZimebul i gadawyve-
 til ebebis gatarebis winaaRmdeg, rogorc zemoTac mqonda ramdenj erme
 aRniSnul i, Sida qarTI is qarTvel oba TavgamodebiT ibrZoda; **b)** imave ci-
 tatis mixedviT, Sida qarTI is qarTul i sofl is mosaxl eoba nacional uri
 mtrobis gamRvivebl adaa gamocxadebul i, xol o osuri separatizmis TavaSve-
 bul obis mxil ebisa da misi moTokvis aucil ebl obis Sesaxeb, miniSnebac
 ar aris gakeTebul i. qarTvel Ta mxridan am mimarTul ebiT Seupovari wi-
 naaRmdegobis gaweva da samarTI ebrivi ufl ebebis aRdgenisaTvis brZol a,
 saxel isufl ebo ideol ogiuri propagandis mier miuRebl ad da sabWoTa
 saxel mwifos aRmSenebl obis xel SemSl el adaa aRiarebul i. qarTvel Ta
 Casawxl ad saxel mwifoebriw doneze gatarebul pol itikur kurss, `samxreT
 oseTis- mmarTvel i wreebi savsebiT misaRebad Tvl idnen da am faqts Se-
 sabamisi dokumentebiTac adasturebdnen. amis erT- erT magal iTs, saqarTve-
 l os kp (b) `samxreT oseTis- pirvel i saol qo partiul i konferenciis (1922
 wl is 6 ianvari) dadgenil eba warmoadgens. saqarTvel os mTavrobis mier
 osebisadmi mxardaWeridan gamomdinare, am dokumentSi xel isufl ebis erovnu-
 l i pol itikis mowonebasTan erTad garkveul i kmayofil ebac iyo gamoTqmul i.
 es faqti, imave konferenciis monawil eebma, saqarTvel os mTavrobisadmi ga-
 gzavnil i misasal mebel i weril iTac daadastures.¹⁵

saarqivo masal ebiT irkveva, rom avtonomiis samarTI ebrivad dasakanon-
 ebl ad, saqarTvel os xel isufl ebis daCqarebas `samxreT oseTis- revkomi
 maqsimal urad cdil obda. am mxriv, yovel gvare saxil pol itikur saSual e-

bebs mimarTavda. ZiriTad argumentad osuri eTnosis da osuri erovnul i kul turis (aseTi im etapze Tuki gaaCndaT) gadarCenis sababs iyenebdnen. am motiviT, osebis partiul i nomenkl atura Sida qarTI Si osuri saxel mwifo warmonaqmnis Sesaqmnel ad Tavs ar zogavda. es im dros xdeboda, roca Crdil o kavkasiis oseTSi am mxriv srul i wyvdiadi iyo dasadgurebul i. sabWoTa ruseTis xel isufal Ta winaSe osuri avtonomiis Seqmna- arSeqmnis sakiTxi arc ki ganixil eboda. saqarTvel oSi osebis pretenziul i formiT gaaqtiurebis erT- erT faqtors, osi separatistebisadmi ruseTis federaciis xel isuflebis maRal Cinosnebis da kavbiuros mxardaWera ganapiroboda. amis saukeTeso gamovl inebas saqarTvel os sabWoTa respubl ikis konstituciis pirvel i muxl is SeniSvna warmoadgens. mxedvel obaSi maqvs TviTgamorkvevis motivaciit, `samxreT oseTis- avtonomiuri ol qis Seqmnisa da konstituciurad dadasturebis (1922 wl is 2 marti) faqti.¹⁶ am SemTxvevaSi, bunebaSi fizikurad ararsebul i da Sesabamisi sakanonmdebl o organos mier im etapze j er kidev samarTI ebrivad gauformebel i `samxreT oseTis- avtonomiuri ol qis dakanoneba, axl ad miRebul ma qveynis konstituciam winaswar ganxorciel a. am fonze, gansakuTrebul yuradRebas `samxreT oseTis- avtonomiuri ol qis Seqmnis Sesaxeb, saqarTvel os revkomis mier momzadebel i dekretis proeqti iqcevs. igi saqarTvel os respubl ikis saxal xo komisarTa sabWom konstituciis miRebidan 18 dRis Semdeg, Tandartul i weril iT # 2845 Sinagan saqmeTa saxal xo komisiats gadaugzavna (1922 wl is 20 marti) da aRniSnul uwyebas am dokumentisaTvis sabol oo variantis saxis micema daaval a. rac Seexeba dekretis proeqtis Sinaars, igi Sinagan saqmeTa saxal xo komisiatis 1921 wl is 20 ivl isis dadgenil ebis dubl ikats warmoadgens. gansxvaveba mxol od imaSia, rom garegnul ad dekretisaTvis damaxasiaTebel formas atarebs, revkomis Tavmj domarisa da Sinagan saqmeTa saxal xo komisar is erTobl iv xel moweras iTval iswinebs.

zemoaRniSnul idan gamomdinare, dekretis proeqtis xuTive muxl - Si motanil i debul ebebi am uwyebisaTvis ZiriTadad misaRebi unda yofil iyo. miuxedavad amisa, Sinagan saqmeTa saxal xo komisiatma, `samxreT oseTis- avtonomiis sakiTxTan mimarTebaSi, Sida qarTI is qarTul i mosaxl eobis poziciis maqsimal urad gaTval iswinebidan gamomdinare, gansakuTrebul i sifrtxil e gamoiCina. warmodgenil i dekretis proeqtSi saWiro cvl il ebebis Setana da masze kompetenturi daskvnis gakeTeba administraciul erTeul Ta ganyofil ebis ganges gr.gvel esians daaval a. amis damadasturebl ad, imave gr.gvel esianis mier Sinagan saqmeTa saxal xo komisar is saxel ze 1922 wl is martis bol os gagzavnil i moxseneba gamodgeba.

es vrcel i dokumenti sakiTxis Rrma codniTaa daweril i da srul ad asaxavs im urTul es situacias, romel ic saqarTvel oSi sabWoTa xel isuflebis damyarebis dRidan, 1922 wl is martamde `samxreT oseTis- pol itikuri warmonaqmnis mizanSewonil obasTan dakavSirebiT iyo Seqmnil i. xel isuflebis mxridan_ 1921 wl is martidan dekembri CaTvl iT miRebul i dadgenil ebebis, 1886 wl is saoj axo aRweris statistikuri monacemebisa da Sida qarTI is qarTul i, ebraul i, somxuri da osuri mosaxl eobis poziciis win wamowevis fonze, moxsenebaSi damaj erebel i argumentebiTaa dasabuTebul i cxinval is raionis qarTul i sofl ebis osuri avtonomiisadmi gadacemis dauSvebl oba. rac Seexeba q.cxinval is `samxreT oseTis- avtonomiis centrad gamocxadebas, am sakiTxTan dakavSirebiT, probl emis samarTI ebrivad gadaWris amosaval safuZvl ad, gr.gvel esians mTavrobis 1921 wl is 12

da 20 dekembris dadgenil ebebi miaCnda. am fonze igi gansakuTrebul mniS-
 vnel obas Sida qarTI is qarTul i mosaxl eobis poziciis gaTval iswinebas
 aniWebda da iqve dasZenda: `rogorc mTavrobis, ise partiis gadawyveti-
 l eba iseTia, rom cxinval is raioni im dromdi vidre qarTvel i mosaxl eo-
 ba am raionisa ar moisurvebs SeuerTdes samxreT oseTis avtonomias, unda
 eqvemdebarebodes goris mazris xel isufl ebas. maSasadame,... qal . cxinva-
 l i aseT centrad xdeba mxol d mas Semdeg, Tu adgil obrivi qarTvel i
 mosaxl eoba avtonomiur oseTSi Sesvl is survil s gamoTqvams.- yuradRebas
 is faqtic iqcevs, rom gr.gvel esianma dekretis proeqtis meore muxl ic ar
 datova pasuxgaucemel i. mxedvel obaSi maqvs cxinval is `samxreT oseTis-
 revkomis droebiT rezidenciad aRiareba. `dekretis proeqtis meore mu-
 xl iT_ vkiTxul obT moxsenebaSi_ q. cxinval i aRiarebul ia samxreT- ose-
 Tis revkomis droebiT centrad imitom, rom cxinval i ar Sedis im Svidi
 sofl is sazogadoebis fargl ebSi, romel ic amave dekretiT avtonomiur
 teritoriad aris gamocxadebul i. cxadia, aseTi muxl is dekretSi SetaniT
 mTavroba fiqrobda, daxmareboda samxreT oseTis xel isufl ebas imiT, rom
 mas rezidencias droebiT cxinval Si aZl evs, vidre oseTis centrSi_ j ava-
 Si binebi moewyobodes.- aseTi ganmartebisa da zemoaRniSnul i daskvnis ga-
 keTebis Semdeg, gr.gvel esiani safuZvl ianad warmoaCens cxinval is raionis
 qarTul i mosaxl eobis uaryofiT damokidebul ebas osebis avtonomiasadmi
 q.cxinval is gadacemasTan mimarTebaSi. am SemTxvevaSi, igi 1921 wl is oqto-
 mber-noemberSi da 1922 wl is ianvridan martis CaTvl iT, qarTul i sofl eb-
 is mier xel isufl ebisadmi gagzavnil saprotesto weril ebs eyrdnoboda.

rac Seexeba uSual od dekretis proeqts, gr.gvel esianma am doku-
 mentTan mimarTebaSi dasabuTebul i formiT angariSgasawevi SeniS-
 vnebi gamoTqva. misi mtkicebit: 1)`samxreT oseTis- avtonomiuri
 ol qis dekretis proeqtis Sedgenamde da damtkicebamde, pirvel ri-
 gSi avtonomiis konstitucia unda SemuSavebul iyo da sazRvrebi
 daedginaT. `mTavari xazebi sazRvrebis aRmniSvnel i_ wers igi_
 dekretis Sedgenis dros ukve garkveul i unda iyos, winaaRmdeg Se-
 mTxvevaSi Seiqmneba qaosi da ar gvecodineba Tu sad unda Tavdebo-
 des avtonomiuri xel isufl ebis moqmedeba, an kidev uaresi, erTsa
 da imave adgil as Seiqmneba ori xel isufl eba, rogorc es amJamad
 xdeba goris mazris sxvadasxva raionebSi-; 2)goris mazris cxinva-
 l is raionis mosaxl eobis mier kategoriul i survil is miuxedavad,
 cxinval is raioni `samxreT oseTis- Semadgenl obaSi mainc rom Se-
 eyvanaT, am faqtis dekretSi dafiqsireba, gr.gvel esians dauSve-
 bl ad miaCnda. `amas dekretSi ver davwert_ aRniSnavda igi_ vinaid-
 an sxvadasxva dros am termins sul sxvadasxva Sinaarsi hqonda da
 dResac ar vicit Tu ra unda vigul isxmOT cxinval is raionis
 qveS.- aseTi sifrtxil e SemTxveviTobiT ar iyo ganpirobepul i, miTu-
 metes, im etapze `samxreT oseTis- revkomi cxinval Tan erTad mis
 garSemo arsebul qarTul Temebzec acxadebda pretenzias da os-
 uri avtonomiis sazRvrebSi moqcevas maqsimal urad cdil obda; 3)ze-
 moaRniSnul i faqtebidan gamomdinare, gr.gvel esianis azriT, `samxreT
 oseTis- avtonomiis mTavari sasazRvro xazis dadgenamde, dekretis
 gamoqveyneba droebiT unda SeCerebul iyo; 4)im SemTxvevaSi, Tuki
 pol itikuri situaciidan gamomdinare, dekretis dauyovnebl iv gamo-
 qveynebas mTavroba aucil ebl obad CaTvl ida, saqarTvel os revko-
 mis mier momzadebul proeqts gr.gvel esiani garkveul i Sesworebe-

bis gaTval iswinebiT srul iad misaRebad miicnevda. amasTan dakav-SirebiT, mis mier momzadebul daskvnaSi vkiTxul obT: `miuxedavad Cveni mosazrebisa, mTavroba Tu saWi rod CaTvl is dekretis dauyovnebl iv gamocxadebas, am SemTxvevaSi srul iad misaRebia saq. soc. sabW. respubl ikis rev-ol uciuri komitetis dekretis proeqti samxreT oseTis avtonomiuri ol qis Seqmnis Sesaxeb,... romel ic arafriT ar ewinaarmdegeba... rogorc mTavro-bis 20 dekembris, ise komunist. partiis 12 dekembris dadgenil ebas_ samxreT oseTis Sesaxeb.- am debul ebis damadasturebl ad imave moxsenebaSi orive dadgenil ebis ZiriTadi Sinaarsia motanil i da TiToeul i dokumentis samive muxl is dasabuTebul i ganmartebaa mocemul i.

am fonze, gansakuTrebul yuradRebas is faqti iqcevs, rom gr.gvel esianma, aRniSnul i dekretis proeqts garkveul i redaqtireba gaukeTa. Si nagan saqmeTa saxal xo komisariats Tu ra saxiT gadaeca dekretis proeqti_ `samxreT oseTis- avtonomiuri ol qis Seqmnis Sesaxeb da ra saredaqcio cvl il ebe-bi iqna Setanil i gr.gvel esianis mier, amis sail ustraci od aRniSnul i do-kumentis srul teqsts movitan. kvadratul i frCxil ebiT da bol diT gamoy-ofil i geografiul i saxel ebi, zogirTi termini, dekretis proeqtis meore da mesame da mexuTe muxl ebi, gr.gvel esianiseul saredaqcio cvl il ebas aRniSnavs. `1)Seiqmnas avtonomiuri samxreT oseTis ol qi Semdegi Svidi yofili sazogadoebidan: **a)rokis, wunaris [sof. nul is gamokl ebiT gr. gv.], yornisis, j avis, yemul Tis, ortevs da bel oTis; b)is sofl ebi, roml eb-Siac mosaxl eoben qarTvel ebi: vanaTi, bel oTi, xoSori, sacxeneTi, xaduri-anTkari, zemo da qvemo avnevebi [dvani, awrisxevi gr. gv.]** darCebian goris mazris cxinval is raionSi; **2)samxreT oseTis sabWoTa pirvel i yril obis mowvevamd is mTel i xel isufl eba miniWebul i aqvs samxreT oseTis revkoms, roml is centr ad droebiT aRiarebul i iqnas qal . cxinval i. [2]samxreT oseTis aRmasrul ebel i komitetis droebiT centr ad aRiarebul i iqnas qal aqi cxinval i. gr. gv.]** **3)sabWoTa yril oba airCevs aRmasrul ebel komitets, romel sac mieniWeba mazris aRmasrul ebel i komitetis ufl eba. [3]samxreT oseTis aRmasrul ebel komitets eniWeba mazris aRmasrul ebel i komitetis ufl eba. gr. gv.]**- **4)daeval os Sinagan saqmeTa saxal xo komisariats Seqmnas Sereul i komisia samxreT oseTis sazRvrebis dadgenisaTvis. 5)daeval os goris revkoms dauyovnebl iv gadasces samxreT oseTis revkoms [aRmasrul ebel komitets gr. gv]** yvel a saqmeebi, romel ic exeba samxreT oseTis teritorias da mis mcxovrebl ebs.-

gr.gvel esianis mier Setanil i Sesworebebis gaTval iswinebiT, de-kretis aRniSnul i proeqti, `samxreT oseTis- avtonomias terito-riul ad mxol od goris mazris Crdil oeTiT mdebare mTiani zonis 7 sasofl o sazogadoebis sazRvrebSi aqcevda (ix. cxrili # 6; ruka # 5, 6) da samazro ufl ebebs aZl evda. im SemTxvevaSi, Tuki Sida qarTI is osebis probl ema am proeqtis mixedviT gadawytebo-da: a)Sida qarTI is qarTul i sofl ebis mosaxl eobis moTxovna sru-l ad dakmayofil deboda; b)saqarTvel os saxel mwifos erovnul i interesebisa da sabWoTa federaciul i ruseTis sinamdvil is gaTval - iswinebis fonze, am mimarTul ebiT gadadgmul i nabiji, osebtan mi-marTebaSi ududes kompromisul saxes miRebda. es mxol od im SemTxv-evaSi iqneboda SesaZl ebel i, Tuki saqarTvel os xel isufl ebisa da kavbiuros l iderebi, kosmopol itizmze maRl a qarTvel i xal xis erovnul interesebs daayenebda. miTumetes, moxsenebis daskvniT na-wil Si, gr.gvel esiani Sinagan saqmeTa saxal xo komisars erTxel

kidev Seaxsenebda: `dasarul saWirod mimaCnia, rom goris mazris zogierTi... qarTul i mosaxl eobis mdgomareoba_ vkiTxul obT dokumentSi_ amJamad imdenad mZime da autanel ia, rom saWiroa sakiTxi... Tanaxmad maTi samarTI iani moTxovnis da erTsul ovnad gamoTqmuli i nebasurvil isa_ saCqarod gadawydes. Sinagan saqmeTa saxal xo komisariatSi yovel dRe Semodis piradi weril obiTi gancxadebani, saCivrebi, romel Tac amastanave vadgen da romel nic am mdgomareobas gvacnoben.~

gr.gvel esianis es moxseneba im dros daiwera, roca `nacional - ukl onistebad- wodebul i saqarTvel os kompartiis central uri komitetis Semadgenl oba faqtiurad damarcxebul i iyo. kavbiurosa da gansakuTrebiT s.orj onikiZis Zal isxmeviT, saqarTvel os kompartiis pirvel ma yril obam (1922 wl is 23 ianvari- 1 Teberval i) `nacional - ukl onisturi- central uri komitetis saqmianoba uaryofiTad Seafasa da misi axal i Semadgenl oba daamtka.¹⁷ es faqti, savsebiT sakmarisi aRmoCnda imisaTvis, rom `nacional - ukl onistebis- mxardamWeri Tanamdebobis pirebisadmi beWdviTi saSual ebebiT pol itikuri bral debebi waeyenebinaT. amis erT- erT dadasturebas Sinagan saqmeTa saxal xo komisariatSi yovel kvireul organoSi Jurnal `moambeSi- gamoqveynebul i saredaqcio statia_ `oseTis avtonomiuri erTeul i- warmoadgens. `Tu sadme dRemdi saTaveSi iyo_ vkiTxul obT weril Si_ uRirsi piri, romel ic Tavisi moqmedebiT xel s uwyobda nacional uri SuRI is gaRvivebas, xel isufl ebis organoebSi exl a moeqcevan iseti amxanagebi, roml ebic namdvil i damcvel ebi iqnebian muSaTa da gl exTa interesebisa da romel Ta moRvaweoba xel s Seuwyobs nacional uri SuRI - is samudamoT mospobas.~¹⁸

aRniSnul i amonaweridan kargad Cans, rom osur sakiTxTan mimarTebaSi probl emis obieqturad gadawyvetis, Sida qarTI is qarTul i mosaxl eobisa da erovnul i saxel mwifos interesebis metnaki ebad gamtarebel i Tanamdebobis pirni, `uRirsad-, `nacional uri SuRI is gamRvivebl ebad-, `muSaTa da gl exTa interesebis mowinaaRmdegeebad- iyo gamocxadebul i. dokumenturi masal iT dadasturebul ia, rom kavbiurosa da gansakuTrebiT s.orj onikiZis iniciativiT, mistvis arasasurvel i pirebi Tanamdebobidan iqna gadayenebul i. aseTive bedi ergo wil ad Sinagan saqmeTa saxal xo komisar s.b.kvirkevl iasac, romel ic 1922 wl is Tebervl is dasawyisidan samxedro- sazRvao komisrad gadaiyvanes da mis adgil ze al .gegeWkori daniSnes.

saqarTvel os xel isufl ebis maRal eSel onebSi ganxorciel ebul i cvl il ebebidan gamoTqmudare, osuri sakiTxis gadawyvetis is forma, romel sac saqarTvel os revkomis zemoaRniSnul i dekretis proeqti iTval iswinebda, saqarTvel os kompartiis axl adarCeul i central uri komitetis Semadgenl obisa da axl ad daniSnul i Sinagan saqmeTa saxal xo komisarisaTvis miuRebel i unda yofil iyo. amis aucil ebl obas `nacional - ukl onistebze- gamarjvebul i s.orj onikiZisa da misi daj gufebis interesebi moiTxovda. miTumetes, j er kidev rkp (b) kavkasiis samxareo partiul TaTbirze (1921 wl is 12 agvisto) wakiTxul moxsenebaSi, s.oj rj onikiZes kategoriul i formiT Semdegi saxis gancxadeba hqonda gakeTebul i: `ganapira mxareebis sakiTxSi Cven mTI ianad im Tval - sazrisze davdeqit, rom mieniWos am mxareebis farTo Tavisufl eba, TviT damoukidebl obamde.~¹⁹ samwuxarod, `ganapira mxareebSi- igi `samxreT oseTiac- gul isxmobda. imave s.orj onikiZem, nacional uri sakiTxis Sesaxeb saqarTvel os kompartiis pirvel yril obaze warmoTqmul sityvaSi

(1922 wl is 30 ianvari) `samxreT oseTis- farTo avtonomia Seqmni- l ad gamoacxada. `Tqven mieciT samxreT oseTs farTo avtonomia_ ambobda igi_ da Tavisufl ebismoyvare os xal xs,... Zmuri erToba aqvs muSur- gl exur saqarTvel osTan.-²⁰ es im dros xdeba, roca `samxreT oseTisaTvis- avtonomiis statusis miniWebis damadasturebel i samarTI ebrivi aqti- dekreti oficial urad jer kidev ar iyo miRebul i da misi proeqti saredaqcio damuSavebis stadiaSi imyofeboda. mxedvel obaSi maqvs `samxreT oseTis- avtonomiis sakiTxTan dakavSirebiT saqarTvel os revkomis mier Sinagan saqmeTa saxal xo komisariatسادmi 1922 wl is 20 marts gadagzavnil i zemo- aRniSnul i dekretis proeqti, romel ic administraciul erTeul Ta ganyofil ebas hqonda gansaxil vel ad gadacemul i. Cems mier motanil i faqti, kavbiurosa da piradad s.orj onikiZis mxridan osebi- saTvis farTo avtonomiis miniWebis l obirebaze metyvel ebs. isto- riografiaSi dadasturebul ia, rom Tavisi poziciisa da Sexedul ebis cval e- badoba, s.orj onikiZes ar sCveoda. am mxriv igi gansakuTrebul i sijiutiT gamoirCeoda da dasaxul i miznis misaRwevad, oponentebis fizikurad ga- nadgurebasac ar erideboda. am fonze Tuki ganvixil avT imave dekretis proeqtsa da gr.gvel esianis mier Sinagan saqmeTa saxal xo komisariatسادmi wardgenil moxsenebas, `samxreT oseTis- avtonomiis sakiTxis am dokument- ebis mixedviT gadawyveta saTaveSive iyo gamoricxul i. am faqtoris gaTval - iswineba unda dadeboda safuZvl ad gr.gvel esianis im axal moxsenebas, romel ic `samxreT oseTis- avtonomiuri ol qis Seqmnis istorias exeba. amas Tundac is faqtic gvafiqrebinebs, rom mis mier momzadebul i am axal i dokumentis mixedviT, osebis avtonomiis ufl ebebi samazro avtonomiidan_ saol qo avtonomiis statusis donemdea gafarToebul i. osuri probl emis gadawyvetisadmi midgomis Tval sazrisiT, aRniSnul i moxseneba pirobiTad or nawil ad SeiZl eba daiyos: 1)ramdenad mizanSewonil i iyo saqarTvel os teritoriis xarj ze osebis pol itikuri avtonomiis arseboba; 2)ukidures SemTxvevaSi, ra pirobebis gaTval iswinebis safuZvel ze unda momxdariyo `samxreT oseTis- avtonomiuri ol qis Seqmna. am da sxva mniSvnel ovan sa- kiTxebzea dasabuTebul i pasuxi gacemul i dasaxel ebul moxsenebaSi. rac Seexeba dokumentis pirvel nawil s_ saqarTvel os teritoriis xar- j ze osebis pol itikuri avtonomiis SeqmnasTan mimarTebaSi gr.gve- l esianis damokidebul ebas, am sakiTxTan dakavSirebiT Sesabamisi faqtebis anal izis safuZvel ze mis mier gakeTebul i daskvnebi, Sem- degnairad SeiZl eba Camoyal ibdes: 1)erTa TviTgamorkvevis pol i- tikuri dogma iseT samarTI ebriv CarCoSi unda moqceul iyo, rom nebismieri erovnebis qmedeba, TviTnebobisa da Zal adobis sferoSi ver gadazrdil iyo da saxel mwifos sasicocxl o interesebis sazi- ano ar gamxdariyo. aRniSnul i safrTxis acil ebis erT- erT garan- tad, igi qveynis moqal aqeebis erTnairi ufl ebebiT da moval eobe- biT aRWurvas miCnevda. `eri saxel mwifos warmomSobi_ werda gr.gve- l esiani_ sxva danarCen erTa sworia. gabatonebul i eri, ise rogorc gabatonebul i kl asi, erTnairad miuRebel ia_ ai Cveni erovnul i po- litika.- Sida qarTI Si osuri probl emis gadawyvetas gr.gvel esiani swored am debul ebis safuZvel ze moiTxovda.

a)miuxedavad imisa, rom gr.gvel esiani erTa da erovnebaTa Tanas- worobis Tavgamodebul i damcvel i iyo, erovnul i saxel mwifos inte- resebs erTi wuTiTac ar iviwyebda. amis magal iTs, aRniSnul mox-

senebaSi osuri sakiTxisadmi miseul i midgomis forma warmoadgens. gr.gvel esianis mtkicebiT, osebis moTxovnebisadmi damokidebul eba saqarTvel os saxel mwifos interesebisa da qveynis SigniT arsebul i real uri pirobebis gaTval iswinebiT unda momxdariyo. am SemTxvevaSi, igi Sida qarTI is mTian zonaSi osebis kompaqturad dasaxl ebis real obas gul isxmabda. statistikur monacemebze dayrdnobiT, Sida qarTI Si kompaqturad dasaxl ebul osebs (32 aTasi sul i) igi Svdi sasofl o sazogadoebiT Semofargl avda. aqedan gamomdinare, osebisatvis teritoriul avtonomias, mxol od am Svdi sasofl o sazogadoebis fargl ebSi miicnevda SesaZI ebl ad. `sxva nawil ebze, sxva raionebze l aparaki srul iad metia, imitom rom es nawil ebi metad umniSvnel od CawveTebul ia qarTvel masebSi da... erTmaneTTan geografiul sxeul ad Camoyal ibeba yovl ad SeuZI ebel ia. marTal ia, sxva mxareebTan SedarebiT duSeTis mazraSi osuri raionebi sakmaod sagrZnob teritorias da mosaxl eobas Seicaven, magram, mTis maRal i qedebiT goris mazras mowyvetil ni, geografiul ad gancal kevebul ni, avtonomiur teritoriaSi ver Sevl en ise, Tu ara xel ovnuri SekowiwebiT.~ osebis avtonomiis teritoriul i sazRvrebis Semofargvl isas, gr.gvel esiani saqarTvel os Sinagan saqmeTa saxal xo komisariatits 1921 wl is 20 ivl isis dadgenil ebiTa da saqarTvel os revkomis 1922 wl is 20 martis dekretis proeqtiT xel mZRvanel obda.

dokumenturad dadasturebul ia, rom im etapze aRniSnul 7 sasofl o- sazogadoebaSi ara Tu mrewvel obis el ementarul i Canasaxi, aramed wvrii i aReb- micemoba da erTi qal aqic ar arsebobda. aseTi pirobebi osebis teritoriul i avtonomiis Seqmnas SeuZI ebel sxdida. `yovel ive es_ werda gr.gvel esiani_ Zal ian kargad esmiT... oSta xel mZRvanel wreebs da amitomac aris, rom isini damoukidebel i erovnul i arsebobisaTvis brZol aSi araviTar saSual ebebs ar eridebian,... qarTvel i eris xarj ze teritorial ur gamdidrebas, mTI iani (osuri S.v.) teritoriis xel ovnurad Seqmnas... saqarTvel i os gareSe Crdil oet kavkasiis miwa- wyal Tan gaerTianebas eswrafvian, romel ic Tergis ol qSi mdebareobs da osebitaa dasaxl ebul i.~ osebis sabol oo mizanis wina pl anze wamoweviT da saqarTvel osaTvis garduval i mosal odnel i safrTxis Sesaxeb gansakuTrebul i yuradRebis gadatanis fonze, osebis teritoriul i avtonomiis sakiTxis gadawyvetas, gr.gvel esiani ara osebis, aramed qarTvel i eris prerogativad Tvl ida.

b)osebisadmi teritoriul i avtonomiis micema, gr.gvel esians manamde miaCnda SeuZI ebl ad, sanam mefis ruseTis mier 1858 wel s mitacebul i dval eTi da ardonis qvab- xeoba saqarTvel os ar daubrundeboda. am faqtisadmi misi gansakuTrebul i yuradReba imiT iyo ganpirobebul i, rom es xeoba Crdil oetisken erTaderTi gasaval i iyo da mtris mosal odnel i Semosevis SemTxvevaSi misi gamagreba da dacva advil ad SeiZI eboda. `dRes es gasaval i_ werda igi_ Cvens xel T araa. ardonis qvab- xeobas samxreTiT saqarTvel osken 11 gadmosasvl el i aerTebis da maSasadame avtonomiurad mowyobil samxreT oseTs SeuZI ia didi saomari samzadisi gaaCaRos am TerTmeti gadmosasvl el is wyal obiT.~ es debul eba j er kidev 1919 wel s sauwyebaTaSoriso komisiis 31 ivl isisa da 1 agvistos sxdomebze abenaSvil isa da ivj avaxiSvil is mier iqna gamoTqmuli. xol o,

saqarTvel os Crdil oeTis sazRvrebis gamagrebis aucil ebl obidan gamomdinare, igive debul eba ufro dasabuTebul i formiT i.odiSel iZem saqarTvel os mTavrobas memorandumis saxiT 1920 wl is Teberval Si warudgina. Crdil oeTidan osebis mosal odnel safrTxesTan dakavSirebiT gr.gvel esianma Tavisi poziciis gasamyarebl ad, zemoT dasaxel ebul pirovnebaTa Tval sazrisi savsebiT kanonzomierad moiSvel ia. maRal i donis special istebis mxridan mecnierul doneze gakeTebul ma daskvnebma, gr.gvel esians SesaZl ebl oba misca msjel oba Semdegi kuTxiT waremarTa: `rodesac yovel ive es viciT vkiTxul obT moxsenebaSi rodesac qarTI is centri goris mazra xel ovnurad Suaze ipoba, rodesac saqarTvel os ecl eba iseTi adgil ebi sadac oseTis teritoriis nasaxic ki ar aris, rodesac saqarTvel os respublika Crdil oeTidan mosal odnel i mtris xel Si vardeba maSin srul i moqal aqeobrivi SegnebiT da saRi politikuri svindisiT vambobT: arc erTs erovnul umciresobas da maT Soris osobas, ver miecema iseTi politikuri weswyobil eba, romelic saerto-saxel mwifo interesebs Zirs uTxris, romelic samSobl os safrTxeSi agdebs... oStaTvis avtonomiuri erTeulis gamowris sakiTxi... Cven metad seriozul saxifaTo sakiTxad mi-gvaCnia.

saqarTvel osadmi osebis mxridan garduval i safrTxis erT-erT pirobad, gr.gvel esiani Crdil o kavkasiis oseTis da `samxreT oseTis-erT politikur erTeul ad gaertianebis swrafvas asaxel ebda. am fonze, osebis teritoriul - politikuri avtonomiis Seqmnis precedentis daSvebas igi saqarTvel os respublikis `wel Si gatexvad-, `sicocxles moklebul ConCxad gadaqcevad,- `didis patarisadmi- Sewirvad da `pataras mxridan didis interesebis Cayl apvad- aRiqvamda. yovel ive zemoTqmuli idan gamomdinare, saqarTvel os usafrTxoebis interesebis dacvis mizniT, osebisaTvis gr.gvel esiani mxol od personal ur principebze agebul i kul turul i avtonomiis Seqmnas miCnevda mizanSewonil ad.

2)rac Seexeba meore sakiTxs_ uki dures SemTxvevaSi Tu ra pirobebis gaTval iswinebiT SeiZl eboda Seqmnil iyo `samxreT oseTis-avtonomiuri olqi, amis Sesaxeb imave gr.gvel esianis moxsenebaSi, saqarTvel os saxel mwifos usafrTxoebis gaTval iswinebiT, uaRresad sayuradRebo da angariSgasawevi mosazrebaa gamoTqmul i. misi mtkicebiT, osebisaTvis politikuri avtonomiis micema mxol od im SemTxvevaSi gaxdeboda SesaZl ebel i, Tuki osebis warmomadgenl obasTan winaswari SeTanxmebiT Semdegi pirobebi iqneboda daculi: a)osebis avtonomiuri teritoria mxol od Svidi sasoflo- sazogadoebiT Semoifargl eboda; b)am teritoriis fargl ebSi moxdeboda mosaxl eobis gamokitxva, Tu rogori saxis avtonomiuri TviTmmarTvel oba surda; g)Tuki Sei qmneboda saqarTvel os respublikis teritoriul i mTliano- bis garantiebi. es berketi imiTac iyo aucil ebel i, rom danis- nul ebisamebr misi amoqmedeba Sida qarTI Si mcxovrebeb osebSi sep-

aratistul tendenciebsa da yovel marjve dros Tavdasxmis Sesa-
 Zi ebl obebs maqsimal urad Seasustebda; d)saqarTvel os saxel mwifos
 usafrTxoebis pirvel i rigis garantad gr.gvel esiani saqar-
 rTvel osaTvis dval eTis dauyovnebl iv dabrunebasa da Crdil oET-
 isaken gadasavl el i erTaderTi ardonis karis gamagrebas asaxe-
 l ebda. misi mtkicebiT, Tuki es sakiTxi saqarTvel os sasargebl od
 ar gadawydeboda, osebisaTvis erovnul - teritoriul i avtonomiis
 Seqmna dRis wesrigidan unda moxsnil iyo; e)dauyovnebl iv momx-
 dariyo Sida qarTI is osuri mosaxl eobis ganiaraReba. aRekveTaT
 is militaristul i tendenciebi da osuri mosaxl eobis gamal ebu-
 l i Seiararebis procesi, romel sac `samxreT oseTis- revkomi eweo-
 da; v)`samxreT oseTis- avtonomiis statusis gansazRvris dros,
 Sesabamis dokumentebSi saqarTvel os teritoriul i mTli anobis
 garantiis uzrunvel myofel i muxl ebi unda SeetanaT. `Tu yvel a es
 pirobebi iqneba dacul i_ vkiTxul obT moxsenebaSi_ ai am SemTxve-
 vaSi qarTvel i eris suverenul i Zal aufl eba moval ea, yurad iRos
 saqarTvel os osebis erovnul i aRorZinebisaken mimarTul i swraf-
 va da... misces avtonomiuri weswyobil eba sakanonmdebl o ufl ebe-
 biT adgil obriv saqmeTa fargl ebSi.~

marTalia, am dokumentSi gamoTqmul i mosazrebebi da debul ebe-
 bi, ZiriTadad Sida qarTI is qarTul i mosaxl eobisa da saqarTve-
 l os saxel mwifos usafrTxoebis interesebs pasuxobda, magram, sa-
 qarTvel os xel isufl ebis romel ime uwyebisadmi misi wardgena
 eWvqveS dgeba Semdegi garemoebis gamo: 1)es moxseneba xel naweris
 saxiT mcire formatis rveul is furcl is orive gverdzea Sesru-
 l ebul i da masSi, mTel i rigi winadadebebi gaumarTavia; 2)qveynis
 xel isufl ebisadmi am dokumentis wardgena rom momxdariyo, dakave-
 bul i Tanamdebobidan gamomdinare, sxva moxsenebebis msgavsad gr.gve-
 l esiani xel is manqanaze gadaabeWdvinebda da xel nawerTan erTad
 nabeWdi egzempl aric darCebeda. Tuki es procedura ar ganxorci-
 el da, amis ZiriTadi mizezi SemdegSi mdgomareobs: a)gr.gvel esianis
 am moxsenebis msvl el obis micemamde, srul iad saqarTvel os aRmas-
 rul ebel i komitetis prezidiumis 1922 wl is 28 martis sxdomam, sa-
 mTavrobo komisiis mier Sedgenil i `proeqti dekretisa samxreT
 oseTis avtonomiuri ol qis darsesbis Sesaxeb- ZiriTadad moiwona
 da imave dResve daamtka. imavdroul ad, `samxreT oseTis- avtono-
 miis sazRvris sakiTxis mistvis misaRebi formiT mogvarebisTanave,
 aRniSnul i proeqtis srul ad gamoqveyneba saqarTvel os cak- is Ta-
 vmj domares f.maxarazes daaval a;²¹ b)es faqti imis damadasturebe-
 lia, rom 1922 wl is 28 martisaTvis `samxreT oseTis- avtonomiuri
 ol qis Seqmna xel isufl ebis umaRl es eSel onebSi gadawyvetil i
 iyo. aqedan gamomdinare, Sesabamisi samTavrobo uwyebis misamarTiT
 gr.gvel esianis moxsenebaSi dasabuTebul i formiT gatarebul ma Se-
 gonebiTma debul ebebma_ daniSnul eba dakarga; 3)Cems mier saqarTve-
 l os central uri aRmasrul ebel i komitetis, Sinagan saqmeTa saxa-
 l xo komisariatisa da saqarTvel os revkomis fondebis sagul da-
 gul od Seswavl is miuxedavad, dasaxel ebul i uwyebisadmi gaTval -
 iswinebul i gr.gvel esianis am moxsenebis redaqtirebul da xel is
 manqanaze gadabeWdil egzempl ars ver mivakvl ie. yovel ive zemoaRniS-
 nul i safuZvel s maZl evs vifiqro, rom respubl ikaSi samTavrobo

politikuri situaciis cval ebadobis gamo da umaRI es sakanomdebl o uwyebesi `samxreT oseTisaTvis- avtonomiis micemis praqtikul ad gadawyvetidan gamomdinare, es moxseneba gr.gvel esians daniSnul ebisamebr ar gaugzavnia. miuxedavad amisa, mas gansakuTrebuli Rirebul eba eniWeba im Tval sazrisiT, rom igi safuzvli anad warmoaCens qarTuli politikuri azris erT- erTi brwyinval e warmomadgenelis gr.gvel esianis naazrevisa da pozicias osur problemaTan mimarTebaSi.

saarqivo masal ebiT dadasturebul ia, rom kavbiuro, `samxreT oseTis- avtonomiis sakiTxis gadawyvetas forsirebuli tempiT cdil obda. miuxedavad amisa, komisiis sabol oo daskvnis dadebamde praqtikul i nabijis gadadgmisagan im etapze Tavsi kavebda. amis erT- erT magaliTs saqarTvelos kompartiis centraluri komitetis prezidiumis 1922 wl is 30 martis sxdomaze miRebuli dadgenil eba warmoadgens. am dokumentSi garkveviTaa miTitebuli, rom komisiis mier `samxreT oseTis- avtonomiis sazRvris dadgenas, centraluri aRmasrul ebeli komiteti Sesabamisi dekretiT dadasturebda da mis Sesrul ebaze pasuxismgebl oba goris mazris yvel a uwyebas daekisreboda.²²

ramdenadac arsebuli problemi mogvareba da misi samarTli ebrivad dakanoneba komisiis daskvnis ukavSi rdeboda, aseTi pozicia `samxreT oseTis- xel mZRvanel obisaTvis miuRebeli aRmoCnda. osebis yovel i qmedeba iseT STabeWdil ebas tovebda, rom igi qarTveli xal xis mier TiTqos mitacebuli teritoriis ukan dasabrunebl ad da samarTli anobis aRsadgenadibrZoda. osi separatistebisaTvis aseTi xel Semwyobi situaciis SeqmnaSi lomis wili saqarTvelos maSindel xel isufl ebas da kavbiuros edo. arcert matgans, `samxreT oseTis- revkomis wevrebis `datuqsvi- kursi ar gautarebia. arc is ucdia, Sida qarTli is mTiani zolis teritoriis kuTvnil ebis, an saqarTvelosi osebis Camosaxlebis sakiTxTan mimarTebaSi qarTveli mecnierebi moewvia da problemi garSemo diskusia gaemarta. ofial urad Tu ara, kul uarebSi eTqva, rom qarTuli miwebTan mimarTebaSi, osebis pretenziuli miswrafebebi yovel gvari saxis samarTli ebriv normebs scildeboda. im SemTxvevaSi, Tuki qarTveli xal xiraimedatmobaze wavidoda, imiTackmayofilni yofil iyvnen. imavdroul ad garkveuli formiT mienisnebina, rom ruseTis mier mitacebuli Cdil o kavkasiis oseTis bedze da Taviant istoriul samSobl osi saxel mwi foebriobis aRdgenaze ezrunat. kosmopolitizmis senit daavadmyofebul ma gasabwoebuli saqarTvelos maSindel ma saxel isufl ebo wreebma, erovnul i sazomIT pragmatuli nabijiver gadadga. aseTi politikuri kursidan gamomdinare, osi separatistebi momgebian poziciaSi aRmoCndnen. mxedvel obaSi maqvs, Sida qarTli is mTianizonis `samxreT oseTad- dasakanonebl ad maTi Seupovari brZola. amis erT- erT magaliTs `samxreT oseTis- centraluri aRmasrul ebeli komitetisa da saol qo partiuli komitetis 1922 wl is 19 aprilis gaertianebuli sxdomis dadgenil eba warmoadgens. es dokumenti saqarTvelos xel isufl ebas garkveviT mianisnebda: **1)** `samxreT oseTis- sazRvrispira (aseTi sazRvari jerki dev dadgenili ar iyo) mazrebis raionebi, romlebic TiTqos `samxreT oseTis- Semadgenil obaSi unda Sesul iyo_ sabWota da partiuli muSaoba TiTqmis ar arsebobda; **2)** sanam es raionebi gaurkvevel mdgomareobaSi imyofeboda da `samxreT oseTis- saswrafod iuridiul ad ar daeqvemdebareboda, manam provokatori el ementebi am faqts sabWota xel isufl ebis diskreditaciisaTvis gamoiyenebda; **3)** sazRvris sakiTxSi Seqmnil i gaur-

kvevel i mdgomareoba, ol qis partiul da aRmasrul ebel komitetebS Seuwnarebl ad miaCnda; 4) ol qis partiul i da central uri aRmasrul ebel i komitetebS gaerTianebul i sxdoma, saqarTvel os central ur aRmasrul ebel komitets, `samxreT oseTis- avtonomiuri ol qis iuridiul ad gaformebis damadasturebel i dekl araciis dauyovnebl iv gamoqveynebas sTxovda.²³

ragind paradoqsadac ar unda moCandes, am dadgenil ebidan meore dRes, saqarTvel os sSR central urma komitetma da saxal xo komisarTa sabWom 1922 wl is 20 april s `samxreT oseTis- avtonomiuri ol qis moyobis Sesaxeb dekreti # 2 miRo. es dokumenti ori nawil isagan Sedgeba: 1) `samxreT oseTis- avtonomiuri ol qis teritoriul i sazRvrebS; 2) `samxreT oseTis- avtonomiuri ol qis mmarTvel obis sistema da ufl ebebi.

1) rac Seexeba dekretis pirvel nawil s_ `samxreT oseTis- avtonomiuri ol qis sazRvars, igi 1921 wel s miRebul i ori dokumentis dublikats warmoadgens. mxedvel obaSi maqvs: a) `samxreT oseTis- revkomis, partkomisa da pasuxismgebel i partiul i muSakebis 1921 wl is 6- 8 seqtembris gaerTianebul sxdomaze miRebul i `samxreT oseTis- sabWoTa social isturi respublikis sazRvris proeqti; (ix. cxril i # 7) b) k.kakabaZis komisiis mier 1921 wl is 8 dekembrs miRebul i dadgenil eba (oqmi # 4). aRniSnul i dokumentebisagan gansxvavebiT, dekretSi umniSnel o Sesworeba mxol od aRmosavl eTis sazRvris bol o nawil Si aris Setanil i. dekreti # 2- iT, `samxreT oseTis- avtonomiuri ol qis zemoaRniSnul sazRvrebSi damtkiceba, osi separatistebis udao gamarjvebas warmoadgenda. aseTi saxis dokumentis miRebiT, saqarTvel os xel isufl ebam, Sida qarTI is qarTul i mosaxl eobis mraVal gZis kategoriul i moTxovnebis Segnebul i ignorireba gaakeTa. sakiTxi, osebisgan Seviwroebul i da gatanjul i qarTul i mosaxl eobis interesebis erTxel kidev fexqveS gaTel viT, saqarTvel os teritoriis mitacebiT dainteresebul i osi separatistebis sasargebl od gadawyvita. yuradsaRebia is faqtic, rom samTavrobo doneze miRebul i dadgenil ebebidan gamomdinare, dekretis gamoqveyneba mxol od mas Semdeg unda momxdariyo, roca `samxreT oseTis- avtonomiuri ol qis sazRvari sabol ood dazustdeboda da mosazRvre mazrebTan sadao sakiTxebi gadawyvetil ad CaiTvl eboda. samwuxarod, xel isufl ebis mxridan es principi darRveul i iqna da arsebul i probl emis mogvarebis garegnul formas, etapobrivi saxe mieca. am faqtis siswores, dekretis merve muxlic adasturebs. dokumentis mixedviT, `samxreT oseTis- avtonomiuri ol qis mosazRvre an ol qSi moqceul i zogierTi dasaxlebis kuTvnil ebis gadawyveta, `samxreT oseTis- central uri aRmasrul ebel i komitetis, mosazRvre dainteresebul i mazrebis aRmasrul ebel i komitetebisa da saqarTvel os soc. sabW. respublikis xel isufl ebis warmoadgenl ebisagan Seqmnil Sereul komisiis qonda daval ebul i, romel sac es samuSao 1922 wl is 1 maisisaTvis unda daemTavrebina. aRniSnul i faqti imaze metyvel ebs, rom saqarTvel os xel isufl eba, komisiis sabol oo daskvnas ar dael oda, qveynis sasicoxlo interesebi ukana pl anze gadaitana da osi separatistebis mier 19 april s miRebul i Txovna _ `samxreT oseTis- avtonomiuri ol qis iuridiul ad gaformebis daCqarebis Sesaxeb, meore dResve (20 april i) Seasrul a, riTac zemoaRniSnul i komisia momxdari faqtis winaSe daayena. aseTi operatiul oba, Sida qarTI is qarTul i mosaxl eobis moTxovnebtan mimarTebaSi mTavrobis mxridan arcerTi saxis saarqivo dokumentiT ar dasturdeba.

dekreti # 2 `samxreT oseTis- revkomis mtacebl ur madaze da misi moT-Txovnis dauyovnebl iv Sesrul ebaze iyo gaTvl il i. igi saxel dixel od momzadda da ol qis administraciul i teritoriis sasazRvro zol is gatarebis dros, mezobel i mazrebis interesebi el ementarul adac ar iqna gaTval iswinebul i. anal ogiur mdgomareobaSi aRmoCnda `samxreT oseTis-Semadgenl obaSi moqceul i qarTul i sofl ebis mosaxl eobac. amis udao dadasturebas, dokumentis damtkicebidan mexuTe dRes, dekretSi Setanil i cvl il ebebi warmoadgens. mxedvel obaSi maqvs, saqarTvel os central uri aRmasrul ebel i komitetis mier 1922 wl is 25 april s miRebul i dadgenil eba. am 6 punqtiani dokumentis meore muxl is mixedvit, `samxreT oseTis-avtonomiis Semadgenl obaSi Semaval qarTul sofl ebSi administracia da milicia qarTul i rCeboda, xol o mesame muxl i, kobis raions duSeTis mazris administraciul mmarTvel obas uqvemdebarebda.²⁴ dekretSi Setanil i aseTi cvl il ebebis miuxedavad, mTel i pasuxismgebl obiT SemiZl ia ganvacxado, rom dekreti # 2- iT gaTval iswinebul sazRvrebSi `samxreT oseTis- avtonomiis SeqmniTa da dakanonebiT, gasabWoebul i saqarTvel os xel isufl ebam, qarTvel ers gul i amoglij a, l arnakezedebebul i os separatistebis miarTva da maTi Sexedul ebisamebr samomavl od saj ij gnad moamzada.

saqarTvel os sxeul ze Catarebul i am saeqsperimento qirurgiul i operaciis kanonzomierebasTan dakavSirebiT, vax iToni Svil i savsebiT samarTl i anad wers: `samxreT oseTis- avtonomiuri ol qis SeqmniT, `rusma da qarTvel ma bol Sevikebma... knoring- paskevi Ci sgan memkvi dreobiT miRebul i `Осетия-/`Южная Осетия- s gamoyenebis isedac vrcel i areal i orj r gaafarToves upiratesad an mTl i anad qarTvel ebiT dasaxl ebul i didi da patara l iaxvis, qsnis, l exuras, mej udasa da froneebis xeobebis mTiswina da baris raionebis xarj ze da Suagul saqarTvel oSi ugvanod gamoCorknil avtonomiur erTeul s saol qo centradsxinval i ufeSqaSes.²⁵ saarqivo masal ebiT dadasturebul ia, rom saqarTvel os gasabWoebis pirvel i Tveebidan (martidan), Crdil oetidan Sida qarTl Si osianobis ganaxl ebis mZl avri procesi, `samxreT oseTis- revkomma, osebis cxinval Si mizanimarTul ad Casaxl ebisTvis gamoiyena. miuxedavad amisa, `samxreT oseTis- avtonomiuri ol qis Seqmnis momentisaTvis (1922 wl is april i), cxinval Si osebis raodenoba mosaxl eobis umciresobas warmoadgenda. im periodis statistikuri monacemebiT dadgenil ia, rom 1922 wl isaTvis cxinval Si 613 osi cxovrobd, mosaxl eobis 13 %; ebrael ebi_ 1651, mosaxl eobis 36, 3%; qarTvel ebi_ 1436, mosaxl eobis 31,7 %; somxebi_ 765, mosaxl eobis 16,8 %.²⁶ es faqti, erTxel ki dev migvani Snebs `samxreT oseTis- avtonomiuri ol qis administraciul centradsxinval is gamocxadebis ukanonobaze.

gasabWoebul i saqarTvel os xel isufl ebis mier, msopl io historiaSi osebis sasargebl od Catarebul i uprecedento eqsperimenti, osuri separati-zmisadmi gansakuTrebul mxardaWeraze miuTitebs. aqedan gamomdinare, osebis mxridan garduval safrTxesa da mosal odnel tragedias, Sida qarTl is qarTul i mosaxl eoba SesaniSnavad acnobierebda. amitom iyo, rom xel isufl ebis zemoarNiSnul ugunur gadawyvetil ebas sofl is krebebeze miRebul i dadgenil ebebiT izev aprotestebda. amis dadasturebas 1922 wl is ivl isidan- oqtombris CaTvl iT, Sinagan saqmeTa saxal xo komisariatSi ggzavnil i qarTvel Ta weril ebi da sofl is krebebeze miRebul i dadgenil ebebi warmoadgens. am da sxva dokumentur masal as eyrdnoboda imave komisariatTan Seqmnil i special uri komisia (gr.gvel esiani, d.kariWaSvil i,

s.gorgaZe), romel mac mTavrobis mier 1921 wel s miRebul i dadgenil ebebis gamoyenebis safuZvel ze, Sinagan saqmeTa saxal xo komisariats vrcel i da dasabuTebul i moxseneba warudgina. am dokumentSi garkveviT iyo miTiTebul i: 1)dekreti # 2- idan gamomdinare, `samxreT oseTis- avtonomia vrcel deboda iseT raionebsa da Temebze, roml ebic mxol od qarTvel ebT iyo dasaxl ebul i; 2)`samxreT oseTis- Semadgenl obaSi kanondarRveviT iqna Seyvanil i: a)dasavl eTiT_ raWisa da Sorapnis mazrebis, b)aRmosavl eTiT_ duSeTis mazris didi nawil i, g)samxreTiT_ im sofl ebis mTel i wyeba, roml ebic mTavrobisa da komunisturi partiis 1921 wl is 12 da 20 dekembris dadgenil ebebis mesame muxl is Tanaxmad, pl ebiscitis Catarebas da mxol od mis Sedegebze dayrdnobiT iTval iswinebda Sesabamisi gadawyvetil ebis miRebas. saqarTvel os xel isufl ebis ukanono qmedebis mxil ebisa da am faqtis win wamowevis mizniT, komisiis moxsenebaSi, im qarTul i rva sasofl o- sazogadoebebis mcxovrebtA demografiul i monacemebi iyo motanil i, roml ebic maTi survil is sawinaaRmdegod dekreti # 2- iT `samxreT oseTis- avtonomiis Semadgenl obaSi iqna Seyvanil i. am faqtobrivi masal iT, komisiis wevrebi arsebul xel isufl ebas erTxel kidev Seaxsenebda, rom umravl esobis (qarTvel ebis) interesebis umciresobisadmi (osebisadmi) Sewirva (ix. cxril i # 8; ruka # 5, 6, 7) danaSaul ebriv qmedebas warmoadgenda. aseTi Tval sazrisis gatarabis fonze, imave komisiis daskvnaSi vkiTxul obT: `special ur komisas Sinagan saqmeTa saxal xo komisariatTan arsebul s aucil ebel saWiroebad miaCnia gadasinj ul i iqnas is dekreti (# 2), roml iTac oseTis avtonomiuri ol qis fargl ebSi Setanil ia mraval i sofel i qarTul i mosaxl eobiT (goris da duSeTis mazra) an kidev mosazRvre mazrebis iseTi nawil ebi, Sereul i Tu wmindas osuri mosaxl eobiT, romel nic geografiul i, ekonomiuri da sxva pirobebis gamo, mraval nair uxerxul obas, dabrkol ebas, adgil obrivi mosaxl eobis interesTa daCagvras iwveven... is rac mTavar yuradRebas unda iqcevdes, qarTl is Suagul is qarTul i sofl ebi teritoriul ad kvl av samxreT oseTis fargl ebSi rCeba da maSasadame, am ukanasknel is xel isufl ebis qveS.

yovel ive zemoT moxsenebul i safuZvel s gvaZl evs vTqvaT, rom dasaxel ebul i dekreti (# 2), roml iTac samxreT oseTis avtonomiuri ol qis sazRvrebi Camoyal ibda, saWiroebs radikal ur gadasinj vas im mizniT, raTa erTxel da samudamod os- qarTvel Ta urTierToba normal ur pirobebSi Cadges da... teritoriul niadagze dava Seicval os srul is sol idarobiT da mSvidobiani... TanamSroml obiT.-

Cems mier motanil i es vrcel i amonaweri aSkarad migvaniSnebs, rom qarTvel i eris interesebidan gamomdinare, komisiam dekreti # 2 kanondarRveviT Seqmnil dokumentad da saqarTvel os teritoriul i mTl ianobis rRvevis daCqarebis xel Semwyob samarTl ebriv aqtad gamoacxada. Cadenil i danaSaul ebrivi Secdomis gamosworebis mizniT, imave komisiam, xel isufl ebas dekretis dauyovnebl iv radikal uri gadasinj visken mouwoda. isic gasaTval iswinebel ia, rom komisiis aRniSnul i daskvna, Sinagan saqmeTa saxal xo komisaris mier iqna mowonebul i. amis safuZvel s imave dokumentze misi xel moweriT darTul i weril i iZl - eva, romel ic komisiis daskvnasTan erTad 1922 wl is 16 dekembers saqarTvel os central uri aRmasrul ebel i komitetis prezidioms gadaegzavna. Sina-

gan saqmeTa saxal xo komisari dekreti # 2- is gadasinj vas xel isufli ebis mxridan principul ad moitXovda. `vadgen ra amasTanave Sinagan saqmeTa saxal xo komisiariatan arsebul i special uri komisiis moxsenebas, faqti- uri masal iT dasabuTebul s,...vkiTxul obT dokumentSi _vSuamdgoml ob srul iad saqarTvel os sabWota central uri aRmasrul ebel i komitetis prezidiumis winaSe, raTa miRebul i iqnas jerjerobiT mxol od principi- al uri gadawyvetil eba_ gadasinj ul i iqnas dekreti # 2. rac Seexeba... sakiTxis detal ur ganxil vas, Tu ra cvl il ebani iqnas Setanil i am dekretSi, es miendos Sinagan saqmeTa saxal xo komisiariats, romel sac daeval- l os sakiTxis ganxil va special ur komisiaSi samxreT oseTis warmomadgen- l is monawil eobiT.-²⁷

Tu ramdenad iqna gaTval iswinebul i raWis, gorisa da duSetis mazrebis mosaxl eobis kanonier moTxovnebe dafuznebul i zemoaRniSnul i komisiis daskvna da Sinagan saqmeTa saxal xo komisiariatis Txovna_ `samxreT ose- Tis- teritoriul sazRvrebTan dakavSirebiT cvl il ebebis Setanis aucil- l ebl obis Sesaxeb, amis garkveva mxol od saqarTvel os xel isufli ebis mier miRebul i gadawyvetil ebis win wamoweviT gaxdeba SesaZl ebel i. dasaxel e- bul i mazrebis qarTul i mosaxl eobis mxridan osebTan mimarTebaSi sasazRvro pretenziebis ukeT warmocenis mizniT, pirvel rigSi yuradRebas raWis samazro komitetis pl enumis 1923 wl is 19 ivnisis sxdomis saomqo Canawerze SevaCereb. aRniSnul i dokumentidan irkveva, rom raWis samazro komitetis iniciativiT, sazRvris sakiTxebTan dakavSirebiT Seqmnil i saga- ngebo komisiis mier special uri daskvna da Sesabamisi ruka (ix. ruka # 8) momzadda. am masal ebeze dayrdnobiT, al gocirizis mier imave pl enumis sxdomaze gakeTebul moxsenebaSi, raWis adgil obrivi mosaxl eobis inter- esebis gaTval iswinebidan gamomdinare, saxnav- saTesi farTobebis, saTibeb- is, saZovrebi sa da xe- tyis masivebis kuTvnil ebis sakiTxi wina pl anze iqna wamoweu i. mis moxsenebaSi motanil i faqtobrivi masal is mixedvit, gl ol isa da wedisis sofl ebis mcxovreba saxnavi da saZovari teritoriebi, dekreti # 2- is mixedvit, `samxreT oseTis- sazRvrebSi ukanonod iyo moqceul i (ix. ruka # 8). am faqts, osebi qarTvel Ta sawinaaRmdogod SesaniSnavad iyenebda da aRniSnul i teritoriis sargebl obisaTvis mosaxl eobas saga- ngebo ij aras axdevinebda. am sakiTxTan dakavSirebiT, imave pl enumis mier miRebul dadgenil ebaSi vkiTxul obT: `gamoqveynebul i iqnas komisiis mier wardgenil i oqmi, romel ic gaegzavnos cekas da eTxovos, rom am oqmSi naCvenebi saZovari adgil ebi, romel ic Sedis samxreT oseTis sazRvrebSi da namdvil ad am adgil ebiT sargebl obs 600 koml i raWis mcxovrebl ebi- sa... mdgomareoba raWis mcxovrebl ebsa da osebs Soris rom ar gamwvavdes da... SuRI i ar Camovardes,... aucil ebel saWiroebas warmoadgens oqmSi na- Cvenebi adgil ebis raWis mazrisadmi mikuTvneba.- es dokumenti raWis sama- zro partiul i komitetis mdivanma, meore dResve raWis samazro aRmaskomis Tavmj domares Sesabamisi rezol uciit gadaugzavna; `gegzavnebaT cnobad da saxel mZRvanel od.-

Cems xel T arsebul i saarqivo masal ebiT irkveva, rom raWis mazris aRma- srul ebel i komitetis Tavmj domaris moadgil is mier, aRniSnul i oqmi, imave dResve Sinagan saqmeTa saxal xo komisiariats Sesabamisi weril isa da rukis darTvit gadaegzavna. masSi xazgasmit iyo mititebul i: 1)dekreti # 2- is mixedvit `samxreT oseTis- avtonomiuri ol qis sazRvrebSi moqceul i raW- is mazris kuTvnil i 10700 desetina tyisa da sxva adgil ebis Sesaxeb, roml- iTac raWis mcxovreba 85 % sargebl obda; 2) samxreT oseTis- avtonomi-

uri ol qis sazRvris dakanonebamde, aRniSnul i teritoriis saTibebis, saZovrebis da xe- tyis sargebl obis nebarTvas, raWis mosaxl eoba adgil ze iRebda da dawesebul gadasaxads raWis mazris Sesabamis adgil obriv saTemo uwyebebSi ixdid. avtonomiuri ol qis Seqmnis dRidan am saqmis gankargvis ufl ebas `samxreT oseTis- xel isufl eba daepatrona, rac mosaxl eobis didi ukmayofil ebis mizezi gaxda; 3)saZovrebze, saTibebze da xe- tyeze sabajo gadasaxadebis akrefis dros, nebsmi eri gaugebrobis acil ebis mizniT, raWis samazro komiteti xel isufl ebas Semdegi saxis rekomendacias sTava- zobda: `raWis samazro aRmasrul ebel i komiteti_ vkiTxul obT weril Si_ aucil ebel saWiroebad sTvl is Secvl il i iqnes sazRvrebi samxreT ose- Tis avtonomiur ol qsa da raWis mazras Soris, Tanaxmad... TandarTul i oqmisa da rukis [mixedvit S.v.]... ristvisac gTxovT saTanado zomebi mi- iRoT.- rac Seexeba oqms, masSi raWis sofl ebis (iris, wedisis, qvedis, Raris, gl ol is) kuTvnil i saxnav- saTesi, saZovarebi, saTibebi da tyis masivebis sazRvari mdinareebis, mTebisa da simaRI eebis CvenebiT iyo mocemul i. amis sail ustraci od imave dokumentidan dasaxel ebul i sofl ebis sazRvris gamaval i xazis Sesaxeb Sesabamis monacemebs movitan.

sofel i iri. am sofl is mcxovrebl ebis kuTvnil i teritoriis sazRvri iwyeboda mdinare jej oris Senakadis `daRvarul as- saTavidan da mTa- vrdeboda `daRvarul as- jej orTan SesarTavSi. daRvarul as mxol od ma- rj vena mxares iyo Casavl is raionis osebis adgil ebi. marcxniT ki sofel iris mcxovrebl ebis.

sofel i wedisi. sazRvari iwyeboda mdinare jej orisa da daRvarul as SesarTavidan. Crdil TeTisken sazRvari gadaWrida `qveda mTas-, samxreT_ aRmosavl eTisken `ukivl eTis- kal Tebs da mTa `kl de- boZal s-.

sofel i qvedi. sazRvris xazi iwyeboda `kl de boZal is- mTis wverze, raRybidan miemarTeboda Crdil o- aRmosavl eTis mTis wverebze, gadaWrida simaRI es_ 3036, gadadioda mTa l esaris wverze da grZel deboda mTis zurgebze mdinare qvedrul as saTavis_ boJiskaramde, gadaWrida mTa `gorma- Ral as- simaRI es_ 1498, midioda mTis qedebze Crdil o oseTis sazRvramde, grZel deboda averSenji_ birzonis uRel texil amde. aqedan sazRvari brun- deboda samxreT- dasavl eTis mimarTul ebiT da miyveboda mdinare kozin- donos (igive Rarul as) manamde, sadac Senakadi `ursi doni - uerTdeba mdinare kozindonos (Rarul as).

sofl ebi Rari da gl ol i. sazRvari iwyeboda im adgil as, sadac Rel e ursidoni erTvoda mdinare kozil ins (igive Rarul as). Semdeg miemarTebo- da Crdil o- aRmosavl eTisken, miyveboda ursidons ukanasknel mosaxvevam- de. grZel deboda Crdil o- aRmosavl eTis mTis kal Tebze, gadaWrida sima- RI es_ 1440. miyveboda mTis mwverval ebs, gadaWrida simaRI e_ 392, grZel de- boda Crdil o- aRmosavl eTis mimarTul ebiT, gadaWrida mdinare CanCaxis im adgil s, sadac am mdinanes erTvis Senakadi `sami- j auri.- miyveboda mdinare CanCaxis Senakads `bobris ruis- mTasTan SesarTavamde. am Senakads miyve- boda `bobris ruis- saTavemde_ wiTel i mTis wveramde. im adgil as sadac horizontal uri simaRI e 1280 uerTdeba 61° 25' sferos, sazRvari miyveboda qedebs da miemarTeboda Crdil o eTit aRmosavl eTis qedebze, gadaWrida simaRI es_ 1607 da grZel deboda mTis qedebze mdinare CanCaxisa da misi Senakadis saTavemde. miyveboda imave mimarTul ebiT yinul ovan mTebis da midioda mTa (kl de) `adai_ zoxamde.- imave oqmit dadasturebul ia, rom aRniSnul i sofl ebis sargebl obaSi arsebul i adgil ebi osebis kuTvnil e- bas arasodes ar warmoadgenda. isini mxol od dekreti # 2- is gamocemis

Semdeg gaaqtiurdnen, ris Sedegadac `wiTel mTaze- da samaraneze damuSavebul i saToxari yanebi raWvel ebs Zal iT waarTves. aRniSnul idan gamomdinare, dasaxel ebul i sofl ebis mosaxl eoba Taviani kuTvnil i teritoriebis dabrunebas, xel isufl ebisgan kategoriul ad moITxovda. es dokumenti raWis samazro komitetis Tavmj domaris xel moweriTa da beWdiT oyo dadasturebul i. isic sayuradReboa, rom imave oqms, zemoaRniSnul i sofl ebis sazRvrebis mixedviT, raWis samazro komitetis dakveTIT Sedgenil i ruka erTvoda. pirobiTi niSnebis gamoyenebiT masze garkveviTaa gamoyofil i: 1)raWis mazris teritoriis is nawil i, romelic adgil obrivi mkvidri mcxovrebl ebis_ qarTvel ebis kuTvnil ebas warmoadgenda da 1922 wl is 20 april is dekreti # 2- iT `samxreT oseTis- avtonomiur ol qs gadasces (ix. ruka # 8, pir. niSani # 1); 2)raWis mazris Casavl is sazogadoeba, sadac osuri dasaxl ebebi iyo (ix ruka # 8, pir. niS. # 2); 3)raWis mazris teritoriis is nawil i, sadac kavkasiis eTnografiul i rukis mixedviT osebi cxovrobdnen (ix. ruka # 8, pir. niS. # 3); 4)raWis mazris danarCeni nawil i (ix. ruka # 8. pir. niS. # 4). rac Seexeba uSual od sasazRvro niSnebs, aRniSnul rukaze igi Semdegnairadaa warmodgenil i (zemo-dan qvemoT): a)mwvane sasazRvro niSani_ saqarTvel os sabWoTa social istur respublikasa da mTis sabWoTa respublikas Soris arsebul i sazRvari; b)I urji sasazRvro niSani_ mazrebis sazRvari; g)YviTel i sasazRvro niSani_ raWis mazrasa da `samxreT oseTis-avtonomiur ol qs Soris dekreti # 2-iT gavlebul i sazRvari; d)wiTel i sasazRvro niSani_ raWis mazris sofl ebis: iris, wedisis, qvedis, Raris, gomis da gl ol is mcxovrebtA Cvenebis safuZvel ze, raWis aRmasrul ebel komitetTan Seqmnil i komisiis mier gavlebul i sazRvari. (ix. ruka # 8. pirobiTi niSani # 1). dokumenturi masal iT dadasturebul ia, rom raWis mosaxl eoba aRniSnul teritorias saZovrebad, saxnav- saTesad da xetyis dasamuSavebl ad iyenebda. swored mis dabrunebas iTxovda zemoT dasaxel ebul i sofl ebis raWis qarTul i mosaxl eoba. rac Seexeba aRniSnul rukas, igi im ukanonobis Tval saCinoebis SesaniSnav suraTs iZi eva, romelic raWis mazris qarTul mosaxl eobastan mimarTebaSi dekreti # 2- is gamocemiT Caidina saqarTvel os maSindel ma xel isufl ebam.

raWis samazro aRmasrul ebel i komitetis mier momzadebul i dokumenti imdenad dasabuTebul i formiT iyo Sestrul ebul i, rom saqarTvel os sabWoTa social isturi respublikis saxal xo komisarTa sabWom reagireba masinve gaakeTa. mxedvel obaSi maqvs Sel iavas mier Sinagan saqmeTa saxal xo komisarisdmi gagzavnil i weril i (1923 w. 23 agvisto), sadac garkveviT iyo miTitebul i: `raWisa da samxreT oseTis sazRvrebze mdebare saZovari adgil ebisa da satyeo mamul ebis sakiTxis ganxil vis Sesaxeb... gacnobebT, rom saqarTvel os saxal xo komisarTa sabWo Tanaxmaa... aRniSnul i sakiTxis ganxil va gadmotanil i iqnas qal aq Tbil isSi, ris gamoc winadadeba geZi evaT moaxdinoT saTanado gankargul eba.- aseTi nebarTvis miRebiStanave, Sinagan saqmeTa saxal xo komisariatma, raWis samazro aRmaskomisadmi gagzavnil i SetyobinebaSi (1923 wl is 29 agvisto) xazgasmiT miuTiTa, rom raWis mosaxl eobis prezenziebis ganxil va Tbil isSi_ saqarTvel os kompartiis cekas uaxl oes pl enumze an central uri aRmasrul ebel i komitetis sesiaze_ raWisa da `samxreT oseTis- warmomadgenl ebis TandaswrebiT moxdeboda. anal ogiuri saxis Setyobineba `samxreT oseTis- avtonomiuri ol qis aRma-

srul ebel i komitetis Tavmj domaresac gaegzavna.

saarqivo msal ebidan irkveva, rom aseTive situacia iyo duSeTis mazris sofl ebTan mimarTebaSiac. amis dadasturebas gremisxevis Temis sabWos 1924 wl is 27 ivnisis sxdomis dadgenil eba warmoadgens. am dokumentis Semdgenl ebi kategoriul i formiT moiTxovdnen, rom gremisxvi da masSi Semaval i sofl ebi (kodisTavi, petrianTkari, Taborikari, miSvel ianTkari, tigrianTkari, murRul iani) duSeTis mazris Semadgenl obaSi darCenil iyo. sofl ebis mosaxl eobisa da adgil obrivi sabWos principul ma poziciam, duSeTis samazro aRmasrul ebel komitets sofl ebis mosaxl eobis mxri-dan gamoTqmul i pretenziisadmi oficial urad mxardaWeris SesaZl ebl oba misca. amasTan dakavSirebiT, duSeTis mazris aRmasrul ebel i komitetis mier Sinagan saqmeTa saxal xo komisariatسادmi 1924 wl is 13 agvistos gagzavnil weril Si vkiTxul obT: `gidgenT... mazraRmaskomis prezidiumis sxdomis # 20- oqmidan amonawers gremisxevis sabWos krebis amonawerTan erTad... da ganmeorebiT gTxovT... uSuamdgoml oT mas saxal xo komisarTa sabWos winaSe, raTa gremisxevis sofl ebi, roml ebic mohyvnen samxreT oseTis avtonomiuri ol qis fargl ebSi, gadmovides duSeTis mazraze, vinaldan TviT aRniSnul i sofl is mcxovrebn i moiTxoven duSeTze datovebas.~ es weril i, Sesabamisi Suamdgoml obiT, Sinagan saqmeTa saxal xo komisariatma srul iad saqarTvel os central ur aRmasrul ebel komitets 1924 wl is 16 ivl iss gadaugzavna TxovniT_ wamoWril i sakiTxi srul iad saqarTvel os saxal xo komisarTa sabWos aRmasrul ebel komitets ganexil a da gadawyvetil ebac mieRo. rogorc saarqivo masal ebidan irkveva, central uri aRmasrul ebel i komitetis prezidiumis 1924 wl is 17 ivl isis sxdomam, sadao sazRvris garkveva central uri aRmasrul ebel i komitetis samdivnos daavali a. `gamoarkvios es saqme amx. j atievTan da Semdegi saqmis viTarebis Sesaxeb_ vkiTxul obT dokumentSi_ moaxsenos prezidiumis morig sxdomas.~ miuxedavad amisa, aRniSnul i sakiTxi xel isufl ebam 1925 wl is ivniSiac ver gadaWra. amis sail ustraci od duSeTis mazris gremisxevis Temis aRmaskomis mier duSeTis mazris aRmasrul ebel i komitetisadmi 1925 wl is 12 ivni ss gagzavnil i weril i gamodgeba. am dokumentidan kargad Cans: 1)gremisxevis Temis 6 qarTul i sofl is mosaxl eoba kategoriul i formiT ayenebda sakiTxis duSeTis mazraze miweris Sesaxeb. amis aucil ebl obis erT- erT ZiriTad faqtorad, cxinval idan gremisxevis ufro met siSores (60 versi) asaxel ebdnen vinem duSeTis mazridan (12 versi). 2)rac Seexeba meore dokumentis, igi duSeTis mazris aRmasrul ebel i komitetis Tavmj domaris mier, Sinagan saqmeTa saxal xo komisariatسادmi gagzavnil i (1925 wl is 22 ivnisi). masSi duSeTis mazrisadmi gremisxevis mikuTvnebis aucil ebl oba xazgasmiTaa aRniSnul i. wina pl anzea wamoweul i axal goris rai aRmaskomis xel mZRvanel obis is qmediTi RonisZiebebi, romel ic gremisxevis `samxreT oseTisadmi - miweras isaxavda miznad. `aseTi saqciel i axal goris rai aRmaskomisa_ vkiTxul obT dokumentSi_ ukmayofil ebas iwvevs gremisxevis gl exebSi. maT surT duSeTis mazraSi darCena, samxreT oseTs ki gaurbian rogorc didi manZil is ise rusul ad saqmis warmoebis gamo... gTxovT, erTxel da samudamod gadawyvi toT es sakiTxi dasaxel ebul i sofl ebis duSeTis mazraze miweriT.~ kategoriul i formiT gakeTebul i aRniSnul i moTxovnis miuxedavad, sakiTxis gadawyveta gaWianurda. amis damadasturebl ad Sinagan saqmeTa saxal xo komisariat mier saqarTvel os central uri aRmasrul ebel i komitetis sammarTvel osadmi gagzavnil i sagangebo weril i gamodgeba. am dokumentSi konkretul i xasiaTis SekiTxva iyo dasmul i: central ur aR-

masrul ebel komitets droul ad ecnobebina Sinagan saqmeTa saxal xo komi-
sariatisaTvis, Tu ra doneze idga duSeTis mazraze qarTul i sofl ebi mi-
weris sakiTxis gadawyveta. es Txovna pasuxgaucemel i darCa mxol od im mi-
zeziT, rom qarTul i mosaxl eobis kanonieri moTxovnebis dasakmayofil e-
bl ad im etapze central ur aRmasrul ebel komitets aranairi qmediTi
nabiji ar qonda gadadgmul i. Cems mier mikvl eul i saarqivo masal ebiT
irkveva, rom `samxreT oseTis- avtonomiuri ol qidan gamoyofas da
goris mazraze miweras sof. disevis mcxovrebl ebiC moiTxovdnen.
imave dokumentebidan dasturdeba, rom disevel Ta am gadawyvetil e-
bas `samxreT oseTis- avtonomiuri ol qis xel mZRvanel oba sasti-
kad ewinaaRmdegeboda da ol qis Semadgenl obaSi sofl is darCenis
saWiroebis aucil ebl obis dasabuTebas sxvadasxva saSual ebebiT
cdil obda. amis erT- erT magal iTs `samxreT oseTis- avtonomiuri
ol qis central uri aRmasrul ebel i komitetis prezidiumis 1924 wl is
28 maisis sxdomis saomqmo Canaweri warmoadgens. avtonomiuri ol
qidan sofel disevis gasvl is sakiTxis Sesaxeb C.begizovis mox-
senebis safuZvel ze miRebul dadgenil ebaSi aRniSnul i iyo: 1)miwis
reformidan gamomdinare, ol qidan sof. disevis gasvl as mxol od
sofl is kul akuri el ementebi moiTxovda; 2)sofel i disevi TiTqos
ol qis central ur nawil Si mdebareobda; 3)ukanasknel i monaceme-
bidan gamomdinare, qarTul da osur mosaxl eobas avtonomiuri ol qis
Semadgenl obaSi darCena surda. Tuki am dokumentis sxva saarqivo
masal ebiT gadavamowmebT, davrwundebiT rom miRebul i dadgenil ebi
yvel a punqti siyal beze iyo agebul i da simarTi es ar Seesabame-
boda. qarTul i mosaxl eobis mxridan wamoWril i probl emis kul a-
kuri el ementebisadmi gadabral ebiT, ol qis central ur nawil Si
sof. disevis gadataniT da qarTul i mosaxl eobis survil is mrude
sarkeSi warmoceniT, `samxreT oseTis- ol qis xel mZRvanel obas, de-
kreti # 2- iT dakanonebul i sazRvridan erTi goji miwis daTmo-
bac ar surda. ise moqmedebdnen, TiTqos aRniSnul i dekretiT oseb-
ma TavianTi `istoriul i miwawyal i- daibrunes da misgan romel ime
qarTul i sofl is Camocil ebas danaSaul ad aRiqvamdnen. am SemTx-
vevaSi gadamwyveti sityva respubl ikis xel mZRvanel obis Sesabamis
uwyebes unda eTqva. samwuxarod, isini dumil s amj obinebdnen da
Sida qarTI is qarTul i mosaxl eobis umZimesi probl emis mogvare-
bas Segnebul ad aWianurebdnen. arada, aRniSnul sakiTxTan mimarTe-
baSi Sinagan saqmeTa saxal xo komisariatSi uamravi weril ebi Sedi-
oda. amj erad yuradRebas goris samazro aRmasrul ebel i komitetis mier
1924 wl is 14 ivl iss Sinagan saqmeTa saxal xo komisariatisadmi gagzavnil
weril ze (# 7018) SevaCereb. am dokumentis mniSvnel oba imaSi mdgomareobs,
rom masSi dasabuTebul i formiTaa naCvenebi: 1)sofel disevis mosaxl e-
obas qarTvel oba warmoadgenda; 2)igi goris mazris sofel tyviavidan 6
versiT iyo dacil ebul i; 3)disevis mosaxl eoba, sofl is nawarmis real iza-
cias qal aq gorSi axdenda, ris gamoc ekonomikurad sof. tyviavTan da
gorTan iyo dakavSirebul i. imavdroul ad sofel tyviavis mexil eobis amx-
anagobis `l iaxvis- wevrebadaC iTvl ebodnen; 4)sof. disevis `samxreT os-
eTis- Semadgenl obaSi moqceviT, misi mcxovrebl ebi xel ovnurad iqnen `mi-
weril ni- q.cxinval ze. am faqtdan gamomdinare, isini ekonomikurad zaral de-
bodnen, radgan cxinval Si sofl is nawarms ver asaRebdnen da maTTvis
pirvel adi saWiroebis sagnebs ver iZendnen. aRniSnul i ekonomikuri faq-

torebis win wamowevis fonze, weril is avtori Sinagan saqmeTa saxal xo komisariatis xel mZRvanel obas erTxel kidev Seaxsenebda, rom iZul ebidan gamomdinare, sof. disevis mcxovrebl ebs ori mimarTul ebiT_ administraciul ad cxinval Tan da ekonomikurad gorTan uxdeboda kavSiris daWera. ramdenadac es procedura sofl is mosaxl eobisaTvis uki dures siZnel eebTan da ekonomikur xarj ebTan iyo dakavSirebul i, goris mazris armaskomis Tavmj domare, xel isufl ebas arsebul i situaciis mosawesrigebl ad Semdegi saxis winadadebas sTavazobda: `xal xis sakeTil dReod_ vkiTxul obT dokumentSi_ saWiroa [maTi S.v.] erT adgil s mWidrod dakavSireba, romel ic unda moxdes im centrTan, romel sac gl exkacoba ver CamoSorebia, radgan ekonomiuri faqtoris siZl ieres mxars ver auqceven... disevi arasodes ar yofil a dakavSirebul i im administraciul erTeul Tan, romel Tanac exl a aris miweril i. sof. disevi mudam Sedioda sof. tyviavis fargl ebSi. geografiul i mosazrebi garda, ekomiuri mosazrebiTac disev_ kul biTi miweril i unda iyos tyviavze, radgan am ukanasknel ze ufro marj vea, vidre andoreT- cxinval ze... miTumetes, SuaSi uZevs mdinare l iaxvi, rom l is adidebis dros SeuZl ebel i xdeba gavl a da cxinval Si mimaval ma xal xma tyviavze unda gaiaros. mogaxsenebT ra yovel ive zemoT aRniSnul s, aRmaskomi Suamdgoml obs Tqvens winaSe, raTa sof. disevi gamoyofil i iqnes da miweros goris mazris tyviavis raionze.~ **Tuki am dokumentis `samxreT oseTis- avtonomiuri ol qis central uri aRmasrul ebel i komitetis prezidiumis 1924 wl is 28 maisis dadgenil ebas SevadarebT, davrmundebiT, rom dasabuTebis Tval sazrisiT goris mazris aRmaskomis Tavmj domaris weril i ufro met damajerebel argumentebs Seicavda. aqedan gamomdinare, samarTl ebrivi Tval sazrisiT xel isufl ebis mxridan misadmi angariSis gaweva aucil ebl obas warmoadgenda. samwuxarod, bedis gorgal i qarTvel Ta saZianod da osTa sargebl od brunavda. amas osTa SesaSuri aqtiuroba, miRweul iT ardakmayofil eba da qarTvel i gl exebis kuTvnil i savargul ebis TviTneburad mitacebis mizniT pragmatul i nabij ebis gadadgmac ganapirobebda. dokumenturi masal iT dasturdeba, rom `samxreT oseTis- avtonomiis mosazRvre mazrebi qarTul i miwebis asaTvisebel ad da dasapatronebl ad, osuri mosaxl eoba yovel gvari ajiotaJis gareSe, genetikuri kodidan gamomdinare qarTvel Ta savaneSi qvewarmaval iviT moZvreboda da xSir SemTxvevaSi warmatebasac aRwevda. amis erT- erT damadasturebel faqtad mej vrisxevis aRmaskomis 1924 wl is 27 martis sxdomis saomqmo Canaweri gamodgeba. dokumentidan irkveva, rom `samxreT oseTis- sofel Tel aginidan da sofel saribanidan goris mazris sof. mej vrisxevis maxl obl ad tyeSi mdebare daCaSi osebis 7 oj axi TviTneburad Casaxl ebul a. aRniSnul sakiTxTan dakavSirebiT Seqmnil samTavrobo komisiis, tyeebis mosal odnel i gaCanagebisa da mTis ZirebSi gaSenebul i sofl ebisaTvis wimis niaRvrebisgan safrTxis arSeqmnis motiviT, mej vrisxevis tyeSi osebis Casaxl eba SeuZl ebl ad miuCnevia. imis nacvl ad, rom TviTneburi qmedebebidan gamomdinare, kanonis damrRvevi osebis sanimuSod dasj is sakiTxi samarTal damcavi organoebis mxridan dRis wesrigSi dasmul iyo, adgil obrivi xel isufl eba da komisia osebTan mimarTebaSi `moferebis- gzas daadga da maTi ardazaral ebis mizniT, garkveul i SeRavaTebic ki daawesa. mxedvel obaSi maqvs: 1) komisiis daskvniTi nawil is (b) punqti. igi goris mazris aRmaskomis aval ebda: osebis Svidi oj axisaTvis, rogorc srul fasovani koml isaTvis, saxl kari-**

saTvis gankuTvnili da saxnav- saTesi miwebi normiT gaTval iswinebul fargl ebSi sof. mej vrisxevSi mieca; 2) imave dokumentis (g) punktis mixed- viT, Tuki osebi sof. mej vrisxevSi Casaxl ebaze uars ityodnen (rac yov- l ad gamoricxul i iyo), am SemTxvevaSi `samxreT oseTis- central ur aRmas- rul ebel komitets isini ol qis sazRvrebSi unda daesaxl ebina.

Cems xel T arsebul i saarqivo masal idan aSkarad ikveTeba, rom osebTan mimarTebaSi saqarTvel os xel isufl eba arwyeninebis pol i- tikur kurs atarebda, xol o Sida qarTI is qarTvel Ta godebis mi- marT siyrues icenda. qarTvel Ta gancxadebebsa da saCivrebs mizan- mimarTul ad uyuradRebod, ganxil vis gareSe tovebda. qarTul i so- fl ebis mosaxl eobis vnebaTaRel vis dasacxromad, xSirad ideol o- giuri xasiaTis piarkampanias mimarTavda da garegnul ad saqmiani saxis micemas cdil obda. amis damadasturebl ad Sinagan saqmeTa saxal xo komisariatis mier goris, duSeTis, raWisa da Sorapnis mazrebis aRmasrul ebel i komitetebis Tavmj domareebisadmi 1924 wl is oqtombri- dan- noembris CaTvl iT gagzavnili weril ebi warmoadgens. am dokumenteb- Si garkveviTaa minisnebul i, rom `samxreT oseTidan- zogierTi sofl ebis amowerisa da mezobel mazrebze miweris moTxovnebtan dakavSirebit `ko- misariati gTxovT acnobot mas, aRZrul ia Tu ara rodesme Tqvendami rwmu- nebuli mazraRmaskomis da misi prezidiumis mier zemoxsenebul is msgavsi Suamdgoml oba da Tu aRZrul ia, rodis, vis winaSe da romel i sofl ebis Sesaxeb. sasurvel ia, Semdegi miwer- moweris da sakiTxis gaWianurebis Ta- vidan asacil ebl ad Tqvens moxsenebas daurToT pirebi winad aRZrul i saamiso Suamdgoml obisa.~ Tuki aRniSnul weril s Cems mier zemoT motani- li masal ebis fonze ganvixil avT, igi cinikur saxes iRebs. miTumetes, rasac Sinagan saqmeTa saxal xo komisari iTxovda, anal ogiuri sax- is dokumentacia goris, duSeTis da raWis mazrebis aRmaskomis Ta- vmj domareebis am uwyebisadmi 1923 wl idan 1924 wl is oqtombramde wardgenil i qonda da misgan sabol oo daskvnasac el oda. am mimar- Tul ebit real uri nabjis gadaudgmel oba imiTac iyo ganpirobe- bul i, rom sadao sakiTxebis gadasawyvetad, samTavrobo doneze Se- qmnil i komisia ar arsebobda. amis erT- erT damadasturebel faqtad, Sinagan saqmeTa saxal xo komisariatis saorganizacio _sainstruq- cio ganyofil ebis mier 1924 wl is noemberSi saqarTvel os cen- tral uri aRmasrul ebel i komitetisadmi gagzavnili weril i gamodge- ba. es dokumenti, `samxreT oseTis- avtonomiuri ol qidan sofl eb- is gamoyofisa da sxva mazrebze miweris Suamdgoml obebis safuZv- lianad Seswavl is, misi kanonzomierebis garkvevis mizniT, saqarTve- l os central ur aRmasrul ebel komitets sagangebo komisiis Seqm- nis aucil ebl obas sTavazobda. Sinagan saqmeTa saxal xo komisari- atis es winadadeba, aRniSnul i dokumentis Seqmndan mxol od 8 Tvis Semdeg_ 1925 wl is seqtemberSi iqna gaTval iswinebul i. mxd- vel obaSi maqvs srul iad saqarTvel os central uri aRmasrul ebel i komi- tetis prezidiumis 1925 wl is 3 seqtembris sxdoma. rogorc dokumentidan irkveva, ZiriTad gansaxil vel sakiTxis goris, duSeTis, raWis mazrebsa da `samxreT oseTis- avtonomiur ol qs Soris arsebul teritoriul uTanx- moebaTa Semswavl el i komisiis Seqmna warmoadgenda (momxsenebel i f.maxaraZe). imave sxdomaze miRebul i dadgenil ebit Seqmnil i komisiis Semadgenl oba- Si Seyvanil ni iqnen: l .suxiSvil i (Tavmj domare), i.xuxua, caguria, g.gagl oevi, bagevi, aj atievi, Ci koiZe. komisi am muSaoba imave wl is 25 seqtembers daamTavra

da moxsenebis saxiT Sesabamisi daskvna saqarTvel os central ur aRmasru-
l ebel komitets warudgina. es iyo drois mcire monakveTSi_ 22 dReSi Se-
qmnil i uaRresad tendenciuri dokumenti. misi Semdgenl ebi, probl emis
adgil ebze gacnobas da arsebul i faqtebis siRrmiseul Seswavl as ki ar
eyrdnobodnen, aramed, amosaval safuZvl ad mxol od dekreti # 2- s miiCne-
vdnen da sazogadoebis Tval is asaxvevad, sazRvrebze umniSvel o kosmeti-
kuri cvl il ebebis ganxorciel ebas isaxavdnen mi znad. rac Seexeba qarTvel Ta
zemoaRniSnul samarTI ian moTxovnebs, rogorc mosal odnel i iyo _ignor-
ireba gaukeTda. amis dadasturebas raWis mazrisa da `samxreT oseTis-
sazRvris sakiTxTan mimarTebaSi imave komisiis mier miRebul i gadawyve-
til eba warmoadgens. amasTan dakavSirebiT dokumentSi vkiTxul obT: `raW-
is mazrasa da samxreT oseTs Soris sazRvrebis Sesaxeb komisia saWi rod
scnobs Zal aSi darCes dekreti # 2-. komisiis tendenciuoba rom SeeniR-
baT, `samxreT oseTsa- da raWis sazRvarze mxol od cinizmiT Sezavebul i
kosmetikuri cvl il eba ganaxorciel es. saqme exeba 4 desetina miwis far-
Tobis sofel irsa (raWis mazra) da sofel vatras (`samxreT oseTi-) So-
ris Tanabrad ganawil ebis faqts. rac Seexeba goris mazras, komisi am mxo-
l od sofel karapil sa (goris mazra) da sofel orCoSans (`samxreT ose-
Ti-) Soris saxnav- saTesi sadao miwebis sakiTxi ganxil a da veranairi
konkretul i gadawyvetil eba ver miiRo. probl emis samomavl od mowesrige-
ba miwaTmowyobis saxal xo komisariats miando. duSeTis mazrasTan dakav-
SirebiT, komisi am dekreti # 2- iT ixel mZRvanel a da `samxreT oseTis-
avtonomiuri ol qis sazRvris Sesaxeb Sedgenil rukaze daSvebul i Secdo-
ma imiT gaaswora, rom sofl ebis: karkuSi anTkari, burRul i, miqel i anTkari,
Taborikari, TamaraanTkari da karanTkari duSeTis mazras gadasca.

Cems mier motanil i masal ebidan gamomdinare, erTaderTi daskv-
nis gakeTeBa SeiZl eba: zemoaRniSnul ma samTavrobo komisi am goris,
duSeTisa da raWis mazrebis qarTul mosaxl eobas imedi gaucrua.
mcireodeni kosmetikuri cvl il ebebis fonze, mTel i saqmianoba pi-
arkampaniaze aago da `samxreT oseTis- avtonomiuri ol qi ZiriTa-
dad im sazRvrebSi datova, rasac dekreti # 2 iTval iswinebda.
osma separatistebma Taviant i sawadel is maqsimums miaRwia. samarT-
l ebrivad saqarTvel os teritoriis is mocul oba daikanona, rom-
l isTvisac 1918 wl idan mokidebul i 1922 wl is CaTvl iT muxl Ca-
uxrel ad ibrzoda. maTi SesaSuri Zal isxmevis da gasabWoebul i sa-
qarTvel os moRal ate mTavrobis mxardaWeris faqtori, msofil io
istoriaSi osebisatvis uprecedento warmatebis safuZvel i gaxda.
mxedvel obasi maqvs, xiznebis wamosasxamiT, mSvidobiani gziT osTa-
gan aneqsirebul saqarTvel os istoriul miwa- wyal ze `samxreT
oseTis- saxiT axal i saxel mwifo warmonaqmni_ `meore oseTis- Seqm-
nis faqti. aRniSnul i real oba gamomdinare, imis saukeTeso ni muSia,
rom udardel obis seniT Sepyrobil gadoyl apiebis gzaze damdgar-
ers, Tu rogor SeiZl eba kuTvnil i istoriul i teritoria waarTva,
masze mcxovre aborigen mosaxl eobas erovnul i siamaye daakargvino
da misi cnobiereba monis Senguebl is donemde daiyvano.

2)rac Seexeba meore sakiTxs_ `samxreT oseTis- avtonomiuri ol qis
mmarTvel obis sistemasa da ufl ebebs, @dekreti # 2- Si mesame mux-
l idan_ meSvide muxl is CaTvl iT da sami SeniSvniT aris warmodge-
nil i. aRniSnul i dokumenti `samxreT oseTis- avtonomiuri ol qis
mmarTvel obiT organoebad saol qo central ur aRmasrul ebel ko-

mitetsa da adgil obriv sabWoebis acxadebda, roml is daqvemdebarebaSi 7 saxal xo komisariati (Sinagan saqmeTa, iusticiis, ganaTI ebis, janmrTel obis, Sromisa da social uri uzrunvel yofis, miwaTmoqmedebis, sasursaTo, finansTa), erTi sabWo (saxal xo meurneobis sabWo) da inspeqcia (muSaTa da gl exTa inspeqcia) Sedioda. aRniSnul i saxal xo komisariatebi central uri aRmasrul ebel i komitetis ufl ebebiT iyo aRWurvil i. imave dekretis mixedviT, sagareo urTierTobis sakiTxebi da sagareo vaWroba, saqarTvel os respublikis Sesabamisi organoebis daqvemdebarebaSi rCeboda. anal ogiuri ufl ebebiT iyo aRWurvil i ol qis samxedro komisariati, romelic saqarTvel os samxedro da sazRvao saxal xo komisariats eqvemdebareboda da misi mowyoba `samxreT oseTis- central ur aRmasrul ebel komitetTan SeTanxmebiT xdeboda.

saqarTvel os respublikis teritoriaze erTiani safinanso da sameurneo sistemis dacvis mizniT, dekretis mixedviT, `samxreT oseTis- avtonomiuri ol qis teritoriaze momqmedi saxal xo komisariatebi (sasursaTo, safinanso, Sromis, saxal xo meurneobis sabWo, muSaTa da gl exTa inspeqcia), saqarTvel os respublikis Sesabamisi saxal xo komisariatebis daqvemdebarebaSi rCeboda. es ukanasknel ni, yovel i saxis gankargul ebas ol qis central uri aRmasrul ebel i komitetis meSveobiT anxorciel ebda. rac Seexeba komisrebis daniSvis wess, respublikis Sesabamisi saxal xo komisariatebi ama Tu im kandidats ol qis central ur aRmasrul ebel komitetTan SeTanxmebiT niSnavda, roml is damtkiceba ol qis central uri aRmasrul ebel i komitetis mier xdeboda. ol qis komisariatebi (Sinagan saqmeTa, iusticiis, ganaTI ebis, janmrTel obis, miwaTmoqmedebis, social uri uzrunvel yofis) avtonomiurad moqmedebis ufl ebebiT sargebl obden da respublikis central uri organoebis winaSe iyvnen pasuxismgebel ni. dekretis meSvide muxl is Tanaxmad, `samxreT oseTis- avtonomiuri ol qis yvel a saWiro safinanso da teqniki saSual ebebiT momarageba, respublikis central uri aRmasrul ebel i komitetsa da saxal xo komisarTa sabWos Sesabamisi gankargul ebiT unda momxdariyo.²⁸

saqarTvel os xel is ufl eba amiTac ar dakmayofil da da central uri aRmasrul ebel i komitetis meore mowvevis mesame sesiaze (1924 wl is oqtomberi) miRebul i debul ebis V muxl iT, `samxreT oseTis- avtonomiuri ol qis central ur aRmasrul ebel komitets, saqarTvel os cak- is sagangebo sesiis mowvevis ufl eba mianiWa. ssrk- is masStabiT im etapze es iyo uprecedento SemTxveva, radgan aseTi ufl ebebi rsfsr- s Semadgenl obaSi mxol od avtonomiur respublikebs gaaCnda im pirobiT, Tuki sesiis mowvevis saWiroebas minimum 6 avtonomiuri respublika erTdroul ad dauWerda mxars.²⁹

saqarTvel os central uri aRmasrul ebel i komitetis mier miRebul i zemoaRniSnul i samarTI ebrivi dokumentidan gamomdinare, qarTvel Ta Semaviwroebel i `samxreT oseTis- xel is ufl eba gal aRebul mdgomareobaSi aRmoCnda im Tval sazrisiTac, rom igi, Crdil o kavkasiis oseTSi 1924 wels Seqmnil i Crdil o oseTis avtonomiuri ol qis xel mZRvanel obaze meti ufl ebebiT aRiWurva. momxdari faqti, qveynisaTvis samomavl o Sedegebze ki ara, erTjerad ideol ogiur piarkampaniaze iyo gaTvl il i da Cvenda saubedurod, saqarTvel oSi erovnul i sakiTxis gadawyvetis saukeTeso formad iqna gamocxadebul i.

gasabWoebul i saqarTvel os xel isufli ebam, os separatistebS Si da qarTI - Si avtonomiuri ol qis saxiT marTal ia gansakuTrebul i ufl ebebiT aRWu- rvil i saxel mwifo warmonaqmni Seuqmna, magram osebi miRweul iT ar kmayo- fil debodnen da Canafiqris bol omde misayvanad, respubl ikis sakanonm- debl o organos axal winadadebebs sTavazobdnen. am SemTxvevaSi, `samxreT oseTis- avtonomiuri ol qis kantonal uri principiT administraciul ad dayofis proeqtis Seqmna maqvs mxedvel obaSi. sanam am dokumentis ganxil - vas Sevudgebode, mizanSewonil ad mimaCnia oriode sityviT aRvniSno, rom osi separatistebi am SemTxvevaSi, damoukidebel i saqarTvel os damfuZne- bel i krebis sakanstitucio komisiisadmi 1919 wel s wardgenil i `samxreT oseTis- kantonis ptoeqtis garkveul i formiT `gacocxl ebas- Seecada. Tuki im etapze `samxreT oseTis- kantonis Seqmnis ocneba ver aisrul es, sabWoTa xel isufli ebis mxardaWeris imedit, am ideis modernizebul i sax- iT ganxorciel ebas `samxreT oseTis- sabWouri avtonomiuri ol qis far- gl ebSi cdil obdnen. amis dadasturebas `samxreT oseTis- saol qo parti- ul i komitetisa da central uri aRmasrul ebel i komitetis 1922 wl is 2 ivnisis gaerTianebul sxdomaze miRebul i dadgenil eba (oqmi # 15) war- moadgens. am dokumentis mixedviT, `samxreT oseTis- avtonomiuri ol qi sam `kantonad- da 14 raionad unda dayofil iyo. 1)j avis `kantoni- _ centri j ava; 2)cxinval is `kantoni- _ centri cxinval i; 3)qsanis `kantoni- _ centri axal gori. imave dokumentiT, 1)cxinval is `kantonis- Semadgenl obaSi Sem- degi `raionebi- unda Sesul iyo: wunari, yornisi, oqona, cxinval i, ortevi, bel oTi, andoreTi; 2)qsanis `kantoni- Semdegi `raionebis- daqvemdebarebas iTval iswinebda: I exuris, axal goris, monastris. rac Seexeba j avis `kan- tonis- Semadgenl obaSi Semaval savaraudo `raionebs,~ dokumentSi dasax- el ebul i ar aris. Cems mier zemoT CamoTvl il i e.w. `raionebi- im etapze sasofl o sazogadoebebSa da sofl ebs warmoadgenda. `samxreT oseTis- avtonomiuri ol qis xel isufli eba ki TiToeul maTgans raionebis rangSi ganxil avda. savaraudoa, rom aseTi fonis Seqmna, aRniSnul i proeqtisadmi meti damaj erebl obis micemas isaxavda miznad.

rac Seexeba mmarTvel obiTi organoebis sistemas, igi proeqtSi Semdegi saxiT iyo warmodgenil i: ol qis central ur mmarTvel obiT organod `sa- mxreT oseTis- central uri aRmasrul ebel i komiteti iTvl eboda, roml is daqvemdebarebaSi samive `kantonis- aRmasrul ebel i komitetebi, muSaTa da gl exTa deputatebis sabWoebi da raionebis aRmasrul ebel i komitetebi Sedioda. j avis, cxinval is da qsanis `kantonebis- Semadgenl obaSi Semava- l i raionis aRmasrul ebel i komitetebi `kantonebis- aRmasrul ebel ko- mitetebS eqvemdebareboda, xol o es ukanasknel i `samxreT oseTis- cen- tral ur aRmasrul ebel komitets. administraciul i dayofis principiT, imave proeqtiT sami `kantonal uri- da 11 raionul i partiul i komiteti iqmneboda. raionul i partiul i komitetebi, `kantonebis- partiul komitetebS eqvemdebareboda. es proeqti Tavidan bol omde al ogikur saxes atareb- da im Tval sazrisiT, rom saol qo avtonomiis fargl ebSi sami kan- tonal uri erTeul is Seqmna SeuZl ebel i iyo. miTumetes, kantoni Ta- visi konstituciIT, sakanonmdebl o da aRmasrul ebel i xel isufli ebis organoebiT mcire administraciul erTeul s ganekutvneba da ufl e- bebiT saol qo avtonomias aRemateba. `samxreT oseTis- avtonomi- uri ol qis sam kantonad dayofas Tuki saqarTvel os central uri aRmasrul ebel i komiteti mxars dauWerda da samarTI ebriv saxes miscemda, `samxreT oseTi- federal ur principebze unda mowyo-

bil iyo. es mxol od `samxreT oseTis- avtonomiuri ol qis respub-
likad gardaqmnisa da teritoriul adac gafarToebis Semdeg gaxde-
boda SesaZI ebel i. Cemi azriT, aRniSnul i proeqti osi separat-
istebis mxridan morigi mzakvrul i gegmis garkveul i safexuris
momzadebas isaxavda miznad da igi am mimarTul ebiT erTgvar sas-
inj nabij s warmoadgenda. mogvianebiT Crdil o da `samxreT oseTis-
erT pol i tikur erTeul ad gaerTianebeis sakiTxis dasma aRniSnul mosazrebas
kidev ufro amyarebs.

Cemi mcdel obis miuxedavad, j erj erobiT SeuZI ebel i gaxda iseTi saar-
qivo dokumentis mikvl eva, romel Sic osebis dasaxel ebul proeqtTan mima-
rTebaSi saqarTvel os xel isuflebis an respublikis sakanomdebl o or-
ganos damokidebul eba iqneboda dadasturebul i. erTi ram dabejiTebiT
SeiZI eba iTqvas, rom zemoaRniSnul i proeqtis miRebidan oTxi Tvis Semdeg,
`samxreT oseTis- central uri aRmasrul ebel i komitetisa da saol qo par-
tiul i komitetebis gaerTianebul ma sxdomam (1922 wl is 24 oqtomberi),
`samxreT oseTis- avtonomiuri ol qis administraciul i mowyobis Sesaxeb
isev imsj el a. wina dadgenil ebisgan (1922 wl is 2 ivnisi) gansxvavebiT, 24
oqtombris dadgenil eba (oqmi # 17) `samxreT oseTis- avtonomur ol qs
(sami `kantonis- nacvl ad) sam samazro erTeul ad da 14 raionad yofda.
1)j avis `mazra-_ centri j ava; 2)cxinval is `mazra-_ centri cxinval i; 3)qsanis
`mazra-_ centri axal gori. am or dokumentis Soris gansxvaveba mxol od
imaSi mdgl mareobs, rom sityva kantonis nacvl ad yvel gan mazraa naxmari
da kantonis ufl ebebi mazris ufl ebebamdea dayvanil i. `samxreT oseTis-
avtonomiuri ol qis am principiT dayofa im etapze saol qo avtonomiebis
Sesaxeb arsebul kanonmdebl obas da miTumetes, `samxreT oseTis- avtonomi-
uri ol qisaTvis damaxasiaTebel arsebul real obas ewinaaRmdegeboda. aqedan
gamomdinare, osi separatistebis mxridan ol qis administraciul i mowyo-
bis es axal i `kompromisul i- variantic sabWoTa xel isuflebisatvis im
etapze miuRebel i iyo.

osebis mier Sedgenil i zemoaRniSnul i orive proeqti, ramdenadac mos-
kovTan SeuTanxmabl ad SemuSavda, masSi Cadebul i idea sawyis etapzeve Ca-
kvda. am fqtit, sabWoTa ruseTis xel isuflebam osebs agrZnobina, rom
nebismieri maTi moqmedeba ara individual izmze, aramed centridan miRe-
bul direqtivebze unda yofil iyo dafuznebul i. dokumenturi masal iT
dasturdeba, rom erTxel miRebul i gamocdil ebidan gamomdinare, osi sep-
aratistebi am mxriv Crdil oel i mfarvel isadmi SesaSur erTgul ebas iCen-
da. es gakvirvebas ar unda iwvevdes, radgan Sida qarTI is osebi, `osuri
ideiis- xorCSesxmis mxardamWerad sabWoTa ruseTs aRiqvamda. aseTi gancxa-
debis gakeTebis SesaZI ebl obas 1918- 1925 wl ebis CaTvl iT arsebul i is
saarqivo masal ebi iZI eva, sadc osi separatistebisadmi gasabWoebul i ru-
seTis l obireba, aSkara mxardaWera da finansuri daxmareba dasturdeba.
isic xazgasasmel ia, rom ruseTis federaciaSi Semaval i Crdil o kavkasiis
oseTze winswrebiT, Sida qarTI Si osuri avtonomiis sokosaviT aRmocene-
ba, ruseTis xel isufal Ta damsaxurebis nayofs warmoadgenda. yovel ive
amas Sida qarTI is osebi safuzvl ianad aanal izebdnen da ruseTisadmi
monuri morCil ebiT, samomavl od erTiani osuri saxel mwifos Sesaqmnel ad
myar niadags amzadebdnen. miTumetes, am Canafiqris aRsrul ebis real ur
garantorad imave ruseTs moiazrebdnen.

ramdenadac im etapze saqarTvel o sabWoTa ruseTis `saj il dao
qvad- iyo qceul i, `Crdil oel i Zma- qarTvel erTan mimarTebaSi

sxvadasxva Sefarviti xasiaTis ideol ogiuri zewol is eqsperiments mimarTavda da am saqmeSi isev da isev osebs aaqtiurebda. am SemTxvevaSi, Crdil o da `samxreT oseTis- erT pol itikur erTeul ad gaertianebs Sesaxeb, sauwyebaTaSoriso komisiis 1919 wl is 13 ivl isis sxdamaze a.Tibil ovis mier dasmul i sakiTxis isev `gacocxl eba- (ix. ruka # 3) da sabWoTa ruseTis maRal CinosanTa mxridan am scenariis `redaqtirebul i- formiT manipul ireba maqvs mxedvel obaSi. am mimarTul ebiT pirvel i sasinji nabiji, Crdil o oseTis sabWoebis pirvel yril obaze (1925 wl is ianvari) gadaidga. central uri xel isufl ebis winaSe Crdil o da `samxreT oseTis- gasaerTianebl ad sakiTxis aRZvris Sesaxeb miRebul i dadgenil eba maqvs mxedvel obaSi. am dokumentSi ar figurirebs, gaertianebul i osuri pol itikuri erTeul i, rsfsr- s Tu saqarTvel os Semadgenl obaSi Sevidoda. dasmul i probl emis adgil idan daZvris miuxedavad, misi iniciatorebisadmi sabWoTa ruseTis xel isufl ebas mkacri an gamafRTxil ebel i reagireba ar gaukeTebia. am faqtma, `samxreT oseTis- avtonomiuri ol qis xel mZRvanel obas moqmedebis garkveul i stimul i misca. mxedvel obaSi maqvs `samxreT oseTis- avtonomiuri ol qis muSaTa da gl exTa deputatebis sabWoebis mexuTe saol qo yril obis (1925 wl is 25 marti) mier miRebul i dadgenil eba. rogorc cnobil ia, yril obam Crdil o da `samxreT oseTis- gaertianebs Sesaxeb, Crdil o oseTis central uri aRmasrul ebel i komitetis Tavmj- domaris x.kargievis informacia moismina. imave yril obis dadgenil ebiT, Crdil o da `samxreT oseTis- saqarTvel os sazRvrebSi gaertianebs oficial urad da droul ad dayenebis saWiroeba mizanSewonil ad iqna cnobil i. rac Seexeba `osuri sakiTxis- sabol ood sisrul eSi moyvanas, Crdil o da `samxreT oseTis- central uri aRmasrul ebel i komitetebis SeT- anxmebis safuZvel ze Seqmnil erTobl iv komisiis unda moexdina.³⁰

`samxreT oseTis- avtonomiuri ol qis sabWoebis V yril obis am gadawyvetil ebasTan mimarTebaSi, gasabWoebul i saqarTvel os xel isufl ebas im etapze oficial uri pozicia ar daufiqsirebia. yovel SemTxvevaSi, saarqivo masal ebiT aseTi ram ar dasturdeba. arada, ori sxvadasxva saxel mwifos (rsfsr da saqarTvel o) fargl ebSi moqceul i avtonomiuri erTeul ebis gaertianebs Sesaxeb `samxreT oseTis- avtonomiuri ol qis pasuxismgebel pirTa mxridan sakiTxis dasma, saqarTvel os xel isufl ebis gverdis avl iT ar unda momxdariyo. am samarTl ebrivi normebs darRvevis miuxedavad, gaertianebs sakiTxi ara Tu Seferxda, aramed misi safexurebrivi msvl el oba daCqarebul i tempiT warimarTa. am sakiTxiTan dakavSirebiT, arsebul i dokumenturi masal idan gansakuTrebul yuradRebas Crdil o da `samxreT oseTis- erT avtonomiur sabWoTa respubl ikad gaertianebsa da misi saqarTvel os Semadgenl obaSi Sesvl is Sesaxeb, Crdil o oseTis avtonomiuri ol qis central uri aRmasrul ebel i komitetis mier, ruseTis federaciis central uri aRmasrul ebel i komitetis prezidi umisadmi gagzavnil i Suamdgoml oba iqcevs. rogorc cnobil ia, sakiTxis am formiT dayenebas, srul iad ruseTis central urma aRmasrul ebel ma komitetma da Crdil o oseTis kavkasiis saol qo aRmasrul ebel ma komitetma mxari dauWira.³¹

samecniero l iteraturaSi dadasturebul ia, rom Crdil o da `samxreT oseTis- gaertianebs, anu `osuri gegmis- Sesaxeb i.stal inmac icoda, magram, garkveul i faqtorebidan gamomdinare, konkretul i gadawyvetil ebis miRebisgan Tavsi kavebda. amis udao dadasturebas, imave i.stal inis mier s. orj o-

nikiZi sadmi 1925 wl is 30 ivnis gagzavnil i depeSa warmoadgens. `piradad me_ vkiTxul obT dokumentSi_ oseTis gegmis sawinaarmdego araferi mqonda, magram imis gamo, rom samxreT_ aRmosavl eTis sawinaarmdego mosazrebani Semovida, Zal ze vyoymanob da verafris rCeva ver gadamiwyvetia. Zal ian gTxov gadado pasuxi miqoianTan Cvens erTobl iv Sexvedramde.³² rogorc dokumentidan irkveva, `samxreT_ aRmosavl eTis- sawinaarmdego poziciidan gamomdinare, `oseTis gegmis- individual urad gadawyvetas i.stal ini Tavs aridebda da sakiTxi `triumviratis- (i.stal ini_ ssk cegas general uri mdivani, s.orj onikiZe_ kavbiuros Tavmj domare, ami qoiani_ Crdil o kavkasi- is samxareo komitetis mdivani) SexvedrisaTvis gadahqonda. j erj erobiT gaurkvevel ia, aRniSnul pirTa Sexvedra Sedga Tu ara. erTi ram dabej iTebiT SeiZl eba iTqvas, rom `osuri gegmis- praqtikul ad ganxorciel ebas saqarTvel os central uri aRmasrul ebel i komitetis Tavmj domare f.maxaraZe mxars uWerda. amis udao dadasturebas saqarTvel os cak- is 1925 wl is 15 ivnisis sesiis sxdomaze f.maxaraZis mier gakeTebul i gancxadeba warmoadgens. misi azriT, Crdil oeT da `samxreT oseTis- gaerTianeba win- gadadgmul nabij ad unda CaTvl il iyo imisda miuxedavad, Tu romel respu- bl ikaSi Sevidoda aRniSnul i pol itikuri erTeul i. dasaxul i gegmis war- matebit ganxorciel ebis SemTxvevaSi, imave f.maxaraZis `mtkicebit-, momx- dari faqti iqneboda `didi nabij i oseTis xal xis istoriaSi, romel sac udidesi mniSvnel oba eqneboda oseTis xal xis ganviTarebisaTvis.- samwu- xarod, igi el ementarul miniSnebasac ki ar akeTebda, aRniSnul i gaerTiane- ba Tu ramdenad misaRebi aRmoCndeboda saqarTvel osaTvis. kosmopol i- tizmiT Sezavebul i f.maxaraZis aseTi pozicia gakvirvebas ar iwvevs, rad- gan damoukidebel i demokratiul i saqarTvel os periodSi (1918- 1921 wl is Teberval i) igi ararsebul i `samxreT oseTis,- Crdil o kavkasiis oseTTan SeerTebas da am erTiani warmonaqmnis ruseTis federaciaSi Sesvl is aucil ebl obas os separatistebTan erTad Tavgamodebit icavda. yuradRebas is faqtic iqcevs, rom Crdil o da `samxreT oseTis- gaerTianebis sakiTxi aRniSnul sesiaze kanondarRvevit, yovel gvare winaswari momzadebisa da dRis wesrigSi Setanis gareSe iqna gansaxil vel ad gatanil i. mxedvel oba- Si maqvs f.maxaraZis mier sesiaze gakeTebul i moul odnel i gancxadeba: `amxanagebo, aq gaxl avT Crdil oeT oseTis ol qis Tavmj domare takoevi, romel ic warmogidgenT erT uaRresi mniSvnel obis moxsenebas.- sesiaze takoevis mier warmoTqmul i sityvidan irkveva, rom igi Crdil oeT da `samxreT oseTis- saqarTvel os Semadgenl obaSi gaerTianebis dadebitad gadawyvetis miznit, Crdil oeT oseTis central uri aR- masrul ebel i komitetis mier iyo warmogzavnil i. misive TqmiT, Crdil o oseTi survil s acxadebda, raTa rsfsr- s CamoSoreboda da sa- qarTvel os Semadgenl obaSi Sesul iyo. am gadawyvetil ebis miRebis gamarTl ebis Ziritad argumentad, takoevi ramdenime faqtors asaxe- l ebda. am SemTxvevaSi man pol itikur eSmakobas mimarTa da saqarTve- l os sakanonmdebl o organos winaSe osebis `tanjul ~ erad warmo- saxvas Seecada. mxedvel obaSi maqvs imave takoevis mier TiTqosda mizanmimarTul ad `xel ovnurad Suaze gaxl eCil i ori oseTis- saki- Txis wina pl anze wamoweva. misi mtkicebit: 1)Crdil o oseTisa da `samxreT oseTis- avtonomiebis cal - cal ke arseboba, osi eris tragedias warmoadgenda da sabWouri nacional uri pol itikis uvar- gisobas adasturebda; 2)`ori oseTis- gancal keveba, TiToeul i maT- ganis kul turul i da ekonomikuri ganviTarebis Semaferxebel bari-

ers qmnda, romel ic kul turul da sameurneo sferoSi osebisatvis yovel gvare saxis progress gamoricxavda. aqedan gamomdinare, arsebul real obas takoevi osi xal xis interesebis sawinaaRmdego qmedebad acxadebda. `Cveni nacional uri principebi_ ambobda igi_ bol omde da mizanSewonil ad rom iqnes ganxorciel ebul i, Crdil oet da samxret oseTis mSromel TaTvis,_ saWiroa es ol qebi gavaertianoT da meurneobisa da bunebriv SesaZl ebl obaTa gamoyenebis saSual ebit wavmarToT es qveyana ekonomiuri ganvitarebis gziT;~ 3)im SemTxvevaSi, Tuki aRniSnul i gaertianeba ganxorciel deboda, takoevis azrit, mas saertasoriso mniSvel oba eqneboda. `ameridan_ ambobda takoevi_ yvel a is mgel i, romel ic hRmuoda, viTomc saqartvel o iCagrebao, dadumdeba,_ es aqti CasCris maT pirSi burTs.~ Cems mier motanil i masal ebidan kargad Cans, rom Crdil o da `samxret oseTis- gaertianeba ideol ogiurad SesaniSnavad iyo SefuTul i. miTumetes, qartvel Ta gul is mosagebad igive takoevi, saqartvel oSi gatarebul erovnul pol itikas yvel a respubl ikebisatvis samagal iTod miCnevda. am fonze akeTebda daskvnas, rom Crdil o oseTis saqartvel os Semadgenl obaSi gaertianebis survil i, saqartvel os mTavrobis saRi nacional uri pol itikit iyo ganpirobebul i. `Crdil oet da samxret oseTis mSromel ni da miT ufro pasuxismgebel i momuSaveni_ ambobda takoevi_ Tval naTl iv hxedaven, rom saRi nacional uri pol itika ise mizanSewonil ad arsad ar xorciel deba, rogorc saqartvel os respubl ikaSi.~ am amonaweridan kargad Cans, rom Crdil o da `samxret oseTis- saqartvel os Semadgenl obaSi gaertianebis mizanSewonil obas takoevma sabWoTa federaciul i ruseTis erovnul i pol itikis dawuneba da kritika daudo safuZvl ad. man imis Sesaxebac mianiSna, rom Crdil o oseTis mSromel ebTan erTad am Tval sazriss pasuxismgebel i partiul i muSakebic iziarebda. aseTi gancxadebis 1925 wel s gakeTeba, ara marto takoevisatvis, aramed Crdil o oseTis avtonomiuri ol qis partiul i el itisatvisac saxifaTo iyo. miTumetes, Crdil o oseTis avtonomiuri ol qis pasuxismgebel i pirebi takoevma oficial urad rsfsr- s erovnul i pol itikis damwunebl ad gamoacxada. Tuki sabWoTa ruseTis im etapze arsebul umZimes pol itikur situacias gaviTval iswinebT, takoevis mier saqartvel os cakis sesiaze Tavisi kol egebis misamarTit `CaSvebis- stil Si gakeTebul i gancxadeba da kanondarRvevit imave sesiis sxdomaze misi moxsenebis gatana gvafiqrebinebs, rom takoevi central uri xel isufl ebidan imarTeboda, misi moxsenebis yvel a mniSvel ovani debul eba da TviT gancxadeba, sabWoTa ruseTis Sesabamisi struqturabis maRal CinosnebTan iyo SeTanxmebul i. aseTi Sexedul ebis gamoTqmis SesaZl ebl obas imave sesiis mier `oseTis gegmaze- dafuZnebul i takoeviseul i rezol uciisadmi sesiis monawil eTarterTsul ovani mxardaWerac iZl eva. am SemTxvevaSi, eiforiaSi myofi sesiis monawil eni, warsul Si osebis namoqmedaris mware gamocdil ebas da saqartvel osTan mimarTebaSi mosal odnel garduval safrTxes yuradRebis miRma tovebdnen. amis udao dadasturebas imave sesiaze miRebul i orpungtiani dadgenil eba warmoadgens. am dokumentis pirvel pungtSi f.maxaraZis zemoaRniSnul i poziciaa gatarebul i, xol o meoreSi, takoevis mier sesiisadmi wardgenil i rezol uciis proeqtis ZiriTadi debul ebebi. aRniSnul is sail ustraci od, imave dokumentidan Sesabamisi amonawers movitan da

Tavad mkiTxvel ma gansaj os misi avkargianoba. `1)srul iad saqarTvel os cakis mesame mowvevis meore sesia mxurval ed miesal meba oseTis ori gan- cal kevebul i nawil is gaerTianebas, miuxedavad imisa, Tu romel sabWoTa respubl ikis fargl ebSi Seva es axal i saxel mwifoebrivi erTeul i, da xedavs am aqtSi erovnul i sakiTxis sworad gadaWras im xal xTa mimarT, romel nic iCagrebodnen yofil i ruseTis imperiis arsebobis dros. 2)rac Seexeba gaerTianebul i oseTis saq. soc. sabW. respubl ikis fargl ebSi Ses- vl as, sesia uerTdeba im rezol iuciebs, roml ebic am sakiTxis Sesaxeb miRebul iqna Crdil o- kavkasiis saol qo aRmasrul ebel i komitetisa da Crdil o da samxreT oseTis avtonomiuri ol qebis cakebis mier.-

zemoT motanil i masal ebis anal izidan gamomdinare, erTi metad mniSvnel ovani niuansi ikveTeba. saqme exeba im satyuar bades, romel ic sabWoTa ruseTis mTavrobam osebis xel iT saqarTvel os mimarT ga- dmoisrol a. mxedvel obaSi maqvs ruseTis federaciul i respubl ikis mxridan, Crdil o oseTis avtonomiis xel mZRvanel obisaTvis probl emis Tavisufal i gadawyvetis garegnul ad moCveneBITi fonis Seqmna. erTi SexedviT, ruseTis federaciis maRal Cinosnebi Crdil o oseTs TiTqos arCevanis Tavisufal ad gakeTebisa da maTi survil is Sesabamisad wamoWril i probl emis (Crdil o oseTis ruseTis fed- eraciidan gasvl a da sxva respubl ikasTan_ saqarTvel osTn SeerTeba) damoukidebl ad gadawyvetis ufl ebas aZl evda. am faqtiT, igi ide- ol ogiur manipul irebas eweoda im Tval sazrisiT, rom Sida qarT- l is osebsi TviTnebuli moqmedebis SesaZl ebl obas da erTiani oseTis Seqmnis minel ebul i naperwkl is aal ebas udebda saTaves. Crdil o da `samxreT oseTis- gaerTianebs ideis ganxorciel ebis proceduris msvl- l el obam imdenad seriozul i saxe miRo, rom igi winaswar dagegmil Car- Cos gasdda da misi `dakonserveba- aucil ebel i SeiQmna. am miznis gansax- orciel ebl ad, sabWoTa ruseTis Sesabamisi uwebebi, amierkavkasiis sakanon- mdebl o organos gamoiyenebas Seecada. mxedvel obaSi maqvs muSaTa, gl exTa, j ariskacTa da mezRvaurTa deputatebis amierkavkasiis central uri aRmas- rul ebel i komitetis 1925 wl is 7 agvistos sxdoma (oqmi # 13). am dokumen- tis mixedviT, Crdil o da `samxreT oseTis- gaerTianebs ganxil va, sxdomis dRis wesrigSi 27- e sakiTxad iyo Setanil i. aRniSnul i dokumentidan irkveva, rom gaerTianebs winaaRmdeg erovneBIT somexi anazareTiani gamoivda. Crdil o da `samxreT oseTs- Soris samimosvl o gzebis ararsebobidan da sauRel texil o gzis sezonurobidan (9 TviT iketeboda) gamomdinare, es gaerTianeba, uaxl oesi xuTidan aTi wl is ganmavl obaSi man naadrevad miC- nia.³² sakiTxis aseTi formiT oficial urad dasmisa da Sesabamisi argumentebis motanis miuxedavad, amierkavkasiis central uri aRma- srul ebel i komitetis imave sxdomam, gansakuTrebul i principul o- ba gamoiCina da srul iad saqarTvel os central uri aRmasrul ebel i komitetis me- 2 sesiis 1925 wl is 15 ivl isis sxdomis dadgenil e- bas dauWira mxari. mxedvel obaSi maqvs Crdil o da `samxreT ose- Tis- saqarTvel os Semadgenl obaSi gaerTianebs mizanSewonil o- bis aRiareba. aseTi saxis dadgenil ebis miuxedavad, `osuri gegmis- momdevno safexurze Semdgomi ganxil va ar momxdara. misi Cavard- nis ganmapirobebel mizezs, Crdil o da `samxreT oseTs- Soris mu- dmivmoqmedi damakavSirebel i gzis ararseboba warmoadgenda.³³ mi- uxedavad amisa, zemoaRniSnul ma sxdomam, osi separatistebis winase axal i probl ema daayena mosagvarebl ad. kerZod, `osuri gegmis-

`Cavardnis- ganmapirobebel i mizezis aRmofxvra_ sauRel texil o gzis mSenebl obis aucil ebl oba da am mimarTul ebiT saTanado uw-yebebsi safexurebrivad Sesabamisi muSaobis formis gamoZebna.

rac Seexeba Crdil o da `samxreT oseTis- saqarTvel os Semadgenl obaSi gaertianeblis SemTxvevaSi warmoqmnil mosal odnel safrTxes, amasTan dakavSirebiT savsebiT marTebul ad mimaCnia i.futkaraZis daskvna: `Crdil o oseTi da saerTod `gaertianebul i oseTi-_ wers igi_ saqarTvel os Semadgenl obaSi iseTi Senamati iqneboda, romel zedac ityvian: garedan mters ubrmavebs Tval ebsa da Signidan moyvareso. adre Tu gvian igi day-ovnebul i moqmedebis yumbarasaviT ifeTqebda da saqarTvel odan yofil i samaCabl os da qsnis saeristavos Camocil ebas gamoiwvevda.³⁴ miTumetes, sabWoTa ruseTis xel isufal Ta pol itikuri kursi safexurebrivad saqarTvel os istoriul i teritorieblis misatacebl ad iyo momarTul i da mis real izacias, xel sayrel i situaciis SeqmnisTanave axdenda. (ix. cxr. # 9) am konkretul SemTxvevaSi, igi Crdil o da `samxreT oseTis- gaertianebul i respubl ikis fargl ebSi osur separatizms aamoqmedebda da saqarTvel os istoriul teritorias, iaraRis gamoyeneblis gareSe, samarTI ebrivi gziT_ pl ebiscitiT ruseTis federaciis Semadgenl obaSi moaqceveda.

amrigad, Cems mier motanil i dokumenturi masal is anal izidan gamomdinare, Semdegi daskvnis gakeTebis SesaZl ebl oba meZl eva: 1)saqarTvel os teritoriis xarj ze, `samxreT oseTis- revkomis mxridan osuri saxel mwifo warmonaqmnis Seqmnis mcdel obiT ganpirobebul i urTul esi situaciis daregul irebas, Sinagan saqmeTa saxal xo komisariatis 1921 wl is 20 ivl isis dadgenil eba iTval iswinebda. igi osuri separatizmisadmi frTebis Sekvecas, `samxreT oseTis- revkomis samarTI ebriv CarCoSi moqcevas da Sida qarTI is qarTul i mosaxl eobis intereseblis dacvas isaxavda miznad. am dokumentis Rirseba imaSiac mdgomareobda, rom `samxreT oseTis- avtonomiur ol qs cxinval isa da mis garSemo arsebul i 51 qarTul i sofel is gareSe, goris mazris Crdil oeTi nawil is mxol od 7 sasofl o sazogadoebiT Semofargl avda. axl ad daarsebul administraciul erTeul s, samazro ufl ebebs aZl evda. saqarTvel os revkomis mier am dokumentis Tavis droze ardamtkicebiT daSvebul i Secdomis gamosworeblis mcdel obas, imave dadgenil ebis mixedviT, revkomis mier `samxreT oseTis- avtonomiuri ol qis Seqmnis Sesaxeb momzadebul i dekretis proeqti (1922 w. 20 marti) warmoadgenda. saqarTvel os xel isufleblis mier am dokumentis miReblis SemTxvevaSi; a)Sida qarTI is qarTul i mosaxl eobis moTxovnebi srul ad iqneboda gTval iswinebul i, xol o misi usafrTxoeba_ dacul i; b)erovnul i saxel mwifos interesebidan gamomdinare, saqarTvel os teritoriul i mTI ianobis Senarcuneblis myari garantia Seiqmneboda; 2)`samxreT oseTis- revkomis, partkomisa da pasuxismgebel i partiul i muSakeblis gaertianebul sxdomaze (1921 wl is 6- 8 seqtemberi) miRebul i `samxreT oseTis- sabWoTa social isturi respubl ikis sazRvrebis proeqti, mtacebl ur xasiaTs atarebda. igi goris, duSeTis, raWisa da Sorapnis mazrebisadmi CamoWril i teritorieblis xarj ze (1 qal aqi_ cxinval i, 21 sofl is sazogadoeba da 47 qarTul i sofel i) oseblis administraciul i erTeul is Seqmnas iTval iswinebda. `samxreT oseTis- sazRvrebis Sesaxeb saqarTvel os central ur komitetTan arsebul i k.kakabaZis komisiis 1921 wl is 8 dekemberis dadgenil eba

(oqmi # 4), osebis zemoaRniSnul i proeqtis gameorebas waroadgenda. Sida qarTI is qarTul i mosaxl eobis saprotesto weril ebidan gamomdinare, saqarTvel os central uri komitetis da revkomis 1921 wl is 12 da 20 dekembers miRebul ma dadgenil ebebma, k.kakabaZis komisiis dadgenil ebis anul ireba moaxdina da qarTul i sofl ebi goris mazris Semadgenil obaSi datova; 3)`samxreT oseTis- revkomis partkomisa da pasuxismgebel i partiul muSakTa gaerTianebul sxdomaze (1921 wl is 6- 8 seqtemberi) miRebul i 15 muxl iani `samxreT oseTis sabWoTa social isturi respublikis konstituciis proeqti, saqarTvel os Semadgenil obaSi `samxreT oseTis- respublikis federaciul i principiT Sesvl as iTval iswinebda da saqarTvel os xel isufl ebas, qveynis mowyobis sabWoTa ruseTis federaciis model s sTavazobda. am dokumentisadmi darTul i `mokle ganmartebiTi baraTi, osuri sabWouri respublikis Seqmnis aucil ebl obis `mtkicebas- istoriul i faqtebis gayal bebaze agebda. b.kvirkvelias mier saqarTvel os revkomisadmi 1921 wl is 27 seqtembers wardgenil i moxseneba, zemoaRniSnul i osuri proeqtis ZiriTadi debul ebebis mecnierul ad dasabuTebul uaryofas Seicavda. masSi naCvenebi iyo: a)`samxreT oseTis- rogorc mTI iani geografiul i erTeulis ararseboba; b)ekononmikuri, orografiul i da hidrografiul i faqtorebis gaTval iswinebidan gamomdinare, mezobel i mazrebis CamoWril i teritoriebis bazaze osuri administraciul i da samazro erTeul i Seqmnis SeuZl ebl oba; g)saqarTvel os sinamdvidan gamomdinare, mxol od wvri i osuri Temebis Seqmnis mizanSewonil oba. am moxsenebis mixedviT, Sida qarTI is mTiani zolis osebs b.kvirkvelia, damoukidebel i saqarTvel os sakonstitucio komisiis mier 1920 wels SemuSavebul i saTemo- saerobo TviTmmarTvel obiT gaTval iswinebul ufl ebebs sTavazobda. dokumenturi masal iT dadasturebul ia, rom osuri sakiTxis aRniSnul i formiT gadawyveta, saqarTvel os revkomisa da kavbiuros xel mZRvanel obisaTvis principul ad iyo miuRebel i; 4)samTavrobo komisiebis sabol oo daskvnis dadebamde, kavbiuros 1921 wl is 31 oqtomberis dadgenil ebiT geografiul ad ararsebul i `samxreT oseTisaTvis- avtonomiuri olqis daCqarebul i tempiT miniWebis faqti, aRniSnul i organos mxridan, sabWoTa ruseTis xel isufal Ta dakveTis Sesrul ebaze mianiSnebs; 5)saqarTvel os central uri komitetisa da saxal xo komisarTa sabWos 1922 wl is 20 april is dekreti # 2 `samxreT oseTis- avtonomiuri olqis Seqmnis Sesaxeb, sazRvrebis sakiTxSi; a)`samxreT oseTis- revkomis, partkomisa da pasuxismgebel i partiul i muSakebis gaerTianebul sxdomaze (1921 wl is 6- 8 seqtemberi) miRebul i proeqtis da b)k.kakabaZis komisiis 1921 wl is 8 dekembris dadgenil ebis (oqmi # 4) dublikats waroadgenda. am dokumentiT, saqarTvel os xel isufl ebam osi separatistebis pretenziebis dakmayofil eba moaxdina. Sinagan saqmeTa saxal xo komisarTtan arsebul i komisiis (gr.gvel esiani, d.kariWaSvil i, s.gorgaZe) mier dekreti # 2- is gadasinj vis dasabuTebul i formiT moTxovna, sazRvrebis sakiTxSi samarTlianobis aRdgenas iTval iswinebda da qarTul i mosaxl eobis interesebis dacvas isaxavda miznad; 6)`samxreT oseTis- avtonomiuri olqis momij nave mazrebis qarTul i sofl ebis saCivrebis Semswavl el i saxel mwifo komisiis (Seiqmna 1925 wl is 3 seqtembers) saqmianoba,

piarkampaniis saxes atarebda. igi qarTvel Ta emociebisa da vneba-
TaRel vis Cacxromaze iyo gaTvl il i. rac Seexeba sazRvrebis saki-
Txs, sazogadoebis Tval isaxvevis mizniT diskusia mxol od `kosme-
tikuri cvl il ebebis- daSveba- ardaSvebis SesaZI ebl obis far-
gl ebSi warimarTa. dokumenturi masal iT dadasturebul ia, rom aRniS-
nul ma komisiამ ცენტრის მიტიტება პირნატი ად Seasrul ა. qarTvel i
gl exkacობის სამართლიანი მოქოვნების ignoreბიტ, `samxreT ose-
Tis- ავტონომიური ოლქის ადმინისტრაციული საზრვარი Zირიტადad pi-
rvandel i saxiT datova. 7)Crdil o da `samxreT oseTis- saqarTve-
l os Semadgenl obaSi gaertianeბის ოფიციალურად დასმა (1925 wel i),
moskovidan iyo sanqციეებუი და მისამართული იდეოლოგიური
დატვირთვა გააწნდა. aRniSnul i faqtis win wamoweვა, `samxreT ose-
Tis- ავტონომიური ოლქის სეპარატისტულ ადგანოებულ ოსურ მოსაქ-
ლეობასი, saqarTvel os ტერიტორიის ხარჯზე ერთიანი ოსეთის სეკმნის
მინელ ებუი ნაპერვკლ ის აალ ებას და საბოლოო იმპერიის ხელისუფალ-
თა მხრიდან სამომავლ ოდ saqarTvel os winაარმდებ დანიSnul ებისამე-
ბრ გამოენებას ისახავდა მისნად.

osuri sakiTxi da qarTul i sinamdvil e (1917- 1925 ww.) daskvnebi

saarqivo da presis masal ebis (1917- 1925 wl ebis monakveTi) amomwuravad damuSavebam da safuZvl ianma anal izmma Semdegi daskvnebis gakeTebis Sesazl ebl oba momca:

1)Si da qarTl Si xizanis statusiT mcxovrebi osebis mxridan TviTgarmorkvevis moTxovna, sabWoTa ruseTis mier iyo provoci rebul i, arasamarTl ebriv saxes atarebda da qarTul i saxel mwifos interesebis ignorirebas axdenda. saqarTvel os osebis erovnul i sabWos mier osebis `erovnul i pol kis- Seqmnis sakiTxis dayeneba, qarTul i saxel mwifos winaaRmdeg osebis separatistul i moZraobis dasayrdeni bazis gamyarebas isaxavda miznad. qarTul ma pol itikurma el itam, am mavnebl ur Canafiqrs al Rodroul ad auRo da amierkavkasiaSi Seqmnil i pol itikuri situaciis gaTval - iswi nebi dan gamomdinare, osebis ukanono moTxovni sadmi uaris Tqmi Tswori gadawyvetil eba miRo.

1918 wl is martisa da ivnisis cxinval i- saCxeris raionebis osebis aj anyebebi, sabWoTa ruseTis dakveTis fonze ganxorciel da da saqarTvel os mTavrobis sadmi omis gamocxadebis tol fas qmedebas Seicavda. saqarTvel oSi mcxovrebm a osebm a, aRniSnul i aj anyebebi qarTvel i erisTvis urTul es pol itikur moments (saqarTvel o- osmal eTis omi) daamTxvies. umaduri osebis es qmedeba, qarTul i pol itikuri azris mesveurebm a, qarTvel erTan mimarTebaSi orgul obad da Casafrebul i SurismaZiebl is Sinagani Tvi sebeb is gamovl inebad Seafasa. saxel isufl ebo uwyebebis mier, cxinval isa da saCxeris raionebis aj anyebul i osebis sadmi mTel i simkacrit sadamsjel o RonisZiebeb is argatareba da aqcentis mxol od aj anyebis xel mZRvanel e bze gadatana, pol itikur Secdomas waramoadgenda. am faqtoridan gamomdinare, saqarTvel os xel isfl ebam, qveynis interesebis sadmi osebis damorcil eba da maTi mxridan axal i aj anyebebis armowyobis myari garantiis Seqmna ver SeZl o.

cxinval isa da saCxeris raionebis aj anyebul i osebis mier Cadenil i danasaul ebrivi qmedebis samarTl ebrivi Sefasebidan gamomdinare, qarTul ma pol itikurma azrovnebam osebs `gaiZvera da moRal ate,- `saqarTvel os respublikis umaduri Svil ebi,- `osi cru intel igentebis mier Tavgzabneul i- da `tomrebgadakidebul i mZarcvel ebi- uwoda. dokumenturi masal is anal izi adasturebs, rom saqarTvel os damoukidebel i saxel mwifos Sesaqmnel ad gadadgmul i nabij is pirvel i dRidanve, osebis umetesobam, qarTvel erTan mimarTebaSi istoriis samarcxvino furcel i dawera. osuri eTnosis gadamrceners_ qarTvel ebs, Znel bedobis Jams zurgSi gal esil i maxvil i Casca.

2)saqarTvel os damoukidebl oba, osi separatistebis umravl esobis interesebSi ramdenadac ar Sedioda, qarTvel Ta erovnul i saxel mwifosa da misi teritoriul i mTl ianobis sadmi dapirispireba, Si da qarTl is mTis osebis teritoriul ad gamoyofis moTxovniT gamoavl ines. am antiqarTul i qmedebis demonstrireba, osebis yril obebze safexurebrivad mimdinareobda.

osuri intel igenciis garegnul ad `saqarTvel osaken Semobruneba,- osuri aj anyebebis damarcxebiTa da Crdil o kavkasiaSi mimdinare pol itikuri procesebis cval ebadobit iyo ganpirobepul i. igi `gawol is- nacad pol itikur kurss Seicavda da samoqmedod drois Sesafereb is xel sayrel mo-

mentze iyo gaTvl il i. qarTul i intel igenciisa da qveynis mmarTvel i pol itikuri el itis mxridan saqarTvel os orientaciisaken osebis sabol ood Semobrunebis mcdel oba uSedego aRmoCnda. amis ZiriTadi mizezi, osi separatistebis cnobierebaSi saqarTvel os, rogorc jaWvis yvel aze susti rgol is aRqmaSi mdgomareobda. am faqtoris gaTval iswi nebi dan gamomdinare, osebi darwmunebul ebi iyvnen, rom saqarTvel os xel isufl ebaze zewol is Sedegad, dasaxul mi zans mi aRwevden da Sida qarTI is teritoriis garkveul i nawil is saqarTvel odan Camocil ebas SeZl ebdnen.

saqarTvel os osebis VI yril obis (1918 wl is 4 dekemberi) mier miRebul i rezolucia_ Crdil o da `samxreT oseTis- gaerTianebul i mTavrobis Seqmnis Sesaxeb, saqarTvel os xel isufl ebisadmi ara marto dapirispirebas, aramed gamowvevasac warmoadgenda. dokumenturi masal iT dasturdeba, rom, osebis TviTgamorkvevisken swrafvis stimulatoris funqcias bol Sevikebi asrul ebdnen. Sida qarTI is mTis osebis TviTgamorkvevis kampania, rus da qarTvel bol Sevikebs, saqarTvel os damoukidebl obis dasamxobad sWird eboda. am fonze, savsebiT marTebul i da kanonzomieri iyo erovnul - demokratebis moTxovna: a) Sida qarTI is mTis osebtan mimarTebaSi saqarTvel os xel isufl ebas radikal uri zomebi gaetarebina; b) daezustebina, cnobden Tu ara osebi saqarTvel os damoukidebl obas.

saqarTvel os sinamdvil eSi, eTnikuri umciresobebis TviTgamorkvevis SezRudva, qveynis teritoriul i mTI ianobis SenarCunebas emyareboda. miuxedavad amisa, respublikis sakanonmdebl oaqtebi, eTnikuri umciresobebis samarTI ebrivi ufl ebebis maqsimal urad dacvis garantias iZl eoda. aqedan gamomdinare, eTnikur umciresobebtan mimarTebaSi, saqarTvel os pirveli respublikis mTavrobis pol itikuri kursi im periodis evropul i saxel mwi foebis standartebs utol deboda da saerTasoris samarTI is CarCoSi Tavsdeboda.

3) osebis erovnul i sabWos mier Sida qarTI is mTis osebis sainformacio vakumSi moqceva, winaswar gamiznul qmedebas warmoadgenda da bol Sevikebis saagitacio- propagandistul i muSaobisadmi xel sayrel i pirobebis Seqmnas isaxavda miznad. javaSi mowveul i bol Sevikebis aral egarul i konferenciis (1919 wl is ivnisi) ZiriTadi gadawyvetil ebebi, saqarTvel os masStabiT sayovel Tao SeiaraRebul i aj anyebis mosamzadebl ad da damoukidebel i saqarTvel os xel isufl ebis dasamxobad iyo gaTvl il i. am saqmeSi, rokis xeobis aj anyebul osebs damkvrel i birtvis funqcia qonda dakisrebul i. dasaxul i miznis gansaxorciel ebl ad, saqarTvel os moqal aqe qarTvel i da osi renegatyebisadmi sabWoTa ruseTis mxridan oqros kursiT 40 milion 367 aTasi maneTis gadacema, ucxo saxel mwifos mxridan, damoukidebel i saqarTvel os winaarmddeg farTomasStabiani Setqmul ebis momzadebis xel Sewyobis dadasturebas warmoadgens.

saqarTvel os Sinagan saqmeTa saministros muSakebis mier aj anyebis gegmis aRmoCenam, qveyana gardual i katastrofisagan ixсна. xel isufl ebis mxridan aj anyebis kerebis Caqrobam da damnaSaveebisadmi mosal odnel i umkacresi sasjel is acil ebis mcdel obam, osebi farisevl obis morig safexuramde mi iyvana. igi osebisagan Cadenil i danaSaul is saqarTvel os mTavrobisadmi oficial urad patiebis TxovnaSi da damoukidebel i saqarTvel os mxardaWeris aragul wrfel aRiarebaSi gamovl inda, rac Semdgom wl ebSi ganvitarebul ma movl enebmac daadastura.

4) saqarTvel osTan mimarTebaSi evropis saxel mwi foebis indiferentul - ma damokidebul ebam, sabWoTa ruseTs, saqarTvel os sazianod Sesatyvisi

RonisZiebebis gatarebis SesaZl ebl oba misca. ruseTis dafinansebiT Sida qarTl is mTian zonaSi `samxreT oseTis- revkomis Seqmna (1920 wel i), sayovel Tao aj anyebis mowyobis gegmis SemuSaveba da osuri SeiaraRebul i razmebis Sedgena, saqarTvel oSi samoqal aqo omis gaCaRebas, qarTul i saxel mwifoebriobis dangrevas da arsebul i xel isufl ebis Secvl is xarj ze, qveynis gasabWoebas isaxavda miznad. am fonze, Sida qarTl is saqarTvel os moqal aqe mTis osebis qmedeba, ruseTis komunisturi partiis (b) xel mZRvanel Ta miznebis da amocanebis Sesasrul ebl ad_ `mexuTe kol onis-funqciis dasayrden fundaments warmoadgenda.

sabWoTa ruseTis mier azerbaijanis mxridan, saqarTvel os winaarmdog dawyebul i saomari moqmedeba da imavdroul ad rokis xeobis osebis aj anyeba, osebisgan warsul Si aprobirebul i meTodis amoqmedebas Seicavda. es faqti, qarTul ma pol itikurma azrovnebam, ara mar to saqarTvel os xel isufl ebisadmi daumocil ebl obis, aramed qveynis Ral atis kval ifikaciiT Seafasa. osebis aRniSnul i aj anyeba kavkavidan imarTeboda da mas ruseTis federaciiis moqal aqe osebis sami kargad SeiaraRebul i razmi exmareboda. sabWoTa ruseTis es qmedeba, samarTl ebrivi Tval sazrisiT ruseT- saqarTvel os xel Sekrul ebis VI muxl is darRvevas warmoadgenda da misadmi saqarTvel os xel isufl ebis adeqvaturi reagireba, saerTasoriso arenaze qveynis interesebis dacvas emsaxureboda.

Sida qarTl is mTis osebis 1920 wl is aj anyeba, qarTul i pol itikuri azrovnebis mxridan saqarTvel osTvis zurgSi gal esil i maxvil is Cacemad iqna Sefasebul i. qarTul i sazogadoebis cnobierebaSi Sida qarTl is mTiani zol is kompaqturad dasaxl ebul i osebi, savsebiT samarTl ianad iqna aRqm- ul i rogorc orpirovani ianusi, qarTul i saxel mwifos mourCenel i wyl ul i da saqarTvel os sxeul is daCirqebul i muwuki. am avadmyofobisgan gankurnebis erTaderT saSual ebad, qarTul i pol itikuri el ita, damnaSave osebis sanimuSod dasjas, anu_ saqarTvel os sxeul ze aRmocenebul i osuri wyl ul is gavarvarebul i SanTiT amowvas moiTxovda. warsul is mware gamocd- il eba da qveynis erovnul i interesebi, saqarTvel os mTavrobas principi- li da ukompromiso poziciis bol omde gatarebis aucil ebl obisken ubi- Zgebda.

5)Sida qarTl is mTis osebis 1918- 1920 wl ebis aj anyebebis gamomwvev Zir- iTad mizevad, social - demokratebis mier agrarul i da sasursaTo krizi- sis dasaxel eba, probl emisadmi araswori midgomiT iyo ganpirobebul i da bunebrivia, obieqtur daskvnasac ar Seicavda. anal ogiur mdgomareobaSi aRmoCnda erovnul - demokratebi, radikal - demokratebi da qarTvel i bol Sevi- kebi, roca osebis 1918-1920 wl ebis aj anyebebi erovnul moZraobad gamoac- xades. aRniSnul i Tval sazrisisadmi social -demokratebis uaryofiTi damok- idebul eba marTebul i iyo, radgan, osebis aj anyebebis erovnul moZraobad gamocxadeba qarTul i saxel mwifos saziانو debul ebas warmoadgenda da osi separatistebis `gmirobis- SaravandediT Semosvas uwyobda xel s. am poziciidan Tuki SevafasebT Sida qarTl is mTis osebis 1918-1920 wl ebis aj anyebebTan mimarTebaSi qarTul i pol itikuri azris mesveurTa urTierTsa- winaarmdego Sexedul ebebs, davrwundebiT, rom igi zedapirul mtkicebul e- bebs Seicavda da momxdari faqtis siRmiseul anal izs ar efuZneboda.

gazeT `erTobaSi- gamoqveynebul publ ikaciebSi, sabWoTa ruseTis maga- liTis fonze, dasabuTebul i formiT iqna warmocenil i bol Sevikebis erovnu- li TviTgamorkvevis ideis siyal be. gamoaSkaravebul i iqna, rom aRniSnu- li idea, bol Sevikebis pol itikur kampanias warmoadgenda. igi sxvis saxe-

el mwifoSi qaosis Sesaqmnel ad da mis dasangrevad iyo gaTvl il i. mim-
dinare pol itikuri procesebis saRi gonebi T Sefasebis miuxedavad, qarTul ma
pol itikurma el itam, osebis 1918- 1920 wl ebis aj anyebibs Sefasebebis Sesa-
tyvisi formul ireba ver mouZebna. Sida qarTl is mTis osebis aj anyebei
ramdenadac saqarTvel odan osebis gamoyofas, qarTvel i eris istoriul ad
kuTvnil i teritoriis mitacebas da ruseTis federaciasTan mier Tebas isax-
avda miznad, am faqts, mxol od XX saukunis 90- iani wl ebis qarTul ma
istoriografiam misca obieqturi Sefaseba da mas savsebiT kanonzomierad
osuri separatizmi uwoda.

6)axl adSeqmnil qarTul saxel mwifosTan mimarTebsi, qarTvel ma bol Se-
vikebma da osma separatistebma aSkarad mtrul i damokidebul eba gamoa-
vl ines. maTi mxridan, Sida qarTl is mTis osebsi xel ovnurad Seqmnil i
mavnebl uri `Teoriis-`ori oseTis- cnebiT manipul irebam, eTnopol iti-
kurad da eTnoistoriul ad ararsebul i `samxreT oseTis,- Crdil o kavka-
siis oseTisagan `Camocil ebis- qarTvel i erisadmi gadabral ebam, qarTve-
l Ta saxiT `mtris xatis- Seqmnam, osur mosaxl eobaSi qarTvel ebisadmi
siZul vil is fsiqozis gaRrmavebas Seuwyo xel i.

rusul i orientaciis mqone osuri intel igenciis didi nawil i da TviT
osuri erovnul i sabWo, osebiT dasaxl ebul i Sida qarTl is mTiani zol is
ruseTTan misaerTebl ad, Sesabamisi samarTl ebrivi aqtebis SemuSaveba-
momzadebiT iyo dakavebul i. maT mier miRebul dokumentebSi `samxreT
oseTi- ruseTis ganuyofel nawil ad iyo gamocxadebul i. amis naTel da-
dasturebas `mSromel i samxreT oseTis memorandumi- (1920 wl is 28 maisi)
da `samxreT oseTis- revkomis 1920 wl is 8 ivnisis brZaneba warmoadgens.

ruseTis imperiis xel isufal Ta mier Segnebul ad Seqmnil i `samxreT os-
eTis- yal bi terminis pol itikur moRvaweTa l eqsikonidan veramoReba da
Sida qarTl is mTis osebisTvis Sesatyvisi saxel wodebis vergamoZebna, qarTu-
l i pol itikuri el itisa da mecnierebis did Secdomad unda CaiTval os.
miTumetes, saxel mwifoebriw doneze `samxreT oseTis- teritoriul ad Semo-
fargvl a da oficial urad dadastureba im etapze ar ganxorciel ebul a.
qarTul i pol itikuri azris mesveurTa es sisuste, rusma bol Sevikebma da
osma separatistebma, osuri mosaxl eobis cnobierebaSi `samxreT oseTis-
cnebis dasamkvidrebl ad gamoiyenes.

osi separatistebisa da bol Sevikebis mier zRvarsgadacil ebul i arasa-
marTl ebrivi moTxovnebis dayeneba: a) `samxreT oseTis- ruseTis federaci-
asTan SeerTebsa, b) Tbil isisa da quTaisis guberniebis statusiT sabWota
ruseTis Semadgenl obaSi saqarTvel os Seyvanis moTxovna, demokratiul i
saqarTvel os mTavrobas_ radikal uri RonisZiebebis gatarebis aucil e-
bl obis winaSe ayenebda. axl adSeqmnil i qveynis gadarCenis mizniT, saqa-
rTvel os xel isufal ebas iseTi meqanizmi unda SeemuSavebina, romel ic ru-
sul i nostalgiiTa da qarTvel i eris siZul vil iT Sepyrobil Sida qarT-
l is mTis osebs, istoriul samSobl oSi dabrunebis SesaZl ebl obas misce-
mda. am mxriv, Sida qarTl is mTis osebsTan mimarTebsi, saqarTvel os erovnu-
l ma mTavrobam swori pol itikuri gadawyvetil eba miiRo.

7)1917- 1919 wl ebis osebis erovnul i sabWos saqmianoba, qarTul i saxel m-
wifos interesebis sawinaaRmdego qmedebas Seicavda da Sida qarTl is te-
ritoriis didi nawil is Crdil o kavkasiis oseTTan misaerTebl ad Sesaba-
misi sakanonmdebl o bazis Seqmnas iTval iswinebda. am mavnebl uri Canafi-
qris safexurebrivad momzadebas, Sida qarTl is osebsaTvis saxel mwifo-
ebriw warmonaqmnis mqone teritoriul ad gamokvetil i erTeul is dakanon

ebis moTxovnebi edo safuZvl ad. igi pol itikuri situaciis cval ebadobas eqvemdebareboda da formis Tval sazrisiT_ etapobrivi xasiaTs atarebda.

osi separatistebis pretenziuli moTxovnebi, erTmaneTisagan gansxvavebul ramdenime safexurs Seicavda: a)1917 wl is ivnisi_ saqarTvel os osebisaTvis `Tavisufali TviTgamorkveva-; b)1917 wl is dekemberi- 1918 wl is ianvari_ goris, duSetis, raWisa da Sorapnis mazrebi 22 sasofli o sazoga-dobisa da sami sofli bazaze osebisaTvis farTo samazro- saerobo administraciuli formis erTeuli Seqmnis moTxovna; g)1918 wl is seqtemberi_ `samxret oseTisaTvis- cal ke administraciuli avtonomiuri ol qis Seqmnis moTxovna; d)1919 wl is ivnisi_ Sida qarTli is mTis osebisaTvis kantonis Seqmnis moTxovna. es faqtebi imaze migvaniSnebs, rom os separatistebis saqarTvel os xel isufli ebisadmi pretenziebis Tavsmoxveva da saqarTvel os teritoriuli mTli ianobis SemakavSirebeli arteriis Segnebul ad gadaWra qonda miznad dasaxuli.

qarTuli pol itikuri speqtris mier osi separatistebis `Sefarviti pol itikuri eSmakobis- saaSkaraoze droul ad gamotana da am fonze javis samazro saerobo erTeuli saxiT osebisaTvis al ternatul proeqtis SeTavazeba, erovnul saxel mwifos interesebis garkveul wil ad ignorierebis xarjze xdeboda da udides kompromiss warmoadgenda. saqarTvel os xel isufli ebis mier SemuSavebuli aRniSnuli proeqtis praqtikul ad ganxorciel eba, osebis mier Cafiqrebuli mosal odneli safrTxis droul ad aRkvetis Sesazl ebl obas izleoda.

osebis 1920 wl is mais- ivnisis aj anyebam da qarTuli saxel mwifos arsebobs kiTxvis nisnis qveS dayenebam, osebisadmi qarTuli pol itikuri speqtris undobl oba ganapiroba. mimdinare pol itikurma procesebma, osuri samazro- saerobo erTeuli Seqmnis dRis wesrigidan moxsna da osuri sakiTxis sxva eTnikur umciresobebTan erTian CarCoSi moqceva l ogikuri gaxada. eTnikuri umciresobebisadmi, maT Soris osebisadmi sajaro ufl ebis miniWebaze uaristqma da saTemo- saerobo ufl ebibit Semofargvli, saqarTvel os erovnul saxel mwifos usafrTxoebis interesebs efuzneboda da qarTuli pol itikuri speqtris mxridan swor pol itikur gadawyvetil ebas warmoadgenda.

8) saqarTvel os xel isufli ebis mier osebTan mimarTebaSi gatarebuli sasideTo RonisZiebebis (miwis, tyis, saZovrebi gadacema, osuri skol ebis Seqmna) sapsuxod, damoukidebeli saqarTvel os saxel mwifos winaarmdeg osebis mxridan 1918- 1920 wl ebSi ganxorciel ebul ma `Sidaj varosnul mal asqrobema, qarTuli pol itikuri azris liderTa Soris osebi qveynis danamat parazitebad warmoaCina. osebis namoqmedaris safuZvli anma analizmma, qarTuli pol itikuri speqtris winase kanonzomierad dasva sakiTxi_ ritiyo ganpirobebuli qarTvel ebisadmi osebis gansakutrebuli siZulvili, imsaxurebdnen Tu araisini qarTvel ebTan Tanacxovrebi moralur, zneobrivi da samartli ebrivi ufl ebas. qarTvel Tan Znel bedobis Jams, osebis oTxgzis aj anyebam da qarTuli saxel mwifos dauZl urebis mcdel obam, qarTuli pol itikuri speqtri osebisadmi gaweuli sikeTis Secdomad aRiarebamde miyvana. am fonze, savsebit l ogikuri iyo erovnul - demokratebis mier gakeTebuli radikaluri gancxadeba_ `osebi sabediswero muwukia saqarTvel os sxelze da igi aucil ebl ad unda moviSoroT.-

rokisa da mamisonis saurel texilo xeobebis osuri separatistuli mosaxleobisagan gawmenda da sanacvli od qarTvel ebis Casaxlebis sakiTxis dayeneba, osebisadmi, rogorc arasaimedo eTnოსადმი undobl obit iyo ga-

npirobepul i. am SemTxvevaSi, qarTul i saxel mwifos dasangrevad 1918- 1920 wl ebSi sabWoTa ruseTis agenturis mier osebisadmi SekveTil i da dafinansebul i aj anyebebis faqtebia gasaTval iswinebel i. osuri safrTxis neutral izebisa da saqarTvel oSi mSvidobiani cxovrebis el ementarul i pirobebis Sesaqmnel ad, qarTul i pol itikuri azris warmomadgenl ebi erTaderT gamosaval s osebis sanimuSod dasj aSi da qarTul i saxel mwifos samsaxurSi CayenebaSi xedavda.

damoukidebel i saqarTvel os mTavrobis mier osebtan mimarTebaSi gatarebul i `sagadasaxl ebo- pol itikis srul yofil ad ganxorciel eba orwel ze iyo gaTvl il i. igi sabWoTa ruseTidan mosal odnel i Tavdasxmisadmi Rirseul daxvedras, misi mxardamWeri osuri mosaxl eobis sasazRvro zolidan mocil ebas, Si da qarTl is mTian zol ze aRmocenebul i mtkivneul i osuri wyl ul isgan saqarTvel os sxeul is gankurnebas da misi usafrTxoebis garantiis Seqmnas emsaxureboda. osebis mier saqarTvel os saxel mwifos damoukidebl obis kiTxvis niSnis qveS ramdenjerme dayenebam, saqarTvel os xel isufl ebas sxval ternativa ar dautova. Zal momreobaze dafuznebul i osuri separatizmissa da osianobis safexurebrivad aRmasvl is dauyovneblivi likvidacia erTaderT aucil ebel meqanizms warmoadgenda. zemoT aRniSnul i radikal uri RonisZiebebi, osuri mosaxl eobis mxol odim nawil s Seexo, roml ebsac qveynis winaSe Ral atis tol fasi qmedeba qonda Cadenil i. meore mxriv, `sagadasaxl ebo- pol itika, damoukidebel i saqarTvel os xel isufl ebis agrarul i reformis erT- erTi Semadgenel i nawil i iyo da qarTul mosaxl eobasTan erTad, osebis Sromis mizanmimarTul ad gamoyenebas iTval iswinebda.

9) Cems mier motanil i masal ebis anal izidan gamomdinare, dabej iTebiT SeiZl eba vamtkicoT: **1)** damoukidebel i saqarTvel os xel isufl ebis mier teritoriul i mTlianobis SesanarCunebl ad da osuri separatizmissabolood aRmosafxvrel ad dawyebul i RonisZiebebis bol omde miyvana, dasavleT evropis saxel mwifoTa pol itikur da ekonomikur mxardaWeraze iyo damoukidebul i. **2)** evropis didi saxel mwifoebis prosabWourma orientaciada saqarTvel osadmi micemul i pirobis arSesrul ebam, sabWoTa ruseTs saqarTvel os dapyrobis xel sayrel i pol itikuri garemo Seuqmna.

saqarTvel odan 1920 wel s `deportirebul i- damnaSave osebis 1921 wl is martidan s. orj onikiZis iniciativiT Sida qarTl Si qaoturad dabrunebam da SurismaZiebel i osebisagan qarTul i mosaxl eobis damcavi meqanizmis winaswar armomzadebam, tragikul i Sedegebi gamoiRo. mxedvel obaSi maqvs: **a)** Sida qarTl is qarTul i mosaxl eobis osebisagan ZarCva (saqonl is, muSapirutyvis, tansacmel is, TeTreul is, avej is, sasofl i- sameurneo produqtebis dataceba) da mizanmimarTul ad Seviwroeba; **b)** mamapapeul i sacxovrisidan qarTvel Ta gamodevna. dokumenturi masal iT dasturdeba, rom osebis amdanaSaul ebriv qmedebebs, gasabWoebul i saqarTvel os xel isufl ebam Sesabamisi sadamsjel o meqanizmi ar daupirispira. aRniSnul i faqti, qarTvel - Ta qonebis saZarcvavad osebs xel sayrel pirobebs uqmni. miTumetes, osebisadmi ificial uri mfarvel isrols, `samxreT oseTis- revkomi, osuri milicia da qarTul sofl ebSi Cayenebul XI armiis nawil ebi asrul ebda.

gasabWoebul saqarTvel oSi Seqmnil i pol itikuri foni, os separatistebis qarTvel Ta winaaRmddeg Zal ismieri meTodis gamosayenebl ad aqtiuri moqmedebisaken ubiZgebda, mamapapeul i sacxovrisidan qarTvel Ta gamodevnis real ur Sesazl ebl obas uqmni. mZarcvel obiTi saqmianobis paral el urad, osebis mxridan vandal uri meTodebis gamoyenebam (qarTvel ebis

saxl karis gadawwa, mkvl el oba, mosaxl eobis cecxl Si dawwa, arasrul wl ovanidan di debis CaTvl iT qal ebis gaupatiureba) da aseTi qmedebisadmi permanentul i saxis micemam, osi separatistebis Canafiqris pirvel i safexuris momzadebis myari safuZvel i Seqmna. osebis am danaSaul ebriv moqmedebasTan mimarTebaSi, kavbiuro da gasabWoebul i saqarTvel os xel isufli ebis Sesabamisi uwebebi mkacr reagirebas ar akeTebda. isini mxol od komisi ebis SeqmniTa da saTanado moxseneba- daskvnebis momzadebiT ifargl ebodnen. qveynis mmarTvel i organoebis mxridan qarTvel Ta siZul vil ze agebul ma araerovnul ma pol itikurma kursma, Sida qarTI is cxinval is raionSi osianobis ganaxl ebas da qarTvel Ta eTnowmendas daudo saTave.

gasabWoebul i saqarTvel os marionetul i mTavrobis xel SewyobiT, osi separatistebi Sida qarTI is mTian zonaSi demografiul i bal ansis osebis sasargebl od Secvl as daCqarebul i tempiT maqsimal urad cdil obda. maTi Zal isxmeviT, 1921 wl is martidan 25 april is CaTvl iT, drois am mcire monakveTSi, Sida qarTI is 13 qarTul i sofel i (sveri, qemerti, mi ndiani, yafl ani, kasrani, monasteri, awrisxevi, sacxeneTi, bel oTi, qvemo da zemo niqoza, qvemo da zemo xviTi) qarTvel ebisagan daical a. am danaSaul ebriv faqts, saqarTvel os xel isufli eba Segnebul ad mal avda da samTavrobo doneze Sesabamis reagirebas ar akeTebda. Sida qarTI is qarTul i mosaxl eoba kavbiurosa da sabWoTa saqarTvel os mTavrobis Semawuxebel danamatad iqca.

Sida qarTI idan qarTvel Ta iZul ebiTi gamodevnis erT- erT formad, qarTvel Ta winaaRmdeg osi separatistebis mier, osuri SeiaraRebul i razmebis (meTaurebi: osi petre gogiSvil i, jatin kokoevi, dianoza Zaxoevi, cicia Zaxoevi, gurgena gul araSvil i) aqtiuri moqmedeba iqna gamoyenebul i. dokumenturi masal iT dasturdeba, rom sabWoTa xel isufli ebam, Sida qarTI is qarTul i mosaxl eoba gasawirad gaimeta da os separatistebis wl ebis manZil ze `saj ij gnad- miugdo.

10) saqarTvel os Zal datanebiTi gasabWoebis Semdeg, Sida qarTI is mTian zonaSi `samxreT oseTis- niRbiT sabWoTa xel isufli ebis gamarjvebis formal urad gamocxadeba, `samxreT oseTis- revkomis xel meored oficial urad Seqmna da misi cxinval Si ganTavseba, osebis revkomisadmi qarTul i sofl ebis daqvemdebarebas da cxinval is regionis saqarTvel osgan xel ovnurad gaucxoebas isaxavda miznad.

saarqivo masal iT dasturdeba, rom `samxreT oseTis- revkomisa da mis mier qarTul sofl ebSi Seqmnil i osuri mil iciis ganyofil ebebis TviTnebur i saqmi anoba (qarTul i mosaxl eobis mi zanmimarTul i Seviwroeba), `sarevol uci o drois kanonebis- darRvevas warmoadgenda. miuxedavad amisa, saqarTvel os revkomi da Sinagan saqmeTa saxal xo komisariati, `samxreT oseTis- revkomTan mimarTebaSi radikal ur zomebs ar mimarTavda, Sida qarTI is qarTul i mosaxl eobis gasawirs Segnebul ad asaiduml oebda da farTo sazogadoebisatvis xel miuwvdomel sxdida. dokumenturi masal idan irkveva, rom SeiaraRebul i osuri mosaxl eobis sabWoTa xel isufli ebisadmi ardapirispirebis mizniT, saqarTvel os maSindel i mmarTvel i wreebi, osebTan mimarTebaSi yovel gvare saxis daTmobaze mi dioda da Sida qarTI is qarTul i mosaxl eobis interesebi, sabWouri ideol ogiis samsxverpl oze mi hqonda.

goris mazris administraciul erTeul ebad damyofi komisiis mier Sedgenil i proeqti, mazris eTnografiul i, strategiul i, geografiul i da sxvamniSvnel ovani faqtorebis gaTval iswinebaze iyo damyarebul i. misi praktikul ad ganxorciel ebis SemTxvevaSi: a) cxinval is raionis 51 qarTul i sofel i goris mazras daeqvemdebareboda; b) samxreT oseTis- revkomis

moqmedebis areal i Seikveceboda da garkveul CarCoSi moeqceoda; g) `samxreT oseTis- rezidenciad cxinval i ar i qneboda. Sinagan saqmeTa saxal xo komisariatis 1921 wl is 9 agvistos dadgenil eba # 30, goris mazris Semadgenl obaSi cxinval is raionis mxol od 31 qarTul i sofl is (20- iT nakl ebis) Seyvanas iTval iswinebda. aRniSnul i xarvezis miuxedavad, goris mazris Crdil oeT nawil Si Seqmnil i mZime pol itikuri situaciis fonze, am dadgenil ebis praqtikul ad ganxorciel eba wingadadgmul nabij ad CaiTvl eboda. `samxreT oseTis- revkomis Seupovari `sasazRvro brZol isa- da saqarTvel os xel isufl ebis kompromisul i pol itikidan gamomdinare, `samxreT oseTis- revkomma qarTul sofl ebze batonobis SenarCuneba SeZl o. am faqtiT, dasaxul mi zans ZiriTadad miaRwia da momdevno etapi saTvis sabrZol vel ad Sesabamisi safexuri moamzada.

11) saqarTvel os teritoriis xarj ze, `samxreT oseTis- revkomis mxridan osuri saxel mwifo warmonaqmnis Seqmnis mcdel obiT ganpirobetul i urTul esi situaciis daregul irebas, Sinagan saqmeTa saxal xo komisariatis 1921 wl is 20 ivl isis dadgenil eba iTval iswinebda. igi osuri separatizmisadmi frTebis Sekvecas, `samxreT oseTis- revkomis samarTI ebriv CarCoSi moqcevas da Sida qarTI is qarTul i mosaxl eobis interesebis dacvas isaxavda miznad. am dokumentis Rirseba imaSiac mdgomareobda, rom `samxreT oseTis- avtonomiur ol qs cxinval isa da mis garSemo arsebul i 51 qarTul i sofel is gareSe, goris mazris Crdil oeTi nawil is mxol od 7 sasofl o sazogadoebiT Semofargl avda. axl ad daarsebul administraciul erTeul s, samazro ufl ebebs aZl evda. saqarTvel os revkomis mier am dokumentis Tavis droze ardamtkicebiT daSvebul i Secdomis gamosworebis mcdel obas, imave dadgenil ebis mixedviT, revkomis mier `samxreT oseTis- avtonomiuri ol qis Seqmnis Sesaxeb momzadebul i dekretis proeqti (1922 w. 20 marti) warmoadgenda. saqarTvel os xel isufl ebis mier am dokumentis miRebis SemTxvevaSi; a) Sida qarTI is qarTul i mosaxl eobis moTxovnebi srul ad iqneboda gaTval iswinebul i, xol o misi usafrTxoeba_ dacul i; b) erovnul i saxel mwifos interesebidan gamomdinare, saqarTvel os teritoriul i mTI ianobis SenarCunebis myari garantia Sei qmneboda.

`samxreT oseTis- revkomis, partkomisa da pasuxismgebel i partiul i muSakebis gaertianebul sxdomaze (1921 wl is 6- 8 seqtemberi) miRebul i `samxreT oseTis- sabWoTa social isturi respubl ikis sazRvrebis proeqti, mtacebl ur xasiaTs atarebda. igi goris, duSeTis, raWisa da Sorapnis mazrebisadmi CamoWril i teritoriebis xarj ze (1 qal aqi_ cxinval i, 21 sofl is sazogadoeba da 47 qarTul i sofel i) osebis administraciul i erTeul is Seqmnas iTval iswinebda. `samxreT oseTis- sazRvrebis Sesaxeb saqarTvel os central ur komitetTan arsebul i k.kakabaZis komisiis 1921 wl is 8 dekemberis dadgenil eba (oqmi # 4), osebis zemoaRniSnul i proeqtis gameorebas warmoadgenda. Sida qarTI is qarTul i mosaxl eobis saprotesto weril ebidan gamomdinare, saqarTvel os central uri komitetis da revkomis 1921 wl is 12 da 20 dekembers miRebul ma dadgenil ebebma, k.kakabaZis komisiis dadgenil ebis anul ireba moaxdina da qarTul i sofl ebi goris mazris Semadgenl obaSi datova.

`samxreT oseTis- revkomis partkomisa da pasuxismgebel i partiul muSakTa gaertianebul sxdomaze (1921 wl is 6- 8 seqtemberi) miRebul i 15 muxliani `samxreT oseTis sabWoTa social isturi respubl ikis konstituciiis proeqti, saqarTvel os Semadgenl obaSi `samxreT oseTis- respubl ikis federaciul i principiT Sesvl as iTval iswinebda da saqarTvel os xel isufl ebas, qveynis mowyobis sabWoTa ruseTis federaciis model s sTavazob-

da. am dokumentisadmi darTul i `mokl e ganmartebiTi baraTi,- osuri sabWouri respublikis Seqmnis aucil ebl obis `mtkicebas- istoriul i faqtebis gayal bebaze agebda. b.kvirkvel ias mier saqarTvel os revkomisadmi 1921 wl is 27 seqtembers wardgenil i moxseneba, zemoaRniSnul i osuri proeqtis ZiriTadi debul ebebis mecnierul ad dasabuTebul uaryofas Seicavda. masSi naCvenebi iyo: **a)** `samxreT oseTis- rogorc mTl iani geografiul i erTeul is ararseboba; **b)** ekononmikuri, orografiul i da hidrografiul i faqtorebis gaTval iswinebidan gamomdinare, mezobel i mazrebis CamoWril i teritoriebis bazaze osuri administraciul i da samazro erTeul is Seqmnis SeuZl ebl oba; **g)** saqarTvel os sinamdvil idan gamomdinare, mxol od wvri l i osuri Temebis Seqmnis mizanSewonil oba. am moxsenebis mixedviT, Sida qarTl is mTiani zol is osebs b.kvirkvel ia, damoukidebel i saqarTvel os sakonstitucio komisiis mier 1920 wel s SemuSavebul i saTemo- saerobo TviTmmarTvel obiT gaTval iswinebul ufl ebebs sTavazobda. dokumenturi masal iT dadasturebul ia, rom osuri sakiTxis aRniSnul i formiT gadawyveta, saqarTvel os revkomisa da kavbiuros xel mZRvanel obisaTvis principul ad iyo miuRebel i.

samTavrobo komisi ebis sabol oo daskvnis dadebamde, kavbiuros 1921 wl is 31 oqtomberis dadgenil ebit geografiul ad ararsebul i `samxreT oseTis- saTvis- avtonomiuri ol qis daCqarebul i tempiT miniWebis faqti, aRniSnul i organos mxridan, sabWoTa ruseTis xel isufal Ta dakveTis Sesrul eba ze mi ani Snebs. saqarTvel os central uri komitetisa da saxal xo komisarTa sabWos 1922 wl is 20 april is dekreti # 2 `samxreT oseTis- avtonomiuri ol qis Seqmnis Sesaxeb, sazRvrebis sakiTxSi; **a)** `samxreT oseTis- revkomis, partkomisa da pasuxismgebel i partiul i muSakebis gaerTianebul sxdomaze (1921 wl is 6- 8 seqtemberi) miRebul i proeqtis da **b)** k.kakabaZis komisiis 1921 wl is 8 dekembris dadgenil ebis (oqmi # 4) dublikats wadmoadgenda. am dokumentiT, saqarTvel os xel isufl ebam osi separatistebis pretenziebis dakmayofil eba moaxdina. Sinagan saqmeTa saxal xo komisariatTan arsebul i komisiis (gr.gvel esiani, d.kariWaSvil i, s.gorgaZe) mier dekreti # 2- is gadasinj vis dasabuTebul i formiT moTxovna, sazRvrebis sakiTxSi samarTl ianobis aRdgenas iTval iswinebda da qarTul i mosaxl eobis interesebis dacvas isaxavda mi znad.

`samxreT oseTis- avtonomiuri ol qis momij nave mazrebis qarTul i sofl ebis saCivrebis Semswavl el i saxel mwifo komisiis (Seiqmna 1925 wl is 3 seqtembers) saqmanoba, piarkampaniis saxes atarebda. igi qarTvel Ta emoci ebisa da vnebaTaRel vis Cacxromaze iyo gaTvl il i. rac Seexeba sazRvrebis sakiTxs, sazogadoebis Tval isasaxvevad, diskusia `kosmetikuri cvl il ebebis- daSveba- ardaSvebis SesaZl ebl obis fargl ebSi warimarTa. dokumenturi masal iT dadasturebul ia, rom aRniSnul ma komisi am, centris mi Ti Teba pirnaTl ad Seasrul a. qarTvel i gl exkacobis samarTl iani moTxovnebis ignorirebit, `samxreT oseTis- avtonomiuri ol qis administraciul i sazRvარი ZiriTadad pirvandel i saxiT datova. Crdil o da `samxreT oseTis- saqarTvel os Semadgenl obaSi gaerTianebis oficial urad dasma (1925 wel i), moskovidan iyo sanqci rebul i da mizanmimarTul i ideol ogiuri datvirTva gaaCnda. aRniSnul i faqtis win wamoweva, `samxreT oseTis- avtonomiuri ol qis separatistul ad ganwyobil osur mosaxl eobaSi, saqarTvel os teritoriis xarj ze erTiani oseTis Seqmnis minel ebul i naperwkl is aal ebas da sabWouri imperiis xel isufal Ta mxridan, samomavl od saqarTvel os winaarmdeg daniSnul ebi samebr gamoyenebas isaxavda mi znad.

bol oTqma

kinasariZem Tavis radiodokumentacias, romel ic saqarTvel os pirvel respubl ikas (1918- 1921 ww.) miuZRvna, qveynis damoukidebl obis am mcire monakveTs (2 wel i da 8 Tve) savsebiT kanonzomierad patara `oqros xana-uwoda. es periodi qarTvel i eris istoriaSi marTI acda `oqros xana- iyo im gagebiT, rom maSindel ma saqarTvel os xel isufl ebam, qarTul i saxel mwifos formirebisa da qarTvel i eris fizikurad gadarCenisaTvis myari fundamentis momzadeba daiwo. am umniSvel ovanesi faqtoris argaTval iswinebidan gamomdinare, saqarTvel os pirvel i respubl ikis mTavrobis wevrTa xel ovnuri diskreditacia dResac mizanmarTul ad mimdinareobs. samwuxarod, zogierTi qarTvel i `istorikosi- ver acnobierebs, an imis unaric ar Seswevs, rom erTiani qarTul i saxel mwifos saarsebo arteriis SenarCunebis mniSvel oba da masTan dakavSirebul i sirtul eebi saRi gonebiT gaiazros. warsul isa da dRevandel i sinamdvil is SedarebiTi anal - izis fonze, obieqturi daskvnebi gaakeTos da winaparTa naRvawis Rirseul i dafaseba moaxdinos.

winamdebare naSromSi Cems mier motanil i `zRva- masal is gaana- lizebidan gamomdinare, saqarTvel os pirvel i respubl ikis mTavrobis biol ogiurad moZul e istorikosebma da l iteraturatmcodneebma keTil i inebon: saqarTvel os pirvel i respubl ikis mTavrobis 1028 dRiani (1918 wl is 26 maisi- 1921 wl is Teberval i) da momdevno mTavro- bebis (2012 wl is CaTvl iT) saqmianobidan gamomdinare Sedego- brivi Sefaseba erTaderTi kriteriumiT_ pol itika ganizomeba misi SedegebiT_ moaxdinon. am fonze, pasuxi gascen kiTxvebs: 1)saqarTve- l os (I, II, III) respubl ikis romel ma xel isufl ebam daicva ukeT qar- rTvel Ta erovnul i Rirseba da misi interesebi afxazeTsa da Sida qarTI is mTian zonaSi; 2)saqarTvel os (I, II, III) respubl ikis romel i xel isufl ebis Zal isxmeviT gaxda SesaZl ebel i qveynis teritoriis mis istoriul saZRVrebSi ZiriTadad aRdgena; 3)dasavl eT evropis saxel mwifoebisgan mitovebul ma da daxmarebis gareSe myofma saqa- rTvel os pirvel ma respubl ikam (ix. SvadaWkoria. sabWoTa ruseT- Tan saqarTvel os damarcxebis zogierTi faqtoris dazustebisaTvis (1921 wl is Teberval - marti). Tbil isi. 2016 w.) 1918- 1921 wl ebSi, ramdenjer moigeria rusul i agresia. saqarTvel os mesame respub- l ikis mmarTvel i pol itikuri Zal is xel mZRvanel obiT, 11 miliard- iani Seiararebis mqone qarTul i jaris nawil ebma 2008 wl is agvis- toSi ramdeni dRe ebrZol a ruseTis 58- e armiis nawil ebis.

es aris is el ementarul i kiTxvebi, romel zedac saRad moazrovne qarTvel istorikoss, obieqturi pasuxis gacema mxol od Semdegi pirobebis dacvis SemTxvevaSi SauZl ia: 1)Tuki igi ucxo saxel mwifoebis mier gacemul i gra- ntebiT ar aris mosyidul i; 2)visac qarTul i sisxl i da zneoba dRemde Se- morCenia; 3)visac afxazeTidan da Sida qarTI is mTiani zonidan asiaTaso- biT gamodevnil i qarTvel is satkivari gul Tan miaqvs da pirad satkivrad aRiqvams. mxol od aseTi adamianebi SeZl eben mowiwebiTa da pativiscemiT moixsenion saqarTvel os pirvel i respubl ikis mTavrobis wevrebi, romel - Ta muxl Cauxrel i Zal isxmeviT 1918 wl is 26 maisidan 1921 wl is Tebervl am- de, afxazeTidan da cxinval is regi onidan arcerTi devnil i qarTul i oj axi rom ar yavda. mTavroba, romel mac aRmosavl eT da dasavl eT saqarTvel os

TavadaznaurTa qonebis bazaze Seqmnil i fondi, pirad gamdidrebasa da fufunebas ki ara, saqarTvel os saxel mwifoebriobasa da mis erovnul interesebs moaxmara. es faqti, Sesabamis samecniero l literaturaSi saarqivo dokumenturi masal ebiTaa dadasturebul i.

sabWoTa ruseTis xel isufal Ta axl oaRmosavl uri kol oniuri pol itikuri kursisa da misi xel Semwyobi qarTvel i renegatebis Zal isxmeviT, erovnu l i saxel mwifos aRmSenebl obis bol omde miyvana qarTvel ers samwuxarod ar dascal da. 1921 wl is Tebervl idan, qarTul i saxel mwifos damoukidebl obasa da qarTvel i eris Tavisufl ebis momaval s_ Savi sudara gadaefara da misi ganviTarebis bunebrivi procesi xel ovnurad SeCerde. am dRidan ganaxl da qarTvel Ta winaaRmddeg mizannimarTul i Seviwroebis, fsiqol ogiurad daTrgunvis da ubedurebis Segnebul ad Tavsmoxvevis, separatistebis waqezebisa da gaaqtiurebis procesebi. ganvl il i istoriul i movl enebi adasturebs, rom yovel i saukunis dasawyisi da dasasrul i, saqarTvel oSi Semoxiznul i araqarTul i mosaxl eobis Zal isxmeviT, saqarTvel l os ZirZvel i regionebidan qarTvel Ta gamodevna- eTnowmendiT, winaaparTa sisxl iT gaJRenTil i qarTul i istoriul i teritoriebis dakargviT daiwo da dasrul da. ase iyo 1921- 1923, 1993- 1995 da 2008 wl ebSi. momxdari faqtebis anal izmma daadastura, rom qarTvel i erisadmi mizannimarTul ad Tavsmoxveul i mourCenel i satkivrebi, qarTvel Ta siZul vil ze agebul i ucxo qveynebis marTvadi pol itikosebisa da mTavrobabis araerovnul i kursis Sedegs warmoadgenda. zemoT aRniSnul i procesebi Tuki am tempiT gagrZel da, saqarTvel oSi Semoxiznul i da Tavze xel aRebul i ucxo Tesl is naSierni, XXI saukunis dasasrul s qarTvel obas araaborigen, Camosaxl ebul eTnikur umci resobad gamoacxadebs da mamapapeul miwa- wyal ze fexis dadgmis SesaZl ebl obasac aRukveTs. amis real uri safrTxe eris winaSe namdvil ad dgas. dRevandel i gadasaxedi dan, saqarTvel oSi qarTvel Ta dacvis mizniT, misi usafrTxoebis meqanizms SemuSaveba pirvel xarixxovan amocanas warmoadgens. Camosaxl ebul i da Semoxiznul i gadamTiel i mkacr samarTl ebriv CarCoSi unda moeqces. **istoriul i sacxovrisidan qarTvel Ta masobriv i gamodevna da kuTvnil i teritoriebis dakargva, eris moaxl oebul sikvdil ize, misi gaqrobis real ur safrTxeze migvaniSnebs. es saSiSroeba qarTvel Ta winaSe aisbergiviTaa aRmarTul i da Tu droul i damcavi meqanizmi ar iqna SemuSavebul i, udidesi civil izaciebis Semqmnel i da dRes ararsebul i erebis beds gaviziarebT.**

saqarTvel oSi mimdinare procesebisadmi sazogadoebisa da pol itikuri speqtris indiferentul i damokidebul ebidan gamomdinare, zemoaRniSnul ma safrTxem real uri saxe miRo. saqarTvel os `vardosanTa- xel isufl ebis maRal CinosanTa infantil urma, romantizmze dafuZnebul ma da kosmopol itizmiT gaJRenTil ma saxel mwifoebri vma pol itikurma kursmma, eris arsebobis xval indel i dRe, ki Txvis niSnis qveS daayena. mi Tumetes, qveynebis teritoriul i mTl ianobis samomavl o bedis gadawyvetas, ucxo saxel mwifoebis farul i agentebisgan SemoTavazebul i proeqtebis mixedviT cdil obden. amis erT- erT nimuSs, ruseTis ef-es-bes TanamSromel is vl adimer sanakoevis mier `samxreT oseTis- droebiTi administraciul i erTeul is SeqmniS Sesaxeb saqarTvel os xel isufl ebisadmi `Segdebul i- proeqti warmoadgens. am dokumentze dayrdnobiT, saqarTvel os parl amentis 2007 wl is 8 maisis sxdomaze miRebul i dadgenil ebiT, `samxreT oseTis- droebiTi administraciul i erTeul i iqna Seqmnil i. momxdari faqti, damoukidebel i saqarTvel os uzenaesi sabWos mier saerTaSoriso samarTl ebriv normebze

dayrdnobi T mi Rebul i ori uaRresad mniSvnel ovani dokumentis: 1) samxreT oseTis avtonomiuri ol qis gauqmebis Sesaxeb mi Rebul i kanonis (1990 wl is 11 dekemberi); 2) cxinval isa da yornisis raionebis gauqmebis da goris raionisadmi SeerTebis Sesaxeb mi Rebul i kanonis (1991 wl is 27 april i) mizammimarTul anul irebas warmoadgenda. am danaSaul ebrivi nabij is gada-dgmi T, os separatistebis da mis mxardamWer ruseTis xel isufl ebas, saqarTvel os parl amentma 17 wl iani natvra aRusrul a. yvel afers Tavisi saxel i unda daerqvas. saqarTvel os marionetul i mTavrobebis l iderTa da mis xel qvei T Ta `naRvavis- Sedegad, XX- saukunis dasawyisSi da dasasrul s, da isev XXI saukunis dasawyisSi, dakargul teritoriebTan erTad, qarTvel ebis gan gawmendil i afxazeTi da Sida qarTl is Crdil oeTi nawil i mi vi ReT. demografiul i statistika, romel sac aTeul i wl ebis ganmavl obaSi veWidebodi T da Cvens sasargebl od viyenebdi T, qarTul i pol itikuri speqtris mier daSvebul i Secdomebidan gamomdinare xel idan gamogvecal a. unda vaRiaroT, rom Tvi Tkmayofil ebaze dafuZnebul i da daudevari pol itikuri kursis Sedegad, osebTan da afsuebTan ara mar to fizikuri dapi rispi rebi T, aramed ideol ogiuri omi Tac wavageT. erTmac da meoremac momavl is ganWvretis Tval sazrisi T yvel a sferoSi dagvamarcxa. garkveul i wl ebis Semdeg, osebi da afsuebi maT sasargebl od xel ovnurad Seqmnil demografiul procesebs saerTaSoriso arenaze Cvens sawinaaRmdegod gamoiyeneben da warmatebul adac. qarTvel obas ki (qarTul i genisgan safuZvl i anad gawmendil i) kodoris xeobis CaTvl iT dakargul i afxazeTi, (qarTul i genisgan isev safuZvl i anad gawmendil i) dakargul i Sida qarTl is Crdil oeTi nawil i da mcxeTis raionis sofel werovanSi `CaWedil i-formi T Casaxl ebul i devnil i qarTvel ebis gan Seqmnil i axal i sofel i_ XXI saukunis qarTvel Ta sir-cxvil i, anu devnil qarTvel Ta `mixail ovka- SegvrCeba xel T. evropisadmi gadaWarbebul i imedi Ta da zogierTi ucxoel i pol itikosis waqezebaze agebul i ugunuri sagareo pol itikuri kursis wyal obi T, saqarTvel o, imperiul i ambiciebi T daavadmyofebul i da `msofl io wesrigis- damyarebis preten-ziebis mqone ori didi dampyobl is_ ruseTisa da amerikis SeerTebul i Statebis geopol itikuri miznebidan gamomdinare saomar l el od iqca. maTma Zal isxmevam da saqarTvel os xel isufl ebis gadaWarbebul ma pol itikurma sibriyem (2008 wl is agvistos movl enebi), erTiani osuri saxel mwifos Seqmnis saxarov-boner- popovis gegmis 60 %- iT praqtikul ad ganxorciel eba da saqarTvel oSi, ruseTis mesamed dabruneba daaCqara. qarTul i saxel mwifos katastrofa da saqarTvel os xel isufl ebis mxridan ruseTTan oficial uri kapitul acia (medvedev- sarkoz- saakaSvil is agvistos SeTanxmebis `saiduml o- muxl ebi), Tbil isel ebma gamarj vebad CaTval ada es Semzaravi faqti, xel isufl ebis mesveurebTan erTad imave wl is 12 agvistos gabrwyinebul i saxeebi T didi zar- zeimi T idResaswaul a. rac Seexeba saxarov- boner- popovis gegmis danarCen 40 %- s, osi separatistebis mxridan sapretenziod qceul i teritoriis (gori- xaSuri- borjomis raionebi) dasakuTrebi s mizni T safexuris mosamzadebl ad, dokumenturi masal ebis gayal bebi T osur da rusul istoriografiaSi gamal ebul i ideol ogiuri propaganda mimdinareobs. xazgasmi T unda iTqvas, rom saqarTvel os teritoriis danakuwebis saxarov- boner- popovis gegmis pirvel etaps, saqarTvel os usafrTxoebis bunebrivi simagris Crdil oeTidan moSl a da rokis gvirabis mSenebl obis dasrul eba warmoadgenda. rac Seexeba imave gegmis

meore daskvni T nawil s, igi samxreT- dasavl eT saqarTvel os damcavi karibWis _goderZis uRel texil is, rogorc bunebrivi simagris mni Svnel obis nul am- de dayvanas da `gvel is xvrel is- gayvanas iTval iswinebda. es sakiTxi `daSnakcuTiunis- partiis l iderebma j er kidev san- remos saerTaSoriso konferenciaze (1920 wl is 19- 26 april i) daayenes. somxebisadmi ingl isis warmomadgenl is mxardaWeris miuxedavad, damoukidebel i saqarTvel os del egaciis meTauris k.CxeiZis principul i da erovnul i saxel mwifos interesebze dafuznmebul i gadawyvetil ebiT, somxurma mxarem sawadel is aR- srul eba im etapze ver SeZl o. aRniSnul i faqtidan 90 wl is Semdeg, somxe- Tis xel isufl ebam es sakiTxi isev `gaacocxl a- da m.saakaSvil is xel isu- fl ebisgan oficial uri dokumentiT dadasturebul i Tanxmoba miiRo. somxe- Tis saxel mwifos interesebis maqsimal urad gaTval iswinebiT da samomav- l od saqarTvel os teritoriul i mTl ianobis saziand, goderZis sauRel - texil o gzis mSenebl oba daCqarebul i tempiT dasrul da. warsul is mware gamocdil ebidan gamomdinare, samxreT- dasavl eT saqarTvel oSi Sida qarT- l is osuri scenaris ganmeorebisa da mezobel i qveynebisgan (TurqeTi, somxe- Ti, azerbaij ani), saqarTvel os teritoriebis sxvadasxva formiT mitaceb- is safexuri momzadda. (ix. ruka # 12) saerTaSoriso pol itikuri koniun- qturidan gamomdinare, am etapze isini mxol od Sefarviti `mcocavi meTo- dis- gamoyenebiT ifargl ebian.

frTxil ad qarTvel ebo!!!.

erTi ram gavacnobieroT! an xel ovnur sikvdil sa da ga- daSenebas SeveguoT, anda Cveni saxel ovani winaprebis ms- gavsad gadarCenisaTvis vibrZol oT. arCevani eris intel eq- tual urma Zal ebma unda gaakeTos, Tuki aseTi ram, dRevan- del `uwignur,~ gonebrivad gamofitul , Tavmoyvareoba dakar- gul , Rirsebaaxdil da fizikurad daCaCanakebul qarTvel o- bas SemorCenia.

is, rac afsuebma da tabarukad Sida qarTI Si Semoxiznul ma osebma saq- arTvel oSi XX saukunis dasasrul sa da XXI saukunis dasawyi sSi gabetes, Cvens mezobel somxeTsa da azerbaij anSi am mimarTul ebiT mesamed nabij s- ac ver gadadgamdnen. eris arsebobis xangrZl iobis SesanarCunebl ad erT- sac da meoresac, TiToeul i goji miwis mniSvnel oba da am miwaze ucxo Tesl is aRmocenebis safrTxe kargad aqvs gacnobierebul i. Semoxiznul ucxo gadamTiel s, Tavis mamul Si ar aparpaSebs da pirvel ive dRidanve mistvis gankuTvnil prokrustes sarecel is msgavs samarTI ebriv CarCoSi moaqcevs. **samxreT kavkasiaSi erTaderTi eri qarTvel ebia, ro- mel sac genetikuri sibriye istoriul ad dayveba. am avad- myofuri senis SesaniRbad, tol erantobis wamosasxamSia SefuTul i da RvTismSobl is naboZeb madl ian miwa- wyal s xel gaSl iT arigebs. droul ad ver acnobierebs im moax- l oebul katastrofas, romelic teritoriebis dakargvas- Tan aris dakavSirebul i da eris fizikuri gaqrobis daCqa- rebas iwvevs. Wkvianebl, sxvis miwebs sxvadasxva meTodebis gamoyenebiT itaceben da Tavianti eris sicocxl is gasaxa- ngrZl ivebl ad zrunaven. briyvebi, kuTvnil mamul s mezo- bl ebs an Camotesl ebul ucxo tomis naSiers Cuqnis da Ta-**

vis miwa- wyal ze saxel mwifoebis uqmnis. am qmedebi T, etapo-
brivad im tots Wris, romel zedac udardel ad TviTon aris
`Semoskupebul i.~ ganvl il i istoriul i procesebidan gamo-
mdinare, iseTi STabeWdil eba iqmneba, rom dRevandel i qa-
rTvel oba, didebul i winaprebis TiTqos uRirsi STamomav-
l obaa, romel sac Ciris fasadac ar uRirs is Zvirfasi ga-
nZi, romel ic istoriul i teritoriis saxiT winaprebma da-
utova, mis SesanarCunebl ad sixl i daRvara da momdevno
Taobebis, eris gadarCenis am saganZuris movl a- patronoba
daakisra.

bol o saukuneebSi qarTvel erze Tavsdaxil ma ubedurebebma daadas-
tura, rom egzarqos pavl es mier qarTvel i eris mimarT 1886 wel s war-
moTqmul i wyevl a dResac Zal aSi. gonebadabindul ebs, Savis da TeTris ve-
rgarCebis seni Segveyara, erisa da qveynisadmi samsaxuris aucil ebl oba
Ral atisa da ful is moxveWisken swrafvam Caanacvl a. roca es tendencia
XX saukunis dasawyisSi didma qarTvel ma mweral ma niko l orTqifaniZem
qarTvel obaSi SeniSna, 1910 wel s simwrisgan amoigmina: `saqarTve-
l o iyi deba.~ es procesi, XXI- e saukuneSi saqarTvel os xel isufal Ta
Zal isxmeviT_ `investiciebis moxidvis sababiT- isti daCqarebul i tempiT
daiwyo da dResac mimdinareobs, rom Tuki misi SeCereba sakanonmdebl o we-
siT droul ad ar moxerxda, si tyva_ saqarTvel os teritoria da samSobl o,
mxol od simbol ur cnebad darCeba. Cvens STamomavl obas misi gamosyidvis
SesaZl ebl obac ar mi ecema. qveynis Ral atis am mavne senis siRrmiseul ad
damkvidreba imiTac aris ganpirobepul i, rom dRemde gabedul ad aravis
uTqvams_ Tu vin, vin aris. arada, samSobl osadmi Tavdadebis Sinagani cno-
bierebiT Tuki axal gazrdobis aRzrda gvsurs, qveynis erTgul Ta da moR-
al ateTa Sesaxeb igi srul informacias unda fl obdes. safuZvl ianad
icodes, SeWirvebis Jams, qarTvel ers vin uerTgul a da vin uRal ata. moR-
al ateTa saxel ebi Taobebis unda gadaeces da eris sircxvil ad iTvl e-
bodes. amis erT- erT saukeTeso saSual ebad sircxvil is (anu moR-
al ateTa) panTeonis (pirvel etapze internetSi misi el e-
qtronul i versiis) Seqmna gvesaxeba, sadac samSobl os gamyidve-
l Ta simbol uri safl avebis aRmniSvel i warweriani dafebi daidgmeba.
egeb am gziT SevZl oT Ral atisadmi dauokebel i miswrafebis moTokva. dae,
momaval ma Taobebma winaswar icodnen, 30 vercxl ze daxar-
bebul samSobl os moRal ateTa gvar- saxel iT amotvifru-
l i dafebi, sircxvil is panTeonSi rom ganTavsdeba.

*frTxil ad, ful ze daxarbebul o da erovnul i Rirse-
bisadmi zurgSeqceul o qarTvel ebo!!!*

cxr i l ebi

cxril i # 1.

`samxreT oseTis~ administraciul i saerobo erTeul is Semadgenl obaSi Seyvanil i mazrebis sofl is sazogadoebebi da sofl ebi. osebis erovnul i sabWos 1918 wl is 10 ianvris proeqtis mixedvi T.		
mazrebi.	sofl is sazogadoebebi.	sofl ebi.
1.raWis mazridan	Casavl is	
2.Sorapnis mazridan	Cixis	Tedel eTi, j al abeTi, xaxeTi.
3.goris mazridan. qal aqi cxinval i.	yornisis, wunaris, avl evis, TamaraSenis, j avis, Casavl is, yemul Tis, rokis, zemo xevis, ortevs, bel oTis, mereTis, mej vrisxevis, zRudaris.	
4.duSeTis mazridan.	kobis, rexul is, monastris, axal goris, qvemo Wal is, xel Tubnis.	
j ami: 4 mazridan erTi qal aqi. 22 sofl is sazogadoeba da 3 sofel i		

cxril i Seadgina SoTa vadaWkoriam

cxril i # 2.

<p>`samxreT oseTis- samazro erobis Semadgenl obaSi Seyvanil i saerobo erTeul ebi da sofl is sazogadoebebi. osi social - demokratebis mier 1919 wl is april Si miRebul i dadgenil ebis mixedvit.</p>		
<p>erobebi, roml ebic `samxreT oseTis-mazris Semadgenl obaSi unda moqceul iyo.</p>	<p>sofl is sazogadoebebi.</p>	<p>sofl ebi dasaxel ebul i ar aris.</p>
<p>qal aqi cxinval i.</p>		
<p>1.mTa oseTis eroba</p>	<p>j ava, fel i, roki, Casaval i.</p>	
<p>2.arkneTis eroba.</p>	<p>yornisi, wunari, avl evi.</p>	
<p>3.vanaTis eroba.</p>	<p>ortevi, bel oTi, andoreTi.</p>	
<p>4.atenis eroba</p>	<p>badaani, bobnevi, axal sofel i.</p>	
<p>5.qarel is eroba.</p>	<p>zRudari, qarel is Sereul i sazogadoebebi</p>	
<p>6.xaSuris eroba.</p>	<p>sofl is sazogadoebebi dasaxel ebul i ar aris.</p>	
<p>7.axal goris eroba.</p>	<p>sofl is sazogadoebebi dasaxel ebul i ar aris.</p>	
<p>8.Trusos eroba.</p>	<p>sofl is sazogadoebebi dasaxel ebul i ar aris.</p>	
<p>j ami: qal aqi cxinval i, 8 eroba, 15 sofl is sazogadoeba.</p>		

cxril i Seadgina SoTa vadaWkoriam

cxril i # 3

j avis samazro erobaSi Semaval i sofl is sazogadoebebi da sofl ebi. Sinagan saqmeTa saministros 1919 wl is proeqtis mi xedvi T.		
mazrebi.	sofl is sazogadoebebi.	sofl ebi.
1.Sorapnis mazridan.	Cixi	Tedel eTi, j al abeTi, xaxeTi.
2.raWis mazridan.	Casaval i	
3.goris mazridan.	roki, yemul Ti, j ava.	
4.cxinval is rai onidan.	or tevi, yornisi, wunari.	
j ami: 3 mazridan 8 sofl is sazogadoeba da 3 sofel i.		

cxril i Seadgina SoTa vadaWkoriam

cxrili # 4

goris samazro revkomisadmi daqvemdebarebuli raionebi, Temebi da soflebi. goris mazris administraciul erTeul ebad damyofi komisiis mier 1921 wl is 31 maiss Sedgenil i proeqtis mixedvit.		
goris mazrSi Semaval i raionebi.	raionis Temebi.	Temebis Semadgenl obaSi Semaval i soflebis raodenoba cifrebSi.
1. mej vrisxevi.	mej vrisxevi	11
	andoreTi	34
	xel Tubani	13
2. qvemo Wal a.	qvemo RTI - isi	19
	sof. kaspis	2
	xurval eTi	22
3. tyviavi.	tyviavi	11
	mereTi	14
4. cxinval i.	cxinval i	2
	dici	23
	TamaraSeni	15
	Sindisi	11
5. ruisi.	ruisi	7
	dirbi	19
6. gomi.	al isi	27
	atoci	24
	avl evi	33
7. qarel i.	qarel i	33
	zRudari	26
	wromi	13
8. xaSuri.	xaSuri	7
	surami	16
	qviSxeTi	10
	xcisi	18
9. borj omi.	borj omi	48
10. xidistavi.	xidistavi	5
	ateni	49
11. axal qal aqi (sof. kaspis raionSi).	axal qal aqi	23
	metexi	6
	doesi	4
12. kavTisxevi.	kavTisxevi	17
	qvemo niCfisi	9
13. qal aqi gori sadguris nawil iT.		
sul j ami: (13 raioni)	32 Temi	571 sofeli

cxrili Seadgina SoTa vadaWkoriam

cxril i # 5

`mTa oseTis- Semadgenl obaSi Seyvanil i sofl is sazogadoebebi da sofl ebi. goris mazris administraciul erTeul ebad damyofi komisiis mier 1921 wl is 31 maiss Sedgenil i proeqtis mixedviT.	
sofl is sazogadoebebi	sofl ebi raodenoba cifrebSi.
1. ortevis	16
2. bel oTis	31
3. yornisis	12
4. j avis	33
5. yemul Tis	20
6. rokis	33
7. wunaris	30
j ami. 7	175

cxril i Seadgina SoTa vadaWkoria m

cxril i # 6

`samxreT oseTis- avtonomiuri ol qis Semadgenl obaSi Seyvanil i sofl is sazogadoebebi. saqarTvel os Sinagan saqmeTa saxal xo komisariatis 1921 wl is 20 ivl isis dadgenil ebisa da saqarTvel os revkomis 1922 wl is 20 martis dekretis proeqtis mixedviT.		
mazra.	sofl is sazogadoebebi.	sofl ebi dasaxel ebul i ar aris.
goris mazra	1. rokis.	
	2. wunaris	
	3. yornisis	
	4. j avis	
	5. yemul Tis	
	6. ortevis	
	7. bel oTis	
j ami. mxol od erTi mazris 7 sofl is sazogadoeba.		

cxril i Seadgina SoTa vadaWkoria m

cxrili # 7

`samxreT oseTis- sabWoTa social isturi respublikis Semadgenl obaSi Seyvanil i mazrebi, sofl is sazogadoebebi da sofl ebi. `samxreT oseTis- revkomisa da partkomis mier 1921 wl is 6- 8 seqtembers miRebul i proeqtis mixedvit.		
mazrebi.	sofl is sazogadoebebi.	sofl ebi.
1.raWis mazridan.	1. Casavl is.	gruSel i, zemo kvaja, qvemo kvaja. (Casavl is saz. yvel a sofel i)
2.Sorapnis mazridan.	sofl is sazogadoeba dasaxel ebul i ar aris.	Tedel eTi, jal abeTi, xaxeTi, vaxnisi, woisi da sxv.
3.goris mazridan	2 cxinval is.	oqona
	3. vel ebi, adre dirrbis	qordi, badani, vel ebi, buguzaanT ubani, qvaTeTri, bal anT ubani, gvirgvina, wnel isi da sxva.
	4. TamaraSenis, 5. wunaris, 6. yornisis, 7. javis, 8. yemul Tis, 9. rokis, 10. ortevs.	aRniSnul sazogadoebebSi Semaval i sofl ebi dasaxel ebul i ar aris.
	11. bel oTis, adre dicis.	eredvi, frisi da sxva.
	12. mereTis, adre satixaris.	Warebi, dmenisi, snekvi, xel Cua, satixari da sxva.
	13. qvemo Wal is.	orWoSani, abrevi da sxv.
	14. mej vrisxevis.	sofl ebi dasaxel ebul i ar aris.
15. xel Tubnis.	bogebi, gudianT kari, metesmani, gdul eTi, guCanT kari, paraxisxevi, biCanT kari, qedi, winagora, zemo bogebi da sxva.	
4.duSeTis mazridan	16. lexuris, 17. monastris, 18. axal goris.	aRniSnul sazogadoebebSi Semaval i sofl ebi daxel ebul i ar aris.
	19. gremisxevis.	jvarisubani da sxv.
	20. zemo mTiul eTis.	gudi, arxoti, sokurti_ Jau, ul axvazi, urmis sofel i, ganisi da sxv.
	21. kobi_ Trusos racionis.	sofl ebi dasaxel ebul i ar aris.
jami: 4 mazridan 1 qal aqi, 21 sofl is sazogadoeba da 47 sofel i. aq mxol od is sofl ebia CamoTvl ili, roml is mosaxl eoba Ziritadad qarTul i iyo da xel isofl ebi mxridan `samxreT oseTis- Semadgenl obaSi Seyvana SeiZl eba kiTxviti niSnis qveS damdgariyo. rac Seexeba cneba_ sxvas, kidev ramdeni sofel i igul isxmeboda Znel i saTqmeli a.		

cxrili Seadgina SoTa vadaWkorian

cxრილი # 8

დეკრეტი # 2- ის საფუძველზე, გორის მაზრიდან `სამხრეთ ოსეთის` ავტონომიური ოლქისადმი გადაცემული ქართული ქალაქი და სოფლები საზოგადოებრივი (სოფლები რაოდენობის მიტით), ქართველი და ოსი მოსახლეობის ცენზუს 1917 წლის ანგარიშის მიხედვით.			
სოფლები და ქალაქის საზოგადოებრივი	სოფლები რაოდენობა	ქარველები რაოდენობა	ოსების რაოდენობა
1. Tamaraseni	12	4119	525
2. cxინვალი (ქალაქი)	1 (გუჯაბური)	1521	40 სოფელი გუჯაბურსი მცხოვრებნი
3. wunari	1	413	24
4. dirbi	1	324	10
5. avlebi	11	1526	334
6. mereTi	6	1536	119
7. ortebi	1	432	48
8. bel oTi	8	1379	0
სულ ჯამი	41	11250	1100

cxრილი შეადგინა სოთავადამკორიანი

cxrili # 9

ruseTis federaciis mier 1927_ 2008 wl ebSi mitacebul i saqarTvel os teritoriebi. 1921 wl is Tebervl amde saqarTvel os faqtiuri teritoria Seadgenda 9.330,3 km. ²						
mitacebul i adgil is dasaxel eba.	weli	mitacebul i teritoriebis raodenoba km. ²	saqarTvel osadmi droebiT mfl obel obaSi gadacemul i teritoriebi km. ²	droebiT mfl obel obaSi gadmoce mul i teritoriebis xarjze, saqarTvel os teritoriis zrda km. ²	saqarTvel os faqtiuri teritoriis mocul oba km. ² (cval e badi dinami kis Cvene biT).	
TianeTis mazridan- j agero, TereTergo, mel xesti, cekaro, saxano.	1927	166, 78 km. ²			8.280,4	
	1929				8.381,7	
	1946				8.288,7	
	1950		613,6	8.251,1.	7.648,6	
	1951		132,6	8.418,3.	7.648,6	
zemo svaneTis raion- dan qI uxoris rai- oni.	1944		132,6 km. ²		7.374,1	
	1955	402,1 km. ² dro- ebiT mfl obe- l obaSi gada- cemul i teri- toriis CaTv- l iT (aqedan, saqarTvel os kuTvnil i 269,5 km. ²).				
yazbegis rai onidan.	1957	82,4 km. ² .			7.291,7	
duSeTis rai onidan.	1944		147,5 km. ²		7.144,2	
	1957	147,5 km. ²				
	1958					7.016,6
	1973					6.981,8
	1990					6.970,0
	1951_ 1958	632 km. ²				
	1958_ 1990	46,6 km. ²				
sul j ami	1927_ 1990	845,38 km. ²				
afxazeTi	2008	8,7 aTasi km. ²				
^samxreT oseTi~	2008	3,8 aTasi km. ²				
sul j ami	1927_ 2008	857,88 km. ²			5.530,0	

1921 wl is martidan 2008 wl is agvistos CaTvliT saqarTvel os teritoriidan mezobe- l ma saxel mwifoebma (Turqeti, somxeti, azerbaijani, ruseTi) miiTaca 3800,3 km.² aqedan, eSevardnaZe_ msakaSvil is dros 12,5 aTasi km.²

cxrili Seadgina SoTa vadaWkoria

Shota Vadachkoria

Ossetian Question and the Georgian Reality (1917 - 1925)

Summary

On the basis of the thoroughly worked out and analyzed huge archive and press materials found and gathered by us about the Ossetian separatism (1917 -1925) it is stated that:

I)The demand for self-determination of Ossetians living in Shida Kartli (Inner Kartli) as migrants has been provoked by Soviet Russia, has been illegal and ignored the interests of the Georgian government. National committee of Ossetians living in Georgia put forward a demand to form "National Regiment" of Ossetians that aimed to strengthen the separatist movement of Ossetians and was against the Georgian state. The Georgian political elite understood and realized quickly this wrecking plan. Taking into consideration the current political situation in the South Caucasus Georgian political elite righteously said no to the Ossetians' decision.

The revolts of Tskhinvali – Sachkhere region Ossetians in March and Jun, 1918 were the orders of the Soviet Russia and were equal to a declaration of war. Ossetians who lived in Georgia both times revolted at a very difficult moment for Georgia (Georgian – Ottoman war). The Georgian political thought evaluated this action of ungrateful Ossetians as treachery and manifestation of ambushed revenge. It was a political mistake when the government departments did not punish severely rebellion Ossetians of Tskhinvali and Sachkhere regions revolts and focused only on the leaders of these revolts. Thus, the Georgian government was unable to subordinate Ossetians and make stable guarantees for saving country from the new revolts.

On the basis of the legal treatment of Ossetians' criminal deeds during the revolts of Tskhinvali and Sachkhere region Ossetians the Georgian political thought named Ossetians as: "slicker and traitor", "ungrateful children of the Republic of Georgia", "confused by false intelligentsia" and "robbers with sacks on their backs". The analysis of the documentary materials proves that from the very first day of existing of the independent Georgia majority of Ossetians in connection with Georgians wrote a shameful passage in the history. In hard times for Georgians they put a sharpened dagger in the back of Georgia, of a nation who saved Ossetian ethnos.

II)The independence of Georgia was not among the interests of the majority of Ossetian separatists. That is why the separatists expressed their opposition against the Georgians' national state and territorial unity with a demand to separate Ossetians of mountain Shida Kartli from Georgia together with its territory. This anti-Georgian action step by step was demonstrated at the congresses of Ossetians. The Ossetian intelligentsia's outwardly "turn towards Georgia" that in fact was determined by the defeats of the Ossetians' revolts and unsteadiness of the current political processes in the North Caucasus. It was a well experienced political course of "obsequiousness" to wait for suitable moment for action. The final attempt of Georgian intelligentsia and politicians to turn Ossetians towards the Georgia orientation failed. The main reason of this was that the Ossetian separatists regarded Georgia

as the weakest part of a chain. They believed that after pressure on the Georgian government they could reach the goal and separate one part of Shida Kartli territory from Georgia. The 6th congress of the Ossetians living in Georgia received a resolution to form the united government of the North and the "South Ossetia". This resolution was not only opposition against the Georgian government but provocation. In this case Bolsheviks stimulated the Ossetians aspiration for self-determination. Russian and Georgian Bolsheviks needed the self-determination campaign of Ossetians of mountain Shida Kartli to overthrow the Georgian government. On this background the demands of National-Democrats were righteous, legal and natural. These demands were as following: a) the government of Georgia should have carry on radical measures against Ossetians of mountain Shida Kartli; b) the Georgian government should have specify if Ossetians recognize or not the independence of Georgia. Limitation of the right of motions to self-determination of the ethnic minorities by the Georgian government was based on preserving the territorial unity of Georgia. Despite of this the legislative acts were supporting the ethnic minorities with the highest guarantee of protection. Thus, the political course of the Georgian government towards national minorities was in accordance with the standards of current European countries and was within the frames of the international law.

III) The indifferent attitude of European countries towards Georgia encouraged Soviet Russia to carry on negative policy against Georgia. Founding the Revcom of "South Ossetia" (revolutionary committee) with the financial support of Russia (40 million 367 a thousand manat according to the gold rate) a common revolution was planned in Georgia; also, it was planned to form the armed military alignment to stir up civil war and change the Government. The uprising of Ossetians living in the gorge of Roki during the hostilities of Russia against Georgia started from the side of Azerbaijan and the announcement of the Soviet regime was well carried on method once tested by Ossetians. This fact was evaluated by Georgian government and by others as well, as not only disobedience to the government of Georgia but high treason. Especially as this rebellion of Ossetians was directed from the Caucasus and three well-armed military alignments of Ossetians, citizens of Russian Federation, supported it.

These activities of Soviet Russia from the juridical point of view was a violation of the 4th paragraph of the Russian-Georgian treaty and the adequate reaction towards this violation served to defend the interests of the state on the international arena. Uprising of the Ossetians compactly living in the mountains of Shida Kartli in 1920 was evaluated by Georgian political thought as a stab in the back. Fairly for the Georgian society the Ossetians compactly living in the mountain range of Shida Kartli were twofaced Janus, the incurable evil and a suppurative pimple on the body of Georgia. The only way to be cured from this disease for political elite was to punish guilty Ossetians. The bitter experience of the past and the interests of the country was incited Georgian government to carry on line based and firm policy.

IV) The indifferent attitude of the European countries towards Georgia made possible for Russia to carry on certain measures against Georgian. The Russian money made possible: to found Revolutionary Committee of "South Ossetia" in the mountain region of Shida Kartli in 1920, to work out a plan of general uprising and armed groups of Ossetians. All these aimed to stir up

civil war and overthrow the government of Georgia.

A hostility started by the Soviet Russia against Georgia from the side of Azerbaijan and at the same time a revolt of Ossetians of the Roki gorge was bringing in motion the tested method of Ossetians. Georgian political thought evaluated it not only as disobedience to the government of Georgia but treason. The mentioned revolt was managed from Kavkav and was helped by three well-armed Ossetian groups the members of which were the citizens of Russia. From the point of view of justice these steps of Russia were the violations of the 6th paragraph of the Russian-Georgian treaty and the adequate reaction of the Georgian government towards it served to defense the interests of the country on the international arena.

The revolt of Ossetians of mountain Shida Kartli in 1920 from the side of the Georgian political thought was evaluated as a plunge of a sharpen dagger into a spin. For the Georgian society compactly settled Ossetians of Shida Kartli mountain region were rightly perceived as two-faced Janus, incurable ulcer of the Georgian state and purulent spot on the body of Georgia. For the political elite of Georgia the only way to cure this disease was to punish guilty Ossetians. The bitter experience of the past and the national interests of the country spurred the government of Georgia to carry on inevitably uncompromising position till the end.

V) For the Social – Democratic Party Ossetians of Shida Kartli mountain region revolted in 1918 – 1920 because of agricultural and food crisis. It was the wrong approach to the problem and of course did not lead to objective conclusions. The same was with the National – Democratic, the Radical – Democratic and the Georgian Bolsheviks' Party when they say that the Ossetians' revolts in 1918 – 1920 were national movements. The negative attitude of the Socialist – Democratic Party towards it was right, because announcing Ossetians' mentioned revolts as a national movement was a statement against the Georgian state and helped to cover Ossetian separatists with a halo of "heroism". If we evaluate Georgian political parties' contradictory opinions about Shida Kartli mountain region Ossetians' revolts in 1918 – 1920 we will see that they are based on superficial statements and do not give us deep analysis of the mentioned fact.

In the papers published in newspaper "Ertoba" ("Unity"), on the background of the example of the Soviet Russia, the falseness of the Bolsheviks' idea of self-determination was presented in a sound form; that the mentioned idea was nothing than unmasked political campaign. That was only for making chaos in a country belonging to others and destroying it. Despite righteous and sound evaluation of the current political events Georgian political elite was unable to formulate adequately Shida Kartli mountain region Ossetians' revolts in 1918 – 1920. Shida Kartli mountain region Ossetians' revolt in 1918 – 1920 aimed to separate Ossetians from Georgia, capture territories belonging to Georgians and unite with Russia. Only in the 90-es of the 20th century was possible to evaluate these processes objectively and naturally they were named as Ossetian separatism.

VI) Georgian Bolsheviks and Ossetian separatists obviously expressed their hostile attitude towards newly formed Georgian state. They artificially created the sabotage "theory" among Shida Kartli mountain region Ossetians. Manipulation with the notion of "two Ossetias", blaming Georgians that they separated "South Ossetia", never existed either ethno-politically or ethno-

historically from Ossetia of the North Caucasus, creating image of the enemy out of Georgians promoted deepen hatred among the Ossetian population towards Georgians.

The great majority of the Ossetian intelligentsia who had the Russian orientation and even The National Committee of Ossetia were busy creating the appropriate legislation for accession Shida Kartli mountain zone to Russia. In the documents received by them the "South Ossetia" was announced as devoted part of Russia. The clear evidence of this is the Decree of "Memorandum of the Working South Ossetia" (May, 28, 1920) and "South Ossetia" Revcom (Revolutionary Committee).

The fact that Georgian political elite and scientists were not able to exempt from the dictionary of political figures false term "South Ossetia" created purposely by the authorities of the Russian government and could not find adequate name for Shida Kartli mountain region Ossetians was a big mistake. All the more, officially, at the state level at that time the boundaries of "South Ossetia" did not have the outline. The Russian Bolsheviks and Ossetian separatists used this weakness of the Georgian political leaders and easily implemented notion "South Ossetia" in the mentality of the Ossetian population.

The Ossetian separatists and Bolsheviks put forward illegal demands; out of the limit demands. These demands were as following: a) uniting "South Ossetia" with the Russian Federation; b) reunion of Georgia with the Soviet Russia on the status of Tbilisi and Batumi provinces. These demands put the government of the democratic Georgia in front of inevitability of carrying out the radical measures. For saving newly formed country the government of Georgia had to create such kind of mechanism that would give possibility Shida Kartli mountain region Ossetians, full of nostalgia towards Russians and hatred for Georgians, to return back to their historical homeland. From this point of view national government of Georgia received right political decision towards Shida Kartli mountain region Ossetians.

VII) The activities of The National Committee of Ossetians in 1917 – 1919 was against the interests of Georgian state and aimed to work out the suitable legislation for uniting one big part of Shida Kartli territory with the North Caucasian Ossetia. Special preparations were carried on to reach the goal; mainly there were demands to legitimize the political unit of Shida Kartli Ossetians as a kind of state formation. It was determined by changes of political situation and was of gradual character. Ossetian separatists' pretentious demands differed from each other and were consisted of different stages: a) Qershor, 1917 – "free self-determination" of Ossetians in Georgia; b) Dhjetor, 1917- January, 1918 – demand of forming wide uyezd- community unit for the Ossetians living in Shida Kartli on the basis of the uyezds of Gori, Shorapani, Dusheti, Racha 22 village communities and three villages; c) September, 1918 – demand of forming "South Ossetia" independent administrative autonomous oblast; d) Jun, 1919 – demand to form canton for Ossetians of mountain Shida Kartli. All these facts show that Ossetian separatists wanted to dictate their will to the government of Georgia and deliberately cut the artery, main rout uniting the unity of Georgia. Georgian political spectrum in proper time could manage to unveil "disguised political slyness" of separatists and Georgian government alternatively proposed them to have Java uyezd – community. It was a serious compromise and somehow neglect-

ing of national interests from the side of Georgian government. Despite of this, carrying on the project was a possibility to stop in proper time the expected threat coming from Ossetians. May – June, 1920 uprising of Ossetians and the danger of Georgian state existence determined Georgian political spectrum distrust Ossetians that caused annulling the project of forming Ossetian uyezd – community unit from the agenda. This decision made possible to enclose Ossetian issue logically together with other ethnic minorities in one frame. Denial of giving general rights to ethnic minorities and to Ossetians among them and giving only uyezd – community rights was based on security interests of Georgian state and was right political decision of Georgian political spectrum.

VIII)The Georgian government carried on several positive activities towards the Ossetians. The government gave them: lands, wood, pastures, founded Ossetian schools. In 1918- 1920 the Ossetians in their turn replied to these positive steps of the government with “inland crusade campaigns” towards the independent republic. The leaders of the Georgian political thinking saw that the Ossetians became the adjunct spongers of the country. After the sound analyses of the Ossetians’ deeds the political spectrum of Georgia put forward legal questions: Why the Ossetians hated Georgians so much? Did the Ossetians deserve moral and legal rights to live together with Georgians? When Georgians were undergoing the difficulties four rebellions of the Ossetians and the attempt of weakening the Georgian state drove the Georgian political elite to acknowledge that their positive step was a mistake. The radical declaration of the National - Democratic Party on this background was completely logical. They declared: “The Ossetians are fatal pimple on the body of Georgia and we by all means must get rid of it. The decision to free gorges of the Roki and Mamisoni passes from the Ossetian population and resettle there Georgian population and put this issue forward was determined by untrustworthiness of the Ossetians. In this case we must take into consideration the facts of four rebellions in 1918 - 1920 ordered and donated by Soviet intelligent service for destroying the Georgian government. For neutralization of the Ossetian threat and for the elementary conditions of living peacefully the representatives of the Georgian political thinking believed the one of the ways out of this difficult situation was to make an example of punishing the Ossetians and put them in the service of the Georgian state. The exile policy of the Ossetians carried on by the government of the independent Georgia served to oppose with dignity the expecting attack from the Soviet Russia, to move its adherent Ossetian population living at the border line from this region and thus have the guarantees. After calling into question the independence of the Georgian state for several times, there was not another alternative left for the government of Georgia. Radical activities carried on by the government influenced only that part of the Ossetian population, who committed actions equal to betrayal. On the second hand, the exile policy was one of the parts of the country’s agrarian reform which aimed to use purposefully together with Georgians the labor of Ossetians.

IX)Maintenance of the territorial unity and bringing to the end of the measures for final defeat of the Ossetian separatism which were started by the government of the independent Georgia was up to the political and economic support of the western European countries. Pro-Soviet orientation of the big countries and non-fulfillment of a promise they gave to Georgia made a

suitable environment for Soviet Russia to capture Georgia. By the initiative of S. Orjonikidze, from March, 1921, culprit Ossetians "deported" in 1920 returned back chaotically in Shida Kartli. The government did not made beforehand mechanism for supporting the Georgian population from the Ossetians who wanted revenge that caused tragic results. I mean: a)Ossetians robbed the Georgian population of Shida Kartli (they stole domestic animals, cloths, linen, furniture, product of agriculture) and purposely oppressed them; b)the expulsion of the population from their homes. According to documentary materials it is proved that the government of Soviet Georgia did not opposed adequate mechanism of punishment to above mentioned crimes. This fact gave birth to advantageous conditions for Ossetians to rob the Georgian population. All the more, official protectors of Ossetians were revolutionary comity of "South Ossetia", Ossetian Militia and the military units of the 11th army that were located in the Georgian villages. The political background in Soviet Georgia promoted Ossetian separatists to use actively forced, coercion methods against Georgians and thus, made real possibilities that Georgians had to leave their ancestral lands belonging to their distant ancestors. In parallel with robbery, using barbaric methods against the Georgian population (burning houses of Georgians, murder, burning population in fire, raping women, both adults and under age as well) constantly gave Ossetian separatists stable opportunity to prepare the first stage for their project. The Bureau of the Caucasus and the government of Soviet Georgia did not react strictly. They were only forming commissions and were preparing reports and resolutions. Antinational political course of the ruling organs of the country contributed to the beginning of the renewal of Osianoba in Shida Kartli. With the help of the puppet government of Soviet Georgia Ossetian separatists try to change demographic balance rapidly in favor of Ossetians in Shida Kartli. With their effort from March till April, 25, 1921 13 Georgian villages (Sveri, Kemerti, Mindiani, Kaplani, Kasrani, Monasteri, Acriskhevi, Satskheneti, Beloti, Kvemo and Zemo Nikozi, Kvemo and Zemo Khviti) became empty from the Georgian population. Georgian government consciously hid this criminal, felonious fact and did not react. The Georgian population of Shida Kartli became an uneasy burden for the Bureau of the Caucasus and the government of Soviet Georgia. One of the forms of forced banish of Georgians from Shida Kartli was activities of the armed Ossetian bands (leaders: Ossetian Jatin Kokoev, Dianoza Dzakhoev, Tsitsia Dzakhoev, Petre Gogishvili, Gurgena Gularashvili).Documentary materials prove that Soviet government doomed to death Georgian population and gave them to Ossetian separatists for "torment" for years.

X)After the forced Sovietisation of Georgia in the mountainous region of Shida Kartli formal announcement of the Soviet rule under the mask of the "South Ossetia", official creation of the "South Ossetia" Revolutionary Committee for the second time and its location in Tskhinvali aimed to subordinate Georgian villages to the Revolutionary Committee of Ossetia and artificially alienate Tskhinvali region from the rest of Georgia. With the help of the archive material it is proved that the willful activities (deliberate oppression of the Georgian population) of the Revolutionary Committee of the "South Ossetia" and departments of the Ossetian militia formed by the Revolutionary Committee in Georgian villages were the violations of the "revolutionary period legislations". In spite of this the Revolutionary Committee of Georgia together with People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs were not carrying out radical measures towards the Revolutionary Committee of "South Ossetia",

was purposely concealing the troubles of Shida Kartli (Inner Kartli) Georgian population and thus, making it unavailable for wide circles of society. With the help of the documentary materials we become aware that for preventing the opposition of the armed Ossetian population towards the Soviet rule the ruling circles of those days Georgia were ready for all kinds of concessions and thus, were sacrificing the interests of Shida Kartli Georgian population on the altar of the Soviet ideology. The project worked out by The Commission of Dividing the Gori District into Administrative Units was based on taking into consideration ethnographic, strategic, geographic etc. factors. If the project should have been carried out practically, 51 Georgian villages should have been under the control of the Gori district; the area of the "South Ossetia" Revolutionary Committee influence should have been narrowed and enclosed in certain frames; Tskhinvali should not have been the residence of "South Ossetia". According to the resolution of the People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs, 1921, August, 9, 130 only 31 Georgian villages (instead of 20 more villages) should have been united into the Gori district. Despite the mentioned imperfection, on the background of the political situation in the North of the Gori district, to carry out practically the resolution should have been a step forward. Because of the obstinate "fights on the border" of the Revolutionary Committee of the "South Ossetia" and the compromise policy of the Georgian government the Revolutionary Committee of the "South Ossetia" was able to keep control on Georgian villages. In fact it helped it to reach the goal and prepare for another step.

XI) Extremely difficult situation determined by the attempt of creating Ossetian state unity at the expense of Georgian territory was to be regulated by resolution of people's commissariat of July, 20, 1921. The aim of the resolution was to prevent Ossetian separatism, to put "Revolutionary Committee of Ossetia" in the frames of law regulations and defend the interests of Shida Kartli population. According to this document South Ossetian autonomous republic was embracing only 7 village communities in the North of Gori uyezd (district), the territory without Tskhinvali and 51 Georgian villages round it. It was giving newly established administrative unit the right of a district (uyezd). The decay project prepared by revolutionary Committee of Georgia about formation of the "South Ossetia" autonomous region (oblast) in March, 20, 1922 was an attempt to correct a mistake when the committee did not receive the mentioned document. If the document would be adopted: a) the demands of Shida Kartli Georgian population should have been completely taken into consideration and security defended. b) From the point of view of national state interests, it should have been the guarantee of the whole country unity. The project about the borders of the "South Ossetia" Socialist Republic adopted on the united meeting of the Revolutionary Committee, party committee and high-ranking party members of the "South Ossetia" (September, 2-8, 1921) was of "capturing" character. On the account of territories cut from Gori, Dusheti, Racha, Shorapani districts (uyezds) (one town-Tskhinvali, 21 village communities and 47 Georgian villages) the formation of the administrative unit of Ossetians was planned. The "Constitution Project of the South Ossetia Soviet Socialist Republic" received at the united meeting of the revolutionary committee, party committee and high-ranking party members of the "South Ossetia" (September, 2-8, 1921), consisted of fifteen paragraphs and aimed uniting "South Ossetian" Republic with Georgia on a federative principle. With this model Ossetian separatists were offering Georgian government Russian federative model of the government mechanism.

B.Kvirkvelia's paper read at the meeting of the revolutionary committee of Georgia in September, 27, 1921 was scientifically proved negation of the main principles. As for the office of the Caucasus who gave accelerated the status of autonomous district (oblast) by resolution (the resolution of October, 31, 1921) to geographically not existing "South Ossetia" (before the decision of the special commission), shows that this political organization carried out an order of the Soviet Russia government. On the basis of the documentary material it is stated that the decree ^{1 2} of the Central Committee of Georgia and the Council of the People's Commissars about the creation of the "South Ossetia" Autonomous Region dated to 1922, April, 20 was written hurriedly. a) In fact, it was a copy of a project received at the united meeting of the "South Ossetia" Revolutionary Committee, Party Committee and active party workers in Septembers, 6-8, 1921 and b) the resolution of the Kakabadze's commission received on December, 8, 1921 (minute ^{1 4}). Thus, by receiving decree ^{1 2} the Georgian government on behalf of the interests of the Ossetian separatists ignored the interest of Georgian population living in the mountain area of Shida Kartli and satisfied the claims of separatists. The demand of the commission attached to the People's Commissariat of the Internal Affairs (G. Gvelesiani, D. Karichashvili and S. Gorgadze) to revise the decree, mainly the borders issue, meant to restore the justice and defence Georgian population. The activity of the state committee studying the complaints of the Georgian villages of districts (uyzds) bordering the "South Ossetia" autonomous republic was PR campaign. It was designed to calm down emotions and excitement of Georgians. As for the issue of the borders, to swindle society, the discussion was carried on within the frames of permitting or forbidding changes having not much importance. On the basis of documentary materials it is stated that the committee perfectly fulfilled the instructions given by the centre. Ignoring just demands of the Georgian peasants the committee in fact did not change the borders of the "South Ossetia" autonomous district and left them as it was before. Raising the question of uniting the North and the "South" Ossetia with Georgia (1925) was officially authorized by Moscow and had purposed ideological meaning. To put forward the mentioned issue in front of the Ossetian population of "South Ossetia" having separatist mood meant to ignite smoldering spark - create united Ossetia on the territory of Georgia. On the other hand, in future the authorities of the Soviet empire could manipulate this political unit against Georgia and use it for certain purposes.

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(1917- 1921 ww)

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6. iqve
7. iqve
8. gaz. `erToba- 1918 w. 4 agvisto # 164
90. gaz. `erToba- 1918 w. 23 ivnisi # 129
10. u.baxtaZe. samxreT oseTis avtonomiuri ol qis Seqmna da misi samarTI ebrivi mdgomareoba. Tbil isi. 1968. gv. 45
11. gaz. `erToba- 1918 w. 11 agvisto # 169
12. gaz. `erToba- 1918 w. 22 agvisto # 177
13. gaz. `erToba- 1918 w. 21 agvisto # 176
14. gaz. `erToba- 1918 w. 22 agvisto # 177
15. gaz. `erToba- 1918 w. 22 agvisto # 177
16. gaz. `erToba- 1918 w. 8 seqtemberi # 192
17. scssa f.1836. aRw. 1. saq. 2 furc. 245
18. gaz. `erToba- 1918 w. 7 dekemberi # 265
19. u.baxtaZe. dasaxel ebul i naSromi. gv. 49
20. gaz. `erToba- 1920 w. 2 oqtomberi # 223
21. f.maxaraZe. Txzul ebani. t. IV. Tb. 1924. gv. 146
22. iqve. gv. 148
23. skkp yril obebis, konferenciebisa da central uri komitetis pl enumbis rezol uciebsa da gadawyvetil ebebSi. naw. I. Tbil isi. 1954. gv. 459
24. iqve. gv. 530
25. f.maxaraZe. Txzul ebani. t. IV. gv. 145

\$. 3. Sida qarTI is mTis osebis 1919- 1920 wl ebis antisaxel mwifoebri vi aj anyebebi

1. v.j anj Rava. gl exTa revol uciuri moZraoba saqarTvel oSi 1917- 1921 wl ebSi. Tbil isi. 1982. gv. 137; u.baxtaZe. samxreT oseTis avtonomiuri ol qis Seqmna da misi samarTI ebrivi mdgomareoba. Tbil isi. 1968. gv. 68

2. I .Toize. rogor Seiqmna samxreT oseTis avtonomiuri ol qi. Tbil isi. 1091. gv. 32
3. gaz. `sal i kl de- 1919 w. 28 april i # 45
4. scssa. f. 1825. aRw. 1. saq. 17. furc. 49
5. I .Toize. rogor Seiqmna samxreT oseTis avtonomiuri ol qi. gv. 32_ 33
6. gaz. `erToba- 1920 w. 4 ianvari # 3
7. amenTeSaSvil i. osuri separatizmi 1918- 1920 wl ebSi. ix. osTa sakiTxi. Tbil isi. 1996 w. gv. 280
8. S.vadaWkoria. sabWoTa ruseTTan saqarTvel os damarcxebis zogierTi faqtoris dazustebisaTvis (1921 wl is Teberval i- marti). Tbil isi. 2016. gv. 9- 68
9. Борьба за победу Советской власти в Грузии. Документы и материалы. 1917-1921 гг. Тбилиси. 1958. ст. 552- 553
10. gaz. `erToba- 1920 w. 1 ivl isi # 146
11. Борьба за победу Советской власти в Грузии. Документы и материалы. 1917- 1921 гг. Тбилиси. 1958. ст. 562
12. amenTeSaSvil i. osuri separatizmi 1918- 1920 wl ebSi. ix. osTa sakiTxi. Tbil isi. 1996 w. gv. 278- 280
13. iqve. gv. 284- 285
14. vj anj Rava. gl exTa revol uciuri moZraoba saqarTvel oSi 1917- 1921 wl e- bSi. gv.195
15. gaz. `saxal xo saqme- 1920 w. 15 ivnisi # 850
16. gaz. `erToba- 1920 w. 11 ivnisi # 129
17. osTa sakiTxi. gv. 314
18. kinasariZe. patara oqros xana. miunxeni. 1984. gv. 173
19. gaz. `erToba- 1920 w. 11 ivnisi # 129
20. gaz. `saxal xo saqme- 1920 w. 15 ivnisi # 850
21. g.TogoSvil i. qarTvel i da osi xal xebis urTierToba 1801- 1921 ww. Tbil isi. 1969. gv. 120
22. amenTeSaSvil i. osuri separatizmi 1918- 1920 wl ebSi. ix. osTa sakiTxi. Tbil isi. 1996 w. gv. 312
23. iqve. gv. 313
24. gaz. `erToba- 1920 w. 20 ivnisi # 137
25. suica. f. 281. aRw. 2. saq. 3. furc. 162
26. S.s.s.a. f. 14. aRw. 1. saq. 48. furc. 167
27. asurgul aZe. sabWoTa xel isufli ebis gamarj veba saqarTvel oSi. ix. saqa- rTvel os istoriis narkvevbi. t. VI. Tbil isi. 1972. gv 679, 680
28. vabaevi. samxreT oseTis mSromel Ta brZol a sabWoTa xel isufli ebisaTvis ix. social isturi revol uciis gamarj veba saqarTvel oSi. Tbil isi. 1957. gv. 305
29. S.s.s.a. f. 14. aRw. 1. saq. 48. furc. 167
30. dawvril ebiT ixil eT S.vadaWkoria. osuri miTi da qarTul i sinamdvil e. Tbil isi. 2012 w. gv. 26- 31
31. vj anj Rava. das. naSr. gv. 202; Л.Джиоев. «Исполнился 91 год со дня первого геноцида осетинского народа». см. Юго осетинская газета «Республика» 2011 г. 8 июня
32. g.TogoSvil i. das. naSr. gv. 131
33. i.l obJaniZe. al agiris qarTvel oba. ix. gaz. `erToba- 1919 w. 28 marti # 170
34. s.rexviaSvil i. `al agirel qarTvel Ta tragedia- ix. gaz. `saxal xo ganaT- l eba- 1989 w. 18 oqtomberi.
35. gaz. `erToba- 1920 w. 6 ivl isi # 150
36. gaz. `erToba- 1920 w. 3 oqtomberi # 224
37. osTa sakiTxi. gv. 320

\$. 4. qarTul i politikuri azri da Sida qarTl is mTis osebis 1918- 1920 wl ebis aj anyebebis Sefasebis mcdel oba

1. gaz. `saqarTvel o~ 1918 w. 23 marti # 64
2. gaz. `saqarTvel o~ 1918 w. mkaTaTvis 25 # 147; mariamobisTvis 13 # 159
3. gaz. `erToba~ 1918 w. 25 marti # 69
4. iqve
5. gaz. `erToba~ 1918 w. 4 agvisto # 164
6. saqarTvel os parl amentis miwis kanonebi. Tb. 1919. gv. 8
7. gaz. `erToba~ 1919 w. 9 Teberval i # 32
8. S.vadaWkoria. qarTul i social - demokratia 1917- 1921 wl ebSi. Tbil isi. 2001. gv. 308; misive. saqarTvel os politikuri istoriis sakiTxebi (XX saukune) wigni II. Tbil isi. 2006. gv. 334
9. gaz. `saqarTvel o~ 1918 w. mariamobisTvis 14 # 160
10. gaz. `erToba~ 1918 w. 9 agvisto # 167
11. iqve
12. gaz. `erToba~ 1919 w. 17 maisi # 107
13. gaz. `komunisti~ 1920 w. 13 ivnisi # 10
14. gaz. `erToba~ 1920 w. 15 ivnisi # 132
15. u.baxtaZe. das. naSr. gv. 166_ 167; g.TogoSvil i. das. naSr. gv. 116, 121
16. suica. f. 281. aRw. 1. saq. 3. furc. 162
17. qarTul i sabWoTa encikl opedia. t. 4. Tbil isi. 1979. gv. 199
18. amenTeSaSvil i. osuri separatizmi 1918- 1920 wl ebSi. ix. osTa sakiTxi. Tbil isi. 1996 w. gv. 276- 297
19. oj anel iZe. osTa sakiTxi saqarTvel os demokratiul respubl ikaSi. Journ. `eTnopol itika~ 2007 w. # 1. gv. 7

\$. 5. Sida qarTl is mTis osebis prorusul i orientaciis kritika qarTul politikur azrovnebaSi (1917- 1920 ww.)

1. gaz. `erToba~ 1918 w. 23 ivnisi # 129
2. vaxiToniSvil i. narkvevebi kavkasiis istoriidan. Tbil isi. 2002. gv. 186- 200
3. I .ToiZe. rogor Sei qmna samxreT oseTis avtonomiuri ol qi. Tbil isi. 1091. gv. 19-20
4. g.xaWapuriZe. qarTvel i xal xis brZol a sabWoTa xel isufl ebis damy- arebi saTvis. Tbil isi. 1957. gv. 282- 283
5. gaz. `erToba~ 1918 w. 21 agvisto # 176
6. gaz. `erToba~ 1918 w. 23 ivnisi # 129
7. iqve
8. iqve
9. gaz. `erToba~ 1918 w. 27 ivnisi # 131
10. gaz. `erToba~ 1918 w. 11 agvisto # 169
11. gaz. `erToba~ 1918 w. 4 agvisto # 164
12. gaz. `erToba~ 1919 w. 5 ivnisi # 122
13. gaz. `erToba~ 1920 w. 18 ivnisi # 135
14. gaz. `erToba~ 1920 w. 2 oqtomberi # 223
15. amenTeSaSvil i. osuri separatizmi 1918- 1920 wl ebSi. ix. osTa sakiTxi. Tbil isi. 1996 w. gv. 299, 305_ 306
16. g.xaWapuriZe. dasaxel ebul i naSromi. gv. 288

§. 6. Sida qarTl is mTis osebis teritoriul i mowyobis sakiTxi (1917- 1920 w.w.)

1. u.baxtaZe. samxreT oseTis avtonomiuri ol qis Seqmna da misi samarTI ebrivi mdgomareoba. Tbil isi. 1968 w. gv. 30_ 31
2. g.bregaZe. saqarTvel oSi erovnul i sakiTxis gadawyvetis istoriul i gamocdil eba. Tbil isi. 1970 w. gv. 79
3. 26 maisi. 1918. saqarTvel os damoukidebl obis gamocxadeba. Tbil isi. 1919 w. gv. 6- 7
4. iqve. gv. 9
5. gaz. `erToba- 1918 w. 16 ivnisi # 123
6. saqarTvel os demokratiul i respubl ikis samarTI ebrivi aqtebis krebul i 1918_ 1921. Tbil isi. 1990. gv. 62
7. S.vadWkoria. qarTul i social - demokratia 1917- 1921 wl eSi. ix. saqarTvel os pol itikuri istoriis sakiTxebi (XX saukune) wigni II. Tbil isi. 2006 w. gv. 214
8. u.baxtaZe. dasaxel ebul i naSromi. gv. 41
9. gaz. `saqarTvel o- 1919 w. 21 ianvari # 17
10. I .ToiZe. rogor Seiqmna samxreT oseTis avtonomiuri ol qi. Tbil isi. 1991 w. gv. 16; a.sonRul aSvil i. `samxreT oseTi- saqarTvel oSi?! Tbil isi. 2009 w. gv. 93
11. u.baxtaZe. dasax. naSr. gv. 49
12. a.sonRul aSvil i. `samxreT oseTi- saqarTvel oSi?! Tbil isi. 2009. gv. 97
13. scssa f. 1836. aRw. 1. saq. 43. furc. 81
14. scssa f. 1863. aRw. 1. saq. 4. furc. 242
15. gaz. `al ioni~ 1918 w. 29 marti # 22
16. gaz. `al ioni~ 1918 w. 2 seqtemberi # 36
17. I .saral iZe. e.w. `samxreT oseTis- avtonomiuri ol qis Seqmnis istoriidan (1917-1922 ww.) ix. axal i da uaxl esi istoriis sakiTxebi. 1 (7) 2010 w. gv. 155- 156
18. gaz. `erToba- 1919 w. 7 maisi # 98
19. Journ. `moambe- 1921 w. # 20 gv. 15- 16
20. iqve. gv. 16
21. scssa f. 1861. aRw. 1. saq. 355. furc. 3; I .ToiZe. das. naSromi. gv. 64.
22. iqve. furc. 6. I .ToiZe. das. naSr. gv. 64- 65.
23. iqve. furc. 4. I .ToiZe. das. naSr. gv. 65.
24. iqve. furc. 1. I .ToiZe. das. naSr.gv. 65.
25. iqve. furc. 11. I .ToiZe. das. naSr. gv. 66.
26. Journ. `moambe- 1921 w. #23 gv. 9
27. gaz. `saqarTvel o- 1919 w. 6 ianvari # 5
28. gaz. `erToba- 1919 w. 15 maisi # 105
29. gaz. `erToba- 1920 w. 16 april i # 84
30. iqve.
31. iqve.
32. proeqti saqarTvel os teritoriis danawil ebisa axal saadministracio erTeul ebad (ol qebad) Tbil isi. 1920 w. gv. 26- 27
33. scssa f. 1833. aRw. 1. saq. 180. furc. 178
34. iqve. saq. 181. furc. 126
35. iqve. saq. 180. furc. 185
36. iqve. furc. 186
37. gaz. `erToba- 1920 w. 17 ivnisi # 134
38. Journ. `eroba da qal aqi~ 1920 w. # 6 gv. 3
39. iqve. gv. 16
40. Journ. `mxedari~ 1920 w. # 5 gv. 7

41. saqarTvel os konstituciis proeqti. Sedgenil i da gamocemul i saqarTve-
l os damfuZnebel i krebis mier. Tbil isi. 1920 w. ivnisi. gv. 35_ 36
42. gaz. `erToba- 1920 w. 3 oqtomberi # 224
43. scssa f. 1825. aRw. 1. saq. 126. furc. 34
44. iqve
45. iqve. furc. 35
46. gaz. `erToba- 1920 w. 23 ivnisi # 139
47. scssa f. 1825. arw. 1. saq. 125. furc. 22

\$. 7. damouki debel i saqarTvel o da Sida qarTI is mTis osebis `sagadasaxl ebo- pol itika

1. gaz. `erToba- 1918 w. 8 agvisto # 166
2. iqve
3. gaz. `erToba- 1920 w. 11 ivnisi # 129
4. gaz. `saxal xo saqme- 1920 w. 11 ivnisi # 847
5. Journ. `mxedari- 1920 w. # 27 gv. 7
6. Journ. `mxedari- 1920 w. # 5 gv. 8
7. gaz. `saqarTvel o- 1918 w. mariamobiTvis 14 # 160
8. gaz. `saxal xo saqme- 1920 w. 13 ivnisi # 849
9. Journ. `mxedari- 1920 w. # 5 gv. 2
10. iqve
11. scssa f. 1825. aRw. 1. saq. 159. furc. 28
12. gaz. `saxal xo saqme- 1920 w. 13 ivnisi # 849
13. vaxuSti batoniSvil i. aRwera samefosa saqarTvel oisa. teqsti dadgenil i
yvel a xel naweris mixedviT s. yauxCiSvil is mier. ix. qarTI is cxovreba
IV. Tbil isi. 1973. gv. 256.
14. n.l omouri. osTa saqarTvel oSi Camosaxl ebis ZiriTadi aspeqtebi. Journ.
`ciskari- 1992. # 5. gv. 11.
15. scssa f. 1863 aRw. 1. saq. 320 furc. 277.
16. g.TogoSvil i. qarTvel i da osi xal xebis urTierToba 1801_1921 ww. Tbil isi.
1969. gv. 125
17. n.xomeriki. agrarul i reforma da Cveni sasofi o meurneoba. Tbil isi. 1920.
gv. 23-24
18. asurgul aZe. narkvevebi revol uciuri moZraobis istoriidan saqarTvel o-
Si. 1917- 1921 ww.) Tbil isi. 1954. gv. 357
19. S.vadaWkoria. qarTul i social _ demokratia 1917- 1921 wl ebSi. Tbil isi.
2001. gv. 315
20. n.xomeriki. daspnaSromi. gv. 23

Tavi II

sabWoTa ruseTTan damarcxebul i damouki debel i saqarTvel o da osuri separatizmi s zeimi (1921- 1925 ww)

\$ 1. saqarTvel os bol Sevikuri okupacia da osianobis ganaxl eba Sida qarTI Si

1. S.vadaWkoria. qarTul i social _ demokratia 1917- 1921 wl ebSi. Tbil isi.
2001 w. gv. 431; misive. sabWoTa ruseTTan saqarTvel os damarcxebis zogierTi

- faqtoris dazustebisaTvis (1921 wl is Teberval i- marti). Tbil isi. 2016. gv. 9- 68
2. I .ToiZe. intervenciac, okupaciac, Zal datanebiTi gasabWoebac faqtobrivi aneqsiac. Tbil isi. 1991 w. gv. 87
 3. v.l enini. Txz. t. 45. gv. 50
 4. SvadaWkoria. erovnul i saxel mwifoebriobis sakiTxi qarTul pol itikur azrovnebaSi (1921_ 1923 ww.) Tbil isi. 1998 w. gv. 14
 5. SvadaWkoria. qarTul i social _ demokratia 1917- 1921 wl ebSi. Tbil isi. 2001 w. gv. 437
 6. iqve. gv. 442
 7. gaz. `social ist- federal isti~ 1921 w. 18 marti.
 8. asurgul aZe. sabWoTa xel isufl ebis gamarj veba saqarTvel oSi. ix. saqarTvel os istoriis narkvebi. t.VI. Tbil isi. 1972 w. gv. 698
 9. g.xaWapuriZe. qarTvel i xal xis brZol a sabWoTa xel isufl ebis damyarebis aTvis. Tbil isi. 1957 w. gv. 450
 10. g.k.orj onikiZe. amierkavkasiis Sesaxeb. Tbil isi. 1986 w. gv. 144
 11. saqarTvel os uaxl esi istoriis central uri arqivi (SemdegSi suica). f.281. aRw. 1. saq. 23. furc. 5
 12. S.s.s.a. f. 14. aRw. 1. saq. 48. furc. 167; I .salar iZe. e.w. `samxreT oseTis- avtonomiuri ol qis Seqmnis istoriidan (1917- 1922 ww.) ix. axal i da uaxl esi istoriis sakiTxebi. Tbil isi. 2010. # 1 (7) gv. 157
 13. suica. f. 281. aRw. 1. saq. 23. furc. 68
 14. asonRul aSvil i. saqarTvel os pol itikuri portreti. Tb. 2004 w. gv. 177- 179; misive. `samxreT oseTi- saqarTvel oSi?! Tbil isi. 2009; gv. 152- 154
 15. suica. f. 285. aRw. 1 saq. 550. furc. 22- 23; asonRul aSvil i. `samxreT oseTi- saqarTvel oSi?! gv. 155
 16. Jurn. `moambe- 1921 w. #2 gv. 1_5
 17. Jurn. `saqarTvel os komunisti- 1990 w. # 2. gv. 88
 18. d.gogoWuri. Ria weril i kol egebs... gaz. `l iteraturul i saqarTvel o- 1989 w. 15 dekemberi # 15. gv. 14
 19. g.k.orj onikiZe. statiebi da sityebi. t. 1. Tb. 1957. gv. 280
 20. suica. f.281. aRw. 1. saq. 50. furc. 71^b
 21. gaz. `tribuna- 1921 w. 15 seqtemberi
 22. gaz. `komunisti- 1922 w. 23 april i
 23. S.s.s.a. f. 14. aRw. 1. saq. 263. furc. 21
 24. SvadaWkoria. erovnul i saxel mwifoebriobis sakiTxi qarTul pol itikur azrovnebaSi (1921- 1923 ww.) Tbil isi. 1998 w. gv. 124

\$. 2. osi separatistebis brZol a Sida qarTI Si gavl enis sferoebis gasafarToebl ad

1. u.baxtaZe. samxreT oseTis avtonomiuri ol qis Seqmna da misi samarTI ebrivi mdgomareoba. Tbil isi. 1968 w. gv. 75- 76
2. Jurn. `moambe- 1921 w. # 3. gv. 9
3. gaz. `social ist- federal isti~ 1921 w. 24 maisi
4. gaz. `social ist- federal isti~ 1921 w. 22 maisi
5. iqve
6. suica. f. 281. aRw. 1. saq. 23. furc. 68
7. I .salar iZe. e.w. `samxreT oseTis- avtonomiuri ol qis Seqmnis istoriidan (1917- 1922 ww.) ix. axal i da uaxl esi istoriis sakiTxebi. 1 (7) 2010 w. gv. 148
8. Jurn. `moambe- 1921 w. # 15. gv. 14

§. 3. saqarTvel os teritoriis mitacebiT osuri sabWouri avtonomiis Seqmna da qarTul i sinamdvil e

1. sui ca. f. 281. aRw. 1. saq. 50. furc. 72^a
2. i qve. saq. 92. furc. 106
3. I .ToiZe. rogor Sei qmna samxreT oseTis avtonomiuri ol qi. Tbil isi. 1991. gv. 67
4. i qve
5. sui ca. f. 281. aRw. 2. saq. 3. furc. 168
6. i qve. furc. 174; I .ToiZe. rogor Sei qmna samxreT oseTis avtonomiuri ol qi. Tbil isi. 1991. gv. 69
7. sui ca. f. 281. aRw. 2. saq. 3. furc. 169
8. S.s.s.a. f. 14. aRw. 1. saq. 48. furc. 167
9. i qve
10. sui ca. f. 281. aRw. 2. saq. 3. furc. 163
11. I .ToiZe. dasaxel ebul i naSromi. gv. 67; a sonRul aSvil i. `samxreT oseTi~ saqarTvel oSi?! Tbil isi. 2009. gv. 106
12. gaz. `komunisti~ 1921. 15 seqtemberi
13. Jurn. `moambe~ 1922. # 28. gv. 20
14. u.baxtaZe. samxreT oseTis avtonomiuri ol qis Seqmna da misi samarTI ebri- vimdgomareoba. Tbil isi. 1968 w. gv. 106
15. saqarTvel os ssr konstituciuri aqtebis krebul i (1921- 1978). Tbil isi. 1983. gv. 73
16. g.Jvania. egreT wodebul i `nacional ukl oni zmis~ Sesaxeb. Tb. 1990 w. gv. 26-27
17. Jurn. `moambe~ 1922. # 28. gv. 21
18. g.k.orj onikiZe. si tyvebi da statiebi. t.1. Tbil isi. 1957. gv. 247
19. i qve. gv. 280
20. S.s.s.a. f. 14. aRw. 1. saq. 278. furc. 9; u.baxtaZe. dasaxel ebul i naSromi. gv. 111
21. S.s.s.a. f. 14. aRw. 1. saq. 292. furc. 366; I .ToiZe. dasaxel ebul i naSromi. gv. 179- 180.
22. S.s.s.a. f. 14. aRw. 1. saq. 263. furc. 9
23. i qve. saq. 62. furc. 87
24. vax.i ToniSvil i. narkvevebi kavkasiis istoriidan. Tbil isi. 2002. gv. 204
25. i qve
26. sui ca. f. 284. aRw. 1. saq. 62. furc. 79
27. Jurn. `moambe~ 1922. # 33. gv. 3- 4
28. u.baxtaZe. dasaxel ebul i naSromi. gv.119- 120; a sonRul aSvil i. `samxreT oseTi~ saqarTvel oSi?! Tbil isi. 2009. gv. 111_ 112
29. sui ca. f. 284. aRw. 1. saq. 170. furc. 3 ; I .ToiZe. dasaxel ebul i naSromi. gv. 92_ 93
30. srul iad saqarTvel os sabWoTa central uri aRmasrul ebel i komitetis mesame mowvevis meore sesia. stenografiul i angariSi. Tbil isi. 1925 w. gv. 59
31. I .ToiZe. dasaxel ebul i naSromi. gv. 95
32. sui ca. f. 607. aRw. 1. saq. 320. furc. 70
33. I .ToiZe. dasaxel ebul i naSromi. gv. 96
34. i.futkaraZe. saRi Zaxil i. gaz. `komunisti~ 1989. 13 dekemberi # 285

Tbil isi.
2014 wel is 20 oqtomberi

OsTa genocidis- sakiTxi da 1918- 1925 wl ebis istoriul i movl enebis sinamdvil e

meclierma unda eZebos WeSmariteba, Tavis pirad survil ebsa da urTierTobaze ufro Zvirad unda afasebdes mas.- n.CerniSevski.

2018 wl is ivl isSi `samxreT oseTis respubl ikis- xel mZRvanel obam, qarTvel ebis mxridan osebis mimarT ganxorciel ebul i gamogonil i `genocididan- 98 wl istavi aRniSna. amasTan dakavSirebiT, cxinval Si gamomaval - ma gazeTma `respubl ikam-. (Республика, 2 июня 2018 год, № 41-42. ст. 6- 13.) 4 sagaze- To publ ikacia gamoaqveyna. aqedan ori maTgani x.koctis ekuTvnis (1. «Размышления в преддвери годовщины геноцида осетонского народа»; 2. «Кровавое лето 1920 года. Страницы истории». Коцты X. Стр. 6-9). es publ ikaciebi mxol od osebis 1918, 1919, 1920 wl ebis snobil i aj anyebebis monawil e konkretul i pirovnebe- bis mogonebSi arsebul faqtebze da mosazrebebzea dafuZnebul i. danarCe- ni ori publ ikacia, imave aj anyebebis monawil eTa mogonebebidan (v.abaevi, v.gazaevi, m.xasievi, n.gagl oevi, i.jioevi, m.sanakoevi) citatebis saxiT mot- anil amonaridebs warmoadgens. xazgasmiT unda iTqvas, rom aRniSnul i pi- rovnebebis mogonebebi, sabWoTa xel isuflebis periodSi daiwera da arsebu- l i sistemis ideol ogiur moTxovnebs Seesatyiseba. rac Seexeba x.koctis zemoaRniSnul statiebs, man tradicia ar daarRvia da sityva- sityviT ga- imeora I jioevis mier 2011 wel s imave gazeTSi dabeWdil publ ikaciaSi _ «Исполнился 91 год со дня первого геноцида осетинского народа» gatarebul i siy- al be_ qarTvel ebisgan 1918- 1920 wl ebSi `osebis genocidis- Sesaxeb. es Sexedul eba, osuri intel igenciisa da pol itikuri wreebis warmomadgen- l ebs, Seuval WeSmaritebad miaCniaT. amis dadasturebas, `samxreT oseTis- xel isuflebis mesveurTa mxridan, qarTvel ebisgan 1920 wel s mowyobil i `osebis genocidis- 100 wl is aRsani Snavad mzadeba warmoadgens. amis Sesaxeb cxinval Si gamomaval ma gazeTma `respubl ikam- (14. 01. 2019 w.) sagangebo sta- tia dabeWda saTauriT: «До 100- лeтия гeноцида осетинского народа осталось всего по- лтара года.» osi istorikosebisa da pol itikuri moRvaweebis mxridan qarT- vel ebisadmi wayenebul i zemoaRniSnul i umZimesi bral deba, gansakuTrebu- l ad mtkivneul i sakiTxia da WeSmaritebis dadgenis mizniT, misi Seswavl a, pol itizirebis gareSe, winda meclierul Wril Si unda iqnas gadatanil i. probl emisadmi am kuTxiT midgoma da dokumentur masal ebze dayrdnobiT, mkiTxvel isadmi dasabuTebul i formiT simarTl is miwodeba, orive eris saRad moazrovne intel igenciis interesebSi unda Sediodes. dasaxul i amocanis gadawyvetis mizniT, pasuxi unda gaeces kiTxvebs: 1)ra saxis pol i- tikur procesebs hqonda adgil i saqarTvel oSi 1918- 1925 wl ebSi; 2)gasab- Woebul i ruseTis xel isufal Ta dafinansebiTa da miTitebebiT, Si da qarT- l is mTian zonaSi mcxovrebi saqarTvel os moqal aqe osebis moqmedeba, Se- esatyiseboda Tu ara qarTul i saxel mwifos interesebs da saerTaSoriso samarTl is normebs; 3)saarqivo dokumenturi masal ebiT dasturdeba Tu ara qarTvel ebisgan 1920 wel s `osebis genocidis- Sesaxeb Seqmnil i bral de- ba. Tuki ar dasturdeba, vis mier iqna igi gamogonil i da rodis; 4)ra sama- rTl ebrivi kval ifikaciiT unda Sefasdes, qarTul mosaxl eobasTan mima- rTebaSi 1918- 1925 wl ebSi osebisgan Cadenil i danaSaul ebrivi qmedebebi. saarqivo masal ebze dayrdnobiT, am da sxva mni Svnel ovan sakiTxebTan dakav- SirebiT meqneba saubari mkiTxvel i sazogadoebi sadmi SeTavazebul winamde- bare naSromSi.

cxinval is regionSi Seqmnil i dRevandel i urTul esi pol itikuri situ-
 aciis fonze, gansakuTrebul yuradRebas osuri presis furcl ebze da in-
 ternet- saitebze qarTvel i eris diskreditaciis mizniT gaCaRebul i sain-
 formacio omis amsaxvel i masal ebi iqcevs. mxedvel obaSi maqvs osi isto-
 rikosebis mier istoriul i faqtebis gayal bebis safuZvel ze, qarTvel i
 erisadmi wayenebul i zemoaRniSnul i usafuZvl obral debebi. am SemTxveva-
 Si yuradRebas `samxreT oseTis- gazeT `respubl ikaSi- (2011 wl is 8 ivnisi)
 dabeWdil I jioevis publ ikaciaze_ «Исполнился 91 год со дня первого геноцида
 осетинского народа» SevaCereb.¹ am weril is yovel i winadadeba, sinamdvil is
 fal sifikacias Sei cavs. istoriul i movl enebis Sefasebis sakiTxSi, utyuari
 saarqivo masal is nacvl ad, misi avtori ZiriTadad XX saukunis sabWoTa pe-
 riodis 20- 30- iani wl ebis bol Sevikuri ideol ogiis gamtarebel i osi pa-
 rtiul i muSakebis warmomadgenl ebis memuarul I literaturasa da naazrevs
 eyrdnoba.

I jioevis saxiT, Tu ramdenad maRal i donis araprofesional Tan gvaqvs
 saqme, amis sail ustraci od mi sive publ ikaciidan oriode faqts movi tan da
 Tavad mkiTxvel ma gansaj os, imsaxurebs Tu ara igi ndobis gamocxadebas.
 1)saqarTvel os damoukidebel i saxel mwifos arseboba, I jioevma 1917 wel s
 gadaitana da am ararsebul i saxel mwifos xel mZRvanel ad noe Jordani as
 mTavroba daasaxel a. «После провозглашения независимого грузинского государства
 в 1917 году, правительство Ноя Жордания...»² es migneba, I jioevis udao `aR-
 moCenad- unda Caetval os. 2)imave I jioevma, osebis 1918 wl is martis pi-
 rvel i aj anyebis CamxSobad saqarTvel os xel isufl eba mi iCnia. «Первый
 погром в мятежном регионе грузинские власти устроили в марте 1918 года».³

`mecnierul i mignebebis- miuxedavad, I jioevis da mis Tanamoazreebs unda
 Sevaxseno: **a)**1917 wl is martidan 14 noembris CaTvl iT, amierkavkasi as_ `am-
 ierkavkasi is gansakuTrebul i komiteti- (ozakomi) marTavda; **b)**imave wl is
 15 noembridan amierkavkasi is xel isufl eba amierkavkasi is komi sariat is xel Si
 gadavida, roml is Semadgenl oba qarTvel ebis, azerbaij anel ebis da somxe-
 bis warmomadgenl ebiT iyo dakompl eqtebul i. aqedan gamomdinare, region-
 Si mimdinare pol itikur procesebTan dakavSirebul yvel a mniSvnel ovan
 sakiTxs amierkavkasi is komi sariat i (mTavroba) wyvetda; **g)**1918 wl is 10 (23)
 Teberval s, amierkavkasi is komi sariatma, amierkavkasi is sei mi moiwwia, romel mac
 imave wl is 13 (26) april s amierkavkasi is mTavroba (qarTvel ebis, azerba-
 ij anel ebis, somxebis Semadgenl obiT) daamtki ca; **d)**amierkavkasi is mTavro-
 bis ufl ebamosil eba 1918 wl is 26 maisamde gagrZel da; **e)**1918 wl is 26 mais
 saqarTvel os damoukidebl oba gamocxadda da imave dResve saqarTvel os
 pirvel i respubl ikis erovnul i mTavroba iqna damtkicebul i, roml is Tavmj-
 domared n.ramiSvil i airCies; **v)**rac Seexeba n.Jordani as, igi damoukidebe-
 l i saqarTvel os pirvel i respubl ikis mTavrobis Tavmj domared erovnu-
 l i sabWos 1918 wl is 24 ivnisi s sxdomam daamtki ca.

mTel i pasuxismgebl obiT vacxadeb, rom saqarTvel os damoukidebel i sa-
 xel mwifos arsebobaze 1917 wl is monakveTsi da imave wl idan_ 1918 wl is 24
 ivnisamde `noe Jordani as mTavrobi s- Sesaxeb saubari, l ogi kur azrovnebasaa
 mokl ebul i.

aRniSnul faqtebze ase dawvril ebiT yuradReba imi tom SevaCere, rom mki-
 Txvel isadmi meCvenebina; sayovel Taod aRiarebul da dadasturebul is-
 toriul movl enebis, I jioevi mistvis sasurvel i `SemoqmedebiTi- fer-
 icval ebiT rom warudgens farTo sazogadoebas. yovel ive zemoTqmul idan

gamomdinare, advil ad misaxvedri unda iyos, osi separatistebis da maT Soris I jioevis msgavsi adami anebis mier, osebis TiTqosda genocidSi qarTvel ebis dasadanaSaul ebl ad motanil i faqtebi, ramdenad SeiZl eba iyos sando da sinamdvil es Seesabamebodes. xazgasmiT unda aRiniSnos, rom osi separatistebis mxridan ideol ogiur frontze 2006 wl idan gansakuTrebul i gaaqtiurebis xel Semwyob erT- erT faqtors, qarTvel ebTan mimarTebaSi osebis mier 1918- 1925 wl ebSi Cadenil danaSaul ebebze saqarTvel os Sesabamisi uwyebebis mxridan dumil i da saerTaSoriso sazogadoebis saqmis kursSi arCayeneba warmoadgens. arada, saarqivo masal ebiT dasturdeba, rom Sida qarTl is mTis zonaSi mcxovreba saqarTvel os moqal aqe osebma, 1918 wl is ianvridan 1925 wl is CaTvl iT, qarTvel ebTan mimarTebaSi marTl acda genocidis tol fasi danaSaul ebrivi qmedebebi ganaxorciel es. amis erT- erT dadasturebas 1918 wl is 26 da 28 ianvars safal avandoSi_ sofel bel oTsa da yel eTSi osebis yril obebze miRebul i gadawyvetil ebebi warmoadgens. am masal ebis mixedvit, Sida qarTl is qarTvel i Tavad- aznaurobisatvis iaraRi unda aeyaraT da ZiriTadi nawil i dedabudianad amoewyvitat. rac Seexeba cocxl ad darCenil ebs, kuTvnil i sacxovrisidan izul ebiti meTodebis (cema, sikvdi l is muqara) gamoyenebit gamoedevnat da maTi qoneba miesakuTrebinat.⁴ dasaxul i miznis gansaxorciel ebl ad, osi separatistebis aqtiuri moqmedeba 1918 wl is ianvris bol o ricxvebidan daiwyo. amis damadasturebel ia Tbil isis guberniis komisris kj afarizis mier saqarTvel os erovnul i sabWos, osebis erovnul i sabWos, somxebis erovnul i sabWos, musl imanebis erovnul i sabWos, Tbil isis guberniis aRmasrul ebel i komitetis, social - demokratiul i muSaTa parti is kavkasiis saol qo komitetis, muSaTa da jariskacta deputatebis kavkasiis samxareo centrisa da amierkavkasiis komisariatسادmi 1918 wl is 3 Teberval s gagzavnil i tel efonograma. CvenTvis saintereso sakiTxTan dakavSirebit dokumentSi vkiTxul obT: «Сегодня ко мне явились представители помещиков Гомского участка, Горийского уезда, Палавандови, Амираджиби, Цициановы и др. и заявили, что в этом участке, под предводительством некоего Харебашвили, именующего себя прапорщиком, осетина по национальности, образовалась шайка численностью 250- 300 человек, вернувшихся с фронта солдат, осетины по национальности.

Означенная шайка производит в Гомском участке насилия, грабежи, убийства, вырезая целые семьи помещиков. Третьего дня вырезана вся семья помещика Георгия Николаевича Визирова в сел. Осиаури.

Сознательная часть крестьянства протестует против действий означенной шайки, но не может оказать сопротивление, в виду неорганизованности своей и отсутствия на руках оружия.

Несознательная часть крестьянства поддерживает эту шайку и с каждым часом увеличивает её численность.

Необходима срочная мера для присечения дальнейших злодейских действий у помянутой разбойничьей шайки, прикрывающейся лозунгами большевизма. Противопоставить ей вооруженную силу я не имею возможности, за отсутствием в моем распоряжении какой бы то ни было реальной силы.

Посылать же незначительную силу Горийской уездной милиции нет смысла, так как можно быть заранее уверенным, что милиция эта не сумеет дать должного отпора шайке, и этим будет окончательно дискредитирована, в глазах населения, администрация, и положение помещиков еще ухудшится.»⁵ am vr cel i amonawer i dan kar-

gad scans, rom im momentisaTvis, adgil obrivi mil iciis organoebisa da Tbil isis guberniis komisars Seiararebul i osi separatistebis asal agmad da qarTvel i Tavad- aznaurebis sicocxl is gadasarCenad, damcavi meqanizmis amoqmedebis Sesazl ebl oba ar gaaCnda. mdgomareobas isic arTul ebda, rom osma separatistebma Tavianti gegmis amoqmedeba saqarTvel osatvis umZimes pol itikur situacias daamTxvies. mxedvel obaSi maqvs osmal eTTan saomari mdgomareoba da yvel a saxeobis samxedro SenaerTis saqarTvel o osmal eTis frontze gadasrol is faqti. am SemTxvevaSi, i.xarebovis 250-300 kacisagan Semdgar Seiararebul marbiel Ta osur bandas, qarTvel i Tavad- aznaurobis winaarmdog vandali uri qmedebebis daubrkol ebl ad gatarebis Sesazl ebl oba mieca. saarqivo masal ebiT dasturdeba, rom goris mazraSi Seqmnil i urTul esi situaciidan gamomdinare, amierkavkasiis komisariati da saqarTvel os erovnul i sabWo izul ebul i gaxda osmal eTis frontze gasagzavni gvardiidan erTi qvedanayofi Sida qarTI Si osi bandformirebebis asal agmad gadaesrol a. **aRniSnul i RonisZiebis gatarebamde, osma separatistebma 1918 wl is 28 ianvridan 17 martis CaTvl iT, Tavianti Canafiqris minimumis ganxorciel eba moaswres.** momx- dar faqtTan dakavSirebiT, goris samazro mil iciis ganyofil ebaSi Sesu- li operatiul i monacemebis mixedviT irkveva, rom qarTvel Ta moZul e os- ebma, poruCik i.xarebovis Seiararebul razmTanerTad Sida qarTI is sof- l ebis: avl evis, aradeTis, abisis, bal Tis, zemo xvedureTis, Tedel eTis, qare- l is, Tel aT- goris, igoeTis, knol evis, kexij varis, sof. kaspis, l eTis, me- j vrisxevis, niCbis, osiauris, saxoris, sacixuris, sanebel is, yinwvis, yor- nisis, ceronisis, Zvil eTis, wweris, waRvl is, xodis, Tavad- aznauroba gaZarc- va, maTi saxl - kari gadawva, didi umravl esoba kuTvnil i sacxovrisidan gaaZeva, xol o umetesoba adgil zeve sikvdil iT dasaj a.

I. sikvdil iT dasaj es: dariko ciciSvil i, al eqsandre ciciS- vil i_ misi meuRI e da sami Svil i (ori qal i da erTi vaJi), l evan ciciSvil i (misi 80 wl is deda da ZmisSvil i awames), il iko ciciS- vil i, vaso ciciSvil i, giorgi zaqarias Ze ciciSvil i, mayval a yarango- zaSvil i, vano yarangozaSvil i, TurqestaniSvil ebi, d.l .amil axvari, Tul aSvil i, g.Ciqovani, zaal iSvil ebi, g.v.zaal iSvil i, g.n.veziriSvil i da misi ZmisSvil i, giorgi dimitris Ze veziriSvil i, l iza veziriS- vil i da ori Svil i (qal - vaJi), daTiko da titiko sixarul iZeebi.

II. gaZarcves, pirutyvi gaitaces, saxl - kari gadauwves da sacxovrisidan gaaZeves: daviT nikol ozis Ze ciciSvil i, kote da sandro raJdenis Ze ciciSvil ebi, tano ciciSvil i, mixeil davi- Tis Ze ciciSvil i, tato ciciSvil i, nikol oz irakl is Ze ciciSvil i, l uarsab ciciSvil i, daviT petres Ze ciciSvil i, grigol ciciSvil i, sandro ciciSvil i, iul on amirej ibi, giga amirej ibi, oqro amirej i- bi, kote amirej ibi, gigl a amirej ibi, vaso amirej ibi, nika amirej ibi, vaso bagrationi, fal avandiSvil ebis 9 oj axi, kol ia qurdevaniZe, iSxnel ebi, kal atoziSvil ebi, daTo da giga xerxeul iZeebi, tatiS- vil ebi, gabo gverdwitel i.

dokumenturi masal iT dadasturebul ia, rom goris mazris zemoT CamoTv- l il i mokl ul i, gaZarcvul i da sacxovrisidan osebis mier gaZevebul i Tavad- aznauroba winaprebis umetesobam, Crdil oeTidan Sida qarTI Si taba- rukad mosul i osebi xizanis statusiT Seifara, arsebobi sa da osuri oj axis Seqmnis Sesazl ebl oba misca. am sikeTisaTvis mis STamomavl ebs osebma madl iereba zemoaRniSnul i RonisZiebiT gadauxada.

zemoaRniSnul i danaSaul ebrivi RonisZieebis paral el urad, osma separatistebma, Sida qarTI is mTiani zol is miwis muSa qarTul i mosaxl eobis safexurebrivad daSinebas da sacxovrisidan gamodevnis dasaxul i miznis ganxorciel ebas Seecada. am amocanis Sesrul ebas, Sida qarTI Si 1917- 1918 wl ebSi moqmedi osi yaCaRebis (dianoza zaurbegis Ze Zaxoevi, ciccia iagoris Ze Zaxoevi, gurgena wuwunis Ze gul araSvil i) SeiaraRebul i razmebis meSveobiT cdil obdnen. Sinagan saqmeTa saminstros Sesabamis fondebSi dacul i dokumenturi masal ebiT dadasturebul ia, rom os yaCaRebs, SefarviTi formiT ~samxreT oseTis~ erovnul i sabWo mfarvel - obda. imave saarqivo masal ebiT irkveva, rom qarTul mosaxl eobasTan mimarTebaSi, maTi mxridan sisxl is samarTI is umZimesi (gaupatiurebebi, mkvl el obebi, saxl -karis gadawva, Zarcva...) danaSaul ebrivi qmedebebi iqna Cadenil i. Cems mier gakeTebul i am gancxadebis dadasturebis mizniT, saarqivo dokumentebidan mxol od ramdenime faqts SevTavazeb mkiTxvel sazogadoebas: a)osi yaCaRebis mier qarTul i mosaxl eobis mimarT 1918 wel s Cadenil i mkvl el obebi: 1)sof. Zegvi_ mokl es tite qisiSvil i da misi vaJi ioseb qisiSvil i; 2)sof. JamuSi_ amowvyites avl axaSvil ebis oj axi; 3)sof. arbo_ mokl es daviT zaqarias Ze bedoSvil i da petre bedoSvil i; 4)sof. Zegl evi_ mokl es petre xinCagaSvil i da misi naTesavebi; 5)sof. monasteri_ amowvyites xubaSvil ebis oj axi; 6)sof. saferSeTi_ mokl es Saqro da mixa dariaSvil ebi; 7)sof. bagineTi_ mokl es merabaSvil i, nika mirzaSvil i da erTi meetl e; 8)sof. ananuri_ mokl es grigol i azariSvil i; 9)sof. kadoeTi_ mokl es ioseb rubaSvil i.

b)osi yaCaRebisgan 1918 wel s qarTvel i qal ebis gaupatiureba: 1)sof. kisoreTi_ osi yaCaRebi ioseb maminaSvil is oj axs daesxnen Tavs, meuRI e da qal iSvil i gaupatiures, xol o i.maminaSvil i mokl es; 2)sof. gremisxevi_ igive yaCaRebi oj axSi miuxten kol ia papukaSvil s, misi qal iSvil i nina papukaSvil i mamis Tval win gaupatiures. Semdeg orTaveni mokl es; 3)sof. monasteri_ sofl is ramdenime qal i gaupatiures da miimalnen; g)osi yaCaRebisgan qarTvel i bavSvebis cocxl ad cecxl Si dawva: sof. monasteri_ osma yaCaRebma sofl is qarTul i skol a dawves. wi naaRmdegobis gawebis gamo, cecxl i waukides skol is maxl obl ad mcxovreba koraSvil is or saxl s. xol o misi oTxmci rewlovani bavSvebi cecxl Si Seyares. roca tansacmel ze cecxl moki debul ma orma bavSma gaqcevascada, yaCaRebma orive adgil zeve Caxoca.⁶

saarqivo masal ebiT irkveva, rom saqarTvel os pirvel i respublikis Sinagan saqmeTa saminstros mier, osi yaCaRebis wi naaRmdeg qmediTi RonisZieba iqna gatarebul i. mxedvel obaSi maqvs, imave saminstros mxardaWerit Seqmnili sagangebo razmi, romel sacgoris raionis mkvidri nikol oz bedoSvil i xel mZRvanel obda. Sinagan saqmeTa saminstros Sesabamis fondebSi Semonaxul i masal ebiT irkveva, rom n.bedoSvil is mier operatiul ad gatarebul i sxvadasxva saxis RonisZieebis Sedegad, osi yaCaRebis SaiaraRebul i daj gufebebi da misi meTaurebi (gurgena gul araSvil i, dianoza Zaxoevi, ciccia Zaxoevi) iZul ebul i gaxdnen, saqarTvel o daetovebinaT da Crdil oet kavkasiaSi_ vl adikavkazSi gadasul iyvnen.

rac Seexeba 1918 wl is martis osebis aj anyebas, igi sabWoTa ruseTis mier iyo dafinansebul i da misi xel mZRvanel i poruciki i.xarebovi, s.Saumi anis miTiTebetiT moqmedebda. dokumenturi masal iT dadasturebul ia, rom aj anyebul ma osebma 1918 wl is 18 marts cxinval i aiRes da iq mcxovrebi qarTu-

li, ebrauli da somxuri mosaxl eoba safuzvli anad gaZarcva. wamebiT mokl es saqarTvel os erovnul i sabWos mier cxinval is regionSi sapaSuxismgebl o Tanamdebobebze daniSnul i warmomadgenl ebi: giorgi maCabel i, sandro kecxovel i, petre efremize, kosta kaZievi, kote cercvaZe. 140 wiTel gvardiel i tyved aiyvanes. 19 marts `osebis erovnul i sabWos- saxel iT cxinval Si sabWoTa xel isufl eba gamoacxades da daba cxinval is komendatad kul umbekovi daniSnes.

saqarTvel os teritoriul i mTli anobisaTvis mebrZol tyvedCavardnil daWril meomrebs Tu ra formiT awamebda osi separatistebi, amis sail us-traci od gazeT `al ionSi- d- li (daviT sul iaSvil i) fsevdonimit dabeWdil i korespodencia_ `Sida qarTI Si (nawyvetebi revol ucioneris dRiuridan marti. 1918 w.-) gamodgeba. `StabSi gavige wers d- li (daviT sul iaSvil i) veragul ad mokl ul i g.maCabel i, s.kecxovel i da sxva gvardiel ebi Camoasvenes. naxvis nebarTva aviRe da saavadmyofosi, sadac isini esvenen sanaxavad wavedi. roca meubnebodnen Tu ramdenad iyvnen isini dasaxiCrebul ni, ar mjeroda. megona Zal ian gadametebul ia meTqi. saavadmyofos ufrosi TviT wamomyva, dawvril ebiT amixsna Wril obani. saSinel i, gul Semzaravi suraTi iyo. Cemda mou- l odnel ad, rac gamegona yvel aferi gamravl ebul i aRmoCnda. g.maCa- bel i tyviebiT dacxril ul i iyo muxl ebSi. mere xanj l iT daCxvl e- til i mTel tanze, safeTql is zeviT xanj l is wveriT Tavis qal a Ti- Tqmis agl ejil i... sxeul is aseTi umsgavso da vel uri damaxinj e- ba... CemTvis auxnel ia, adamiani aseT gamxecebamdis rogor miva.

s.kecxovel s marjvena mxridan mucel Si tyvia hqonda moxvedril i, ramac mas sicocxl e mouspo al baT. Semdeg vel urebs Tavi moeWrAT, magram kiserSi ki ara, mkerdidan hqonda akepil i, Tavis qal a damsx- vreul i. saxeze wverebis meti aRaraferi Canda. ambobdnen mokvl is Semdeg sxeul i quCaze egdo da zed faitonebiT dadiodneno... gabrue- bul i, dabneul i gamovedi saavadmyofodan.~7

Cems mier motanil i amonawerIT dadasturebul i osuri vandali- zmis Semzaravi faqtebi, osi separatistebis namoqmedaris Tval saCi- noebis erT- erT nimuSs warmoadgens da fantaziIT, faSistur sako- ncentracio banakebSi adamianta sawamebl ad da dasaxiCrebl ad gamoyenebul formebsac ki aRemateba. Tuki aRniSnul faqts miu- dgomel i poziciidan civi gonebiT SevafasebT, wina pl anze ori sa- kiTxi wamoiweva: a)qarTvel Ta mimarT osi separatistebis gansakuTre- bul i siZul vil i da b)Sida qarTI is qarTul i mosaxl eobis daSinebis mcdel oba. `osuri ideis- xel SemSi el qarTvel obas aSkarad mia- niSnebdnen, rom winaaRmdegobis gawevis SemTxvevaSi, isini g.maCabl isa da s.kecxovel is beds gaiziarebdnen.

dokumenturi masal iT dadasturebul ia, rom droebiTi warmate- biT frTaSexmul ma osma separatistebma sof. java, daba cxinval i da misi mimdebare teritoriebi goris mazras TviTneburad Camo- acil a da mmarTvel oba `samxreT oseTis- erovnul sabWos dauqvem- debara. es nabiji, saqarTvel os erovnul i sabWosa da amierkavkasi- is mTavrobisadmi oficial urad daumorcil ebl obas, omis gamocxa- debis tol fas qmedebas warmoadgenda.

rac Seexeba osebis 1920 wl is aj anyebas da osi separatistebisadmi qa- rTul i saxel mwifos mxridan Rirseul i pasuxis gacemas, es faqti, sabWour- ma istoriografi am farTo sazogadoebas mrude sarkeSi danaxul i formiT

warudgina. damoukidebel i saqarTvel os xel isufli eba anaTemas gadasca mxol od imi sTvis, rom qarTul i mosaxl eoba osebisgan mosal odnel i genocidis safrTxisgan, g.macabl isa da s.kecxovel is mimarT Catarebul i zemoaRniSnul i wamebiTi sasj el isagan daicva da imavdroul ad qveynis teritoriul i mTl ianoba SeinarCuna. am fonze, Segnebul ad pasuxgaucemel i datoves yvel aze mniSvnel ovani kiTxva: aj anyebul i osebis gamarj vebis SemTxvevaSi, ra mdgomareobaSi aRmoCndeboda srul iad saqarTvel o da konkretul ad Sida qarTl is qarTul i mosaxl eoba. miTumetes, `samxreT oseTis- revkomis mier Sedgenil dokumentebSi, osi separatistebis miznebi da amocanebi gamokveTil i formiTaa gamJRavnebul i. am mxriv, gansakuTrebul yuradRebas `samxreT oseTis- revkomisa da partkomis 1921 wl is 6- 8 seqtembris erTobl iv sxdomaze miRebul i dadgenil ebisadmi darTul i `mokl e ganmartebiTi baraTi- iqcevs. masSi aRiarebul ia, rom 1919 wl is oqtombri- dan osebi gamudmebiT ayenebdnen sakiTxs `samxreT oseTis- politikuri TviTgamorkvevisa da Tergis respublikasTan SeerTebis Sesaxeb. imave `samxreT oseTis- revkomis mier saqarTvel os revkomisadmi 1921 wl is 12 maiss gagzavnil moxsenebaSi vkiTxul obT: `1920 wl is zafxul Si... samxreT oseTis mosaxl eobis uRaribesma nawil ma revol uciuri aj anyebis droSa aRmarTa l ozungiT: `gamarj os sabWoTa xel isufli ebas saqarTvel oSi,Zirs burJuaziul _ menSevikuri tirania.⁸ sabWoTa da Semdgomi periodis osurma da rusul ma istoriografiam pasuxgaucemel i tova: 1)osi separatistebis zemoaRniSnul i miswrafebebi, ramdenad j deboda samarTl ebriv CarCoSi; 2)damoukidebel i saqarTvel os moqal aqe osebi val debul ni iyvnen Tu ara, qarTvel i eris mxardamxar saqarTvel os saxel mwifos interesebi daecva; 3)osi separatistebis antisaxel mwifoebrivi aj anyebebis gamarTl ebis fonze, imave sabWoTa xel isufli ebam, Crdil o oseTis mcxovrebt, 1924 wl amde avtonomiuri ol qis ufl eba ar misca. oficial urad dadasturebul ia, rom Taviant istoriul samSobl oSi_ Crdil o oseTsi, osebs avtonomiuri ol qi, ruseTis sfs respublikis Semadgenl obaSi mxol od 1924 wels Seuqmnes. 1936 wels am ol qs avtonomiuri respublikis statusi mi aniWes; 4)mefis ruseTisgan XIX saukuneSi dapyrobl CeCneTs, imave ruseTis xel isufli ebam, XX saukunis 90- ian wl ebSi ratom ar misca damoukidebl oba da ra mizniT moaxdina am eris genocidi. miTumetes, CeCneTisagan gansxvavebiT, Si da qarTl i, oditganve saqarTvel os ganuyofel i istoriul i nawil i iyo da iq xiznebis saxiT Casaxl ebul i da damkvidrebul i osebi, rogorc saqarTvel os moqal aqeebi val debul ni iyvnen_ damoukidebel i saqarTvel os aRmSenebl obis samsaxurSi Camdgariyvnen, gareSe mterTan_ Tundac osmal o dampyrob- l ebis winaaRmddeg brZol aSi qarTvel i kacis mxardamxar Tavisi wil i sisx- l i daeRvara. aseTi nabij is gadadgma osebis mxridan 1917- 1921 wl ebis monakveTsi_ istorias ar axsovs. isini saqarTvel os teritoriaze parazit- ul cxovrebas eweodnen. damoukidebl i saqarTvel os xel isufli eba, ramde- nadac qarTvel i erisa da misi saxel mwifos interesebs icavda, osi sepa- ratistebis aj anyebebsa da antisaxel mwifoebrivi miznebis ganxorciel eb- is mcdel obebs, bunebrivia, Sesatyvisi RonisZiebebis gatarebiT upasuxebda. yovel ive zemoTqmuli da Cems xel T arsebul i saarqivo masal ebis safuZ- vl iani anal izi SesaZl ebl obas maZl evs ganvacxado: Tanamedrove osi isto- rikosebis mier osebis aj anyebebTan mimarTebaSi saqarTvel os pirvel i respublikis xel isufli ebis damokidebul ebis Sesaxeb gakeTebul i daskvnebi, iseTive yal bi da al ogikuria, rogorc sabWoTa periodis qarTvel da os istorikosTa Sefasebebi. amis damadasturebl ad Semdegi faqtebi gamodge-

ba: a.surgul aZis azriT, damouki debel i saqarTvel os xel isufli ebis mier aj anyebul i osebis winaarRmdag gatarebul i RonisZiebebi `iyo mTel i oseTis saSinel i awiokeba~, `cecxl sa da maxvil s misces mTel i sofl ebi~,⁹ moaxdines `oseTis mSromel Ta sastiki dasj a,~ `aj anyebis sisxl Si Cqroba~, `cecxl iTa da maxvil iT aiRes oseTis sofl ebi.-¹⁰ anal ogiur Sexedul ebas icavs vj anj Ravac.¹¹ avtorebi iseT fons qmnan, TiTqos saqarTvel oSi marTI ac arsebul iyo `oseTi~ da damouki debel i saqarTvel os xel isufli ebas bunebaSi ararsebul i `oseTis~ mosaxl eoba daesaj os. isini erTi sityvi Tac ar axseneben, rom osebis mier mowyobil i aj anyebis kerebi, saqarTvel os teritoriis ganuyofel nawil s warmoadgenda da am teritoriaze mcxovrebi eTnikuri umciresobebis mxridan misi xel yofa, yovel gavari saxis samarTI ebriv normebs scil deboda. istoriis gayal bebis Tval sazrisiT kidev ufro Sors wavida osi istorikosi vl .abaevi. misi mtkicebiT, `menSevikebis mxecobis Sedegad moxda samxreT oseTis meurneobis ekonomikuri safuZvl is moSI a, qveyanam dakarga yvel a ZiriTadi piroba Tavisi Semdgomi arsebobisaTvis_ teritoria, saxl - kari, ganicada auracxel i tanj va.-¹² am amonaweris mixedviT, ararsebul i `samxreT oseTi~ (1920 wel zea saubari) cal ke qveynadaa gamocxadebul i, roml is ekonomika `menSevikebis~ mier osebis aj anyebis `mxecurad~ Caqrobis Sedegad iqna TiTqos dangreul i. am SemTxvevaSi igi sityva_ sityviT imeorebda `samxreT oseTis~ revkomis Tavmj domaris aj atievis mier saqarTvel os revkomisadmi 1921 wl is 12 maiss wardgenil moxsenebaSi gatarebul Tval sazriss. CvenTvis sainteresosakiTxTan dakavSirebiT aj atievis dakveTiT Seqmnil dokumentSi vkiTxul obT: osebis «Пятое по счету восстание было раздавлено с невероятной жестокостью. Классовый враг трудящихся огнем и мечем прошёл по восставшему району, истребляя население не разбирая ни пола, ни возраста.

Цветущая страна в размере восьми сельских обществ, с количеством населения в сорок тысяч душ жителей (около 4000 дворов) веками взлелеянная упорным трудом трудящейся бедноты превратилась в одни развалины. Потери и убытки причиненные воинствующей «ратью» Жордания ещё пока что не приведены в известность. Цифры, которые будут приводиться- приблизительноны. Около 2500 домов и всяких хозяйственных построек совершенно уничтожены огнем со всем домашним скарбом».¹³ mTel i pasuxismgebl obiT vacxadeb, romaRniSnul teqstSi motanil i cifrobrivi monacemebi, sabWoTa xel isufli ebis periodSi osur sakiTxTan mimarTebaSi Seqmnil i komisiebis (1921- 1922 wl ebi) arcerTi daskvniT ar dasturdeba. aj atievis gansakuTrebul i tendenciuroba da sinamdvil is gamrudebul sarkeSi warmosaxvis maqsimal uri mcdel oba, goris mazris Crdil oeTi nawil is (Sida qarTI is mTiani zona), saqarTvel osgan gaucxoebul qveynad gamocxadebaSi ac gamovl inda. rac Seexeba damouki debel i saqarTvel os mTavrobis Tavmj domares da misadmi qvemdebare uwyebes (`kampanias~), mis diskreditacias, `mSromel Ta kl asobrivi mtris~ da `ayvavebul i ucxo qveynis dampyrobel i damqaSebis~ formul irebis gamoyenebiT Seecada. am siyal bis Semqmnel ma_ `samxreT oseTis~ revkomis Tavmj domarem aj atievma, Segnebul ad auara gverdi Semdeg mniSvnel ovan faqtebs: **a)** saqarTvel os pirvel i respubl ikis mTavroba da misi Tavmj domare n.Jordania, damfuZnebel i krebis mier rom iyo arCeul i; **b)** damfuZnebel i kreba, srul iad saqarTvel os mSromel i xal xis (maT Soris osebis) umravl esobis nebis gamoxatul ebas warmoadgenda (g.gagl oevi, k.panievi da a.farnievi damfuZnebel krebaSi social - demokratiul i partiis siiT, osebis mier arCeul i deputatebi iyvnen); **g)** saerTaSoriso samarTI is Tval sazrisiT, saqarTvel os mTavrobasa da mis Tavmj do-

mares srul i l egitimacia gaaCnda,goris mazraSi wesrigis aRsadgenad da Sida qarTI Si mSromel i qarTvel i mosaxl eobis interesebis dasacavad, aj anyebul i osebis winaaRmddeg Sesabamisi RonisZiebebi gaetarebina.

rac Seexeba imave dokumentSi motanil gamonaTqvams; `cecxli Ta da maxvil iT mosul i mSromel Ta kl asobrivi mteri asakisa da sqesis ganurCevl ad anadgurebda adgil obriv mosaxl eobas.- aj atievis es pol itizirebul i xasiaTis gancxadeba, im periodSi mimdinare pol itikur koniunqturaze iyo gaTvl il i. igi damoukidebel i saqarTvel os xel isufl ebisadmi dokumenturi masal iT dausabuTebel zedapirul bral debas Seicavs da rac mTavaria, srul siyal bes warmoadgens. miTumetes, `samxreT oseTis- revkomis, `samxreT oseTis- partiis saol qo komitetis, `samxreT oseTis- central uri aRmasrul ebel i saol qo komitetisa da misi prezidiumis 1921-1925 wl ebis sxdomebis masal ebSi (moxsenebebi, stenografiul i angariSebi, oqmebi) zemoaRniSnul Tan dakavSirebiT konkretul i ricxvi ar aris dasaxel ebul i. aseve iTqmis rkp (b) `samxreT oseTis- samxareo komitetis 1920 wl is 18 ivnisisa da 8 ivl isis depeSebis Sesaxebac.

miuxedavad amisa, imave aj atievis zemoaRniSnul moxsenebaSi motanil i gadaumowmebel i raodenobrivi monacemebi, sabWoTa periodis zogierTma qarTvel ma da osma istorikosma WeSmari tebad aRiara. sazogadoebis Tval Si saqarTvel os pirvel i respublikis xel isufl ebis diskreditaciisa da erovnul i umciresobebis moZul ed warmosaxvis mizniT, zemoaRniSnul aj atievis eul cifrobriv monacemebs, axal i damamZimebel i gamogonil i faqtebi daumata da samecniero l literaturaSi mis damkvidrebas Seecada. sinamdvil is aseTi formiT mizanmimarTul ad gayal bebul i da gasul i saukunis 20- ian wl ebSi gamogonil i faqtebi daedo safuZvl ad 2006 wl is oqto- mberSi `samxreT oseTis- parl amentis mier miRebul dekl aracias_ 1918-1920 wl ebSi osi xal xis e.w. `genocidis- Sesaxeb. am dokumentis gansakuTrebul i afiSirebiT, `samxreT oseTis- gamomaval i gazeTi `republika- gamoirCeva. mxedvel obaSi maqvs imave gazeTSi 2011 wel s dabeWdil i l jioevis publ ikacia_ «Исполнился 91 год со дня первого геноцида осетинского народа». masSi, saqarTvel os pirvel i respublikis xel isufl ebis mimarT bral deba_ os- ebis farTomasStabiani e.w. `genocidis- Catarebis Sesaxeb, yovel gvare dasabuTebisa da saarqivo dokumentebis damowmebis gareSea warmodgenil i. l jioevis gancxadebiT, damoukidebel i saqarTvel os xel isufl e- bam 1920 wel s TiTqos 5279 osi moakvl evina. aqedan 1375 qal i da 1844 bavSvi (yovel i mesame).¹⁴ qarTvel i eris mimarT wayenebul i es umZi- mesi bral deba, gasabWoebul i saqarTvel os xel isufl ebis mier 1920 wl is movl enebis Sesaswavl ad Seqmnil i komisiebis (1921- 1922 wel i) arcerTi daskvniT ar dasturdeba. aseT faqtebs marTI ac rom hqonoda adgil i, komisiebis daskvnaSi aucil ebl ad pirvel rigSi aisaxeboda. meore mxriv,osi separatistebis l obisti gasabWoebul i saqarTvel os mTavrobis maRal Cinosnebi, kavbiuro da misi xel mZRvanel i s.orj onikiZe, aseT faqtebs winapl anze wamoswevda, droSasaviT aafrial ebda da damoukidebel i saqarTvel os mTavrobis gansaqiqebl ad warmatebul adac gamoiyenebda. saarqi- vo masal ebis Seswavl idan gamomdinare, dabej iTebiT SeiZl eba imis mtkice- ba, rom zemoT dasaxel ebul i komisiebis muSaobis damTavrebis Semdeg, gas- abWoebul i saqarTvel os xel isufl ebisa da kavbiuros maRal Cinosnebs, damo- uki debel i saqarTvel os mTavrobis mxridan osebis 1920 wel s e.w. amoxocvas- Tan dakavSirebiT ara Tu raime saxis gancxadeba, aramed ubral o miniSne- bac ar gaukeTebia. es faqti imaze metyvel ebs, rom am sakiTxTan mimarTeba-

Si, gasabWoebul i saqarTvel os xel isufli ebas da kavbi uros, dokumenturad dasabuTebul i mtkicebul eba ar gaaCnda. yovel ive es, safuZvel s maZl evs ganvaxxado, rom damouki debel i saqarTvel os xel isufli ebis mxridan 5279 osis- qal ebisa da bavSvebis amowyvetis miTi, osi bol Seviki maRal Cinos- nebis dakveTiT unda Seqmnil iyo da ideol ogiur frontze saqarTvel os pirvel i republ ikis mTavrobis diskreditaciis mizniT yofil iyo gamoy- enebul i. aRniSnul i bral deba, osma separatistebma dRevandel pol itikur koniunqturas SesaniSnavad moargo da qarTvel i eris reputaciis Seryevis mizniT, sakiTxi saerTaSoriso organizaciebSi gadaitana. am mimarTul ebiT maTi mxridan gaweul sainformacio saqmianobas garkveul i warmatebebi mohyva. mxedvel obaSi maqvs safrangeTis el Cis erik furnies mier 2011 wl is 23 maiss Jurnal `Tbil isel ebis- Jurnal istis n.xaCiZis SekiTxvasTan mimarTebaSi gakeTebul i dausabuTebel i ganxadeba: `axsna- ganmarTEba unda mostxovoT menSevikur republ ikas, romel mac 1921 wel s oseTis mosaxl e- oba gaJl ita (4000 daRupul i, 25000 l tol vil i)-.¹⁵ xazgasmiT unda iTqvas, rom amerT winadadebian pasuxSi ramdenime uzustobaa: 1)1918- 1921 wl ebis saqarTvel os damouki debel i saxel mwifo, `menSevikuri republ ikis- saxel iT ki ara, demokratiul i republ ikis saxel iTaa cnobil i da es faqti, im periodis evropis saerTaSoriso forumbze miRebul i oficial uri do- kumentebiTaa dadasturebul i; 2)saqarTvel oSi aranairi oseTi ar arsebo- bda da arc SeiZl eba arsebobdes. oseTi mxol od Crdil oeT kavkasiaSia rfr sazRvrebSi; 3)1921 wel s, saqarTvel os pirvel ma demokratiul ma respu- bl ikam mxol os 56 dRe iarseba. igi 11 Tebervl idan sabWoTa SeiaraRebul i samxedro Zal ebis Tavdasxmeps igeriebda. aqedan gamomdinare, demokratiu- l i saqarTvel os xel isufli ebas Sida qarTl is osebisTvis namdvil ad ar ecal a. piriqIT, dokumenturi masal iT dadasturebul ia, rom XI armiis sa- brZol o operaciebis paral el urad, osebis SeiaraRebul i razmebi Crdil - oeTidan Sida qarTl Si SemoiWra, qarTul i mosaxl eobis rbeva da kuTvni- l i sacxovrisidan masobrivad gamodevna daiwyo. aRniSnul sakiTxze yura- dReba imisTvis SevaCere, rom mkiTxvel istvis meCvenebina, Tu ra maRal do- neze muSaobs osuri separatistul i propaganda, romel ic ucxo qveynis el - Cebis yal bi informaciIT amaragebs. qarTvel Ta inertul obas, osma pol iti- kosebma da istorikosebma SesaniSnavad auRo al Ro. mxedvel obaSi maqvs saRaTas Zil iT gaTangul i qarTvel ebis winaaRmdeg ierisze gadmosvl a da ideol ogiur frontze maTTvis xel sayrel i poziciis Seqmna. **arada, Sida qarTl is qarTul mosaxl eobasTan mimarTebaSi 1918- 1925 wl ebSi osTa mier Cadenil i barbarosul i qmedebebi_ eTnowmenda da geno- cidis tol fasi danaSaul i (qal ebisa da bavSvebis mizanmimarTu- l ad amowyveta, aTeul obiT mamakacis sabZel Si dawva, arasrul wl o- vani (8 wl is) gogonebis gaupatiureba, qarTul i mosaxl eobis kuTv- nil i sacxovrisidan gamodevna da a.S.),¹⁶ utyuari saarqivo dokumen- turi masal iTaa dadasturebul i. mxedvel obaSi maqvs gasabWoebul i sa- qarTvel os Sinagan saqmeTa saxal xo komisariat is mier Seqmnil i zemoT dasaxel ebul i komisiebis moxsenebebi da daskvnebi. aRniSnul i danaSau- l is gadafarvis mizniT, anal ogiuri bral debebi osebma, qarTvel i eris mimarT gaavr cel es. amiT, saerTaSoriso arenaze `ucodvel i- da qarTvel eb- isgan `daCagrul i eris- imij is Seqmnas Seecadnen.**

osi separatistebis mier SeTxzul i da qarTvel i erisadmi cil iswamebe- biT damZimebul i zemoT motanil i tendenciuri xasiaTis masal aSi gatare- bul i Sexedul ebis ukritikod moReba da TuTiYuSiviT gameoreba, ama Tu im

mkvl evaris ara mar to upasuxismgebl obad, aramed separatistebis mxridan qarTvel erTan mimarTebaSi Cadenil i danaSaul is mifuCeCebis mcdel obad unda Sefasdes. xazgasmiT unda iTqvas, rom igive vl .abaevi gverds uvl is da aj atievis msgavsad arafers ambobs `samxreT oseTad- mis mier gamocxadebul i Sida qarTI i, saqarTvel os ganuyofel i nawil i romaa da osebis zemoaRniSnul ma 1918, 1919, 1920 wl ebis aj anyebebma Tu ra ziani miayena damoukidebel i saqarTvel os ekonomikasa da biuj ets. isini sazogadoebas simarTI es imis Sesaxebac umal aven, rom qarTul i jarisa da gvardiis SeteviTi samxedro operaciebi mxol od ukandaxeul i aj anyebul i Seiararebul i osebis moZraobis_ cxinval i- j ava- rokis sasofl o sazogadoebebis gavl iT mimdinareobda. rac Seexeba sxva sasofl o sazogadoebebis teritoriebs, maT fargl ebSi mniSvnel ovan saomar moqmedebes adgil i ar hqonia. damoukidebel i saqarTvel os xel isufl ebis misamarTiT, osi bol Seviki partiul i muSakebisa da istorikosebis mier gasul saukuneSi gakeTebul zemoaRniSnul absurdul daskvnas, separatistul ad moazrovne Tanamedrove osi istorikosebi saarqivo dokumentebis damowmebis gareSe dResac imeoreben.

XX da XXI saukunis osuri historiografia am fonze axdenda da axdens damarcxebul i osi aj anyebul ebisa da misi Tanamoazreebis (20 aTasi) mier saqarTvel os teritoriis datovebis afiSirebas. Segnebul ad uvl idnen gverds gasabWoebul i saqarTvel os Sinagan saqmeTa saxal xo komisariat-Tan Seqmnil i sagangebo komisiis mier Sekrebil i sayuradRebo faqtobrivi masal is safuZvel ze momzadebul daskvnas. am dokumentSi SaviT TeTrzea miTiTebul i: 1)damoukidebel i saqarTvel os xel isufl ebam osebs 1918, 1919 wl ebSi mowyobil i aj anyebebi apatia; 2)1920 wel s aj anyebul i da damarcxebul i osebis saxl kars qarTul i jaris nawil ebi ki ar wvavda, aramed TviTon osebi ukidebda cecxl s, raTa igi qarTvel ebs ar darCenoda. aRniSnul Tan dakavSirebiT imave dokumentSi vkiTul obT: `osebs 1918 wl is ...aj anyeba da menSevikebis adgil obrivi l iderebis_ s.kecxovel is da g.maCabel is sikvdil ic ki apaties. araviTari Zal momreoba maTze ar uxmariaT. mxol od aj anyebis gameorebas 1920 wel Si mohyva sastiiki zomebi jaris mxridan osebisadmi... Tbil isSi mTavrobas cno-ba mouvida, rom jarebi saxl ebs swvaveno. mTavroba SeekiTxasaxlebis dawvis mizezs. jaris ufrosebma upasuxes: oseTi mTiani adgil ebia, jaris sxvadasxva nawil ebs Soris urTierToba ar arsebobs da rom erTma nawil ma gaigos sad imyofeba meore nawil i, saWiroa cecxl is gaCenao... al zed rom gaigon nawil is adgil samyofel i, amisaTvis sofl is ganapira Zvel s da dangreul s, upatronod mitovebul sabZel s an sxva qoxs wvavT, isic TiToeul sofel Si mxol od TiTos. TviTon osebi ki binis datovebis dros saxl ebs ukideben cecxl s.-¹⁷ osebis saxl kars masobrivad gadawva qarTul i jaris nawil ebs marTI acda mi znad rom hqonoda dasaxul i, osebis oTxgzis aj anyebebis ker as_ sofel j avas gadawvavdnen da mi wasTan gaasworebdnen. samxedro operaciebis maRal doneze Catarebis Sedegad, sofel j avas gadawva ramdenadac osebma ver moaswres, am sofl is sacxovrebel i saxl ebisaTvis qarTul i jaris nawil ebs xel i ar uxl ia. amis udao dadasturebas, gasabWoebul i saqarTvel os Sinagan saqmeTa saxal xo komisariat is mier saqarTvel os revkomisadmi 1921 wel s wardgenil i moxsenebis daskvniTi nawil i warmoadgens. `sof. j avaSi, vkiTxul obT dokumentSi Sinagan saqme-Ta saxal xo komisariat is mier miRebul i utyuari faqtebiT arcer-

Ti saxl i ar aris damwvari an dangreul i.¹⁸

piradad me Sors var im azrisagan, rom sabrZol o operaciebis ganxorciel ebis Sedegad ama Tu im sofel Si sacxovrebel i saxl ebisadmi cecxli is gaCena an misi dangreva uarvyo, magram osebis danaSaul ebrivi qmedebis qarTul i jarisadmi gadabral eba mkrexel obad mimaCnia. mi Tumetes, Cems mier zemoT motanil i faqtebi, gasabWoebul i saqarTvel os Sinagan saqmeTa saxal xo komisariatის მერაა dadasturebul i. dRevandel i gadasaxedidan, aucil ebl obas warmoadgens, 1920 wl is movl enebTan dakavSirebiT Seqmnil i usafuZvl o bral debebis gadafaseba dokumentur masal ebze dayrdnobiT moxdes. mi Tumetes, damoukidebel i saqarTvel os xel isufl ebis diskreditacia da osuri separatizმის გაფეტიSeba sabWoTa periodis istoriografის მერ, mTel i 70 wl is manZil ze istoriis fal sifikაციის ხარj ze xdeboda. am saqmeSi ganuzomel i wvl il i osuri separatizმისა da sabWoTa ideol ogიის erT_ erTმა დამცველ მა f.maxaraZem Seitana, magram mas si tyvac ar dscdenia imis Sesaxeb, rom SeiaraRebul ma osebma al agirSi mcxovrebi qarTvel ebis etapobrivi Seviwroeba, SemdgomSi eTnowmenda da genocidi rom ganaxorciel a. aRniSnul faqtTan dakavSirebiT, al agiris qarTvel ebis axal Senis rwmunebul is mier saqarTvel os sagareo saqmeTa ministris e.gegeWkორის saxel ze gamogzavnil oficial ur mimarTvaSi dasmul i iyo sakiTxi; 1)saqarTvel os xel isufl ebas, Crdil oeT kavkasiaSi mcxovrebi qarTvel ebis mZime mdgomareobის Sesaswavl ad pasuxismgebel i warmomadgenel i gaegzavna; 2)gaerkviaT is material uri da fizikuri zaral i, romel ic SeiaraRebul i osebis Tavdasxmam al agirSi mcxovrebi qarTvel obas miayena. saqarTvel os xel isufl ebam Tu ramdenad SeZl o aRniSnul i Txovnis dakmayofil eba, amis damadasturebel dokumentს j erj erobiT ver mi vakvl ie. am SemTxvevaSi Semdegi ori faqtorია gasaTval iswinebel i: 1)denikinsa da sabWoTa ruseTის xel isufl ebas Sorის Crdil o kavkasiaSi mimdinare saomari moqmedebები da 2)saqarTvel os pirvel i respubლიკის მTავრობის Sesazl ebl obები, Tu ramdenad mi uwwdeboda xel i im etapze ucxo qveynის ტერიტორიზე mcxovrebi qarTvel ebis interesTa dasacavad. ruseTSi da maT Sorის Crdil o kavkasiaSi Seqmnil i mZime anarqiul i procesebidan gamomdinare, dipl omatiuri სასუალ ებებიT probl emის მოვესრიგება SeuZl ebel i iyo. erTადერთი გამოსავალი მხოლოდ saqarTvel os საზრვრეამდე მოRweul i devნილ ებისადმი დახმარებაSi mdgomareობდა. ამ მხრივ, saqarTvel os მაSინდელ მა xel isufl ebam gansakuTrebul i yuradReba გამოიCინა. ამის დამადasturebel ia sagareo saqmeTa ministrის e.gegeWkორის მერ Sinagan saqmeTa ministrის n.რამიSვილ ისადმი გაგzavnil i oficial uri weril i. `yazbegidan_ vkiTxul obT dokumentSi_ pol kovniki wereTel i depeSiT i uwyeba, rom al agirSi bol Seვიკების დამარცხების დროს osebs auwiოკებიაT qarTvel ები, saxl ები dauwvavT, sarCo da qoneba დაუტაცებიაT. 500 qarTul i oj axi გაფანტულ ა და მხოლოდ 60 კომლ ს kavkavamდე CamouRwevia, magram iqac myudroeba ver upovnia, radgan ამ qal aqs gars Semortymian osebi da kazakebi. kavkavis qarTvel ები c საSინელ mdgomareობაSi Cavardნილ ან... მე depeSiT davaval e pol kovნიკ wereTel ს, რაTa სასwრაფო RonისZიება მიიRos და l tol vil ebs saqarTvel oSi დასაბრუნებლ ად xel i Seuwyos. xol o Tqvena gTxovT, საTanადო gankargul eba moaxdინოT და l tol vil ebs სასwრაფოდ ნივTierი დახმარება aRmouCინოT.~ საარqivo მასალიT დასტურდება, რომ ალ აგირიდან devნილ და kavkavSi Casul qarTvel ebs, oseბისგან პოლიტიკური საბაბიT devნილ i kavkavSi macxovrebel i qarTvel ები c Seuertდა. ამის Sesaxeb saqarTvel os მTავრობის 1919 wl is 11 Tebervl is sagangebo sxdომის საოqმო CanawerebSi vkiTxu-

l obT: `moi smi nes: samxedro gzis razmis ufrosis pol k. wereTel is pirdapiri mavTul iT cnoba imis Sesaxeb, rom moxal iseTa mier kavkavis aRebis Semdeg, respubl ikis sazRvris axl os Tavi mouyriaT qarTvel l tol vil ebs da pol itikur devnil T 600 kcamde, romel nic sTxoven saqarTvel os mTavrobas neba misceT maT respubl ikis sazRvrebSi Semosvl isa. **daadgines:** gadaeces pol kovnik wereTel s pirdapis mavTul iT Semdegi: saqarTveli os mTavroba Tanaxma aris SemouSvas Tavis teritoriaze qarTvel i l tol vil ebi. pol itikur devnil T mieceT TavSesafari, rogorc es miRebul ia saerTaSoriso ufl ebiT. Tu maT Tan aRmoaCndebaT samxedro masal a da sxva raime saxel mwifo qoneba... yovel ive es sazRvarze CamoerTvaT kanonieri mowmebis TandaswrebiT saTanado oqmis SedgeniT. TviT l tol vil ni ki yaraul is qveS gamogzavnili unda iqnen Tbil isSi sadac maTi vinaoba iqneba garkveuli. es gadawyvetil eba ecnobos ingl isel ebis misias.-

marTalia, am dokumentebSi mxol od al agiridan 60 koml is kavkavSi Casvl aze, eTnikurqad qarTvel obis motivaci iT devnili kavkaveli qarTvel ebis maTTan SeerTebaze (600 kaci) da saqarTvel oSi dabrunebis xel Sewyobazea saubari, magram yuradRebis miRma ar unda dagvrCes: a) osetSi qarTvel ebi pol itikuri niSnitac rom idevneboda da b) zemoaRniSnuli qarTvel Ta 60 komli, al agiridan gamodevnili qarTvel ebis erT mcire Stos warmoadgenda.

dokumenturi masal iT dadasturebul ia, rom al agirSi mcxovrebi qarTvel ebi separatizmis gzas ar dadgomia, osuri mosaxl eobis Zarcva ar dauwyia, osebis winaaRmdeg iaraRi ar aRumarTavs da arc saqarTvel osTan teritoriul ad SeerTeba mouTxovia. miuxedavad amisa, qarTvel Ta sizul vili, maTi qonebis mitacebisa da osuri miwa- wyl idan qarTvel Ta masobrivad gamodevnis survili osebsi imdenad didi iyo, rom 1919 wl is 11 ianvars, zamTris susxian dReebSi RamiT, osebma al agirSi mcxovrebi mSvidobiani qarTvel ebis saSinel i xocva- JI eta, maTi eTnowmenda da genocidi moawyo. (bavSvebisa da moxucebis cocxl ad cecxl Si dawva, qal ebis gaupatiureba, orsul i qal ebis mucel ze dasera...). es iyo osebis mxridan qarTvel ebisadmi biol ogiuri sizul vil is demonstrireba. am samarcxvino faqtTan mimarTebsi sabWouri istoriografia simarTl es aTeuli wl ebis ganmavlobaSi mal avda da al agirel qarTvel Ta tragedias gamrudebul sarkeSi danaxuli aramecnieris poziciidan aSuqebda. aRniSnul sakiTxs sagangebo gamokvl eva istorikosma s.rexviaSvil ma miuZRvna. mdidar dokumentur masal aze dayrdnobiT 1989 wel s dabewdil vrcel publ ikaciaSi `al agirel qarTvel Ta tragedia,~¹⁹ man mkiTxvel sazogadoebas is Semzaravi obieqturi suraTi gaacno, romel ic qarTvel ebTan mimarTebsi 1919 wl is ianvarSi osebma Caidina. osebis vandali qmedebidan gamomdinare, cocxl ad gadarCenil ma al agirel ma 500- ma qarTul ma ojaxma (2700 kaci) piradi Sromis Sedegad SeZenili qoneba miatova da 1919 wl is ianvris susxian dReebSi Crdil o kavkasiidan izul ebiT saqarTvel oSi etapobrivad gadmosvli daiwyo. am faqtTan dakavSirebiT, s.rexviaSvil i savsebiT samarTl ianad wers: `al agiris qarTvel Ta tragedia iyo winaswar ganzraxuli da mofiqrebuli aqcia, romel ic miznad isaxavda al agirsi qarTvel Ta ganadgurebas, sakuTari karmidamoebidan ayras da gandevnas, maTi qonebisa da binebis dasakuTrebas, ramac s.orj onikiZis, s.gegeWkorisa da maT Tanamzraxvel Ta wayruebis vitareba-

Si, osebs Canafiqris gansaxorciel ebl ad xel sayrel i pirobebi Se-
uqmna.-

es daskvna srul WeSmaritebas Seesabameba, radgan imave bol Sevikebis
xel SewyobiT, qarTvel Ta devna da Crdil o kavkasiidan misi srul i de-
portacia mizanmimarTul ad mimdinareobda. amis dadasturebas Crdil oeT
kavkasiaSi mcxovrebi qarTvel ebis mier 1920 wl is 5 agvistos armavirSi
mowveul i konferenciis Sesaxeb arsebul i monacemebi warmoadgens. rogorc
irkveva, konferencias daswrebia: soWis, tuapses, novorosiskis, ekaterino-
daris, romanovis xutoris, stavropol is, maikopis, armaviris qarTvel Ta
mier arCeul i deputatebi, roml ebic 20 aTasi qarTvel is mandatiT iyvnen
konferenciaze wardgenil i. konferenciaze xazgasmiT iqna aRniSnul i,
rom sabWourma xel isufl ebam del egatebis gagzavnis ufl eba 5000
qarTul ojaxs ar misca. maTi warmomadgenl ebi Segnebul ad kon-
ferenciis damTavrebamde iqnen dakavebul ni. miRebul rezolucia-
Si garkveviT iqna miTitebul i: `Crdil oeT kavkasiis sabWoTa mTavroba
angariSs ar uwevs ruseTsa da saqarTvel os Soris dadebul xel -
Skrul ebas. qarTvel i moqal aqeebi bol Sevikebisgan Seviwroebas
ganicdian.- aRniSnul idan gamomdinare, konferenciis mier arCeul
del egacias daeval a, raTa saqarTvel os xel isufl ebis winaSe prin-
cipul ad daesva sakiTxi: 1)saWiropirobebi moemzadebina Crdil o
kavkasiidan qarTvel Ta samSobl oSi dasabrunebl ad da 2)Crdil o-
eT kavkasiaSi saqarTvel os el Ci dauyovnebl iv daeniSna.

Crdil oeT kavkasiaSi mcxovrebi qarTvel ebisaTvis gausaZl isi pirobeb-
is xel onnurad Seqmnis zemoaRniSnul i faqti, qarTvel ebisgan regionis
eTnowmendis mosamzadebel i safexuris Seqmnis STabeWdil ebas tovebs. misi
bol omde gatareba, Crdil oeT kavkasiis sabWouri xel isufl ebis winaswar-
gamiznul i pol itikuri kursis erT- erT Semadgenel nawil ad unda Sefas-
des. miTumetes, osebis mier 1919 wl is ianvarSi al agirSi Catarebu-
l i qarTvel Ta genocidisa da eTnowmendis gamo, sabWoTa xel isu-
fl ebas damnaSaveebis mimarT aranairi sadamsjel o RonisZieba ar
gautarebia. momxdari faqti, qarTvel Ta siZul vil idan gamomdinare os-
uri SovinizmiT ganpirobebul qmedebad ki ar miicnies, Segnebul ad samo-
qal aqo omis Wril Si gadaitanes da kontrrevolucionerTa namoqmedarad
gamoacxades. amiT, sabWoTa xel isufl ebam, osebis mier Cadenil i danaSau-
l is dafarvas da Segnebul ad mifuCeCebas Seecada. osebTan mimarTebaSi
saxel mwifoebriw rangSi ayvanil i dausjel obis pol itikuri kursi, os
separatistebis mTel i 70 wl is ganmavl obaSi sinamdvil is gayal bebis srul
SesaZl ebl obas aZl evda. amis saukeTeso nimuSs, 1983 wl is 10 maiss skkp ce-
ntral uri komitetis general uri mdivnis v.i.andropovis saxel ze gagzav-
nil i saCivari warmoadgens. am dokumentSi motanil i gayal bebul i faqteb-
is gamoZaxil is dasadasturebl ad, separatistul ad moazrovne osi istori-
kosebis mxridan v.l eninis mier vl adikavkazis revkomisadmi 1920 wl is 18
dekembers gagzavnil i depeSis teqstis Sinaarsis TviTneburad `gadakeTe-
ba- gamodgeba.²⁰ es dokumenti, Tanamedrove osma istorikosebma v.l eninis
mier gamocemul gankargul ebad gamoacxada da osebis e.w. `VII genocidSi-
mkiTxvel sazogadoebas Semdegi formul irebiT miawoda: «Беженцам из Южной
Осетии по распоряжению В.И. Ленина в северо-восточной части г. Владикавказа выделили
земельные участки и постепенно начали строить дома». sinamdvil eSi, v.l eninis ze-
moaRniSnul i depeSa ara os l tol vil ebs, aramed 1919 wel s al agiridan
osebisgan devnil qarTvel obas exebs. amis damadasturebl ad imave doku-

mentis srul teqsts movitan da Tavad mkiTxvel ma gansaj os osi istoriko-sebis mecniერul i patiosnebis done. «Телеграмма Владикавказскому Ревкому. Владикавказ, Ревком. Копия члену реввоенсовета Кавфронта Орджоникидзе. По полученным в Совнарком сведениям, беженцы гражданской войны, бежавшие от контрреволюционных банд в 1919 г. из селения Алагир в количестве, свыше 300 семей, находятся в станице Ардонской и в городе Владикавказе в чрезвычайно бедственном положении. Несмотря на все наши хлопоты, беженцы до сих пор не могут добиться возвращения в родные места или помощи по переезду и устройству на новых местах. Срочно удовлетворите законные требования беженцев и окажите им действительную помощь по устройству на постоянное жительство. Написано 18 декабря 1920 г. Предсовнаркома Ленин».²¹ nebi smi eri saRad moazrovne mkiTxvel i dameTanxmeba, rom am depeSaSi saubaria ara `samxreT oseTidan- 1920 wel s gaxiznul osebze, aramed osebis mier 1919 wl is ianvarSi al agiris tragediis Semdeg cocxl ad gadarCeni l i da vl adikavkazSi imave wel s Casul i mxol od 300 devnil i qarTul i oj axis Sesaxeb. saarqivo masal ebis mixedviT, aRniSnul i depeSis daweris momentisaTvis, osebis mier deportirebul i qarTul i oj axebi ZiriTadad saqarTvel oSi iyo gadmosul i da masze mzrunvel oba, damouki debel i saqarTvel os Sinagan saqmeTa saminstros Sesabamis ganyofil ebas hqonda daval ebul i. dokumenturad dadasturebul ia, rom al agiridan osebis mier gmodevnil i qarTul i oj axebis gadasarCenad da qarTul miwaze dasamkvi drebl ad, saqarTvel os pirvel i respublikis mTavrobam, l agodexis raionSi 700 heqtari miwis farTobi gamoyo da rac mTavaria, im etapze arsebul i qveynis mwiri biuj etidan maT-Tvis maqsimal uri daxmareba gaiRo.

rac Seexeba osebis zemoaRniSnul i 1920 wl is aj anyebas, dokumenturi masal is safuZvl ianma Seswavl am da misma anal izmma daadastura, rom misi monawil eebis qmedeba yaCaRis CarCoSi ar j deboda da saqarTvel os xel isufl ebis winaaRmdeg omis gamocxadebis el ementebS Seicavda. miTumetes, osebis 1918, 1919, 1920 wl ebis aj anyebebi sabWoTa ruseTis mier iyo dafinansebul i (osebis 1920 wl is aj anyeba 40 milioni oqros kursiT dafinansda) da imave qveynis maRal - CinosanTa mxridan imarTeboda. Tuki sakiTxs am formatSi ganvixil avT, saqarTvel os xel isufl ebis dasamxobad osebis mier mowoyobil i 1920 wl is aj anyeba, ruseTis mxridan `SefuTul - formebsi saqarTvel osadmi omis gamocxadebas warmoadgenda. mizani imaSi mdgomareobda, rom saqarTvel o samoqal aqo omis cecxl Si gaexvიაT da misi gasabWoeba ruseTs iol i gziT ganexorciel ebina. am fonzე, damnaSave osebis dasja, sabWoTa ruseTisadmi garkveul miniSnebasac warmoadgenda.

momxdar faqtTan dakavSirebiT 1920 wl is 21 seqtembers Tbil isSi gamarTul ma osi social - demokratebis TaTbirma, 1920 wl is movl enebTan dakavSirebiT sagangebod imsj el a. miRebul i rezol uci iT, aj anyebis mizezebis ganmapirobel i faqtorebis wina pl anze wamowevis paral el urad, aRniSnul i aj anyeba TviT osebis mier iqna dagmobil i. imave rezol uci is mixedviT, TaTbiris monawil eni imeds gamoTqvamdnen, rom xel isufl eba borotmomqmedTa winaaRmdeg energiul zomebs mi iRebda, yuradRebas Sida qarTl is mTis osebis mdgomareobas mi aqcevda da aj anyebis l ikvidacias umtkivneul od daasrul ebda.

saarqivo masal iT dasturdeba, rom saqarTvel os saxel mwifos mmarTveli i wreebi, osebze SurisZiebas ar apirebda, Tuki amis real ur pirobebs isev osebi ar Seqmnida. xel isufl ebis mxridan am mimarTul ebiT pirvel i

praqtikul i nabiji 1920 wl is 28 ivl iss gadaidga. mxedvel obaSi maqvs Sinagan saqmeTa ministris n.ramiSvil is, kancel ariis direktoris p.gegel aSvil is da respubl ikis administraciis inspeqtoris iv.qarcivaZis gorSi da cxinval Si Casvl is faqtebi. arsebul i dokumenturi masal is mixedviT, cxinval Si Casul ma n.ramiSvil ma sagangebo gankargul eba gasca, ganurCevl ad erovnebis, yovel gvari saxis Zal adobisa da ukanonobisadmi brZol a gamoecxadebinaT da brZanebis arSemsrul ebel i damnaSaveebi sastikad daesaj aT. imave n.ramiSvil is xel mow-eriT, erobebsa da miliciis ufrosebs sagangebo cirkul ari_ gankargul eba daegzavna, sadac xazgasmiT iyo miTiTebul i udanaSaul o osi moqal aqeebis ufl ebebis dacvis aucil ebl obis Sesaxeb.²² aseTi poziciis miuxedavad, es srul ebiTac ar niSnavda, rom saqarTvel os xel isufl eba momaval Si osebTan raime kompromisze wasvl as apirebda. mTavrobis es Seuval i pozicia qarTul i saxel mwifos interesebs efuZneboda da im etapze savsebiT gamarTi ebul i iyo. rac Seexeba osur mosaxl eobas, Tuki saqarTvel oSi cxovreba surda, pirvel rigSi qarTul i saxel mwifos samsaxurSi unda Camdgariyo, misi interesebis Sesatyvisi saqme ekeTebina da ara sabWoTa ruseTis. winaaRmdeg SemTxvevaSi maTi adgil i qarTul miwaze namd-vil ad ar iyo. osebTan mimarTebaSi saqarTvel os xel isufl ebis damokidebul eba mxol od am poziciis gaTval iswinebiT unda iqnas Sefasebul i.

Cems mier zemoT motanil i faqtebis anal izidan gamomdinare, mTel i pasuxismgebl obiT vacxadeb, rom osi separatistebis mier dausabuTebel da gayal bebul faqtebze dafuZnebul i Tovl is gundasaviT agorebul i zemoaRniSnul i bral deba, winaswar gamiznul i cil iswamebis saxes atarebs da saerTaSoriso asparezze qarTvel i eris diskreditaciis mcdel obis el ementebs Seicavs.

roca genocidis Sesaxeb ismeba sakiTxi, ar unda dagvaviwydes, rom sabWo-Ta ruseTis daxmarebiT, 1919 wl is 11 ianvars, al agirSi mcxovrebi udanaSaul o qarTvel ebis eTnowmenda da genocidi osebma marTi acrom ganaxorciel a. rac Seexeba xizanis statusiT erTdros saqarTvel oSi TavSefarebul osebs, imave sabWoTa ruseTis maRal CinosanTa xel SewyobiT, maTi Tavxedoba im donemde arZevda, rom Sida qarTl is Crdil oeti nawil is mTis zonis mkvidri qarTul i mosaxl eobis mimarT, 1921- 1925 wl ebSi ganxorciel ebul i qmedebebi, faqtobrivi eTnowmendisa da genocidis danaSaul is kvalifikaciit Sefasebas imsaxurebs.

* * *

osi separatistebis da misi damcvel ebis mxridan internet- saitebze ganTavsebul publ ikaciebSi qarTvel Ta dasadanaSaul ebl ad yovel gvari saxis sibirZure iqna gamogonil i. garegnul ad iseTi ideol ogiuri foni Seqmnes, Sida qarTl Si mcxovrebi osebi TiTqos `rwyil s ar abij ebdnen fexs- da Sida qarTl is aborigeni qarTvel ebis winaaRmdeg aranair Semawuxebel nabij s ar dgamdnen. rac Seexeba qarTvel obas, maTi mtkicebiT, `umwikvl o-osi mosaxl eobis mimarT Cagvris sxvadasxva formebs iyenebda. aseT siyal- beze dafuZnebul i farTomasStabiani propaganda, osuri intel igenciis garkveul i j gufis mxridan saerTaSoriso sazogadoebis Tval is asaxvevad aris gaTvl il i. meore mxriv, igi damoukidebel i saqarTvel os saxel mwi-

fos dasamxobad da gasasabWoebI ad, 1918, 1919, 1920 wl ebSi osebIs mier mow-yobil i aj anyebebIs gamarTI ebas, da rac mTavaria, misi `erovnul - ganmaTavisufl ebel i- moZraobIs niRbiT SefuTvas emsaxureba. am mimarTul ebiT noyieri niadagi j er kidev XX saukunis 20- iani wl ebIs qarTvel i da osi bol SevikebIs, da sabWoTa periodis istoriografiis warmomadgenI ebIs gan-iqna momzadebul i. aRniSnul i faqtebIs SefasebasTan mimarTebaSi, siyal bis pirvel i gabedul i nabiji f.maraxaZem gadadga. mxedvel obaSi maqvs mis mi-er gazeT `komunistSi- 1920 wl is 13 ivniss dabeWdil i statia_ `yvel as ga-sagonad (samxreT oseTis aj anyebIs gamo)-. f.maraxaZis `mtkicebiT-, osebIs 1920 wl is aj anyeba `erovnul i TviTgamorkvevisaTvis- brZol as warmoad-genda.²³ sabWoTa ruseTis xel isufal Ta umaRl esi eSel onebIs interesebze gaTvl il am mcdar da qarTul i saxel mwifosTvis saziانو Sexedul ebas, osi bol Sevikebi safuZvl ianad CaeWida da osebIs 1920 wl is aj anyebIs SefasebIs saprogramo miTiTebad gaixada. amis Tval saCinoebIs magal iTs, `samxreT oseTis- revkomisa da partkomis 1921 wl is 6- 8 seqtembris erTo-bl ivi dadgenil ebIs admi darTul i `mokl e ganmartebiTi baraTi- warmoad-gens. am dokumentis meoTxe nawil Si «История революционной борьбы Юго- Осети-нской бедноты», osebIs 1918- 1920 wl ebIs aj anyebebi erovnul - ganmaTavisu-fl ebel moZraobadaa moxseniebul i.²⁴ es dausabuTebel i da mcdari Sexedu-l eba sabWoTa istoriografiis warmomadgenI ebma_ u.baxtaZem,²⁵ g.TogoSvil ma²⁶ da sxvebma ara Tu gaizares, aramed igi gafetiSebul formebsi warudgines mkiTxvel sazogadoebas. mxedvel obaSi maqvs, osebIs 1918- 1920 wl ebIs aj anyebebIs erovnul i Cagvris winaaRmdeg mimarTul da erovnul i TviTgamorkve-vis mosapovebl ad Catarebul samarTI ian brZol ad maTi mxridan gamoacx-adebIs faqti.

sabWoTa istoriografiis warmomadgenI ebIs mier dokumenturad dausa-buTebel i da pol itizirebul i SefasebebIs miuxedavad, XXI- e saukunis osma istorikosebma sakiTxi gadawyvetil ad CaTval es da osebIs zemoaRniS-nul aj anyebebIs, uapel aciod `erovnul - ganmaTavisufl ebel i- moZraobIs diagnozi dausves. am mxriv gansakuTrebiT I j ioevi gamoirCeva. igi xazga-smiT miuTitebs: «Поэтом события 1920 года фактически стали очередным этапом национально- освободительного движения».²⁷ Znel i dasaj erebel ia, marqsisul - l eninuri ideol ogiis wnexisgan ganTavisufl ebul XXI saukunis os isto-rikoss I j ioevs da mis mxardamWerebs rusi swavl ul ebIs mier gamocemu-l i encikl opediis mraval tomeul Si ar Caexedos, sadac SaviT TeTrzea miTitebul i, rom `erovnul - ganmaTavisufl ebel i moZraoba miZnad isaxavs ucxo saxel mwifos batonobIs mospobasa da erovnul i damoukidebl obIs mopovebas, erovnul - kol oniuri Cagvrisa da eqspl oataciis I likvidaci-as.- am principiT Tuki ganvixil avT osur sakiTxs, osebIs erovnul - ga-nmaTavisufl ebel moZraobad mxol od Crdil o kavkasiis osebIs mier sab-WoTa ruseTis winaaRmdeg mow-yobil i aj anyeba CaiTvl eboda. rac Seexeba saqarTvel os pirvel i republ ikis xel isufl ebIs dasamxobad osebIs 1920 wl is aj anyebas, Tuki mas osuri intel igenciis warmomadgenI ebi erovnul - ganmaTavisufl ebel moZraobad miicnevs, keTil i inebon da daamtkicon, rom mdinareebIs donisa da vol gis Sua wel idan rusebIs wyal obiT mTaSi amodev-nil i da saqarTvel oSi tabarukad gadmoxvewil i osemi a)saqarTvel os (Sida qarTI is) teritoriis aborigen mosaxl eobas warmoadgens; b)qarTvel ebi am teritoriaze mogvianebiT arian Casaxl ebul i, an es teritoria Zal -ismieri gziT qarTvel Ta mier iqna dapyrobil i. im SemTqvevaSi, Tuki osi istorikosebi am siyal beze wavl en da orive sakiTxis_ Sesabamisi mtkice-

bul ebebiT gadawyvetas maT sasargebl od SeZl eben, maSin l jioevis da misi Tanamoazreebisgan SemoTavazebul i formul ireba_ oseb is 1920 wl is aj anyeba erovnul - ganmaTavisufl ebel i moZraobis axal i etapi iyovo, savsebiT `marTebul i- iqneba. winaaRmdeg SemTxvevaSi, is anbanuri WeSmariteba unda aRiaron, rom saqarTvel os teritoriaze Camosaxl ebul i eTnikuri umciresobebis mxridan mowyobil i aj anyebebi, qarTul i erovnul i saxel mwifos dasangrevad da am teritoriis aborigeni mosaxl eobis_ qarTvel eb is saxel mwifoebriwi interesebis winaaRmdeg iyo mi marTul i. saerTaSoriso samarTl is poziciidan Tuki SevafasebT mezobel i saxel mwifos mier da financebul oseb is 1918, 1919 da 1920 wl eb is SeiaraRebul gamosvl ebs, igi separatul i moZraobis CarCoSi Tavsdeba. im SemTxvevaSi, Tuki osi istorikosebi ar dameTanxmebian, keTil i inebon da pasuxi gascen kiTxvas; **a)** anal ogiuri saxis aj anyeba KanadaSi an Brazil iaSi Casaxl ebul osebs rom moewyo, sainteresoa, momxdar faqts ra kval ifikacias miscemda isini; **b)** kanadisa da Brazil iis xel isufl ebas oseb is antisaxel mwifoebriwi aj anyebisadmi umkacresi damokidebul eba rom gamoeCina, maTi mxridan ra kriteriumiT moxdeboda kanadisa da Brazil iis xel isufl eb is maRal CinosanTa qmedeb is Sefaseba.

qarTvel Ta diskreditaciis mizniT gamogoni l cil iswamebis siSworeSi farTo sazogadoebis dasarwmunebl ad, osma istorikosebma `mecnierul eSmakobas- mimarTes. mxedvel obaSi maqvs gayal bebul faqtebze qarTvel i istorikosebis damowmeba. am SemTxvevaSi isini sazogadoebas pirdapir eubnebian; `Cven arafer SuaSi ar varT, amis Sesaxeb TviT qarTvel i istorikosebi wereno- da istoriis cnobil fal sifikators g.xaWapuriZes imowmeben. amasTan dakavSirebiT oseb is `VII genocidis- statiis avtori wers: «Вот что пишет об этой страшной трагедии В. Г.Хачапуридзе в своей книге «Востание осетин в 1920 году». aq ori siyal bea daSvebul i: **1)**istorikos g.xaWapuriZis saxel is da mami saxel is aRmniSvnel i inicial ebia gadaadgil ebul i. unda iyos Г. В.Хачапуридзе. **2)**rac Seexeba imave g.xaWapuriZis wigns_ `oseb is 1920 wl is aj anyebas-, aseTi wigni saqarTvel os bibl ioTekebSi ar moi poveba. misi fizikurad arsebobis faqti saqarTvel os mecnierebaTa akademiis mier 1980 wel s dabeWdil i g.xaWapuriZis Sromebis bibl iografiaSic araa dadasturebul i.²⁸

osi istorikosebis mxridan daval ebul i viqnebi Tuki g.xaWapuriZis aRniSnul i wignis qseroasl s gamomigzavnian. g.xaWapuriZes aseTi wigni marTl ac rom daewera, sxva Sromebis msgavsad, mis monografiaSi_ `qarTvel i xal xis brZol a sabWoTa xel isufl eb is damyarebis aTvis- meoTxe gamocemis im gverdze daimowmebda, sadac oseb is 1920 wl is aj anyebis Sesaxeb saubrobs. yuradsaRebia is faqti, rom os istorikosebs aseTi siyal be, mecnierul ad dauzustebl i monacemebis SesaniRbad dasWir da. mkiTxvel sazogadoebaze ideol ogiuri zemoqmedebis mizniT, `VII genocidis- statiis avtors, mokl ul i oseb is raodenobis Sesaxeb citatis saxiT amonaweri g.xaWapuriZis ararsebul i wignis_ `oseb is 1920 wl is aj anyebidan- moaqvs. «Специальная комиссия обследовала последствия карательной экспедиции в Южной Осетии уже после советизации Грузии, она установила, что в 1920 году здесь было убито 5279 человек. Было сожжено 1588 жителей домов и 2639 хозяйственных построек. Угнано 32400 голов крупного скота (80,36%) и 74485 голов мелкого рогатого скота (82,3%). Материалы комиссии хранятся в музее революции в Тбилиси.» es citata, 1936 wel s dabeWdil i g.xaWapuriZis wignis_ «Борьба за пролетарскую революцию в Грузии» sagangebo Tavi dan_ «Борьба меньшевиков против национальных меньшинств» unda iyos aRebul i, radgan aRniS-

nul i wignisa da `osebis VII genocidis- statii avtoris teqsti erTmane-
Ts emTxveva.²⁹ xazgasmiT unda iTqvas, rom mkiTxvel is SecdomaSi Seyvanis
mi zniT, am naSromSi g.xaWapuriZe iseT fons qmnis, rom gasabWoebul i saqarTvel
l os mTavrobis gan 1924 wel s Seqmnil komisiis, mxol od 1920 wl is osebis
aj anyebasTan dakavSirebul i movl enebis Seswavl a eval eboda. arada, doku-
menturi masal iT dadasturebul ia, rom komisiisadmi micemul dakveTas_
germanel ebis, ingl isel ebis, aSS- is warmomadgenl ebis mier saqarTvel oSi
1918- 1920 wl ebSi gaweul i saqmianobis amsaxvel i dokumentebis Segroveba
warmoadgenda. am farTomasStabiani Roni sZiebis erT- erT qvesakiTxad, osebis
Sesaxeb Sesabamisi masal ebis Segrovebac iyo gaTval iswinebul i. aRni Snu-
l i proeqtis warmatebiT ganxorciel ebisa da xel CasaWidi dokumentebis
mopovebis SemTxvevaSi, Sesabamisi uwyebebi, saqarTvel os pirvel i respub-
l ikis emigraciul i mTavrobis diskreditaciisTvis mis gamoyenebas isaxav-
da mi znad.

xazgasmiT unda iTqvas, rom g.xaWapuriZis zemoaRni Snul naSromSi faqte-
bis zeaRmatebul doneze gayal bebam, XX saukunis 40- iani wl ebis sabWoTa
xel isufl ebis maRal Cinosnebis gaRizianeba da sakavSi ro presis furcl ebze
misi monografiis umkacresi kritika ganapiroba. am faqtoris gaTval iswine-
bidan gamomdinare, imave naSromis momdevno gamocemistvis (saTauris mcir-
eodeni cvl il ebiT) ZiriTadi teqsti avtorma safuzvl ianad gadaamuSava
da WeSmaritebis gayal bebis maqsimumi, minimumamde daiyvana. mxedvel obaSi
maqvs imave naSromis 1957 wl is IV gamocema_ `qarTvel i xal xis brZol a
sabWoTa xel isufl ebis damyarebisaTvis.- zemoaRni Snul Tan SedarebiT, aq
gansxvavebul raodenobrivi monacemebTan gvaqvs saqme. `saqarTvel oSi sab-
WoTa xel isufl ebis gamarjvebis Semdeg_ wers g.xaWapuriZe_ Sei qmna spe-
cial uri komisia, romel mac gamoarkvia samxreT oseTSi samoqal aqo omis
Sedegebi. aq mokl ul i iqna 4812 mamakaci, qal i da bavSvi. gadamwvari da
uvargisad gadaqceul i iyo 1268 nageboba, di di raodenobiT garekes msxvil -
fexa da wvri l fexa pirutyvi, ganadgurebul i iqna 1920 wl is mTel i mosava-
l i 23657 desetinaze. mi axl oebiTi gamoangariSebiT iq miyenebul ma zaral -
ma Seadgina 3317506 maneTi oqroTi.³⁰ **dakvirvebul i mkiTxvel i, `osebis
VII genocidis- statii avtorisa da g.xaWapuriZis wignis uaxl esi
gamocemidan motanil raodenobrivi monacemebis Soris sxvaobas (5279-
4812= 467) kargad SeamCnevs.** es imas niSnavs, rom am sakiTxTan mimarTeba-
Si dazustebul i ricxvi ar arsebobs da igi ama Tu im fal sifikatoris
TviTneburad Sesworebis da manipul irebis sagani xdeba. Tuki es ase ar
aris, maSin 1957 wel s gamocemul zemoaRni Snul wignSi g.xaWapuriZe ratom
ar imowmebs arqivis im fonds, sadac mis mier motanil i raodenobrivi mo-
nacemebi komisiis mier Segrovil masal ebSi iqneboda dadasturebul i? am
SemTxvevaSi igi val debul i iyo: **a)** daesaxel ebina dokumentis saxel wod-
eba da misi Semdgenel i; **b)** konkretul ad mieTiTebina arqivis fondi, aRwera,
saqme da is furcel i, saidanac man zemoaRni Snul i monacemebi ai Ro. mi Tume-
tes, 1936 wel s dabeWdil i wignis sqol ioSi gakeTebul i Seni SvniT mkiTxve-
l s `arwmunebda-, rom aseTi saxis daskvna revol uciis muzeumis fondebSi
inaxebao.³¹ siyal bis argamJRavnebis mi zniT, ramdenadac g.xaWapuriZem am metad
aucil ebel i da mniSvnel ovani samuSaos Sesrul ebas Tavi aarida, es proced-
dura `VII genocidis- statii avtors unda Caetarebina. sinamdvil is Seni-
Rbvisa da mkiTxvel is motyuebis mi zniT, manac iol gzas mimarTa da istor-
iis cnobil i fal sifikatori daimowma. osebis e.w. `genocidTan- mimarTeba-
Si g.xaWapuriZis mier motanil i raodenobrivi monacemebis damadasturebe-

I i dokumenti, ramdenadac zemoT dasaxel ebul i komisiis masal ebSi ar figurirebs, gamogoni i siyal bis SenarCunebisa da misi gadafarvis mizniT, igi iZul ebul i gaxda manipuli rebis gansakuTrebul i forma aercia da sabWoTa xel isufl ebisTvis misaRebi fal sifikacia SeenarCunebina. mxedvel obaSi maqvs, misi wignis_ `qarTvel i xal xis brZol a sabWoTa xel isufl ebis damyarebisaTvis- 1957 wl is gamocema. CvenTvis saintereso sakiTxTan mimarTebaSi, am naSriomSi mis mier motanil i natyuari raodenobis monacemebis sisworeSi mkiTxvel is dasarwmunebl ad, g.xaWapuriZem `Semovl iTi gza- aircia da saarqivo fondis nacvl ad, 1953 wel s dabeWdil i `saistorio moambe- # 7 miuTiTa.³² mTel i pasuxismgebl obiT vacxadeb, rom g.xaWapuriZisgan damowmebul i da am Jurnal Si ganTavsebul i publikacia, saarqivo dokumenti ar aris. igi gazeT `zaria vostokaSi- (1924 wl is 14 maisi # 575) mexuTe gverdze korespodent vinme **И.Л.** avtorobiT gamoqveynebul i statiiis «**Результаты интервенции в Грузии**» dublikats warmoadgens.³³ am statiiis ucvl el i teqsti, umniSvnel o redaqtirebiT, sxva saarqivo masal ebTan erTad, smaRI akel iZem, avtoris inicial ebis miTitebis gareSe imave krebul Si Seitana `zaria vostokas- zemoT dasaxel ebul i statiiisgan gansxvavebul i saTauriT: `1924 wl is 14 maisi_ cnobebi ingli sel i okupantebisa da samSoblos moRal ate menSevikuri `mTavrobis- mier saqarTvel os sxvadasxva raionebSi Cadenil i mxecobisa, ngrevisa da mtacebl obis Sesaxeb.³⁴ aseTi qmedebiT, `zaria vostokas- korespodent vinme **И.Л.**- s statias, smaRI akel iZem saarqivo dokumentis niRabi Camoafara da mkiTxvel i sazogadoeba SecdomaSi SeiYvana. osebis Sesaxeb am statiaSi motanil ricxobrivi monacemebTan dakavSirebiT, komisiis raime damadasturebel i mtkicebul ebebi rom mopovebina da masze saTanado daskvna daewera, sxva masal ebTan erTad Sesabamis fondSi iqneboda ganTavsebul i. aqedan gamomdinare, smaRI akel iZe am Sanss xel idan ar gauSvebda da `zaria vostokas- korespodentis **И.Л.**- s statiiis nacvl ad, pirvel adi saxis daumuSavebel Sav masal as an komisiis daskvna dabeWdavda. imave sakiTxTan dakavSirebiT, Cems mier saqarTvel os uaxl esi istoriisa da yofil i partiul i (amJamad Sinagan saqmeTa samistros) arqivebis Sesabamisi fondebis safuZvl ianad Seswavl is miuxedavad, g.xaWapuriZisa da osebis `VII genocidis- statiiis avtoris mier motanil i ricxobrivi monacemebis Sesaxeb, komisiisgan Seqmnil veranair dokumentis ver mivakvl i.e. aseTi saxis saarqivo masal a arc os istorikosebs gaaCnia. mxedvel obaSi maqvs i.n.cxovrebovis mier 1960 wel s gamocemul i dokumentebis krebul i «Борьба трудящихся Юго- Осетии за советскую власть 1917- 1921 гг. (Документы и материалы) издание второе. Сталинири. 1960.» es sqel taniani publikacia, 174 dasaxel ebis saarqivo da bol Sevikuri presidan gadmobeWdil masal ebs Seicavs. igi 1917- dan 1928 wl is ivnisamde periods asaxavs. rac Seexeba osebis 1920 wl is aj anyebisadmi saqarTvel os xel isufl ebis damokidebul ebas, amasTan dakavSirebiT, Crdil o kavkasiaSi gamomaval i bol Sevikuri gazeTebis publikaciebia imave wignSi gadmobeWdil i. mxedvel obaSi maqvs, 1920 wl is 1 agvistos da 18 seqtembris gazeTebidan: «Жизнь Национальностей» da «Советский Кавказ»- idan gadmoRebul i statia_ «О гражданской войне в Юго- Осетии» (ст. 153- 156) da korespodencia_ «О революционных восстаниях крестьян Юго-Осетии» (ст. 184- 187)

hazgasmiT unda iTqvas, rom osur sakiTxTan mimarTebaSi 1924 wel s Seqmnil i komisiis mier daskvnis formiT momzadebul i raime saxis saarqivo dokumenti, osebis 1918- 1920 wl ebis aj anyebebis Sesaxeb daweril i wignis avtorebis_ z.vaneevsa da p.doguzovisTvisac ucnobia. winaaRmdeg SemTx-

vevaSi, 1957 wel s dabeWdil wignSi «З.Н.Ванеев, П.Р.Догузов. Из истории борьбы трудящихся Юго-Осетии за советскую власть. Сталинири. 1957 г.» mas aucil ebl ad moixseniebdnen da daniSnul ebisamebr Sesabamis adgil zedac daimowmebdnen. yovel ive zemoaRniSnul i da gansakuTrebiT saarqivo masal is ararseboba mafiqrebinebs, rom g.xaWapuriZis monografiaSi_ «Борьба за пролетарскую революцию в Грузии» (1936 wel i), osebTan mimarTeBaSi motanil i cifrobrivi monacemebi, gazeT `zaria vostokaSi~ 1924 wel s dabeWdil i **И.Л.- s stati-** idan_ «Результаты интервенции в Грузии» unda iyos aRebul i.

rac Seexeba 1924 wel s Seqmnil i komisiis mier Segrovil masal ebs, misi umetesi nawil i, damoukidebel i saqarTvel os droindel i regione bis yofil i Cinovnikebisadmi imave komisiis mier micemul i SekveTis safuZvel zea daweril i. igi mokl ed Sedgenil i aRweriT i xasiaTis moxsenebebs da gancxadebebs Seicavs. ramdenadac misi avtorebi Tavis gadarCenis mizniT sabWoTa xel isufl ebasTan TanamSroml obaze wavidnen, bunebrivia, `dokumentebis- garkveul i nawil i dakveTis xasiaTs atarebs da masSi motanil i faqtebi tendenciurobisgan ar aris dazRveul i. miTumetes, komisiis wevrebs aRniSnul i masal ebi sagangebo Seswavl is saganad ar gauxdia. TiToeul i maTganis sandooba ar gaurkvevia da ganmazogadebel i xasiaTis Semaj amebel i daskvnac ar dauweria. am faqtoris gaTval iswinebidan gamomdinare, s.maRI akel iZis mier dokumentebis saxel wodebiT dabeWdil i masal ebi garkveul i nawil is sandoobis sakiTxi_ kiTxvis qveS dgeba da saRad moazrovne nebismier mkvl evars, misadmi kritikul damokidebul ebas aval ebs. rac Seexeba TviT masal is adgil samyofs, umetesi nawil i inaxeboda da dResac inaxeba saqarTvel os central uri arqivis uaxl esi istoriis ganyofil ebi da yofil i partiul i (amJamad Sinagan saqmeTa saministros) arqivis Sesabamis fondebSi da ara `revol uciis muzeumSi,~ rogorc `VII genocidis- statiis avtors hgonia. osma kol egebma unda icodnen, rom aseTi muzeumi saqarTvel oSi 1921 wl is maisSi daarsda da man 1938 wl amde iarseba. imave wl is 2 ivniss, aRniSnul i muzeumis bazaze l eninis muzeumis Tbil isis fil ial i Seiqmna, romel ic 1991 wl idan aRar arsebobs. rac Seexeba `revol uciis muzeumSi- ganTavsebul masal ebs (57 dasaxel ebi fondi), saqarTvel os k.p. (b) central uri komitetis 1928 wl is april is dadgenil ebiT, misi erTi nawil i central uri arqivisadmi daqvemdebarebul saistorio- sarevol ucio arqivs, xol o meore nawil i, saqarTvel os k.p. (b) central uri komitetTan imave wel s daarsebul partiis istoriis arqivs 1929 wel s gadaeca. amdenad, partiis istoriis Semswavl el i komisiis (partisi) mier 1922 wl idan 1928 wl amde Segrovil i da `revol uciis muzeumSi- Tavmoyril i yvel a masal a_ 4374 saqaRal de (maT Soris 1924 wl is komisiis masal ebi c), zemoaRniSnul arqivebSi iqna gadanawil ebul i. aqedan gamomdinare: 1) dabej iTebiT SeiZl eba imis Tqma, rom g.xaWapuriZe aSkarad tyuis, roca momxdari faqtidan 7 wl is Semdag_ 1936 wel s gamocemul i zemoT dasaxel ebul i misi wignis sqol ioSi wers, rom 1924 wl is komisiis masal ebi saqarTvel os `revol uciis muzeumSi- inaxebao. (gv. 295); 2) isic gasaTval iswinebel ia, rom cnobil fal sifikators (g.xaWapuriZe), osebis sasargebl od sinamdvil is gasayal bebl ad gaweul i Sroma da `damsaxureba-, osma istorikosebma ar daufasa da igi osebTan mimarTeBaSi tendenciurobaSi daadanaSaul a. amis dadasturebas osebis `VII genocidis- statia war moadgens. misi avtori, g.xaWapuriZes imaSi sayvedurobs, rom imave g.xaWapuriZis ganardaweril wignSi_ `osebis 1920 wl is aj anyeba--Si araferi iyo naTqvami kavkasiis mTavar qedze gadasvl is dros, SimSi l isgan, si civisgan da avadmy-

ofobisgan 1350 devnil i osis daRupvis Sesaxeb. am faqtTan mimarTebaSi `VII genocidis- statiis avtori, damouki debel i saqarTvel os xel isufli ebas adanaSaul ebs. aRniSnul i bral debis Semqmel i imdenad tendenciuria, rom misi naazrevi, gonebadabindul i da brma adamiანის donemdea dayvani- li. igi erT sityvasac ar ambobs im danaSaul ebriv qmedebaze, romel ic sabWoTa ruseTis xel isufli ebs mesveurebma Caidina Sida qarTI Si mcxovrebi miwismuSa osi gl exkacobis mimarT. **mxedvel obaSi maqvs ruseTis kompartiis (b) amierkavkasiis samxareo komitetis mier `samxreT oseTis- revkomisadmi 1920 wl is martSi oqros kursiT 100 aTasi maneTis gadacema, xol o imave wl is april Si `samxreT oseTis- revkomisadmi da `samxreT oseTis- rkp (b) saol qo komitetis Tavmj domaris v.sanakoevisadmi oqros kursiT 40 milioni maneTis gadagzavnis faqti.**³⁵ aRniSnul i ful iT, v.sanakoevsa da mis momxreebs, pirvel rigSi Sida qarTI Si mcxovrebi osuri mosaxl eoba unda moesyida da damouki debel i saqarTvel os xel isufli ebs dasamxobad osuri Seiararebul i razmebi Camoeyal ibebina. Tuki sakiTxs am kuTxiT ganvixil avT, saqme gvaqvs ruseTis komunisturi partiis (b) maRal Cinosnebis mier saqarTvel os pirvel i respublikis teritoriaze, arasamarTI ebrivi gziT, ucxo qveynis mier Seqmnil daqiravebul osur Seiararebul razmTan. ful ze daxarbebul i osebi, gasabWoebul i ruseTis xel isufal Ta avanturas advil ad wamoego da Sedegic maT saziანოდ Semobrunda. am SemTxvevaSi, mTel i pasuxismgebl oba im adamiანებს ekisreba, vinc miwis muSa osebs ful sa da iaraRs xel Si aCeCebda, sabWoTa ful iT osur samxedro nawil ebs qmnida da saqarTvel os kanonieri xel isufli ebs dasamxobad osebis aj anyeებს afinansebda. miudgome- li poziciidan Tuki ganvixil avT aRniSnul faqts, damnaSavea `samxreT oseTis- revkomi da `samxreT oseTis- rkp (b) saol qo komitetis Semadgen- l oba da misi Tavmj domare v.sanakoevi, radgan, sabWoTa ruseTis am agente- bis upasuxismgebl o qmedebebma, erT dros udanaSaul o osi gl exkaci, fu- li iT mosyidvis Sedegad kriminal ad da qarTul i saxel mwifos moRal ated aqcia.

osebis zemoaRniSnul i aj anyebis Sefasebasebisa da saqarTvel os demokratiul i respublikis xel isufli ebsadmi gamogonil i bral debebis mimarT, demografiul i procesebis cnobil i mkvl evari vaxtang jaoSvil i 1991 wl is 15 Tebervl is gaz. `saqarTvel os respublikasi- dabeWdil publikaciaSi_ **mxol od simarTle (pasuxad maT, vinc qarTvel ebsa da osebs Soris mtrobas Tesaven)-** xazgasmiT werda: `kargad aris cnobil i, rom demokratiul i saqarTvel os arsebobis dros (1918- 1921 wl ebi) rusma da qarTvel ma bol Sevikebma Crdil oET kavkasiidan Semogzavnes Tavisi daqiravebul i agentebi da demokratiul i saqarTvel os winaarmddeg osebis `aj anyeba- moaw- yves. es iyo sufTa wyl is avantura da qarTvel i xal xistvis zurgSi l ax- varis Cacema, rasac ver Seurigdeboda nebismieri kanonieri xel isufli eba. cxadia, avanturas ar hqonda araviTari mxardaWera TviT os mosaxl eobaSi da igi CaiSal a. cnobil ia, rom osi avanturistebi maSin Sida qarTI is qar- Tul sofl ebsac Seesivnen da adgil obrivi mkvidri mosaxl eoba aawiok- es. msxverpl i iyo orive mxares. magram **saidan aiRes es cnoba, rom 5 aTasi osi mokl es? es xom namdvil i zRaparia da osebis msxverpl i asjer mainc aris gazrdil i...** isic xom unda eTqvaT, ra SecdomaSi Se- iyvana maSin ruseTis bol Sevikurma mTavrobam osebi da rogori iyo msxve- rpl i orive mxriv. aseve cil ismwamebl uri da Tavidan bol omde yal - bia saqarTvel odan 50 aTasi osis wasvl a. Cveni saukunis pirvel meoTxed-

Si, agreTve manamdisac osebi ki ar midiodnen, aramed, piriqiT, TandaTan modiodnen saqarTvel oSi Crdil oeT kavkasiidan, sadac maTi samSobl oa. amaze naTI ad metyvel ebs Semdegi cifrebi: 1897 wl is aRweriT saqarTvel oSi cxovrobdad 81,5 aTasi osi. 1926 wl is iseTive aRweriT ki 113,3 aTasi. amrigad, 29 wl is manZil ze osebis ricxvi saqarTvel oSi gadidda 31,8 aTasiT, anu 39%- iT. es maSin, roca TviT qarTvel ebis raodenoba Tavis samSobl oSi imave periodSi gadidda 34%- iT. Tu gaviTval iswinebT im garemoebas, rom osebs, qarTvel ebze ufro maRal i bunebrivi mateba ar hqondaT, cxadia, garedan movida aTasobiT osi erovnebis adami ani. sinamdvil e esaa da ara is, rom saqarTvel odan iZul ebiT wavida 20- ian wl ebSi 50 aTasi osi.- es aris im periodis pol itikuri procesebis swori diagnozi da ara is, rasac osi separatisti `istorikosebi- da pol itikosebi weren.

rac Seexeba qarTvel Ta moZul e `samxreT oseTis- revkomisa da `samxreT oseTis- rkp (b) saol qo komitetis Tavmj domaris danaSaul ebriv qmedebes, saqarTvel os gasabWoebis pirvel ive dReebidanve kidev ufro gamoikveTa. mxedvel obaSi maqvs `samxreT oseTad- moazrebul i Sida qarTI is Crdil - oeTi nawil is teritoriaze qarTul i mosaxl eobis mizanimarTul i Seviwroeba, sacxovrisidan gamodevna da misi qonebis mitaceba. gasabWoebul i saqarTvel os Sinagan saqmeTa saxal xo komisariat is mier Sekrebi i masal ebiT dasturdeba, rom wiTel faraj aSi gadacmul i SeiaraRebul i osi mZarcvel ebi, qarTul i sofl ebidan qarTvel Ta gamodevnis Semdeg, adgil ze darCenil qonebas itacebdnen da javisken mi hqondaT. osebis mier Sida qarTI is qarTul i mosaxl eobis dawiokebis Sesaxeb, Sinagan saqmeTa saxal xo komisariatTan Seqmnil i komisi is daskvnaze dayrdnobiT, Sinagan saqmeTa saxal xo komisariat is mier saqarTvel os revkomisadmi 1921 wel s gagzavnil Semaj amebel moxsenebaSi xazgasmiTaa miTiTebul i: `cxival is Crdil oeT iT, l iaxvis marjvena mxares Svidi qarTul i sofl ia: dgvrissi, aCabeTi, TamaraSeni, TamaraSeni meore, monasteri, qurTa da kexvi, roml ebic amJamad ganicdian mware wuTebis da unugeSo mdgomareobas. moxsenebul sofl ebSi TareSoben SeiaraRebul i osebi, roml ebic ar indoben mSvidobian mcxovrebi ebs da yovel i mxridan awiokeben maT.-³⁶ imave dokumentSi, CamoTvil i sofl ebis mosaxl eobis mimarT osi mZarcvel ebisgan Cadenil danaSaul ebriv qmedebebzea aqcenti gakeTebul i. `sofl is gl exkacebs_ vkiTxul obT dokumentSi_ osi avazakebi saSual ebas ar aZl even gavides da daamuSaos Tavis miwa da amiT saSual eba misces Tavis Tavs mTel i wel iwadi mSieri ar darCes. avazakTa TareSi wres gadasul ia.- Sinagan saqmeTa saxal xo komisariat is fondSi dacul i saarqivo dokumenturi masal iT dasturdeba, rom am ukanonobas `samxreT oseTis- revkomis xel mZRvanel obasTan erTad, saol qo komitetis Tavmj domare v.sanakoevi da osuri moliciis ufrosi jijikaevi mfarvel obda. 1921 wl is maisSi, maTi Zal isxmevit moxda 18 daWeril i osi yaCaRis ganTavisufl eba. `samxreT oseTis- revkomis TviTnebidan da gasabWoebul i saqarTvel os xel isufl ebis umoqmedobidan gamomdinare, osTa marbiel i SeiaraRebul i razmebi qarTul i sofl ebis mosaxl eobas vandali uri meTodebiT uswordeboda. am sakiTxTan dakavSirebiT arsebul i faqtebi, saqarTvel os Sinagan saqmeTa saxal xo komisariat is mier saqarTvel os revkomisadmi 1921 wel s wardgenil zemoaRniSnul vrcel moxsenebaSicaa dadasturebul i. utyuar sainformacio monacemebze dayrdnobiT, gasabWoebul i saqarTvel os Sinagan saqmeTa saxal xo komisariat is mier Sedgenil dokumentSi

dadasturebul ia, rom wiTel farajaSi gamowyobil ma Seiararebul - ma osebma 1921 wl is ivl isSi sofel Zarwensa da qemertSi mcxovrebi qarTvel ebis 80 saxl i dawva, maTi survil is mixedviT, imave sofl ebis macxovrebl ebidan amorCeul i 32 udnaSaul o adamiani TviT-neburad daxvrita, cocxl ad darCenil ebidan zogi maTgani cecxl - Si dawva, zogenicemaSi mokl a. arasrul wl ovani bavSvebidan dawyebul i didebis CaTvl iT qal ebi gaupatiura. imave moxsenebaSi, osebismier qarTvel ebTan mimarTebaSi Cadenil i danaSaul ebrivi qmedebis kidev ufro Semzaravi faqtebia motanil i. sityva- sityviT weria, rom javis xeobidan wamosul qarTul oj axebs `gaborotebul i Seiararebul i osebibrbo gzaSi daewia, yvel as al ya Semoartya... da sikvdil is ganaCeni gamoucxada. magram TaTbiris Semdeg, datovebul Ta Soris 41 mamakaci gamoarcies, sabZel Si Serekes, yvel a daxoces, Semdeg sabZel s cecxl i waukides da daxocil ebi Sig gamowves. danarCeni tyveebi sruliad gaaSiSvl es, ganurCevl ad wl ovanebisa qal ebi 8 wl idan dawyebul i yvel a gaupatiures, naZarcviT da nadavl iT Sin dabrundnen.³⁷

Cems mier zemoT motanil i faqtobrivi monacemebi da citata romel ime gadaberebul i revolucioneris an Soridan damnaxvel is mogonebebs ki ar emyareba, aramed, igi osi separatistebis l obisti gasabWoebul i saqarTvel os erT- erTi sapsuxismgebl o uwyebis_ Sinagan saqmeTa saxal xo komisariatis mier Seqmnil i sagangebo komisiis mier daweril i daskvni danaa arebul i. imave Sinagan saqmeTa saxal xo komisariatis fondebSi dacul i masal ebidan irkveva, rom osurma Seiararebul ma razmebma 1924 wl is agvistosi xevsureTis ramdenime sofel i daarbia, gaZarcva da sacxovrebel i saxl ebi gadawva. am barbarosul i qmedebisadmi protestis gamotqmisa da winaarmdogobis gawevis gamo, xevsurTa 80 wl is Tavkaci gaga gogoWuri osebma cecxl ze cocxl ad dawves.³⁸

samwuxarod, gasbWoebul i saqarTvel os xel isufl ebisa da kavbiuros maral Cinosnebi osebismier Cadenil danaSaul ebriv qmedebebs sagangebod mal avda. maT ar surdaT farTo sazogadoebis winaSe misi gamomzeureba da bunebrivia, samTavrobo doneze aranair reagirebas ar akeTebda. momxdar danaSaul ebriv faqtebTan mimarTebaSi mxol od memarcxene social ist_ federal istTa organom gazeTma `social ist- federal istma- aRimarl a xma. am mxriv gansakuTrebit miminos fsevdonimit dabeWdil i statia `cxinval is raioni safrTxeSia-- gamoirCeva. masSi dawvril ebitaa arweril i Sida qarTl is mTiani zol is qarTul i mosaxl eobis autanel i yofa da osebismier Cadenil i danaSaul ebrivi qmedebebi. `ramdenime qarTul i sofel i_ vkiTxul obT statiaSi_ gadamwvaria osebigan, asamde kaci sabZel Sia gamomwvari da mokl ul i, maTi qoneba mTl ianad mitacebul ia, xol o saxl ebi dangreul i... dRes qarTul i mosaxl eoba kvnesis da gminavs. is j oj oxeti, romel ic gamefebul ia am sofl ebSi kargis momaswavebel i ar aris da Tu mas droze wamal i ar daedo... metad mZime Sedegs miviRebT.³⁹

dokumenturi masal iT dadasturebul ia, rom osi separatistebis mier 1918 wl idan SemuSavebul i programis_ cxinval is raionidan qarTvel Ta etnowmendis ganxorciel ebis arsrul eba, saqarTvel os gasabWoebis pirvel i dRidan daCqarebul i tempiT daiwyo. miTumetes, sabWoTa xel isufl ebam osebs amis xel sayrel i pirobebi Seuqmna. Sinagan saqmeTa saxal xo komisariatis Sesabamisi ganyofil eb-

is mier Sekrebil i masal ebis mixedviT, 1921 wl is martidan imave
 wl is 25 april amde, osebis mier 13 qarTul i sofel i (sveri, qemerti,
 mindiani, yafli ani, kasrani, monasteri, awrisxevi, sacxeneTi, bel oTi,
 qvemo da zemo niqoza, qvemo da zemo xviTi) iqna qarTvel ebisgan
 gawmendil i. erTdros Sida qarTl is mkvidri qarTul i mosaxl eoba,
 gasabWoebul saqarTvel oSi devnil ebad iqca. osi separatistebis mxri-
 dan qarTvel Ta oj axebe amowyvetis real uri al baTobidan gamomdinare,
 devnil i qarTvel ebi saxl ebSi veRar brundeboda. amiT osebi sargebl obdnen,
 qarTvel Ta mitovebul qonebas itacebdnen, saxl ebs masiurad arRvebdnen
 da j avisken miqondaT.⁴⁰ erTdros Sida qarTl is mTiani zol is aRorZineb-
 ul i da qarTul i mosaxl eobiT datvirTul i sofl ebi, osma separatistebma
 namosaxl arebad aqcia. am danaSaul s, gasabWoebul i saqarTvel os xel isu-
 fl eba Segnebul ad asaidual oebda da samTavrobo doneze aranair qmediT
 reagirebas ar akeTebda. is vinc Sida qarTl is qarTul sofl ebSi darCa
 da mamapapeul i karmidamosadmi erTgul ebiT piradi sicocxl e sasworze
 dado, maTi sacxovrebel i, osebis SeiaraRebul yaCaRTa razmebis gamudmebu-
 l i Tavdasxmehis obieqtad iqca. zemoT motanil faqtebs Tu ra axsnas uZe-
 bnida `samxreT oseTis- revkomi, amis sail ustraci od imave `samxreT ose-
 Tis- revkomi s mier saqarTvel os revkomisadmi 1921 wl is 5 ivl iss gagzav-
 nil i moxseneba gamodgeba. mas `samxreT oseTis- revkomi s Tavmj domaris
 moadgil e n.gadievi awerda xel s. am dokumentis mixedviT; 1)cxinval is raionis
 sofl ebSi TiTqos SeiaraRebul i osebi ar moqmedebdnen; 2)cxinval isa da
 `samxreT oseTis- revkomebs aseTi SeiaraRebul i j gufabis Sesaxeb aravi-
 Tari informacia ar gaaCnda; 3)cxinval is raionSi momxdari darRvevebi
 TiTqos menSevikebisa da sxva kontrrevol ucionerebis mier Sedgenil i
 j gufabisgan xel ovnurad mowyobil i provokacia iyo.⁴¹ n.gadiervis aRni Snu-
 l i `argumentebi~ Tavis marTl ebis ususur formas wamoadgenda da ose-
 bisgan Cadenil i danaSaul is menSevikebisadmi gadabral ebis mcdel obas
 Seicavda. ise gamodioda, TiTqos qarTvel Ta qonebis datacebas, qarTul
 sofl ebSi mitovebul i saxl ebis daSl as da datvirTul i urmebiT j avaSi
 waRebas, qarTvel ebis daxvretas da cecxl Si dawvas, qarTvel i mandil os-
 nebis gaupati urebas, Sida qarTl is qarTul i sofl ebidan qarTvel Ta maso-
 brivad gamodevna da a.S. Turme menSevikebi eweodnen. `samxreT oseTis-
 revkomi, misadmi daqvemdebarebul i uwyebebi, osuri mil icia da TviT osi
 separatistebi arafer SuaSi yofil an. am tyuil ze, maSindel i saqarTvel os
 revkomi s xel mZRvanel obas samwuxarod aranairi administraciul i xasia-
 Tis reagireba ar gaukeTebia. saqarTvel os xel isufl ebis mxridan qarTve-
 l ebTan mimarTebaSi aseTma usul gul o damokidebul ebam osi separatiste-
 bi ki dev ufro gaaTamama. mxedvel obaSi maqvs Crdil o kavkasiidan saqarTve-
 l oSi 1921 wel s isev dabrunebul i da Sida qarTl Si mcxovrebi qarTvel ebis
 winaarmddeg mebrZol i osuri SeiaraRebul i razmebis gaaqti ureba. am mxriv
 gansakuTrebiT osi erovnebis petre gogiSvil is razmi gamoirCeo-
 da. dokumenturi masal iT dasturdeba, rom 13- dan 17 dekembri s Ca-
 Tvl iT SeiaraRebul i osebi Zarcvavdnen da arbevden qarTul sofl -
 ebs. arasrul wl ovanidan didebis CaTvl iT aupati urebdnen qarTv-
 el qal ebs. oj axis Rirsebis damcvel qarTvel mamakacebs wamebiT
 kl avdnen. am Semzaravi faqtebidan gamomdinare, qarTul i mosaxl e-
 oba xel isufl ebisgan daxmarebas iTxovda.⁴² imis nacvl ad, rom saqarT-
 vel os xel isufl ebas sagangaSo zarebi daerisxebina, osebis arwy-
 einebis motiviT, dumil is gza airCia da qarTvel Ta es gasaWiri uy-

uradRebod datova.

Sida qarTl is qarTul i mosaxl eobis safuZvl ianad gaZarcvisa da dawiokebis osuri programis proeqts, maRal doneze jatin koko-
evis 15 kaciani Seiararebul i bandformireba asrul ebda.⁴³ Sinagan
saqmeTa saxal xo komisariatisa da duSeTis mazris miliciis sammar-
rTvel os operatiul i monacemebis mixedvit, cxinval is raionis qar-
rTul i sofl ebis safuZvl ianad gaZarcvis Semdeg, man duSeTis mazra-
Si gadainacvl a. mosaxl eobis ukeT gaZarcvisa da damorCil ebis mizniT,
j.kokoevma duSeTis mazris Temebis adgil obrivi xel isufl ebis moxel ee-
bi gadaayena da mis mier SerCeul i pirovnebebi daniSna. aRniSnul i qmedeb-
iT igi arsebul xel isufl ebas daupirispirda. mxol od am faqtma da ara
qarTul i mosaxl eobis darbeva_ awiokebam, qveynis Zal ovani struqturabis
maRal Cinosnebi iZul ebul i gaxada mis winaaRmdeg sadamsj el o RonisZiebe-
bi gaetarebina. imave Sinagan saqmeTa saxal xo komisariatSi Sesul i masal ebis
(samazro pol ic iis sammarTvel os operatiul i monacemebi, moxsenebebi) mi xed-
vit, duSeTis mazraSi aqtiurad moqmedebda dianoza Zaxoevis osebis
marbiel Ta Seiararebul i razmi, romel ic qarTul i mosaxl eobisad-
mi Seurigebel i da dauZinebel i mtris funqcias asrul ebda. imave
saarqivo dokumentSi dasaxel ebul ia meore yaCaRi_ gurgena gul a-
raSvil i. `duSeTis mazris mSromel gl exkacobas_ vkiTxul obT mo-
xsenebaSi_ Tavzari hqonda dacemul i cnobil i yaCaRebis dianoza
Zaxoevisa da gurgena gul araSvil is mxecuri moqmedebebiT. xseneb-
ul ma yaCaRebma duSeTis mazraSi ramdenime wel iwads (1921 wl is de-
kembridan 1924 wl is noemberi S.v.) iTareSes.~ 1922 wel s, maT cicia
Zaxoevis yaCaRTa razmi Seuertda. osi yaCaRebis moqmedebis asparezs,
duSeTisa da goris mazrebi warmoadgenda. saarqivo masal ebSi motanil i
monacemebis mixedvit, TiToeul i maTganis mier Cadenil i danaSaul i umZ-
imes kategorias (mkvl el oba, gaupatiureba) ganekutvneba. am SemTxvevaSi
mkiTxvel is yuradRebas mxol od ramdenime faqtze SevaCereb. **a)osi yaC-
aRebis mier qarTul i mosaxl eobis mimarT Cadenil i mkv-
l el obebi:** 1)sof. qere_ mokl es tite bedoSvil i; 2)duSeTis maxl obl ad
mokl es yazbegel i abraam Wil aSvil i; 3)sof. al i_ mokl es da- Zma avl axaS-
vil ebi; 4)sof. arbo_ mokl es vasil bedoSvil i; 5)sof. burRul i_ mokl es
xincagaSvil isa da Tvauris meuRI eebi da misi Zmebi; 6)sof. kisiSxevi_ saqon-
l is saZovarze 9 wl is mwyems biWs yel i gamoWres da sasikvdil od daWres
imave bavSvis mama; 7)sof. ufereTi_ dawves vaso boZiSvil is saxl i; **b)osi
yaCaRebis mxridan qarTvel i mandil osnebis gaupatiureba
da dazaral ebul Ta mkvl el oba:** 1)sof. qsovrisi_ Tavs daesxnen
vinme saakaSvil is ojaxs, gaupatiures misi qal iSvil i da mokl es daz-
aral ebul is mama; 2)sof. dampal eTi_ gaupatiures arasrul wl ovani gogo-
na da winaaRmdegobis gawevis gamo mokl es misi deda; 3)sof. Wal isubani_
gaupatiures ori gogona da oriveni daxoces. imave dokumentebis mi xedvit,
msxverpl ad amorCeul cocxal mandil osnebs, osi yaCaRebi xSir SemTxveva-
Si aWridnen mkerds, yurs, Txridnen Tval ebs da a.S.⁴⁴

Cems mier motanil i umZimesi faqtebidan gamomdinare ismeba ki Txva; qarTu-
l i mosaxl eobis amomgdebi osuri bandformirebebis xel mZRvanel Ta mi ma-
rT umkacresi operatiul i zomebi ratom 1921, 1922, 1923 wl ebSi, an 1924 wl is
dasawyisSi ar iqna gatarebul i da maTi l ikvidaciis sakiTxi mxol od 1924
wl is noemberSi daisva? am SemTxvevaSi pirvel rigSia gasaTval iswinebe-

l i: a)1924 wl is agvistos aj anyebis monawil eTa da maT TanamgrZnobTa wi-
naaRmdeg dawyebul i umkacresi represiebi; b)arsebul i xel isufli ebisadmi
duSeTis mazris mcxovreba Si naganad mtrul i damokidebul eba. aseT fonze,
Sesabamis samTavrobo uwyebes mosaxl eobisaTvis unda eCvenebina, rom igi
ara mar to sabWoTa xel isufli ebis mowinaaRmdegees, aramed, adgil obrivi
gl exkacobis mZarcvel os yaCaRebsac ebrZoda. am mimarTul ebiT duSeTis
mazris Sesabamisi Zal ovani uwyebis mier miRebul i gadawyvetil eba, iZu-
l ebiTi pol itikuri da ideol ogiuri faqtorebiT iyo ganpirobebul i.
winaaRmdeg SemTxvevaSi zemoaRniSnul i yaCaRebis neutral izebas Sesabami-
si operaciebis Catarebis SemTxvevaSi 1922 an 1923 wel s moaxdendnen. xaz-
gasmiT unda aRiniSnos, rom dianoza Zaxoevisa da gurgena gul araSvil is
l ikvidacia, arsebul i xel isufli ebiT ukmayofil o duSeTis gl exkacobis
gul ismosageb kompaniaze iyo gaTvl il i.

saarqivo dokumentebze dayrdnobiT Cems mier zemoT CamoTvl il i
danaSaul ebrivi qmedebebi os separatistebz evropis an amerikis
nebismier saxel mwifoSi rom Caedina, maT winaaRmdeg ara Tu umka-
cresi sadamsjel o RonisZieba gatardeboda, aramed im saxel mwifo-
dan osebis deportaciasac ganaxorciel ebdnen. umadur osebs pir-
vandel sabudars daabrunebdnen. dedamiwis zurgze al bad erTad-
erTi qveyana saqarTvel oa, sadac yvel aferia dasaSvebi. guSindel i
stumari maspinZl obas Cemobs, xol o WeSmarit maspinZel s, kuTvnil i
saxl idan aZevebs da devnil ad xdis. Sida qarTl is mTiani zonis
qarTul mosaxl eobasTan mimarTebaSi osebis danaSaul is tol fasi
qmedeba qarTvel ebs, osebTan mimarTebaSi rom Caedina da amis da-
madasturebel i dokumenturi masala osebis xel Si aRmoCenil iyo,
`samxreT oseTis- xel isufal ni qveyanas SeZravda, os istorikosebs
saukeTeso pirobebs Seuqmni da, misi wignad momzadebisa da dabeWd-
vis mizniT maRal donezedac daafinansebda. imavdroul ad, aseTi
publ ikaciis evropul enebze Targmnas da saerTaSoriso organiza-
ciebisadmi gadacemas dauyovnebl iv ganaxorciel ebda.

osi separatisti `istorikosebis- mier internet- saitebze ganTavsebul i
publ ikaciebisa da ucxo enebze stamburad dabeWdil i `samecniero- l i t-
eraturis mixedviT Tuki vimsjel ebT, `samxreT oseTis- Sesabamisi samTavro-
bo uwyebebis maqsimal uri xel Sewyobidan da qarTul i mxaris inertul o-
bidan gamomdinre, saerTaSoriso ideol ogiur frontze osebi aqturad
moqmedeben da sapropagando saSual ebebis yvel a saxeobas warmatebiT iy-
eneben. maT mier SeTxzul siyal bes WeSmaritebad asaReban da am tyuil Si
saerTaSoriso organizaciebsa da ucxo qveynebis sael Coebsac arwmuneben.

osuri intel igenciis mier Rrmad gaazrebul i osuri separatis-
tul i programiT ideol ogiur frontze xel SeuSI el ad navardi,
mitacebul i teritoriis samarTl ebrivad dasakanonebl ad myari
safexuris momzadebazea gaTvl il i. ideol ogiuri frontis ase uyura-
dRebod migdeba, Sesabamisi uwyebebis didi upasuxismgebl obis an
eris uZl urebis erT- erTi gamovl enis faqtoria. `eris uZl ureba
maSin iwyeba_ brZanebda napol eon bonaparte,_ roca sakuTar teri-
torias mowiaaRmdeges nebayofl obiT uTmobs, an kidev, Zal momreo-
biT mitacebul is ukan dabrunebas ar cdil obs.- am fonze, dResac
aqtual uria da WeSmariti qarTvel ebisadmi garkveul i formiT Rirse-
bis aRdgenis Sexsenebas isaxavs miznad aw gardacvl il i profeso-
ris j emal afciauris sityvebi: `samaCabl os miwam Semogvkvnesa

Tavis Svil ebs, rom aRgvesrul ebina dedis winaSe Svil Ta odinde-
 l i val i_ gvepatrona mistvis, raTa aravistvis migveca imis ufl eba,
 rom mis winda kal TaSi furTxi gaexvia...~45 saubedurod, mSobel i
 dedis kal Tis siwmindis dacva- SenarCuneba, qarTvel obam da misma
 saxel isufli o Stoebma, el ementarul i formiT, ideol ogiur frontz-
 edac ver SeZl o. uZl urebis am mourCenel i seniT, qarTvel i eri
 didi xania komaSia. am mdgomareobidan misi gamoyvana mxol od er-
 ovnul i cnobiereboT datvirTul, mamul ze uzomod Seyvarebul da
 maRal i Tavmoyvareobis adaminebs xel ewifeba.

daskvnebi

1918- 1925 wl ebis qarTul - osuri urTierTdamokidebul ebis istoriul i
 sinamdvil is sabWoTa periodis historiografiis mier mrude sarkeSi war-
 moCenam, XXI saukunis os istorikosebs, qarTvel ebisgan `osebis genocidis-
 miTis SeTxzvis da bral debis xmamaRl a saubris `SesaZl ebl oba- misca. am
 sakiTxTan mimarTebaSi saqarTvel os xel isufli ebis oficial uri struq-
 turebis dumil iT gaTamamebul ebma, dausabuTebel i da gayal bebul i in-
 formaciis sisworeSi ucxoeTis qveynebis sael Coebisa da saerTaSoriso
 osganizaciebis warmomadgenl ebis darwmuneba SesZl es. Cems mier arqivsa-
 cavebSi mikvl eul i pirvel adi dokumenturi masal ebis safuZvl ianma Ses-
 wavl am da sabWoTa periodSi osur sakiTxze dabeWdil i literaturaSi
 arsebul monacemebTan Sedarebam, Semdegi daskvnebis gakeTebis SesaZl e-
 bl oba momca:

1)cxinval is raionis sofl ebis_ bel oTsa da yel eTSi mcxovrebi osebis
 1918 wl is 26- 28 ianvris erTobl iv yril obaze miRebul ma gadawyvetil ebeb-
 ma, Sida qarTl is qarTvel i Tavadaznaurobis ZiriTadi nawil is amowyvetas,
 kuTvnil i sacxovrisidan gamodevnas da maTi qonebis osebisgan misakuTre-
 bas daudo saTave. es danaSaul ebrivi aqti, 1918 wl is 28 ianvridan 17 martis
 CaTvl iT, bol Sevik i.xarebovis 300 kacianma marbiel ma osurma razmma ga-
 naxorciel a.

Sida qarTl is miwis muSa qarTul i mosaxl eobis kuTvnil i sacxovrisidan
 gamosadevnad, `samxreT oseTis- erovnul i sabWos mfarvel obis qveS myof-
 ma osi yaCaRebis (dianoza Zaxoevi, cicia Zaxoevi, gurgena gul araSvil i)
 Seiararebul i razmebisgan, qarTul i mosaxl eobis mimarT ganxorciel ebu-
 l i qmedebebi (mkvl el obebi, arasrul wl ovani gogonebisa da qal ebis gaupa-
 tiurebebi, qarTvel i bavSvebis cocxl ad cecxl Si dawva...) sisxl is samarT-
 l is umZimes danaSaul s Seicavda. maTi moqmedebisadmi wertil is dasma da
 saqarTvel os teritoriidan Crdil oet kavkasiaSi gandevna, mxol od saqarTve-
 l os pirvel i respublikis Sinagan saqmeTa saministros Zal isxmeviT gaxda
 SesaZl ebel i.

2)sabWoTa ruseTisgan dafinansebul i aj anyebul i osebisgan (1918 wl is
 marti) cxinval is qarTul i, ebraul i da somxuri mosaxl eobis safuZvl i-
 anad gaZarcvam, adgil obrivi xel isufli ebis warmomadgenl ebis (giorgi
 maCabel i, sandro kecxovel i, petre efremiZe, kosta kazievi, kote cercvaZe)
 mimarT umkacresi wamebisa da dasaxiCebis meTodebiT mkvl el obam, osuri
 vandal izmis Semzaravi saxe srul ad warmoaCina. am SemTxvevaSi, maTi `Semo-
 qmedebiT- fantazia, faSisturi germaniis sakoncentracio banakebSi adami-

anebis mwval ebl obis eqsperimentsac aRemateboda.

dokumenturi masal iT dasturdeba, rom osi separatistebis mxridan qarTvel Ta mimarT gansakuTrebul siZul vil ze agebul i da gamokveTil ad gamovl enil i RonisZiebebi, Sida qarTI is qarTul i mosaxl eobis mizanmimarTul ad daSinebisa da mama- papeul i sacxovrisidan gamodevnis mcdel obaze iyo agebul i. osebis mxridan danaSaul is Cadenis faqtebTan mimarTebaSi, damnaSaveebisadmi `samxreT oseTis- erovnul i sabWos l obireba, saqarTvel os erovnul i sabWosa da amierkavkasiis mTavrobisadmi ara marto dau- morCil ebl obas, aramed omis gamocxadebis tol fas qmedebas Seicavda.

3)al agirel i qarTvel ebisgan osebisadmi keTil mezobl uri damokidebul ebis (osebis winaaRmdeg iaraRis ar aRmarTva, osi mosaxl eobis Zarcvis ardawyeba, al agiris teritoriis saqarTvel osTan SeerTebis armoTxovna...) miuxedavad, osebis mxridan 1919 wl is 11 ianvars RamiT, qarTvel ebis xocva- JI etis (bavSvebisa da moxucebis cocxl ad cecxl Si dawva, qal ebis gaupa- tiureba, orsul i qal ebis mucel ze dasera...) operaciis Catareba, qarTvel eb- isadmi biol ogiuri siZul vil is demonstrirebas warmoadgenda da al agi- ridan qarTvel ebis masobrivi eTnowmendas isaxavda miznad. al agirel i 500 qarTul i oj axis (2700 sul i) piradi Sromis Sedegad SeZenil i qonebis osebisgan Zal ismieri meTodiT mitacebisa da qarTvel Ta amoxocvis faq- tis Segnebul ad `damal vis- mcdel oba, sabWoTa xel isufl ebisgan damna- Save osebisadmi mfarvel obis da dausjel obis kursis gatarebis dadas- turebas warmoadgenda.

4)osebis mier 1920 wel s mowyobil i aj anyeba, sabWoTa ruseTis dafinanse- biT (40 mil ionis maneTi oqros kursiT) ganxorciel da da saqarTvel oSi samoqal aqo omis gaCaRebas, qarTvel Ta saxel mwifoebriobis xel yofas isax- avda miznad. sabWoTa istoriografiis mier am faqtis Sefaseba, arsebul i xel isufl ebis politiki kursis interesebis gaTval iswinebiT ganxor- ciel da da sinamdvil is mrude sarkeSi asaxvas warmoadgenda.

gasabWoebul i saqarTvel os Sinagan saqmeTa saxal xo komisariatTan Se- qmnil i komisiEBis (1921- 1922 wl ebi) moxseneba- daskvnebiSi arsad ar figur- irebs 1920 wl is movl enebTan dakavSirebiT osebis genocidis an maTi amow- yvetis cifrobrivi monacemebi. piriqit, xazgasmiTaa miTitebul i im dana- Saul ebrivi qmedebebis Sesaxeb, romel ic osebma 1918, 1919, 1920 wl ebSi Cai- dina Sida qarTI is qarTul mosaxl eobasTan mimarTebaSi. Cems mier am mimarTul ebiT Catarebul i kvlevis Sedegad gairkva: a)1920 wel s aj anyebu- l i osebis winaaRmdeg saqarTvel os xel isufl ebisgan gatarebul i sadam- sj el o RonisZiebebis Sesaxeb, osi istorikosebisgan damowmebul i cifro- brivi monacemebi, arcerTi saarqivo dokumentiT ar dasturdeba; b)isini mxol od gxaWapurizis wignSi motanil faqtebs imowmeben, romel ic gazeT `zaria vostokaSi- vinme И.И.-s fsevdonimiT dabeWdil i statiidanaa_ «Резу- льтаты интервенции в Грузии»_ aRebul i; g)aRniSnul i statia s.maRI akel izem TviTneburad Seitana 1924 wel s Seqmnil i komisiis masal ebSi da 1953 wel s dabeWdil i `saistorio moambis- meSveobiT, igi saarqivo dokumentad warud- gina mkiTxvel sazogadoebas.

5)gasabWoebul i saqarTvel os Sinagan saqmeTa saxal xo komisariatis mier saqarTvel os revkomisadmi gagzavnil i Semaj amebel i moxsenebiT (1921 wel i) dasturdeba, rom qarTul i sofl ebis mosaxl eobasTan mimarTebaSi wiTe- l armiel is farajaSi gamowyobil i osuri Seiararebul i daj gufebebi dan- aSaul ebrivi qmedebes scadiodnen. maTdami l obirebas, `samxreT oseTis- revkomi da rkp (b) `samxreT oseTis- xel mZRvanel oba axorciel ebda. imave

dokumentSi motanil i faqtebi (osebisgan qarTvel Ta 80 saxl is dawva, imave sofl ebis 32 udanaSaul o adami anebis SerCeviTi procesiT daxvreta, 41 mamakacis sabZel Si dawva, wl ovanebis ganurCevl ad 8 wl is bavSvebidan dawyebul i asakovani qal ebis CaTvl iT gaupatiureba, 80 wl is xevsurTa Tavkacis gaga gogoWuris cocxl ad cecxl Si dawva, 13 qarTul i sofl ebidan qarTul i mosaxl eobis iZul ebiT gamodevna. imave sofl ebSi qarTvel ebi- sgan iZul ebiT mitovebul i saxl ebis osebisgan daSl a da j avaSi waReba...) yovel gvare saxis samarTi ebriv CarCos scil deba da qarTul miwaze qarTvel Ta winaaRmdeg mizanmimarTul ad ganxorciel ebul i devnis pol i- tikuri kursis gatarebis dadasturebas warmioadgens.

6) Sida qarTi is (cxinval is raionis) qarTul i sofl ebis maqsimal urad Seviwroeba (Zarcva, mkvl el oba, gaupatiureba...), `osuri proeqtis- erT- erTi safexuris maRal doneze Sesrul ebas (1921- 1924 wl ebi) isaxavda miznad. misi ganxorciel eba, osi yaCaRebis (j atin kokoevi, dianoza Zaxoevi, cicia Zaxoevi, petre gogiSvil i, gurgena gul araSvil i) SeiaraRebul osur razmebs hqonda mindobil i. arsebul i saarqivo masal ebiT dasturdeba, rom am band- formirebebis winaaRmdeg, xel isufl ebis mxridan umkacresi operatiul i RonisZiebebis gatareba mxol od 1924 wl is agvistos aj anyebis damarcxebis Semdeg daiwyo. gasabWoebul i saqarTvel os Sesabamis samTavrobo uwyebas, mosaxl eobisTvis unda eCvenebina, rom igi ara mar to antisabWoTa aj anyeb- is monawil eTa dasj as axdenda, aramed adgil obrivi gl exkacobis Semavi- wroebel os yaCaRebsac ebrZoda. am mimarTul ebiT, gasabWoebul i saqarTver- l os xel isufl ebis moqmedeba, iZul ebiTi pol itikuri da ideol ogiuri faqtorebiT iyo ganpi robebul i da ara osebisgan Seviwroebul i Sida qarT- l is qarTvel i gl exkacobis sibral ul iT.

Shota Vadachkoria
The “Ossetian Genocide” and the Real Story of the Historical
Events of 1918-1925

Abstract

Soviet historiography, which has been showing the historical reality of the Georgian-Ossetian relations of 1918-1925 in a distorted mirror, gave “possibility” to the 21st century Ossetian historians create the myth of the “Ossetian Genocide” and accuse loudly Georgians in it. Concerning this issue, Ossetian historians, encouraged by silence of the Georgian authorities, with the help of unproved and distorted materials, could manage to convince the representatives of the foreign embassies and international organizations in their righteousness. Thorough study of the primary documentary materials I have found in the archives and comparison of these materials with the data about the issue of Ossetians preserved in the literature of the Soviet period, gave me possibility to come to the following conclusions:

1. The decision of the general meeting of Ossetians who lived in the villages of Belota and Kveleti of the Tskhinvali region on January 26-28, 1918, became the starting point for the extermination of the main part of Georgian nobles of Shida Kartli, their expulsion from their homes, land and the expropriation of their property. This criminal act was committed by the Bolshevik I.Kharebov’s pogrom-maker detachment of 300 men in 1918, from January, 28 until March, 17. The deeds (murders, rapes of girls under age and women, throwing Georgian children live into the fire ...) committed by Ossetian armed units (Dianoz Dzagoev, Tsitsia Dzagoev, Gurgena Gularashvili) against the Georgian population, under the protection of the South Ossetian National Committee to expel the Georgian peasants from their own homes, was a serious crime of criminal law. Their expulsion from the Georgian territories to the North Caucasus became possible only through the efforts of the Ministry of Internal Affairs of the first republic of Georgia.

2. Solid robbery of Tskhinvali Georgian, Jewish and Arminian population, murder of the local authorities (Giorgi Machabeli, Sandro Ketskhoveri, Petre Epremidze, Kosta Kiziev, Kote Tsertsvadze) with cruel torture and mutilation by Ossetian rebels who were funded by Soviet Russia, shows completely the appalling Ossetian vandalism. In this case, their “creative” fantasy became more infamous than the experiments of German Nazis with people in concentration camps. Documentary materials prove that the deeds of the Ossetian separatists, provoked by their hatred of Georgians, were based on purposeful threatening of the Shida Kartli Georgian population and their expulsion from the ancestors’ dwelling place, their homes. Lobbing Ossetians’ criminal deeds by the “South Ossetia” national council, was equal to resistance and disobedience not only of The National Council of Georgia and the government of Transcaucasia, but it was equal to declare war.

3. Alagiri Georgians had good relations with their Ossetian neighbors. Alagiri Georgians did not use weapons against Ossetians, did not committed robbery against them, did not demand uniting Alagiri with Georgia and etc. Despite of this in the night of January, 11, 1919 Ossetians carried on real massacre of Georgians. They were throwing aged people and children live in the fire, raped women, cut pregnant women’s belly and etc. The operation was a demonstration of Ossetians’ biological hatred of Georgians and aimed ethnical cleansing of Georgians from Alagiri. Soviet government purposely “hid” robbery of the estate of 500 Georgia families (2700 people) and their murder by Ossetians. This was an obvious example that Soviet government carried on policy of protecting culprit Ossetians and the course of not punishing them.

4. Ossetians’ revolt in 1920 was funded by Soviet Russia (40 million rubles in gold). This revolt aimed inflaming of the civil war in Georgia and infringe on the statehood of Georgia. This fact is evaluated in the Soviet historiography from the perspective of the political interests of the ruling government and does not give the real picture of the historical events. In the reports and resolutions of the commissions (1921-1922) attached to the People’s Commissariat of the Soviet Georgia there are not any numbers about the Ossetian victims of genocide. On the contrary, the crimes of Ossetians against Georgian population of Shida Kartli in 1918, 1919, 1920 are underscored. The study I carried on the issue proved that: **A).** Figures given by

Ossetian historians about the punitive measures of the Georgian government carried on against Ossetian rebels of 1920 are not supported by any archive document; **B**). They refer on data of G. Khachapuridze's book, the source of which is an article "Results of Intervention in Georgia" [*Rezultati interventsii v gruzii*] published in "Zaria Vostoka" by a certain person with a penname I.L.; **G**). S. Maghlakelidze willfully added the mentioned article to the materials of the commission founded in 1924 and with the help of the "Bulletin of History" published in 1953 presented it to the reader as an archive document.

5. The final report (1921) of the People's Commissariat for Internal Affairs of the Soviet Georgia sent to the Revolutionary Committee of Georgia proves that the Ossetian military groups in the military uniform of the red army soldier were committing crimes against the Georgian population. Their lobbies were "South Ossetia" Revolutionary Committee and the government of "South Ossetia" RCP (B) [Russian Communist Party (Bolsheviks)]. The facts (burning of 80 houses of Georgians, selectively killing Georgians of 32 villages, burning 41 men in hay storage, raping females from 8 years old girls to aged women, burning of Gaga Gogochuri, 80 years old leader of Khevsurs live, forced expulsion of Georgian population from 13 Georgian villages, dismantling of their empty houses and taking them to Java...) given in the same document are beyond the frames of all kinds of law. It is an obvious example of intended political persecution of Georgians.

6. One of the steps of "Ossetian project" (1921-1924) aimed to oppress (rob, murder, rape...) Georgian villages of Shida Kartli (Tskhinvali region) as much as possible. The military groups were entrusted to carry out this "project". The leaders of these military groups were: Jatin Kokoev, Dianoza Dzagoev, Tsitsia Dzagoev, Petre Gogishvili, Gurgena Gularashvili. According to the archive materials government started carrying on strict measures against these gangs only after revolt of 1924 was defeated. The relevant department of Soviet Georgia was to show the population that it was not punishing only the participants of the anti-Soviet revolt, but the Ossetian abusers of the local peasants. Actions of the Soviet Georgia government were determined by compulsory political and ideological factors and not because the Shida Kartli Georgian population was a victim of violence.

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Документы разоблачения подлога осетинских историков.
Документ № 1



де с нашим соотруженством тов. Шапидзе секретарь комиссии по выяснению убытков—подвергнуть исчерпывающему учету огромные убытки, понесенные Грузией за время интервенции и владычества меньшевиков. Число жалоб и претензий увеличивается с каждым днем. Поступают списки убитых и ограбленных. Однако, значительная доля убытков остается невыясненной.

Меньшевицким правительством вывезены за границу из кутаисского казначейства все ценности: золото, серебро в слитках и масса драгоценностей, принадлежащих государству.

Всего украдено из кармана трудящихся Грузии золота в ящиках около 13 пудов, серебра в слитках—50 пудов, серебряной монеты на сумму свыше 38.700 золотых рублей.

Помимо всего этого вывезено много иностранной звонкой (золотой) монеты и разных золотых, церковных и старинных музейных изделий.

Тут же, в Кутаисе, при любезном содействии демократического правительства, германскими войсками похищена домашняя утварь, угнан скот и реквизированы съестные припасы, в кентарском теми разрушены здания.

Убытки выражаются в круглой сумме 3.000 рублей золотом.

При участии англичан в Юго-Осетии убито меньшевиками 4.812—мужчин, женщин и детей, изнасилованы 62 женщины, сожжены и приведены в негодность 1.268 построек и крестьянских хозяйств, угнан в большом количестве крупный рогатый и мелкий скот, уничтожен весь урожай 1920 года на 23.657 десятинах.

Таким образом, меньшевики в Юго-Осетии поработали на славу. Подведя итоги их работе, мы имеем страшные цифры: унесено 4.812 человеческих жизней и причинено убытков на сумму—3.317.506 зол. рублей.

Расстрелы практиковались меньшевиками и в Озургетском уезде.

Озургетским ислаломом представлен список расстрелянных с точным указанием, кто, когда и при каких обстоятельствах пал жертвой меньшевицких бандитов.

Производилась также реквизиция крестьянского скота и имущества. Стоимость убытков выясняется.

Убытки по перевозке по груз. жел. дорогам в кредит английских войск и разрушения, произведенные англичанами в батумском укрепленном районе (уничтожение орудий, замков, разных военных запасов и срытие укреплений), исчисляются колоссальной цифрой в 2.380.380 довоенных золотых рублей.

Английскими войсками реквизированы у

Английскими войсками реквизированы у крестьян душетского уезда молочные продукты, хлеб и другие съестные припасы, угнан скот, уничтожены сенокосы и пашни, разгромлен Ахалгорский кооператив и увезены все товары, изнасилованы женщины и разрушены дома.

Убытки исчисляются в 14 миллионов рублей. Дополнительные сведения поступают.

В Горийском уезде убытки не поддаются учету.

Разгромлен один из богатейших кооперативов в Горийском уезде «Хорбали». Украдено из кооператива мануфактуры на 200 тысяч рублей, 10 вагонов соли, 30 вагонов пшеницы, 5 тысяч пудов железа, 1000 пудов гвоздей, 50 вагонов ячмени, 500 пудов сахара, 60 вагонов кукурузы, 300 пуд. мыла, 4000 пудов медного купороса, 500 пудов рису, 2 вагона лоби и разной мелочи на 3000 рублей. Кроме того, украдено громадное количество предметов крестьянского обихода.

В уезде происходили убийства, сжигались дома, насиловались женщины.

В Боржомском и Ахалкалакском районах причислено убытков на 29.000 золотых руб.

Убытки Абхазии превышают 40 миллионов зол. рублей.

Сведения собраны пока не полные, дополнительный материал продолжает поступать непрерывно.

При поддержке английского флота меньшевиками разрушены почти все мсты на побережье Черного моря. Из Абхазии вывезено имущество строящейся железной дороги: рельсы, шпалы. Разрушен черепичный завод, вывезен военный лазарет и медикаменты всех абхазских аптек. У многих жителей реквизировано имущество, вплоть до мебели и домашних вещей. По предварительным подсчетам убытки исчисляются в 2.213.000 рублей.

Огромные убытки нанесены табаководству.

Убытки от вывоза и поджога табака и материалов и от повреждения зданий в Гаграх выражаются цифрой в 34.588.568 зол. руб.

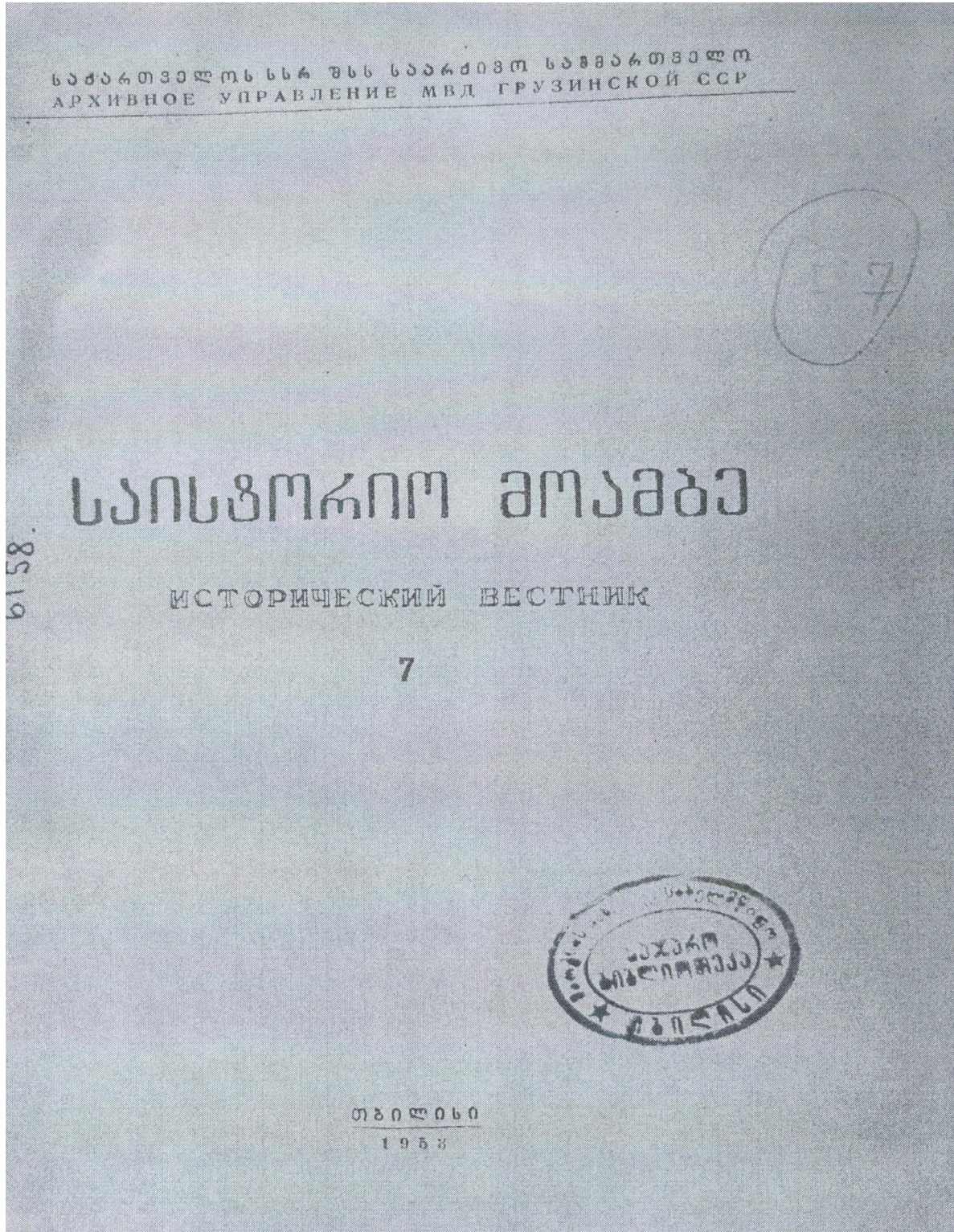
В комиссию с каждым днем поступают все больше и больше заявлений частных лиц о причиненных им убытках. Пока претензии частных лиц исчисляются в сумме 338.160 рублей 21 коп.

Характерно, что претензия частного лица гр. Зазунова была рассмотрена контрольной комиссией союзных держав, признавшей претензию подлежащей удовлетворению. Гр. Зазунову комиссией была выдана соответствующая бумага, по которой «честные торговцы» ничего до сих пор не выдали и претензия так и осталась на бумаге.

И. Л.

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ინგლისელ-ამერიკელი ინტერვენტები საქართველოში

(1918—1920 წწ.)

(დოკუმენტები)

დიდი ოქტომბრის სოციალისტური რევოლუციის გამარჯვებამ შეშფოთება გამოიწვია ქართველი მენშევიკების, აზერბაიჯანელი მუსავატელების, სომეხი დაშნაკებისა და ამიერკავკასიის სხვა კონტრრევოლუციური ბურჟუაზიულ-ნაციონალისტური პარტიების რიგებში.

„ოქტომბრის რევოლუციამ მკვეთრად შეცვალა მდგომარეობა—ამბობდა ი. ბ. სტალინი. იმან ერთი დაკვრით გადაატრიალა ყველა ურთიერთობა და დააყენა მშრომელი კლასების ხელში ძალაუფლების გადასვლის საკითხი. ლოზუნგმა „მთელი ძალაუფლება მუშებსა და გლეხებს“ მეხივით დაიქუხა ჩვენს ქვეყანაში და ფეხზე დააყენა ჩაგრული მასები. და როცა ამ ლოზუნგმა, რომელიც ჩრდილოეთ რუსეთში გაისმა, იქ გახორციელდა იწყოს, ამიერკავკასიის შეძლებულმა კლასებმა თვალნათლივ დაინახეს, რომ ოქტომბრის რევოლუციისა და საბჭოთა ხელისუფლების გარდუვალი სიკვდილი მოაქვთ მათთვის. ამიტომ საბჭოთა ხელისუფლების წინააღმდეგ ბრძოლა სიკვდილ-სიცოცხლის საკითხი გახდა მათთვის. ხოლო „სოციალისტური“ ესერულ-მენშევიკური ინტელიგენცია, რომელმაც უკვე იგემა ძალაუფლების ნაყოფი და ახლა მისი დაკარგვის პერსპექტივის წინაშე აღმოჩნდა, ავტომატურად მოექცა შეძლებულ კლასებთან კავშირში.

ასე შეიქმნა ანტისაბჭოთა კოალიცია ამიერკავკასიაში...“¹

სოციალიზმის ნიღაბს ამოფარებულმა ამიერკავკასიის კონტრრევოლუციონერებმა, ქართველი მემაჟულეების, აზერბაიჯანელ ხანებისა და ბეგების, სომეხი ვაჭრებისა და კაპიტალისტების საამებლად, დასავლეთის იმპერიალისტ-მტაცებელთა ხროვის კარნახითა და წაქეზებით, ფეხქვეშ გათელეს მშრომელთა ფართე მასების რევოლუციური მისწრაფებანი. 1918 წლის 22 აპრილს დამფუძნებელი კრების ამიერკავკასიელ ესერ-მენშევიკ-დაშნაკ-ხან წევრთაგან შეთითხნილმა „ამიერკავკასიის სეიმმა“ მოსწყვიტა ამიერკავკასია საბჭოთა რუსეთს და მისი „დამოუკიდებლობა“ გამოაცხადა. მალე—1918 წლის 26 მაისს, ამიერკავკასიის მოჩვენებითი „დამოუკიდებელი“ რესპუბლიკაც ნათლეთებლად იქცა და მისგან, სოციალისტური რევოლუციისაგან, საბჭოთა რუსეთისაგან მართლაც დამოუკიდებელი, მაგრამ დასავლეთის მტაცებლური იმპერიალიზმისაგან ყოველ-

¹ ი. ბ. სტალინი. თხზულებანი. ტ. 4, გვ. 57.

127. 1924 წლის მაისის 14. — ცნობები ინგლისელი ოკუპანტებისა და სამშობლოს მოღალატე მენშევიკური „მთავრობის“ მიერ საქართველოს სხვადასხვა რაიონებში ჩადენილი მხეცობისა, წგრებისა და მტაცებლობის შესახებ.

По предварительному подсчету убытки, причиненные Грузии за время владычества меньшевиков и интервенции, исчисляются в 56.936.812 рублей 21 коп. золотом.

В эту цифру не входят ценности, вывезенные меньшевиками и большая часть убытков уездов Грузии, — подсчет которых еще не закончен.

Нет никакой возможности, заявил в беседе с нашим сотрудником секретарь Комиссии по выяснению убытков, подвергнуть исчерпывающему учету огромные убытки, понесенные Грузией за время интервенции и владычества меньшевиков. Число жалоб и претензий увеличивается с каждым днем. Поступают списки убитых и ограбленных. Однако значительная доля убытков остается невыясненной.

Меньшевицким правительством вывезены за границу из Кутаисского казначейства все ценности: золото, серебро в слитках и масса драгоценностей, принадлежащих государству.

Всего украдено из кармана трудящихся Грузии золота в ящиках около 13 пудов, серебра в слитках — 50 пудов, серебряной монеты на сумму свыше 38.700 золотых рублей.

Помимо всего этого вывезено много иностранной звонкой (золотой) монеты и разных золотых, церковных и старинных музейных изделий.

Тут же, в Кутаисе, при любезном содействии правительства, германскими войсками похищена домашняя утварь, угнан скот и реквизированы съестные припасы, в Кентарском теми разрушены здания.

Убытки выражаются в круглой сумме 3.000 рублей золотом.

При участии англичан в Юго-Осетии убито меньшевиками 4.812 мужчин, женщин и детей, изнасилованы 62 женщины, сожжены и приведены в негодность 1.268 построек и крестьянских хозяйств, угнан в большом количестве крупный рогатый и мелкий скот, уничтожен весь урожай 1920 года на 23.657 десятинах.

Таким образом, меньшевики в Юго-Осетии поработали на славу. Подводя итоги их работе мы имеем страшные цифры: унесено 4.812 человеческих жизней и причинено убытков на сумму 3.317.506 зол. руб.

Расстрелы практиковались меньшевиками и в Озургетском уезде.

Озургетским исполкомом представлен список расстрелянных с точным указанием — кто, когда и при каких обстоятельствах пал жертвой меньшевицких бандитов.

Производилась также реквизиция крестьянского скота и имущества. Стоимость убытков выясняется.

Убытки по перевозке по груз. жел. дорогам в кредит английских войск и разрушения, произведенные англичанами в батумском укрепленном районе (уничтожение орудий, замков, разных военных запасов и срытие укреплений) исчисляются колоссальной цифрой в 2.280.380 довоенных золотых рублей.

Английскими войсками реквизированы у крестьян Душетского уезда молочные продукты, хлеб и другие съестные припасы, угнан скот, уничтожены сенокосы и пашни, разгромлен ахалгорский кооператив и увезены все товары, изнасилованы женщины и разрушены дома.

Убытки исчисляются в 14 миллионов рублей. Дополнительные сведения поступают.

В Горийском уезде убытки не поддаются учету.

Разгромлен один из богатейших кооперативов в Горийском уезде «Хорбали». Украдено из кооператива мануфактуры на 200 тысяч рублей, 10 вагонов соли, 30 вагонов пшеницы, 5 тысяч пудов железа, 1 тысяча пудов гвоздей, 50 вагонов ячменя, 500 пудов сахара, 60 вагонов кукурузы, 300 пудов мыла, 4.000 пудов медного купороса, 500 пудов риса, 2 вагона лоби и разной мелочи на 3.000 рублей. Кроме того, украдено громадное количество предметов крестьянского обихода.

В уезде происходили убийства, сжигались дома, насиловались женщины.

В Боржомском и Ахалкалакском районах причинено убытков на 29.000 золотых рублей.¹

Убытки Абхазии превышают 40 миллионов зол. рублей.

Сведения собраны пока неполные; дополнительный материал продолжает поступать интенсивно.

При поддержке английского флота меньшевиками разрушены почти все мосты на побережии Черного моря. Из Абхазии вывезено имущество строящейся железной дороги: рельсы, шпалы. Разрушен черепичный завод, вывезен военный лазарет и медикаменты всех абхазских аптек. У многих жителей реквизировано имущество, вплоть до мебели и домашних вещей. По предварительным подсчетам убытки исчисляются в 2.213.000 рублей.

Огромные убытки нанесены табаководству.

Убытки от вывоза и поджога табака и материалов и от повреждения зданий в Гаграх выражаются цифрой в 34.588.568 зол. рублей.

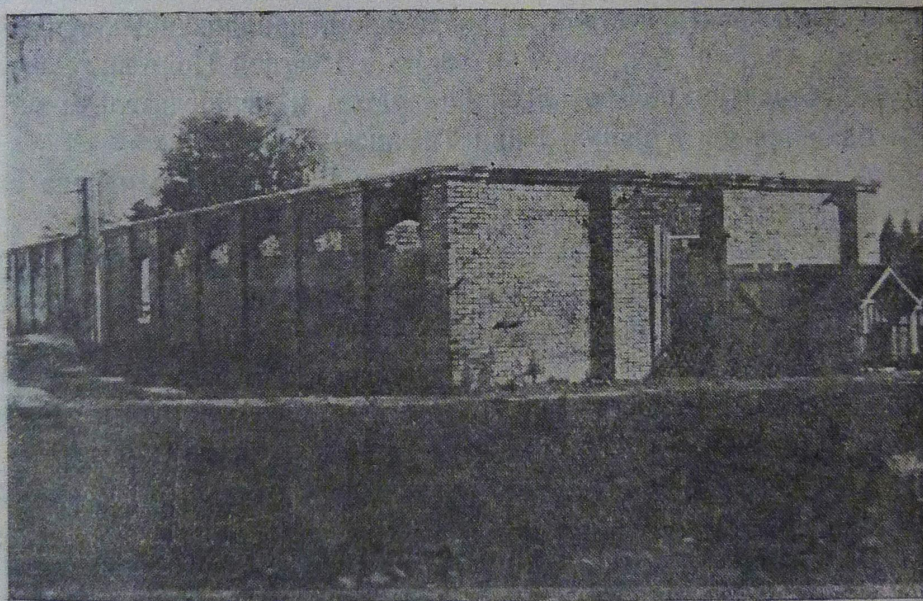
¹ აქ შეცდომაა. მარტო ქ. ბორჯომისა და ბორჯომის აგარაკისათვის ინგლისელი ოკუპანტების მიერ მიყენებული ზარალი 777065 მანეთს შეადგენდა (იხ. აქვე საბუთი № 129).

В комиссию с каждым днем поступает все больше и больше заявлений частных лиц о причиненных им убытках. Пока претензии частных лиц исчисляются в сумме 338.160 руб. 21 коп.

Характерно, что претензия частного лица гр. Зазунова была рассмотрена контрольной комиссией союзных держав, признавшей претензию подлежащей удовлетворению. Гр. Зазунову комиссией была выдана соответствующая бумага, по которой «честные торговцы» ничего до сих пор не выдали и претензия так и осталась на бумаге.

გაზ. „Заря Востока“, 1924 წ. № 575.

128. შენობა იგუმნოვის ყოფ. მამულში გაგრის რაიონში, რომელიც 1919 წელს დანგრეული იქნა ინგლისელი ოკუპანტების ჯარისკაცთა მიერ.



აფხაზეთის ასსრ სახ. არქივი, ფონ. 1-ს, საქ. 4, ფურც. 47.

129. 1924 წლის მაისი. — კომისიის ოქმი ინგლისელი ოკუპანტების მიერ ბორჯომის რაიონისათვის მიყენებული ზარალის შესახებ.

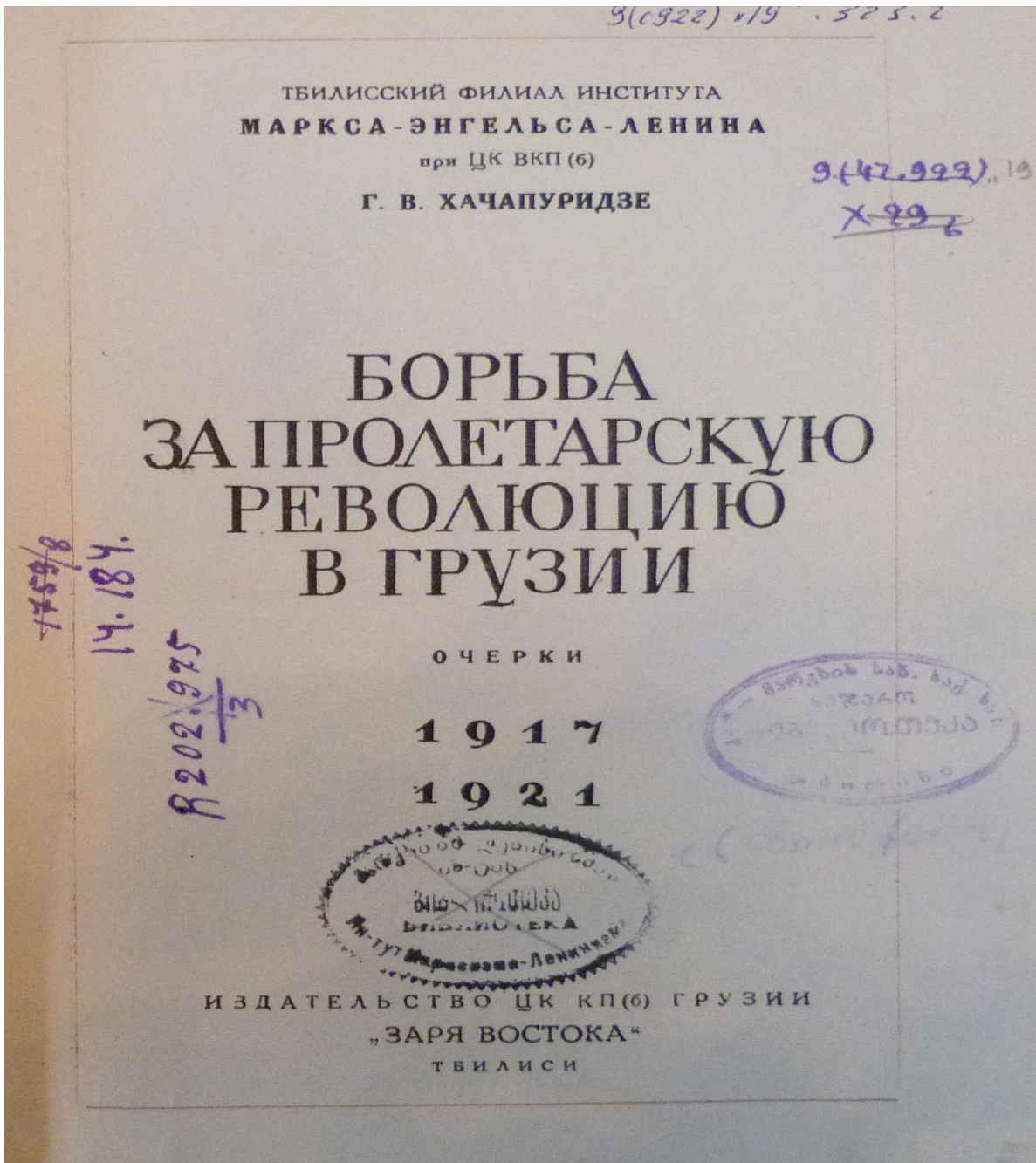
Комиссия по сбору сведений об убытках, причиненных интервенцией англичан Боржомскому району, организованная согласно распоряжения Боржомского исполкома, в составе трех лиц приступила 14 мая сего 1924 года к выяснению убытков и установила следующее: Английские войска

dokumenti # 3

1936 wels dabewdil am wignSi, g.xaWapurize atyuebs mkiTxvel s, roca 295-e gerdis sqol ioSi wers, rom komisiis masal ebi revol uciis muzeumSi inaxebao. sinamdvil eSi, komisiis mier Sekrebi li yvel a masal a, 1929 wl idan Sesabamis arqivebSi iyo gadanawil ebul i. rac Seexeba mis mier motanil cifrobriv monascebs, komisiis masal ebSi ar figurirebs.

Документ № 3

В напечатанном в 1936 году в этой книге Г.Хачапуридзе обманывает читателей, когда в сноске на 295- ой странице пишет, что материалы комиссии хранятся в музее Революции. На самом деле весь материал собранный комиссией, был распределен с 1929 года по соответствующим архивам. А что касается приведенных им цифровых данных, они не фигурируют в материалах комиссии.



Борьба меньшевиков против национальных меньшинств

I

По переписи 1917 г. за территории Грузии насчитывалось 2. 402.230 человек населения. Из них: грузин—1.615.216 (67,2 проц.), армян—279.975 (11,6 проц.), русских—116.775 (4,8 проц.), осетин—95.587 (3,9 проц.), тюрков — 85.149 (3,6 проц.), абхазцев — 40.393 (1,8 проц.), прочих народностей (немцев, греков и др.) — 169.145 (7,1 проц.). Если же взять процентные отношения отдельных национальностей Восточной Грузии, то здесь грузины составляли 44,6 проц., армяне — 21,5 проц., русские — 8,5 проц., осетины — 7,9 проц., тюрки — 10,5 проц., остальные народности — 7,0 проц.

Таким образом в национальном отношении Грузия представляла собой довольно пеструю страну, где национальные меньшинства составляли более 30 проц.

Осуществляя в национальном вопросе великодержавную национал-шовинистическую политику, грузинские меньшевики продолжали угнетать национальные меньшинства, которые во время господства меньшевиков фактически оказались лишенными общегражданских прав.

Диктатура меньшевиков в Грузии привела к крайнему обострению национальных конфликтов между господствующими классами Грузии и трудящимися массами национальных меньшинств.

На I съезде закавказских коммунистических организаций тов. С. Орджоникидзе так охарактеризовал национальные отношения в Закавказьи во время господства здесь контрреволюционных националистических партий:

«Эти отдельные национальности внутри самих республик в период господства меньшевиков, дашнаков и муссаватистов вели между собою отчаянную борьбу. Если, например, вы возьмете Грузию, то увидите, что там происходили невероятные столкновения в период меньшевистского правительства. Вы увидите разгром

Горят и горят! Зловещие огни... Какая-то страшная, жестокая, феерическая красота... И, озираясь на эти ночные яркие огни, один старый товарищ печально сказал мне: «Я начинаю понимать Нерона и великий пожар Рима»...¹

Южная Осетия опустела. Часть населения бежала за снежный перевал в Северную Осетию. Не сумевшие это сделать больные и старики скрывались в лесах и в ущельях. Специальная комиссия, обследовавшая последствия гражданской войны в Южной Осетии уже после советизации Грузии, выяснила, что в 1920 г. здесь было убито и по-



Южная Осетия. Село Ходжа после разгрома в 1920 г.

гибло во время отступления 5.279 человек. Было сожжено 1.588 жилых и 2.639 хозяйственных построек и уничтожено около 23.600 гектаров посевов. Погибло 32.460 крупного (80,3 проц.) и 78.485 (82,3) мелкого скота и т. д.²

20 июня меньшевики расстреляли в Цхинвали 13 осетин-коммунистов, попавших в плен.

Компартия Грузии выступила с решительным протестом против меньшевистской расправы в Южной Осетии.

¹ В. Джугели «Тяжелый крест», стр. 230—233.

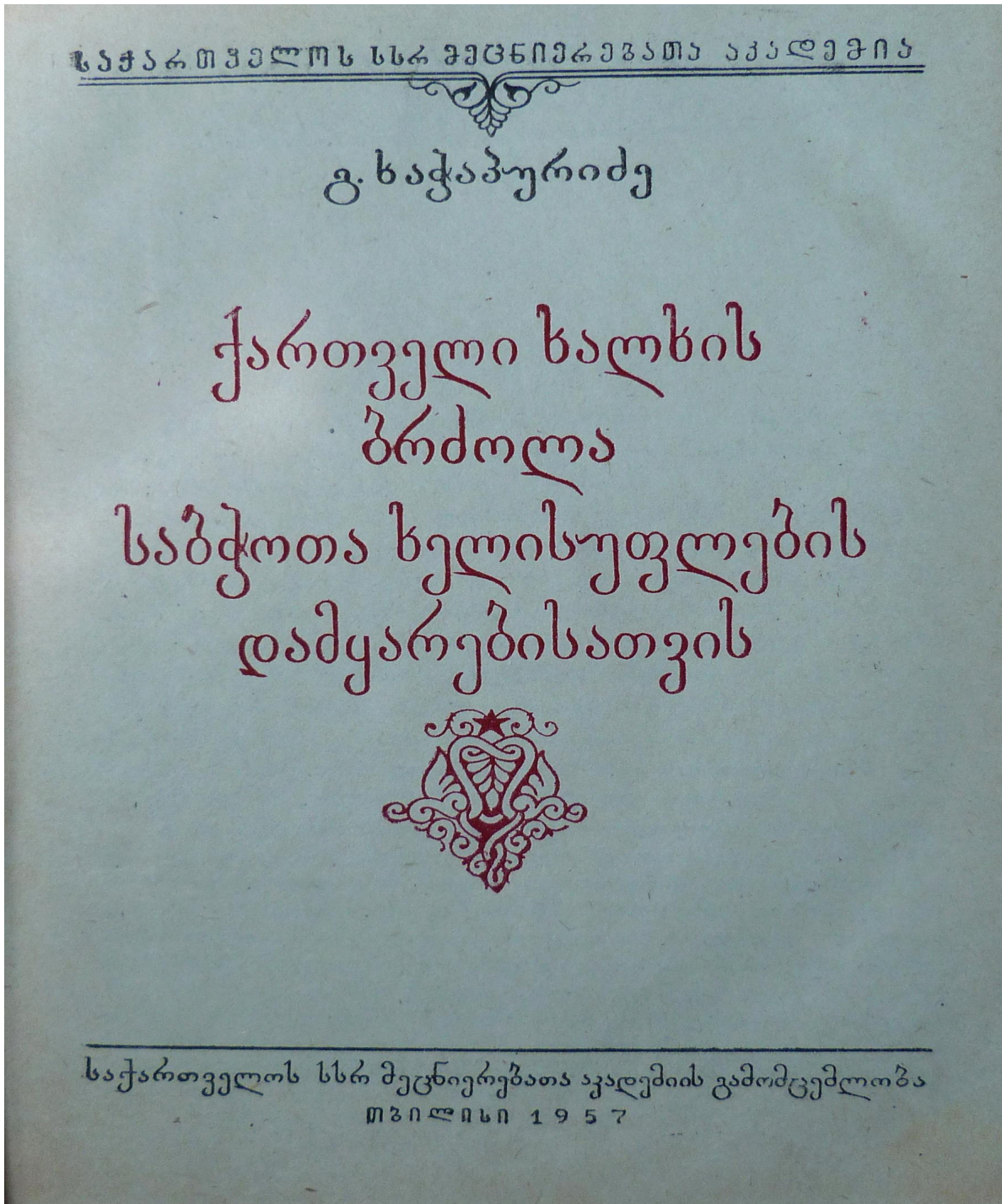
² Материалы комиссии хранятся в Музее революции Грузии.

dokumenti # 4

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io moambes- # 7- s imowmebs, romel Siac smaRI akel izem saarqivo
dokumentis nacvl ad, gaz. `zaria vostokaSi ~ dabeWdili vinne И.Л.
-s statia (dokumenti # 1) Seitana da saarqivo niRabi Camoafara.

Документ № 4

На 291- ой странице этой книги Г.Хачапуридзе заверяет вместо архива «Исторический Вестник» № 7, в котором С.Маглакелидзе вместо архивного документа, внес статью («Документ» № 1) напечатанную в газете «Заря Востока» статью некто И.Л. и накрыл архивной маской.





თავი მეექვსე

ბრძოლა საბჭოთა ხელისუფლებისათვის საქართველოს ნაციონალურ რაიონებში

მენშევიკების მიერ საქართველოში ძალაუფლების ხელში ჩაგდება და უცხოელ იმპერიალისტთა ფაქტიურმა ბატონობამ უკიდურესად გაამწვავა ნაციონალური ურთიერთობანი საქართველოს გაბატონებულ კლასებსა და ნაციონალურ უმცირესობათა მშრომელ მასებს შორის.

ქართველი მენშევიკები საქართველოში მცხოვრებ სხვა ხალხთა მიმართ დიდმპყრობელურ ნაციონალ-მოვინისტურ პოლიტიკას ახორციელებდნენ. მენშევიკების ბატონობის დროს ყველა არა-ქართველი ეროვნება ფაქტიურად მოკლებული იყო საერთო მოქალაქეობრივ უფლებებს. ქართველი ხალხი მპყრობელად, გაბატონებულად იქნა გამოცხადებული. მენშევიკური მთავრობა წინააღმდეგი იყო ავტონომია მინიჭებოდა აფხაზეთის, აჭარისა და სამხრეთ ოსეთის მშრომელებს თვით საქართველოს ფარგლებშიც კი. სამხრეთ ოსეთისათვის ავტონომიის მინიჭებაზე უარისთქმა იმით იყო მოტივირებული, რომ ოსებს თითქოს არ გააჩნდათ ტერიტორია, რადგანაც, მენშევიკების აზრით, „ჯავის ხეობის სამი სოფლის თემი არ შეიძლება ჩავთვალოთ ასეთ ტერიტორიად“. ეს იყო ქართველი ბურჟუაზიული ნაციონალისტების პოლიტიკა, მიმართული ნაციონალური უმცირესობის წინააღმდეგ. მენშევიკებმა საქართველოში შემოიღეს შეკვეცილი საეროობო თვითმმართველობა, მაგრამ ნაციონალურ უმცირესობათა რაიონებს ეს ბურჟუაზიულ-ლიბერალური რეფორმაც არ აღირსეს. ნაციონალურ უმცირესობას ისინი უკ-

საქართველოს ბურჟუაზიულ-ნაციონალისტურმა მენშევიკურმა მთავრობამ დაადგინა სამხრეთ ოსეთში დარჩენილი მოსახლეობა გადასახლებინა ყარაიაზის ველში, რომელიც კლიმატური პირობებით სრულიად შეუფერებელი იყო მთის მცხოვრებთათვის.

1920 წლის ზაფხულში, სამხრეთ ოსეთში საბჭოთა ხელისუფლების დროებითი დამარცხების შემდეგ, 20 ათასამდე ოსი აჯანყებულები ცოლშვილთან ერთად მთავარი კავკასიონის ქედზე გავლით თერგის ოლქში გადავიდნენ. მიუხედავად იმისა, რომ მშრომელი ოსები გაუგონარ გაჭირვებას განიცდიდნენ, მათი საბრძოლო რევოლუციური სულისკვეთება ვერ იქნა გატეხილი. სამხრეთ ოსეთის ლტოლვილ აჯანყებულთაგან ვლადიკავკაზში ჩამოყალიბდა ბრიგადა, რომელმაც წითელი არმიის ნაწილებთან ერთად 1920 წლის ზაფხულში მონაწილეობა მიიღო ჩრდილო კავკასიაში თეთრგვარდიელთა დესანტის განადგურებაში, რომელიც „რუსეთის აღორძინების არმიის“ სახელწოდებით ესენტუკ-კისლოვოდსკის რაიონში მოქმედებდა. თეთრგვარდიელებთან მძიმე ბრძოლებში სამხრეთ ოსეთის ბრიგადამ, წარმატებით შეასრულა რა სარდლობის დავალება, თავისი შემადგენლობის თითქმის ნახევარი დაკარგა. შემდეგ იგი შევიდა სამხრეთ ოსეთის ცალკე რაზმში და 1921 წლის თებერვალში მონაწილეობას იღებდა ბრძოლაში საბჭოთა ხელისუფლების გამარჯვებისათვის საქართველოში.

სამხრეთ ოსეთის პარტიზანებს და ლტოლვილებს ჩრდილო ოსეთში ძმური დახმარება გაუწიეს. საბჭოთა მთავრობამ მათთვის სპეციალური ფულადი სახსრები გაიღო და მათ ყოველნაირ მატერიალურ დახმარებას უწევდა. 1920 წლის 18 დეკემბერს ვ. ი. ლენინი უგზავნის დებემას ვლადიკავკაზის რევკომს მითითებით, რომ საჩქაროდ აღმოუჩინონ დახმარება სამოქალაქო ომის ლტოლვილებს მუდმივ საცხოვრებლად მოწყობაში*.

ვლადიკავკაზის მახლობლად სამხრეთ ოსეთის ლტოლვილების მიერ შეიქმნა სოფ. ნოგირი.

საქართველოში საბჭოთა ხელისუფლების გამარჯვების შემდეგ შეიქმნა სპეციალური კომისია, რომელმაც გამოარკვია სამხრეთ ოსეთში სამოქალაქო ომის შედეგები. აქ მოკლულ იქნა 4 812 მამაკაცი, ქალი და ბავშვი. ვადამწვარი და უვარგისად გადაქცეული იყო 1 268 ნაგებობა, დიდი რაოდენობით გარეკეს მსხვილფეხა და წვრილფეხა პირუტყვი, განადგურებულ იქნა 1920 წლის მთელი

* იხილეთ ვ. ი. ლენინი, თხზ., ტ. 31, გვ. 703.

შოსავალი 23 657. დესეტინაზე. მიახლოებითი გამოანგარიშებით იქ მიყენებულმა ზარალმა შეადგინა 3 317 506 მანეთი ოქროთი*.

* *

საქართველოს ბოლშევიკური ორგანიზაციის ხელმძღვანელობით თავდადებულ ბრძოლას საბჭოთა ხელისუფლებისათვის მენშევიკური მთავრობის წინააღმდეგ აწარმოებდნენ აფხაზეთის მშრომელებიც.

პირველი ცნობები პეტროგრადში მომხდარი თებერვლის ბურჟუაზიულ-დემოკრატიული რევოლუციის შესახებ აფხაზეთში გამოქვეყნდა 1917 წლის 3 მარტს. სოხუმში შეიქმნა მუშათა დეპუტატების საბჭო, რომლის ხელმძღვანელობა ხელში ჩაიგდეს მენშევიკებმა. 23 მარტს აფხაზეთის ბურჟუაზიამ და მემამულეებმა მოაწყვეს „საზოგადოებრივი უშიშროების საოლქო კომიტეტი“ აფხაზეთის მთავართა ნაშიერის თავად ა. შერვაშიძის თავმჯდომარეობით. აფხაზეთის მილიციის სათავეში ჩააყენეს დიდი მემამულე, ცნობილი რეაქციონერი თავადი გ. მარშანია. ძველ პოლიციელებს სახელი გამოუცვალეს და „სახალხო მილიციონერები“ დაარქვეს.

მაგრამ აფხაზეთში, ისე როგორც საქართველოსა და ამიერკავკასიის სხვა რაიონებში, ობორონცულმა და ბურჟუაზიულ-ნაციონალისტურმა პარტიებმა ვერ შესძლეს შეეჩერებინათ რევოლუციის შემდგომი განვითარების პროცესი. აფხაზეთის ბოლშევიკურ ორგანიზაციას, რომელიც საქართველოს კომუნისტური პარტიის შემადგენელ ნაწილს წარმოადგენდა, დიდებული საბრძოლო ტრადიციები ჰქონდა.

1903 წლიდან აფხაზეთში არსებობდა არალეგალური სოციალ-დემოკრატიული ორგანიზაცია, დაარსებული ა. წულუკიძის მიერ. აფხაზეთის მშრომელთა გმირულ ბრძოლას რუსეთის პირველი რევოლუციის პერიოდში ხელმძღვანელობდა გ. კ. ორჯონიკიძე, ის ხელმძღვანელობდა ბოლშევიკურ ორგანიზაციებს და სათავეში ედგა აფხაზეთის მუშებისა და გლეხების შეიარაღებულ ბრძოლას ცარიზმის, მემამულეების და კაპიტალისტების წინააღმდეგ. რევოლუციური მოძრაობა აფხაზეთში გრძელდებოდა პირველი მსოფლიო ომის წლებშიც.

რსდმპ(ბ) VII (აპრილის) კონფერენციის შემდეგ სოხუმში შეიქმნა რსდმპ(ბ) საოლქო კომიტეტი გ. ა. ათარბეგოვის მეთაურობით.

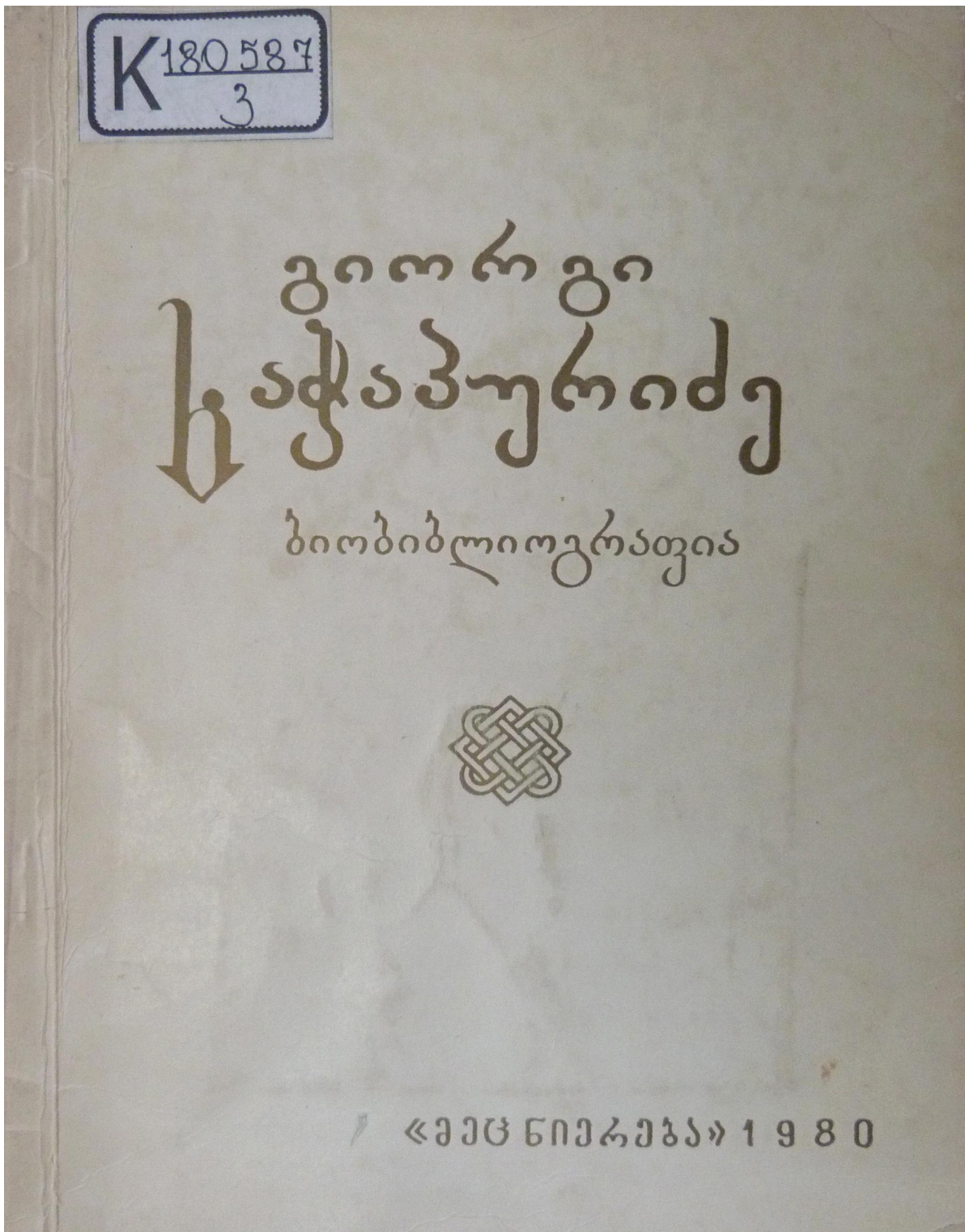
* «Исторический вестник» № 7, თბილისი, 1953, გვ. 147.

dokumenti # 5

ამ ბიბლიოგრაფიაში, გ. ხაჩაპურიძის ავტორობით დაბეჭდილი წიგნის თემატიკის 1920 წლის აქტების, ფიზიკურად არსებობის ფაქტი დადასტურებული არ არის.

Документ № 5

В этой библиографии напечатанной под авторством Г.Хачапуридзе, в книге- «Востание осетин 1920 года», не подтверждён вообще факт физического существования.



Вопрос «осетинского геноцида» и действительность исторических событий 1918-1925 гг.

«Учёный должен быть в поиске истины, в своих желаниях и отношениях должен более всего ценить её»

Н. Чернышевский

В июле 2018 года руководство Южной Осетии отметило 98 – лет со дня свершения грузинами, придуманного осетинами «геноцида». В связи с этим, газета «Республика» выходящая в Цхинвали («Республика», 2 июня 2018 год, № 41-42. Стр. 6-13) опубликовала 4 публикации. Из них две принадлежат Х.Коцты («Размышления в преддверии геноцида осетинского народа»; 2. «Кровавое лето 1920 года. Страницы истории» Коцты Х. Стр. 6 – 9). Эти публикации основаны в основном на существующих фактах и соображениях конкретных лиц, осетин - бывших участников известных восстаний 1918, 1919, 1920 годов. Остальные публикации представляют собой выписки, в виде цитат из воспоминаний участников тех $\text{âi} \text{ññòàì} \text{èé}$ (Ã.Ãááááá, Ã.Ãàçàááá, Ì .Õãñèááá, Н.Гаглоева, И.Джиоева, М.Санакоева). Надо подчеркнуть, что воспоминания указанных лиц были написаны в советский период и отвечали потребностям идеологии существующей системы. А что касается вышеуказанной статьи Х.Коцты, он не нарушил традиции и слово в слово повторил напечатанную в этой же газете в 2011 году публикацию Л.Джиоева – «Исполнился 91 год со дня первого геноцида осетинского народа» о фальшивом «геноциде осетин», проведенном грузинами в 1918 -1920 годах. Это представление для осетинской интеллигенции, представителей политических кругов, является неоспоримой истиной. Это подтверждает подготовку со стороны главы правительства «Южной Осетии» ознаменования 100-летия учиненного в 1920 году грузинами «осетинского геноцида». Об этом газета «Республика», выходящая в Цхинвали (14.01.2019г.) напечатала под заголовком: «До 100-летия геноцида осетинского народа осталось всего полтора года». Вышеуказанное тяжелейшее обвинение грузин двумя историками и политическими деятелями, особенно трудно изучить такой болезненный вопрос для того чтобы установить истину, без политизации, перенести и изучить в чисто научном разрезе. Подход к проблемам, с этого угла и опираясь на документальный материал, подать читателям в виде документальной формы истины, должна входить в интересы просвещенной интеллигенции обеих наций. С целью решения намеченной задачи, нужно ответить на вопросы: 1) какого рода политические процессы имели место в Грузии в 1918 – 1925 годах; 2) финансирование и указания правительства советской России, действия осетин, граждан Грузии проживающих в горной зоне внутренней Картли, соответствовало ли оно интересам грузинского государства и нормам международного права; 3) подтверждается ли, материалами архивных документов обвинение грузин в имевшем место в 1920 году «осетинском геноциде». Если не подтверждается, то кто его придумал и когда; 4) какой правовой квалификацией должны оценить, совершенные преступные действия осетин против грузинского населения в 1918 -1925 годах. На основании архивных материалов, по тем или иным важнейшим вопросам будет беседа с обществом читателей предлагаемой в вышеуказанном труде.

На фоне сложнейшей политической ситуации, создавшейся в Цхинвальском регионе, особое внимание на страницах осетинской прессы и интернет-сайтов с целью дискредитации грузинской нации, превращаются в материал, отображающий информационную войну. Я имею в виду, что на основании фальсифицированных исторических фактов, осетинскими историками и необоснованные вышеуказанные обвинения в адрес грузинской нации. В этом случае обратим внимание на напечатанную Л.Джиоевым в «Южной Осетии» газете «Республика» (от 8 июня 2011 г.) статью– «Исполнился 91 год со дня первого геноцида осетинского народа»¹. Каждое предложение этого письма содержит фальсификацию действительности. В вопросе оценки исторических явлений, вместо достоверных архивных материалов, его автор опирается в основном на мемуарную литературу и мнения представителей осетинских партийных работников, проводивших большевистскую идеологию 20-30 годах XX века.

В лице Л.Джиоева, насколько высокого уровня профессионалом мы имеем дело, для этого проиллюстрируем, два факта из его же статей и пусть читатель сам рассудит, заслуживает он или нет доверия. 1)Существование независимого грузинского государства Л.Джиоев перенес на 1917 год и назвал руководителем не существующего правительства Ноя Жордания. «После провозглашения независимого грузинского государства в 1917 году, правительство Ноя Жордания...»², эту находку, Л.Джиоева можно засчитать открытием. 2) тот же Л.Джиоев считает, что грузинские власти устроили первое восстание осетин в марте 1918 года. «Первый погром в мятежном регионе грузинские власти устроили в марте 1918 года»³.

Несмотря на «научные находки», Л.Джиоеву и его единомышленникам надо напомнить: а) включительно с 14 ноября 1917 года, Закавказьем руководил «Чрезвычайный комитет Закавказья»; б) в том же году с 15 ноября руководством Закавказья перешло в руки Закавказского комиссариата, состав которого был укомплектован грузинами, азербайджанцами и армянами. Из этого видно, что в связи с политическими процессами, все важнейшие вопросы решал Закавказский комиссариат; г) 10 (23) февраля 1918 года Закавказский комиссариат созвал Закавказский сейм, которые в том же году 13(26) апреля утвердил правительство Закавказья (в состав входили грузины, азербайджанцы, армяне); д) полномочия Закавказского правительства продлились до 26 мая 1918 года; е)26 мая 1918 года была провозглашена независимость Грузии, в тот же день было утверждено правительство Первой национальной республики Грузии. Правительство было утверждено, первым председателем, которого стал Н.Рабишвили; в) что касается Н.Жордания, его утвердили председателем правительства независимой Первой республики Грузии на заседании национального Совета 24 июня 1918 года.

Со всей ответственностью заявляю, что за время существования Грузинского независимого государства в промежутке с 1917 года и в том же году– 1918 году 24 июня не о «правительстве Ноя Жордания» не подлежит логичному мышлению.

Подробно остановил внимание на этих фактах для того чтобы показать читателям; все признанные и подтвердившиеся исторические события, Л.Джиоев по своему желанию «самодетельно» изменяет для того чтобы представить широкому обществу. Исходя из вышесказанного, легко можно понять,- осетинские сепаратисты и среди них похожие на Л.Джиоева люди, приводят факты якобы обвиняющие грузин в осетинском геноциде,

насколько они верны и соответствуют правде. Надо подчеркнуть, что с осетинской стороны с 2006 года на идеологическом фронте особенно активизировалась помощь одному из факторов, преступные действия совершенные осетинам по отношению грузинскому населению в 1918- 1925 гг. представляет молчание по этому поводу соответствующих учреждений Грузии и соответственное неведение международного сообщества. В тоже время архивные материалы подтверждают, что проживающие в горной зоне осетины граждане Грузии, с января 1918 года по 1925 год включительно по отношению грузинскому населению совершили преступные действия равносильные геноциду. Подтверждением этому являются принятые решения на съезде осетин, состоявшемся в 1918 году 26 и 28 января в Сапалавандо - село Белота и Келета. Согласно этим материалам должны были разоружить во внутренней Картли всех грузинских князей и уничтожить с семьями, что касается оставшихся в живых, их должны были вынудить всеми способами оставить жильё (избиение, угроза смерти)⁴ и затем присвоить их имущество. Для приведения в исполнение своих целей осетинские сепаратисты начали в последних числах января 1918 года. Подтверждение этому 3 февраля 1918 года была направлена телефонограмма комиссара Тбилисской губернии К.Джапаридзе Национальному Совету Грузии, Национальному Совету осетин, Национальному Совету армян, Национальному Совету мусульман, Исполнительному комитету Тбилисской губернии, Кавказскому окружному комитету работников социал-демократической партии, Кавказскому краевому центру рабочих и солдатских депутатов. Читаем документ, связанный с интересующими нас вопросами: «Сегодня ко мне явились представители помещиков Гомского участка, Горийского уезда, Палавандови, Амираджиби, Цициановы и др. и заявили, что на этом участке, под предводительством некоего Харебашвили, именующего себя прапорщиком, осетина по национальности, организована шайка численностью 250-300 человек, вернувшихся с фронта, осетин по национальности.

Означенная шайка производит в Гомском участке насилия, грабежи, убийства, вырезая целые семьи помещиков, третьего дня вырезана семья помещика Георгия Николаевича Визирова в селе Осиаури.

Сознательная часть крестьянства протестует против действий означенной шайки, оно не может оказать сопротивление, в виду неорганизованности своей и отсутствия на руках оружия. Несознательная часть крестьянства поддерживает эту шайку и с каждым часом увеличивает её численность.

Необходима срочная мера для пресечения дальнейших злодейских действий упомянутой разбойничьей шайки, прикрывающейся лозунгами большевизма. Противопоставить ей вооруженную силу я не имею возможности, за отсутствием в моем распоряжении какой бы то ни было реальной силы.

Посылать же незначительную силу Горийской уездной милиции нет смысла, так как можно быть заранее уверенным, что милиция эта не сумеет дать должного отпора шайке, и этим будет окончательно дискредитирована, в глазах населения, администрации, и положение «...»⁵. Из этой обширной выписки хорошо видно, что к тому моменту, органы местной милиции и комиссар Тбилисской губернии не имели возможности задействовать защитный механизм для спасения грузинских помещиков и укрощения вооруженных осетинских сепаратистов. Положение осложнялось ещё тем, что осуществление осетинскими сепаратистами плана совпало с тяжелейшей для Грузии политической ситуацией. Я имею ввиду военное положение с Османской империей и факт перебросал на

грузино-османский фронт всех видов военных соединений. В этом случае, вооруженной осетинской банде И.Харебова состоящей из 250- 300 человек подвернулась возможность без всяких препятствий совершать вандализм против грузинских помещиков. Архивные материалы подтверждают, что в Горийском уезде, что исходя из создавшейся сложной ситуации, что Закавказскому комиссариату и Национальному Комитету Грузии вынуждены были из состава гвардии направляемой на Османский фронт снять одно подразделение и *í àï ðàâèèöü âî Ø èää Èàððèèè äëü óêîðî ù áí èü áàí àðî ðî èðî ààí èü í ñàðèéí .* До проведения указанных мероприятий, осетинские сепаратисты в 1918 году с 28 января по 17 марта включительно, успели осуществить минимум своей задумки. В связи со случившемся фактом, согласно оперативным данным полученным в отделении милиции Горийского уезда становится ясно, что осетины ненавидящие грузин вместе с вооруженным отрядом поручика И.Харебова напали на сёла внутренней Картли: Авлеви, Арадети, Абиси, Балти, Верхнее Хведурети, Теделети, Карели, Телат-гори, Игоети, Кнолеви, Кехиджвари, Ночбиси, Осиаури, Сасхори, Сацихури, Санебели, Кинцвиси, Церониси, Дзвилети, Цвери, Агвли, Ходи, где ограбили и сожгли дома помещиков, большое количество выгнали из домов, а также многих на месте казнили.

Казнили: Дарико Цицишвили, её супруга Александра Цицишвили и троих детей (две девочки и одного мальчика), пытали Левана Цицишвили (его мать 80 лет и племянника), Илико Цицишвили, Васо Цицишвили Гиоргия Захаровича Цицишвили, Маквалу Карангозашвили, Ваню Карангозашвили, всех Туркестанишвили, Д.Л.Амилахвари, Тулашвили, Заалишвили, Г.В.Заалишвили, Г.Н.Везиришвили и его племянника Гиоргия Дмитриевича Везиришвили, Лизу Везиришвили и её двоих детей Датико и Титико Сихаруридзе.

Ограбили, выгнали и сожгли дом, угнали скот: у Давида Николаевича Цицишвили, Котэ и Сандро Ражденовичей Цицишвили, Тано Цицишвили, Михаила Давидовича Цицишвили, Тато Цицишвили, Николая Ираклиевича Цицишвили, Луарсаба Цицишвили, Давида Петровича Цицишвили, Григола Цицишвили, Сандро Цицишвили, Юлона Амiredжиби, Гигла Амiredжиби, Окро Амiredжиби, Котэ Амiredжиби, Гига Амiredжиби, Васо Амiredжиби, Ника Амiredжиби, Васо Багратиони, 9 семей Палавандишвили, Колиа Курдеванидзе, Ишхнели, Калатозишвили, Дато и Гига Херхеулидзе, Татишвили, Габо Гвердцители.

Документальными материалами подтверждено, что предки вышеперечисленных в Горийском уезде убитых осетинами, ограбленных, выгнанных из домов помещиков, большинство из которых в своё время дали убежище нищим осетинами пришедшим с севера Шида Картли, дали приют и возможность создать семью. И вот как отблагодарили их потомков осетины, это видно из вышеперечисленных доказательств.

Параллельно с вышеуказанными преступными действиями, осетинские сепаратисты начали постепенное запугивание грузинского трудящегося населения земель горной зоны Шида Картли с целью их выжить в дальнейшем. Решить эту задачу старались, действующие в 1917-1918 годах во Шида Картли осетинские бандиты (Дианоз Заурбегович Дзагоев, Цициа Игоревич Дзагоев, Гурген Цуцунович Гуларашвили) с помощью вооруженных отрядов. Секретными документальными материалами в соответствующих фондах Министерства внутренних дел подтверждено, что эти разбойники были под покровом

вительством Национального Совета, укрывались под формой «Южной Осетии». Из этих же архивных материалов выясняется, что по отношению к грузинскому населению с их стороны были совершены тяжелейшие преступления уголовного кодекса (изнасилования, убийства, поджог усадеб, ограбления). С целью подтверждения сделанного мной заявления, предлагаю, всего лишь несколько фактов читающему обществу: **А) совершенные убийства в 1918 году по отношению грузинского населения осетинскими бандитами:**

1) село Дзегви – убили Тато Кисишвили и его сына Иосифа Кисишвили; 2) село Джамуши – вырезали семью Авлахашвили; 3) село Арбо – убили Давида Захарьевича Бедошвили и Петра Бедошвили; 4) село Дзеглеви – убили Петре Хинчвагашвили и его родственников; 5) село Монастери – вырезали семью Хубашвили; 6) село Сапершети – убили Шакро и Михо Дариашвили; 7) село Багинети – убили Мерабашвили, Нику Мирзашвили и одного извозчика; 8) село Ананури – убили Григола Лазаришвили; 9) село Кадоеи – убили Иосеба Рубашвили.

Б) в 1918 году были изнасилованы осетинами грузинские женщины:

1) село Кисорети – осетинские бандиты напали на семью Иосеба Маминашвили, жену и дочь изнасиловали, а Иосеба убили; 2) село Гремисхеви – те же бандиты совершили нападение на семью Коли Папуашаили, его дочь Нину Папуашвили изнасиловали на глазах отца, затем обоих убили; 3) село Монастери – нескольких женщин этой деревни изнасиловали и скрылись;

Г) осетинские разбойники живьем сжигали в кострах грузинских детей:

в селе Монастери осетинские разбойники сожгли грузинскую школу. Ввиду полученного сопротивления, подожгли два дома Коранашвили, проживающего по близости, его малолетних четверых детей бросили в огонь. А когда двое детей в подхваченной огнем одежде решились бежать, разбойники их убили на месте⁶.

Из тех же архивных материалов выясняется, что против двух разбойников были проведены Министерством внутренних дел Первой республики Грузии действенные меры. Я имею ввиду то, что при поддержке того же министерства был создан чрезвычайный отряд, которым командовал коренной житель Горийского района **Николай Бедошвили**. Согласно сохранным фондам Народного комиссариата внутренних дел выясняется, что в результате проведенных разного рода оперативных мероприятий. **Н.Бедошвили, осетинские вооруженные соединения и их командиры (Гурген Гуларашвили, Дианоз Дзахоев, Цициа Дзахоев вынуждены были оставить Грузию и перейти во Владикавказ – Северную Осетию).**

Что же касается восстания осетин в марте 1918 года, оно было финансировано советской Россией, командовал им поручик И.Харегов и руководствовался указаниями С.Шаумяна. Документальными материалами подтверждено, что восставшие осетины 18 марта 1918 года захватили Цхинвали, до основания ограбили живущее там грузинское, еврейское и армянское население. **Пытками убили представителей назначенных на ответственные должности в Цхинвальском регионе Национального Совета Грузии: Гиоргия Мачабели, Сандро Кецховели, Петре Епремидзе, Косту Кадзиева, Котэ Церцвадзе. Взяли в плен 140 красноармейцев. 19 марта от имени «Осетинского, Национального Совета» объявили в Цхинвали советскую власть и назначили в Даба Цхинвали комендантом Кулумбекова.**

О том, как обращались осетинские сепаратисты с борющимися за территориальную целостность Грузии, с попавшими в плен бойцами и ранеными это иллюстрируется в газете «Алиони» Д.-ли (Давид Сулиашвили) подтверждает, напечатанная под псевдонимом корреспонденция – «Внутренняя Картли (отрывки из дневника революционера март 1918 г.). «В штабе узнал– пишет Д.-ли (Давид Сулиашвили)– коварно убиты Г.Мачабели,

С.Кецховели и тела других гвардейцев привезли. Взял разрешение и направился в больницу, где они находились. Когда мне рассказывали, насколько они были изувечены, я не верил, мне казалось это преувеличением. Начальник больницы пошел вместе со мной, подробно описал ранения, но то, что я увидел, это было страшная, жуткая картина. То о чём я слышал было во много раз преумножено. Г.Мачабели был изрешечен пулями в коленях, затем кинжалом исколот по всему телу, потом у виска кончиком кинжала, как будто бы оторван кусок скальпа... Такое обезображенные и дикое изуродование тела. Для меня необъяснимо, как может человек дойти до такой дикости.

С.Кецховели попала в живот пуля с правой стороны, что привело его к смерти. Затем эти звери отрезали ему голову, но не по шее, а вырезали с груди, череп разбит. На лице кроме бороды ничего не видно. Сказали, что его убили и бросили на улице и по нему фаэтоны ездили... Из больницы я вышел оглушенным и растерянным»⁷. Приведенные мной выписки подтверждают чудовищные факты, того что совершенное является наглядным примером дикой фантазии, что превышает формы пыток людей и их изуродование в фашистских концентрационных лагерях. Если мы с неприступной позиции подойдем к указанным фактам и оценим холодным разумом, то на передний план выдвинутся два вопроса: **А)** особую неприязнь осетинских сепаратистов в отношении грузин и **Б)** попытка запугивания грузинского населения внутренней Картли. Грузинскому населению, т.е. противникам «осетинской идеи» явно указывали на то, что в случае оказания ими сопротивления, их ожидает участь Г.Мачабели и С.Кецховели.

Документальным материалом подтверждается, что временно окрыленные осетинские сепаратисты самовольно отделили села Джава, Даба Цхинвали и прилегающие к ним территории Горийского уезда и подчинили их Национальному Совету «Южной Осетии». Этот шаг, означал официальное неподчинение правительству Закавказья и Национальному Совету Грузии, что приравнялось к объявлению начала военных действий.

Что же касается восстанию осетин 1920 года и достойного ответа со стороны грузинского правительства осетинским сепаратистам, этот факт, советская историография представила широкой общественности в отражении кривого зеркала. Правительство независимой Грузии придали анафеме только для того, чтобы оградить грузинское население от ожидаемой от осетин угрозы геноцида, защитить от наказания вышеуказанными пытками и сохранить в то же время территориальную целостность страны. На этом фоне, сознательно оставили открытым самый важный вопрос: в случае победы осетинами, в каком положении оказалась бы в целом Грузия и конкретно, Шида Картли с грузинским населением. Тем более, что в составленном ревкомом «Южной Осетии» документе, цели и задачи осетинских сепаратистов проявились в очень точной форме. С этой стороны, особое внимание заслуживает «Краткая объяснительная записка» прикрепленная к постановлению принятому 6- 8 сентября 1921 года на совместном заседании ревкома и парткома «Южной Осетии». В ней признано, что в октябре 1919 года осетины постоянно ставили вопрос о политическом самоопределении «Южной Осетии» и о присоединении к Терской республике. В присланном 12 мая 1921 года докладе ревкома «Южной Осетии» ревкому Грузии читаем: «Летом 1920 года... часть нищего населения Южной Осетии подняли знамя революционного восстания под лозунгом: «Да здравствует советская власть в Грузии, долой буржуазно – меньшевистскую тиранию»⁸. В советский и последующий периоды осетинская и русская историография оставили без ответа: 1) вышеуказанные стремления, насколько они входили в правовые рамки; 2) обязаны ли

были защищать интересы Грузинского государства осетины, граждане Грузии наравне с грузинской нацией; 3) на фоне оправдания осетинского, антигосударственного восстания, та же самая советская власть в 1924 года не дала права экономического округа жителям северной Осетии. Официально подтверждено, что на своей исторической родине – северной Осетии, в составе Федеративной Республики России осетины, создали автономный округ лишь в 1924 году. В 1936 году этому округу присвоили статус автономной республики; 4) в покоренной русским царём в XIX веке Чечне, та же самая власть России, в 90-х годах XX века, почему то не разрешила независимость и с этой целью совершила геноцид этой нации. Тем более, в отличие от Чечни, Шида Картли спокон веков была неотделимой исторической частью Грузии и здесь в виде переселенцев, поселенные и укоренившиеся осетины, как граждане Грузии обязаны были стать на службу строению независимой Грузии, быть в борьбе с внешними врагами - быть рядом с грузинскими мужчинами в битве против османских завоевателей, пролить долю своей крови. Но таких шагов со стороны осетин в 1917- 1921 годы история не помнит. Они жили на территории Грузии жизнью паразитов. Всё вышесказанное и основательный анализ имеющегося у меня архивного материала даёт возможность заявить следующее: Сделанные выводы власти Первой независимой республики Грузии современными осетинскими историками в отношении восстаний осетин, такие же ложные и алогичные, как и оценки грузинских и осетинских историков советского периода. Подтверждением этого являются следующие факты: по мнению А.Сургуладзе, что проведенные властью независимой Грузии против восставших осетин мероприятия «был страшный погром всей Осетии», «огню и мечу отдали все села»⁹, учинили «страшное наказание рабочих Осетии», «затушили восстание в крови», «огнём и мечом взяли села Осетии»¹⁰ В.Джанджгава защищает аналогичное мнение¹¹. Авторы создают такой фон, как будто в Грузии правда существовала «Осетия» и власть независимой Грузии наказало несуществующей в природе «Осетии» её население. Они одним словом даже не упоминают устроенные осетинами очаги восстаний, представляет неотделимую часть территории Грузии и проживающее на этой территории этническое меньшинство, требующее отделения, что не отвечает никаким правовым нормам. С точки зрения фальсификации истории еще дальше пошёл осетинский историк Вл.Абаев. По его утверждению «в результате меньшевистского зверства произошло разрушение экономической основы хозяйства Южной Осетии, страна потеряла основные условия своего последующего существования- территорию, дома с усадьбами, пережила неисчислимые мучения»¹². На основании этой выписки, несуществующая «Южная Осетия» (разговор о 1920 г.) провозглашена отдельной страной, экономика которой разрушена, якобы в результате зверского разгрома меньшевиками. В этом случае он повторяет слово в слово приведенные в представленном докладе 12 мая 1921 года председателем ревкома А.Джатиевым умозаключения Ревкому Грузии. В связи с интересующим нас вопросом читаем в документе, составленном по заказу А.Джатиева: «осетинское» Пятое по счету восстание было раздавлено с невероятной жестокостью, классовый враг трудящихся огнем и мечом прошёл по восставшему району, истребляя население не разбирая ни пола, ни возраста.

Цветущая страна в размере восьми сельских общин, с количеством населения в сорок тысяч душ жителей (около 4000 дворов) веками взлелеянная упорным трудом трудящейся бедноты превратилась в одни развалины. Потери и затраты причиненные воинствующей «ратью» Жордания ещё пока не приведены в известность. Цифры, которые будут приводиться -

приблизительны. Около 2500 домов и всяких хозяйственных построек совершенно уничтожены огнем со всем домашним скарбом»¹³. Со всей ответственностью заявляю, что приведенные в указанном тексте цифровые данные не подтверждаются никакими заключениями комиссий (1921-1922 г.) созданными в период советской власти по осетинскому вопросу. Особая тенденциозность А. Джатиева и правда кривого зеркала выражает его максимальную попытку, усилило его желание объявить северную часть Горийского уезда (горная зона Шида Картли) чужой страной. Что касается председателя правительства Грузии и подчиненных ему учреждениях («компаниях») попытался для его дискредитации использовать следующие формуляры «классовый враг трудящихся» и «приспешник захватчиков цветущих иностранных стран».

Этот создатель фальсификаций - председатель ревкома «Южной Осетии» сознательно обошел значительные факты: правительство Первой республики Грузии и её председатель Н.Жордания, который был избран учредительным собранием; б) учредительное собрание выражало волю большинства трудового народа всей Грузии – в том числе осетин (Г.Гаглоев, К.Паниев и А.Парниев на собрании согласно списку социал-демократической партии были избраны депутатами); с точки зрения международного права, правительство Грузии и его председатель имели полную легитимацию и могли для восстановления порядка в Горийском уезде и для защиты интересов грузинского трудящегося населения в Шида Картли провести соответствующие мероприятия против восставших осетин.

Что же касается приведенных в этом же документе высказываниях, с огнём и мечом, пришедший классовый враг трудящихся, уничтожал местное население без разбора возраста и пола». Это заявление политического характера А. Джатиева было рассчитано на политическую конъюктуру этого периода. Оно содержит поверхностное, не обоснованное документальным материалом обвинение, и что самое главное представляет полную ложь. Тем более, что в материалах заседаний за 1921-1925 годы (доклады, стенографические отчеты, протоколы) ревкома «Южной Осетии», окружного комитета партии «Южной Осетии», окружного исполнительного комитета «Южной Осетии» и его президиума, не названы конкретные цифры в связи с вышеуказанным. То же самое можно сказать и о телеграммах от 18 июня и 8 июля 1920 года окружного комитета «Южной Осетии» РКП (б).

Несмотря на это, тем же А. Джатиевом в вышеуказанном докладе приведены непроверенные данные, принятые некоторыми грузинскими и осетинскими историками за истину. В глазах общества дискредитация власти Первой республики Грузии, с целью возникновения ненависти к ней у национального меньшинства к вышеуказанным цифровым данным А. Джатиев, прибавил придуманные более тяжелые факты и попытался их укоренить в научной литературе. В таких формах приложил целенаправленно фальсифицированные, выдуманные и придуманные в 20-х годах факты в 2006 году в октябре, в принятой парламентом «Южной Осетии» декларацию внес вопрос – о геноциде осетинского народа в 1918 -1920 годах. Особой рекламой этого документа выделялась выходящая в «Южной Осетии» газета «Республика». Я имею ввиду напечатанную в этой же газете в 2011 году вышеуказанную публикацию Л. Джигоева. В ней, обвиняется власть Первой республики Грузии в проведении широкомасштабного «геноцида» осетин, без всяких подтверждений и архивных материалов. **По заявлению Л. Джигоева, власть независимой Грузии в 1920 году якобы истребила 5279 осетин из них 1375 женщин и 1844 ребёнка (каждый третий)¹⁴. Такое тяжёлое обвинение, предъявленное грузинской нации не было подтверждено не одним**

заклЮчением комиссий созданных для изучения (1921-1922 годах) явлений 1920 года советской властью Грузии в 1920 году. Если бы, правда, такие факты имели бы место, в заключение комиссий обязательно первым делом всё было бы отражено. С другой стороны, два лоббиста осетинских сепаратистов, высокие чины советского правительства, Кавбюро и его руководитель С.Орджоникидзе, вперед выдвинул бы такие факты, взмахнул знаменем и с успехом использовал их против правительства независимой Грузии. Исходя из изучения архивных материалов, можно с успехом утверждать то, что после окончания работы вышеуказанных комиссий власть советской Грузии и высокие чины Кавбюро не сделали не только простых замечаний и вообще какое либо заявления об истреблении осетин в 1920 году независимым правительством Грузии. Этот факт говорит о том, что в связи с этим вопросом советская власть Грузии и Кавбюро не имели документального подтверждения. Всё это дает основание заявить что со стороны власти независимой Грузии истребление 5279 осетинских женщин и детей, было подстроено по заказу осетинских большевистских высоких чинов, с целью дискредитации на идеологическом фронте правительства Первой республики Грузии. Указанное обвинение прекрасно используют осетинские сепаратисты в сегодняшней политической конъюнктуре, и с целью принижения репутации грузинской нации, вопрос перенесен в международные организации. С их стороны информационная деятельность достигла определенных результатов. Имею ввиду необоснованное заявление французского посла Эрика Фурнье в журнале «Тбилиселеби» за 23 мая 2011 года в данном журналистом Н.Хачидзе интервью: «Должны потребовать объяснения у меньшевистской республики 1921 года истребившего осетинское население (4000 погибших, 25000 беженцев)»¹⁵. Надо подчеркнуть, что в ответе выраженном одним предложением несколько неточностей: 1) в 1918- 1921 годах независимое Грузинское государство было известно никак «меньшевистская республика», а под названием Демократической республики и это факт, подтвержден официальными документами полученными в тот период на Европейских международных форумах; 2) в Грузии никогда не существовала Осетия и не может существовать. Осетия только в границах РСФР на северном Кавказа; 3) в 1921 году Первая демократическая республика Грузии просуществовала всего 56 дней. Она с 11 февраля отражала нападения советских вооруженных сил. Исходя из этого, власти демократической республики Грузии, было правда, не до осетин Шида Картли. Наоборот, документальными материалами подтверждается, что параллельно с боевыми действиями XI армии, вооруженные осетинские отряды с севера вломились в Шида Картли, начались погромы грузинского населения и его массовое изгнание из собственных домов. Остановил внимание на этом вопросе для того, чтобы показать читателю на каком высоком уровне работает осетинская сепаратистская пропаганда, которая снабжает ложной информацией послов иностранных стран. Осетинские политики и историки прекрасно учуяли инертность грузин. Имею ввиду, грузин, изнемогающих от летаргии, их опередили и на идеологическом фронте, для осетин создавалась успешная позиция. **В то время, когда в Шида Картли по отношению грузинского населения в 1918-1925 годах были совершены осетинами варварские действия– этническая чистка, преступления на уровне геноцида (целенаправленное истребление женщин и детей, десятки сожженных в сараях мужчин, изнасилование несовершеннолетних девочек (8-летних), изгнание из собственных домов грузинского населения и т.д.)**¹⁶, подтверждено подлинным архивным материалом. Имею в виду, доклады и заключения вышеуказанных комиссий, созданных народным комиссариатом

внутренних дел советской Грузии. С целью сокрытия указанных преступлений, аналогичные обвинения осетины распространили против грузинской нации. Они этим постарались создать себе имидж на международной арене «безгрешных» и грузинами «притесненной нации». Сочиненные осетинскими сепаратистами и преувеличенные клеветой вышеуказанного материала тенденциозного характера на грузинскую нацию принимать без всех критериев воззрений и повторять, как попугай, это ли не безответственность тех исследователей, наоборот должны были попытаться замять и оценить содеянные в отношении грузинской нации преступления. Надо подчеркнуть, что тот же Вл. Абаев обходит вроде А.Джатиева ничего не говорит о том, что им объявленная «Южной Осетией» Шида Картли, неотделимая часть Грузии и вышеуказанные восстания осетин 1918, 1919, 1920 годов, какой непоправимый урон нанесли они экономике и бюджету независимой Грузии. Они скрывают от общества правду о том, что вследствие натиска военных действий грузинской армии и гвардии проходили на обратном пути, только через сельские общины Рока, Джава – Цхинвал т.е. движения восставших вооруженных осетин. Что касается территорий других сельских общин, в их пределах значительных военных действий не было. В адрес независимой грузинской власти, осетинскими большевиками, партийными работниками и историками в прошлом веке, подготовлено вышеуказанное абсурдное заключение, которое и сейчас повторяют без подтверждения архивными документами осетинские историки, имеющие сепаратистское мировоззрение.

На этом фоне осетинская историография XX и XXI века влияла и влияет на покоренных восставших осетин и их соратников (20 тысяч) и афиширует причины оставления территории Грузии. Сознательно обходят заключение, подготовленное на основании собранного фактического материала Чрезвычайной комиссией при Народном комиссариате внутренних дел советской Грузии. В документе чёрным по белому указано: 1) власть независимой Грузии простила осетинам восстания устроенные в 1918, 1919 годах; 2) в 1920 году не части грузинской армии сжигали дома восставших и побежденных осетин, а они сами поджигали, чтоб дома не достались грузинам. В связи с указанным в этом же документе читаем: **«Осетинам простили не только восстание 1918 года но и смерть местных меньшевистских лидеров С.Кецховели и Г.Мачабели. Никакого насилия в отношении них не было. Только при повторном, 1920 году восстании, приняты были жесткие меры в отношении осетин. В Тбилиси властям пришло сообщение, что войска жгут дома. Власти запросили причины поджога домов. Командование войсками ответило: Осетия горное место, связи между разными частями войск не существует и для того чтобы одна часть узнала, где находится вторая, нужно зажечь огонь. Для того чтобы узнать месторасположение части, для этого на окраине села поджигали старое или давно оставленное без хозяина строение или лачугу, и то всего лишь одно в каждом селе. Сами же осетины, прежде чем оставить жилище, поджигали его»**¹⁷. Если бы, на самом деле, целью частей грузинского войска являлось массовое сожжение домов осетин, тогда бы они сожгли и сравняли с землёй село Джава – очаг четырехкратного восстания осетин. В результате проведенных на высоком уровне военных операций, село Джава, так как осетины не успели его сжечь, части грузинского войска не дотронулись до жилых домов. Подтверждением этому является заключительная часть представленного доклада в 1921 года ревкому народным комиссариатом внутренних дел советской Грузии. **«В селе Джава, - читаем в документе - в полученных Народным комиссариатом внутренних дел подлинных фактах нет ни**

одного разрушенного и подожженного дома»¹⁸.

Лично я далек от той мысли, что в результате проведенных боевых операций в том или другом селе, поджог жилых домов, имел место, я отрицаю их разрушение, но сваливать вину преступных действий осетин на грузинские войска считаю кощунством. Тем более, приведенные мною факты подтверждены Народным комиссариатом внутренних дел Грузии. На сегодняшний день, представляется обязательным, в связи с создавшимися необоснованными в 1921 году обвинениями должна быть проведена переоценка на основании документальных материалов. Тем более, что дискредитация независимой грузинской власти и фетишизм осетинских сепаратистов историографией советского периода, происходили на протяжении 70 лет на основе фальсификации истории. Неизмеримую часть в это дело внес один из защитников осетинских сепаратистов и советской идеологии Ф. Махарадзе, но он ни одного слова не проронил о том, что вооруженные осетины этапным порядком ущемляли проживающих в Алагири грузин, затем осуществили этническую чистку и геноцид. В связи с этим фактом в официальном послании, высланном на имя министра иностранных дел Грузии Е.Гегечкори уполномоченным Ахалшени, о алагирских грузинах, поставлены три вопроса; 1) Поручить Грузинской власти для изучения тяжёлого положения грузин живущих на северном Кавказе направить туда ответственного представителя; 2) установить материальный и физический ущерб, который нанесли живущим в Алагири грузинам нападения вооруженных осетин. Насколько могла власть Грузии удовлетворить указанную просьбу, подтверждающее этот документ я пока не нашел. В этом случае надо предусмотреть два фактора: 1) военные действия между Деникиным и советской властью России на Северном Кавказе и 2) возможности правительства Первой республики Грузии, на сколько она смогла бы защитить на том этапе интересы грузин проживающих на территории чужой страны. Исходя из создавших анархических процессов в России и в том числе на Северном Кавказе, невозможно было упорядочить эти проблемы дипломатическим путем. Единственным выходом было только оказание помощи беженцам достичь границ Грузии. С этой стороны тогдашняя власть Грузии проявила особое внимание. Подтверждением этому стало посланное официальное письмо министру иностранных дел Е.Гегечкори министром внутренних дел Н.Рамишвили. «Из Казбеги -читаем в документе-начинает в телеграмме полковник Церетели, что во время поражения большевиков в Алагири, осетины разоряли грузин, сожгли дома, похитили добро и провиант. Рассыпались 500 грузинских семей и только 60 дворов достигли Владикавказа, но и там не нашли покоя, город окружили осетины и казаки. Во Владикавказе грузины попали в страшное положение... Я поручил телеграммой полковнику Церетели, чтобы принял срочные мероприятия и создал условия по возвращению беженцев в Грузию. Вас только прошу, дать нужное распоряжение и оказать срочно беженцам материальную помощь». Как подтверждается архивными материалами, что к бежавшим из Алагири и прибывшим во Владикавказ грузинам присоединились проживавшие в городе грузины. Об этом читаем в протокольных записках чрезвычайного заседания Грузинского правительства от 11 февраля 1919 года: «Выслушали: Полковника Церетели начальника отряда Военно-грузинской дороги справку о том, что после взятия добровольцами Владикавказа, у границ Грузии собрались около 600 человек состоящих из грузинских беженцев и политических изгнанников, которые просили у правительства Грузии разрешения войти за пределы республики. Постановили: Передать полковнику Церетели следующее: власть Грузии согласна с тем, чтобы впустить на свою территорию

грузинских беженцев, политическим изгнанникам дать убежище, как это положено международным правом. Если у них обнаружится военный материал и др. государственное имущество... Все это на границе изымается с подтверждением при законных свидетелях и составлением положенного акта. А сами беженцы под караулом должны быть доставлены в Тбилиси, где будет установлена их личность. Ознакомить английскую миссию с этим решением».

Правда, в этом документе о прибытии из Алагира 60 дворов, и присоединении к ним этнических грузин Владикавказ, изгнанников по политическим мотивациям (600 человек) и разговор о их возвращении в Грузию, без внимания не должно остаться: а) и в Осетии грузин преследовали по политическим признакам и б) вышеуказанные 60 грузинских дворов, представляли одну малую ветвь преследуемых грузин из Алагири.

Документальным материалом доказано, что грузины, живущие в Алагири, не встали на путь сепаратизма, не начали грабеж осетинского населения, не подняли оружие против осетин и не потребовали территориального присоединения к Грузии. Несмотря на это неприязнь к грузинам, присваивание их имущества и желание выгнать с осетинской земли массово, всех грузин было у осетин огромное, что и произошло 11 января 1919 года в морозные зимние дни, ночью осетины в Алагири начали кровавую бойню мирно живущих грузин, их этночистку и геноцид устроили (пожилых и детей живьем сжигали, насиловали женщин, разрезали животы беременным женщинам...) Эта была со стороны осетин демонстрация биологической ненависти по отношению к грузинам. В отношении этого позорного факта советская историографии прятала правду в течение десятков лет и трагедию алагирских грузин освещала не с научной позиции, а с увиденной в искривленном зеркале. Указанному вопросу чрезвычайное исследование посвятил историк С.Рехвиашвили. На основании напечатанной обширной публикации в 1989 году основанной на богатейшем документальном материале «Трагедия алагирских грузин»¹⁹, он ознакомил читающее общество с чудовищной объективной картиной, которую устроили в январе 1919 года осетины в отношении грузин. Вследствие осетинских варварских действий, в живых осталось 500 алагирских грузинских семей (2700 человек), которые оставили личным грузом заработанное имущество и в зимнюю, морозную ночь 1919 года начали вынужденный поэтапный переход с северного Кавказа в Грузию. В связи с этим фактом С.Рехвиашвили целиком и полностью правдиво пишет: «Трагедия алагирских грузин, была заранее подготовленной и обдуманной акцией, целью которой было уничтожение грузин в Алагири, изгнанные из собственных жилищ и преследуемые, их имущества и дома присвоили осетины, в этой ситуации С.Орджоникидзе, С.Гегечкори и их сообщники пропустили всё мимо ушей, и у осетин создались удобные условия для выполнения замысла».

Это заключение соответствует подлинной истине, так как благодаря тем же большевикам целенаправленно осуществлялась полная депортация, гонения грузин с северного Кавказа. Подтверждением этого являются существующие показатели о созванной проживающими на северном Кавказе грузинами конференции в Армавире 5 августа 1920 года. Как выясняется, на конференции присутствовали: избранные грузинами депутаты из Сочи, Туапсе, Новороссийска, Екатеринодара, Романовского хутора, Ставрополя, Майкопа, Армавира, которые представляли на конференции 20 тысяч грузин депутатским мандатом. На конференции было отмечено, что советская власть не дала 5000 грузинским семьям

права представления делегатов. Их представители до конца конференции сознательно были задержаны. В принятой резолюции было ясно указано: « Советская власть на северном Кавказе не считается с договором заключенным между Россией и Грузией. Грузинские граждане испытывают ущемление со стороны большевиков». Исходя, из выше указанного поручить избранной конференцией делегации поставить перед властью Грузии принципиальный вопрос: 1) подготовить нужные условия для возвращения грузин с северного Кавказа на Родину и 2) срочно назначить посла Грузии на Северном Кавказе.

Вышеуказанный факт искусственно созданных невозможных условий для живущих на северном Кавказе грузин, оставляет впечатление создания подготовительных ступеней в регионе грузинской этнической чистки. Нужно оценить одну из составляющей части преднамеренного политического курса советской власти северного Кавказа. **Тем более, из-за проведенной в январе 1919 года геноцида и этнической чистки грузин, советская власть не провела карательных мероприятий по отношению виновных.** Случившийся факт не восприняли, как ненависть к грузинам и как действия, вытекающие из обусловленного осетинского шовинизма, сознательно перевели в гражданскую войну и объявили проявлением контрреволюции. Этим советская власть хотела сознательно закрыть глаза на совершенные осетинами преступления и вообще замять дело. В государственный ранг возведенный политический курс ненаказуемости давал осетинским сепаратистам в течение целых 70 лет возможность фальсификации истины. Отличным примером этому является, жалоба направленная 10 мая 1983 года на имя генерального секретаря ЦК СССР В.И. Андропова. Приведенные в этом документе фальсифицированные факты подтверждение отзвука, со стороны тех мыслящих осетинских историков-сепаратистов по своему мировоззрению, что их устроит самовольно переделанный текст депеши, направленной В. Лениным Владикавказскому Ревкому 18 декабря 1920 года²⁰. Этот документ, современные осетинские историки объявили изданным В.И. Лениным распоряжением и осетинские, т.е. в «VII геноциде» представлено под следующей формулировкой читающей общественности: «Беженцам из Южной Осетии по распоряжению В.И. Ленина в северо-восточной части г. Владикавказа выделили земельные участки и постепенно начали строить дома». На самом деле, вышеуказанная депеша В.И. Ленина касалась не осетинских беженцев, а грузинского населения бежавшего от осетин из Алагир в 1919 году. Для подтверждения приведем, полный текст из этого документа и сам читатель рассудит уровень честности осетинских историков. «Телеграмма Владикавказскому Ревкому. Владикавказ, Ревком. Копия члену реввоенсовета Кавфронта Орджоникидзе. По полученным в Совнарком сведениям, беженцы гражданской войны, бежавшие от контрреволюционных банд в **1919 г. селения Алагир в количестве**, свыше 300 семей, находятся в станице Ардонской и в городе Владикавказе в чрезвычайно бедственном положении. Несмотря на все наши хлопоты, беженцы до сих пор не могут добиться возвращения в родные места или помощи по переезду и устройству на новых местах. Срочно удовлетворите законные требования беженцев и укажите им действительную помощь по устройству на постоянное жительство. Написано 18 декабря 1920 г. Предсовнаркома Ленин»²¹. Любой здравомыслящий читатель согласится со мной, что в этой депеше разговор идет не об осетинах покинувших «Южную Осетию» в 1920 году, а о грузинах оставшихся в живых после трагедии случившейся в Алагир и в том же году прибывших во Владикавказ всего лишь 300 семей бежавших. К моменту

написания этой депеши, осетинами депортированные грузинские семьи в основном перешли в Грузию, и заботиться о них было поручено соответствующему отделу Министерства внутренних дел Грузии. Документально подтверждено, для спасения изгнанных из Алагери грузинских семей и для их постоянного жилья, власть Первой республики Грузии выделила в Лагодехском районе площадь в 700 гектаров земли и что самое главное, на том этапе из существующего малого бюджета для них выделила максимальную помощь.

Что же касается вышеуказанного восстания осетин 1920 года, основательное изучение и его анализ подтвердил, что действия с их участием не входят в рамки разбоя, а несут в себе элементы объявления войны против власти Грузии. Тем более восстания осетин 1918, 1919, 1920 годов были финансированы советской Россией (на осетинское восстание 1920 года было выдано 40 миллионов по курсу золота) и управлялось высокими чинами этой же страны. Если рассматривать вопрос в этом формате получается, что устроенное восстание осетин 1920 года для подавления власти Грузии, со стороны России представляло завуалированное объявление войны Грузии. Цель была в том, чтобы втянуть Грузию в гражданскую войну и осуществить ее советизацию в легкой форме. На этом фоне наказание виновных осетин, представляло собой для советской России четким уяснением.

В связи со случившимся фактом 21 сентября 1920 года состоявшееся совещание социал-демократов в Тбилиси специально обсудило события 1920 года. Согласно принятой резолюции параллельно с выдвинутыми на первый план фактами, указанное восстание должно было быть осуждено самими осетинами. По этой же резолюции, участники совещания высказывали надежду, что власть примет энергичные меры против преступников, уделит внимание состоянию осетин горной зоны Шида Картли и ликвидация восстания безболезненно окончится.

Архивными материалами подтверждается, что руководящие круги Грузинского государства не собирались мстить, если только сами осетины не создадут для этого реальные условия. Со стороны власти в этом направлении первый практический шаг был сделан 28 июля 1920 года. Я имею ввиду факты прибытия в Цхинвали и Гори министра внутренних дел Грузии Н.Рамишвили, директора канцелярии П.Кекелашвили, и инспектора администрации республики Ив.Карцивадзе. Согласно существующим документальным материалам прибывший в Цхинвали Н.Рамишвили издал особое распоряжение о том, что все лица независимо от их нации, объявить борьбу любому проявлению насилия, беззакония и виновные не выполнившие этот приказ будут жестоко наказаны. За подписью того же Н.Рамишвили был разослан особый циркуляр-распоряжение уездным земствам и начальникам милиций, где было подчеркнуто об обязательной защите невинных осетинских граждан²². Несмотря на такую позицию, это не значить, что власть Грузии в будущем намеревается пойти на какой либо компромисс в отношении осетин. Эта неприступная позиция власти основывалась на интересах государства и на том этапе полностью была оправдана. Что касается осетинского населения, если у них есть желание жить в Грузии, то в таком случае первым долгом, должны встать на службу грузинскому государству, выполнять работу отвечающие его интересам, а не советской России. В противном случае осетинам, правда, на грузинской земле нет места. Отношение Грузинской власти к осетинам можно оценить только с этой позиции.

Исходя из анализа вышеуказанных мною фактов, со всей ответственностью заявляю, что

вышеуказанное обвинение, сделанное осетинскими сепаратистами не подтвержденные и фальсифицированные, как снежный ком, заранее нацеленный, и носит клеветнический характер, впитал в себя элементы попытки дискредитации грузинской нации на международной арене.

В том случае, когда ставится вопрос о геноциде, мы не должны забывать, что с помощью советской России, 11 января 1919 года осетины правда совершили этническую чистку и геноцид невинных грузин в Алагири. Что же касается, осетин получивших убежище одно время в Грузии и статус переселенцев, благодаря помогавшим им тех же высоких чиновников советской России, их наглость поднялась на тот уровень, по отношению коренного населения северной части горной зоны Шида Картли, что ими в 1921- 1925 годах совершенны были действия, фактически этническая чистка и геноцид, которые заслуживают оценку преступной квалификации.

* * *

Осетинскими сепаратистами и со стороны их защитников на интернет - сайте были помещены публикации о вине грузин и всякого рода грязь. С внешней стороны они создали такой идеологический фон, что якобы живущие в Шида Картли осетины « не наступали ногой на блох» и против грузин аборигенов внутренней Картли никаких шагов беспокойства не совершали. Что касается грузин, то они не применяли разные формы ущемления «безупречного» осетинского населения. Широкомасштабная пропаганда, основанная на фальши, подлоге, рассчитаны для отвода глаз определенной группой осетинской интеллигенцией для отвода глаз международной общественности. С другой стороны, оно рассчитано на свержение независимого Грузинского государства и его советизацию, оправдание устроенных в 1918, 1919, 1920 годах осетинами восстаний, и самое главное они были завуалированы под маской «национально-освободительного» движения. В этом направлении плодородная почва была подготовлена ещё в 20-х годах XX века грузинскими и осетинскими большевиками, и подготовлен представителями историографии советского периода, в направлении оценки указанных фактов первый смелый шаг фальсификации был сделан Ф.Махарадзе. Я имею в виду напечатанную им в газете «Комунисти» за 13 июня 1920 года статью – «Чтобы все знали (из за восстания в Южной Осетии)». По « утверждению» Ф.Махарадзе восстание осетин 1920 года представляло собой борьбу «национального самоопределения»²³ С учетом интересов высших государственных эшелонов советской России это ошибочное и вредное мнение для Грузинского государства, осетинские большевики основательно ухватились и оценку восстания осетин 1920 года сделали его программным указанием. Ярким примером этому является «Малая толковая карточка» прикрепленная к совместному постановлению Ревкома и Парткома «Южной Осетии» от 6-8 сентября 1921 года. Во второй части этого документа «История революционной борьбы Юго-Осетинской бедноты», упомянуты восстания 1918- 1920 годов, как движения самоопределения²⁴. С этим не подтвержденным и ошибочным мнением представители советской историографии – У.Бахтадзе²⁵, Г.Тогошвили²⁶ и другие не согласились, а наоборот представили в формах фетишизма читающей общественности. Имею в виду восстания осетин, которые явились фактом справедливой борьбы и с их стороны, направленные против национального угнетения и национального самоопределения.

Несмотря на политическую и не подтвержденную оценку представителей советской исто-

риографии, осетинские историки XXI-го века посчитали вопрос решенным и вышеуказанным осетинским восстаниям безапелляционно поставили диагноз движения «национального самоопределения». С этой стороны особенно выделяется Л.Джигоев он указывает, подчеркнуто: «Поэтому события 1920 года фактически стали очередным этапом национально-освободительного движения»²⁷. Трудно поверить, что освобожденные от давления марксистско-ленинской идеологии в XXI веке осетинские историки Л.Джигоев и его сторонники не заглядывали в многотомник энциклопедии изданной русскими учеными, где чёрным по белому указано, что «национально- освободительное движение имеет целью уничтожение господства иностранного государства и завоевание национальной независимости, национально-колониального угнетения и ликвидации эксплуатации». По этому принципу если мы рассмотрим осетинский вопрос, тогда можно считать народно-освободительным движением, восстание устроенное осетинами северного Кавказа против советской России. Что же касается восстания осетин в 1920 году устроенного для свержения власти Первой республики Грузии, если представители осетинской интеллигенции считают его народно - освободительным, пусть тогда докажут, что уровень Дона и Волги с середины рукава и с помощью русских будет течь в гору, пришельцы – осетины в Грузию а) представляют аборигенное население территории Грузии (Шида Картли); б) или же, что грузины позже поселены на этой территории, или же что эта территория была покорена путем применения силы. В том случае если осетинские историки пойдут на такой подлог и смогут оба вопроса решить с помощью соответствующих доказательств с пользой для себя, тогда предложенное Л.Джигоевым и его единомышленниками формулировка – восстание осетин 1920 года было новым этапом народно-освободительного движения, будет полностью «оправдано». В противном случае, они должны признать азбучную истину, что восстания устроенные на территории Грузии переселенным этническим меньшинством, было направленно свержением Национального государства Грузии и против государственных интересов аборигенного населения этой территории. Если оценить с позиции международного права вооруженные выступления осетин в 1918, 1919 и 1920 годах финансируемые соседним государством, оно садится в рамки сепаратистского движения. Если осетинские историки не согласятся со мной, тогда пусть дадут ответ на вопрос; А) интересно, если бы аналогичное восстание устроили переселенные осетины в Канаде или Бразилии, какую бы квалификацию дали случившемуся факту они; Б) если бы власти Канады и Бразилии выразили свое строжайшее отношение осетинским антигосударственным восстаниям, каким критерием руководствовались бы высокие начальники власти Канады и Бразилии при оценке их действий.

С целью и для дискредитации грузин и для того чтобы убедить широкую общественность в правдивости придуманной клеветы, осетинские историки обратились к «научной хитрости». Я имею в виду, подтверждение грузинских историков фальсифицированных фактов. В этом случае они прямо говорят обществу; «мы не причём, об этом пишут сами грузинские историки» и ссылаются на известного фальсификатора истории Г.Хачапуридзе. В связи с этим автор статьи осетинский «VII геноцид» пишет: «Вот что пишет об этой страшной трагедии В.Г.Хачапуридзе в своей книге « Восстание осетин в 1920 году «здесь допущены два подлога: 1) имя и отчество Г.Хачапуридзе указанные инициалы переставлены. Должно быть Г.В.Хачапуридзе. 2) что же касается книги того же Г.Хачапуридзе – «Восстание осетин 1920 года», это книга в библиотеках Грузии не найдена. Физический факт её существования не

подтверждается в библиографии трудов Г.Хачапуридзе напечатанных в 1980 году Академией наук Грузии²⁸.

Буду очень обязан осетинским историкам, если они вышлют мне ксерокопию указанной книги. Такая книга Г.Хачапуридзе, правда была написана, в виде других трудов в его монографии - «Борьба грузинского народа за установление советской власти» четвертое издание ссылается на тот лист, где рассказывает о восстании осетин 1920 года. Внимания заслуживает тот факт, что такой фальшивый факт осетинским историкам понадобился замаскировать неподтвержденными научными данными. С целью идеологического давления на читающее общество, автор статьи «VII геноцид» приводит в виде цитаты выписку из несуществующей книги Г.Хачапуридзе о количестве убитых осетин – из «Восстания осетин 1920 года» приводит». Специальная комиссия обследовала последствия карательной экспедиции в Южной Осетии после советизации Грузии, она установила, что в 1920 году здесь было убито 5279 человек. Было сожжено 1588 жилых домов и 2639 хозяйственных построек. Угнано 32400 голов крупного скота (80,36% и 74485 голов мелкого рогатого скота (82,3%). Материалы комиссии хранятся в музее революции в Тбилиси». Эта цитата, из напечатанной книги в 1936 году Г.Хачапуридзе – «Борьба за пролетарскую революцию в Грузии» из специальной главы – «Борьба меньшевиков против национальных меньшинств» должно быть взята, так как текст автора статьи «VII осетинский геноцид» и указанная книга совпадают²⁹. Надо особенно обратить внимание на то, чтобы ввести читателей в заблуждение в этом труде Г.Хачапуридзе создает такой фон, якобы созданной в 1924 году комиссии из правительства советской Грузии, поручено было изучение явлений связанных только с восстанием осетин 1920 года. На самом деле комиссии по полученному заказу- немцами, англичанами и представителями США, было поручено собрать документы, отображающие сделанную работу их представителями в Грузии. Одним из последних вопросов этих широкомасштабных мероприятий, был сбор соответствующих материалов об осетинах. В случае успешного осуществления и обнаружения необходимых документов, соответствующие учреждения предполагали их использовать с целью дискредитации эмигрантского правительства Первой республики Грузии.

Надо подчеркнуть, что в вышеуказанном труде Г.Хачапуридзе фальсификация фактов на сверх превосходном уровне подлога, в 40-х годах XX века вызвало раздражение высоких чинов советской власти и обусловила жесткую критику его монографии на страницах всесоюзной прессы. Исходя из предусмотренного факта, для следующего издания этого же труда (название немного изменено) автор основной текст основательно переработал и максимум фальсификации истины, довел до минимума. Я имею ввиду IV издание этого труда за 1957 год- «Борьба грузинского народа за установление советской власти». В сравнении с выше означенным, здесь имеем дело с данными разного количества. «После победы советской власти в Грузии – пишет Г.Хачапуридзе – была создана специальная комиссия, которая разъяснила результаты гражданской войны в Южной Осетии. Здесь были убиты 4812 мужчин, женщин и детей. Сожжено и приведены в негодность 1268 строения, в большом количестве угнан большой рогатый и мелкий скот, уничтожен был весь урожай 1920 года на 23657 десятин. По приблизительным подсчетам принесенный ущерб составлял 3317506 рублей золотом»³⁰. Наблюдательный читатель хорошо заметит разницу между приведенными автором в статье «VII геноцид осетин» и новым изданием книги Г.Хачапуридзе с количественными данными (5279 - 4812= 467) хорошо заметит. Это значит, что в отношении

этого вопроса точной цифры нет и она становится предметом манипуляции и самовольного исправления того или иного фальсификатора. Если это не так, тогда в 1957 изданный в вышеозначенной книге Г.Хачапуридзе не ссылается на архив того фонда, где им приведенные данные были бы подтверждены материалами собранными комиссией? В этом случае он обязан был: а) назвать название документа и его составителя; б) конкретно указать фонд архива, опись, дело и тот лист, откуда он взял вышеуказанные данные. Тем более, что в напечатанной книге, в 1936 году по сделанным замечаниям для читателей «убеждал», что *ყაბერ ÷აí èà òàèí ā ðí àà òðàí èòñý â ôî í í ää ì óçäý Ðääí èр öèè*³¹. С целью сокрытия подлога, насколько Г. Хачапуридзе воздержался от выполнения той очень обязательной и важнейшей работы, эту процедуру должен был повести автор статьи «VII геноцид». С целью обмана читателя и маскирования истины, он пошел по легкому пути, сослался на известного фальсификатора истории. В отношении осетинского «Геноцида» приведенные Г.Хачапуридзе количественные данные подтверждающего их документы, как видно не фигурируют в материалах вышеуказанной комиссии, с целью сохранения придуманной фальши и её сокрытия, он вынужден был избрать особую форму манипулирования и сохранил фальсификацию устраивающую советскую власть, Имею ввиду, его книгу - «Борьба грузинского народа за установление советской власти» 1957 года издания. В отношении интересующего нас вопроса, в этом труде, для того чтобы убедить читателя в правильности ложных количественных данных Г.Хачапуридзе выбрал «обходной путь» и вместо архивного фонда указал в «Исторической серии Моамбе «напечатанный в 1953 году»³². Со всей ответственностью заявляю, что Г.Хачапуридзе заверенная и помещенная в этом журнале публикация, не является архивным документом. Она в газете «Заря Востока» (от 14 мая 1924 года № 575) на пятом листе представляет собой дубликат статьи опубликованной неког **И.Л.** напечатанной статьи «**Результаты интервенции в Грузии**»³³ корреспондентом, неизменный текст этой статьи, с незначительным редактированием, вместе с другими архивными материалами С.Маглакелидзе внес в тот же сборник без указания инициал автора в отличие от газеты «Заря Востока» от вышеуказанной статьи под другим названием: «14 мая 1924 года – справки об английских оккупантах и изменниках Родины и совершенные меньшевистским правительством зверства, разрушения и хищения совершенные в разных районах Грузии»³⁴. Такими действиями статья так называемого корреспондента **И.Л.** напечатанная в газете «**Заря Востока**», накрыла маской архивный документ С.Маглакелидзе и ввела в заблуждение общество читателей. В связи с приведенными в этой статье цифровыми данными, если бы комиссия нашла какие - либо твердые подтверждения написала бы нужное заключение, то они бы были помещены в фонде вместе с другими материалами. Исходя из этого С.Маглакелидзе не упустил бы из рук этот шанс и напечатал бы вместо статьи корреспондента **И.Л.** в газете «**Заря Востока**» в первоначальном виде необработанный черновик материалов заключения этой комиссии. В связи с этом же вопросом, несмотря на основательное изучение новейшей истории Грузии и бывших партийных (сегодня Министерство внутренних дел) и архивов соответствующих фондов приведенных цифровых данных Г. Хачапуридзе и автора статьи «VII геноцид» осетин, не нашёл документа составленного комиссией. Такого архивного материала нет и у осетинских историков. Имею в виду изданный сборник документов в 1960 году И.Н.Цховребовым «Борьба трудящихся Юго-Осетии за советскую власть 1917-1921 гг. (Документы и материалы) издание второе. Сталинири. 1960» Эта большая публикация, в неё входит 174 наименований архивных и

взятыми из большевистской прессы впечатанных материалов. Она отображает период с 1917 г. по июнь 1928 г. Что же касается отношения Грузинской власти к восстанию осетин 1920 года, в связи с этим в этой книге напечатана публикация большевистской газеты выходящей на Северном Кавказе. Имею в виду из газет за 1 августа и 18 сентября: из «Жизнь Национальностей» и «Советский Кавказ» взятая статья – «О гражданской войне в Юго-Осетии» (ст. 153 – 156) и корреспонденция - «О революционных восстаниях крестьян Юго-Осетии» (ст. 184 – 187).

Надо подчеркнуть, в отношении осетинского вопроса созданной в 1924 году комиссией подготовленной в любой форме заключения, какой либо рода архивный материал не известен и для авторов написавших книгу о восстания осетин в 1918 – 1920 годах З.Ванеева и П.Догужева. В противном случае, в напечатанной в 1957 году книге «З.Н.Ванеев, П.Р.Догужев. Из истории борьбы трудящихся Юго-Осетии за советскую власть. Сталинири. 1957 г.». О ней обязательно бы говорили и докладывали бы и в соответствующем месте заверили бы. Всё вышеуказанное и особенно бесследное существование архивных материалов заставляет меня думать, что в монографии Г.Хачапуридзе – «Борьба за пролетарскую революцию в Грузии» (1936 год), приведенные в отношении осетин цифровые данные, взяты из статьи напечатанной в 1924 году в газете «Заря Востока» корреспондент И.Л. – **«Результаты интервенции в Грузии».**

Что же касается собранных материалов комиссией созданной в 1924 году, её большая часть, написана на основании полученного заказа этой комиссией от бывших чиновников независимой Грузии того времени. Оно включает в себя короткую составленную в виде описи докладов и заявлений. Так как её авторы с целью спасти себя пошли на сотрудничество с властями, понятно, что определенная часть « документов» носит заказной характер и приведенные в ней факты не застрахованы от тенденциозности. Тем более, что члены комиссии не считали указанные материалы предметом особого изучения. Каждый из них не стал изучать их достоверность и никто не написал подытоживающее заключение обобщенного характера. С учетом этого факта, выявляется следующее, ставится вопрос о достоверности определенной части материала напечатанного С.Маглакелидзе, под вопросом стави и любого мыслящего исследователя и обязывает в критическом отношении. Что же касается местонахождения самого материала, большая часть хранится и сегодня в отделе новейшей истории Центрального архива Грузии и бывшего партийного архива (сегодня министерство внутренних дел) в соответствующих фондах, а не в «Музее Революции», как считает автор статьи «VII геноцид». Осетинские коллеги должны знать, что такой музей в Грузии был создан в мае 1921 года и просуществовал до 1938 года. В тот же год 2 июня, на базе указанного музея был открыт Тбилисский филиал музея Ленина, который не существует с 1991 года. Что же касается материалов помещенных в «музее Революции (57 названий фонда), согласно постановлению ЦК коммунистической партии Грузии апреля 1928 года, одна его часть в историко-революционном архиве, подведомственном Центральному архиву, а вторая часть передана в 1929 г. созданному в том же году при Центральном комитете Грузии, архиву истории партии. Это не столь важно, что весь материал собранный с 1922 года по 1928 год комиссией изучающей историю партии помещен в «музее Революции – 4374 папок (в том числе материалы комиссии 1924 года), были перераспределены в вышеуказанном архиве ; 1) с уверенностью могу сказать, что Г.Хачапуридзе, явно лжет, когда через 7 лет в следующем 1936 году в сносках напечатанной в вышеуказанной своей книге пишет, что

материалы комиссии 1924 года хранятся в «Музее Революции» Грузии (стр.295); 2) и то предусмотрено, что известному фальсификатору (Г.Хачапуридзе), за труд и «заслугу» в деле фальсификации истины в пользу осетин, которую осетинские историки не оценили и он обвинил осетин в тенденциозности. Подтверждением этого является статья «VII геноцид» осетин. Его автор, Г.Хачапуридзе в ней упрекает, в той же не написанной книги Г.Хачапуридзе – «о восстании осетин 1920 года» ничего не сказано, о том что во время перехода через главный хребет Кавказа, погибло 1350 осетин - беженцев от голода, холода и болезней. В отношении этого факта автор статьи «VII геноцида» винит власть независимой Грузии. Создатель указанного обвинения настолько тенденциозен, что его задумки, размышления доведены до уровня слепого. Он ни одного слова не говорит о преступных действиях, которые совершили в Шида Картли главари советской власти России, по отношению, проживающих там земледельцев, осетинского крестьянства. **Имею ввиду, факт передачи 100 тысяч по курсу золота компартией России Закавказским окружным комитетом для ревкома «Южной Осетии» в марте 1920 года, а также а том же году в апреле месяце для ревкома «Южной Осетии» и для председателя окружного комитета РКП (б) В. Санакоева 40 миллионов рублей по курсу золота**³⁵. Указанными деньгами, В.Санакоев и его сторонники, первым делом, должны были подкупить осетинское население и сформировать вооруженные отряды осетин для свержения власти независимой Грузии. Если мы будем рассматривать этот вопрос с этой точки зрения, тогда мы имеем дело с созданным высокопоставленными чиновниками Компартией России не правовым путём на территории Первой республики Грузии отрядом осетинских наёмников. Жадные до денег осетины легко попались на авантюру советской власти России, и результат был в ущерб им. В этом случае вся ответственность ложится на тех людей, кто давал в руки осетинам земледельцам деньги на оружие, создавал на советские деньги военные части и финансировал осетинские восстания для свержения законной власти Грузии. Если рассмотрим с беспристрастной позиции указанный факт, виноват ревком «Южной Осетии» и состав окружного комитета РКП (б) «Южной Осетии» и его председатель В. Санакоев, так как благодаря безответственных действий этих агентов советской России, в один раз сделали безвинными осетин крестьян путем подкупа криминалами и изменниками Грузинской власти.

В отношении придуманных обвинений в адрес власти демократической республики Грузии от 15 февраля 1991 года в вышеуказанных восстаний осетин, **известный исследователь демографических процессов Вахтанг Джаошвили** в газете «Республика Грузия» в напечатанной публикации – «**Только правда (ответ тем, кто сеет вражду между грузинами и осетинами)**» подчеркнуто пишет: «Хорошо известно, что во время существования демократической Грузии (1918- 1921 гг.) русские и грузинские большевики впустили с северного Кавказа нанятых агентов и устроили «восстание» осетин против демократической Грузии. Это была авантюра чистой воды и удар ножом в спину грузинского народа, с этим любая законная власть не могла смириться. Понятно, что авантюра не имела никакой поддержки в самом осетинском населении, она провалилась. Известно, что тогда осетинские авантюристы наводнили грузинские села Шида Картли и разорили местное коренное население. **Но откуда взялась эта справка о том, что убили 5 тысяч осетин? Это настоящая сказка и жертвы осетин выросли во сто раз...** И то нужно сказать, что тогда осетин ввело в заблуждение правительство большевистской России и какие жертвы были с обеих сторон. Тоже клеветническая и от начала до конца ложная справка, что из Грузии ушли 50

тысяч осетин. В первой четверти нашего века, и до этого не осетины уходили, а наоборот постепенно шли грузины с северного Кавказа в Грузию, где их родина. Об этом ясно говорят следующие цифры: согласно переписи 1897 года в Грузии проживало 81,5 тысяч осетин. В 1926 году по такой переписи 113,3 тысячи, на протяжении 29 лет количество осетин в Грузии увеличилось на 31,8 -ов. тысяч т.е. на 39%. Это тогда, когда количество самих грузин увеличилось на 34%. Если учтем то обстоятельство, что у осетин не было более высокого природного прибавления чем у грузин, понятно, извне пришло тысячи человек осетинской национальности, Правда это, а не то что из Грузии по принуждению ушли 50 тысяч осетин в 20-е годы». Это есть правильный диагноз политических процессов того периода, а не то что пишут осетинские сепаратистские историки и политики.

Что же касается ненавидящих грузин ревкома «Южной Осетии» и преступных действий председателя окружного комитета РКП (б) «Южной Осетии» это ещё более стало заметно с первых дней советизации Грузии. Имею ввиду целенаправленное притеснение грузинского населения из «Южной Осетии» подразумеваем, так северную часть территории Шида Картли, изгнание из домов и присвоение их имущества собранными материалами комиссариата внутренних дел советской Грузии подтверждается, что переодетые в красную шинель осетинские бандиты, после изгнания из грузинских сел грузин, оставшееся на месте имущество похищали и везли в Джаву. О грабеже грузинского населения Шида Картли осетинами, на основании заключения созданной Народным комиссариатом внутренних дел комиссии, в 1921 году в посланной Ревкому Грузии Народным комиссариатом внутренних дел в итоговом докладе подчеркнуто указано: **«На севере Цхинвали, на правом берегу Лиахви семь грузинских сел: Дгврисы, Ачабети, Тамарашени, Второе Тамарашени, Монастери, Курта и Кехви, которые переживают сейчас горькие минуты и безнадежное положение. В названных селах разбойничают вооруженные осетины, которые не щадят мирных жителей и всесторонне разоряют их»**³⁶. В этом же документе сделан акцент на совершенные преступные действия осетинскими грабителями в отношении населенных деревень. «Мужчинам-крестьянам села – читаем в документе – осетинские разбойники не дают возможности пойти и обработать свою землю чтобы не остаться голодным целый год. Грабеж разбойников перешёл через край». Архивными документами защищенными в фонде Народного комиссариата внутренних дел материалом подтверждается, что это беззаконие покрывается вместе с руководством ревкома, председатель окружного комитета «Южной Осетии» В.Санакоев и начальник осетинской милиции Джиджикаев. В мае 1921 года с их помощью произошло освобождение 18 задержанных осетинских разбойников. **Вследствие самовольности ревкома «Южной Осетии» и бездействия советской власти Грузии, передвижные осетинские вооруженные отряды варварскими методами расправлялись с населением грузинских сёл. Связанные с этим вопросом существующие факты подтверждены в вышеуказанном обширном докладе, представленном в 1921 году Ревкому Грузии Народным комиссариатом внутренних дел Грузии. На основании подлинных информационных данных, в документе, составленном Народным комиссариатом внутренних дел советской Грузии подтверждено, что одетые в красные шинели вооруженные осетины в июне 1921 года сожгли 80 домов проживающих в селах Дзарцеми и Кемерти грузин, по их желанию были выбраны жители 32 сел и самовольно расстреляны, некоторых сожгли в огне, а других забили до смерти. Начиная с несовершеннолетних и кончая взрослыми, женщины, были изнасилованы. В этом же**

докладе приведены ещё более ужасные факты совершенные осетинами преступные действия в отношении грузин. В слово слово написано: «спустившихся из Джавской долины грузинских семей в дороге настигла толпа озлобленных вооруженных осетин, всех окружили... и объявили смертный приговор. Но посоветовавших, из оставленных выбрали 41 мужчину, загнали в кормовой сарай и всех убили, затем подожгли сарай и сожгли всех убитых. Остальных пленных раздели догола и независимо от возраста женщин с 8 лет всех изнасиловали, вернулись домой с добычей и награбленным»³⁷.

Приведенные мною вышеуказанные фактические данные основаны не на цитатах какого то престарелого революционера или на воспоминаниях издаека наблюдавшего, а взято из написанного заключения чрезвычайной комиссии созданной одним из ответственных учреждений- Народным комиссариатом внутренних дел Грузии – лоббистом осетинских сепаратистов советской Грузии. Из тех же охраняемых фондов Народного комиссариата внутренних дел выясняется, что в августе 1924 года вооруженные отряды осетин разгромили несколько сел в Хевсуретии, грабеж и поджог жилых домов. За протест варварским действиям и за сопротивление, осетины живым в огне сожгли 80- летнего старейшину хевсуров Гагу Гогочури³⁸.

К сожалению, советская власть Грузии высокие чины Кавбюро специально скрывали совершенные осетинами преступные действия. Они не хотели их освещения перед широкой общественностью и понятно, не реагировали на правительственном уровне. По отношению случившихся преступлений только орган левых социал-федералистов, газета «Социал-федералист» отреагировала. С этой стороны выделяется особенно, статья, напечатанная под псевдонимом Мимино «Цхинвальский район в опасности». В ней подробно описано положение грузинского населения горной зоны Шида Картли и совершенные осетинами преступные действия. В статье мы читаем «Несколько грузинских сел сожжены осетинами, около ста человек убиты и сожжены в кормовых сараях, их имущество целиком похищено, а дома разрушены...Сегодня, грузинское население стонет и скорбит. Тот ад, царящий в этих селах не учит добру, если во время не употребить противоядие... Более тяжелый результат получим»³⁹.

Подтверждено документальным материалом, что по программе разработанной осетинскими сепаратистами в 1918 году – окончание осуществления грузинской этночистки в Цхинвальском районе началось ускоренным темпом с первого дня советизации Грузии. Тем более, что советская власть создала благоприятные условия осетинам. Согласно собранным материалам соответствующего отдела Народного комиссариата внутренних дел, с марта 1921 года по 25 апреля того же года, осетинами были очищены от грузин 13 грузинских сел(Свери, Кемерти, Миндиани Каплани, Касрани, Монастери, Ацрисхеви, Белоти, Сацхенети, нижнее и верхнее Никоца, нижнее и верхнее Хвити). Ранее грузинское коренное население стало преследуемым при советской власти. Исходя из реальной возможности истребления грузинских семей со стороны осетинских сепаратистов, преследуемые грузины, не могли вернуться в свои дома. Этим пользовались осетины, похищали оставленное грузинами имущество, массово рушили дома и везли в Джаву⁴⁰. Когда – то возрожденные и заполненные грузинским населением села горной зоны Шида Картли осетинские сепаратисты превратили в дворище. Это преступление власть советской Грузии сознательно засекречивало и не делало действенных реакций на правительственном уровне. Тот кто остался в селах Шида Картли и

верным дому предков свою личную жизнь положил на часы, их дома стали постоянным объектом нападения вооруженных разбойничьих отрядов осетин. Если ревком «Южной Осетии» не искал объяснения вышеуказанных фактов, тогда пригодится для иллюстрации доклад, высланный 5 июля 1921 года ревкомом «Южной Осетии» ревкому Грузии. Его подписал заместитель председателя ревкома «Южной Осетии» Н.Гадиев. Согласно этому документу; 1) якобы в селах Цхинвальского района не действовали вооруженные осетины; 2) у ревкомов Цхинвали и «Южной Осетии» нет никакой информации о вооруженных группах; 3) якобы случившиеся в Цхинвальском регионе погромы была искусственная провокация совершенная меньшевиками и контрреволюционерами⁴¹. Указанные Н.Гадиевым «аргументы» представляют собой одну из форм своего оправдания, и включают в себя попытку перенести обвинение с осетин, совершивших преступления, на меньшевиков. Получалось так, как будто хищение имущества, разборка покинутых домов в грузинских селах, с груженными телегами увоз в Джаву, расстрел грузин и их в сожжение в огне, изнасилование грузинских женщин, массовое изгнание грузин из грузинских сел и т.д., якобы совершали меньшевики. Ревком «южной Осетии» и подведомственные ему учреждения, осетинская милиция и сами осетинские сепаратисты не причём. На эту ложь, к сожалению, тогдашним руководством ревкома никаких реакций администра-тивного характера не сделано. Такое бездушное отношение со стороны грузинской власти к грузинам ещё более вскружило голову осетинским сепаратистам. Я имею в виду, вернувшихся с северного Кавказа в Грузию в 1921 году и возобновивших активность против живущих грузин в Шида Картли боевых осетинских вооруженных отрядов. С этой стороны особенно выделяется отряд Петре Гогишвили, осетина по национальности. Документальными материалами подтверждено, что с 13 по 17 декабря вооруженные осетины грабили и громили грузинские села. Всех грузинских женщин, начиная с несовершеннолетних, включая, взрослых насиловали. Грузинских мужчин, защитников чести семьи убивали пытками. Исходя из этих кошмарных фактов, грузинское население просило о помощи от власти⁴². Вместо того, чтобы власти Грузии звонили бы в колокола тревоги, чтобы не обидеть осетин, они избрали путь безмолвия и без внимания оставила эту грузинскую беду.

Проект осетинской программы основательных погромов и грабежа грузинского населения Шида Картли на высоком уровне выполняло состоявшее из 15 человек вооруженное бандитское формирование Джатина Кокоева⁴³. Согласно оперативным данным народного комиссариата внутренних дел и управления милиции Душетского уезда после основательного ограбления грузинских сел Цхинвальского района, он перешол в Душетский уезд. С целью лучшего ограбления и повиновения, Дж.Кокоев снял чиновников местной власти Душетского района и назначил лиц которых сам выбрал. Такими действиями он противопоставил себя существующей власти. Только этот факт, а не погром грузинского населения вынудили высокопоставленных чиновников силовых структур провести против него карательные мероприятия. Согласно полученным в народном комиссариате внутренних дел материалам (оперативные данные управления уездной полиции, доклады), в Душетском уезде активно действовал вооруженных отряд осетин Дианоза Дзагоева, который выполнял функцию непримиримого и неусыпного врага грузинского населения. В этом же архивном документе назван второй разбойник Гурген Гуларашвили. «Мужчины- крестьяне Душетского уезда - читаем в докладе – были повержены в ужас зверскими действиями известных разбойников Дианоза Дзагоева и

Гургена Гуларашвили названные разбойники в течении нескольких лет разбойничали в Душетском уезде (с декабря 1921 года по ноябрь 1924)». В 1922 году к ним присоединился отряд разбойников Цици Дзагоева. Поле действий осетинских разбойников было Душетский и Горийский уезды. Согласно приведенных данных архивных материалов каждым из них совершенное преступление относится к тяжелой категории (убийство, изнасилование). В этом случае внимание читателей я остановлю на нескольких фактах. **А) убийства совершенные по отношению грузинского населения осетинскими разбойниками:** 1) в селе Кере – убили Тите Бедошвили; 2) вблизи Душети убили Абрама Чилашвили из Казбеги; 3) в селе Али- убили брата и сестру Авлашашвили; 4) в селе Арбо- убили Васил Бедошвили; 5) в селе Бургули – убили жен Хинчагашвили и Тваури и их братьев; 6) в сеоле Кисисхеви 9- летнему мальчику, пастуху на пастбище перерезали горло и смертельно ранили его отца; 7) в селе Уперети – сожгли дом Васо Бодзишвили; **Б) со стороны осетинских разбойников изнасилование грузинских женщин и убийство пострадавших:** 1) в селе Ксовриси – напали на семью Саакашаили, изнасиловали его дочь и убили отца пострадавшей; 2) в селе Дампалети изнасиловали несовершеннолетнюю девочку и за проявленное сопротивление убили её мать; 3) в селе Чалисубани – изнасиловали двух девочек и обоих убили. На основании этих же документов в жертву взятым живым грузинским женщинам, осетинские разбойники часто отрезали грудь, ухо, выкалывали глаза и т.д.⁴⁴

Исходя из приведенных мною тяжелейших фактов, ставится вопрос; почему против осетинских руководителей бандформированиями, выбрасывающих грузинское население не были проведены строжайшие меры в 1921, 1922, 1923 годах или же вначале 1924 года и вопрос о их ликвидации стал только в ноябре 1924 года? В этом случае первым долгом надо иметь ввиду следующее: **А)** в августе 1924 года начавшиеся строжайшие репрессии против участников восстания и сочувствующим им; **Б)** враждебное внутреннее отношение к власти живущих в Душетском уезде. На этом фоне соответственные государственные учреждения должны были показать населению, что они против советской власти, и что она боролась с осетинскими разбойниками грабивших местное крестьянство. В этом направлении соответственными силовыми учреждениями Душетского уезда были приняты решения, обусловленные вынужденными политическими и идеологическими факторами. В противном случае нейтрализацию вышеуказанных разбойников в случае проведения операции осуществилось в 1922 или в 1923 году. Нужно подчеркнуть, что ликвидация Дианоза Дзахоева и Гургена Гуларашвили, была рассчитана на компанию, заручиться доверием Душетского крестьянства, недовольного существующей властью.

Опираясь на архивные документы мною перечисленные выше преступные действия осетин если бы были совершены в Европе или Америке да и в любом государстве, против них провели бы не только самые строжайшие карательные мероприятия, а вообще бы депортировали бы осетин из того государства. Неблагодарные осетины вернулись к первому гнезду. На земле, наверное, единственная страна Грузия, где всё можно. Вчерашний гость становится хозяином, а истинного хозяина выгоняют из собственного дома и делают изгнанником. В том случае если бы грузины совершили в отношении осетин равные действия, что совершили осетины по отношению грузин горной зоны Шида Картли и в руки попали бы документы подтверждающие это, руководители «Южной Осетии» «содрогнули» бы страну создали бы осетинским

историкам лучшие условия, подготовили книгу и с целью издания на высоком уровне профинансировали бы её. Одновременно, осуществила бы перевод на европейские языки и немедленно осуществила передачу в международные организации. Если мы будем судить согласно отпечатанной в типографии «научной литературе» и помещенным на интернет-сайте публикациям осетинских сепаратистских «историков», что благодаря всесторонней максимальной помощи «Южной Осетии» со стороны государственных учреждений, исходя из инертности грузинской стороны, осетины на идеологическом фронте активно действуют и с успехом используют всякого рода средства пропаганды. Ими сочиненную фальшь выставляют за истину и в этой лжи убеждают международные организации, посольства иностранных стран.

Глубоко осмысленная осетинская интеллигенция беспрепятственно гарцевала на идеологическом фронте. Программа осетинских сепаратистов рассчитана подготовкой твёрдой ступени правового законодательства похищенных территорий. Оставление идеологического фронта без внимания, большая безответственность соответствующих учреждений или проявление одного из факторов бессилия нации. «Бессилие нации начинается тогда – приказывал Наполеон Бонапарт, - когда уступаешь свою территорию добровольно противнику, или же и не стараешься вернуть назад силой, похищенное». На этом фоне, и сегодня актуальна и истинно для грузин является определенной формой восстановления чести имеет целью напомнить это, слова недавно умершего профессора Джемала Апциаури «земля Самачабло простонала своим детям, что должны выполнить долг детей перед матерью идентичный долг, заботится о ней, и не давать никому возможность, чтоб в ее подол завернул кто-нибудь плевок.»⁴⁵ К несчастью чистоту материнского подола, защиту и сохранение грузин и ветви их власти, элементарной формой, даже на идеологическом фронте не смогли. Бессилие это не залеченная инфекция, грузинская нация давно в состоянии комы. Вывести её из этого состояния дано загруженным национальным сознанием, безмерно влюбленных в Отечество и высокой совестью людям.

Заключения

Объективная действительность грузино-осетинских взаимоотношений в 1918-1925 годах отображено историографией периода советизации в кривом зеркале, в XXI веке у осетинских историков появилась « возможность» громко беседовать и обвинять грузин сочиненным мифом об «осетинском геноциде». В отношении этого вопроса, осетины избалованные молчанием официальных структур власти Грузии, смогли неподтвержденными данными и подтасованной информацией убедить представителей международных организаций посольств иностранных государств в правильности своих дел. Исследование мною найденных в хранилищах архивов начальных документальных материалов, а также основательное их изучение и сравнение с напечатанной литературой в советский период по осетинскому вопросу существующих данных, дало мне возможность сделать следующие заключения:

1) Согласно решению, принятому на совместном съезде, состоявшемся 26-28 января 1918 года, осетин проживающих в селах Белоти и Келети Цхинвальского района, уничтожить

основную часть дворянства-помещиков Шида Картли, изгнать их из собственных домов и присвоить осетинами их имущество. Этот преступный акт, с 28 января включительно по 17 марта 1918 года, осуществлял осетинский отряд из 300 человек большевика И.Харебова.

Для изгнания из собственных домов земледельцев грузинского населения Шида Картли, осетинские разбойники вооруженных отрядов (Дианоза Дзагоева, Цициа Дзагоева, Гургена Гуларашвили, преступные действия в отношении грузинского населения (убийства, изнасилования несовершеннолетних женщин, сожгли живьем в огне детей...), что считается тяжелейшими преступлениями уголовного кодекса. Поставить точку в их действиях и изгнать с территории Грузии на северный Кавказ , стало возможным только благодаря усилиям министерства внутренних дел Первой республики Грузии.

2) Основательный погром (март 1918 года) грузинского, еврейского и армянского населения Цхинвали, восставшими осетинами, получавшим финансирование из советской России, убийство жестокими пытками, изуродование представителей местной власти (Гиорги Мачабели, Сандро Кецховели , Петре Епремидзе, Коста Казиева, Котэ Церцвадзе). Полностью раскрылось лицо осетинского вандализма, в этом случае их «творческая фантазия» превысила даже эксперименты пытками проводимые в концентрационных лагерях фашисткой Германии.

Документальными материалами подтверждено, что в отношении грузин у осетинских сепаратистов была особая ненависть, построенная на ясно выявленных мероприятиях, это целенаправленное запугивание и изгнание с земли предков. В отношении совершенных преступных фактов со стороны осетин, лоббирование по отношению к виновным Национальным Советом «Южной Осетии», неповиновение Национальному Совету Грузии и правительству Закавказья и не только неповиновение, а действия были равносильны объявлению войны.

3) Несмотря на добрососедские отношения алагирских грузин к осетинам (не взяли оружие против осетин, не начали грабеж осетинского населения, не потребовали соединения территории Алагира с Грузией), ночью 11 января 1919 года , осетины начали кровавую бойню грузин, сожжение в огне живьем детей и стариков, изнасилование женщин, врезание животов беременным женщинам) проведение операции, представляло собой демонстрацию биологической ненависти к грузинам и своей целью было показать алагирским грузинам массовую этночистку. Силовыми методами присвоение заработанных в результате личного труда 500 алагирскими грузинскими семьями (2700 душ) имущества, сокрытие фактов убийства грузин, представляло подтверждение проведения курса безнаказанности и покровительства виновных осетин советской властью.

4) Восстание подготовленное осетинами в 1920 году, осуществлено благодаря финансированию его советской Россией (40 миллионов рублей по курсу золота) и начало гражданской войны в Грузии, с целью посягательства на грузинскую государственность. Оценка этого факта советской историографией представляла отражение в кривом зеркале с предусмотренными интересами политического курса существующей власти.

В докладе - заключении составленном комиссией созданной при Народном комиссариате внутренних дел Грузии после её советизации (1921-1922гг.) нигде не фигурируют мероприятия 1920 года, связанных с осетинским геноцидом нет цифровых данных уничтожения. Наоборот, подчеркнуто, о преступных действиях в отношении грузинского населения Шида Картли, которые совершили осетины в 1918, 1919, 1920 годах. В результате проведенных мною в

этом направлении исследовании выяснилось: А) о карательных операциях 1920 года проведенных и направленных против восставших осетин властью Грузии ни одним архивным документом не подтверждены цифровые данные, заверенные осетинскими историками; Б) они заверяют только факты приведенные в книге Г.Хачапуридзе, которые под псевдонимом некто И.Л. опубликованы в газете «Заря Востока», взятые из напечатанной статьи – «Результаты интервенции в Грузии»; Г) в указанную статью С.Маглакелидзе самовольно внес материалы созданные комиссией в 1924 году и в 1953 году с помощью напечатанного «Исторического Моамбе», он представил в виде архивного документа читающему обществу.

5) Народным комиссариатом внутренних дел советской Грузии был выслан итоговый доклад Ревкому Грузии (1921 год) подтверждающий, что осетины переодетые в красноармейские шинели совершали преступные действия вооруженными группировками, их лоббирование осуществляли руководства Ревкомом «Южной Осетии» РКП (б) «Южная Осетия». В этом же документе приведенные факты (80 домов грузин было сожжено осетинами, в 32 грузинских сёлах совершен выборочный расстрел, убиты в сараях 41 мужчина) без возрастного разбора, начиная с детей 8-летнего возраста изнасилованы женщины, старейшину Хевсуретии 80 – летнего Гагу Гогочури сожгли живьём в огне, изгнание из 13 сёл грузинское население. Эти же дома вынуждено оставленные грузинами, осетины разбирали и везли в Джаву... Все вышеуказанное выходит за всякого рода правовые рамки и на грузинской земле осуществление гонения грузин подтверждает политический курс того времени.

6) выполнение одной из ступеней «осетинского проекта» (1921-1924 гг.) на высоком уровне представляло собой максимальное ущемление (грабеж, убийства, изнасилование) грузинских сёл Шида Картли Цхинвальский район). Его осуществление, они поручили вооруженным отрядам осетинских разбойников (Джатину Кокоеву, Дианозу Дзагоеву, Цициа Дзагоеву, Петре Гогишвили, Гургену Гуларашвили). Существующими архивными материалами, подтверждается, что против бандформирования со стороны властей строжайшие оперативные мероприятия начались только в августе 1924 года, после поражения восстания. Соответствующие правительственные учреждения советской Грузии, должны были показать населению, что оно наказывает не только участников антисоветского восстания, а борется с осетинскими разбойниками, ущемляющих местных крестьян. В этом направлении действия советской власти Грузии было вынуждено политическими и идеологическими факторами, а не жалостью к ущемленному осетинами грузинскому крестьянству.

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saarqi voDdokumentebi

1918- 1925 wl ebis saarqivo dokumentebi

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В Закавказский Комиссариат

ПРОЕКТ

Введения земства в Южной- Осетии

Вместе с общим раскрепощением страны великая русская революция должна создать благоприятные условия и для культурно- экономического развития народов, населяющих нашу окраину.

Нет сомнения, что введение земского самоуправления ставшее неотложной задачей перед закавказской демократией даст могущественный толчок быстрому росту местных сил.

Параллельно с этим необходимо уничтожить административную опеку государства и сосредоточить функции административного управления в земских учреждениях.

Разумеется, наше молодое земство должно быть построено на самых широких демократических началах, с полной гарантией права национального меньшинства. Но такая гарантия возможна лишь в том случае, если населению будет предоставлено право свободно группироваться в административные и земские единицы на основе трезвого учета реальных интересов. Этот принцип был выставлен заинтересованными сторонами и в совещаниях по введению земства в Закавказье. К сожалению он не был развит последовательно, и этот момент вызовет некоторые затруднения при практическом проведении земского самоуправления даже в тех губерниях и уездах, которые по декрету Закавказского Комиссариата признаются бесспорными. Реальная действительность выдвигает вопрос о настоятельной необходимости таких группировок, которые декретом не предусматриваются. Опираясь на ясную и определенно выраженную волю южно- осетинского народа, мы находим, что справедливое осуществление земского дела в Закавказье немыслимо без образования особого уездного административного – земского деления из нагорных частей Рачинского, Горийского и Душетского уездов, сплошь занятых южно- осетинским населением. Эта полоса начинается на западе с верхнего течения рек Гарули и Квирили, в Рачинском уезде и Лопани в Горийском уезде и тянется до Военно- Грузинской дороги на восток. Занимая южный склон Среднего Кавказа по бассейнам рек Проны, Большой и Малой Лиахви, Медосури, Лехури и Ксанки, нагорный район этот заселен исключительно закавказскими осетинами, составляющими южную ветвь осетинского народа. По предварительным данным сельскохозяйственной и поземельной переписи 1917 года численность осетинского населения в одной только этой горной полосе заходит за 70000 душ. Это осетинское население связано единством этнического происхождения, языка, быта и нравов. Представляя из себя потомков древних иранцев (см. «Осетин(ские) Этюды» Вс. Миллера), Закавказские осетины говорят на всем пространстве от северо- восточной границы Кутаисской губернии до Военно- Грузинской дороги на одном общем языке. Диалектические отличия по отдельным ущельям совершенно незначительны и местами почти неуловимы. Единство расового происхождения и языка у осетин сопровождается общностью культурных навыков, общественно- правовых воззрений. Живя веками замкнутой жизнью, находясь в стороне от горных путей культурного воздействия, осетины по настоящее время сохранили древний патриархально- родовой строй, и весь быт

их, определяется началами обычного права (см. «Современное) обычай и древние) законы И.Ковалевского»).

Своеобразие культурных и социально- юридических условий выработало у горца –осетина и своеобразную психологию, в высокой степени отличную от склада характера его соседа, живущего в смежной плоскостной зоне.

Если справедливо то положение, что в свободном государстве система управления народом должна соответствовать его душе, если считать неотъемлемым правом каждого народа управляться через органы, ему близкие, им самим признанные, то и для закавказских осетин необходимо создать такой административный аппарат, который сумеет ближе подойти к их миропониманию, который будет настолько гибок в своих приемах, что исключится всякая возможность применения чуждых народной душе экспериментов в области управления. Ведь, одним из основных пороков царского режима являлся тот момент, что на всем пространстве Российского государства гремел грозный окрик полицейского урядника, что над всеми народами и племенами, населяющими Россию, превалировала палка бюрократического строя. Отсюда и становится понятным естественное стремление осетин образовать по крайней мере в той полосе, где они живут компактной массой, одну административную единицу, с органом управления, специально для них созданными. Так как эта полоса по пространству захваченному ею и численности населения вполне удовлетворяет норме, необходимой для образования уездов, то целесообразнее всего выделить всю эту территорию, населенную осетинами, в особую уездную организацию. Этого мало. Только объединив эту однородную по происхождению, языку и культурному развитию массу южно- осетинского населения в один горный уезд или округ с национальной администрацией возможно провести в учреждениях применение родного осетинского языка. В противном случае распылив осетин в нескольких уездах и даже губерниях, мы тем самым лишим их законного права пользоваться в учреждениях своим родным языком: ведь осетинское население будет тонуть в массе народа, говорящего на другом языке, и фактически устранился возможность предоставления ничтожному осетинскому меньшинству права употребления его языка в административных в судебных и земских установлениях.

Не безынтересно заметить, что в начале владычества русских в Закавказье интересующая нас нагорная полоса вся составляла один южно- осетинский военно- административный округ, причем в состав этого округа входило и Нарское ущелье, отнесенное потом к Терской области. Царская власть разумеется, в этом случае не составила себе целью сохранить целостность южно –осетинского народа, но она вынуждена была считаться с фактом его этнографической и культурно- правовой однородности. В последующее время она провела и относительно осетинского народа свою систему распыления и, разрезав цельный организм южно- осетинского племени, раскидала его по нескольким уездам. Конечно, эта ссылка на исторический факт не может служить аргументом. Для нас неоспоримым является лишь то положение, что горный район населенный осетинами, необходимо выделить в **самостоятельную уездную административную единицу**, потому что на всем пространстве этого района звучит исключительно осетинский язык, и население вправе желать слышать и в учреждениях родную речь, вправе желать, чтобы управление их строилось на таких началах, которые вытекают из своеобразий его психологии. Не менее очевидной предоставляется целесообразность образования особого южно- осетинского уездного деления, как самоуправляющейся организации, как земской единицы. Земство единственное средство оживить наш заброшенный край. Позор царского режима, что у нас возможно встретить места с населением в двадцать тысяч слишком душ и без единого грамотного человека (Душедтский уезд) местное самоуправление быстро вызовет к жизни дремлющие силы небольшого, но способного к жизнедеятельности южно- осетинского народа. Но это станет возможным лишь в том случае, если духовные и материальные средства будут сконцентрированы, если вся его энергия без остатка будет направлена на осуществление

общих для всех осетинских культурно-экономических заданий, если земская работа южно-осетинского общества не замкнется в пределах небольших, не связанных общими задачами мелких земских единиц, на будет создана крупная, в данном случае, уездная земская организация, где творческие способности осетинского племени могли бы развернуться в несравненно более широком масштабе. Что нам может дать мелкая земская единица? При нашей малокультурной и невероятной бедности очень мало, по крайней мере на первое время. Мелкая земская единица у нас будет настолько слабосильна материальными средствами и бедна сведущими людьми, что вероятно, в начале она вынуждена будет влечить незавидное существование. Могут возразить, что мелкие земские единицы с осетинским населением и при существующем административном делении будут опираться на уездные земские установления, и следовательно, нет надобности в особой уездной горно-осетинской единице. Но это возражение не может быть убедительным. Уездные и земские самоуправления построенные на основе теперешнего административного деления, будут естественно удовлетворять нужды преимущественно большинства, входящего в состав этих самоуправлений. Это логика жизни, логика реальных вещей даже при самом широком демократическом строе. А с очевидностью ясно, что экономические и особенно культурные интересы этого большинства и ничтожного осетинского меньшинства коренным образом разнятся. С какой стати, скажем к примеру, Рачинское уездное земство откроет для осетин Часавальского общества среднюю школу с преподаванием предмета на осетинском языке, когда перед ним будут стоять задачи несравненно более важные с точки зрения справедливых интересов большинства.

Условием верного культурного роста всякого народа является рационально поставленная школа. А школу рационально можно поставить лишь тогда, когда она строится на национальных началах в широком смысле слова. С этой точки зрения необходимо не только вести преподавание на национальном языке, но и самый метод и программа преподавания, а также и система управления школами должна базироваться не только на общечеловеческих, но и на специфических свойствах национального характера. Единство этнического происхождения языка и культурного развития дает южно-осетинскому населению право на создание своей национальной школы. Удастся ли осетинам поднять свою школу на должную высоту? Очевидно, что они не в силах будут этого сделать, если не будут стремиться к общепросветительным целям соединенными силами, если распыление по нескольким административно-земским делениям, отдельными, органически несвязанными друг с другом ячейками будут осуществлять свое школьное дело. С введением на Кавказе земства, управление учебными заведениями и постоянный надзор за ними должен быть представлен земскому самоуправлению. По крайней мере, это требование демократического принципа в условиях новой школы. Какому земскому самоуправлению спрашивается, будет поручено руководство всеми горно-осетинскими школами, как учебными заведениями, преследующими одинаковые воспитательные образовательные задания? Логический вывод из этих положений - настоятельная необходимость выделения горно-осетинского района в самостоятельную уездную земскую единицу и сообщение этой самоуправляющейся дроби функций осуществления дела просвещения для той массы южно-осетинского населения, которая занимает интересующую нас нагорную полосу. Не останавливаясь на деталях вопроса, мы считаем, что в этой относительно крупной самоуправляющейся единице будут сосредоточены все действенные интеллигентные силы нашего народа, и это будет содействием скорому и в то же время, быть может, безболезненному переходу осетин от патриархально-родового строя и архаических пережитков обычного права к усвоению культурных завоеваний нашей эпохи. Образование южно-осетинского уездного административно-земского самоуправления диктуется, наконец, и самым главным фактором - экономическим. Нагорная полоса Рачинского, Горийского и Душетского уездов представляет из себя горный рельеф с узкими, глубокими ущельями в нижнем поясе, и альпийскими пастбищами наверху. Общинные занятия осетин,

хлебопашество и скотоводство. Внизу в долинах рек и ближе к выходам на плоскость возможно культивировать хлебные злаки, и население хватается за каждый небольшой участок, чтобы обратить его в запашку. Наоборот, по склонам гор и ближе к главному хребту климат настолько суров, что часто не созревает даже такое неприхотливое растение, как ячмень. Главная масса населения живет скотоводством, обращаясь к земледелию, лишь, как к подсобному занятию. С этой стороны горный район представляет прямую противоположность соседней плоскостной полосе, в особенности в горийской долине, где благоприятные климатические и почвенные условия и в настоящее время содействуют переходу к высшим формам сельское- хозяйственной культуры. Перед будущим южно- осетинским земством стоит тяжелая задача, перевести горно- осетинское население от примитивного ведения скотоводства к рационально- поставленному хозяйству. Оно должно будет заняться улучшением породы скота, организацией на кооперативных началах образцовых молочных хозяйств, целесообразной постановкой сбыта молочных продуктов. Такая деятельность предопределит самобытную физиономию южно- осетинского земского самоуправления.

Горно- осетинское население живет главным образом привозным зерном. Хлеб доставляется частью из Владикавказского округа, частою из Закавказья. К сожалению, Закавказье и в мирное время не могло существовать своим хлебом а с началом войны зависимость от Северного Кавказа, как известно, стала прямо трагической. В частности, в Горийской долине, которая обычно обслуживала зерном южно- осетинское население, площадь запашки под хлебные растения с каждым годом будет сокращаться вследствие перехода к садоводству и огородничеству. Недалеко то время, когда Горийская долина найдет для себя более выгодным покупать дешевый хлеб на Северном Кавказе, а у себя займется разведением высших сельское- хозяйственных культур. Чтобы не оставлять без хлеба горно- осетинское население, наше земство вынуждено будет взять на себя планомерную доставку зерна с Северного Кавказа. Этот момент заставить южно- осетинское самоуправление обратить исключительное внимание на положение путей сообщения в горной полосе. Для нас не подлежит сомнению, что южно- осетинские общества только объединившись в уездную земскую единицу, справятся с задачей установления прямого шоссейного сообщения с Ардонским ущельем, что, как известно, давно уже диктуется жизненными интересами южно- осетинского народа.

Из этих беглых штрихов видно, что нашему земству предстоит разрешить своеобразные технико- экономические задачи. что деятельность этого земства будет носить ярко самобытный характер сравнительно с долинами бассейна Куры. Если закавказская демократия заинтересована в экономическом развитии горно- осетинского района, она должна всемерно содействовать выделению этого района в особую уездную земскую единицу.

Для южно- осетинского народа такое образование самостоятельного осетинского уездного земства упрощает наконец, проблему национального самоопределения, что, принимая во внимание остроту и сложность национальных отношений в атмосфере Кавказской деятельности, значительно облегчает и работу Кавказской революционной демократии.

Резюмируя наши соображения в пользу образования самостоятельного южно- осетинского уездного административного земского деления, можно свести их к таким основным положениям: Создание южно- осетинской уездной административно- земской единицы поддается жизненной необходимостью, потому что при наличности такой единицы возможно: **1)** построить систему административного управления применительно к психологии осетинского народа, **2)** провести последовательльно во всех учреждениях применение осетинского языка, **3)** заложить прочную основу для культурно- экономического развития горно- осетинского района и **4)** в сильной степени упростить разрешение национального вопроса в условиях южно- осетинской действительности. В каких пределах очерчивается проектируемая нами южно- осетинская уездная административно- земская единица? Начинаясь по реке Урусдану в Рачинском уезде, западная граница южно- осетинского района идет на юг, пересекает

верхнее течение рек Кведрули и Джоджори, спускается в шорапанский уезд, проходит у слияния рек Лопани. Здесь пограничная линия уже с юга идет от Лопнис-цкали у села Цпелиси, захватывает осетинские поселения Авлевского (Оконского) общества, заворачивает немного на северо-восток, проходит через местечко Цхинвал и направляется на восток выше с. Эредви и Арбо. Идя далее по Меретскому обществу, южная граница осетинского района захватывает все Андоретское (Меджврисхевское) общество, проходит у Меджврисхеви, пересекает северную полосу Хелгубанского и Квемочальского обществ с осетинским населением, сворачивает в Душетском уезде по реке Ксанке на северо-восток у сел. Одзиси и упирается в Военное – Грузинскую дорогу, которая служит восточной границей южно-осетинского округа. Вся территория в намеченных нами границах заселена осетинами, исключая Тамарашенское общество (938 душ ос.) и Цхинвала, где осетинское население составляет меньшинство. Эта территория обнимает все **Часавальское общество** и часть **Горского** (Онского) общества (Нижняя и верхняя Кважа.). Рачинского уезда, **поселение Теделет в Чихском** обществе Шорапанского уезда, **Кемултское, Рокское, Джавское, Ортевское, Белотское, Меджврисхевское, Цунарское и Корнисское** общества Горийского уезда. Сюда необходимо отнести и большую полосу **Авлевского общества** (сел. Телагина, Лиса, Ожора, Телегевани, Гадигина, Чурисхеви, Пичиджин, Лопани, Гвирчини, Колети, Цпелиси, Гористави, Дзагина, Мугриси, Схлити и др.); **Меретского** общества, **Хелгубанского** общества (сел. Цховери, Парейсхеви, Гучаантскари, Кеди, Бичаантскари, Цинагори, Гдулети, Метесмани, Гудиантскари, Багеби и др.) и **Квемочальского** общества (Абреви, Земо-кури, Орчошани, Земо-рене, Мехлеби, Хвити, Ване, Понтыани, Квемо-рене, Гамолискари, Ргвалчали, Земо-гораки, Нигози, Горакеби и др.). Из обществ Душетского уезда южно-осетинская уездная единица захватит все Рехульское общество, **Монастерское** общество, Верхнехевское общество (Трусовское ущелье, Коби), большую часть **Ахалгорского** общества и **Гуткомское** ущелье в верхнем-Мтиулетском обществе. В южно-осетинскую уездную единицу возможно будет отнести и некоторые поселения **Згударского** общества, где численность осетинского населения простирается до 1606 душ обоего пола. Географическим и экономическим центром для всех осетинских обществ является М. Цхинвал, расположенное на реке Лиахве, в том месте, где начинается горная полоса. Без Цхинвала горно-осетинское население потеряет естественный выход на плоскость и в значительной степени проиграет в культурно-экономическом отношении. Само население Цхинвала кровно заинтересовано в том, чтобы по-прежнему занимать свое выгодное положение по отношению к горной полосе. Являясь торговым пунктом, Цхинвали живет исключительно горно-осетинским населением, так как это население снабжает Цхинвал сырьем (скот, сыр, масло, лес) в обмен на продукты фабричной промышленности. Лишившись Цхинвала, как торгового центра осетины с проведением перевальной дороги бросят все свое сырье на Алагирский рынок, и это в первую очередь будет в ущерб интересам цхинвальской торговли.

В основу земского самоуправления, как его низшая ячейка, должна лечь мелкая земская единица, самоуправляющаяся дробь, наиболее близко стоящая к населению. При определении числа мелких земских единиц южно-осетинского уезда, следует разумеется, держаться хозяйственного принципа, поскольку это позволяет топографический рельеф. Кроме того, мелкая земская община не должна быть слишком мала, чтобы не справиться со своими задачами. Наоборот если мелкое местное самоуправление будет чересчур велико по пространству и по количеству населения, то это помешает ему быть в достаточной мере гибким, чтобы приспособляться к местным нуждам и пользам. Исходя из этих соображений, возможно наметить в южно-осетинском уездном земстве около 3-4 мелких самоуправляющихся делений; численность населения каждого из этих делений будет колебаться между 15000 и 20000 душ.

В одну мелкую земскую единицу – Цхинвальскую необходимо объединить Корнисское, Цунарское, Авлевское (осетинские поселения) и Тамарашенское общества. Это будет преиму-

щественно земледельческий район. Здесь климатические и почвенные условия благоприятствуют вполне применению рациональных приемов земледелия, а местами садоводства. Этот район будет в состоянии выделять некоторый избыток хлеба смежному Джавскому населению.

Вторую– Джавскую самоуправляющуюся общину возможно образовать из Часавальского общества со смежными поселениями Горского и Чихского общества, Кемултского, Рокского, Верхно-Хевского и Джавского обществ. Большинство обществ этого района, а именно Часавальское, Кемултское, Рокское, Верхно-Хевское представляют скотоводственную полосу. Задача земства будет заключаться в том, чтобы поставить здесь молочное хозяйство на рациональную почву. Что касается собственно Джавского общества, то в этом районе умелая культура хлебных злаков может обеспечить своим зерном местное население.

Территориально смежные осетинские общества Ортевское, Белотское, Меретское (сел. Земокере, Дмениси, Снекви, Сатехари, Хелчуа) и Меджирсхевское, вероятно, выделяются в **особую мелкую земскую единицу– Горскую**.

Четвертый земский участок Ксанский возможно составить из Рехульского, Монастырского, Ахалгорского и осетинских поселений Квемо-Чальского и Хель-тубанского обществ.

Само собой разумеется, что наше деление южно-осетинских мелких земских единиц не исключает иных группировок. Мы намечаем лишь приблизительные вехи, которых следует держаться при разделении южно-осетинского уезда на мелкие самоуправляющиеся общины (участки). Кроме вдумчивого детального выяснения вопроса на местах, решающее слово конечно, остается за осетинским населением, которое само прекрасно разбирается, какая из возможных комбинаций больше всего соответствует его интересам.

Южно-Осетинский Национальный совет.

Председатель А.Гаглоев. /подпись/

Секретарь /подпись/

10 января 1918 г. № 154

Гор. Тифлис. Бельгийская 4.

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dokumenti # 2

osi separatistebis mier goris mazraSi qarTvel i Tavadaznaurobis gaZarcva da amowyveta. goris samazro mil iciis ganyofil ebaSi Sesul i operatiul i monacemebis mixedviT. 1918 wel is 25 ianvari- 17 marti. (es monacemebi d.sul iaSvil mac gamoiyena Tavis publ ikaciaSi.)

1918 wl is 28 ianvars (safal avandoSi) sadac osebi mosaxl eoben, didi mitingi gaimarTa, romel sac sof. atocidan somxebic eswrebodnen. isini gansakuTrebiT aqtiurobdnen da xal xs qarTvel i Tavadaznaurobis amowyvetisaken mouwodebdnen. mitingze SeimuSaves gegma: qarTvel i Tavadaznaurobi sTvis i araRi aeyaraT, vinc sasikvdil od miaCndaT daexocaT, cocxl ad darCenil ebi saxl ebidan gamoerekaT da saxl kari gadaewvaT.

26 ianvars, sof. yel eTSi (saciciano) sadac osebi moasxl eoben, didi yri-

I oba moewyo. damsweTa umravl esoba osebi iyo. miiRes dadgenil eba: Ta-
vadaznaurTa mamul ebis dapatronebis mizniT, isini deda- budianad amoewy-
vitaT.

sof. niCfisiSi 25_ 27 ianvars il iko da vaso ciciSvil ebi mohkl es. sof.
sasxoris tyis maxl obl ad kote ciciSvil i daxvrites. sof. sasxorisSi
yarangozaSvil ebi amowyvetes. vano yarangozaSvil i meuRI esTan erTad
mohl es. sofel Tel aTgorSi TurqestaniSvil ebi mohkl es. sof. kaspSi
d.l .amil axvari daaRrCves. sof. igoeTSi zaal iSvil ebi daxoces. sofel
mej vrisxevSi Tul aSvil i mohkl es. sof. qvemo xodi- Si g.Ciqovani mohkl es.
sof. zemo xvedureTSi mohkl es giorgi zaqarias Ze ciciSvil i da misi meu-
RI e. oj axis Zvirfaseul i qoneba waiRes, saqonel i gairekes da saxl kari
gadawves. imave sofel Si mohkl es daTiko ciciSvil i da misi qoneba dai ta-
ces. gaZarcves, pirutyvi waarTves da Senoba nagebobani gaunadgures: daviT
nikol ozis Ze ciciSvil s, kote da sandro raJdenis Ze ciciSvil ebs, tano
ciciSvil s.

sof. I eTSi al eqsandre ciciSvil is oj axi amowyvites. mohkl es al eqsan-
dre, misi moxuci meuRI e, ori qal i da erTi vaji. mTel i qoneba waiRes.
qarel Si mixeil daviTis Ze ciciSvil is da tato ciciSvil is saxl ebi j er
gaZarcves da Semdeg dawves. sof. kexij varSi nikol oz irakl is Ze ciciS-
vil is saxl i gaZarcves da dawves. I uarsab ciciSvil s saxl i dauwves.
daviT petres Ze ciciSvil is saxl i gaZarcves da dawves. sof. sanebel Si
tato ciciSvil is meore saxl i dawves. imave sofel Si I aferaSvil ebs
saxl i dauwves.

sof. yinwwisSi osebma grigol da sandro ciciSvil ebis saxl ebi gaZ-
arcves da dawves. sof. wromSi I evan ciciSvil i gaZarcves da mohkl es,
xol o misi 80 wl is moxuci deda awames. sof. xsnisSi osebi eqim gabo
gverdwiTel is oj axs daecnen, gaZarcves da saxl kari dauwves. sof. osiaurSi
g.n.veziriSvil is oj axi amowyvites. mohkl es misi ZmisSvil i, xol o g.vezi-
riSvil is meuRI e sasikvdil od daWres da qoneba gaitaces. sof. waRvl Si
iul on da giga amirej ibebis saxl ebi gaZarcves da gaanadgures. sof. mos-
abrunSi kol ia qur dovaniZis saxl i dawves. sof. aradeTSi iSxnel ebs_
qal sa da kacss scemes, maTi qoneba waiRes. sof. wverSi kal atoziSvil ebi
gaZarcves da daarbies. sof. sacixurSi I ado da giga xerxeul iZeebi gaZ-
arcves da saxl kari gaunadgures. sof. abisSi oqro amirej ibs saxl kari
dauwves da saqonel i gaitaces. sof. ceronisSi fal avandiSvil ebis cxra
koml i sofl idan gamoaZeves. sof. avl evSi kote amirej ibi gaZarcves, xol o
gigl a, vaso da nika amirej ibebi umowyal od scemes da gaZarcves. vaso
bagrationi gaZarcves. sof. tyemal aSi I uka da daviT namgal aZeebis sax-
l ebi gaZarcves da gaanadgures. sof. Zvil eTSi tatiSvil ebi gaZarcves da
maTi saxl kari gaanadgures. sof. yornisSi mohkl es daTiko da titiko
xerxeul iZeebi. samaCabl oSi vano maCabel is saxl kari gaZarcves. sof. knol ev-
Si fal avandiSvil ebis eqvsi oj axi gaanadgures. yvel aferi dai taces (saqone-
l i, frinvel i, xorbal i), gaanadgures wignebi, istoriul i sigel ebi, saoj axo
dokumentebi. sof. osiaurSi 8 marts giorgi dimitris Ze veziriSvil is
oj axi amowyvites. mohkl es giorgi, misi da I liza fal avandiSvil isa da
I lizas ori Svil i_ qal -vaji. sof. kaspSa da igoeTs Soris mohkl es
g.v.zaal iSvil i.

dokumenti # 3

Tbilisis guberniis komisariss k. j. afarizis tel efonograma_ gor-
is mazraSi poruCi k harebovis razmis mier qarTvel i Tavadaznau-
robis amowyvetis Sesaxeb. 1918 wel is Teberval i

Телефонограмма № 368

3- го февраля 1918 года. От Тифлисского Губернского Комиссара; В Грузинский Национальный Совет; В Осетинский Национальный Совет; В Армянский Национальный Совет; В Мусульманский Национальный Совет; В Тбилисский Губернский Исполнительный комитет; В Кавказский Областной Комитет с.д рабочей партии; В кавказский Краевой Центр Советов рабоч. солд. и кр. депутатов; В Закавказский Комиссариат.

Сегодня ко мне явились представители помещиков Гомского участка, Горийского уезда, Паловандови, Амираджиби, Цициановы и др. и заявили, что в этом участке, под предводительством некоего Харебашвили, именующего себя прапорщиком, осетина по национальности, образовалась шайка численностью 250- 300 человек, вернувшихся с фронта солдат, осетины по национальности.

Означенная шайка производит в Гомском участке насилия, грабежи, убийства, вырезая целые семьи помещиков. Третьего дня вырезана вся семья помещика Георгия Николаевича Визирова в сел. Осиаури.

Сознательная часть крестьянства протестует против действий означенной шайки, но не может оказать сопротивление, в виду неорганизованности своей и отсутствия на руках оружия. Несознательная часть крестьянства поддерживает эту шайку и с каждым часом увеличивает её численность.

Необходима срочная мера для пресечения дальнейших злодейских действий помянутой разбойничьей шайки, прикрывающейся лозунгами большевизма. Противопоставить ей вооруженную силу я не имею возможности, за отсутствием в моем распоряжении какой бы то ни было реальной силы.

Посылать же незначительную силу Горийской уездной милиций нет смысла, так как можно быть заранее уверенным, что милиция эта не сумеет дать должного отпора шайке, и этим будет окончательно дискредитирована в глазах населения, администрации и положение помещиков еще ухудшится.

Единственной целесообразной мерой в данный момент мне представляется выезд на место делегации, состоящей из представителей политических и общественных организаций национальных советов, исполнительных комитетов и Закавказского Комиссариата.

Для осуществления обозначенной меры, выезжаю, в понедельник, 5- го февраля с утренним поездом в Горийский уезд и прошу к этому времени делегировать своего представителя. Для выезжающей делегации им будет представлен особый вагон.

Поезд отходит в 8 час. утра.

Губернский Комиссар К.Джапаридзе.

dokumenti # 4

სამხრეთ ოსეთის- ეროვნული საბჭოს პირველი სესიის 1918 წლის
მარტის სხდომის ოქმი

Протокол

Первой сессии Южно- Осетинского Национального Совета в м. Цхинвали 2, 3, 4 марта 1918 года.

Накануне сессии пополняется порядок дня, вырабатывается регламент и намечаются в осетинских районах пункты для митингов.

Второго марта сессия открывается речью Председателя Совета Г.А.Гаглоева: Оратор, раскрывая перед собранием картину современного состояния Российской республики, в процессе постепенного расчленения единого целого, призывает все силы демократии к единению для достижения конечных идеалов революции. Враг у ворот, он покушается на нашу свободу и мы достойно должны отразить его.

Представитель Грузинского Национального Совета в А.Кецховели приветствует осетинский Совет и призывает осетинский народ следовать примеру южных соседей, готовящихся к встрече врага с оружием в руках.

В это время в собрании появляется П.Ефремидзе, который единогласно избирается в почетные председатели. П.Ефремидзе благодарит южонас (Южн. Ос. Нар. Сов.) за оказанную ему честь и приветствует собрание. «Нам не страшны никакие угрозы извне, свобода наша в безопасности, если мы вместо гражданской войны и национальных распрей, все силы наши направим к отражению врага»...

После приветствия южонас переходит к обсуждению вопросов, стоящих в порядке дня. Член секретариата Совета тов. Вл.Ал.Газаев делает общий доклад о деятельности Совета за короткое его существование. Осетинский народ доверил судьбу свою избранному им Совету и последний честно несет свой долг перед народом. Полк почти сформировался, перевальная дорога строится, необходимый материал добыт, введение земства и выделение всей южной осетии в особую административную единицу в стадии своего осуществления. Южонас- звено в стальной цепи Кавказской демократии, это опора народа в годину испытаний. Вся деятельность Совета направлена к поднятию благосостояния края, культурного уровня населения и есть надежда, что южонас оправдает возлагаемые на него надежды.

А.Дзасохов подробно освещает вопрос о полке. Осетинский полк- это единица не только военная, но и организация революционная. Из полка мы должны создать силу, способную защитить все завоевания революции, из него мы должны создать «Народный университет», способный нести познания в темные народные массы. Таков идеал Совета. Насколько осуществим этот идеал в условиях военного времени- предрешить невозможно... Враг наступает и революционная армия не может допустить его отнять добытые кровью народа, права.

Поднятый вопрос о войне вызывает ряд страстных прений. Выступают, как члены Совета, так и гости.

«Турецкий режим нам не сулит ничего отрадного. Мы попадаем в условия более тяжелые, чем при Николае Втором. По этому весь Кавказ, как один человек, должен стать на защиту добытой Свободы» /Г.Гаглоев/. «Чтобы не упустить революции и избегнуть рабства пусть каждый смело идет в полк» /Кюдзебисов/. «Лучше погибнуть в борьбе за свободу, чем влечить позорную жизнь под ярмом рабства» /Г.Дзасохов/. «Рать павших героев зовет нас к победе, к борьбе. Да не допустим турецкую пята попирать могилы» /А.Кецховели/. В таком же духе высказывается целый ряд других ораторов.

Постановлено: Признать необходимым дальнейшее формирование Южно- Осетинского полка. Доверить это А.Дзасохову, который должен действовать в пределах прав, предоставленных ему Правительством Закавказской республики и Южно- осетинским Национальным Советом. Объявить во все услышание, что осетинский народ в единении с демократией республики, готов, как один человек, восстать на защиту свободы и революции, откуда бы им ни грозила опасность.

По вопросу о перевальной дороге выступает Г.Гаглоев. Совет с самого начала своей деятельности прилагает свои усилия к тому, чтобы голодающая Южная Осетия соединилась с хлебородным севером, чтобы север и юг приобщились к общей культуре. При помощи членов Совета Инженеров И.Т.Собиева и А.Н.Гаглоева Южонасу удалось приобрести четыре вагона необходимого для дороги имущества, оставленного после ликвидации Батумо-Трапезундской Шоссейной дороги. Вагоны стоят на ст. Карели; надо их выгрузить, организовать перевозку. Необходимы на это средства, а их нет у Совета. Выразив благодарность И.Собиеву и А.Гаглоеву, оратор просит собрание придти на помощь Совету и дать взаимобразно деньги.

Через короткое время к столу председателя подается 9400 р. собранных в среде присутствующих. Избираются комиссии: 1). по перевозке имущества из Карели до Джавы и 2). финансово- хозяйственная.

В первую вошли: А.М.Джатиев, Г.Кулумбеков, А.Абаев, М.Санакоев, М.Кумаритов, Н.Джиоев и Д.Ханикаев.

Во вторую вошли: А.Джатиев, Г.Кулумбеков, М.Кумаритов, С.Санакоев и И.М.Санакоев. Кандидат Е.С.Гулиев.

По вопросу о бревнах выступает Вл.Ал.Газаев. Оратор знакомит собрание с постановлениями двух Южно- Осетинских съездов и Совета. «Хищнически вырубленный лес конфискуется и передается в распоряжение Южонас» такова воля народа и Совета. Южонасом уже избрана комиссия из 3 лиц, коей поручено приступить к сплаву бревен и их реализации на нужды строящейся дороги и Национального Совета. Оратор просит комиссию к работам приступить скорее.

Ряд ораторов подтверждают это предложение.

Постановлено: Хищнически, за время революции, вырубленный лес конфисковать на нужды строящейся перевальной дороги и Национального Совета.

Избирается экспертная комиссия: Б.Кочиев, А.Джатиев, М.Кумаритов, Д.Ханикаев, Г.Шавлохов.

В комиссии по сплаву бревен остается: Гр.Дзасохов, Вл.Гаглоев и В.Н.Газаев.

Далее Г.А.Гаглоев выступает с речью об анархии в плоскостных районах Южной Осетии. Вся вина в этом падает на вернувшихся с фронта некоторых солдат. Они выступают против существующих революционных организаций и тем усиливают анархию. Ужасы, творимые ими в Горийском уезде, свидетельствуют, что тут перед нами не идейный большевизм, а абрачество, грабеж. Необходимо приложить все силы к успокоению умов, разъяснить народу современное положение республики и вообще ввести систематическую революционную пропаганду, создать демократические организации в деревнях, и тем изолировать преступные элементы от революционной демократии. Необходимо также отобрать имеющееся у ненадежных элементов оружие и образовать крестьянскую красную гвардию.

А.Джатиев, Н.Ханикаев, З.Кумаритов и др. указывают, что необходимо заново перестроить весь аппарат сельской власти. Избрать комиссаров, соответствующих своему назначению.

Постановлено: Со всякими анархическими выступлениями преступных элементов бороться всеми имеющимися в распоряжении Совета средствами. Делегировать на места своих представителей для систематической, планомерной работы среди крестьянства. Признать необходимым отбирать оружие у ненадежных элементов и вести регистрацию оружия.

Организовать исполнительные комитеты из лучших представителей местного трудового

населения. Создать крестьянскую красную гвардию, которая должна находиться в распоряжении Советов крест. депут. или соответ. революц. организации.

По вопросу о земле постановлено: организовать в Горно- Осетинском районе земельный комитет. Предложить каждой деревне /до 100 дым./ избрать земельные комиссии, коим поручить представить в Земельную секцию южонас подробные сведения о наличии удобной земли, урожайности и т.д. для детальной разработки земельного вопроса в Южной Осетии. Предложить Горно- Осетинскому Исполнительному Комитету избрать одного представителя в Цхинвальскую Земельную Управу.

По вопросу о продовольствии постановлено: Поручить избранным уполномоченным Ал.М.Джатиеву и Н.З.Джиоеву (кандидаты к ним Ф.Санакоев и Мате Чабиев) закупку кукурузы на Сев. Кавказе. Просить у зажиточных граждан за % деньги на нужды продовольствия. Организовать сбор для нуждающегося в хлебе населения.

Председатель Г.Гаглоев. /подпись/

Тов. Секретаря В.Газаев. /подпись/

dokumenti #. 5

osebis VI yril obis (1918 wl is 4 dekemberi) mier, osebis erovnul i sabWos ufl ebamosil ebis Sesaxeb miRebul i `debul eba-

muxl i 1. vidre damfuZnebel i kreba saxel mwifoebriw wesrigs daamyarebdes, umaRl esi Zal aufl eba oseTis teritoriaze ekuTvnis oseTis erovnul yril obas da erovnul sabWos; **muxl i 2.** oseTis erovnul i sabWo aris: a)sakanonmdebl o yril oba; b)umaRl esi saxel mwifoebriwi organo da xel mZRvanel i Zal a. yvel a dadgenil ebis miReba erovnul i sabWos xel Si unda gadavides; **muxl i 3.** oseTis erovnul sabWos ufl eba aqvs Seavsos da ganmartos erovnul i yril obis mier miRebul i dadgenil ebani: a)adgens kanonebs, roml ebic ar ewinaaRmdegebian erovnul i yril obis dadgenil ebebs da ar datvirTavs mcxovrebl ebs axal i gadasaxadebiT; b)ufl eba aqvs uki dures SemTxvevaSi gamosces dadgenil ebebi mimdinare momentis Sesaxeb, rasac gansaxil vel ad warudgens erovnul i yril obis morig sxdomas.

Seni Svna: debul ebani miRebul i unda iqnas yril obaze kenWisyris saSual ebiT umravl esobis mier.

muxl i 4. oseTis erovnul sabWos sakanonmdebl o iniciativis ufl eba eZl eva; **muxl i 5.** erovnul i yril obisadmi warsadgeni yvel a sakanonmdebl o winadadeba erovnul i sabWos mier unda iqnas ganxil ul i. **muxl i 6.** oseTis erovnul i sabWo, oseTis teritoriaze qmnis erovnul j ars, kontrol s uwevs yvel a sasofl o_ sameurneo dawesebul ebas da xel mZRvanel obs maT saqmianobas; **muxl i 7.** erovnul i yril obis mier iniSneba saxal xo mil iciis gamge da saxel mwifo organoTa gamge;

Seni Svna: erovnul sabWos SeuZl ia undobl oba gamoucxdos komisars, ris gamoc komisari Tanamdebobidan midis. erovnul sabWos ufl eba aqvs, mmarTvel oba mis mier daniSnul pirovnebas Caabaros.

muxl i 8. komisarīs TanaSemweebś da saxel mwifo organoebis gamgeebś erovnu-
 l i yril oba irCevś; **muxl i 9.** oseTis erovnul sabWos irCevś osi xal xi;
muxl i 10. erovnul sabWos Tbil isSi hyavs warmomadgenel i erovnul i
 interesebis dasacavad; **muxl i 11.** erovnul sabWos xel Sekrul ebebis dadeba
 SeuZl ia mezobel erebTan. am xel Sekrul ebebs gansaxil vel ad warudgens
 erovnul yril obas; **muxl i 12.** osebis erovnul i sabWos wevroba sapatioa;
muxl i 13. deputatis pirovneba xel Seuxebel ia da imyofeba oseTis xal x-
 is dacvis qveS; **muxl i 14.** deputatebi arCeul ni arian erTi wl is vadiT da
 fics deben konstituciaze; **muxl i 15.** erovnul i sabWos dadgenil ebis
 gareSe, deputats Tavisufl ebas veravin waarTmevs; **muxl i 16.** oseTis erovnu-
 l i sabWo Sedgeba: **a)**12 deputatisa da 12 kandidatisagan; **b)**oseTis jaris
 ori deputatisagan; **g)**Crdil o oseTis kooperaciebis erTi deputatisgan;
d)Crdil o oseTis mowafeebis erTi deputatisagan; **e)**mozdokis mazris osebis
 erTi deputatisagan; **v)**l abiniis osebis erTi deputatisagan; **muxl i 17.**
 oseTis teritoriaze mcxovreĳ qarTvel ebs, erovnul sabWoSi erTi adgil i
 eZl eva; **muxl i 18.** oseTis erovnul sabWoSi kandidatebi damatebiT depu-
 tatebad iTvl ebian; **muxl i 19.** oseTis erovnul i sabWos seqcia funqcion-
 irebs samxreT oseTSi; **muxl i 20.** samxreT oseTis seqcias mudmivi warmo-
 madgenel i hyavs oseTis erovnul sabWoSi, romel ic kavkavSi imyofeba; **mux-**
l i 21. erovnul i seqciis Sinagan wesdebas adgens erovnul i sabWo; **muxl i**
22. gansakuTrebul SemTxvevaSi erovnul i sabWo TaTbirobs kandidatebT-
 an; **muxl i 23.** saerTo osuri sakiTxis gadasaWrel ad, srul iad oseTis
 saxal xo yril oba unda iqnas mowveul i; **muxl i 24.** erovnul i yril obis
 sagangebo sesias, 30 deputatis gancxadebis Tanaxmad iwvevs erovnul i sab-
 Wo; **muxl i 25.** erovnul i sabWo pasuxismgebel ia yril obis winaSe; **muxl i**
26. am konstituciaSi Sesworebebis da damatebebis Setana
 mxol od erovnul yril obas SeuZl ia.

dokumenti # 6

**goris samazro erobis xmosanTa yril obis 1919 wl is 16 martis
 dadgenil eba, goris mazris wvril saerobo erTeul ebad dayofis
 Sesaxeb**

goris mazra dayofil i iqnas 20 wvril saerobo erTeul ad:

1. atenis eroba, romel Siac Sevl en xidi sTavis, ateni sa da bobnevis sazoga-
doebebi.
2. mej vrisxevis_ Sevl en mej vrisxevisa da yofil i andoreTis sazogadoe-
bebi.
3. xel Tubnis_ xel Tubnis sazogadoeba.
4. tyviavis_ tyviavisa da mereTis sazogadoebebi.
5. qvemoWal is_ qvemoWal isa da kaspis [sof. S.v.] sazogadoebebi.
6. axal qal aqis [sof. kaspis rn- Si. S.v.] _ axal qal aqis, metexisa da doe-
sis sazogadoebebi.

7. kavTisxevis_ kavTisxevisa da niCfisis sazogadoebebi.
8. qarel is_ qarel is, zRudarisa da xvedureTis sazogadoebebi.
9. ruisis_ ruisis sazogadoeba.
10. dirbis_ dirbis sazogadoeba.
11. gomis_ moxisisa da al is sazogadoebebi.
12. avl evis- avl evis sazogadoeba.
13. xaSuris_ xcisis da osiauris sazogadoebebi.
14. suramis_ qviSxeTisa da itriis sazogadoebebi.
15. borj omis_ bakurianisa da cixisj varis sazogadoebebi.
16. cxinval is_ cxinval is, TamaraSenisa da dicis sazogadoebebi.
17. Sindisis- Sindisis, avl evis, nul isa da dvanis sazogadoebebi.
18. arkneTis_ arkneTis, wunarisa da yornisis sazogadoebebi.
19. vanaTis_ vanaTis, ortevisa da bel oTis sazogadoebebi.
20. j avis_ j avis, yemul Tisa da rokis sazogadoebebi.

dokumenti # 7

`samxreT oseTis- erovnul i sabWos mier saqarTvel os mTavrobis
Tavmj domarisadmi gagzavnil i weril i

Председателю Правительству Грузинской Демократической Республики. №1490

Южно- Осетинский Национальный Совет просит Вас не отказать сделать распоряжение подведомственным учреждениям и должностным лицам о том, чтобы переписка с Осетинским Национальным Советом и Осетинскими Обществами велась на русском языке, так как знающих грузинский язык в учреждениях Осетии почти нет, а о содержании переводчиков за отсутствием средств не приходится и говорить.

Южно- Осетинский Национальный Совет.

Председатель /подпись/

4. III. 1919 г.

dokumenti # 8

saqarTvel os mTavrobis saqmeTa sammarTvel os mier, Sinagan
saqmeTa saministros kancel ariisadmi gagzavnil i weril i

saqarTvel os respubl ika. saqmeTa mmarTvel oba. 7 marti 1919 w. # 605.
Sinagan saqmeTa saministros kancel ariis direktors (piri yvel a uwyebis, sasur. sab. da saxel m. kontrol is)
gaaxl ebT ra samxreT oseTis erovnul i sabWos Suamdgoml obis pirs, miw-
er- moweris warmoebis Sesaxeb rusul enaze, gTxovT, raTa xsenebul i
Suamdgoml oba Sewynarebul i iqnas.
saqmeTa mmarTvel i (xel moweril ia).
saqmis mwarmoebel i (xel moweril ia).

dokumenti # 9

iusticiis saministros kancel ariis mier saqarTvel os mTavrobis saqmeTa sammarTvel osadmi gagzavnili werili

iusticiis saministro. respublikis mTavrobis saqmeTa sammarTvel os
1919 w. martis 11

damatebit Tqvenis a/w. martis 7- is # 605 momarTvisa da Tanaxmad b.n. ministris gankargul ebisa, iusticiis saministros kancel aria gTxovT gvacnobot, visis gankargul ebit gamoigzavna iusticiis saministroSi saqarTvel os osTa erovnul i sabWos Suamdgoml oba, mastan yvel a miwer- moweris rusul enaze warmoebis Sesaxeb da gaqvT Tu ara am sagnis Sesaxeb respublikis mTavrobis brZaneba, vinai dan saministros kancel aria awarmoebis mTel miwer- moweras qarTul enaze.

kancel ariis direktori (xel mowerilia).
saerto ganyofil ebis ufrosi (xel mowerilia).
saqmis mwarmoebel i (xel mowerilia).

dokumenti # 10

saqarTvel os mTavrobis saqmeTa sammarTvel os mier iusticiis saministros kancel ariisadmi gagzavnili werili

saqarTvel os mTavrobis saqmeTa sammarTvel o. iusticiis saministros
kancel ariis direktors. 17 marti 1919 w. # 650

pasuxad Tqveni a/w. martis 11 # 1144 momarTvisa mTavrobis saqmeTa mmarTvel oba gacnobeT, rom gankargul eba osTa erovnul i sabWos Suamdgoml obis Sewynarebis Sesaxeb, rom miwer- mowera Cvens dawesebul ebels da maT Soris xdebodes rusul enaze_ moaxdina mTavrobis saqmeTa mmarTvel - ma. mTavrobis dadgenil eba amis Sesaxeb ar yofil a da arc unda yofil iyo, radganac Tavistavad cxadia, rom sxva erebtan miwer- mowera unda swarmoebdes maT enaze, an im enaze, romel zedac maT surT miwer- moweram iwarmoos. sxvanairad moqceva saqarTvel os demokratiul i respublikis dawesebul ebels ar SeuZlia, radganac es iqneba Ralati im principebisa, romel zedac aris agebul i Cveni respublika da Tu miviRebT mxedvel obaSi im garemoebas, rom osuri erovnul i sabWos Txovna advili dasakmayofil ebel ia, am Txovnis Seusrul ebl oba usamarTli oc iqneboda.

saqmeTa mmarTvel i (xel mowerilia).
saqmis mwarmoebel i (xel mowerilia).

dokumenti # 11

iusticiis saministros kancel ariis mier saqarTvel os mTavrobis saqmeTa sammarTvel osadmi gagzavnili weril i

iusticiis saministro. 1919 w. martis 20
respubl ikis mTavrobis saqmeTa sammarTvel os # 986

pasuxad Tqveni a. w. martis 7- is # 605 momarTvisa osTa erovnul i sabWos Suamdgoml obis Sewynarebis Sesaxeb, rom saministros miwer- mowera mas- Tan swarmoebdes rusul enaze, iusticiis saministros kancel aria gac- nobebT, rom mas ar SeuZl ian daicvas Tqvens momarTvaSi aRniSnul i wesi miwer- mowerisa, vinaidan kancel arias aqvs b.n. ministris kategoriul i gankargul eba, roml is mixedviTac saqarTvel os saxel mwifo enaze unda awarmoebdes miwer- moweras, Tundac qveSevrdomi ara qarTvel toms ekuTvno- des.

xsenebul i gankargul ebis gauqmeba an Secvla Seadgens mxol od minis- tris an respubl ikis mTavrobis kompetencias.

kancel ariis direktori (xel mowerilia).
saerto ganyofil ebis ufrosi (xel mowerilia).
saqmismarmoebel i (xel mowerilia).

dokumenti # 12

saqarTvel os mTavrobis saqmeTa sammarTvel os mier, saqarTvel os mTavrobis Tavmj domaris moadgil is e.gegeWkorisadmi gagzavnili weril i

saqarTvel os respubl ika. saqmeTa mmarTvel oba
24 marti 1919 w. # 609

saqarTvel os respubl ikis mTavrobis Tavmj domaris moadgil es
e.p.gegeWkors

6 ama marts mTavrobis Tavmj domaris saxel ze Cemdami rwmunebul mmarTvel obaSi Semovi da samxreT oseTis erovnul i sabWos Txovna, romel - Siac xsenebul i sabWo Suamdgoml obs, rom Cveni respubl ikis dawesebul e- bebs da maT Soris miwer- mowera warmoebdes rusul enaze, radganac qarTul i enis mcodneni maT TiTqmis ar moepovebaT.

vixel mZRvanel e ra ama wl is 1 oqtombris (unda iyos 1918 wl is S. v.) parl amentis dadgenil ebiT, saidanac naTI ad sCans, rom parl aments ara Tu ar ufiqria erovnul umciresobaTa Tvis enaze miwr- moweris warmoebis ufl ebis SezRudva, aramed amis Sesaxeb cal ke kanonis gamocemac ki saWi rod dainaxa da agreTve im mosazrebiT, rom sxva erebTan miwer- mowera, Tanax- mad im principisa, romel zedac aris agebul i Cveni demokratiul i respub-

I ika, unda warmoebdes im enaze, romel zedac maTa surT, me Sevatyobine yvel a saminstroebis, rom es samarTiani Txovna osTa erovnul i sabWosi daekmayofil ebinaT. pasuxad Cemi momarTvisa (a.w. 7 martis # 605) iusticiis saminstros kncel ariis direqtori SemekiTxa ra ufl ebis Zal iT gavugzavne mas zemoT aRniSnul i mimarTva.

yovel ive gaugebrobis Tavidan asacdenad, ama Tvis 10 marts am saqmis Sesaxeb me Tqven gamogigzavneT moxseneba da Tqvenc gaiziareT ra zemoT moyvanil i Cemi mosazreba, damaval eT mimewera iusticiis saminstros kncel ariis direqtorisaTvis, rom Txovna osTa erovnul i sabWosi daekmayofil ebinaT. pasuxad aRniSnul i mimarTvisa, xsenebul i direqtori mwers, rom mas `ar SeuZl ian daicvas- Cems `momarTvaSi aRniSnul i wesi miwer-mowerisa.- ese igi, is direqtori ar emorCil eba Cems, mTavrobis saqmeTa mmartvel is gankargul ebas.

mimaCnia ra pirdapir dauSvebl ad amnairi saqciel i iusticiis saminstros kncel ariis direqtorisa, saWirod davinaxe momexsenebia zemoT aRniSnul i TqvenTvis Sesafebi zomebis misaRebad.

mTavrobis saqmeTa mmartvel i kj afarize (xel mowerilia)

dokumenti # 13

saqarTvel os mTavrobis saqmeTa mmartvel is mier sagareo saqmeTa da iusticiis ministrisadmi gagzavnil i weril i

sagareo saqmeTa da iusticiis ministrs 25 marti 1919 w. # 732

amasTanave gaaxl ebT Tqvenc gankargul ebaSi mTavrobis saqmeTa mmartvel is mimarTvas mTavrobis Tavmj domaris moadgil is saxel ze 24 martis TariRiT # 699 samxreT oseTis erovnul sabWosTan miwer-moweris rusul enaze warmoebis Sesaxeb.

saqarTvel os mTavrobis saqmeTa mmartvel i kj afarize /xel mowerilia/

saqmis mwarmoebel i (xel mowerilia).

`samxreT oseTis- erovnul i sabWos mier saqarTvel os damfuZnebeli i krebis sakonstitucio komisiisadmi 1919 wl is 19 ivniss wardgenil i `samxreT oseTis- kantonis konstituciis proeqti

Принят на заседании Южно –Осетинского Национального Совета от 16 июня 1919 г. председатель Ю.- Осетинского Нац. Совета. /подпись/

Проект Конституции Кантона Южная Осетия

Глава 1

Общее положение

Статья 1. Кантон Южная Осетия составляет автономную часть Грузинской демократической Республики.

2. Осетины, живущие в Республике, вне пределов Кантона, подлежат ведению Кантона по вопросам культурной автономии.

3. Республика гарантирует Кантону его права и конституцию, если она обеспечивает осуществление политических прав в демократических формах.

4. Всякий частной союз, всякий договор политического характера между Кантоном и Иностранными Государствами воспрещен. Но в виде исключения, Кантон может заключать с иностранными Государствами договоры, касающиеся народной экономии, соседских и полицейских отношений; однако, в этих договорах не должно быть ничего противного республике.

5. Официальные отношения между Кантоном иностранными правительствами или их представителями имеют место при посредстве Республики. Во всяком случае, кантон может непосредственно сноситься с низшими властями и должностными лицами Иностранного Государства по вопросам, указанным в предыдущей статье.

6. Кантону принадлежит исключительное право эксплуатации лесов, пастбищ, недр и других естественных богатств в пределах его территории.

7. В отношении налоговой системы Кантон приравнивается к другим самоуправляющимся единицам и, наравне с ними пользуется финансовой поддержкой Государства.

8. Все граждане Кантона отбывают воинскую повинность на территории Кантона и составляют отдельную Кантональную войсковую часть Республиканской армии.

9. Командующий Кантональной войсковою частью в мирное время назначается по представлению Кантональной власти.

10. Начальное обучение в Кантоне всеобщее, обязательное и бесплатное. Кантону выдаются субсидии в целях исполнения его обязанностей в области начального обучения.

11. Все языки, существующие в пределах Кантона, равноправны, но сношение и делопроизводство во всех кантональных и республиканских учреждениях совершается на осетинском языке.

12. Все граждане Республики, проживающие в пределах Кантона, считаются гражданами Кантона и пользуются одинаковыми правами без различия национальностей и вероисповедания. В Кантоне нет никаких привилегий- местных, прирожденных, фамильных или личных.

13. Закон гарантирует гражданам Кантона свободу слова, печати, собраний, союзов, веры, совести и неприкосновенность личности и жилища.

14. Никакое выражение мыслей не может быть предметом судебного или админис-

тративного преследования иначе, как в случаях оскорбления нравственности или прав третьих лиц, призыва к преступлению и нарушению общего порядка.

15. Никто не может быть преследуем и арестуем судом иначе, чем в указанных законом случаях и предписанных им формах. К арестованному должно быть предъявлено обвинение не позже 24 час.

16. Иная личность, семья, жилище и документы не могут быть предметом посягательства иначе, как в силу письменного приказа компетентной власти легализующего это действие и мотивирующего его законную причину.

17. Все граждане Кантона, достигшие 20 лет без различия пола пользуются одинаковым избирательным правом- активным и пассивным, за исключением умалишенных, лишенных по суду всех прав и состоящих под судом и глухонемых.

18. Смертной казни за политическая преступления не существует.

Глава 2

Кантональные власти

1. Народный Совет

19. С сохранением прав народа высшая власть в Кантоне осуществляется:

- А. Народным Советом и
- В. Народным Комиссариатом.

А. Народный Совет

20. Народный Совет состоит из представителей народа в количестве 35 избираемых на основе всеобщего, прямого, равного и тайного голосования по системе пропорциональных выборов.

21. Члены Народного Совета пользуются личной неприкосновенностью и не могут быть лишены свободы без согласия Н. Совета.

22. Народный Совет выбирается на 2 (два) года и возобновляется всякий раз полностью.

23. Народный Совет собирается на сессии 2 раза в год, в дни, устанавливаемые регламентом.

24. Народный Совет выбирает из своей среды Председателя, 2- х товарищей и 2- х секретарей.

25. Первое заседание Н. Совета открывается Народным Комиссариатом. Заседания происходят в центре Кантона –Цхинвале.

26. Предметы ведения Народного Совета суть следующие:

- 1) Законодательство, требуемое особенностями местной жизни.
- 2) Организация и избрание Кантональной исполнительной власти.
- 3) Вотирование годичного бюджета и постановление финансового отчета и постановление о заключении займа.
- 4) Установление местного налогового обложения.
- 5) Верховный надзор за деятельностью Кантональн. властей.
- 6) Разрешение пререкании по вопросу о компетенции между административной и судебной властями.
- 7) Представление кандидата на должность Командующего Кантональной вои-

- сковой частью в мирное время.
- 8) Избрание судей.
 - 9) Осуществление референдума и инициативы.
 - 10) Выдача концессий на разработку естеств(енных). богатств Кантона.
 - 11) Пересмотр настоящей конституции.
27. Принятие Н. Советом закона подлежит утверждению главы Республиканской власти.
28. Для действительности постановлений Н. Совета требуется присутствие абсолютного большинства общего числа данного Совета.
29. В Нар. Совете решения принимаются абсолютным большинством голосов.
30. Инициатива принадлежит каждому члену Нар. Совета и это право она осуществляя письменно.
31. Заседания Н. Совета публичны, в необходимых случаях закрыты.
32. Народный Совет определяет формы своей деятельности в наказе.

Б. Народный Комиссариат

33. Высшая исполнительная власть в Кантоне осуществляется Народным Комиссариатом, состоящим из 3 членов; Комиссара по членам; Комиссара по внутренним делам; Комиссара по Народному Просвещению и Юстиции и Комиссара по делам Народного Хозяйства.

34. Народный Совет избирает Председателя комиссаров и поручает ему приглашение остальных двух комиссаров, коих утверждает Н. Совет.

35. Народный Комиссариат ведет, вообще, все дела, относящиеся к исполнительной власти, как таковой; в частности же ему принадлежит:

- 1) Приведение в исполнение законов Республики и Кантона.
- 2) Управление финансами Кантона, о приходе и расходе.
- 3) Назначение должностных лиц и надзор за их деятельностью.
4. Надзор за коммунальными управлениями Кантона.
- 5) Разрешение жалоб на распоряжения коммунальных учреждений.
- 6) Утверждение выработанных коммунами обязательных постановлений.
- 7) Забота о внутреннем спокойствии страны и охране порядка.
- 8) Представление годового отчета об администрации Кантона.

36. Народный Комиссариат ответственен перед Н. Советом и выходит в отставку по выражении ему недоверия.

37. На предъявленный к нему запрос Н. Комиссариат дает ответ перед Н. Советом не позже двух недель со дня предъявления запроса.

3. Кантональный Суд

38. Для осуществления правосудия в пределах Кантональной компетенции существует Кантональный суд.

39. Кантональный Суд образуют первый- апелляционный- окружной суд и третьей кассационный –главный судья с 2- мя заседателями. Для уголовных дел существует суд присяжных.

40. Окончательное устройство Кантонального суда определяет Народный Совет.

4. Коммунальное Самоуправление

41. Положение коммунального Самоуправления в пределах Кан-тона вырабатывается, в соответствии с настоящей конституцией, Народный Совет.

5. Референдум и Инициатива

42. Народу принадлежит право референдума; всякий закон принятый Народным Советом, подлежит всенародному голосованию, если того потребует не менее 300 граждан Кантона в течение 2-х месяцев со дня принятия его Н. Советом.

43. Народу принадлежит право Законодательной Инициативы 1000 граждан – избирателей, которые могут требовать выработки, изменения и отмены законов, принятых Народным Советом. Предложения такие подаются либо устно, либо письменно в Народный Совет, который производит по ним народное голосование.

44. Голосования народа происходят два раза в год.

45. Народные постановления принимаются абсолютным большинством.

46. Конституция – верховный закон Кантона. Никакой закон, стоящий в противоречии с настоящей Конституцией, не может быть обнародован.

47. Исполнение конституции и применение её принципов есть первый долг кантональной власти.

dokumenti # 15

`samxreT oseTis- del egacis mier, damouki debel i saqarTvel os
xel isufi ebisadmi 1919 wl is 27 ivniss wardgenil i gancxadeba

Правительству Грузинской Демократической Республики

Делегация Южно- Осетинского народа считает своим долгом сделать правительству Республики следующее заявление.

По смыслу постановления Джавского съезда Южно- Осетинский народ присоединился к Республике Грузия на основе территориальной автономии, и эта воля нашего народа получала неоднократное подтверждение всем осетинским населением. Имея перед собой пример неудачной попытки осетинских национальных организаций добиться со стороны республиканского правительства признания этого решения осетинского народа и желая сдвинуть с мертвой точки осетинский вопрос, дабы положить конец непрерывным недоразумениям, делегация согласилась с предложением правительства ограничиться уездным земским самоуправлением для территорий населенной сплошной осетинской массой. К сожалению в ходе переговоров при определении границ осетинской самоуправляющейся единицы представители правительства объявили спорными не только те общества, в состав которых входят наряду с осетинскими поселениями и грузинские, но даже и те в которых совершенно нет грузинского населения (Андоретское, Лехурское, Верхне-Хевское и др. общ.) в чем нельзя не усмотреть нарушения культурно- национальных прав «спорных» обществ и желания поставить осетинское самоуправление в такие условия чтобы оно умерло своей смертью. Делегация полагает, что, если даже правительство вопреки неоднократно выраженной воле всего осетинского населения войти в состав осетинского самоуправления будет считать некоторые общества спорными, то во всяком случае этим

обществам должна быть дана гарантия в беспрепятственном вхождении во вновь образуемую самоуправляющуюся единицу без обычной в таких случаях волокиты.

Еще более неблагоприятный для осетинского народа характер носит вновь принятый вопрос об отозвании войск, посланных в Южную Осетию. Правительству известно, что оба серьезных момента, вызвавших согласно объявлению самого правительства принятие агрессивных мер в отношении осетинского населения: деятельность 4-го Южно Осет. Нац. Совета и отсутствие в Южной Осетии угодного правительству административного аппарата, уже устранены и следовательно дальнейшее движение воинских частей может создавать лишь почву для осложнений. Однако правительство выдвинуло новое требование, как условие для приостановления репрессивных мер против осетинского крестьянства. Это требование - «выдача дезертиров». Делегация стоит на той точке зрения, что определенные права в государстве налагают и известные обязанности, тем не менее считает это требование в корне противоречащим элементарным принципам демократического правопорядка, так как нелегитимно связать целый народ круговой порукой за уклоняющихся от отбывания воинской повинности. Если к тому же принять во внимание, как неохотно население идет всюду в ряды войск, если прибавить к тому, что за Осетинским Нац. Советом правительство не признает административно-полицейских функций, то в требовании «выдать дезертиров» нельзя не видеть желания поставить осетинскую делегацию в невозможность ведения дальнейших переговоров и развязать себе руки для осуществления выраженных целей против осетинского населения.

Делегация полагает, что роль Нац. Совета в смысле поддержки правительства могла бы сводиться к объяснению народу его обязанностей, раз правительство идет на встречу нуждам и реализует свои обещания.

Кроме того делегация находит крайне ненормальным, что правительство при разрешении целой национальной проблемы, фактически руководствуется соображениями Горийского уездного комиссара, в осведомленности и объективности которого, есть все основания сомневаться.

В полном сознании своей правоты делегация заявляет, что осетинский народ сделал все, чтобы устранить почву для недоразумения с правительством Республики и, если тем не менее его усилия не увенчаются успехом, то ответственность будет падать не на него, и он будет апеллировать в советы всей демократии.

Делегация: (sami xel mowera aqvs darTul i)
г. Тифлиси июня 27-го дня 1919 года.

dokumenti # 16

saqarTvel os respubl ikis Sinagan saqmeTa ministris 1919 wl is 5
ivl isis moxseneba `osi mcxovrebl ebiT dasaxl ebul i sofl is
sazogadoebebis da sofl ebl cal ke mazrad gamoyofis Sesaxeb-

araviTar davas ar iwvevs CvenSi is garemoeba, rom osebis... kul turul i
ganviTarebisatvis da adgil obrivad cxovreblis mosawesrigebl ad saWiroa
saqarTvel os demokratiul respubl ikaSi am erisatvis farTo TviTm-
marTvel obis miniWebi. mxol od am friad mniSvnel ovani reformis cxovre-
baSi gatareba, aqamdis SeuZl ebel i iyo sxvadasxva pol itikur- ekonomiuri
pirobebisa da umTavresad adgil obrivad mouwyobl obis gamo. amJamad, am

uaryofiTi pirobebis gavl ena sagrZnobl ad Sesustebul ia da osebiT dasaxl ebul i mTl iani teritoriis fargl ebSi TviTmmarTvel obis Seqmnis sakiTxi dRis wesrigSia dasmul i. am teritorias Seadgens sxvadasxva mazrebis sofl is sazogadoebebi da sofl ebi, romel Ta SeerTebiT unda Sesdges egreT wodebul i j avis mazra- samazro administraciul i dawesebul ebiT. Tanaxmad im cnobebisa, romel ic saministros aqvs, axal i mazris Semadgenl obaSi unda Sevides osebiT dasaxl ebul i Semdegi sofl is sazogadoebebi: **1) Sorapnis mazridan_** Cixis sazogadoebis sofl ebi: Tedel eTi, j ul abeTi da xaxeTi; **2) raWis mazridan_** Casavl is sofl is sazogadoeba; **3) goris mazridan_** samTo oseTis raionis- rokis, yemul Tis, j avis sazogadoebebi da **4) cxinval is raionis-** ortevs, yornisis da wunaris sofl ebis sazogadoebebi.

amasTan, zemoaRniSnul sazogadoebes an cal ke sofl ebs axal i mazridan gamoyofis Suamdgoml obis aRZvris ufl eba unda mieces. momaval i mazris mosazRvre sofl is sazogadoebesba da sofl ebs ki_ mazraSi Caricxvis Suamdgoml obis aRZvrisa im pirobiT, rom mazris teritoriis mTl iano- ba, am Suamdgoml obaTa dakmayofil ebiT darRveul i ar iqnes. es gamo-wweul ia im mosazrebiT, rom Tavisufl ad mowyobil TviTmmarTvel obaSi erTnairi monawil eoba miRos axal i mazris arsebobiT dainteresebul ma mTel ma mosaxl eobam da masTan ueWvel ia cxovrebis mimdinareoba TviT wamoay- enebs am kiTxvebs.

momaval i mazris administracia da mil icia, ise rogorc es respubl ikis sxva mazrebSia, gadaecema erobas, am ukanasknel is SemoRebisTanave.

respubl ikis yvel a mazrisaTvis saerobo yril obisaTvis xmosanTa saarCe- vno metri 3576 udris. amis miuxedavad, yovel i mazrisaTvis xmosanTa ricx- vis minimumi gansazRvrul i iyo 25 xmosniT. vinaidan, momaval i mazris mcx- ovrebTa ricxvi sxva mazrebTan SedarebiT gacil ebiT nakl ebi iqneba, am mazris saerobo yril obis xmosanTa ricxvi ganisazRvros 25 xmosniT.

amasTanave vadgen am saganze saTanado dokumentis proeqts.

ministris amx. p.WiWinaZe (xel moweril ia).

vice direktori i.naneiSvili (xel moweril ia).

dokumenti # 17

saqarTvel os respubl ikis Sinagan saqmeTa saministros dekretis proeqti j avis mazris Seqmnis Sesaxeb (1919 wl is 5 ivl isi)

1).osTa mcxovrebl ebisaTvis farTo adgil obrivi mmarTvel obis miniWeb- is mizniT, gamoyofil i iqnas respubl ikis teritoriaze gansakuTrebul i mazra Semdgari osebiT dasaxl ebul i sofl is sazogadoebebisgan Semdegi Semadgenl obiT: a) Sorapnis mazridan_ Cixis sazogadoebis sofl ebi: Tede- l eTi, j ul abeTi da xaxeTi; b) raWis mazridan_ Casavl is sofl is sazoga- doeba; g) goris mazridan_ samTo- oseTis raionis_ rokis, yemul Tis da j avis sazogadoebebi da d) cxinval is raionis_ ortevs, yornisis da wunaris sofl is sazogadoebebi.

2). I muxl Si aRniSnul i sofl is sazogadoebepis da sofl ebis Semadgenl obiT gamoyofil i axal i mazra droebiT iwodebodes j avis mazrad.

Seni Svna: administraciul i centri am meore muxl Si aRniSnul i mazris teritoriis sazRvrebSi dawesebul i unda iqnas sakanonmdebl o gziT, saerobo yril obis wardgeniT. sakanonmdebl o gziT dawesebamdi, administraciul i centrad droebiT CaiTval os sofel i j ava.

3).axl ad gamoyofil j avis mazraSi SemoRebul i iqnas samazro da wvri- l i saerobo dawesebul ebani. samazro_ saerobo yril obis xmosanTa ricx- vi ganisazRvros 25 xmosniT.

4).administraciul , sasamarTI o da sazogadoebriv sammarTvel oebSi saq- mis warmoeba da sj a- baasi da agreTve skol ebSi swavl eba SeiZl eba swar- moebdes osur enaze; j avis mazraSi mudmivad mcxovreb sxva erovnebebs SeuZl iaT Txovnebi da gancxadebebi yvel gan Semoitanon da agreTve, Tavis mSobl iur enaze aswavl on skol ebSi. mazris yvel a administraciul i, sasa- marTI o da sazogadoebrivi dawesebul ebani, saxel mwifo dawesebul ebebT- an da mTavrobis organoebTan damokidebul ebas iqonieben mxol od sax- el mwifo enaze.

5).saerobo dawesebul ebebis SemoRebamdi, droebiT damtkicebul i iqnas samazro komisariatisa da mil iciis Statis proeqti. am saWiroebisaTvis saxel mwifo xazinidan gadaidos xuTas ormocdacameti aTas oTxas or- moci (553440) maneTi erTi wl is ganmavl obaSi. ama 1919 wl is 1 ivl isidan ki oras samocdaTeqvsmeti aTas Svidas oci (276720) maneTi.

6).mosazRvre sofl is sazogadoebebbs mTel i Tavisi Semadgenl obiT an cal ke sofl ebs ufl eba mieces; kanonieri wesiT Sedgenil i ganaCenis Tanaxmad, Sinagan saqmeTa ministris winaSe aRZran sofl is sazogadoebepis an cal ke sofl ebis j avis mazris sazRvrebSi Caricxvis Sesaxeb sakanonmdebl o dawese- bul ebebSi Sesatanad Suamdgoml obani. agreTve, aseTive ufl eba mieces dekretis I muxl Si moniSnul i sofl is sazogadoebebbsa da cal ke sof- l ebs_ aRZran Suamdgoml oba j avis mazridan gamoyofis Sesaxeb.

Seni Svna: sofl is sazogadoebepisa da cal ke sofl ebis mxriT, j avis ma- zraSi Caricxvisa Tu amave mazridan gamoyofis Sesaxeb Suamdgoml obaTa aRZvris dros, aucil ebl ad dacul i unda iqnas piroba, rom ar iqnas dar- Rveul i mazris teritorial uri mTI ianoba (Чтобы не было допущено чересполосности).

ministris amxanagi p.WiWinaZe (xel moweril ia).

kancel ariis direqtoris magiervice direqtori i.naneiSvil i (xel mower- il ia).

dokumenti # 18.
 proeqti j avis mazris administraciis da
 mil iciis Statisa.

Tanamdeboba saxel wodeba	pirTa ricxvi	j amagiris raodeno- ba TveSi.		
		erTs	yvel as	sul
1.mazris ko- mi sari .	1	1000	1000	1000
2.sagzao.	1	500	500	500
3.komisris TanaSemwe, igive mili- ciis ufro- si .	1	800	800	800
4.sagzao.	1	600	600	600
5.saqmi smwa- rmoebel i .	1	600	600	600
6.saraiono komisari .	3	700	2100	2100
7.sagzao.	3	400	1200	1200
8.sakancel - ario xarje- bi .				
yvel as.	—	—	6000	6000
9.sofl is komisari .	7	400	2800	2800
10.mil icio- nerebi : a)c xenosani .	35	600	21000	21000
b)qvei TTa.	5	350	1750	1750
11.sakancel a- rio xarje- bi .	—	450	3150	3150
12.sasofl o mil icione- rebi , 3 Ti- To sofl is sazogadoe- baze.	21	220	4620	4620
sul .	—	—	—	46120

vice direktori: i.nanei Svili (xel moweril ia)
 ganyofil ebis ufrosis Tan. aRm. m.imnai Svili
 (xel moweril ia)

gansakuTrebul i j avis mazris Seqmnisa da am mazraSi saeribo dawesebul ebaTa SemoRebis sakiTxis gasarkvevad daarsebul i sauwyebaTaSoriso komisiis 1919 wl is sxdomebis oqmebi.

dokumenti # 19

sauwyebaTaSoriso komisiis 1919 wl is 11 ivl isis sxdomis oqmi

daeswrnen: Tavmj domare komisiisa grigol gvel esiani, Sinagan saqmeTa saministros warmomadgenel i m.imnaiSvil i, finansTa samin. warm. k.muxranski, iusticiis samin. iuristi d.kvirkvel ia. mdivnobs iv. yifiani.

kreba ixzneba dRis 11 1/12 saatze

Tavj domare akeTebis dawvril ebiT moxsenebas im proeqtebis Sesaxeb, roml ebic erTis mxriv warmodgenil ia osTa del egaciis mier, meores mxriv Sinagan saqmeTa saministros mier aris warmodgenil i. igi detal urad arCevs rogorc erTs, agreTve meore proeqts. komisiis wevrebma erTmaneTs mokl ed gauziars azri am proeqtebis Sesaxeb, magram ramdenadac osTa erovnul i sabWos warmomadgenel ebi krebas ver daeswrnen sxvadasxva mizezebis gamo, komisiამ აუცილ ებელ საუიროებად მიიღნია osTa erovnul i sabWos warmomadgenel is TandaswrebiT ganexil a is sakiTxebi, roml ebic proeqtis ganxil vis dros wamoiWreboda, radganac osebis warmomadgenel s ufro dawvril ebiT ecodineboda yovel i detal i osebis mosaxl eobis Sesaxeb, es ki komisiisaTvis, rogoric ar unda yofil iyo, igi mainc didad saintereso iyo. agreTve komisiამ sasurvel ad scno momdevno sxdomisaTvis mowveul i yofil iyvnen qarTul i universitetis profesorebi b.b. ivane j avaxiSvil i da eqvTime TayaiSvil i, raTa zogi rCeვა maTTvisac ekiTxaT am sakiTxis Sesaxeb.

komisiis Tavmj domare g.gvel esiani

dokumenti # 20

sauwyebaTaSoriso komisiis 1919 wl is 13 ivl isis sxdomis oqmi

daeswrnen: gr.gvel esiani (Tavmj domare), Sinagan saqmeTa saministros warmomadgenel i m.imnaiSvil i, finansTa saministros warmomadgenel i k.muxranski, osTa erovnul i sabWos warmomadgenel i a.Tibil ovi, iusticiis saministros iuristkonsul tantebi v.demidovi da dav.kvirkvel ia (mdivani iv.yifiani)

sxdoma iwyeba dil is 11 1/12 saaTze

gansaxil vel ia Semdegi sakiTxebi: a)samxreT oseTis saswavl ebl ebsa da dawesebul ebebSi saxmari enis Sesaxeb; b)oseTis teritoriis sazRvrebis Sesaxeb; g)mcxovrebTa raodenoba; d)mazris saxel is Sesaxeb da sxv.

pirvel i si tyva eZl eva osTa erovnul i sabWos warmomadgenel s, romel ic sxdomas dawvril ebiT moaxsenebs `samxreT oseTis- sakiTxis istorias dawyebul s amierkavkasiis komisariatidan da damTavrebul i Cveni mTavrobit. cxinval is konferenciis dadgenil ebiT. man ganacxada: `unda Sei qmnas erTi mTl iani oseTis saxel mwifo, romel ic Sesdgeba samxreTi da Crdil - oeTi oseTis SeerTebiT da igi momaval Si ruseTis federaciul republ i- kas unda SeuerTdes.~ amgvari proeqti maT saerTaSoriso konferencii- saTvis ukve warudgeniaT. magram, j er- j erobiT, ramdenadac SeuZl ebel ia dRes_ dReobiT amgvari saxel mwifos Seqmna, igi am komisiaSi sakiTxis ufro farTod dasmas da saqarTvel os sazRvrebSi osebisatvis pol i- tikuri avtonomiis miniWebas moiTxovda.

gr.gvel esiani upasuxebs osTa warmomadgenel s da eubneba, rom yovel g- vari sakiTxebi am komisiaSi SeiZl eba ganxil ul i ignas mxol od im far- gl ebSi, romel ic Sinagan saqmeTa saministros proeqtSia naCvenebi da romel - sac principul ad osTa erovnul i sabWos warmomadgenel ebiC daeTanxmnen, rogorc scans maTi ukanasknel i gancxadebidan.

a.Tibil ovi: Cven vecdebiT ganvaxorciel oT j avis konferenciis rezo- l uciebi da ara ukanasknel i cxinval is rezol uciebi. rac Seexeba swav- l a_ aRzrdis saqmes, igi pirvel dawyebiT da saSual o saswavl ebl ebSi unda iyos mSobl iur enaze. visac surs, ufl eba mieces gaxsnas saswavl e- bel ebi da aswavl os im enaze, ra enazedac mas surs.

m.imnaiSvil i: ra Tqma unda, frangul enaze swavl ebis Sesaxeb l aparaki srul ebiT zedmetia, oseTSi swavl a unda iyos an osur enaze da an qarTul enaze, radganac iq cxovroben osebi da qarTvel ebi.

gr.gvel esiani: sakiTxi enis Sesaxeb unda ganawil des Semdegnairad: a)skol ebSi saxmarebel i enis Sesaxeb erTnairi wesi unda iyos; b)admini- straciul da sasamarTl o dawesebul ebebSi ramdenimed sxvanairi.

a.Tibil ovi: administraciul dawesebul ebebSi saqmis warmoeba unda iyos mxol od da mxol od osur enaze.

gr.gvel esiani: kerZod sasamarTl oSi Cemis azriT unda miviRoT prin- cipal is debul eba, romel ic saqarTvel os parl amentma ukve miRo (mom- rigebel i iusticiis kanonebi. ix. \$ 17). iq sadac qarTvel ebi da sxva erovnebani erTad Sereul ad cxovroben, saqmis warmoeba paral el urad unda midi odes.

a.Tibil ovi: paral el urad or enaze saqmis warmoeba, iq sadac mTl iani osuri mosaxl eoba cxovrobs, CvenTvis yovl ad miuRebel ia.

m.imnai Svili: aris Tu ara Tqvens mier naCveneb osur raionebSi qarTuli sofl ebi?

a.Tibil ovi: aris mxol od erTi sofel i bel oTis raionSi, sof. bel oTi, magram amas didi mniSvel oba ara aqvs.

v.demi dovi: ramdeni mosaxl e iqneba bel oTSi?

a.Tibil ovi: daaxl oebiT 30 koml i, magram unda icodeT, rom Tu bel oTi saqarTvel os raions SeuerTeT, maSin Tqven samxreT oseTs 35 aTas os CamoaSorebT. Sinagan saqmeTa saministros proeqtiT raionSi 70 aTasi mcxovrebiS magier mxol od 35 aTasi mcxovrebi Sedis.

m.imnai Svili: Sinagan saqmeTa ministrTan iyvnen oSta del egatebi roml ebmac qaral dze aRniSnes ramdenime sofel i. axl a ki Tqven met sofl ebs asaxel ebT.

a.Tibil ovi: imas Cvenebi ar daeTanxmnen da swored amit aixsneba is, rom imis Semdeg orjer SevitaneT gancxadeba amis Sesaxeb.

v.demi dovi: sakiTxi enis Sesaxeb principul i sakiTxia. administraciul dawesebul ebebSi rogor unda iyos saqmis warmoeba?

a.Tibil ovi: centrTan damokidebul ebis dros iqneba mxol od saxel mwifo enaze, ise ki osur enaze. skol ebSi swavl ajer-jerobiT CvenSi aris rusul enaze, radganac ara gvyavs sakmao ricxvi qarTvel i da osi maswavl ebel ebisa.

kreba msjel obis Semdegi Rebs aseT rezolucias:

sasamarTl os sferoSi unda darCes saqarTvel os respublikis momrigebel mosamarTl eTa institutis SemoRebis Sesaxeb gamocemul i kanonis (# 66 kan. kreb.) me- 17 da 18 mux. aRniSnul i wesebi. erobaSi da administraciul dawesebul ebebSi saqme, garda saxel mwifo enisa, SeuZliaT awarmoon samSobl o enaze. rac Seexeba skol ebs_ gamowveul i iqnas ganaTl ebis saministros warmomadgenel i.

Semdegi kiTxva teritoriisa da mosaxl eobis Sesaxeb.

a.Tibil ovi: saqarTvel os respublikis sazRvrebSi oSta teritoria Seicavs 3 aTas midamos. am teritorias uWiravs goris, duSetis, Sorapnisa da raWis mTiani adgil ebi da dasaxl ebul iamTlianad osuri masiT. saqarTvel oSi mcxovreboSta mosaxl eobis ricxvi 100000 adis. arian osebi garda zemoaRniSnul i adgil ebisa kidev Telavis, siRnaris mazraSi da borj omis raionSi da mangl isis maxl obl ad. Cvens proeqtSi aRniSnul i goris, duSetis, Sorapnisa da raWis mazris mTian adgil ebSi cxovroben marto osebi. aravit ar xarvezebis iq adgil i ara aqvs. mcxovreboTa ricxvi udris 70000 sul s.

v.demi dovi: am komisiis mizans unda Seadgendes umTavresad oseTis teritoriis sakiTxis Seswavl a. oseTis warmomadgenel is gancxadeba ra Tqma unda mxedvel obaSi misaRebi, magram, ramdenadac sakiTxi metad seriozulia da Cven ki sakmao masal ar mogvepoveba amisaTvis, amitom, saWiroa moviwiOT mcodne pirebi, romel Tac adgil obriv Seswavl il i aqvs es sakiTxi.

gr.gvel esiani: saWiroa erTi sxdoma mivuZRvnaT teritoriis sakiTxis gamorkvevas. amitom aucil ebl ad saWiroa speciel istebi moviwiOT, romel Tac es sakiTxebi yovel mxriv eqnebaT Seswavl il i. Cven gavugzavneT baraTebi prof. j avaxi Svilsa da Tayai Svils, magram sxvadasxva mizezebisa gami, dRes ver daeswrnen. Semdegi sxdomisaTvis vecdebi Tu orive ara, erTi romel ime maTgani mainc daeswros.

ramdenadac special istebi ar iyvnen, sakiTxi Riad darCa. amis Semdeg

osTa warmomadgenel ma ganaxada: Tu SeiZl eba am komisiaSi muSaobi sagan gamanTavisufl eT, radganac ager wel iwad naxevaria am saqmes davsdevT, aTasgvar komisieSi vmuSaobT da bol os araferi gamodis. mogvbezrda amdeni uSedego muSaoba da meti aRar SegviZl ian.

m.imnai Svi l i: Cven gvsurs gavigoT, is sofl is sazogadoebani romel Ta Sesaxeb Tqven pretenzias acxadebT, marTI a wmindanda osuri teritoriaa Tu iq Sereul ia qarTul i mosaxl eobac. saxel dobr andoreTis, bel oTis da sxva sazogadoebebSi?

a.Tibil ovi: zemoxevis, rexul is, andoreTis da bel oTis sazogadoebani rom wmindanda osuri teritoria aris_ riTac gsurT dagimtkicebT. Tu gnebat sofl is sazogadoebaTa dadgenil ebiT, pl ebiscitiT da sxv. is moTxovnil ebani, romel ic Cven wamovayeneT- aris minimumi, raze nakl ebsac Cven veraviTar SemTxvevaSi ver daveTanxmebiT. vacxadebT, rom Cveni sabol oo mizani pol itikuri avtonomiaa, magram, radganac dRes- dReobiT amis ganxorciel eba SeuZl ebel i xdeba, amitom j er- j erobiT am minimums moviTxovT. unda vTqvaT, Cven yovel gvar kanonier zomebs miviRebT, raTa ganxorciel des is minimumi, romel ic Cven warmovadgineT. im SemTxvevaSi, Tu Tqven mas ar daeTanxmebiT, Cven yvel aferze uars ganvacxadebT. imas, rasac Cven vTxoul obT, adasturebda oseTis xal xi yovel Tvis im eqvs yril obaze, roml ebic dRemdis moxda oseTSi.

gr.gvel esiani: saWiroa warmodgenil i iqnas sofl is sazogadoebaTa dadgenil ebani, raTa gavigoT iq mcxovrebt vistan surs yofna. amgvari dadgenil ebani erTaderTi saukeTeso sabuTi iqneba xal xis survil isa, radgan osTa mosaxl eobis Sesaxeb swori cnobebi ar mogvepoveba. me mgonia saWiro iqneba moviTxovoT miwaTmoqmedebis saministrodan statistikuri cnobebi oseTis raionis eTnografiul i Semadgenil obis Sesaxeb.

komisia eTanxmeba am azrs da aval ebs erT wevrs es cnobebi Sekribos. Semdeg miRes rezol ucia, sadac oseTis sofl is sazogadoebebSi daniSnul i iqneba krebebi im dadgenil ebaTa gamosatanad Tu vistan surs oseTis raionis mcxovrebt yofna_ cxovreba. am krebebs usaTuod unda daeswros Sinagan saqmeTa saministros warmomadgenel i raTa dadgenil ebaTa gamotan nis dros araviTar borotmoqmedebasa da Zal datanebas ar eqnes adgil i.

osTa warmomadgenel i wavida. komisi am sxdoma ganagrZo da miRo Semdegi rezol uciebi: rac Seexeba mazris saxel s igi unda iyos im adgil is saxel is mixedvit, Tu romel i sofel i an daba iqneba samazro centrad. am azrs daadga komisia im mosazrebiT, rom TiTqmis arsad mazris saxel i eTnografiul i Semadgenil obis mixedvit ar atarebs saxel s., aramed mas ewodeba im sofl is, dabis an qal aqis saxel i, romel ic samazro centrs warmoadgens.

rac Seexeba TviT am proeqts, romel ic sauwyebaTaSoriso komisi am unda daamuSaos, mas Semdegi saTauri mieca: gansakuTrebul j avis mazris dawesebisa da am mazraSi saerobo dawesebul ebaTa SemoRebis kanon- proeqti. sakiTxi mazris administraciisa da mil iciis Statis Sesaxeb Semdegi sxdomi saTvis gadaido. kreba dai xura 4 saatze.

Tavmj domare gr.gvel esiani, (xel moweril ia).
m.imnai Svi l i (xel moweril ia).
v.demi dovi (xel moweril ia).

dokumenti # 21

sauwyeBaTaSoriso komisiis 1919 wl is 19 ivl isis sxdomis oqmi

daeswrnen: gr.gvel esiani (Tavmj domare), iv.j avaxiSvil i, iustici-
is saministrodan v.demidovi, Sin. saq. saministrodan m.imnaiSvil i,
finansTa saministrodan k.muxranski (mdivani iv.yifiani)

kreba ixsnaba dRis 11 saatze.

Tavmj domare xsnis sxdomas. dRis wesrigSia oseTis skol ebSi enis sakiTxi.

k.muxranski: rigis gareSe Txoul obs sityvas. is ambobs: sanam oseTis saswavl ebl ebSi enis xmarebis sakiTxis gavarCevdeT, manam saWi rod vTvl i mogaxsenoT finansTa saministros Sexedul eba Sinagan saqmeTa saministros mier warmodgenil i proeqtis Sesaxeb. finansTa saministros, Sin. saqm. sami n. proeqti warmodgenil i saxiT miuRebl ad miaCnia, radganac masSi ar aris nagul isxmevi is cvl il ebebi, romel ic mohyveba axal i mazris daarsebas sxvadasxva dawesebul ebebi da Statebis mxrit, raica erThair xarj ebs gamoiwvevs.

v.demidovi: me srul ebit veTanxmebi finansTa saministros warmomadgenil is gancxadebas, proeqtsi savsebit ar aris damuSavebul i teqniki mxare.

iv.j avaxiSvil i: b.bo, sanam garkveul i ar iqneba teritoriis sakiTxi, manam yovl ad SeuZl ebel ia, sxva raime sakiTxis savsebit gadawyveta.

k.muxranski: vidre es cvl il ebebi, roml ebic zevit aRvniSne da mosal o-dnel i xarj ebis raodenoba finansTa uwyebas ar ecodineba, igi warmodgenil proeqts dasturs ver miscems.

gr.gvel esiani: me mgonia enis sakiTxi principul ad SeiZl eba gadawyvetil i iqnes teritoriis sazRvrebis gamourkvevl adac.

k.muxranski: Sinagan saqmeTa saministros mier arsebul i saxiT warmodgenil i proeqti miuRebel ia, radgan masSi mazris daarsebasTan dakavSirebit (dawesebul ebebi, Statebi) teqniki mxare_ xarj ebi araa gaTval iswinebul i.

v.demidovi: igi muxranskis mosazrebas daeTanxma.

iv.j avaxiSvil i: es sakiTxi SeiZl eba Teoriul ad gadawydes Tu teritoria wminda osuri iqneba. maSin sakiTxi sxvagvarad gadawydeba, Tu Sereul i, maSin sxvagvarad. Tu saerto xasiaTis msjel oba gnebaVT, ra Tqma unda SeiZl eba, magram Tu teritoriis sakiTxi ar gamoirkva, manam Znel ia sxva sakiTxebis gadawyveta.

v.demidovi: pirvel i sakiTxi ra Tqma unda aris teritoriis sakiTxi da Semdeg ki sxva sakiTxebi. me wina krebase simZimis centric swored aqet gadmovi tane. Sin. saq. sam. Seadgina komisia yvel a uwyebaTa warmomadgenel Tagan da maT gamoarkvion Tavis uwyebebis moTxovnil ebani am mazris mimarT.

a.Tibil ovi: jer principul ad unda gadawydes teritoriis sakiTxi da mere SeiZl eba Sin. saqmeTa saministros miendos Sedgena dawvril ebiti xarj TaRricxvisa axal mazraSi. gTxovT, am sakiTxis gadawyveta daacqar oT, radgan mdgomareoba CvenSi metad gamwvavebul ia. ara gvyavs momrigebel i mosamarTl eebi da sxva.

komisi am ki dev didxans imsj el a zemoarNiSnul sakiTxebe da ramdena-

dac sakmao masal a xel T ar moepoveboda gadawyvita: a) moeTxovos Semdegi krebisatvis ganaTI ebis saministros, Tavisi warmomadgenel is xel iT gamogzavnos osebis proeqti skol ebis Sesaxeb, romelic maT winaT SeutaniaT, raTa komisiamicodes, Tu ra gzas daadga ganaTI ebis saministro am sakiTxSi; b) radganac teritoriis sakiTxi urTul esi sakiTxia, amitom, komisiagam gadawyvita, sTxovos Semdegi sxdomebisatvis samxedro saministros_ komisiis sxdomaze gamogzavnos topografi. kreba 3 saatze daixura.

Tavmj domare gr.gvel esiani, (xel mowerilia)
m.imnaiSvili (xel mowerilia).
v.demidovi (xel mowerilia).

dokumenti # 22

sauwyebaTaSoriso komisiis 1919 wl is 21 ivl isis sxdomis oqmi

daeswrnen: gr.gvel esiani (Tavmj domare), ganaTI ebis saministros warmomadgeneli al .miqaberize, prof. ivj avaxiSvili, Sinagan saqmeTa saministros warmomadgeneli m.imnaiSvili, samxedro topografi s.cxakala, iusticiis saministros iuriskonsultanti v.demidovi (mdivani iv.yifiani)

sxdoma ixsneba dil is 11 saatze.

krebis sagania: a) topografiuli ganxil va goris, duSetis, Sorapnis da raWis mazrebis; b) osetis saswavi ebl ebsa da administraciuli dawesebul ebebSi enis xmarebis sakiTxi. komisiამერ topografის დახმარებით Semoxaza teritoria osetisa, osebis del egatebis moTxovnis mixedvit. Semdeg Sinagan saqmeTa saministros proeqtis mixedvit. karga xnis msjel obis Semdeg, komisiამასურველად იცნო, რაTa Sedgenili yofil iyo eTnografiული ი რუკა Sorapnis, raWis, goris da duSetis mazrebis.

gadawyda: mieweros samxedro saministros topografiuli ganyofil ebis rwmunebul s gen. benaSvilis Seadginos eTnografiული რუკა oTxi (zemoT-dasaxel ebuli) mazris fargl ebSi.

komisiამოისმინა ganaTI ebis saministros warmomadgenel is al .miqaberizis informacia `oseTis skol ebSi swavi ebis Sesaxeb.- osebis proeqtis moTxovna da ganaTI ebis saministros azri amis Sesaxeb.

ramdenadac miwaTmoqmedebis saministros statistikuri ganyofil ebidan araviTari cnoba ara gvaqvs Sorapnis mazris Cixis sazogadoebis mosaxleobis Sesaxeb, amitom komisiამდადგინა, moeTxovos zemoaRniSnul dawesebul ebebs es cnobebi mogvawodos Semdegi sxdomisaTvis.

amis Semdeg wakiTxuli iqna ganaTI ebis saministros warmomadgenel al .miqaberizis mier oseTis skol ebSi swavi ebis Sesaxeb proeqti_ osebisa da agreTve saministros azri amis Sesaxeb.

gr.gvel esiani: j er_ j erobiT mxol od unda gamovarkvioT, Tu ra enaze unda iyos swavl eba oseTis dabal sa da umaRI es pirvel dawyebiT saswavl ebl ebSi, vinaidan erobas eqvemdebareba dabal i tipis skol ebi.

iv.j avaxiSvil i: diax, aq SegviZI ian pirvel dawyebiT saswavl ebl ebSi enis swavl ebis Sesaxeb vimsj el oT. deda enis xmareba SeiZI eba da verc veravin akrZal avs, mxol od im pirobiT, rom deda enis magier ucxo ena ar iyves. Semdeg igi dawvril ebiT aRwers osebis saxmarebel enas. is ambobs; osuri anbani pirvel ad qarTul i iyo. saRmrTo weril i pirvel ad qarTvel ebma gadaTargmnes osurad. exl ac inerciis wesiT osebi an qarTul ad sweren, an osur enaze, magram qarTul i asoebiT. qarTul i anbani osur enas Zal ian uxdeba. iseTi asoebi, rogorc aris y, W, w, da sxvebi, aris osebSiac da qarTvel ebSiac. Tu osebma anbani gamoigones da mwerl oba SesZI es, magis sawinaaRmdgo aravis ar unda hqondes.

al .miqaberiZe: osebs saxel mZRvanel oebi srul ebiT ara aqvT.

iv.j avaxiSvil i: saxel mZRvanel oebis uqonl oba arafers niSnavs. dRemdis arc Cven gvqonda saxel mZRvanel oebi, magram uceb gaCnda. saWiroa mxol od arsebobdes damuSavebul i ena. saxel mZRvanel oebi mal e Seiqmneba.

komisiam didi xnis msj el obis Semdeg am sakiTxis Sesaxeb Semdegi daskvna gamoitana: pirvel dawyebiT saswavl ebl ebSi osebs ufl eba eZl evaT swavl a awarmoon mxol od samSobl o enazed. im SemTxvevaSi, Tu swavl as samSobl o enazed ar awarmoeben, maSin igi saxel mwifo enaze unda awarmoon.

komisiam xel meored iqonia msj el oba sazogadoebriv da administraciul dawesebul ebebSi enis xmarebis Sesaxeb da Semdegi rezolucia gamoitana: sazogadoebriv da adgil obriv erTeul ebSi osebs ufl eba eZl evaT saqmeebi awarmoon samSobl o enaze. centrTan damokidebul eba ki iqneba saxel mwifo enaze. rac Seexeba oseTis mosazRvre sazogadoebaTa SeerTebasa da gamoyofas, igi rCeba im wesiT da ise, rogorc es Sinagan saqmeTa saministros dekretSia aRniSnul i. agreTve, aRiZra kiTxva samxedro begaris moxdis Sesaxeb, magram, Semdeg komisiam gadawyvita, radganac aq erobazea l aparaki, begara osebma saerobo wesiT unda moixadon.

kreba daixura dRiS 4 saaTze.

Tavmj domare gr.gvel esiani, (xel mowerilia).

m.imnaiSvil i (xel mowerilia).

v.demidovi (xel mowerilia).

iv.j avaxiSvil i (xel mowerilia).

dokumenti # 23

sauwyebaTaSoriso komisiis 1919 wl is 31 ivl isis sxdomis oqmi

daeswrnen: gr.gvel esiani (Tavmj domare), samxedro saministros warmomadgenel i general i a.benaSvil i, saxal xo ganaTI ebis saministros warmomadgenel i al .miqaberize, finansTa saministros warmomadgenel i k.muxranski, Sinagan saqmeTa saministros warmomadgenel i m.imnaiSvil i (mdivani iv.yifiani)

kreba ixsneba dil is 11 saatze.

Tavmj domare detal urad ganumartavs gen. benaSvil s saerTod oseTis sakiTxs da Semdeg oseTis teritoriis sazRvars Sinagan saqmeTa saministros proeqtisa da osebis proeqtis mixedviT.

gen. a.benaSvil i: me mgonia sakiTxi metad seriozul ia. pirvel yovl isa, Cven pirvel rigSi am raionSi mcxovrebaTena unda mi viRoT mxedvel obaSi da iqedan daviwyoT. aq xal xi TiTqmis sul qarTul ad I aparakobs. sj ul i da gvari qarTul i aqvs. xSirad Cvenebic arian Sereul ni da ver gamoarkveT osebia isini Tu qarTvel ebi.

Tavmj domare: Cven SevCerdiT saerobo TviTmmarTvel obaze, magram, ramdenadac saeWvoa is statistikuri cnobebi, roml ebic miwaT_ moqmedebis saministros statistikurma ganyofil ebam mogvawoda, amitom, Cemis azriT, aucil ebl ad unda gaigzavnos special uri komisia, romel ic adgil obriv gaarkvevs sad da ramdeni osi da qarTvel i cxovrobs am raionSi, agreTve imasac, surT Tu ara osebs qarTul enaze saqmis warmoeba da sxva.

gen. a.benaSvil i: Tqveni azri misaRebia. am komisi am agreTve sxva sakiTxebTan erTad unda gamoarkvios, Tu romel sazogadoebaSi ramdeni sofelia, sadac mar to osur enaze I aparakoben. saerTod, oseTis gamoyofis sakiTxs metad didi mniSvnel oba aqvs saqarTvel osaTvis. Cveni qveynis Suagul Si Cven SegviZi an gaviCinoT mteri, romel ic metad saxifaTo iqneba Cveni eris keTil dReobisaTvis. sakiTxi erobis SemoRebis Sesaxeb principul ad mi viRoT ise, rogorc Sinagan saqmeTa saministros gadauwyvetia, magram, j er komisia gaigzavnos adgil obrivi sakiTxebis gamosarkvevad.

komisi am amis Semdeg iqonia msjel oba im sakiTxis Sesaxeb, romel ic erTerT wina sxdomaze wamoayena finansTa saministros warmomadgenel ma axal mazraSi winaswari Statebisa da xarj ebis gansazRvris Sesaxeb.

gr.gvel esiani: rac Seexeba saministros am moTxovnil ebas, igi Tavista vad savsebiT samarTli ania, magram Cven muSaobas metad daagvianebs da gaarTul ebs Tu uwyebes saTanado cnobebi movsTxoveT, amitom, me sakmarisad mimaCnia saqmis gasamartivebl ad Sevitanot proeqtSi erTi zogadi muxl i, roml iTac finansTa ministrs ufl eba mi ecema, Sei tanos saWi ro kreditebi da Statebi biuj etSi mas Semdeg, rac TviT sxva da sxva uwyebidan miiRebs saTanado cnobebs.

komisia am muxl s ucvl el ad iRebs.

amis Semdeg moxseneba gaakeTa **gen. a.benaSvil i** ma da osTa teritoriul i erTeul is Seqmnas saqarTvel os sazRvrebSi Seexo strategiul is mxriv. man Tqva, rom strategiul i mosazrebiT, osebisaTvis cal ke erovnul teritoriul i erTeul is gamoWra saqarTvel os sazRvrebSi mazris saxiT iqneba igi Tu sxva raime saxiT, arasasurvel ad unda iqnes miCneul i.

komisiam miiRo es azri da sTxova momxsenebel s weril obiT am sakiTxis Sesaxeb azri warmoudginos komisias.

komisiam iqonia msj el oba sameurneo statistikis Sesaxeb da aRmoCnda rom: a)zogierT SemTxvevaSi, rogorc mag. Sorapnis mazraSi TiTqmis srul ebiT mcireodenad (geris sazogadoeba naCvenebi ar aris rogorc osuri); b)amave statistikis mixedviT, is sazogadoebani, romel nic osTa del egaciis si-tyviT wmind a osuri sazogadoebani aris, aRweril ni aris zogadad, Seni Sv- nis saxiT, maSin rodesac sxva sazogadoebaSi imave sameurneo statistikuri cnobeiT aRweril ia TiToeul i sofel i cal - cal ke. vinaidan sxva sarwmu- no da axal i statistikuri masal a teritoriis gansasazRvavad ar mogve- poveba, miiRo ra mxedvel obaSi strategiul i Tval sazrisi da agreTve is ori garemoeba, romel ic zemoaRniSnul **a** da **b** muxl ebSi iyo, raic saminis- tros statistikur cnobebs arasarwmunod xdis, komisi am daadgina: I)jTxovos mTavrobas moxdes statistikuri anketa special urad am saqmisaTvis cen- tral uri statistikuri komitetis mier gagzavnil i komisiis saSual ebiT. am komisiam unda Seagrovos cnobei Semdeg kiTxvebzed: 1)ramdenia erTis mxriv osebi da meores mxriv qarTvel ebi da sxva erovnebis mkvidrni yovel sofel sa da sazogadoebaSi cal ke?; 2)osurad I aparakoben osebi Tu marto qarTul i ician?; 3)ra sarwmunoebisani arian osebi saqarTvel o- Si?; 4)saiTken aris midrekil eba adgil obrivi mosaxl eeobisa. e.i. undaT Tu ara ekonomiuris, Tu sxva mosazrebiT gamoeyon gorisa da sxva mazrebs da iqonion administraciul centrada j ava an cxinval i. xol o warmoeba saqmeTa osur enaze administraciul dawesebul ebebSi, skol ebSi da sasa- marTI oebSi.

Seni Svna: es statistikuri anketa unda moxdes im fargl ebSi, romel nic aRniSnul ia osTa del egaciis gancxadebaSi e.i. Sorapnis, goris, raWis da duSeTis mazrebSi. II) vidre sauwyebaTaSoriso komisia miiRebs am anketis mier SekrebiL cnobebs, Sewyitos komisiis sxdomebi, kanon- proeqtis da- muSaveba da agreTve saerobo TviTmmarTvel obis Semofargvl a droebiT gadasdos.

kreba dai xura 3 saatze.

xel s awers:

a.benaSvil i, k.muxranski, m.imnai Svil i, al .mi qaber i Ze.

dokumenti # 24

sauwyeBaTaSoriso komisiis 1919 wl is 1 agvistos sxdomis oqmi

daeswrnen: gr.gvel esiani (Tavmj domare), prof. iv.j avaxiSvil i, finansTa saministros warmomadgenel i k.muxranski, samxedro saministros warmomadgenel i gen. a.benaSvil i, Sinagan saqmeTa saministros warmomadgenel i m.imnaiSvil i. (mdivani iv.yifiani)

sxdoma iwyeBa dRis 11 saatZe

gen. a.benaSvil i: Tanaxmad komisiis wina sxdomis dadgenil ebisa, krebas udgens weril obiT moxsenebas samxreT oseTis sakiTxis strategiul i ganxil vis Sesaxeb.

iv.j avaxiSvil i: adasturebs gen. benaSvil is azrs da ambobs: am raionSiaris 11 gadmosasvl el i Crdil oetidan samxreTSi da rom igi, Tu samxreTis osebi mtrul ad iqnebian ganwyobil ni saqarTvel os mimarT, did safrTxes warmoadgens Cveni qveynisaTvis. mudam saWiro iqneba sagrZnobi Zal ebis yofna am gadmosasvl el ebis dasacavad. Tu saqarTvel os ar unda, rom yovel Tvis safrTxis win idges, man ise, rogorc Zvel ad mas ekuTvnode, xel Si unda Caigdos dval eTi, sadac Crdil oetidan aris mxol od erTi gadmosasvl el i ardonis kari, roml is Caketvas didi Zal a ar swirdeba da roml is daWerac iqneba udidesi garantia imisa, Cven samSobl os Crdil oetidan mtrebis dacemis xifaTi ar aSinebdes.

komisiam gul dasmiT moismina benaSvil isa da j avaxiSvil is azrebi da sakiTxis Sesaxeb gadawyvita moxseneba mTavrobas warudginos. ramdenadac j avaxiSvil i wina krebase ar yofil a, amitom Tavmj domarem mas gaacno miwaTmoqmedebis saministros statistikuri ganyofil ebis mier statistikuri monacemebi da miuTiTa mis saeWwoobaze.

iv.j avaxiSvil i: me mTavrobis proeqtic ki Seuwynarebl ad mimaCnia imitom, rom yovl ad SeuZl ebel ia Cven pirobebSi bunebrivad SeukavSirebel i nawil ebis SekavSireba erT administraciul ekonomiur centrads. magal . raWisa da Sorapnis mazrebi veraviTar SemTxvevaSi ver Seva samxreT oseTis teritoriaSi, radganac TiTqmis yovl ad SeuZl ebel ia, gansakuTrebiT zamTarSi, am mazrebidan yovel ubral o, an Tu gnebat did saqmeebzedac goris mazraSi gadmosvl a. Tu xel ovnurad SekavSireba undaT am mazrebis, ra Tqma unda, SeiZl eba, bunebrivad ki maTi SeerTeba yovl ad SeuZl ebel ia. arc ekonomiuri da arc sxva raime maT ar aerTebs, radganac rogorc vTqviT, Znel ia erTi meoreSi misvl a- mosvl a da damokidebul ebis daWera.

komisiam didxans iqonia msj el oba am metad seriozul sakiTxze da bol os gadawyvita mTavrobas warudginos is, rasac aseTi didi mniSvnel oba aqvs, rogorc dRevandel i, agreTve momaval i Cveni mdgomareobisaTvis.

kreba daixura 4 saatZe.

komisiis Tavmj domare gr.gvel esiani (xel moweril ia).

dokumenti # 25

iusticiis saministro

3906 eqvTime Tayai Svili s

3907 ivj avaxi Svili s

1919 w. 9 ivl isi

iusticiis saministros kancel aria Tanaxmad b-n. ministris daval ebisa, gTxovT orSabaTs ama ivl isis 14- s dil is 11 saatze daeswroT im komisiis sxdomas, romel sac mindobil i aqvs samxreT oseTSi erobis SemoRebis Sesaxeb sakiTxis ganxil va. kreba Sesdgeba iusticiis saministros SenobaSi, sasamarTl os quCa # 32

direktoris mov. aRm. (xel mowerilia)

saerTo ganyofil ebis ufrosi (xel mowerilia)

dokumenti # 26

tel efonograma

finansTa departaments

iusticiis saministros kancel ariidan

1919 w. ivl isis 11. # 3829

Tanaxmad mTavrobis ama wl is ivl isis 3- is dadgenil ebisa osi mcxovrebl ebiT dasaxl ebul i sofl is sazogadoebebis da sofl ebis cal ke mazrad gamoyofis Sesaxeb iusticiis saministroSi amave uwyebis warmomadgenel is Tavmj domareobiT daarsebul ia komisia, roml is kreba daniSnul ia xval 12 ivl iss dil is 11 saatze b-n. ministris kabinetSi. gTxovT gamogzavnoT Tqveni warmomadgenel i am krebaze dasaswrebad.

direktoris mov. aRm. (xel mowerilia)

saerTo ganyofil ebis ufrosi (xel mowerilia)

miiRo oqropiriZem

dokumenti # 27

tel efonograma

Sinagan saqmeTa saministros finansTa departaments

iusticiis saministros kancel ariidan

1919 wl is ivl isis 14. # 3918

iusticiis saministros kancel aria gTxovT gamogzavnoT Tqveni warmomadgenel i dasaswrebad im komisiis krebaze, romel sac mindobil i aqvs

samxreT oseTSi erobis SemoRebis Sesaxeb sakiTxis ganxil va. kreba Ses-
dgebra orSabaTs ama wl is ivl isis 14- s dil is 11 saatze iusticiis samin-
istros SenobaSi. sasamarTI os quCa # 32.

direqtoris mov. aRm. (xel moweril ia)
saerTo ganyofil ebis ufrosi (xel moweril ia)

dokumenti # 28

tel efonograma

saxal xo ganaTI ebis saministros
iusticiis saministros kancel ariidan 1919 w. ivl isis 17. # 4044

iusticiis saministros kancel aria gTxovT gamogzavnoT Tqveni warmo-
madgenel i dasaswrebad im komisiis krebaze, romel sac mindobil i aqvs
samxreT oseTSi erobis SemoRebis Sesaxeb sakiTxis ganxil va. kreba Ses-
dgebra paraskevs ama ivl isis 18- s dil is 11 saatze iusticiis saministros
SenobaSi. sasamarTI os quCa # 32.

direqtoris mov. aRmas. (xel moweril ia)
saerTo ganyofil ebis ufrosi (xel moweril ia)
gadaeca sixarul iZes.
miiRo burWul aZem

dokumenti # 29

iusticiis saministro

samxedro saministros topografiul ganyofil ebas
1919 w. ivl isis 18. # 4071

iusticiis saministros kancel aria gTxovT droebiT gvaTxovoT goris,
duSeTis, Sorapanis da raWis mazrebis erTversiani ruka, romel ic mTavro-
bis ama ivl isis 3- is dadgenil ebisa sWirdeba samxreT oseTSi erobis
SemoRebis Sesaxeb daarsebul komisiis.

direqtoris moval eobis aRm. (xel moweril ia)
saerTo ganyofil ebis ufrosi (xel moweril ia)
saqmis mwarmoebel i (xel moweril ia)

dokumenti # 30

iusticiis saministro

samxedro saministros topografiul ganyofil ebas
1919 wl is ivl isis 19. # 4087
tel efonograma

iusticiis saministros kancel aria Tanaxmad mTavrobis ama ivl isis 3- is dadgenil ebisa, gTxovT gamogzqavnoT erTi samxedro topografi dasaswrebad im komisiis krebaze, romel sac mindobil i aqvs samxreT oseTSi erobis SemoRebis Sesaxeb sakiTxis ganxil va. kreba Sesdgebra orSabaTs ama ivl isis 21- s dil is 11 saaTze iusticiis saministros SenobaSi, sasamarTI os q. # 32.

direqtoris moval . aRm. (xel moweril ia)
saerTo ganyofil ebis ufrosi (xel moweril ia)
saqmis mwarmoebel i (xel moweril ia)

dokumenti # 31

iusticiis saministro 1919 w. ivl isis 19

- # 4089 Sinagan saqmeTa saministros
- # 4090 b.iv.j avaxi Svil s
- # 4091 b. eqv.Tayai Svil s
- # 4092 b. gr.gvel esi ans
- # 4093 b. vas.demi dovs

iusticiis saministros kancel aria Tanaxmad b. ministris daval ebisa, gTxovT orSabaTs ama wl is ivl isis 21- s dil is 11 saaTze daeswroT im komisiis krebaz, romel sac mindobil i aqvs samxreT oseTSi erobis SemoRebis Sesaxeb sakiTxis ganxil va. kreba Sesdgebra iusticiis saministros SenobaSi. sasamarTI os quCa # 32.

direqtoris moval eobis aRm. z.faRava (xel moweril ia)
saerTo ganyofil ebis ufrosi m.mowonel iZe (xel moweril ia)
saqmis mwarmoebel i

dokumenti # 32

iusticiis saministros kancel ariis mier miwaTmoqmedebis
saministros statistikuri ganyofil ebisadmi gagzavnili werili
miwaTmoqmedebis saministros statistikur ganyofil ebas

1919 wl is 22 ivl isi. #4116

iusticiis saministros kancel aria, Tanaxmad mTavrobis ama ivl isis 3-
is dadgenil ebisa, samxreT oseTSi erobis SemoRebis Sesaxeb, gTxovT
saswrafod moawodoT iusticiis saministrosTan daarsebul komisiias Sor-
apnis mazris, Cixis sazogadoebisa da raWis, gorisa da Casavl is sazogadoe-
bebis Sesaxeb statistikuri cnobebi. am cnobebis miReba eval eba iusticiis
saministros kancel ariis saqmis mwarmoebel s ivane giorgis Ze yifians.

direqtoris mov. aRm. (xel mowerilia).
saerTo ganyofil ebis ufrosi (xel mowerilia).

dokumenti # 33

tel efonograma

iusticiis saministros kancel ariis mier samxedro saministros
topografiul i ganyofil ebis rwmunebul is general andria benaS-
vil isadmi 1919 wl is 28 ivl iss gagzavnili tel efonograma

samxedro saministros topografiul i ganyofil ebis rwmunebul s
general benaSvil s

iusticiis saministros kancel ariidan 1919 wl is 28 ivl isi. # 41115
Tanaxmad b-n. ministris daval ebisa, iusticiis saministros kancel aria
gTxovT saTanado gankargul eba moaxdinoT, raTa saswrafod iqnas Sedgeni-
li goris, duSeTis, raWisa da Sorapnis mazrebis eTnografiul i rukebi,
roml ebic sWirdeba im komisiias, romel sac mTavrobis ama wl is ivl isis 3-
is dadgenil ebis Tanaxmad mindobil i aqvs samxreT oseTSi erobis sakiTx-
is ganxil va.

direqtoris mov. aRm. (xel mowerilia).
saerTo ganyofil ebis ufrosi (xel mowerilia).
saqmis mwarmoebel i (xel mowerilia).

dokumenti # 34

tel efonograma

iusticiis saministro 1919 w. ivl isis 30

- # 4265 kvirkvel ias
- # 4266 demidovs
- # 4267 gvel esians
- # 4268 ivj avaxiSvil s
- # 4269 TayaiSvil s
- # 4270 gen. benaSvil s
- # 4271 saxal xo ganaTI ebis saministros
- # 4272 Sinagan saqmeTa saministros
- # 4273 finansTa saministros

iusticiis saministros kancel aria Tanaxmad b-n. ministris daval ebisa, gTxovT oTxSabaTs ama ivl isis 30- s dil is 11 saatze daeswroT im komisi- is kreas, romel sac mindobil i aqvs samxreT oseTSi erobis SemoRebis Sesaxeb sakiTxis ganxil va. kreba Sesdgeba iusticiis saministros Senoba- Si, sasamarTI os quCa # 32

direqtoris mov. aRm. (xel moweril ia)
saerTo ganyofil ebis ufrosi (xel moweril ia)
saqmis mwarmoebel i (xel moweril ia)

dokumenti # 35

mi waTmoqmedebis saministros statistikuri ganyofil ebis mier
iusticiis saministrosadmi gagzavnili Setyobineba
1919 wl is 2 agvisto

В Министерство Юстиции

Сведения о количестве осетин в Шорапанском и Рачинском уездах по данным с.х. переписи 1917 года.

В Шорапанском уезде: Чихское о- во: всего населения..... 6093 ч.
Грузин — 5751 ч. Из них Осетин: в сел. Теделети— 342 ч.

В Рачинском уезде: А)Часавальское общество всего населения ————— 3662 ч. все осетины. В)Мухульское общество: всего населения..... 2119 ч. Изъ нихъ: Грузин ————— 1844 ч. Осетин: в сел. Гадаш — 163 ч. Чвебари————— 112 ч. Всего 275 ч.

dokumenti # 36

oqmis amonaweri
saqarTvel os respubl ikis mTavrobis sxdomis Jurnal idan. 1919 wl is
5 agvisto

mi Rebul ia 11 agvistos 1919 w. muxl i 3. b.

moi smi nes: moxsenebani iusticiis ministrisa: gansakuTrebul i j avis
mazris dawesebisa da am mazraSi saerobo dawesebul ebaTa SemoRebis Sesaxeb
osTa mosaxl eobisaTvis.

daadgi nes: winadadeba mieces central ur sastatistiko komitets, spe-
cial uri komisiis saSual ebiT moaxdinos statistikuri gamokvl eva osTa
mosaxl eobis raionebsi (raWis, Sorapnis, goris da duSeTis mazraSi).

dedanTan sworia. saqmis mwarmoebel i. (xel mowerilia)

dokumentid# 37

iusticiis saministros kancel ariis mier al eqsandre
demidovisadmi 1919 wl is 13 agvistos gagzavnil i weril i

iusticiis saministros kancel aria
13 agvisto 1919 w.

Гражданину Василию Александровичу Демидову

Вновь организовавшийся Центральный Статистический Комитет получил от Правительства Грузинской Республики задание произвести обследование тех сельских обществ Горийского, Душетского, Рачинского и Шорапанского уездов, в которых преобладает население Осетинской национальности. Представительный Центральн. Статистич. Комитетом Центральн. Статистич. Совету материал по этому вопросу, обитый из данных переписи 1917 г. дал основание нектоорым членам Совета предположить, что материал этот может удовлетворить этому заданию. Окончательное решение по этому вопросу Совет отложил до выяснения этого вопроса с компетентными лицами.

Посему Центральн. Статистич. Комитет просит Вас пожаловать на заседание Комиссии в помещении Комитета /ул. Броссе 4/ в пятницу 15 сего августа в 10 ч. утра.

С совершенным почтением
подпись

Часавальский сельский Комисар Д.Хугаев

Копия с копии верна:

Секретарь Ю.- Осетинского Национального Совета /подпись/

dokumenti # 38

iusticiis saministros kancel ariis mier, Sinagan saqmeTa da finansTa saministroebisadmi 1919 wl is 19 agvistos gaghavnil i weril i

iusticiis saministro

4592 Sinagan saqmeTa saministros

4593 finansTa saministros

1919 w. 19 agvisto

amasTanave gegzavnebaT oqmebi im sauwyebaTaSoriso komisiis sxdomebisa, romel ic daniSnul i iyo Tanaxmad mTavrobisa a/w. 3 ivl isis dadgenil ebisa gansakuTrebul i j avis mazris dawesebisa da am mazraSi saerobo dawesebul ebaTa SemoRebis sakiTxis gasarkkevad da romel zedac Tqveni warmomadgenel ic Rebul obda monawil eobas.

direqtoris moval eobis aRm. z.faRava (xel moweril ia)
saqmis mwarmoebel i

dokumentid# 39

sofel kvaJas mcxovrebaTa 1919 wl is 15 seqtembris saerTo krebis oqmis amonaweri, onis sazogadoebidan gamoyofisa da j avis sazogadoebasTan SeerTebis Sesaxeb

Копия

Протокол

Общего Собрания 15 сентября 1919 года жит. сел. Коз. /Кважа/ Онского о- ва, Рачинского уезда, Кут. губ. состоящегося из 35 дымов.

Мы нижеподписавшиеся жит. села Коз обсуждая на общем собрании состоявшемся из 160 человек исключительно, сего числа о присоединении означенного села к Джавскому земству Горийского уезда, Постановили:

Возбудить ходатайство перед Министром Юстиции Грузинской Республики об исключении нас из Рачинского земства Кут. губ. и присоединении к вышеозначенному Джавскому земству.

Подлинный сего протокола препроводить к Комиссару Горно- Осетинского района. Подлинный за надлежащими подписями.

Верно:

Секр. Собр. К.Хугаев

С подлинным верно: /подпись/

dokumentiD# 40

`samxreT oseTis- erovnul i sabWos mier, saqarTvel os iusticiis
saministrosTan `samxreT oseTis- sakiTxze Seqmnil i komisiisadmi
1919 wl is 29 oqtombers gagzavnil i weril i

В министерство Юстиции Грузинской Республики, в Комиссию по ведению земства
Южной Осетии
29 октября 1919 г. Цхинвали

При сем представляются две копии- приговоров жителей Часавальского общества и сел.
Коз. /Кважа/, Рачинского уезда, о включении таковых в состав будущей Южно- Осетинской
самоуправляющейся единицы,- в виде материала при работах вышеназванной Комиссии.

Председатель Совета /подпись/
Секретарь /подпись/

dokumentiD# 41

Casavl is sazogadobis sofel l esoras mcxovrebtA 1919 wl is 29
oqtombris saerTo krebis oqmis amonaweri, raWis mazridan
gamoyofisa da `samxreT oseTisadmi- SeerTebis Sesaxeb

Копия

1919 года октября 25 дня сел. Лесора. Мы нижеподписавшиеся жители Часавальского
сельского общества, Рачинского уезда, Кутаисской губернии явившись сего числа в сел. Лесора
по созыву местного сельского комиссара Дианоза Наниева в числе 126 человек имеющих
право голоса на сходе и выслушав предложение последнего относительно составления
приговора сельского схода о том, желают ли жители Часавальского общества Рачинского уезда,
Кутаисской губернии состоящие исключительно из осетин выделиться из состава Рачинского
уезда и войти в пределы Южно- Осетинского округа, по всестороннем обсуждении этого
вопроса единогласно Постановили: возбудить ходатайство о выделении Часавальского
общества, населенного осетинами, из состава Рачинского уезда и включении его в состав
Южно- Осетинского округа, для чего настоящий приговор представить в Южно- Осетинский
Национальный Совет на распоряжение, в чем и расписуемся. Подлинный с 126 чел.
подписями

С подлинным верно:
Секретарь Южно- Осетинского Национального Совета /подпись/

dokumenti # 42

iusticiis saministros kancel ariis mier, sauwyebaTaSoriso komisiis Tavmj domarisadmi 1919 wl is 5 noembers gagzavnili werili

b-n g.i.gvel esians
1919 w. noembris 5 # 6324

Tanaxmad b-n ministris T.a. daval ebisa iusticiis saministros kancel ariia gigzavniT ra amastan erTad samxreT oseTis nacional ur a/w. oqtombris 29- s # 2742- iT momarTvis pirs sofel kvaJis da Casaval is sazogadoebis mcxovrebtTa saerto yril obis oqmis pirebiturT maTi raWis mazridan gamoyofis da samxreT oseTis ol qTan SeerTebis survil is gamo. gTxovT, b. ministrisaTvis mosaxsenebl ad saswrafod warmoadginoT moxseneba, samxreT oseTSi erobis SemoRebisTvis Semdgar komisiis saqmi anobis Sesaxeb. direktoris mag. d.wiTl anaZe (xel mowerilia)

saerto ganyofil ebis ufrosis mag. m.monaselize (xel mowerilia)
saqmis mwarmoebel is mag. b.gordeziani (xel mowerilia)

dokumenti # 43

sauwyebaTaSoriso komisiis Tavmj domaris gr.gvel esianis mier iusticiis saministros kancel ariisadmi 1919 wl is 6 noembers gagzavnili werili

sauwyebaTaSoriso komisia iusticiis saministros kancel arias

saministros moweril obis (# 3632) gamo ama wl is noembris 5 ricxvidan, maqvs pativi mogaxsenoT: im sauwyebaTaSoriso komisiis, romel ic ikvl evda oSta mosaxl eobisaTvis cal ke mazris gamoyofis sakiTxs, Tavisi muSaoba ar daumTavrebia. misi muSaoba droebiT SeCerebul ia mTavrobis gadawyvetil ebis gamo, romel mac miwaTmoqmedebis saministrtoStan arsebul central ur statistikur komitets daakisra statistikuri masal is Sekreba adgil obriv oSta raodenobis gamosarkkevad. vinaidan is masal a, romel ic Cven xel Ta gvaqvs, savsea mraVal i nakl iT, amitom, raime gadawyvetil ebis miReba, im Suamdgoml obaTa gamo, romel ic aRuZravT raWis mazris Casaval is sazogadoebis da imave mazris sof. kvaJas mcxovrebt, oStaTvis ganzraxul i cal ke saerobo erTeul Si Caricxvis Sesaxeb, j er- j erobiT naadrevad unda CavTval oT.

Tavmj domare sauwyebaTaSoriso komisiisa gr.gvel esiani (xel mowerilia) 1919, 6 noemberi.

dokumenti # 44

**saqarTvel os respubl ika. Sinagan saqmeTa saministros
kancel aria.**

1919 wl is 10 noemberi. # 19995

**iusticiis saministros
samxreT oseTis erobis momwyob komisiis**

gTxovT gvacnoboT, ra mdgomareobaSia samxreT oseTis erobis gamoy-
ofis saqme. am saqmisaTvis arsebul ma komisiam muSaoba Tu daamTavra, am
SemTxvevaSi gamogvigzavneT mTel i masal a.

direqtori (xel moweril ia).
ganyofil ebis ufrosi (xel moweril ia).
saqmis mwarmoebel i (xel moweril ia).

dokumenti # 45

**goris samazro erobis mier saqarTvel os Sinagan saqmeTa
saministrosadmi gagzavnil i weril i. 1919 w. 11 noemberi**

Tanaxmad moweril obisa 3 noembridan 1919 w. #19760, goris samazro ero-
bis gameoba auwyebis saministros, rom goris mazra ukve dayofil i aris
Temebad, roml ebSiac is sofl ebia moqceul i, roml ebic ufro uaxl ovdebi-
an Tems Tavisi mdebareobiT.

mazra aris dayofil i 20 Temad, romel Tagan marto 17 awarmoebs Temur
marTva- gameobas. danarCeni 3 Seadgens mTa oseTis Tems, roml ebic j er
isev Zvel i pirobebiT moqmedeben.

goris samazro erobis Tavmj domare (xel moweril ia).
goris samazro erobis mdivani (xel moweril ia).

dokumenti # 46

**iusticiis saministros kancel ariis mier sauwyebaTaSoriso ko-
misiis Tavmj domarisadmi 1919 wl is 13 noembers gagzavnil i weril i**

**iusticiis saministro
b. g.i.gvel esians 1919 w. noembris 13**

ama noembris 10- is # 19995 momarTviT, Sinagan saqmeTa saministro sTxovs
iusticiis saministros, acnobos ra mdgomareobaSia samxreT oseTis ero-
bis gamoyofis saqme da Tan dasZens: Tu am saqmisaTvis daarsebul ma komisi-

am muSaoba daamTavra, gadaegzavnos mas mTel i masal a.

amitom, Tanaxmad departamentis direktoris daval ebisa, kancel aria gTxovT, rogorc xsenebul i komisiis Tavmj domares, miawodoT saminstros weril obiT Tu ara, Tundac sityvieri cnobebi am sakiTxis mdgomareobis Sesaxeb.

kancel ariis direktori dwiTl anaZe (xel moweril ia)
saerTo ganyofil ebis ufrosi b.monasel ize (xel moweril ia)
saqmis mwarmoebel i b.gordeziani (xel moweril ia)

dokumenti # 47

iusticiis saminstros kancel ariis mier Sinagan saqmeTa saminstrosadmi 1919 wl is 19 noembers gagzavnil i weril i

iusticiis saminstro
Sinagan saqmeTa saminstros. 1919 wl is 19 noemberi

pasuxad Tqveni ama noembris 10- is # 19995 momarTvisa, iusticiis saminstros kancel aria gacnobebT, rom samxreT oseTSi erobis gamoyofis Sesaxeb daarsebul i komisiis Tavmj domares b-n. g.i. gvel esians, ... eZl eva winadadeba raTa man rac SeiZl eba mokl e xnis ganmavl obaSi warudginos iusticiis saminstros moxseneba, romel sac kancel aria miRebisTanave gacnobebT.

direktori (xel moweril ia).
saerTo ganyofil ebis ufrosi (xel moweril ia).
saqmis mwarmoebel i (xel moweril ia).

dokumenti # 48

iusticiis saminstros kancel ariis mier, sauwyebaTasoriso komisiis Tavmj domarisadmi 1919 wl is 27 noembers gagzavnil i weril i

b-n g.i.gvel esians
1919 w. noembris 27; # 7175

damatebiT ama noembris 5- is # 3224 momarTvis Tanaxmad, departamentis mmarTvel is daval ebisa, kancel aria gaaxl ebT ra amasTan erTad gansakuTrebul i j avis mazris dawesebul ebis da am mazraSi saerobo dawesebul ebaTa SemoRebis Sesaxeb Tqvenis Tavmj domareobiT daarsebul i komisiis mdivnis ganmartebas da imave komisiis Sromas, gTxovT, Tu am ganmartebas iziarebT xel i moawerOT, wi naaRmdeg SemTxvevaSi, saWi roa b-n ministristvis mosaxse-

nebl ad, axal i ganmar tebis warmodgena saministroSi.

kancel ariis direktoris T.a. d.wiTI anaZe (xel moweril ia)
saerTo ganyofil ebis ufrosi b.monasel iZe (xel moweril ia)
saqm is mwarmoebel i (xel moweril ia)

dokumenti # 49

iusticiis saministros kancel ariis mier Sinagan saqmeTa ministrisadmi 1919 wl is 6 dekembers gagzavnii weril i

Sinagan saqmeTa ministrs
1919 wl is dekembri s 6. # 7619

pasuxad Tqvenis warsul i noembris 10- is # 19995 momarTvisa, iusticiis saministros kancel aria, Tanaxmad departamentis mmarTvel is gankargul ebisa, amasTan erTad gaaxl ebT gansakuTrebul j avis mazris dawesebisa da am mazraSi saerobo dawesebul ebaTa SemoRebis Sesaxeb daarsebul sauwyebaTasoriso komisiis Tavmj domaris b-n g.gvel esianis moxsenebis pirs.

direktor is T.a. d.wiTI anaZe (xel moweril ia)
saerTo ganyofil ebis ufrosi b.monasel iZe (xel moweril ia)
saqm is mwarmoebel i (xel moweril ia)

dokumenti # 50

sauwyebaTasoriso komisiis mier iusticiis saministros kancel ariisadmi 1919 wl is 25 dekembers gagzavnii weril i

iusticiis saministros

pasuxad Tqveni momarTvisa da Sinagan saqmeTa saministros a/w. 10 noembris # 19995 monawerisa gacnobebT: gansakuTrebul i j avis mazris dawesebisa da am mazraSi saerobo dawesebul ebaTa SemoRebis Sesaxeb daarsebul komisi as j er muSaoba ar daumTavrebia, radganac im masal ebSi, romel ic miwad- moqmedebis saministros statistikurma ganyofil ebam mogvawoda mra val i defeqti aRmoCnda. amis gamo sauwyebaTasoriso komisi am, roml is ukanasknel i sxdomac 1 agvistos iyo, gadawyvita muSaobis Sewyveta manamdis, sanam central uri statistikuri komiteti special urad am saqm is yovel mxrivad gamosarkvevad ar gagzavnida adgil obriv komisi as. amgvare Sinaarsis moxsenebiT sauwyebaTasoriso komisi is Tavmj domare ukve warsdga mTavrobis winaSe. ramdenadac viciT, central urma statistikurma komitetma adgil obrivi komisi a ukve gaagzavna, magram ra Sedegs miaRwia man, central ur statistikur komitets CvenTvis j er ar ucnobebia. rodesac

zemoaRniSnul i saqmis masal as mi vi RebT, muSaobas ganvagrZobT. manam ki am masal ebis mol odinSi vimyofebiT.

komisiis Tavmj domaris magier
mdivani l.yifiani (xel mowerilia)

dokumenti # 51

**saqarTvel os sazRvrebis gamagrebasTan dakavSirebiT, gen. i.odiSe-
l iZis mier saqarTvel os mTavrobisadmi 1920 wl is 4 Teberval s
wardgenil i memorandumidan amonaweri. (es dokumenti pirvel ad
a.menTeSaSvil ma gamoaqveyna)**

... rac Seexeba saqarTvel os Crdil oeT sazRvrebs, Cvens mier parizis mSvidobis konferenciisaTvis wayenebul i moTxovnebis dakmayofil ebande, ruseTis wiTel i armiis mosvl amde aucil ebel ia dadgenil iqnes mxol od Semdegi faqtiuri sazRvrebi:

1.mdinare mexadiris xeobidan Savi zRvis sanapiroze (ix. # 3 sqema), am mdinaris gaswrviv mis saTavemde. samxedro Tval sazrisiT_ mxol od es Tval sazrisia SesaZl o dRevandel areul dros_ es sazRvrebi CvenTvis srul iad aucil ebel ia: mexadiris pozicia, bunebiT Tavistavasd Zl ieri, marj vena fl angidan Semovl isagan srul iad dazRveul i, zRvas mi bjenil i marcxniT, kargad aris damagrebul i aq didi xnidan mdgari Cveni j arebiT. is icavs istoriul ad cnobil gagris gasasvl el s, romel sac Savi zRvis sanapirosaTvis iseTive mniSvel oba aqvs, rogorc derbendis gasasvl el s kaspiis sanapirosaTvis_ orive es gasasvl el i erTi muWajariT mtris msxvil i jaris nawil ebis SeCerebis saSual ebas iZl eva, orive, darial isa da kasiris xeobebTan erTad, mTavari gzebia Crdil oeTidan samxreTisaken momaval i SeiaraRebul i Zal ebisaTvis, moxal iseTa iqneba igi, Tu bol Se- vikebis. kavkasionis qedze gamaval danarCen gzebs ramdenadme msxvil i samxedro mniSvel oba ara aqvT.

Semdeg sazRvari unda gavides samxreT- aRmosavl eTiT kavkasionis mTavari qedis gaswrviv adai_ xoxis mTamde; es sazRvari winakavkasiasa da amierkavkasiis Soris yofil administraciul sazRvars emTxveva da axl a aravistvis ar aris sadao.

2.adai_ xoxis mTidan unda gavides mTavari qedis mdinare ceis Crdil oeTidan Semomfargvl el i ganStoebis gaswrviv sof. nuzal amde, saidanac uaxl oesi mTis ganStoebis gaswrviv unda gaemarTos arxonis mTisken da Semdeg kavkasionis mTavari qedis gayol ebiT yazbegis mTamde.

amgvarad, mdinare ardonis mTel i zemo dineba, centrSi sofel zarabaxiT, rCeba saqarTvel os sazRvrebSi, rogorc iyo istoriul i cxovrebis aTaswl eu- l is manZil ze, TviT ruseTTan SeerTebamde. ardonis (dval eTis) saTavis sakiTxis aseTi gadawyveta gamowveul ia qvemoT moyvanil i mosazrebebiT.

a.samxedro mosazrebani. sakmarisia dakvirvebiT davaTval ieroT # 4 sqema, raTa davrwundeT, rom adai_ xox_ arxonis mTebis monakveTze kavka- sionis mTavari qedis gavla SesaZl oa mxol od iq, sadac igi garRveul ia mdinare ardoniT, saxel dobr, kavkasiis viwro, mkacri da vel uri xeobiT,

romel sac darial is xeobis srul iad anal ogiuri xasiaTi aqvs da sof. nuzal is istoriul ad magar poziciaze iseTive advil i dasacavia ori sami aseul iT, rogoric darial is xeoba `Tamar mefis cixesTan.- sxva adgil eb-Si es qedi srul iad gauval ia Tu ar CavTvl iT urTul es sacal fexo bil - iks abaiTi_ yaudan Crdil oeTiT. ami tom, Cvens winaprebs sof. nuzal is da sof. abaiTi_ yul is poziciebi yovel Tvis xel Si eWiraT da mTel i dval e-Ti TviT ruseTTan SeerTebamde Cvens fargl ebSi iyo. da marTI ac, Cveni winaprebi am bunebrivi samxedro sazRvris nacvl ad md. ardonisa da mdi nare rionis saTaveebis wyal gamyofze gamaval i teris ol qis administraciul i sazRvriT rom dakmayofil ebul iyvnen, maT Crdil oeTis mtrebisgan mxol od kavkasionis xeobis dacva ki ar mouvevdaT (risTvisac ori_ sami aseul ic ki sakmarisia), aramed mTel i aTi uRel texil isa (rasac 20_ 30 aseul ic ar eyofoda cal _ cal ke danawevrebul i da erTmaneTis miSvel ebis SesaZl e-bl obas mokl ebul i, ix. sqema # 4). swored aseT mdgomareobaSi varT dRes Cven. dval eTi Cvens xel T ar aris, da moxal iseTa da bol Sevikebis armiebi, Cvens mimarT erTnairad agresiuul ni da erTnairad imperiuul ni Taviani swrafviT samxreTisaken, saqarTvel os gavl iT mcire aziisaken, erTi punqtis nacvl ad aTSi SemoteviT gvemuqrebian. amastanave, Trusos uRel texil - is gavl iT gza kobze gadis darial is poziciis zurgSi. cxadia, CvenTvis Zal ian advil ia bol Sevikebisagan Tavdacva, Tu dval eTi Cvens ukan iqneba da Zal ian Znel i_ Tu Cvens win. ami tom, ardonis saTave da kasar is xeoba dauyovnebl iv unda aviRoT, Zl ier gavamagroT da Tanamedrove teqnikiT gavaZl ieroT, risi imedic unda gvqondes aq, iseve, rogorc darial is xeoba-Si. Tu amas ar gavakeTebT, maSin momaval i omi bol SevikebTan, Cvens Crdil - oeT sazRvrebze da erTdroul ad TurqebTan Cvens samxreT sazRvrebze, SesaZl ebel ia, CvenTvis dauZl evel i Seiqnes.

b.istoriul _ eTnografiul i mosazrebani. ardonis saTave sofel nuzal amde kasar is xeobaSi TandarTul # 4 sqemaSi miTiTebul sazRvreb-Si dval eTis saxel wodebiT qarTvel i batoniSvil is, vaxuStis cnobil 'geografiaSi- aRweril ia, rogorc saqarTvel os provincia. am provinciis centrSi sof. zaramagTan dRemde ganiSvenebs misi erT_ erTi mmarTvel is_ batoniSvil i giorgis (ix. xuTversiani rusul i ruka) neSTi. daaxl oebiT oriaTasi wl is ganmavl obaSi dval eTi saqarTvel os nawil ia da misi mo-saxl eoba, marTI madidebel i osebi, osuri enis dval ur anu tual ur ki-l oze metyvel eben. iseve, rogorc goris mazris osebi, meore saukunidan qristes dabadebamde, qarTvel ebis gavl enis qveS iyvnen, romel Taganac mi-iRes qristianoba. es ramdenadme aisaxa maT kil ozec, gansxvavebul ze imave enis digorul da tagaurul kil oTagan, romel zec kavkasionis mTavari qedis da kasar is xeobis Crdil oeTiT mcxovrebi musulmani osebi l apar-akoben. dval eTis oSTagan warmoiSva XIV saukunis qarTvel i mweral i dva-l i, ceis xeobis, sof. nuzal is maxl obl ad mdebare sof. ceis mkvidri. igi ierusal imSi gardaicval a da metad sainteresoxel nawerebi datova qarTul enaze. es mokl e istoriul i da eTnografiul i cnobebi dval eTis dakaveb-is moral ur ufl ebasac gvaZl evs. am Cvens ufl ebas gvidasturebs kavkasi-is eTnografiul i rukis dakvirvebiT daTval ierebac: Tu Cven droze ar gamovyofT Crdil oeTis osebs samxreTel ebisagan kasar is xeobis mtkiced dakavebiT, maSin orive es tomi, Tumca sxvadasxva rel igias aRiareben da sxvadasxva kil oze metyvel eben, mal e Seerwymebe erTmaneTs Zal ian mZl avri eTnografiul i soliviT da advil ad gaswyvets im viwro eTnografiul yel s, aRmosavl eTis da dasavl eTis qarTvel ebs j er kidev rom aerTianebs.

3. darial is xeobaSic aseve aucil ebel ia Cveni saukunovani istoriul i sazRvris aRdgena. is gadioda (ix. # 5 sqema) Cas xoxis mTidan kaj anis qedis gaswvri (darial is xeobidan dasavl eTis mimarTul ebiT) Casis mTisken da jaraxovskis simagresTan (romel ic Cvens xel Si unda iyos) Tergis gada- kveTiT mdinare qistinkis marcxena sanapiros gaswvri zemoT sof. I ia- Jgimde, misgan ki samxreTiT 8383, 9975 da 12075- iT aRniSnul i qedis (mal CoC_ kortis mTa kavkasionis mTavar qedze) gayol ebiT. sazRvris aseTi moxazu- l oba aTaswl eul is manZil ze saWi ro iyo da dResac saWi roa sufTa samxedro mosazrebebiT: darial is xeobis bunebrivi pirobebiT saukeTeso dacva qarTul sofel I arssa da `Tamar mefis cixes- Soris nul amde iqneba dayvani i, Tuki n. da v. gzebi, ozmi - maguCkal - taxtarti- darial is simagre, romel ic Cvens darial is pozicias marjvniv da zurgidan uvl is, Cvens xel Si ar iqneba, rogorc es iyo TviT ruseTTan SeerTebis momentamde.

saerTo daskvna

daskvnaSi aucil ebl ad mimaCnia sami cxril is motana, roml is cifrebi c mravl ismetyvel ia_ am cifrebis Sedareba TviTon mogvcems daskvnebs, sa- kmaod damarwmunebel s im pirTaTvis, roml ebiC Cvens mier Cveni aTaswl o- vani kul turis kerebis SemoerTebaSi `aneqsiasa- da `imperial izms- xedav- en. Tu isini monusxul ni arian sityvebiT, ricxvebi gamoafxizl eben.

I

maqsimumi, risi gamoyvanac SegviZl ia Cveni armiis srul i mobil izaci iT:

1. batalioni_ 36
2. qvemexi_ 96
3. eskadroni_ 3
4. tyvi amfrqvevi_ 216.

II

minimumi imisa, rac dagvWirdeba bol Sevi kebTan da TurqebTan pirvel i brZol ebi Casatarebl ad, Tu ar dagvanebeben axl ave davikavoT dval eTi (ardonis saTave), j erxovskis simagre (darial is xeobiT), baTumis ol qi da ardagani sa da arTvinis okrugebi.

- | | |
|---------------------------------|---|
| 1. mexadiris poziciis dasacavad | 6 bat. 12 qvem. 1 eskad. 50 tyv. |
| 2. dval eTis aTi uRel texil is. | `_~ 3 bat. 8 qvem. 1 eskad. 28 tyv. |
| 3. darial is xeobis | `_~ 1 bat. 8 qvem. 1/2 eskad. 12 tyv. 1/2 |
| 4. baTumis ol qis mxridan | |
| sazRvris | `_~ 18 bat. 24 qvem. 2 eskad. 144 tyv. |
| 5. ardagani okrugis | `_~ 32 bat. 48 qvem. 4 eskad. 130 tyv. |

sul 60 bat. 96 qvem. 8 eskad. 364 tyv.

III

maqsimumi imisa, rac dagvWirdeba Seupovari TavdacvisaTvis bol Sevikibisa da Turqebis winaaRmdeg, Tu axl ave davikavebT dval eTs, j eraxovskis xeobas md. qistinkis marcxena sanapiroTi, ardagani sa da arTvini s okrugebs.

1.mexadiris poziciis dasacavad	6 bat. 12 qvem. 1 eskad. 64 tyv.
2.kasaris xeobaSi muzal is poziciis	1 bat. 4 qvem. 1/4 eskad. 8 tyv.
3.darial is xeobis	1 bat. 4 qvem. 1/3 esad. 12 tyv.
4.baTumis ol qis yofil i ruseTis saxel mwifo sazRvari	8 bat. 12 qvem. 2 eskad. 64 tyv.
5.arTvini s okrugi s	8 bat. 12 qvem. 1/2 eskad. 48 tyv.
<hr/>	
sul	24 bat. 44 qvem. 4 eskad. 196 tyv.

IV

samive cxril is krebsi

	gamogvyavs j arebi omis dr-os.	saWiro j arebi, Tu ar gavafarToebT sazRvrebs.	saWiro j arebi, Tu gavafarToebT sazRvrebs.
batalioni	36	60	24
qvemexi	36	96	44
eskadroni	3	8	4
tyvi amfrqvevi	216	364	196

daskvnebi srul iad naTel ia.

Tu axl a Cven ar dagvanebeben davikavoT zemoT dasaxel ebul i provinciebi, maSin bol Sevikibisa da Turqebis pirvel i Semotevebis mosageriebl ad dagvWirdeba TiTqmis orjer meti jari, vidre gamoyvana SegviZl ia. Tu axl ave gadmogvcemen am teritoriebs, maSin bol Sevikibisa da Turqebisagan Cveni sazRvrebis dasacavad medgari da xangrZlivi brZol isaTvis gveyofa Cveni jaris 2/3, 1/3 ki saerTo rezervSi gveyol eba, yovel i SemTxvevisaTvis: kavkasiaSi Cven cota megobari gvyavs, mtrebi ki moiZebnebian, Tumca bol SevikibTan da TurqebTan SedarebiT wvriil ni.

i.odiSel iZe.

1920 wl is 4 Teberval i, Tbilisi.
sworia.

dokumenti # 52

saqarTvel os mTavrobis Tavmj domaris n.Jordanias mier, Tbil isSi akreditebul i ingl isis, safrangeTis, aSS- s da itali is dipl oma- tiuri warmomadgenl ebis misamarTIT gakeTebul i oficial uri gancx- adeba 1920 wl is 20 marti

batonebo!

saqarTvel os demokratiul i respubl ikis mTavrobis saxel iT maqvs pa- tivi, mogaxsenoT Semdegi:

saqarTvel os sazRvrebSi Zl evamosil i mokavSireebis Semosvl as mTavro- ba da mTel i qarTvel i xal xi uRrmesi kmayofil ebis grZnobiTa da gul wr- fel i sixarul iT Sexvda. qarTvel xal xs yvel a safuZvel i hqonda efiqra, mxol od Tanxmobis didi saxel mwifoebisgan SeeZl o mieRo namdvil i mx- ardaWera Tavisufl ebisa da damoukidebel i arsebobisaTvis brZol aSi. am imeds Cven vamyarebdiT ara mxol od dasavl eTis demokratiis aRmosavl e- Tis demokratiisadmi pol itikur simpaTiaze, aramed, gansakuTrebiT, Cvens ormxriv real ur interesebze, imaze, rom saqarTvel os respubl ikis arse- boba srul iad Seefereba Tanxmobis qveynebis interesebs. am varaudidan gamomdinare, Cven gadavdgiT mTel i rigi nabij ebi umaRl esi sabWos winaSe Cveni aRiarebisa da mxardaWeris Tval sazrisiT. Cven miviReT faqtiuri aRiareba, risTvisac Zal ian madl obel i varT, magram me unda ganvacxado, rom mxol od SiSvel ma aRiarebam ver mogvca veraviTari upiratesoba Cveni Tavisufl ebisa da saxel mwifoebri vi arsebobis bol omde SenarCunebis saqmeSi. Cveni sazRvrebi, araTu uzrunvel yofil i, aRiarebul ic ar aris. saqarTvel os rukis metnaki ebad mainc mcodne nebis mieri adamiანი ad- vil ad darwmundeba, rom saqarTvel os baTumis, da baTums saqarTvel os gareSe ar SeuZl ia. am dros wydeba baTumis bedi, aravis ainteresebs Cveni Sexedul eba da arc aravin uwevs angariSs Cvens sasicocxl o interesebs. baTumis saxel mwifos Seqmna, roml is Sesaxebac safrangeTis misi is meTau- rma gvauwya, ni Snavs oridan erTs: an saqarTvel os saxel mwifos daSl as, an baTumis as, rameTu gverdigverd maT arseboba ar SeuZl iaT.

magram, Cven gansakuTrebiT Cagvca l axvari Tanxmobis qveynebis Cvendami damokidebul ebam Cveni Crdil o sazRvrebis dacvis saqmeSi, saidanac Cveni saxel mwifos dangrevis miZniT bol Sevi kebi moemarTebian. Cven araerTxel aRvZariT Suamdgoml oba am brZol aSi amuniciiT da sursaTiT mxardaWeri- saTvis. mxardaWeras dagvpir dnen, Cven vel odiT moTminebiT, magram dRemde ver miviReT Tqvengan verc erTi vazna, verc erTi funti puri. axl a dadga momenti, rodesac meti l odini SeuZl ebel ia da dapirebebiT ver davkmay- ofil debiT. saqarTvel o kvl av ganicdis 1918 wl is april s, mxol od im gansxvavebiT, rom amj erad Tavsvexmian ara Turqebi, aramed bol Sevi kebi. me mward unda aRvni Sno, rom ise, rogorc gasul is wina wel s, Cven isev martoni davrciT, an imis gamo, rom Tqveni mTavrobebi arasakmarisad arian Caxedul ni, an kidev bol Sevikuri ruseTis mier Cveni respubl ikis dangreva aRmosavl eTsi Tqveni interesebis xel yofad ar iTvl eba.

aseT viTarebaSi Cveni xal xis umaRl esi interesebi saqarTvel os mTavrobas karnaxobs dauyovnebl iv eZebos xsnis gzebi ukve Tqvens gareSe, Tqveni interesebis gauTval iswinebl ad. ra msxverpl is fasad mi vaRwevT amas, axl a amis Tqma ar SemiZl ia, magram ra uzarmazari iqneba msxverpl i_ amis warmo-

dgena Znel i ar aris.

vacxadeb ra amas, winaswar vimedovneb, rom Cveni gadawyvetil eba gagebuli iqneba Tqvens mier ara rogorc Cveni simpatiebis cvl il ebis Sedegi, ara rogorc muqara, aramed rogorc obieqturi garemoebebiT gamowveuli nabiji.

amasTan erTad, saqarTvel os mTavroba pasuxismgebl obas ixsnis im movlenaTa gamo, rac SeiZl eba moxdes amierkavkasiaSi Cveni politikiuri gzebis ase dasorebis Sedegad.

saqarTvel os mTavrobis Tavmj domare n.Jordania.
20 marti. 1920 w.

dokumenti # 53

rkp (b) kavkasiis samxareo komitetis 1920 wl is 23 martis sxdomis dadgenil eba _ `samxreT oseTSi- sabWoTa xel isufl ebis gamoxadebisa da `samxreT oseTis- revkomis Seqmnis Sesaxeb.

1920 г. марта 23. – Из протокола заседания Кавказского краевого комитета РКП (б) о провозглашении Советской власти в Южной Осетии и организации Юго- Осетинского Ревкома.

1. Организовать Ревком в Южной Осетии. Назначить членами Юго- Осетинского Ревкома гг. Гаглоева, Джатиева и Санакоева.

Задачи: 1) распустить Национальный совет старого состава;

2) объявить Советскую власть. Временно вся власть находится у Ревкома;

3) немедленно сформировать вооруженный отряд;

4) войти в связь с Сев. Осетией и селениями Горийского уезда. Центр движения желателен Цхинвал. В распоряжение Ревкома отпустить 100 тысяч рублей (сто тысяч рублей).

Член К(авказского) к(раевого) к(омитета) Саша.

dokumenti # 54

saqarTvel os xel isufl ebisadmi goridan gagzavnil i depeSa, sabWoTa ruseTidan saqarTvel oSi sof. rokaSi osebis mier samTo artil eriis Semotanis Sesaxeb (1920 wl is 29 april i)

mTavrobis Tavmj domares, samxedro ministrs, gvardiis Stabs.

exl a miviReT saswrafo cnoba. sof. rokaSi SemoutaniaT samTo artil eria. adgil obrivi mxovrebl ebi Semosul ebs TandaTan uerTdebian.

maWavariani. 1920 w. 29 april i

dokumenti # 55

saqarTvel os sagareo saqmeTa ministris e.gegeWkoris nota rsfsr sagareo saqmeTa saxal xo komisars g.CiCerins. (29 april i 1920 wel i).

saqarTvel os respubl ikis mTavroba kmayofil ebiT gaecno Tqvens gancxadebas, rom `sabWoTa mTavrobas odnavadac ar surs omi saqarTvel o-sTan da srul iadac ar apirebs Zal iT SeWras mis sazRvrebSi.- samwuxarod sabWoTa ruseTis es gancxadeba aSkara winaaRmdegobaSia vl adikavkazsa da baqoSi sabWoTa xel isufli ebis warmomadgenel Ta mxridan saqarTvel os winaaRmdeg ganxorciel ebul mtrul gamosvl aTa mTel rigTan, rogoricaa Semdegi: qvemexebiT SeiaraRebul i sabWoTa jarebis razmi rokis uRel texil iT gadmovida saqarTvel os sazRvarze da Tbil isis guberniis goris mazraSi SemoiWra. sabWoTa jarebma daikaves ra baqo, imiT daiwyes, rom saqarTvel os misia daapatimres, gawyvites sarkinigzo kavSiri, miitaces saqarTvel os kuTvnil i orTqmavl ebi da moZravi Semadgenl oba. momaval Si sabWoTa nawil ebis mier Cveni sazRvrebis darRvevis incindentis Tavidan acil ebis mizniT, da Tqveni SekiTxvis pasuxad aucil ebl ad vTvl iT gacnobot, rom saqarTvel os respubl ikis Crdil oeti sazRvari iwyeba Savi zRvidan, mohyveba mdinare mexadiris, mexadiris saTavidan pirdapiri xaziT miemarTeba Crdil oetiT kavkasionis qedamde, Semdeg qedis gayol ebiT kasar is xeobis CaTvl iT; kasar is xeobidan ki kavkasionis qedis wyal gamyofi xazis gaswvri darial is xeobamde da iq mdinare Tergze al eqsandrov is xididan ori versiT daSorebul wertil Si gadis. rac Seexeba Tqvens mi-er dasmul kiTxvas, saqarTvel os respubl ikis mTavrobis general deni-kinTan damokidebul ebis Sesaxeb, vacxadeb isev, rogorc wina notebSi, rom igi yovel Tvis gansazRvrul i iyo: moxal iseTa armiis TviT warmoSobis momentidan mis sabol oo l ikvidaci amde saqarTvel os mTavroba masTan permanentul i omis mdgomareobaSi iyo, araerTxel hqonda masTan Seiara-Rebul i Setakeba rogorc zRvaze aseve xmel eTze.

moxal iseTa armiis naSTebi, romel Tac teris ol qidan saqarTvel oSi SemoaRwies 8000 kacis odenobiT, didi xania ganiaraRebul i da internirebul ia. sabWoTa mTavroba ver miuTitebs saqarTvel os mxridan sabWoTa ruseTis mimarT mtrul i gamosvl is vercerT SemTxvevas. saqarTvel o arasodes yofil a da ar SeiZl eboda yofil iyo sabWoTa ruseTis winaaRmdeg mtrul i moqmedebis baza. brma iaraRis rol s saqarTvel os demokratia Cveul i ar aris. saqarTvel os Semdgomi nabij ebi sabWoTa ruseTTan damokidebul ebaSi mTI ianad gansazRvrul i iqneba sabWoTa ruseTis saqarTvel osadmi damokidebul ebiT, misi mzadyofniT, aRiaros saqarTvel os damokidebl oba da daiwyes masTan am niadagze mSvidobiani mol aparakebebi. ki dev erTxel vimeoreb, sityva sabWoTa ruseTzea.

sagareo saqmeTa ministri e.gegeWkori

29 april i 1920 wel i

dokumenti # 56

rsfsr sagareo saqmeTa saxal xo komisar is g.CiCerinis nota saqarTvel os sagareo saqmeTa ministrs e.gegeWkors (17 maisi, 1920 wel i).

Cven gvaqvs sarwmuno cnobebi, rom ingl iss Tavisi j arebi saqarTvel os teritoriaze baTumis ol qSi gadmoyavs. mol aparakebis mixedviT, saqarTvel om ival debul a mieRo zomebi Tavisi teritoriidan ucxoel Ta j arebis mosacil ebl ad, miTumetes, saqarTvel om unda mi iRos zomebi, rom ar dauSvas ingl isis j arebis axal i nawil ebis Semosvl a. ingl isis desanti uTuod gul isxmobs ara mxol od baTumis mtkiced gamagrebas, aramed Tavisi j arebis Seyvanasac saqarTvel os teritoriit arTvin- ardaganze da ufro Sorsac. sabWoTa mTavroba sTxovs saqarTvel os mTavrobas, dauyovnebl iv mi iRos zomebi saqarTvel oSi ingl isis samxedro Zal ebis gazrdis da am Zal Ta saqarTvel os teritoriaze gavli is winaaRmdeg. aseve mi iRos zomebi saqarTvel oSi ukve ganl agebul i ucxo j arebis gasayvanad. sabWoTa mTavroba madli eri iqneba saqarTvel os mTavrobisa am zomebis miRebis uwyebisa da am sakiTxebis mdgomareobis Sesaxeb cnobis gamo. kerZod Cven gvinda baTumis ol qSi ingl isel ebis politiki Sesaxeb gvqondes masal a ucxoetis presisa da tredunionTa del egaciisaTvis, romel Tac SeeZl ebaT radioTi gadascen ingl isSi misi axal i Zal adobisa da agresii Sesaxeb kavkasiaSi. amis garda, Cven kmayofil ebit gavigeT, rom dRes, dil is eqvs saatze, saqarTvel om da azerbaijanma SeaCeres samxedro moqmedebani; Cven gvj era, rom am fonze mSvidoba aRdgenil i iqneba mtkiced da samudamod, **magram SegvaSfoTa cnobam, rom samxreT oseTSi, sadac gamocxadebul ia sabWoTa respublika, am xel isufli ebis gasanadgurebl ad gagzavnil ia saqarTvel os j arebi.** Cven daJinebit moviTxovT, Tu es simarTI es Seesabameba, gaiwviOT Tqveni j arebi oseTidan, radgan vTvl iT, rom oseTs unda hqondes is xel isufli eba, romel ic mas unda. saqarTvel os Careva oseTis saqmeebSi yovl ad gaumartI ebel i Carevaa sxvis Sinagan saqmeebSi.

gTxovT gvacnobot Tavisufal ia Tu ara qavTaraZe, Tbil isSia Tu ara igi.

CiCerini

17 maisi, 1920 wel i.

dokumenti # 57

saqarTvel os sagareo saqmeTa ministris e.gegeWkors nota rsfsr sagareo saqmeTa saxal xo komisar is g.CiCerins (1920 wl is 20 maisi).

Tqveni ama wl is 17 maisis notis pasuxad, saqarTvel os teritoriaze, baTumis ol qSi, axal i j arebis Semoyvanisa da saqarTvel os mxridan samxreT oseTSi sabWoTa xel isufli ebis CaxSobis ganzraxvis Sesaxeb gacnobeT Semdegs:

rogorc TqvenTvis kargad aris cnobil i, Tavis ganuyofel sazRvrebSi saqarTvel os aRdgenis procesi j er ar dasrul ebul a da saqarTvel os mcdel obani, romel ic mis istoriul ufl ebebs, agreTve udao kul turul -

eTnografiul da strategiul principebs emyareba srul ad ar aris ganx-
orciel ebul i. kerZod, saqarTvel os sazRvrebs gareT darCa qal aqi baTumi
da misi ol qi, roml is mxol od umniSvnel o nawil is dakaveba moaxerxa
saqarTvel os j arebma. osmal eTis imperial izmTan uTanasworo SeiaraRebul i
brZol is Sedegad saqarTvel osgan mowyvetil i baTumis ol qi, antantis gam-
arj vebis gamo, Tanxmobis qveynebis mxridan okupaciis obieqtad iqca. saqarTve-
l os mTavrobas miaCnia ra baTumis ol qi da baTumi saqarTvel os ganuy-
ofel nawil ad, SeuZl ebl ad miicnevs am ol qis gareSe saqarTvel os
damoukidebel ad arsebobs. igi yovel Tvis Rebul obda da axl ac Rebu-
l obs energiul zomebs baTumis ol qis saqarTvel osTan misaerTebl ad. am
mimarTul ebiT mTel i intensiurobiT midis muSaoba. Tavistavad cxadia,
baTumis ol qSi saqarTvel os xel isufl ebis ganmtkicebisa da gavrcel eb-
is Semdeg, Cven iq mSvidobiani xel Sekrul ebis yvel a punqts cxovrebaSi
gavatarebT, rogorc vakeTebT amas im teritoriaze, romel ic fizikurad
uWiravs dRes saqarTvel os. aucil ebel masal ebs okupant xel isufal Ta
moqmedebis Sesaxeb saswrafod gadmogigzavniT Cveni warmomadgenl is meS-
veobiT.

kmayofil ebiT aRvniSnav ra Tqvens notaSi gamoTqmul tendencias, xel i
SeuwyoT saqarTvel os istoriul sazRvrebSi aRdgenas, saqarTvel os mTavro-
ba ukidures sagonebel Si Caagdo Tqveni notis im nawil ma, sadac l apar-
akia saqarTvel os ganzraxvaze, iaraRis Zal iT CaaxSos sabWoTa respubl ika
samxreT oseTSi. Tavs moval ed vTvl i, mi vaqcio Tqveni yuradreba imas, rom
saqarTvel os sazRvrebSi ar arsebobs samxreT oseTi. saqarTvel oSi mde-
bare osuri sofl ebi ki ganl agebul ia Tbil isis guberniis goris mazraSi.
es sofl ebi mdebareobs udaod saqarTvel os teritoriaze Tbil isis gu-
berniis Zvel i sazRvris samxreTiT, saqarTvel osa da ruseTs Soris dadge-
nil i sazRvris samxreTiT. mTel am raionSi adgil obrivi demokratiul i
organoebis saxiT saqarTvel os xel isufl eba funqcionirebs. Tqveni cno-
ba samxreT oseTSi sabWoTa xel isufl ebis arsebobs Sesaxeb, rogorc Cans,
Seexeba uRel texil ze mdebare sofel roks, sadac rogorc gauwyebdiT,
teris ol qidan SemoiWra sabWoTa j arebis SeiaraRebul i razmi. es razmi
dResac iq imyofeba, miuxedavad dapirebisa, rom mas iqedan gaiyvandnen.
vimedovnebT, rom saswrafod miRebT zomebs rokidan iq myofi sabWoTa
j aris gasawvevad. imis Semdeg, rac sabWoTa ruseTma samSvidobo xel Sek-
rul ebiTival debul a ar daeSva Tavis teritoriaze organi zaciebi, romel T-
ac miznad eqnebodaT saqarTvel oSi arsebul i mmarTvel obis wesebTan brZol a,
Cven gaugebari da gaugebrobaze dafuZnebul i gveCveneba Tqveni gamosvl a
saqarTvel os erT- erT provinciaSi TiTqosda arsebul i sabWoTa xel isu-
fl ebis dasacavad.

vinaidan am mdgomareobas SesaZl oa mohyves urTierTgaugebrobis atmo-
sfero, Zl ier madl obel i viqnebi am sakiTxTan dakavSirebiT axsna-ganma-
rtebis gakeTebis gamo.

sagareo saqmeTa ministri e.gegeWkori
20 maisi 1920 wel i

dokumenti # 58

rkp `samxreT oseTis- saol qo komitetis mier, sabWoTa ruseTis xel isufli ebisadmi 1920 wl is 20 maiss gagzavnii i memorandumumi (dokumenti ibeWdeba a.menTeSaSvii is publ ikaciis mixedviT)

mSromel i samxreT oseTis memorandumumi

moskovi, ruseTis komunisturi partiis (bol Sevikebis) central ur komitets, sruliad ruseTis muSaTa da gl exTa deputatebis caks, saxal xo komisarTa sabWos, rkp- is Crdil o kavkasiis samxareo komitets, kavkasiis frontis samxedro- revol uciur sabWos, armiis sardal sa da pol itkoms. 28 maisi. 1920 wel i

mSromel i samxreT oseTi aj anyda, daamxo Tavisi mCagvrel i qarTvel i social _ Sovinistebis Zal aufli eba da 1920 wl is 8 maiss sabWoTa xel isufli eba gamoacxada.

Cven, amierkavkasiis eqspl oatator Tavadznaurobis uRl is qveS myofi proletarul i da naxevradproletarul i samxreT oseTis 17 organizaciu- li partiul i raionul i komunisturi komitetis arCeul i warmomadgenl e- bi da pasuxismgebel i xel mZRvanel ebi, yvel as gasagonad vacxadebT, rom oqtombris revol uciis dasawyisidan dRemde gadavitaneT ori mZvinvare bnel i kontrerevol uciuri Zal is_ Crdil oetidan denikinis, samxreTidan ki_ qarTvel i social - moRal ateebis umZimesi bli okada. am gaugonari al yis gamo Cven mokl ebul i viyaviT SesaZl ebl obas, mSromel Ta samyarosaTvis gvecnobebina Cveni usastikesi brZol isa da im saSinel ebisa da mxecobis Sesaxeb, romel sac scadioda CvenTan Jordaniasa da k⁰- s `demokratiul i- mTavroba.

oqtombris revol uciisa da brest_ I itovskis mol aparakebis Semdeg, rodesac erT `keTil uwyvet kompaniad- gaertianebul ma qarTul ma social - Sovinistebma, somxeTis daSnakebma da TaTarTa begebma da xanebma gawyvites kavSiri sabWoTa ruseTTan, SromiTma samxreT oseTma 1918 wl is martis TveSi j avisa da cxinval is xal xmraval yril obebze ganacxada: `samxreT oseTi dadga ruseTis proletariatis mZvinvare burJuaziul kontrerevol uciastan brZol is momentSi amierkavkasiis mier revol uciur ruseTTan kavSiris gawyvetis gaugonari da aRmaSfoTebel i faqtis winase. amierkavkasiis Sovinistebma, kaciWamia eqspl oatatorebma, aseTi mniSvnel o- vani sakiTxis gadawyvetisas gverdi auares samxreT oseTis Rarib, mSromel mosaxl eobas. Cven mTel i samxreT oseTis warmomadgenl ebi, xmamaRl a vacxadebT protests aseTi Zal adobis winaaRmdeg sabWoTa bol Sevikuri ruseTis- gan Cveni mowyvetisa da izol aciis winaaRmdeg. Raribi mSromel i xal xis mtrebis mier Cadenil am aRmaSfoTebel Zal adobas Cven veranairi saxiTa da veranair pirobebSi ver SevurigdebiT. Cven vuerTdebiT Cveni xal xis upirobo da uryev nebas da gadawyvetil ebas da vacxadebT, rom samxreT oseTi aris da unda iyos Tavisufal i sabWoTa bol Sevikuri ruseTis ganuy- ofel i nawil i. Cven fics vdebT, rom Cvensa da sabWoTa ruseTs Soris Camdgar bnel Zal ebTan brZol aSi ukan ar davixevT da vimoqmedebT daundobl ad. Cvens Zmebsa da amxanagebs, ruseTis bol Sevikebs, vuTvl iT mxur- val e sal ams, amierkavkasiis uzurpatorebsa da separatistebis ki_ wyevl asa da siZul vil s, rogorc proletarul i revol uciis moRal ateebs.

amierkavkasiis sul TamxuTavebi im dros gul modgined axSobdnen revolucias, arbevden da xvretdden bol Sevikebsa da bol SevikTa wreebs. maT arc samxreT oseTSi daayovnes gamocxadeba TavianTi e.w. `saxal xo gvardiis- razmebiT. es iyo msxvil da wvril eqspl oatatorTa da maTi Svil ebis_ daxl idarebis, meduqneebis, sisxl is samarTI is damnaSaveTa, Sul - erebis, gimnazistebis, studentebis da a.S. bandebi, romel Tac saTaveSi edga Tavadi maCabel i, qarTvel Ta puriSkeviCi_ veSapel i da... banditi juRel i. TiToeul i Seiararebul i iyo or- ori, sam- sami mauzeriT, TofiT, xel yum- barebiT, xml iT, xanj l iT da a.S. maT gamocenas yvel gan Tan sdevda eniT auwerel i aRmaSfoTebel i umsgavsoeba: yovel gvarebi mizezis, sababisa da gafrTxil ebis gareSe uxsnidnen sofl ebs uwesrigo cecxl s, cemden, aupatiurebden da wvavden. gaafTrebiT daezebden bol Sevikebs; yvel gan isini el andebodaT. erTi si tyviT, es iyo egzal tirebul i, winaswar dageSil i, mosyidul i tipebi kavkasiuri xul igan banditebis koSmarul i Semoseva. xal xis aRSfoTeba usazRvro iyo. xal xi aj anyda erTdroul ad sam raion- Si_ cxinval Si, saCxerisa da duSeTSi. aj anydnen ara mxol od osebi, aramed maTi mezobel i qarTvel ebi_ qarTI el ebi da imerl ebi.

aj anyebam stiqiuri xasiaTi miRo. es iyo samoqal aqo omis dasawyisi, amierkavkasiisa da samxreT oseTSi kl asobrivi partiul i brZol is, sabWo- Ta xel isufl ebisaTvis brZol is dasawyisi. moxda srul i ganxeTqil eba, gayofa or Seurigebel banakad_ Rarib bol SevikTa da TavadiTa, meduqneTa da menSevikTa, agreTve maT mimdevar eserTa banakebad. Tumca eserebi bar- ikadebis erT mxaresac idgnen da meoresac. am dros mimdinareobs CvenSi samkvdro- sasicocxl o brZol a sabWoTa xel isufl ebisaTvis.

cxinval is, saCxerisa da duSeTis aj anyebebze ar SevcerdebiT dawvri- l ebiT. mxol od mokl ed aRvni SnavT, rom cxinval Tan gadamwyvet Setakeba- Si aj anyebul ebma gaanadgures menSevikebis mTel i razmi Tavis StabTan da da razmis meTaur maCabel Tan erTad. saCxereSi damarcxebul i menSevikuri razmebis meTaurebma veSapel ma (qarTvel ebis puriSkeviCma) moaxerxa gaqce- va. duSeTSi aj anyebul ebi ricxobrivad ramdenj erme aRmatebul Zal ebs ukanasknel vaznamde ebrZodnen.

aj anyeba CaxSobil i ar yofil a. igi l ikvidirebul iqna mol aparakebis gziT. aj anyebul ebi izul ebul ni iyvnen wasul iyvnen amaze, sabol oo resurse- bis bol omde amowurvis gamo (daxarj a menSevikebis atvis wartmeul i ma- ragi), rogorc sabWoTa ruseTTan cocxal i kavSiris, aseve qal aqebSi, Ziri- Tadat Tbil isSi, Camj dari adgil obrivi bol Sevikuri organizaciebisgan mxardaWeris raime ni Snis uqonl obis gamo. amierkavkasiis triumviratis (seimis) gaxrwnil i gvamidan amozrdil ma gaxmaurebul ma qarTul ma `demokra- tiul ma- mTavrobam Tavis gardacvl il dedinacval s gadaaWarba danaSau- l ebriv kontrerevol uciur- Sovinistur garj aSi. man farTo, cbieri gegma Cai fiqra revol uciis ganadgurebisa nebismieri saSual ebebiT. j er mimar- Tavden mol aparakebas megobrul i toniT gaugebrobaTa `mSvidobianad- gadasawyvetad, Semdeg cil iswamebas, urcxv tyuil s, provokacias, mosyidvas da bol os, iaraRis Zal as damsjel i ekspediciebis saxiT, Zal adobiTa da barbarosobiT.

cxinval is movl enebidan cota xnis Semdeg, samxreT oseTSi Camovida irakl i wereTel i_ menSevikTa `oqropiri-. Jordaniis mTavroba oseTSi moel oda- bnel brbos, romel zec advil ad iqoniebda zemoqmedebas TviT (nu exumre- biT) irakl i wereTel i, magram raoden gaocebul i darCa 1918 wl is ivnisis TveSi samxreT oseTis wunaris yril obaze Camosul i wereTel i, rodeac

mSromel i xal xis partiul fraqciebad dayofil i, organizebul i yril oba ixil a. udidesi umravl esoba bol Sevikebi iyvnen. iyvnen agreTve mcire-ricxovani eserebi, menSevikebi da upartioebi. wereTel ma daiwyo qadageba, xal xisaTvis bol Sevizmisa uZl urebisa da mTel ruseTSi misi garduval i daRupvis mtkiceba; is Zal ian amaxvil ebda yuradRebas menSevikTa batonobis xel sayrel obaze samxreT oseTisaTvis da saqarTvel os raRac gamonak- l is j adosnur pirobebze, sadac SesaZl ebel ia revol uciis monapovarTa SenarCuneba. Cvenma amxanagebma swrafad Camogl ij es niRabi `social ist- wereTel s. kiTxvaze, ram aiZul a ami erkavkasia, kerZod, qarTvel i menSevikebi gamoyofodnen revol uciur ruseTs, wereTel ma daiwyo raRac uazro_ sofis- turi axsna menSevizmisa da qarTul i imperial izmis sul iskveTebiT. Cveni erT- erTi amxanagis SekiTxvaze: `sad gadis Tqveni zRvari,- wereTel ma mSral ad aRniSna `qaRal dze- da xel iT miuTiTa kavkasiis mTebis WaRara mwverval ebze. wereTel i oseTidan `ukmayofil o- wavida bol SevikTa `gonebamaxvil eobiT- imis Sesaxeb, rom menSevikuri saqarTvel os cxel da mxurval e haerSi advil ad gaZl ebs Sovinisturi interesebi da ara revol uciis monapovrebi. Semdegac, menSevikebis mosyidul ma agentebma araerTxel SeTiTxnes yril obebi da gadawyvetil ebebi samxreT oseTis saqarTvel osTan mierTebis Sesaxeb, arCevnebi qarTul damfuznebel krebaSi, romel ic boikotirebul i iqna samxreT oseTis mSromel i mosaxl eobis mier da a.S. amis Semdeg 1919 wl is april Si daiTxoves samxreT oseTis saxal xo sabWo.

darwmunda ra aq Tavis uZl urebaSi, menSevikurma mTavrobam sxva gzebs mimarTa. cxinval is, saCxeris da duSeTis aj anyebebs saqarTvel os gamyid- vel uri presa osebis nacional isturi gamosvl isa da `social isturi saqarTvel os- damoukidebl obis, TviTmyofadobis xel yofis kval ifikacias ukeTebis, cdil obs ra amiT erTmaneTs daupirisprios mSromel i masebi. Tvi- Ton Jordaniam oficial ur moxsenebaSi ganacxada, rom cxinval Si aj anyeba Tavadebma moawyves osi Cafrebis daxmarebiT. ra urcxvi da aRmaSfoTebe- l i sicrueal gaWaRaravebul i Jordania aseT provokaciebs avrcel ebs masebSi, rom misTvis xel sayrel i erovnul i Setakebebi gamoiwvios.

cxinval is aj anyebaSi osi Cafrebi qarTvel i menSevikebis rigebsi i brZod- nen osi da qarTvel i bol Sevikebis winaarmddeg. qarTvel gvardiel Ta Soris osi erovnebis araerTi Tanamoazre iyo. TviT cxinval is menSevikuri dam- sj el i razmis Stabis ufrosi kazievi (mokl es cxinval Tan) osi iyo.

osi Cafrebi, jal aTebi da kontrerevolucionerebi, rogorebic iyvnen r.bikoevi, efilievi, al oxovi da sxvebi da sxvebi iyvnen da dRemde arian saqarTvel os mTavrobis samsaxurSi. Cven vadasturebT, da es yvel asaTvis cnobil ia, rom am movl enebSi ar yofil a `qarTvel i- da `osi,- aq iyvnen mxol od revolucionuri amboxebul i bol Sevikebi da muSaTa revol uciis kontrerevol uciuri moRal ate menSevikebi. aq iyo partiul i_ kl asobrivi brZol a, roml is revol uciuridan nacional ur kal apotSi gadagdebas amaod cdil obda Jordanias mTavroba xal xis revol uciuri sul is dasaRupavad. menSevikuri mTavrobis am sul iskveTebis yvel a cdas amsxvrevda SromiTi samxreT oseTis da saqarTvel os organizebul i masebis medgari winaarmd- degoba. veravin ver miuTebis saqarTvel os da samxreT oseTis mSromel xal xebs Soris erovnul i Sej axebis vercerT SemTxvevas. Tu mezobel ter- is ol qSi nacional urma Sej axebebma epidemiis xasiaTi mi iRo, samxreT os- eTis da saqarTvel os mSromel i gl exoba da muSebi, romel Ta mSvidobiani da megobrul i Tanacxovrebis magal iTi saamayoa, kargad icnoben Taviant mtrebs: isini kavkasiis frontidan da Samqoris brZol ebidan ukuqceul i

jariskacebis naZarCvi iaraRiT kbil ebamde SeiaraRebul ni, Cabudebul ni arian Tbil isSi, gol oviniis prospeqtis sasaxl eSi. maTi saxel ebia_gegeWkori, noe Jordania, noe ramiSvil i, noe xomeriki da mTel i rigi sxva `noeebi~, pirvel `noeTa- kudebi da aramzadebi. mSromel i xal xi mal e miswvdeba am zubrebis tyavs.

gasagebia, rom Jordani as da k⁰_ s mTavroba iyo da rCeba Tavisi Sovinis- turi miswrafebebis erTgul i. menSevikur presaSi didi xmauria atexil i oseTis anarqistebze, yaCaRebze da sxva. samxreT oseTi_ es bol Sevizmis bude_ Zil s ufrTxobs menSevikebs. `mSvidobianma- mol aparakebebma da provokaciul ma muSaobam veravi Tari Sedegi ver moutana maT. Jordani as mTavroba `yvel aze utyuar saSual ebas- mimarTavs. miTumetes, axl a mTavrobis xel - Sia faqtebi da sabral debo aqtebi samxreT oseTis winaaRmdeg, romel ic gasul i wl is 24 oqtomers iaraRiT xel Si gamovida. (aj anyeba organizebul i iyo quTaisis da Tbil isis guberniebSi 1919 wl is 24 oqtomers. zogierT adgil ebSi, rogorc CvenTan, moaswres gamosvl ebi, magram saol qo komitetis brZanebiT kurierebis meSveobiT aj anyeba SeCerebul i iqna afeTqebis momentSi). iqmneba erTmaneTze mZvinvare damsjel i eqspediciebi. cxinval is movl enebis Semdeg samxreT oseTma ki dev oTxi damsjel i eqspedici- is saSinel eba gadaitana. am eqspediciebis sul i da gul i iyo yovel Tvis goris mazris komisari qarCivaZe_ es saqarTvel os fon- pl eves, noe ramiS- vil is, marj vena xel i.

darbeul i iqna 400- ze meti mosaxl e. vel uri rokvis Semdeg dawves Cveni amxanagis maTe sanakoevis saxl i. Cven vxedavdiT, am cecxl modebul i saxl is al i rogor anaTebda qarTvel `social istTa- saxeebs, xel ebs rom iTbobdnen koconze. gvesmoda, rozgebis qveS rogor gminavdnen WaRara moxucebi, Cveni mamebi, romel Tagan Svil ebis gacemas moiTxovdnen. am da msgavsi saSinel ebebis mxil vel i amxanagebi ikribebodnen Tovl ian mwver- val ebze da Svidi dRe- Ramis ganmavl obaSi grZel deboda gacxovel ebul i sj a- kamaTi. xel mZRvanel oba Zvl ivs aokebda da amSvidebda am saSinel i sanaxaobis xil viT Sewrwunebul amxanagebs.

CvenTan mosul menSevikTa Zal ebTan brZol a, an maTi srul i ganadgureba CvenTvis ar iyo raime dauZl evel i. ufro seriozul i iyo maT rezervebTan brZol a da ki dev ufro seriozul i_ Tavis daRweva sabediswero Secdome- bisgan. CvenTvis cnobil ia menSevikTa gegmebi. isini mogvevl inen separatistul i omis provokaciebisaTvis, sadac imedovnebdnen sabol oo j amSi gama- rj vebas da maTTvis saZul vel i samxreT oseTis ganadgurebas, rogorc mraval TaTrul sofel s moeqcnen axal cixis mazraSi (sakvirvel ia, rom am ukanasknel saSinel ebebze presaSi erTi sityvac ar Tqmula). mTel ma am mdgomareobam, mSromel i qarTvel i mezobl ebisagan mxardaWeris imedis uqonl obam da Cvenma koSmarul ma zurgma Crdil oetis mxridan, sadac deni- kini mZvinvarebda, mi gvaRebina gadawyvetil eba: ar Cavbmul iyaviT omSi; partiis rigiT wevrebada davrcenil iyaviT adgil obriv sofl ebSi, ganze gavmdgariyav- iT da iaraRi dagvemal a; pasuxismgebel i xel mZRvanel ebi ki, romel Ta sax- el obiTi siebi wardgenil ia mosaxl eobisaTvis ul timaturi moTxovniT maTi gacemis Sesaxeb, gadasul iyvnen uRel texil iT Crdil oetis ferdobis aul ebSi, roml ebic zamTrobit SeuRwevel ia denikini saTvis. Cven kavkasio- nis mTavari qedis uRel texil i gadavl axeT mxrebze akidebul i Cveni `maqsim- kiT- (tyvi amfrqeviT), menSevikebi ki darCnen da gaagrZel es TavianTi dam- angrevel i muSaoba maTTvis sabediswero momentamde, romel ic ukve dadga.

am saSinel ebebis da CvenTvis gansakuTrebit mZime pirobebis miuxedvad,

revol uciuri sul i ki ar Seiry, aramed gaizarda gasaocari tempiT. Sovinistebis damsje l i eqspediciebi saukeTeso faqtori gaxda masebis garevol ucionerebisaTvis sasurvel sazRvramde. 1918 wl idan samxreT oseTs hyavs 17 organizebul i raionul i komiteti: 1.javis, 2.komunisturi axal gazrdobis javis komiteti `spartaki-, 3.rokis, 4.kudaros, 5.Tedel eTis, 6.yemul Tis, 7.ortevis, 8.bel oTis, 9.qsanis, 10.cxinval is, 11.wunaris, 12.yornis, 13.oqonis, 14.qarel is, 15.guj areTis, 16.kobi- Trusos, 17.kaxeTis, roml ebSic gaerTianebul ia sami aTasze meti partiis wevri da TanaugrZnobs mTel i mosaxl eobis 90% (samxreT oseTis mosaxl eoba daaxl oebiT 150000 kacia).

partiis wevrebis ZiriTadad yofil i frontel ebi da bol Sevizmis gamosxvadasxva saxel osnoebidan daTxovnil i amierkavkasiis muSebia. raionul organizaciebs saTaveSi udgas rkp (bol Sevikibi) samxreT oseTis saol qo komiteti.

ar viviwyebT ra qarTvel i ober_ Sovinistebis Jordaniasa da k⁰_s Savbnel figurebs, ar Segvizi ia davdumdeT amierkavkasiis komunistebis bevri xel mZRvanel is ucnauri poziciis Sesaxeb, romel ic maT dai kaves 1918 wels, eWiraT 1919 wl is oqtomberSi da uWiravT dResac.

gadatrial ebisa da sabWoTa xel isuflebis gamocxadebisaTvis srul iad mza ni adagisa da saSual ebebis pirobebSi iseT centrebSi, rogoricaa Tbil isi, komunistebis umravlesoba (vgul isxmobsaol qo komitetis wevrebis) 1918 wels srul iad gaugebari mosazrebiT an Tavsi kavebda, an xmas ar aZi evda gadatrial ebas. amierkavkasiis komunistebis maRal esel onebSi metad Taviseburad, metad marjved da daxvewil ad moqmedeben CvenTvis gamocanad gamxdari tipebi, roml ebic, asaxel eben ra ama Tu im erovnebaTa raRac Taviseburebebs, amiT qmian xundebsa da muxruWebs revol uciuri moZraobisaTvis. Cven vamtkicebT, rom yovel ive es srul i sicruca. amierkavkasiaSi, sadac didi xania mZvinvarebs memamul eTa da mefis satrapTa Sol ti da maTraxi, xal xis kl asobrivi diferenciacia didi xania moxda da revol uciis winsvl isaTvis ar SeiZi eba arsebobs gamonaklisebi erovnul i Taviseburebebis momizezebiT. am mizezebe dayrdnoba mxol od Sovinistebisa da oportunistebis an amierkavkasiis kontrerevol uciuri mTavrobis agentebs SeuZi iaT, magram aramc da aramc_ marxist revol ucionerebs.

Cven Sorsa varT im azrisagan, rom bral i davdoT saol qo komitetis wevryel a amxanags, magram, amastanave, rogor unda aixsnas iseTi Ral ati, rogoricaa 1919 wl is 24 oqtombers dagegmil i komunistebis aj anyebis CaS- l a. garemoebaTa 80% Tbil isisa da quTaisis guberniebSi gasul i wl is 24 oqtombers organizebul i gadatrial ebis warmatebaze metyvel ebda; magram uceb, aj anyebis wina dRes, Jordaniasa da k⁰_s mTavrobisaTvis yvel a gegmacnobil i xdeba. soxumSi, foTsi, kaxeTsi, samxreT oseTsi da sxva punqtebSi ukve dawyebul i komunistTa gamosvl ebi ki uqmdeba. es xel s aZi evda dabneul da ukve danebisaTvis an gasaqcevad gamzadebul saqarTvel os mTavrobas: igi Seudga paral izebul da daSl il (Tbil isis gankargul ebiT) revol ucioner komunistebTan angariSis gasworebas. Cveni saukeTeso amxanagebi, aj anyebul Ta samxreT- armosavl eT da samxreT- dasavl eT (Cveni raionis) j gufebis xel mZRvanel ebi: aidarovi, Tbil ovi, takaevi, Saxnazarovi da sxvebi mej vrisxevisa da qvel eTis tyeebSi uTanasworo brZol a- Si daiRupnen. yvel aferi, rac kavkasiis saol qo komitetSi xdeboda, kargadiyo cnobil i saqarTvel os menSevikuri mTavrobisaTvis; aqedan gamomdinare, Cven Sorsa varT azrisagan, am centrs vandoT Cveni saxel iT l aparaki, radgan ara varT darwmunebul i, rom Cveni revol uciuri wamowyebebi `eris

interesebi dan gamomdinare-, partiis droSis qveS ar iqneba ganadgurebul i marj ve `komunistebis- mier.

dReisaTvis Cven uSual od mogviaxl ovda wiTel i armia, romel mac mTel i teris ol qi daikava. vagrZel ebT ra revol uciur brZol as, Cven mi vmarTavT Cvens amxanagebs, igive saol qo komitetis wevrebs_ mxari dauWiron samxreT oseTSi dawyebul komunistTa aj anyebes Tbil isisa da quTaisis guberni- ebSi, sadac gadatrial ebisaTvis yvel aferi momwifebul i ki ara, gadamwifebul ic aris. vl adikavkazSi Casul ma saol qo komitetis wevrebma mol aparakebebi gamarTes amxanag orj onikiZesTan, Cven ki cal saxad gvi pasuxes, rom saqarTvel oSi aj anyebis mowyoba akrZal ul ia, samxreT oseTSi ki igi l ikvidirebul i unda iqnas, rom axl a naRiarebia saqarTvel os damouki debl o- ba, Cven mal e gveqneba `Cveni- saqarTvel os komunisturi partia, romel ic moawyobs aj anyebas da a.S. ra aris es? Ral ati, Sarl atanoba Tu sigije? nuTu kontrerevol uciuri saqarTvel os komunistebi aRar arian is, rac iyven da rac yovel Tvis unda iyon? Cven, rogorc komunistebis, Sesani Snavad gvesmis, ras ni Snavs sabWoTa ruseTis mSvidobiani urTierToba iseT kontrerevol uciur mxareebTan, rogoricaa estoneTi, l atvia, saqarTvel o da sxva. es imas ar ni Snavs, rom SevaCeroT revol uciuri Zal aufl ebis ganmtkiceba am mxareebSi. ara, ra Tqma unda, WeSmarit revol ucioners striqonebs Sua Cadebul i azris kiTxva unda SeeZl os, yvel gan da yovel Tvis komunizms ideebis erTgul bol Sevik revol ucionerad unda darCes. mas, rasac saol qo komitetis wevrebi gvkarxoben_ CavaqroT revol uciis xanZari samxreT oseTSi_ Cven kategoriul ad uarvyofT. aseTi ram mxol od Jordania marj vena xel isagan, crusocial istebisa da fsevdokomunistebisagan_ menSevikebis am nafici veqil ebisa da mfarvel ebisagan_ l ikvidatorebisagan SeiZl eba modiodes. Cven gvTavazoben Cveni aj anyebis l ikvidirebas Sel amazebul i sababiT, rom `Zl ierma- saqarTvel om ar gagvanadguros, rom Sesazl oa menSevikuri saqarTvel o ingl iss SeebrZol os, maSin Cven_ saol qo komitetis wevrebis receptebis mixedviT_ `menSevikebis gverdiT- vibrZol ebT. magram, jerjerobiT menSevikebi ar SeebrZol ebian da saelwvoa, SeebrZol on ingl iss. CvenTvis kargad aris cnobil i, rom saqarTvel os mTavroba ingl isis mimaval jarebs saqarTvel oSi darCenas evedreba; isic kargad viciT, rom Jordania da ingl isel i imperial isteberi Tnairad anadgurebdnen da anadgureben bol Sevikebs. sad aris gansxvaveba am or kontrerevol uciur Zal as Soris? Cven ase ar vmsjel obT: Tu saqarTvel os mTavroba ingl iss SeebrZol eba, Cven Jordania da k^o_ s menSevikuri mefobis swraf anul irebas SevecdebiT, mTel amierkavkasiaSi sabWoTa xel isufl ebas gamovacxadebT da am mxaris mSromel muSebTan da gl exebTan da Zl evamosil wiTel armiasTan erTad daundobel revol uciur brZol as gavS- l iT Cveni yvel aze uaresi mtris, ingl isuri imperial izmis winaaRmdeg.

magram menSevikebis gverdiT dgoma, ise, rogorc amas gvTavazoben Cveni guSindel i amxanagebi, Tanac kontrerevol ucioneri Sovinistebis Zal aufl ebisa da meTaurobis qveS, Cven ar SegviZl ia; Cven ar davuSvebT, rom organizebul i komunisturi razmebi antantisagan arafriT gansxvavebul i qarTvel i menSevikebis xel mZRvanel obiT ibrZodnen. davrCebiT Cveni revol uciuri val isa da sindisis erTgul ni da vacxadebT: ver davel odebiT imas, ras mogvimzadebs raRac separatistul i organizaciebi; dawyebul wmiinda saqmes Jordania da k^o_ s interesebs msxverpl ad ver SewiravT.

Cven, CvenSi menSevikebis Zal aufl eba davamxeT da sabWoTa xel isufl eba gamovacxadeT; Cven vimeorebT da vadasturebT uryev nebas:

1.samxreT oseTi ruseTis ganuyofel i nawil ia;

2.samxreT oseTi Sedis sabWoTa ruseTis Semadgenl obaSi saerTo safuZvel ze uSual od;

3.sabWoTa ruseTSi saqarTvel os an romel ime sxva respubl ikis meSveobiT Sesvl as Cven aranairi saxiT ar davuSvebT im mosazrebidan gamomdinare, rom wvriL i erovnul i respubl ikebi, rogoric magal iTad, saqarTvel oa_ 60_ 70% -iT sxva erovnebebiT (somxebiT, TaTrebiT, rusebiT, ebrael ebiT, afxazebiT, osebiT da a.S.) dasaxl ebul ni, gardauval ad moicaven TavS TavSi yvel a monacems sxvadasxva kuTxeebSi nacional izmis kerebis ganvitaribisa da aqedan gamomdinare damRupvel i SedegebisaTvis. sabWoTa ruseTis magal iTis motana (romel ic TiTqos, gamocxadebul ia rusi xal xisa da ruseTis saxel iT), Tqma ar unda, mi uRebel ia amierkavkasiis wvriL i respubl ikebisatvis; magal iTad, saqarTvel osTvis, radgan ruseTis sabWoTa respubl ikaSi uSual od Sesvl a fsiqol ogiurad axarebs, aRafrTovanebs yovel i eris mSromel el ementebs, iseT respubl ikebi Sesvl a ki, rogoricaa saqarTvel o (Tundac sabWoTa), fsiqol ogiurad mohkl avs TiToeul s am erebidan, roml ebic ar iziareben menSevikuri separatrizmisa danaSaul ebriv taqtikas. am WeSmaritebaze Tval ebs ver davxuWavT. is, rasac saqarTvel o hqvია, Cveni Rrma rwmeniT, sabWoTa ruseTis Semadgenl obaSi unda Sevides saerTo safuZvel ze, rogorc Tbil isisa da quTaisis guberniebi. Cven darwmunebul i varT, rom namdvil i revol ucioneri komunistebi mSromel Ta wridan gamosul i qarTvel i amxanagebidan amaSi Cvendami sol idarul ni iqnebian, arasol idarul ni ki komunisti separatistebi arian_ es guSindel i menSevikebi, nacional izmis senisagan jerac rom ar gankurnebul an. es gadanaTl ul i menSevikebi centrebsia saZebari. iq arian Cabudebul ni da komunizms nacional isturi separatizms Targze Wrian revol uciori masebis nebis fal sificirebiT. Cven srul iad fxizl ad da sworad gvesmis konstitucia da sabWoTa xel isufl ebis arsi; visi saxel iTac ginda iyos igi gamocxadebul i, yvel gan da yovel Tvis komunizms diadi ideebis cxovrebaSi gamtarebel i unda iyos. mi uxedavad amisa, separatul i wvriL i respubl ikebisgan miswrafebas Cven ar mivesal mebiT. separatizmi, es pl usi ki ar aris, minusia sabWoTa mSenebl obaSi. erTiani ruseTis social isturi sabWoTa respubl ikebi, rogorc msofl io social isturi sabWoTa respubl ikis etapi, srul iad unda akmayofil ebdes yovel WeSmarit, azrian komunistis, vinc nacional izmis Savi nal eqiT ar aris gasvriL i. Cven mxars vuWerT da mivesal mebiT aseTi ideal uri mimarTul ebiT sabWoTa mSenebl obas.

4.samxreT oseTis organizacia rCeba imave saxiT, rogorc aqamde iyo: ruseTis komunisturi partiis (bol Sevikebis) droSis qveS. visac ar unda nabij i ukan, pl usidan minusisken, separatistul qarTul an sxva romel ime komunistur partiaSi ar Seva.

dRes Cven, Cveni TavS anabarad mi tovebul ni, qarTvel SovinistebTan brZol aSi sisxl isagan vicl ebiT. Cven mi vmarTavT komunist amxanagebs da Zl evamosil wiTel armias, dagvexmaron mTel amierkavkasiaSi Sovinistebisa da yvel a rangis menSevikebis sabol oo damarcxebaSi da yvel gan komunisturi wiTel i droSis aRmarTvaSi. Cven gvj era, rom Cveni gamowvdil i xel ebi paral izebul i ar darCeba da Cveni rusi amxanagebi didxans ar dagvtoveben Zmuri daxmarebis mol odinSi.

Cven sal ams vuZRvniT ruseTis prol etariats, maT bel adebs da amxanagebs: I enins, trockis, CiCerins da sxva amxanag_ wiTel armiel ebs, yvel a Cagrul TaTvis Svebis mimniWebel T.

Zirs danaSaul ebrivi separatizmi.
gaumarj os sabWoTa xel isufl ebas, msofl io social isturi revol uci-
isa da komunizms zeims.
mSromel Ta samyrom dae gaigonos Cveni aRfrTovanebul i SeZaxil ic Se-
uRwevel i kavkasiis xeobidan.

28 mai si , 1920 wel i .

xel s aweren:

rkp samxreT oseTis saol qo komitetis Tavmj domare v.l .sanakoevi;
Tavmj domaris amxanagi s.gagl oevi; komitetis wevrebi: a.pl ievi, a.abaevi;
mdivani aj atievi;
rkp samxreT oseTis organizaciis raionul i komitetebi:
1.j avis: al eqsandre qarsanovi, simon Tedeevi, esta koCievi, dadte sanakoevi,
maTe sanakoevi;
2.j avis `spartaki-: Tembol j ioevi, efrem xcurbaevi, sergei j ioevi;
3.rokis: sosl an pl ievi, avakum sl anovi, al eqsei pl ievi, efrem gagl oevi,
b.pl ievi;
4.ortevis: nikol oz CoCievi, vl adimer gogiCevi, vasil kokoevi, TaTe gasievi,
este CoCievi;
5.bel oTis: ioseb gobozaevi, al eqsei xurievi, petre kabul ovi;
6.qsnis: vl .xubul ovi, camel xubul ovi;
7.cxinval is: gabriel mamitovi, vl adimer dudaevi, Sal va bestaevi;
8.wunaris: gigo vaneevi, iml ia Tibil ovi, petre gazaevi, mi xeil Tadeevi, al eq-
si Tibil ovi;
9.yornis: I avrenti Tedeevi, giorgi kozaevi, al eqsandre koCievi;
10.Tedel eTis: arxiv j ioevi, gega j ioevi, sergei j ioevi, al eqsandre j ioevi,
simon biteevi;
11.yemul Tis: gigo dal ievi, nikol ai bagaevi, sergei biazirovi, evgraf Tedeevi,
il ia kabisovi;
12.kudaris: semion nartkoevi, kiril e al borovi, Teba tebl oevi, konstantine
xugaevi;
13.qarel is: daviT pl ievi, dimitri Tedeevi, ioseb Cibirovi;
14.guj areTis: mixeil osiaevi, nikol oz Tedeevi, daviT xubaevi;
15.kobi_ Trusos: nikol oz makaevi, nikol oz gadievi, sergei bul acevi;
16.oqonis: iason fuxaevi, nestor xubezovi, il ia gagievi;
17.kaxeTis: roZen kozaevi, mito koCievi, iak Tibol ovi.

beWedi. sworia. rkp samxreT oseTis saol qo komitetis mdivani
(xel moweril ia)

dokumenti # 59

aj anyebul i osebis winaarMdeg aqtiuri moqmedebis Sesaxeb, kapitan gurgeniZis mier Casavl is sazogadoebidan gamogzavnili daSifru-
li depeSa.

1920 wl is 12 ivnisi.

gacnobebT, rom garemoeba Txoul obs dauyovnebl iv iyos dawyebul i aq-
tiuri moqmedeba cxinval idan. Cven mxars davuWerT Casavl is raionidan.
qarTvel ebi Casavl is maxl obl ad SeSinebul ia d ixiznebian. arsebul i
pirobepis gamo, izul ebul i varT, Casavl is raionSi daviwyoT aqtiuri brZo-
l a xval idan. vel i Tqvens gankargul ebas.

kpi tani gurgeniZe.

dokumenti # 60

inwkirvel is daSifru-
li depeSa, aj anyebul i osi bandformirebebis
sofel wedisidan gaZevebis Sesaxeb. 1920 wl is 15 ivnisi.

osebma daiwyes Cvens sawinaarMdegod moqmedeba. sofel i wedisidan Cven
gavaZeveT maTi bandebi da davikaveT sofel i. Casaval i osebs aqvT magraT
gamagrebul i. vawarmoebT Tavdacvas da amis miuxedavad vkidebT xel s aq-
tiur moqmedebas. me piradad Casavl is poziciaze var. CvenTvis Zal ebis
damateba saWiroa. sazogdod Cveni mdgomareoba sZnel oa, magram yovl ad
saimedo.

pol k. inwkirvel i.

dokumenti # 61

saqarTvel os republ ikis Tavdacvis sabWos 1920 wl is 18 ivnisis
sxdomaze vj uRel is mier gakeTebul i moxsenebis_`oseTSi moqmedebis
Sesaxeb- safuZvel ze miRebul i dadgenil eba

saiduml od. friad saswrafod. samxrdro saministros general uri Sta-
bis ufrosi 1920 w. 19 ivnisi. mTavrobis saqmeTa sammarTvel os. gaaxl ebT
saTanado gankargul ebisaTvis republ ikis Tavdacvis sabWos ama wl is 18
ivnisis dadgenil ebas.

moismines: saxal xo gvardiis mTavari Stabis Tavmj domaris vj uRel is
moxseneba oseTSi moqmedebis Sesaxeb.

daadgines: 2. a).sofel i roki srul iad gauqmdes (ramdenadac dokumenti
Tavis droze rusul idan uTargmniaT, rusul i kal kiden gamomdi nare qarTul
teqstSi araswori formul irebaa gamoyenebul i da weria _moispos, S.v.) ga-

rda sanapiro j arebis binebisa; b).oseTidan Crdil o kavkasiaSi (dval eTSi) gadasavl el i yvel a gzebi garda mamisonisa afeTqebiT iqnas sabol ood gafuWebul i; g).ayril da Crdil o kavkasiaSi wasul osebs ar mieces ukan dabrunebis neba. im osebs, roml ebmac Cvendami l oi al oba gamoiCines, Tavi anT sofl ebSi darCenis neba mieces. xol o saeWvo pirebs, mTavrobis gankargul ebiT respubl ikis sxva raionebSi gadasaxl ebis saSual eba mieces; d).srul ebiT gadasaxl ebul i iqnas j avis midamoebis osebi (l iaxvisa da facis xeobebi) da maT magier es adgil ebi miwaTmoqmedebisa da Sinagan saqmeTa saministroebis gankargul ebiT dasaxl ebul i iqnes qarTvel ebiT; e).ar daubrundebs osebs CamorTmeul i pirutyvi; v).yovel gvარი zaral i, romel ic miadga samxedro moqmedebebi T Cvens momxre osebs, anazRaurdes respubl ikis xazinidan; z).l tol vil osebs, roml ebic Cvens teritoriaze amJamad imyofeba, Sinagan saqmeTa saministros gankargul ebiT daxmareba mieces da erobaTa kavSiris gankargul ebiT isini Casaxl ebul i iqnan respubl ikis sxva teritoriaze.

general i al .zaqariaZe.

dokumenti # 62

**duSeTis mazris erobis Tavmj domaris_ WoniSvil is mier saqarTvel
l os Sinagan saqmeTa ministrisadmi 1920 wl is 24 ivniss gagzavnil i
depeSa**

goris mazris j avis xeobidan bevri osi gadmovida duSeTis mazraSi. aqauri osebic miematnen da yaCaRoba daiwyes. mokl es sami, gaZarcves mraval i. wuxel fasanaurTan fostis avtomobil s daecnen, mokl es erTi, daWres sami. sxvebi gaZarcves. saqme aucil ebl ad garTul deba Tu exl ave radikal uri zomebi ar iqna miRebul i. amitom gTxovT, frontidan exl ave dagvibrundes samoci duSel i gvardiel i tate SuSiaSvil Tan erTad. yvel a im sofl ebs, roml ebic yaCaRebs winadac uwevdnen da exl ac uweven daxmarebas, ukannasknel ebis oj axebs winadadeba miecaT erTi kviris ganmavl obaSi yaCaRebi dagvaWerinon, winaaRmdeg SemTxvevaSi maTi qonebis konfiskacia iqnes. miwebi axl o sofl el ebs daurigdes da TviT yaCaRebi gadasaxl ebul i iqnen kavkavisken, saidanac i araRiT da sxva saxiT daxmarebas Rebul oben. samxedro gzaze oTx saguSago punqts vayeneb.

dokumenti # 63

miwaTmoqmedebis saministros mier Sinagan saqmeTa
saministrosadmi gatzavnii i Setyobineba

miwaTmoqmedebis saministro. gadasaxl ebis ganyofil eba
1920 wl is 24 ivl isi

moqal aqe Sinagan saqmeTa ministrs

Tanaxmad Tavdacvis sabWos dadgenil ebisa, miwaTmoqmedebis saministro ukve Seudga mTa oseTis qarTvel ebIT dasaxl ebis saqmes. am mizniT adgil obriv Sedga komisia, romel sac xel mZRvanel obs damfuZnebel i krebis wevri I .J.Renti. am mxriv muSaobam ukve sagrZnobi nayofi gamoiRo da gadasaxl ebis msurvei Ta ricxvi TandaTan izrdeba. adgil ze misul ebi maSinve epatronebian datovebul saxl ebs da amuSaveben ukve Semosul yaneps. miuxedavad xel sayrel i pirobebisa, gadasaxl ebul ebi mainc eWvis Tval iT ucqerian iqauobas da ver grZnoben TavS Tavdasxmisan uzrunvel yofil ad. rogorc komisiis moxsenebidan Cans, erTxel gadaxvevil i osebi TandaTanobiT Camodian sofl ebSi da ikaveben Taviant saxl ebs. garda amisa, wunaris da yornisis raionebi mcireodeni gamonakl isis garda TiTqmis srul iad ar yofil a osebisagan gawmendil i da am raionebsi exl ac budoben yaCaRebi. amnair pirobebSi ara Tu gadasaxl ebul ebi, adgil obrivi mcxovrebi qarTvel ebic SiSoben darCenas da Tu administraciis gaZl ierebas ar mieqca seriozul i yuradReba, erT mSvenier dRes gadasaxl ebul ebica da adgil obrivi mkvidri mcxovrebl ebic daiZvrian iqedan. komisiis cnobiT, administraciis mowyoba mindobil i aqvs goris samazro erobas, magram, rogorc etyoba mas j er- j erobiT es saqme ver mougwarebia. garda amisa, adgil obrivi sardl is gen. koniasvil is gancxadebiT, j avis raionSi arc samxedro Zal a yofil a sakmarisi, romel zedac Sesazl ebel i iqneboda dayrdnoba. gacnobebT ra zemoxsenebul s, gTxovT moaxdinoT saTanado gankargul eba administraciis gaZl ierebisa da mil icionerTa sajaro ricxvis yol is Sesaxeb da aRZraT Suamdgoml oba samxedro saministros winaSe, raTa dasaxl ebis damTavrebamdi iqnas datovebul i ufro meti samxedro Zal a vinem exl a aris iq.

miwaTmoqmedebis ministris moval eobis aRmsrul ebel i mal ania gadasaxl ebis ganyofil ebis gangis moval eobis magier kal andaZe sworia (xel mowerilia)

am dokuments ori rezolucia adevs:

- 1) `direqtors, me mgonia es ukve mogvarebul ia.- 27 ivl isi;
- 2) `adgil obrivi daTval ierebis dros saqme mogvarebul ia.- 28 ivl isi.

dokumenti # 64

სამხრეთ ოსეთის რევკომისათვის ფულით გამოყოფის შესახებ

ოკმი # 3 საკრებულის ოსეთის რევკომისათვის სახელმწიფო რევკომისათვის
რევკომისათვის პრეზიდიუმის სხდომა 1921 წლის აპრილის 7-ს.
კ. თფილისი

ტავმჯდომარე: მ. მაყარიძე.

რევკომისათვის: ორახელაშვილი, ოკუჯავა, ნაზარეთიანი.

მდივანი: გაბრიჭიძე.

განსახილველი საგანი:

I. ოსეთის რევკომის განკარგულებაში საორგანიზაციო მუშაობისათვის ტანხის
გარეხის შესახებ.

დადგენილება:

1) გადგინდეს სინაგანის სახელმწიფო კომისიის განკარგულებაში
ორასი მილიონი მანეთი ოსეთის რევკომის სახელმწიფოებისათვის;

2) სამხრეთ ოსეთის განადგურების სოფლების აღსადგენად გადგინდეს
მილიარდის ფონდი გადგინდეს სინაგანის სახელმწიფო კომისიის, რათა
მიზანშეწონილად იყოს განაწილებული.

ტავმჯდომარე: მ. მაყარიძე. (ხელმოწერა).

მდივანი: გაბრიჭიძე (ხელმოწერა).

dokumenti # 65

ოკმი # 6 საკრებულის ოსეთის რევკომისათვის სახელმწიფო რევკომისათვის
რევკომისათვის პრეზიდიუმის სხდომა 1921 წლის აპრილის 15.
კ. თფილისი

ტავმჯდომარე: მ. ორახელაშვილი.

რევკომისათვის: ელიაშვილი, კვიციანი, ნაზარეთიანი, გეგეშკორი,
ბახტაძე, თოდია, ელისაბედაშვილი.

დასწრებით: საგარეო მუშაობის სახელმწიფო კომისიის მადგილი _ მოდებაძე.
ჯანმრთელობის სახელმწიფო კომისიის მადგილი _ კიკელიძე.

განსახილველი საგანი:

VII. სამდგომარეობის აღრიცხვის და გორის მუშაობის მოქმედებისათვის
რომელიც ყოფილი მუშაობის მიერ გადაყვანილი იყო სახელმწიფო რევკომისათვის
ოსეთის რევკომისათვის გამოგზავნილი იქნა უკანვე ოსეთის რევკომისათვის,
დასახლებებისა და ფულით დახმარების აღმოცენის შესახებ.

დადგენილება:

შეადგინდეს სინაგანის სახელმწიფო კომისიის შემოსავლის საგანგებო
ფონდი 200 მილიონი მანეთის და ადგილობრივი რევკომების სახელმწიფო
რევკომისათვის დახმარება აღნიშნული მოქმედებისათვის უკანვე გადასახლებული
დახმარებისა და ფულით დახმარების აღმოცენის შესახებ.

ტავმჯდომარე: მ. ორახელაშვილი (ხელმოწერა).

მდივანი: გაბრიჭიძე (ხელმოწერა).

dokumenti # 66

qarTul i sofl ebis: sveris, qemertis, mindianis, yafl anis, kasranis, monasteris mcxovreba mier saqarTvel os mTavrobisadmi wardgenil i gancxadeba. 1921 wl is 25 april i

gancxadeba sofl ebisa

vacxadebT Cven qvemoT xel is momwerni sofel i sveris, qemertis, mindianis, yafl anis, kasranis, monasteris, rom gvaqvs metad cudaT mdgomareoba. dRes l tol vil ebad vimyofebiT da varT Cvens saxl ebs mowvyetil ni. osebis Semosvl is Semdeg sami Tve gvixdeba rac saxl ebidan varT gaqceul ebi. cxinval is revkoms vTxovT daxmarebas. mogvcen j ari an iaraRi, rom davubrundeT Cvens mamul s da saxl ebs. Cveni mamul i rCeba daumuSavebel i, radganac ver mi vdivarT saxl ebSi. dResac varT datovebul i upatronod, radgan revkomi araviTar zomebs ar Rebul obs. umorCil esad gTxovT saCqarod aRmogviCinoT daxmareba. osebis Semosvl is dros, roca osebi Semovidnen cxinval Si, dagviwves 78- 80 saxl i da rac gagvaCnda_ saqonel i, avej i da Wirnaxul i osebma waiRes j avis rai onisken. dResac i q imyofeba Cveni saqoneli i. mi vdivarT, magram Cvens saqonel s da avej s ar gvaZl even. rodesac viTxovT, cemiT da muqariT gvpasuxoben. am bol os amoxoces 32 kaci, maTSi zogi daswves da zogi cemiT mokl es. gaaupatiures qal ebi_ didebi da patarebi. gTxovT aRmogviCinoT daxmareba sanovagiT, avej iT da farTI iT. ganvicdiT autanel mdgomareobas, ar gvyavs saqonel i, ar gvaqvs Casacmel i da saWmel i. amastan gTxovT gasceT gankargul eba, raTa osebma dagvi brunon Cveni saqonel i, romel ic imyofeba j avisken; xari, kameCi, Zroxa, cxvari, Txa, Rori, cxeni da avej i. mastan umorCil esad gTxovT mogvceT iaraRi, rom davicvat Cveni Tavi da mi videT Cvens saxl ebSi, an mogvceT qarTul i j ari, romel ic Cadgeba sazRvarze, Torem i q cxovreba Cven ar SegviZl ia, radganac mudamdRe xdeba Tavdasxma. Tu rame darCa im aoxrebul sofl ebSi osebi itaceben. ramdenadac Cven ver mi vdivarT saxl ebSi, angreven Cvens saxl ebs da mi aqvT osebisken.

magal iTi Tu vis scemes j avaSi revkomTan; scemes Semdeg pirebs: daTa mindiaSvil s, sandro maRal daZes, sandro kasraZes, l eqso metreveL s. amis mowmeebi arian TviTon osebi vasil a fil iaSvil i, sosiko fil iaSvil i, kol o fir kovi, nika mindiaSvil i.

aseTi magal iTi bevria. amastan unda vTqvaT, al baT es revkomic monawil ea, Torem ratom zomebs ar Rebul obs? Cven bevri rame gvaqvs saTqmeli, magram gveSinian... varT autanel mdgomareobaSi. ar gava iseTi dRe, rom ar dagvecnen. ki dev gexvewebiT, rom aRmogviCinoT daxmareba. Segvawuxa j arma, romel ic dRes cxinval Si dgas. modian saxl ebSi da gvawuxeben, gvTxoven Wirnaxul s, sakl avs, afuWebn naTesebs, venaxebs da ar gvaqvs Rame Zil i. mudam Rame xdeba dacema. mastan saqonel i RamiT gvyavs mudam saxl Si, radganac gveSinian motacebis. Tu waviyanT saZovrad, modian da itaceben, radganac ar eSiniaT.

i media Cvens Txovnas angariSs gauwevT.

mTxovnel ebi: sofel qemertis mier amorCeul i revkomi s wevrebi: n.metreveL i [meore xel mowera ar ikiTxeba. S.v.]

1921 w. 25 april i.

rezolucia:

gamoyavit cxinval is raionis darbevis Txovnebi da gancxadebebi cal ke saqmiT. iqve CaakereT 22 maisis `social ist- federal isti.-

cnoba. saqmeebis gamoyofa ar SeuZliaT.

2/VI 1921 w. xel mowerilia.

dokumenti # 67

oqmi # 11 saqarTvel os social isturi sabWoTa respublikis revol uciuri komitetis prezidiumis sxdomisa 1921 w. maisis 5. q. tfil isi

Tavmj domare: f.maxaraZe.

rev. kom. wevrebi: kvirkvel ia, nazaretiani, el isabedaSvili, cincaZe, dumbaZe. daeswrnen: erqomaiSvili, kikal iSvili, Tumanovi.

gansaxil vel i sagani.

4. cxinval is raionis mdgomareobis Sesaxeb.

dadgenil eba.

dadasturebul i iqnes rev. komitetis Tavmj domarisa da Sinagan saqmeTa saxal xo komisar is RonisZiebani, saxel dobr: a)gamoZiebi saTvis special - uri komisiis dagzavnisa da agreTve revol uciuri tribunal is moZravi sesi is daniSvnis Sesaxeb; b)samxreT - oseTis revkomis funqci is gansazRvri - saTvis komisi is gagzavn is Sesaxeb; g)me-XI armi is orasi cxenosnis gan Semdgari nawil is cxinval Si gagzavn is Sesaxeb; d)warigzavnos cxinval Si amx. xutul aSvili osebsa da qarTvel ebs Soris damokidebul ebis mosagvarebl ad.

gansaxil vel i sagani.

5)amx. xutul aSvili is Sesaxeb.

dadgenil eba.

amx. xutul aSvili dainiSnos Sinagan saqmeTa saxal xo komisariat is kol egi is wevrad da saxal xo komisar is moadgil ed.

gansaxil vel i sagani.

15)cxinval Si gagzavn il i rev. tribunal is sesi is Tavmj domaris Sesaxeb.

dadgenil eba.

cxinval Si gagzavn il i revol uciuri tribunal is sesi is Tavmj domared dainiSnos amx. xutul aSvili.

Tavmj domare: f.maxaraZe (xel mowerilia).

mdivani: gabriciZe (xel mowerilia).

dokumenti # 68

dadgenil eba `samxreT oseTis- sofl ebis aRdgenis Sesaxeb

**oqmi # 12 saqarTvel os social isturi sabWoTa respubl ikis
revol uciuri komitetis prezidiumis sxdomisa 1921 w. maisis 11.
q. tfil isi**

Tavmj domare f.mafaxaZe.

prezidiumis wevrebi: qavTaraZe, el iava.

daeswrnen: revkomi s wevrebi: kvirkvel ia, nazaretiani, okuj ava, dumbaZe, modebaZe
da samxreT oseTis rev. kom. Tavmj . j atievi.

gansaxil vel i sagani.

1). samxreT oseTis revol iuciuri komitetis Tavmj domaris j atievis mox-
senebani.

I. cel ebis micemis Sesaxeb sursaTze gadasacvl el ad.

dadgenil eba.

moismina ra j atievis moxseneba, revkomiteti adgens: I. winadadeba mieces
saxal xo meurneobis umaRI es sabWos da miwaTmoqmedebis saxal xo komi-
ariats_ gamoarkvion raodenoba maT sawyobebSi naqoni cel ebisa da agreTve
imisa, Tu ramdeni cel i SeiZI eba mieces samxreT oseTis revkoms.

gansaxil vel i sagani.

2)ful is micemis Sesaxeb Tergis ol qSi saCal vadro transportis Sesa-
ZenaT.

dadgenil eba.

saCal vadro transportis SesaZenad mieces samxreT oseTis revkoms samasi
mil ioni man. amasTanave, Tu saqarTvel os bonebs gasaval i ar eqneba yidvis
adgil as, eTxovos mTiel Ta respubl ikis saxal xo komisarTa sabWos_ misces
i.s. revskis ssexad samasi mil ioni maneTi sabWoTa bonebiT.

gansaxil vel i sagani.

3)samxreT oseTis rev. kom. saWi roebisaTvis sursaTis gagzavis Sesaxeb.

dadgenil eba.

dadasturebul i iqnes sasursaTo saxal xo komisar is winad-
adeba erTi vagoni maril isa da ori vagoni simindis gagzavis Sesaxeb da
winadadeba mieces, rom es produqtebi saswrafod iqnes miwodebul i.

gansaxil vel i sagani.

4)oseTis dazaral ebul i raionebis samxedro mobil izaciisgan ganTavisu-
fl ebis Sesaxeb.

dadgenil eba.

winadadeba mieces samazro sazRvao komisars mi iRos am sakiTxis gamo
Roni sZi ebani.

gansaxil vel i sagani.

5)samxreT oseTis revkomi s iniciativis Sesaxeb daqceul i sofl ebis aRd-
genis saqmeSi.

dadgenil eba.

sofl ebis aRdgenis gegmebis Sedgena, maTi damtkiceba, xarj TaRricxvis
damtkiceba, muSaobis adgil obrivi kontrol i da saerTo xel mZRvanel oba
daekisros saxal xo meurneobis umaRI es sabWosTan arsebul saxel mwifos
SenobaTa amgeb komitets. saqmis aRmasrul ebl ad adgil obriv aris samxreT
oseTis revkomi, romel sac am mxriv daekisreba mTel i pasuxismgebl oba. am-

asTanave, saxal xo meurneobis sabWo miawdis yvel a saWi ro saamSenebl o masal as da Tanxeb.

gansaxil vel i sagani.

6)oseTis samxedro erTeul is mowyobis Sesaxeb.

dadgenil eba.

winadadeba mieces samxedro da sazRvao saxal xo komisars warudginos revol . komitets am sakiTxis Sesaxeb mosazrebani.

Tavmj domare: f.maxaraZe. (xel moweril ia).

mdivani: gabriCiZe (xel moweril ia).

dokumenti # 69

qarTul sofl ebSi osebis ukanono qmedebebis Sesaxeb, saqarTvel os mTavrobisadmi wardgenil i gancxadeba. 1921 w. maisi

gancxadeba

momxdari ambebi cxinval is revkomSi

amJamad cxinval Si aris ori (2) revkomi: adgil obrivi cxinval is_ qarTvel ebis da samxreT oseTis. rogorc cans, oseTis revkomi iTvl eba rogorc mdgmurebi, imtom rom mTel i cxinval is qarSemo aris 26 sofel i sul qarTvel ebiT dasaxl ebul i. arian kidev uriebi da somxebi. ise rom osebi sul cota nawil i arian. aris erTnairi gaugebroba, ar ician vis xel Si aris dRes sofel i.

Semdegi magal iTi: sofel vanaTSi, bel oTSi, sacxeneTSi da awrisxevSi iyo cxinval idan Semdgari revkomi, romel ic ekuTvnoda cxinval is revkoms. radganac es sofl ebi arian qarTul i sofl ebi, oseTis revkomma am sofl ebSi gagzavna mil icia da gamoacxada Tavisi orientacia. ase rom, es sofl el ebi iZaxian, Tu Cven amaT xel Si davrCebiT, maSin aqedan aviyrebiT. ase moxda, mosaxl eobis nawil i aiyara da wavida barisken.

meore magal iTi: martis ricxvebSi 18 osis yaCaRi sofel svers daeca da qarTvel ebis qoneba mitaca. yaCaRebs zogs Tofebi qondaT da zogic uTofoebi iyvnen. Tan hqondaT oTxi uremi. es urmebi savse iyo nayaCaRari avej iT. am dros sverSi macxovrebel ma guca papel iaSvil ma Seatyobina Zarwemis revkoms, ariqa gviSvel e yaCaRebi dagvecnen, itaceben qonebaso. sofel ZarwemSi idga meTerTmete armiis nawil is 12 rusis cxenosani zvodis komandiris meTaurobiT. wavidnen oTxi cxenosani, oTxic adgil obrivi milicionerebi da yaCaRebi daiWires. 18 osi daWeril i mZarcveli kaci Camoiyvanes daba cxinval is mil iciis ufrosTan. am dros movida oseTis revkomidan gankargul eba, rom daWeril i osebi gaanTavisufl eT. tusaRebi gauSves. dResac ar viciT ratom moxda ase. amis mowmeni arian vinc es yaCarebi daiWira; meTerTmete armiis nawil idan, romel ic exl ac dgas cxinval Si_ zvodis komandiri sokol nikovi, Zarwemis revkomis wevrebi_ giorgi Tedos Ze mindiaSvil i, arCil ivanes Ze Wovel iZe, ioseb ivanes Ze maisu-

raZe, gi guca gogi Ze. amave sofl Zarwemi dan bevrjer CamouyvaniaT yaCaRebi, magram araviTari zomebi ar miuRiaT, ise rom isini farTod TareSoben sofel Si. ise dRe ar gava, rom qarTul sofl ebs ar daecnen, aris kacis kvl a. iyo magal iTi sofel eredvSi; osis yaCaRebi daecnen sofel s da gaitaces saqonel i. am dros sofel ma gaigo da saCqaro zomebi miiRO. yaCarebi daiWires da iaraRi ahyares. es samxreT oseTis mil iciis ufrosma gaigo. yaCaRebis daWeraSi sofel eredvis revkomisadmi daxmarebis nacvlad, osebis mil iciam sofel eredvis revkomis Tavmj domare daatusaRa, romel ic ar Sedis osebis revkomSi. es sofel i Sedis cxinval is revkomSi. osebis mil iciis ufrosi jijikaevi misi survil isamebr moqmedebs. mas sityvas veravin ubrunes. am jijikaevma maisis 10 ricxvSi daiWira kvaRiniZe, imitom rom kvariniZes cxinval Si yavs Tavisi sakuTari 4 cxeni da igi jijikaevs ar misca. im dros cxenebi sxvagan hyavda. minda gavigo ra ufl eba aqvs mas rom cxinval is raionSi gaakeTos mobilizacia. am mil iciis ufross rac surs imas sCadis. arafers ar ekiTxeba cxinval is revkoms, romel sac faqtiurad araviTari ufl ebebi ara aqvs. cxinval is raionSi amiTana uwesoba unda ail agmos.

Semdegi: cxinval Si Semosvl is dros osis xal xma, romel sac erqva wiTelijari, sofel ZarwemSi da qemertSi daaxl oebiT 78_80 saxl i daswves, mokl es 32 kaci. maTSi zogi daswves, zogic cemaSi mokl es. dawvas gadarCenil i saxl ebi gaZarcves, nadavl i j avisken waiRes da saqonel ic waiyvanes. es saqonel i da avej i aris j avis raionSi. gl exebi midian, poul oben Taviant saqonel s da ver moyavT. osebi sikvdil iT emuqrebian, bevrsac kidec scemes. es sofl el ebi Tavisi sifl idan dResac gamoqceul ebi arian da sofel Si ver midian. iTxoven revkomis daxmarebas, magram revkomi araviTar daxmarebas ar uwevs. sofl ebi: 1) sveris, 2) qemertis, 3) mi ndianis, 4) yafl anis, 5) kasranis da 6) monasteris macxovrebl ebi veRar midian Taviant saxl ebSi. sami Tvea rac sTxoven cxinval is revkoms, Tu Tqven ar gamogzavniT vismes, maSin mogveciT iaraRi raTa Cveni Tavi Cvenve davicvaT. magram revkomma ver SeZl o amis mogvareba. dResac aris xuTi sofel i mitovebul i. es sofl ebi dauxnav- dauTesavi rCeba. saWiroa revkomma miiRos Sesabamisi zomebi.

magal iTad, sofel j avaSi scemes: daTa mindiaSvil s, Saqro maRal daZes da sxvebs, bevrs roml is gvaric ar vici. am mcxovrebl ebma aiRes cxinval is komisiisgan qaRal di, rom maTi saqonel i aris j avaSi. am kacebs cemes revkomis kancel ariaSi, magram amis Sesaxeb sul ac ar ganucxadebiaT, viTomc araferi iyo. **magal iTad:** Saqro j oxaZe urmiT ufasod begaraze waiyvanes j avaSi da Semdeg xarebi waarTves. iq aRmouCnda naTesavi da Tavisi xarebi dai bruna. osebis axl o vinc darCa qarTvel ebi, Tavisufl ad guTani ver Seubams, radgan eSiniaT xarebis motacebis. saZovridan saqonel s itaceben da mwyemsebs Zarcvaven. romel i sofl ebidanac arian qarTvel ebi gamoqceul ni, dRes maT saxl ebs osebi angreven da mi aqvT TaviantTvis. amis masal ebi da dasamtkicebel i sabuTebi moipoveba sofel vanaTSi, ZarwemSi. daba cxinval Si dRes dgas j ari daaxl oebiT 200 kaci. am j aris nawil i aris sofel Si da nawil i cxinval Si. xal xi Sewuxda, sTxoven saWmel s, romel ic iTiTonac ara aqvT. ise rom xal xi aris Sewuxebul i, iTxoven maT CamoSorebas, radganac afuWeben namuSevars. imedia yovel ive amas gauwevT angariSs da miiRebT zomebs.

dokumenti #. 70

sofel kexvis da qurTas mcxovrebl ebis mier, saqarTvel os
revol uciuri komitetisadmi 1921 wl is 17 maiss gagzavnii i Txovna

ssr revkomis Tavmj domares

sofel kexvis da qurTas (cxinval is raikomisariati) amorCeul i pirebis
Txovna.

q.cxinval is Crdil oeTiT I iaxvis marj vena mxares akravs Svidi qarTu-
l i sofl ebi: dgvrisi, aCabeTi, TamaraSeni, TamaraSeni meore, monasteri da
kexvi, roml ebic amJamad ganicdian mware wuTs da unugeSo mdgomareobas.
moxseniebul sofl ebze TareSoben bnel i Zal ebi, roml ebic ar indoben
mSvidobian mcxovrebt da yovel i mxridan aviwroeben maT. Rrmad dam-
wuxrebul i gl exkacoba gamouval mdgomareobaSia Cavarndil i da Tavis
mware dReebs atarebs mware fiqrebSi. avazakebi ar aZl even saSual ebas
sofl is gl exobas, rom is gavides da damSvidebit daamuSaos Tavis miwa
da amiT saSual eba misces Tavis Tavs mSieri ar darCes mTel i wel iwadi.
avazakTa TareSi wres gadasul ia. 1)maisis 11- s daecnen sof. kexvis axl os
mTel guTneul s da borotmomqmedebma srol a autexes. undodaT saqonel i
gaetacaT, magram mexreebma saswrafod gamouSves saqonel i da mSvidobi-
anad Carekes sofel Si; 2)zed aRdgoma dRes ucnobma avazakebma moitaces 3
Zroxa sof. kexvidan; 3)9- Si sofel kexvidan gai taces 4 Zroxa, maT daedevna
10 adgil obrivi mil iciel i, mihyvnen kval dakaval avazakebs da gadavidnen
osebis sof. egraSi, sadac aRmoCnda gatacebul i saqonel i. saqonl is dab-
runebis dros xsenebul i osebis sofl ebidan kvl av dauwyes srol a mil -
iciel ebs, magram saqonel i mainc dabrunebul i iqna. 4) 10- Si gatacebul i
iqna saqonel i, borotmomqmedni miimal nen; 5)april is bol o ricxvebSi qur-
TaSi daecnen bol oTaSvil is qvrivs. waiRes rac ebada. avazakebi miimal -
nen. 6)sof. qurTaSi maisis pirvel ricxvebSi daecnen yoCaSvil s, waiRes ris
waRebac SeZl es. avazakebi miimal nen; 7)amave ricxvebSi kvl av daecnen xseneb-
ul bol oTaSvil is qvrivs. mokl es Zroxa, 2 xari da daWres 80 wl is moxu-
ci. mil iciam moindoma mTel i sofl is daWera. rogorc faqturi monawil e
am sazizRroebisa, magram avazakebi aRmoCnden osebis sof. `dampal eTidan~,
roml ebic Sei pyro mil iciam.

mTel i es aremare Sisis zariT aris mocul i. damSvidebul i arcerTi
Rame ar Tendeba, radganac yovel Tvis el ian dacemas da awiokebas.

saqonel s tyeSi da mindorSi ver rekaven, radganac eSiniaT gatacebi sa.
TviTon mcxovrebnic ver midian tyeSi SeSisaTvis, an fiCxisaTvis, radganac
eSiniaT brboebisa. varT aseT mdgomareobaSi da ganvicdiT mware dReebs.

amJamad sof. kexvSi dgas samxedro Zal a, romel sac hkvebavs isedac gam-
warebul i da dabeCavebul i gl exkacoba. Senaxva am samxedro Zal isa Cven
ar SegviZl ia da gTxovT gagvanTavisufl oT am xarj isagan.

axal i gadasaxadi SemoiRes: Cveni xarj iT, saqonl iT, xariT da Tesl iT
gvaxnevineben osebis miwas da es xdeba maSin, rodesac Cven, Cveni sakuTari
ver gagvikeTebia. mogaxsenebT ra amas, gTxovT gvi patronoT, mogvceT saSu-
al eba Tavisufl ad tye- mindorSi siarul isa, Camogvacil eT zedmeti ukanono
xarj ebi, uzrunvel hyaviT Cveni sicocxl e, Cveni saqonel i da sacxovrebel i
mZarcvel ebisagan, samudamoT aRmofxariT dacemebi da borotmoqmedebebi
da mieciT saSual eba mSvidobian mcxovrebl ebs damSvidebit awarmoon Tavi-

anTi Sinauri saqmeebi.

xel s aqwens 56 kaci.

amorCeul i pirebi: Saqro kaxni aSvil i, daTiko maisuraZe, andria zangal aZe.

1921 wl is 17 maisi.

dokumenti # 71

goris mazris revol uciuri komiteti. 1921 w. 18 maisi. Sinagan saqmeTa saxal xo komisars

osebi ganuwvetl iv daiarebian qarTul sofl ebSi da eZeben saqonel s. SeaTval iereben ra mosawon saqonel s, ixsomeben niSnebs da Semdeg moaqvT samxreT oseTidan mowmoba, sadac dawvril ebiT weria gvare da saxel i saqonl is maZiebel i osisa, saqonl is niSnebis aRwera da TandarTul ia_ dauyovnebl iv daubrundebs kuTvnil ebi samebr. aris xSirad imiTana magal iTebi, rom osebi adeben xel s da Cemul oben imiTana saqonel s, roml ebsac Tavis dReSi nabij ic ar gadaudgams cxinval is raionis fargl ebSi, rom esa da es saqonel i am sofel Sia dabadebul i, ama da am qarTvel ma kacma gazarda da didi xania rac hyavs. am iTana movl ena xSiria da qarTvel i gl exkacoba did aRSfoTebaSi da arasasurveb mdgomareobaSia Cavardnili. saWiroa maTTvis daxmareba. Cemis azrit saWiroa gaices gankargul eba, osebs aekrZal os saqonl is Zebna da isini iyvnen dakmayofil ebul ni an ful iT, an sxva raime saSual ebiT. mogaxsenebT ra amas, gTxovT saxel mZRvanel o gankargul ebas, rogor moviqceT am sakiTxis Sesaxeb.

goris mazris revkomis Tavmj domare gabunia (xel mowerilia).

goris mazris revkomis mdivani (xel mowerilia).

dokumenti # 72

saqarTvel os revol uciuri komiteti. 1921 w. 28 maisi. Sinagan saqmeTa saxal xo komisars

gegzavnebaT amasTanave duSeTis samazro revkomis Tavmj domaris depeSis asl i # 331; Tavmj domare iuwyeba, rom duSeTis mazris zogierT raionebSi Tavisi Tavi ufrosad gamoucaxadebia goris mazridan SeiaraRebul i j gufiT gadmosul vinme kokoevs, romel ic scems gankargul ebebs, arbevs da awiokebs mcxovrebl ebs da duSeTis mazris nawil s acxadebs Crdil o oseTis teritoriis nawil ad.

Tanaxmad saqarTvel os revkomis Tavmj domaris gankargul ebisa, geval ebaT miRoT saswrafo zomebi mdgomareobis gamorkvevisa da likvidacii-

saTv is da amasTanave Sedegi acnoboT saqarTvel os revkoms.

saqarTvel os revkomis mmarTvel i b.gigineiSvil i (xel moweril ia).
kancel ariis ufrosis magier (xel moweril ia).

dokuments Semdegi saxis rezol ucia adevs: `gaigzavnos trapaiZe da daeval os mas am bandis l ikvidacia. miweros oseTis revkoms- daapatimros kokoevi da Tbil isSi gadmogzavnos.- (xel moweril ia).

31/ V. 1921 w.

dokumenti # 73

oqmi # 20 saqarTvel os social isturi sabWoTa respubl ikis revol uciuri komitetis prezidiumis sxdomisa 1921 w. maisis 30.
q. tfil isi

Tavmj domare: f.maxaraZe.

rev. kom. wevrebi: el iava, okuj ava, kvirkvel ia, nazaretiani, dumbaZe, Tordia, toroSel iZe.

daeswrnen: ruseTis s.f.r. sagareo vaWrobis saxal xo komisariatis warmomadgenel i rabinoviCi.

mdivani gabriCiZe.

gansaxil vel i sagani.

14)xutul aSvil is moxseneba cxinval is raionis mdgomareobis Sesaxeb.

a)dazaral ebul i samxreT oseTis sofl ebi saTv is masal is miwodebis Sesaxeb;

b)sof. axal qal aqis (kaspis raionSi S.v.) revol uciuri komitetis Tavmj - domaris mamasaxl isovis Sesaxeb.

dadgenil eba.

a)mieces winadadeba saxal xo meurneobis umaRI es sabWos warmomadginos moxseneba, ra zomebi aris miRebul i revol uciuri komitetis dadgenil ebis ganxorciel ebisaTv is samxreT- oseTis dazaral ebul i raonebisaTv is saWi ro masal is miwodebis Sesaxeb; b)radgan amx. xutul aSvil is moxsenebidan gamoirkva ukanono moqmedebani sof. axal qal aqis rev. komit. Tavmj - domaris mamasaxl isovisa, mieces winadadeba saqarTvel os sagangebo komisiis Tavmj domares xel meored daapatimros igi, romel ic gaugebrobis gamo iqna ganTavisufli ebul i.

Tavmj domare: f.maxaraZe (xel moweril ia).

mdivani: dgebuaze (xel moweril ia).

dokumenti # 74

duSeTis mazridan, saqarTvel os revkomis Tavmj domarisadmi 1921
wl is maisSi gaghavnil i depeSa

saqarTvel os revkomis Tavmj domares

goris mazridan duSeTis mazraSi gadmosul a vi Rac dJatin kokoevi, romel -
sac Tavisi Tavi uwodebia ufrosad. mej vrisxevis mesame raionis midamo
Crdil o oseTis okrugis nawil ad gamoucxadebia. am pirs Tanxl ebia TxuT-
metamde SeiaraRebul i osebi da Cemdami rwmunebul i mazris mil iciis raion-
ebSi l exuris, monastris da qsnisa, sadac cxovroben qarTvel ni da osni,
mouxdenia sxvadasxva administraciul i gankargul ebebi. mcxovrebtatvis
zogistvis ucemia, zogi daurbevia. Cvens mier dayenebul i saxel mwifo mox-
el e gadauyenebia samsaxuridan. xal xSi xma gauvr cel ebia, rom aRniSnul i
raionebi da ki dev sxvebi Sedian Crdil o oseTis fargl ebSi. xal xi rogorc
osebi, agreTve sxvebi ukmayofil oa. aRniSnul i SemTxveva rom ar ganmeor-
des da ar gamoiwvios xal xTa Soris axal i ukmayofil eba, gTxovT saCqar-
od moaxdinoT saTanado gankargul eba da mec macnobot saCqarod duSeTis
mazris fargl ebidan gadadis Tu ara nawil i Crdil o oseTis gankargul e-
baSi. sanam pasuxi mova, Tu vinmem aRniSnul i mi zniT ki dev gadmol axa mazris
fargl ebi, iqnebian Sepyrobil ni, iaraRayril ni da warmodgenil ni TqvenTan.

samazro revkomis Tavmj domare afciauri (xel mowerilia).
Sinagan saqmeTa saerTo ganyofil ebis gamge adamiZe (xel mowerilia).
saerTo qveganyofil ebis gamge grigol aSvil i (xel mowerilia).

1921 w. maisi.

dokumenti # 75

goris mazris administraciul erTeul ebad danyofi komisiis 1921
wl is 31 maisis dadgenil eba

1921 wl . maisis 31 dResa, goris mazris administraciul nawil ebad dany-
ofma komisi am, Semdgarma samazro revkomis gankargul ebiT, revkomis prez-
idiumis sxdomas warudgina sqema proeqtisa goris mazris administraciul
puntebad dayofisa da moaxsena:

1. karal eTis sofl is warmomadgenl ebs, roml ebmac aRZres Suamdgoml o-
ba, rom xel Tubnis Temidan iyves gamoyofil i sofel i karal eTi didi da
patara garej vreb iT da cal ke karal eTis Temad daarsebul i, eTquas uari,
radganac arc geografiul i da arc namdvil i saqmis garemoeba, Sinagani
mmarTvel obis mxriv, ar eTanxmeba am Txovnis dakmayofil ebas.

2. atenis Temidan, Semdgarma 51- is sofl is gan, 21 sofl is gamoyofazed da
cal ke axal sofl is Temis daarsebazed, razedac Suamdgoml oba aRiZra
sof. axal sofl is warmomadgenl ebis mier, Sekrebi i komisiis mier cnobe-

bi da mosazrebani edgineba sxdomas da amasTanave Suamdgoml obs, rom am sakiTxis arsebiTad ganxil vis Semdeg Suamdgoml oba iyves dakmayofil ebel i.

3. mTel i goris mazra komisiam sxva mizanSewonil i mosazrebiT dahyo camet administraciul punqtad: 1. qal . goris Tavis sadguris nawil iT; 2. qvemo Wal is; 3. mej vrisxevis; 4. tyviavis; 5. cxinval is; 6. ruisis; 7. gomis; 8. qarel is; 9. xaSuris; 10. borj omis; 11. xidistavis; 12. axal qal aqis [sof. kaspis rn- Si. S.v.]; 13. kavTisxevis.

4. raionis revkomebi daarsebul i unda iyves xuT raionSi, roml ebsac namdvil i saWiroeba moiTxovs: 1. mej vrisxevSi; 2. xaSurSi; 3. cxinval Si; 4. axal qal aqSi [sof. kaspis rn- Si. S.v.] da 5. borj omSi.

5. komisiam goris mazra ocdaSvidi Temis revkomad dayo: 1. qvemo Wal is; 2. kaspis; 3. xurval eTis; 4. andoreTis; 5. xel Tubnis; 6. tyviavis; 7. mereTis; 8. dicis; 9. TamaraSenis; 10. Sindisis; 11. dirbis; 12. ruisis; 13. al is; 14. atocis; 15. avl evis; 16. qarel is; 17. zRuderis; 18. wromis; 19. suramis; 20. qviSxeTis; 21. xcisis; 22. xidistavis; 23. atenis; 24. metexis; 25. doesis; 26. kavTisxevis; 27. qvemo niCfisis.

6. mTa oseTis raionis Zvel i mTavrobis sazogadoebebidan unda iyves gamoyofil i is sofl ebi, roml ebic arian dasaxl ebul ni qarTvel ebiT da SeerTebul ni maxl obel Temeb. qarTvel ebiT dasaxl ebul ebs: 1. ortevs sazogadoebidan Semdgarma 17 sofl idgan, _ sofel i vanaTi unda miweros dicis saTemos; 2. bel oTis sazogadoebidgen, romel Siac Sedis 35 sofel i, _ awrisxevi, sacxeneTi, xoSuri da xadurianTkari unda Sevidnen dicis TemSi; 3. wunaris sazogadoebidan roml ebSiac iTvl eba 33 sofel i, sofl ebi: dvani, zemo da qvemo avnevi, unda SeuerTdnen dirbis saTemos. qvemoT CamoTv- l il i sazogadoebebidan ki arc erTi ar iqneba gamoyofil i; 4. yornisis 12 sofel i; 5. j avis 23 sofel i; 6. yemul Tis 20 sofel i da 7. rokis 33 sofel i unda Sevides mTa oseTis raionSi.

7. rezidenciebi administraciul i punqtetisa, raionis da Temebis revko- mebis aiarsebepen im dasaxl ebul punqtetSi, roml ebic sqemaSi arian CamoTv- l il ni. danarCeni zedmeti revkomebi, exl a unda iqnen gauqmebul ni, radga- nac maTi arseboba moitans mxol od auarebel xarj ebs, uangariSo drois dakargvas da TaviantTi geografiul i mdgomareobiT, mcire manZil is erTis erTmaneTisgan daSorebis mxriv, ar Seesabamebian daniSnul ebas.

revkomebis prezidiumis sxdomam moismina ra moxseneba damyofi komisi- isgan, iqonia xangrZlivi msjel oba da daadgina:

1. vinaidan sofel i karal eTi mdebareobs gori- cxinval is gzatkecil zed, romel zedac swarmoebis Seuwyvetel i moZraoba sabWoTa mTavrobis warmo- madgenl ebis pirebisa da agreTve wiTel i samxedro nawil ebisa, romel Tac bevrs SemTxvevaSi uxdebaT xol me mimarTva adgil obrivi revkomebisadmi, amitom sofel karal eTSi daarsdes Temis revkomi zedmiwveniT axl omde- bare sofl ebisa: didi da patara garej vrebisa.

2. ramdenadac garkveulia, rom is sofl ebi, roml ebic unda Sevidnen axl ad daarsebul axal sofl is saTemoSi, arian sakmarisad didi manZil iT atenis saTemozed daSorebul ni da ver aswreben TaviantTi saqmeebis mar- Tva_ gamgeobis Tavis drozed mowesrigebas, metadre cudi gzebis gamo, roml ebic zamTrobiT miuval ni xdebian. sxdoma iRebs ra mxedvel obaSi am sofl ebis aseT mZime da autanel mdgomareobas, adasturebs, rom dauy- ovnebl iv unda gamoeyos atenis Tems: 1. borcvana, 2. didTavi, 3. gul xandisi, 4. axal sofel i, 5. iura, 6. l ul i, 7. iura- maxinj a, 8. mRebriani, 9. nadarba

zevi, 10. naTi ismcemel i, 11. ofiani, 12. pitnara, 13. fel i, 14. ficesi, 15. saji a, 16. tama, 17. Tremli ani, 18. xvwe, 19. WanWaxa, 20. didi Wwarebi, 21. patara Wwarebi da miweros axl ad daarsebul axal sofl is Tems, rezidenciis moTavsebiT amave sofel Si.

3. me- 3- e moxsenebis punqti damtkicdes Semdegi cvl il ebis SetaniT; qal . gorSi iarsebon rogorc samazro centrSi mazris revkomma, mazris mil iciiT da Taviani sammarTvel oebiT.

4. raionis revkomebi daarsdes im yvel a Tormet samazro administraciul punqtebSi, roml ebic moxseniebul ia komisiis mier da ara mar to xuT punqtsi. amistan revkomebs daeval os Temis funqciebis asrul ebac. romel ime raionis revkomebtan arsebul ni Temis revkomebi gauqmdnen exl av da SemdegSiac nu iarsebeben.

5. sxdoma iRebs ra mxedvel obaSi me- 4 punqtis arsebul dadgenil ebas, aucil ebel saWiroebad sTvl is iarsebon Temis revkomebma: 1. kaspSi, 2. xurval eTSi, 3. xel TubanSi, 4. karal eTSi, 5. andoreTSi, 6. mereTSi, 7. dicSi, 8. TamaraSenSi, 9. SindisSi, 10. dirbSi, 11. al Si, 12. atocSi, 13. avl evSi, 14. zRudarSi, 15. wromSi, 16. qviSxeTSi, 17. xcisSi, 18. atenSi, 19. axal sofel Si, 20. metexSi, 21. suramSi da 22. doesSi.

6. vinaidan komisia mTa- oseTis sazRvrebis gamosarkvevadaa wasul i, qarTul i sofl ebi, roml ebic mosaxl eoben am mTa- oseTis raionis maxl obl ad- rogoric arian: vanaTi, awrisxevi, sacxeneTi, xoSori, xadurianTkari, dvani, zemo da qvemo avnevi, droebiT darCebian Taviani winandel Temebzed, am sakiTxis zemoxsenebul i komisiis mier sabol ood gamorkvevamde.

7. moxsenebis meSvide punqti damtkicdes ucvl el ad.

8. vinaidan, goris mazra, Tavisi teritoriul i sivrciT da mosaxl eobis Semadgenl obiT saq. sab. s. res. sxva mazrebtan SedarebiT aris udidesi mazra, risTvisac misi dayofa imazed nakl eb Temebis ricxvzed, rogorc igi amJamad daiyo, yovl ad SeuZl ebel ia, xol o maTi gamravl eba mazras aravitartargebl obas ar moutans. amitom, prezidiumis sxdomam amnari gadawyvetil eba scno friad mizanSewonil ad da saqmisaTvis sasargebl od. amastanave dasZens, rom mazra aris dayofil i: erT samazro revkomad, sadac aris moTavsebul i mazris central uri organo Tormeti raionis revkomit (am raionSive iqnebian administraciul i raionis punqtebic) da ocdaori Temis revkomaT, sul ocdaTxutmet erTeul ad.

Temebis sakoml o mosaxl eoba procentul i Tval sazrisiT Semdegnairad ganawil da: 303 k. _ 330 = 4 Temi, 413 k. _ 423 = 4 Temi, 551 k. _ 578 = 5 Temi, 623 k. _ 664 = 3 Temi, 700 k. _ 755 = 4 Temi, 830 k. _ 883 = 5 Temi, 931 k. _ 971 = 3 Temi, 150 k. _ 1545 = 6 Temi. ramdenadac sxdomas amJamad ara aqvs qal . gorisa da misi mazris mcxovrebtaricxvis namdvil i cnobebi, mas rCeba mxol od erTi saxsari, roml iTac unda ixel mZRvanel os, saxel dobr 1907 wl is mosaxl eobaTa arweril obiti cnobebiT da amTve unda Sesdges saerto daaxl oebiti warmodgena maTi mosaxl eobis raodenobisa. am mosazrebiT mTel mazraSi unda iTvl ebodes 27394 koml i; maTSi ki 136970 sul i orive sqesisa. qal aq gorSi sadguris nawil iT_ 8000 koml amde, ormociaTasi sul iT orive sqesisa. sul ki unda iricxebodes daaxl oebiT_ 35394 koml i, 176970 sul iT orive sqesisa.

saerto namdvil i cnobebi erovnebaTa mosaxl eobisa amJamad ar moiZebneba, rogorc q. goris ise misi mazrisa, rac dauyovnebl iv saCqarod unda Seikribos.

daaxl oebiti usaWiroesi cnobebis SekrebiT armoCnda, rom mej vrisxevis

raionSi osebis mosaxl eobaTa ricxvi udris 2,98%, qvemo Wal is raionSi_ 5,13%, tyviavis raionSi_ 1,27%, qarel is raionSi_ 4,27%, xidistavis raionSi_ 2,74%, borj omis raionSi_ 1,3%.

9. me- 23- e dekretis III gany. me- 2- e \$ Tanaxmad, es dadgenil eba erTi damyofi komisiis sqemiT, am dadgenil ebis SemuSavebul i siiT, mTa_ oseTis mosaxl eobaTa sazogadoebebis erTi siiT, waredginos Sinagan saqmeTa saxal xo komisariats, saqarTvel os social isturi sabWoTa respubl ikis revol ucionur komitets gansaxil vel ad da dasamtkicebl ad, rac ecnobos mazris revkoms.

goris mazris revkomis Tavmj domare wevrebi

aqti

1921 wl is maisis 21 dResa Tanaxmad goris mazris revkomis Tavmj domaris brZanebi sa, ama wl is 13 mai si dan Semdgarma komisi am eTnografiul i, strategiul i, geografiul i da sxva mizan- Sewonil i mosazrebiT dahyo goris mazra 12 administraciul raionad, xol o qal aqi gori sadguris nawil iT datova me- 13- e raionad. raionebi Tavis uaxl oes TemebiT iarsebeben Semdeg dasaxl ebul punqtebSi:

1. mej vrisxevis raioni_ TemebiT: 1. mej vrisxevis, 2. andoreTis da 3. xel - Tubnis.

2. qvemo Wal is raioni_ TemebiT: 1. qvemo RTI isis, 2. sof. kaspis da 3. xurval eTis.

3. tyviavis raioni_ TemebiT: 1. tyviavi da 2. mereTi.

4. cxinval is raioni_ TemebiT: 1. cxinval i, 2. dici, 3. TamaraSeni da 4. Sindisi.

5. ruisis raioni_ TemebiT: 1. dirbisi da 2. ruisi.

6. gomis raioni_ TemebiT: 1. al isi, 2. atoci da 3. avl evi.

7. qarel is raioni_ TemebiT: 1. qarel i, 2. zRudari da 3. wromi.

8. xaSuris raioni_ TemebiT: 1. surami, 2. xaSuri, 3. qviSxeTi da 4. xcisi.

9. borj omis raioni_ TemebiT: 1. borj omi.

10. xidistavis raioni_ TemebiT: 1. xidistavi da 2. ateni.

11. axal qal aqis [sof. kaspis rn- Si. S.v.]_ raioni TemebiT: 1. axal qal aqi, 2. metexi da 3. doesi.

12. kavTisxevis raioni_ TemebiT: 1. kavTisxevi da 2. qvemo niCfisi.

amnairad daanawil a goris mazra 12 raionad da 32 Temad. TiToeul Tems miawera axl o- mdebare soft ebi, rom ufro saCqarod da moxerxebul ad iyves mcxovrebl ebisatvis Taviant revkomebSi moZraoba_ mimosvl a.

garda amisa, sabWoTa saqarTvel os revkomis dekretis 23 II ganyofil ebis \$ 2 debul ebis Zal iT, dainaxa namdvil saWiroebad, rom iyves daarsebul i Semdeg punqtebSi raionis revkomebi: 1. mej vrisxevSi, 2. xaSurSi, 3. cxinval Si, 4. axal qal aqSi [sof. kaspis rn- Si S.v.] da 5. borj omSi, radganac sxvadasxva erovnul i mosaxl eobaa am punqtebSi, tradiciul i da administraciul i garemoebanic moiTxoven amas.

rezidenciebi: raionebis revkomebisa, Temebisa da mil iciis punqtebi iqnebian im adgil ebSi, rogorc aq aris naCvenebi da dasaxel ebul i am zemoT- naTqvami siiT.

rac Seexeba mTa oseTis nawil s, yofil i Zvel i mTavrobis sazogadoebes; 1. ortevs, 17 sofl iT, garda vanaTisa, romel ic Sevida dicis saTemoSi _ cxinval is raionSi; 2. bel oTis 35 sofl iT, garda awrisxevisa, sacxeneTisa, xoSurisa da xadurianTkarisa, roml ebic mieweren dicis saTemos da cxinval is raions; 3. yornisis 12 sofl iT; 4. j avis 23 sofl iT; 5. yemul Tis 20 sofl iT; 6. rokis 33 sofl iT da 7. wunaris 33 sofl iT, garda dvanisa, zemo da qvemo avnevisa, roml ebic mieweren dirbis saTemos da ruisis raions,- datova Tanaxmad mTavrobis gankargul ebisa samxreT oseTis gamgebl obaSi.

daadgina: es aqti, goris mazris raionebaT da Temebad dayofazed, proeqtis sqemiT waredginos goris mazris revkomis Tavmj domares.

komisiis Tavmj domare q. qarumiZe (xel mowerilia).
komisiis wevrebi: d.qarumiZe (xel mowerilia).
g.martaSvili (xel mowerilia).

dokumenti # 76

goris mazris administraciul erTeul ebad damyofi komisiis proeqti, goris mazris raionebad da Temebad dayofis Sesaxeb. (1921 wl is 31 maisi)

1. qvemo Wal is raioni

I. qvemo Wal is Temi: abrevi, axal Seni, boJami, vake, gamdl iswyaro, goraka, igoeTi, qvemo Wal a, kodiswyaro, l amisyana, msxl ebi, okami, pantiani, mrgval i Wal a, samTavisi, sakorinTI o, Tezi, ukuRmasofeli da xviTi.

II. kaspis Temi: kaspida aRaiani.

III. xurval eTis Temi: xurval eTi zemo, xurval eTi qvemo, berSueTi, baRebi zemo, baRebi qvemo, biCanaanTkari, Rdul eTi, gudi aanTkari, zemo yuri, qedi, metexi orWoSani, qvemo sobisi, zemo sobisi, saRol aSeni, farexevis xevis, wi nagara, guCaanTkari, nadarbazevi, ni goza, qvemo rene, zemo rene da zadi anTkari.

II. mej vrisxevis raioni

I. mej vrisxevis Temi: mej vrisxevi didi, mej vrisxevi patara, aZvi, axal ubani, axrisi, j ariaSeni, zerti, kirbali, ukuRmasofeli, SakaTgora, zemo arcevi, i korTa.

II. andoreTis Temi: andoreTi, arkinareTi, axal isa, bieTi, benderi, berij vari, gromi, gomTa, j vareTi, zemo kitreuli, qvemo kitreuli, zemo biyari, qvemo biyari, zemo goreTi, qvemo goreTi, ivreTi, korknul a, ql ivana, kvirika, l ekoani, meria maxisi, naqal aqevi, ortevi, pantnara, sayvireTi, sabue, Tel agina, wifori, Txinval a, uRel texili, xarul i, gogi aanTkari, Candi aanTkari.

III. xel Tubnis Temi: karal eTi, xel Tubani, berbuki, didi garej vari, patara

garej vari, rexa, svneTi, Tortiza, zexdul eTi, axal sofel i, kvarxiTi, SavSvebi, nawreti.

III. tyviavis rai oni

I. tyviavis Temi: qveSi, qvemo arcevi, qiwnisi, marana, fl avi, fl avismani, saTemo, tyviavi, ci cagiaanTkari, Zevera, SerTul i.

II. mereTis Temi: dmeni si, di sevi, zar di aanTkari, qvemo qere, zemo qere, kul bi-Ti, karbi, qsuisi, mereTi, saTi xari, snekvi, koSka, zemo xel Cua, qvemo xel Cua.

IV. cxinval is rai oni

I. cxinval is Temi: cxinval i, guj abauri.

II. dicis Temi: arbo, browl eTi, di ci, koxaTi, qordi, meRvrekisi, frisi, sara-buki, tirZnisi, Tergvisi, ergneTi, eredvi, vanaTi, sacxeneTi, xoSuri, bel oTi, awri sxevi, xaduri anTkari.

III. TamaraSenis Temi: dgvrisi, TamaraSeni, qvemo aCabeTi, zemo aCabeTi, qurTa, monasteri, kexvi, qemerti, sveri, patara Zarwemi, didi Zarwemi, xeiTi, zRuderis ubani, sabawmi nda, xeiTisfrisi.

IV. Sindisis Temi: araSenda, axal daba, variani, zemo niqozi, qvemo niqozi, zemo xviTi, qvemo xviTi, yel qceul i, saqaSeTi, fxvenisi, Sindisi.

V. ruisis rai oni

I. dirbis Temi: aradeTi, breTi, bayaanTubani, vel ebi, RoReTi, dirbi, Zvil eTi, Zl evisj vari, taxtisZiri, qvaTeTri, saRol aSeni, wveri, sxl iTi, dvani, avnevi, avnevistil iana.

II. ruisis Temi: bebnisi, oTarSeni, ruisi, sasi reTi, tini sxi di, Tedowmi nda, urbni si.

VI. gomis rai oni

I. al is Temi: al i, aZvisi, agara, axal i fl evi, axal ubani, bril i, vaya, vardis-ubani, dumacxo, zemo fl evi, zemo aZvisi, zemo gomi, kl di skoda, qvenatkoca, qinZaTi, l omissa, moxisi, nabaxtevi, ni nisi, nacar gora, saTive, Tergvisi, wabl o-vani, ul umba, uwl evi, CorCana, SaqSaqeTi.

II. atocis Temi: abano, atoci, bal Ta, breZa, zeda brol osani, qveda bro-l osani, varZneul i, gvir gvi na, kl di swyar o, yel eTi, koda, kobi, l opani, metexi, murknis wyaro, sacixuri, samyvir l o, tkoca, titvini swyar o, waRvl i, wnel isi, mcxeTis j vari, Cvrinisi, Wuri sxevi.

II. avl evis Temi: abisi, abisisTavi, avl evi, al ibari, axal Seni, berZenaul i, gadi gina, gori sTavi, gi orgi wmi nda, ZaRina, knol e, l is a, muRrisi, muxauri, nabakevi, naguTni, oqona, oJora, fl evigina, fca, sayaraul o, samwyaro, sxl iTi, sunisi, TamaraSeni, tyisubani, Tel agina, Teregvani, Ti Rva, xundi subani, Cixl a-ZianTubani, ceronisi, Sindara.

VII. qarəl is rai oni

I. qarəl is Temi: vedrebi, Rvl evi, gombori, zaxarSeni, zemo xvedureTi, qvemo xvedureTi, ifnara, koSkebi, qarəl i, kl distavi, kexij vari, kl du, krobani, kobeSaanTubani, yinwvsi, qvenaflevi, l eTeTi, mosiagomi, mexeTi, rcxil is wyaro, rieTi, skra, sul uCi, samwverisi, sanebel i, trexvi, tyemal a, kakal aanTubani, Tel aTxevi, xeoba, Wandrebi, Caxrial a, wil ovani.

II. zRuderis Temi: abuCal o, arcevi, bani, baTeTi, bariauri, vel isci xe, gverZineTi, ZaZvis monasteri, zemo el baqianTkari, qvemo el baqianTkari, timoanTkari, kodmani, qvaTeTri, l aSqineTi, muxl eTi, saTerZe, orboZal a, orTubani, tyemliani, imerxevi, sukiaanTubani, wifl ovani, cixisgverdi, Suana, Savsofel i.

III. wromis Temi: axal sofel i, imerlianTkari, krisisxevi, qvemo miwobi, zemo miwebi, kudatye, mawl eTi, nadarbazevi, orosofel i, wromi, yel eTi, j avaraanTkari, vakepantebi.

VIII. xaSuris rai oni

I. suramis Temi: bai anTxevi, bij nisi, gverdi Tubani, j abinauri, surami, zekota, zindisi, i tria, kakal aanTxevi, qemferi, oZisi, urTxva, cedani, ciwyaro, cocxnara, CumaTTel eTi.

II. xaSuris Temi: azarma, axal sofel i, zemo Wal a, l uburma, xaSuri, osiauri, cxramuxa.

III. qviSxeTis Temi: bekami, begl eTi, qviSxeTi, yifiaanTubani, monsteri, taSiskari, tezeri, sarmaniSvil iskari, savanl is tezeri, cixisZiri.

IV. xcisis Temi: al eqsandres wyaro, guda patara, RarTa, RanZil ebi, guda didi, damCxreval o, Zama, j varTmuxa, qaSueTi, kodi s wyaro, krisisxevi, rbona, saTibebi, sukiTi, sar tyel a, Txi n l ara, TagueTi, xcisi, Svl isyuri.

IX. borj omis rai oni

I. borj omis Temi: axal daba gaRma, axal daba gamoRma, borj omi, bakuriani, beris saydari, bani sxevi, vardgineTi, vaSl ovani, gomna, gverdi subani, ginturi, guj areTi, daba, dviri, didi ToneTi, didi tusrebi, zanavi, zeTamze, zemo mitarbi, zemo biSeTi, qvabixevi, zemo boSuri, qvemo boSuri, yibisi, qvemo mitarbi, kortaneTi, wiTel i saydari, l ikani, l arebi, mol iTa, maWarwyal i, neZvi, odeTi, patara ToneTi, patara tusrebi, rvel i, sadgeri, sadgeris tba, savanl isxevi, timoTesubani, Tel ovani, tori, RvTismSobel i, cemi, cagveri, kizil - kil isa, cixisj vari, winubani, CaCaraki, wobixevi.

X. xidiSTavis rai oni

I. xidiSTavis Temi: gorisj vari, Rvarebi, bnavisi, zeda qsovrisi, xidiSTavi.

II. atenis Temi: ateni, gardateni, j ebiri, axal ofel i, zemo bal ovani, qvemo bal ovani, qvemo bisi, zemo bisi, qvemo boSuri, bobnevi, borcovani, dre, didi Tavi, gvedreTi, gul xandisi, zirta, iknevi, ifnara, iura, kanobel i, Rul i, mRebriani, mTa-dekeul i, nadarbazevi, naTl ismcemel i, okriari, ormoci, pitnara, fel i, fetvisxevi, pital i, ficesi, sabol e, saji ani, sal ome, sikal eTi, tama,

Tavxeoba, Tremliani, tusrebi, Txinl ara, uriuli, xandisi, xvce, CanCxara, didi Wwarebi, patara Wwarebi, didi wereTi, patara wereTi, Tefnal a.

XI. axal qal aqis raioni (sofel i kaspis raionSi S.v.)

I. axal qal aqis Temi: axal qal aqi, axal cixe, (sof. kaspis raionSi S.v.) axal -sofel i, noste, TeZmischevi, Wyopi ani, faSi aanTkari, gargari, gogoTi, gostibe, erTawminda, zenadrissi, kaberi, kl dekar i, nevi, meria, cxaveri, rkoni, samoCal o, WavWavi, CaCubeTi, CoCeTi, niabi.

II. metexis Temi: metexi, barnabianTkari, zemo xandaki, yaraRaj i, sasi reTi, grakal i.

III. doesis Temi: doesi, qvaxvrel i, xovl e, ufl iscixe.

XII. kavTisxevis raioni

I. kavTisxevis Temi: botisi, varj ani, verxeul a, gomi-j vari, zvarKomani, kavTisxevi, zemo xandaki, qsovrissi, paresissi, sakurTxissi, sanaTubani, samtrede, tyeml ovani, Tel aTgori, winaxeri, wifori, SubaTi.

II. qvemo niCfissis Temi: qvemo niCfisi, zemo niCfisi, sasxori, Zegvi, xekorZi, natbeuri, axl sofel i, zeugani, saTovl e.

dasaxel ebul i punqtebi sadac unda daarsdes raionis revkomebi: I. mej vrisxevi, II. xaSuri, III. cxinval i, IV. axal qal aqi [sof. kaspis raionSi S.v.], V. borj omi.

komi si is Tavmj domare q.qarumiZe. (xel moweril ia).

komi si is wevrebi: d.qarumiZe (xel moweril ia).

g.martaSvil i (xel moweril ia).

dokumenti # 77

Sinagan saqmeTa saxal xo komisariati. 1921 w. 27 ivnisi. samxreT oseTis revkoms

rogorc duSeTis mazris revkomi s Tavmj domare ityobineba, vinme koki evs, SeiaraRebul i bandebis meoxebiT daukavebia aRniSnul i mazris ramdenime raioni, gamoucxadebia Tavisi Tavi ufrosad da cdil obs dauqvemdebaros duSeTis mazris nawil i Crdil o oseTs. SeiaraRebul i bandebi umowyal od arbeven da awiokeben adgil obriv mcxovrebt.

gacnobebT ra amas, winadadebas gaZl evT dauyovnebl iv daatyvevoT kokievi, warmogzavnoT is Tbil isSi da agreTve mi iRoT umkacresi zomebi wesi erebis aRsadgenad.

saxal xo komisari (xel moweril ia).
saqmeTa mmarTvel i (xel moweril ia).
saerTo ganyofil ebis gamge (xel moweril ia).

dokumenti # 78

Sinagan saqmeTa saxal xo komisariatis moxseneba saqarTvel os revol uciuri komitetisadmi `samxreT oseTSi- Seqmnil i mdgomareobis gamo. 1921 wel i

saqarTvel os teritoriaze mcxovrebi osebi sacxovrebel i adgil is mixed-viT or kategoriad iyofa:

pirveli nawili osebis (sami meoTxedi) mTaSi_ goris, duSetis da nawil obriv raWis mazraSi cxovrobs; meoreni mTel i saqarTvel os miwa- wyal ze arian gabneul ni da saqarTvel os dasaxl ebul sofel Ta Soris cxovroben. oseTis sakiTxi winatac da dResac mxol od mTaSi mcxovrebi osebis Sesaxeb dgas. barad Camosul da qarTul sofl ebSi Casaxl ebul osTa Sesaxeb ki sakiTxi arc winad yofil a da arc exl a aris. amitom, mTebSi mosaxl e osebsa da qarTvel ebs Soris Suris da mtrobis mizezi unda veZioT ara erovnul sxvadasxvaobaSi, aramed sxvagan.

osebi saqarTvel os miwa- wyal ze Crdil oetidan gadmovidnen. saqarTvel oSi gadmosvl amdi ki maT mdinare `donamdis- teritoria eWiraT. Tavisi saxel - wodeba am mdinare miiRo osuri si tyvidan `don-, rac wyal s ni Snavs. mesame saukunesi yabardoel ebma xSiri brZol iT da Setakebi T, osebi mTaSi Serekes. Semdeg ki Cingiz xanis urdos Semotevebma, osebi mTebSi Caketa da mTebidan yvel a gadasavl el i yabardoel ebma igdes xel T. ara nakl ebi Seviwroeba miayena osebs, ruseTis TviTmprobel obis politikam, romel sac ganapira qveynebis ara rusTa garuseba hqonda dasaxul i... am mizniT, man Crdil o kavkasiaSi mraval i yazaxoba Caasaxl a, roml ebmac rogorc osebi, ise yabardoel ebi, ingusebi da CeCnebi Zal ian Seviwroes da mamul ebic Camoartves. amrigad, kavkasionis mTebis Crdil oetis osebi Serekili iqnen kavkasionis qedis mwir da Rarib mTebSi. am mTebidan mraval i adgil ebi umTavresad yabardoel ebma daikaves, mciredi ruseTidan gadmosaxl ebul ma yazaxebma. am mdgomareobaSi Cavardnil i digoria (ase hqvia Crdil o oseTs), mal e Cavarda yabardoel ebis gavl enis qveS, rogorc ekonomourad, ise moral urad da mal e miiRes gamahmadianeba. rac Seexeba osebis saqarTvel oSi Semosvl as, isini Crdil oetidan Semovidnen da kavkasionis qedis aqeta mxare daikaves. isini mTebSi Zal iT aravis Seurekia da qarTvel obam maT-dami mxol od gul uxvoba da stumarTmoyvareoba gamoiCina. bevri osi gadmosaxl da Suagul saqarTvel oSi. mxol od osebiT dasaxl ebul i bevri axal i sofel i Seiqmna maSin saqarTvel oSi da bevri osic qarTul sofel - Si Casaxl da. saqarTvel os Suagul adgil ebSi gabneul i osTa ricxvi 45 aTass sul s aRemateba.

kavkasionis qedis samxreT iT dasaxl ebul i osebi mal e moyvnen qarTul i kul turis gavl enis qveS. xvna- Tesvas, saqonl is movl a- moSenebas da sxva, osebi dResac iseve awarmoeben, rogorc qarTvel ebi. saqarTvel os gavl eniTve, osobam saqarTvel oSi qristianoba miiRo. osebSi qristianobis gavr-

cel ebas, zepiri gadmocema ...Tamar mefis dros ukavSirebs. magram m.m.koval enskis azriT (Tanamedrove Cveul eba da Zvel i kanoni-), oseTSi qristianoba damkvidrebul i iyo meTormete saukunis bol os, imave qarTvel i xal xis gavl eniT, romel Ta wyal obiT qristianul i ideebi oseTSi meTormete saukuni dan vrcel deboda. imave gavl eniT, samxreT oseTSi TiTq-mis yvel a osi qarTul gvars atarebs. magal iTad; xarebaSvil i, cxovrebaSvil i, basiSvil i da sxva. osebis sal aparako ena sxvadasxva adgil as sxvadasxvaa. imis mixedviT, Tu vin sad cxovrobs da visi gavl enis qveS imyofeba. qarTvel ebis axl o myofni, qarTul ad l aparakoben, mTaSi Rrmad SeWril ni osurad, anu erovnul enaze. zogan ki rusul ad, qarTul ad da sxva. saqarTvel os miwa- wyal ze Camosaxl ebul i osebis udidesi nawil i darCa kavkasionis qedis mTian adgil ebSi. meore mcire nawil i ki Rrmad Semovi da saqarTvel os Suagul Si, magram aqac maT ar eZl evaT gaSl il i mindor - vel i. saqarTvel os Suagul Siac umTavresad osebs adgil s aZl evdnen sadac mosaxl eoba nakl ebi iyo da maTi Casaxl ebiT mudmivi mobinadreebi ar Sewuxdebodnen. amis gamo, maT saqarTvel os Suagul Si Casaxl ebis pirvel xanebSive miiRes mTiani adgil ebi. aseTi adgil ebia goris mazraSi, xaSurisa da goris marj vni v mdebare mTebi da tanas xeoba, mdinare tanas gaswvri v. maSasadame, mometebul i nawil i osebis a mTebSi mosaxl eobs. mTebi ki CvenSi mwiri da Raribia sofl is meurneobis saTvis. ai es garemoeba gaxda qarTvel ebisa da osebis SuRI isa da uTanxmoebis mTavari mizezi. veravin ver mostXovda da dResac ver mostXovs qarTvel xal xs TviTon arekil iyo gaSl il mindor- vel idan, saxnav- saTesad gamosadegi miwebi daetovebina, ayril iyo Tavisi binebidan da es adgil ebi osebis saTvis daeTmo. amitom, qarTvel ma xal xma, osebs iseTi miwebi da adgil ebi miuCina, romel ic mistvis saWiro ar iyo. amave dros, arc is unda dagvaviwydes, rom miCneul i adgil ebi saxnav- saTesad osebis Tvis Tu mTl ad kargi ar iyo, sxva mxriv didi Rirsebebi qonda. maT saukeTeso tyeebi da saqarTvel os umSvenieresi adgil ebi miecaT. maSasadame, meurneobis sxva dargis saTvis srul iad gamosadegi da Sesaferisi miwa- wyal i.

mTaSi Caketil i osoba mudam cdil obda da natrobda vel ad gasvl as, barSi Camosvl as. es survil i mas mudam qonda, magram mis gamoTqmas is mudam ver axerxebda da verc bedavda. osebma am survil is gamosaTqmel ad saukeTeso dros is istoriul i momentebi miCnia, rodesac arsebul i xel isufl eba sustdeboda, an Sinauri gadatrial eba xdeboda xol me. am SemTxvevaSi, osoba SeZl ebda xol me Tavisi kol eqtiuri survil is gamoTqmas. sxva dros ki Sesazl ebl oba ar qonda da ver bedavda kol eqtiuri survil is gamoxatvas. ase iyo 1905 wel Si, rodesac osobam qarTul i sofl ebis dakaveba moisurva. ase iyo 1917 wel s, rodesac daeca TviTmmarTvel oba da axal i xel isufl eba ver ganmtkicda. igive moxda 1918 wel sac, rodesac saqarTvel os xel isufl eba ganmtkicebul i ar iyo da Semdeg ganmeorda 1920 wel s.

mTidan barSi Camosvl is survil i ara marto osebs aqvs, aseTi survil i mTaSi mosaxl e qarTvel ebsac aqvs da am niadagze ara erT sofel s qonia Setakeba meore sofel Tan. unda aRvni Snot, rom sazogadod miwis mfl obel obis sakiTxis garSemo mezobel sofl ebs Soris xSiria uTanxmoeba da SuRI i. aqac am SemTxvevaSi es uTanxmoeba TavsiCens xel isufl ebis Sesustebis an pol itikuri gadatrial ebis dros. amis magal iTebi bevria Cvens cxovrebaSi. sagarej oel ebis da kakabeTel ebis dava `yorianis- Sesaxeb Tbil isis mazraSi, zemo xandakis da il tozel ebis dava goris mazraSi da

svagan. aq erovnul i sakiTxis arsebobaSi eWvs veravin Seitans da raRacis gul isaTvis osebs barad Camosvl is survil i da misi gamoxatul eba ki erovnul SuRI ad aris aRniSnul i.

osoba saqarTvel oSi, Tavisi mdgomareobiT rogorc ukmayofil o, mudam asafeTqebel wamal s warmoadgenda. magram maT afeTqebas, maT aj anyebas mxol od mudam barSi Camosvl a qonda miznad da meti araferi. erovnul SuRI s, erovnul mtrobas qarTvel ebs da osebs Soris adgil i ar qonia.

1920 wl is osebis aj anyeba, maTi srul i damarcxebiT damTavrda. magram am brZol aSi osebtan da maT damarcxebaSi qarTvel mSvidobian mosaxl eobas monawil eoba ar miuRia. oseTi daamarcxa da gaanadgura j arma da gvardiam. osebs 1918 wl is pirvel i aj anyeba da menSevikebis adgil obrivi l iderebis_ s.kecxovel is da g.maCabel is sikvdil ic ki apaties. araviTari Zal momreoba maTze ar uxmariaT. mxol od aj anyebis gameorebas 1920 wel Si mohyva sastiki zomebi j aris mxridan osebisadmi. rodesac 1920 wel Si j ari da gvardia Sevida osebis miwa- wyal ze, Tbil isSi mTavrobas cnoba mouvida, rom j arebi saxl ebs swvaveno. mTavroba SeekiTxaxl ebs dawvis mizezs. j aris ufrosma upasuxa: oseTi mTiani adgil ebia, j aris sxvadasxva nawil ebs Soris urTierToba ar arsebobs da rom erTma nawil ma gaigos sad imyofeba meore nawil i, saWi roa cecxli is gaCena, rom al zed... gaigon nawil is adgil samyofel i, amistvis sofl is ganapirad Zvel s da dangreul s, upatronod mitovebul sabZel s an sxva qoxs wvavT, isic TiToeul sofel - Si mxol od TiTos. TviTon osebi ki binis datovebis dros saxl ebs uki deben cecxli s, umTavresad ki sxvis saxl ebs. Znel ia imis gamocnoba, ramdenad marTals ambobda sardali, magram cxadia, rom qarTvel xal xs oseTis gadawwaSi monawil eoba ar miuRia. Tundac qarTul i j ari qarTvel i xal xis nawil ad rom miviCnot, nawil i xom mTel s ar udris da ar SegviZlian am cud saqmeSi brali yvel a qarTvel s davdot. j aris da mTavrobis aseTi saqciel iT ki dRes itanj eba bevri srul iad udanaSaul o qarTvel i. amas amtkicebs cxinval is raionis dRevandel i mdgomareoba da am raionidan mosul i cnobei.

sabWoTa xel isufl ebis saqarTvel oSi danyarebis dRidan dRemdis, Sinagan saqmeTa saminstrosi TiTqmis yovel dRe Semodis saCivari qarTvel ebisgan, magram arcerTi saCivari osebisgan qarTvel ebze. es ki imis maCvenebel ia, rom osebi TviTon asamarTI eben qarTvel ebs da am gasamarTI ebiT kmayofil ni arian.

am moxsenebis faqtiuri mxare mTlianad danyarebul ia mxol od ofical ur cnobebeze da im gancxadebebeze, romel ic kerZo pirebis mier Semotanil ia Sinagan saqmeTa saxal xo komisariatSi. am auarebel i saCivrebisa da zaral is gamosarkvevad, romel ic osebma miayenes qarTvel obas, Sinagan saqmeTa saxal xo komisariatma komisiebi gagzavna_ ori goris mazraSi da erTi Sorapnis mazraSi. aRniSnul i komisiebis moxsenebebi daedo safuZvl ad am moxsenebis meore naxevars. es dokumentebi ki aRniSnaven Semdegs:

mimdinare wl is Tebervl is bol oSi da martis pirvel dReebSi, sabWoTa xel isufl ebis saqarTvel oSi danyarebis dros, 1920 wel s j avis xeobidan ayril i osebi Taviant saxl kars daubrunden. Eiq ki borj omis raionidan da Sorapnis mazridan ramdenime qarTul i ojaxi iyo Casaxl ebul i. roca Casaxl ebul ebma osebis dabrunebis ambavi gaiges, aiyarnen da Zvel adgil ebs daubrunden. magram gaborotebul i osebis brbo maT gzaSi daewia, yvel as al ya Semoartya, yvel as sikvdil is ganaCeni gamoucxada, magram TaTbiris Semdeg datovebul Ta Soris 41 mamakaci gamoarCies, sabZel Si Serekes,

yvel a daxoces, Semdeg sabZel s cecxl i wauki des da daxocil ebi Sig gamowves. danarCeni tyveebi srul iad gaatitvl es, qal ebi ganurCevl ad wl ovanebisa, rva wl idan dawyebul i yvel a gaupatiures. naZarcviT da nadavl iT Sin dabrundnen. imave dros Seesivnen sofel qemerts, sadac mudam mxol od qarTvel ebi mosaxl eobdnen da arcerTi osi iq 1920 wel s dasjil i ar yofil a. gaZarcves mTel i sofel i, 27 kaci daxvrites, 3 cemiT mokl es, maT Soris erTi dedakaci. qal ebi gaupatiures. dRes mTel i sofel i ayril ia da sxva sofel Si naTesavebSia gaxiznul i.

gadasaxl ebul i qarTvel ebi ganxadebebidan Cans, rom maT samxreT oseTidan ukan dabruneba iseT pirobebSi mouxdaT, rom verafris wamoReba ver moaxerxes da TiTqmis yvel am adgil ebze datova saxl is avej eul oba da saqonel i, romel sac Semdeg osebi daepatronen da qarTvel ebs aRar ubruneben. aseve moxda osebis mosazRvre qarTvel ebiT dasaxl ebul sxva sofl ebSi. marTal ia, yvel aferi es SurisZiebis niadagze moxda, magram, SurisZieba cxovrebaSi rogorc erTi uaryofiTi movl ena unda ail agmos da mis winaaRmdeg sastiki zomebi unda iqnas miRebul i. SurisZiebis al agmvis survil iT xel mZRvanel obda saqarTvel os revkomi, rodesac man daadgina: erTi miliardi maneTTis gadadeba dangreul i oseTis aRsadgenad. amiT dRevandel mTavrobas saxel mwifo xazinidan osebis dakmayofil eba surda. magram es gza, rogorc ufro Soreul i, gaWirvebul osebs swraf daxmarebas ver aRmouCenda. Crdil o kavkasiidan dabrunebul osebs esaWiroebodaT sursaT- sanovage da sxva pirvel adi moTxovnil ebi sagnebi. es ki maT ar gaaCndaT da verc adgil obrivma revkomma SeZl o saWiro sanovagiT osebis momarageba. amasTanave, gadmosaxl ebul i osebi gadmosvli istanave Tu ar daiwyebdnen sasofl o- sameurneo samuSaos (radganac es moxda martSi, rodesac sofl ad didi muSaoba swarmoebs) momaval wel iwadsac ul ukmapurod darCebodnen. amitom, upirvel es yovl isa, maT im muSa saqonl is povna moisurves, romel ic gadasaxl ebi dros datoves. am izniT moedvnen qarTl is sofl ebs da daiwyes TaviantI saqonl isa da nivTebis Zebna. magram am Zebnis dros, bevr ara sasurvel movl enas aqvs adgil i. airas wers amis Sesaxeb cxinval is raionSi gagzavnil i sagangebo komisiis Tavmj domare iobiZe: `rodesac osebi Tavis midamoebis daubrundnen, axl omaxl o qarTvel ebiT dasaxl ebul sofl ebSi daiwyes Tavis saqonl is Zebna. saqonel i- saqonel s hgavs da rasakvirvel ia xSirad osebs es saqonel i maT miecaT.- meore oficial uri piri_ sagangebo komisiis Tavmj domare ratiSvil i amave sakiTxze Tavis moxsenebaSi wers: `osebi sargebl oben mTavrobis im gankargul ebiT, roml iTac 1920 wel s maT mier dakargul i qoneba maTve unda daubrundnes. Tu romel ime osma odesme qarTvel s mihyida raime pirutyvi, cxinval is administracias ucxadebs, rom viTom misi saqonel i ama da am qarTvel s hyavs gatacebul i da am saSual ebiT ukanve ibrunebis saqonel s. yofil a agreTve mraval i SemTxveva, rodesac osi sofl is naxirSi misul a, dauTval ierebia da dauswavl ia romel ime saqonl is niSnebi. Semdeg ganucxadebia, rom is gatacebul i saqonel ia. qarTvel ebs cxinval Si misvl a uZnel debaT, radgan isini unda warsdgnen administraciis winaSe, rogorc mtacebel ni da bral debul ni. maSasadame, maT moel iT dapaTimreba da garda amisa, SesaZl ebel ia osebma maTze Suri izion da mokl an kidec.- mesame momxsenebel i xovel iZe wers: `javaSi scemes daTa mindiaSvil s, Saqro maRal daZes da bevr sxvebs, romel Ta gvarebi ar vici, radganac maT cxinval is komisiisan aiRes mowmobebi, rom maTi saqonel i javaSi hyavT da SeuZl iaT ukan miReba.- amitvi s ucemi aT. misi ve moxsenebi T,

am danaSaul ze j avis revkoms reagireba ar mouxdenia. Saqro ToxaZe j av-
isken begaraze gauyvaniaT, iq mistvis saqonel i waurTmeviaT. osebis Seiar-
aRebul i brboebi qarTI Si daTareSoben da mindorze saqonel s Tu
waaswreben Tavisken erekebian. amitom, ambobs xovel iZe; `osebis axl o mo-
saxl e qarTvel ebs, motacebis SiSiT saqonel i saZovarze ver gayavs.- es
garemoeba friad samwuxaroa, rogorc Tavis- Tavad, ise SedegebiT, radgan
momaval i wl is mosaval s metad Seamcirebs da amas Sedegad SimSil oba
moyveba. amas is garemoebac unda davumatot, rom cxinval is raionSi 200
kacisagan Semdgari wiTel i armiis nawil ia dabanakebul i, roml ebic sxva-
dasxva sofl ebSia gafantul i da gl exkacobis binebSia Casaxl ebul i. am
binebis mamakacebi saxl s ver toveben da mindorSi samuSaod ver midian. es
garemoebac kargs arafers uqadis momaval Si cxinval is raions. sazoga-
dod j ariskacebis cxovreba kerZo binebSi ar aris sasurvel i, miT umetes,
rom am raionSi, sadac puris mosaval i mcirea da sursaT- sanovagis moyva-
na xal xisa da cxenebis gamosakvebad Znel ia.

dids gaugebrobas da arev- darevas iwvevs is garemoeba, rom cxinval is
raionis revkomebs da oseTis revkoms erTi da igive rezidencia rom aqvs.
ertic da meorec cxinval Sia moTavsebul i da maT Soris funqciebis ganaw-
il eba gansakuTrebiT teritoriul i Tval sazrisiT Znel ia. cxinval is ir-
gvl iv mdebare 26 sofel i sul qarTvel ebiTaa dasaxl ebul i. imave kiTxve-
bze goris mazris revkomis Tavmj domare Sinagan saqmeTa saxal xo komis-
ariats wers: `osebi ganuwyvetl iv daiarebian qarTul sofl ebSi da eZeben
saqonel s. SeaTval iereben ra mosawon saqonel s, ixsomeben niSnebs da Sem-
deg moqvT samxreT- oseTidan mowmoba, sadac dawvril ebiT weria gvari da
saxel i maZiebel i osisa, saqonl is niSnebis aRwera da TandarTul ia_ dauy-
ovnebl iv daubrundes saqonel i kuTvnil mepatrones. aris xSirad imiTana
magal iTebi, rom osebi xel s adeben da Cemul oben imiTana saqonel s, romel -
sac Tavis dReSi nabij ic ar gaudgams cxinval is raionis fargl ebSi. rom
es asea da es saqonel i am sofel Sia dabadebul i, ama da am qarTvel ma
kacma rom gazar da dadi xania rac hyavs, amas adgil obrivi sofl is
mcxovrebl ebic adastureben. amiTana movl ena xSiria da qarTvel i gl ex-
oba did aRSfoTebaSi da arasasurvel garemoSia Cavardnil i, saWiroa
maTTvis daxmareba. Cemi azriT, saWiroa gaices gankargul eba_ aekrZal os
osebs saqonl is Zebna da isini dakmayofil ebul ni iqnen an ful iT, an sxva
raime saSual ebiT. mogaxsenebT ra amas, gTxovT saxel mZRvanel o gankar-
gul ebas Tu rogor moviqceT am sakiTxis Sesaxeb.- amave sakiTxze qarTul i
sofl ebis warmomadgenl ebi Sinagan saqmeTa saxal xo komisariatis sax-
el ze Semosul TxovnaSi wers: `cxinval is Crdil oeTIT, l iaxvis marj vena
mxares Svidi qarTul i sofl ebia: dgvrisi, aCabeTi, TamaraSeni, TamaraSeni
meore, monasteri, qurTa da kexvi, roml ebic amJamad gani cdi an mware wuTeb
da unugeSo mdgomareobas. moxsenebul sofl ebSi TareSoben bnel i pirebi,
roml ebic ar indoben mSvidobian mcxovrebl ebs da yovel i mxridan aw-
iokeben maT. Rrmad damwuxrebul i gl exkacoba gamourkvevel mdgomareoba-
Sia Cavardnil i da Tavis mware dRes atarebs mwuxarebaSi. sofl is gl ex-
ebs avazakebi saSual ebas ar aZl even gavides da daamuSaos Tavis miwa da
amiT saSual eba misces Tavis Tavs mTel i wel iwadi mSieri ar darces.
avazakTa TareSi wres gadasul ia: 1)maisis TerTmets borotmomqmedebi daecnen
sofel kexvis axl os mTel guTneul s da srol a autexes. maT saqonl is
gataceba undodaT, magram mexreebma saqonel i saswrafod gamouSves da
sofel Si uvnebl ad Camorekes; 2)aRdgoma dRes, ucnobma avazakebma sofel

kexvidan sami Zroxā moitaca; 3)cxraSi sofel kexvidan gaitaces oTxi Zroxā. maT aTi adgil obrivi mil ocieI i daedevna. mi hyvnen avazakebis kval s da gadavidnen osebis sofel egraSi (al baT edisaSi S.v.), sadac gatacebul i saqonel i aRmoCnda... saqonl is dabrunebis dros, osebis xsenebul i sofl idan mil icieI ebs srol a kvI av dauwyes, magram saqonel i mainc dabrunebul i iqna. 4)aTSi saqonel i da cxvari iqna gatacebul i, borotmomqmedni miimal nen; 5)april is bol o ricxvebSi qurTaSi bol otaSvil is qvrivs daecnen da waiRes rac ebada. avazakebi miimal nen; 6) maisis pirvel ricxvebSi sofel qurTaSi avazakebi yaCiSvil s daecnen, waiRes ris waRebac SeZl es. avazakebi miimal nen; 7)amave ricxvebSi kvI av daecnen xsenebul bol otaSvil is qvrivs, moukl es Zroxā, ori xari da dasWres 80 wl is moxuci. mil iciam mTel i sofl is daWera moindoma, rogorc faqtiuri monawil e am sazizRrobisa, magram, avazakebi droul ad aRmoCndnen oseTis sofel dampal odan, roml ebic mil iciam Sei pyro. mTel i es are- mare Sisis zariT aris mocul i. arcerTi Rame damSvidebul i ar Tendeba, radgan yovel Tvis el ian dacemas da awiokebas. saqonel s tyeSi da mindorSi ver midenian, radganac gatacebis eSini aT. Tvi Ton mcxovrebnic SeSisTvis an fiCxistvis ver midian, radganac brboebis eSini aT. varT aseT mdgomareobaSi da ganvicdiT mware dReebS.

amJamad sofel kexvSi samxedroj ari dgas, romel sac isedac gawamebul i da dabeCavebul i gl exkacoba kvebavs. am samxedro Zal ebis Senaxva Cven ar SegviZl ia da gTxovT gagvanTavisufl oT am xarj ebisagan.

axal i gadasaxadi SemoiRes: Cveni xarj iT, saqonl iT, xal xiT da Tesl iT gvaxnevineben osebis miwebs da es xdeba maSin, roca Cven Cveni sakuTari saqme ver gagvikeTebia. mogaxsenebT ra amas, gTxovT gvi patronoT, mogvceT tye- mindorSi Tavisufl ad siarul is saSual eba. Camogvacil eT zedmeti ukanono xarj ebi, mZarcvel ebisagan uzrunvel yaviT Cveni sicocxl e, Cveni saqonel i da sacxovrebel i. samudamod aRmofxariT yaCaRoba da borotmoqmedebebi, mSvidobian mcxovrebl ebs mieciT saSual eba damSvidebiT awar- moon TaviantI Sinauri saqmeebi.-

Sinagan saqmeTa saxal xo komisariatSi Semosul i saCivrebidan da aRniS- nul i moxsenebidan Cans, rom osebi Zarcvavdnen qarTI is sofl ebs, itacebd- nen saqonel s, saxl is avej eul obas, tansacmel s da sxva. magal iTad, sofel svers 18 SeiaraRebul i osi dacemia da oTxi urmiT nadavl i wauRia. wiTel i armiis nawil is vzvodis meTauris sokol ovis brZanebiT es osebi dau- tusaRebiT, magram, oseTis revkomis gankargul ebiT, mZarcvel ebi imave dRes gaunTavisufl ebi aT.

xSiria kacis kvI is SemTxvevebi. qarTul sofl ebze j gufobrivi dacemis faqtebi da sxva. magal iTad, gaZarcvis mizniT dascemian sofel gredvs. adgil obrivi sofl is revkomis Tavmj domares miuRia dmcembis winaaRmdeg saCivriT misul ebi, xol o osebis mil icieI is ufross isini dautusarebia, Tumca gredvi oseTis raionSi ar Sedis.

zemoT naxsenebi komisiebis Tavmj domareebi ase axasiaTeben osebis mezo- bel i qarTvel ebis mdgomareobas: `ecemian da arbeven qarTul sofl ebs, itaceben maT qonebas da marTI ac, am qarTvel ebs imdenad gamwarebiaT cxovreba, rom amj obineben miatovon yvel aferi da sxvagan gadasaxl dnen.- meore momxsenebel i amx. iobiZe ambobs: `samxreT oseTis da cxinval is raionis sakiTxi Cvens winaSe mwvavedaa damdgari da dauyovnebl iv gada- Wras moiTxovs... saerTo pol itikuri mdgomareoba cxinval Si autanel ia. yvel as etyoba erTnairi aRel veba. mTel i raioni imiTana STabeWdil ebas

axdens, viTomc cecxl is al Si iyos gaxveul i. samxreT oseTis revkomi angariSs ar uwevs adgil obrivi cxinval is raionis revkoms. mis daukiTxavad atusaRebs suyvel as, visac dainaxavs saWi rod. magal iTad; cxinval is raionis Temis revkomis Tavmj domare samxreT oseTis revkomma daatusaRa da amis Sesaxeb cxinval is revkomisaTvis rom ecnobebina Tavic ar Seiwuxa. rodesac dapetimrebul Ta saxl i (sapatimro S.v.) davaTval iereT, aRmoCnda rom 25 kacSi oTxi kaci iyo osi, danarCeni qarTvel ebi. rodesac goris mazris revkomis Tavmj domaris Tanxl ebiT davkiTxe_ `r atom xarT dapetimrebul i meTqin,- mi pasuxes: `ar viciT, mTel i Tveebi vzivarT aq udanaSaul od dasj il ni.- cxinval Si TviTnebobaa, es cxadze ucxadesia. did arev- darevas da gaugebrobas iwvevs is garemoeba, rom cxinval is raionis da samxreT oseTis revkomebis rezidencia cxinval Sia... da maT Soris funqciebi, gansakuTrebiT teritoriul i Tval sazrisiT Znel i gasarkvevia. cxinval is irgvl iv mdebareobs ocdaeqvsi sofl i, romel ic mxol od qarTvel ebiTaa dasaxl ebul i. vin aris im teritoriis gamgebel i, romel ic cxinval isa da osebiT dasaxl ebul i teritoriebis Sua imyofeba? vin aris gamgebel i im qarTul i sofl ebisa, roml ebiC osur sofl ebTan imyofebian, an osuri sofl ebisa, roml is irgvl iv qarTul i sofl ebisa? am kiTxvebis gadauWrel oba dids ubedurebas iwvevs da isedac gaborotebul xal xs metad aRizianebs. `TviT cxinval Si_ ambobs momxsenebel i Svel iZe_ aris erTgvvari gaugebroba da mcxovrebl ebma ar ician vis xel Sia sofl i. sofl ebi: vanaTi, bel oTi, sacxeneTi, awrisxevi da sxva qarTvel ebiT aris dasaxl ebul i. cxinval is raionis revkomma am sofl ebSi revkomebis wevreb bad qarTvel ebi gagzavna, magram, osebis revkomma isini gadaayena da maT magier osebi daniSna. amas Sedegad xal xis aRSfoTeba mohyva da bevrma oseTis revkomis qveS darCenas gadasaxl eba amj obina. cxinval is raionis mier sofl eredvSi daWeril osebs, cxinval is raionis daukiTxavad oseTis revkomi aTavisufl ebs. maTdami daukiTxavad apatimrebs raionis Temis Tavmj domares. atusaReben udanaSaul o qarTvel ebs da sxva da sxva.-

rogor iqceva cxinval is raionSi myofi jari da adgil obrivi xel isufl eba? amaze pasuxs gvaZl evs amx. iobiZe Tavis moxsenebaSi, sadac igi ambobs; `ramdenadac osebi ufro Raribebi arian vidre adgil obrivi mcxovrebi qarTvel ebi, ami tom mTel i simpatia, rogorc samxreT oseTis revkomisa, ise mTel i momuSave amxanagebisa da j arisa, osebis mxarezea. ai swored ami tom aris rom qarTvel ebi stoveben sofl ebs da garbian aqedan.-

qarTvel ebs simpatia aravin epyroba, arc revkomi, arc jari da arc momuSave amxanagebi. maSasadame, miudgomel da swor samarTl ianobas aq adgil i ar aqvs. TavisTavad cxadia, cxinval is raionis revkomi rom j erovan simaRl eze idges, mas SeeZl eba saTanado gavlen a iqonios, rogorc oseTis revkomze, agreTve j arzec. magram, TviT cxinval is revkomi sustia SegnebiT da misi erovnul i Semadgenl obac raionis mcxovrebt a umravl esobisaTvis miuRebel ia. mTel s revkomSi mxol od erTi qarTvel ia, erTi osi, danarCeni ki somxebi. cxinval is revkomma ver SeZl o xal xis gul is mogeba, misi pativiscemis damsaxureba da ami tom mas aramc Tu gavlen ara aqvs mcxovrebl ebSi, ukanasknel ni mtrul ganwyobil ebaSi arian maTan. rac Seexeba j ars, verc aman moi pova xal xis pativiscema. cxinval is raions ar SeuZl ia orasi j ariskacis Senaxva, amasTanave naxevari maTgani cxenosania. Tu miviRebT mxedvel obaSi im garemoebas, rom es jari Casaxl ebul ia gl exobis kerZo binebSi, maSin gl exobasa da j ars Soris damokidebul eba naTel i iqneba. amasTanave isic aRsanisnavia, rom arc samxedro uwyeba da

arc sasursaTo komisariati cxinval is raionSi myof j ars da maT cxenebs saWiro sursaT- sanovages ar aZl evs da maSasadame, isini arseboben adgil obrivi gl exkacobis xarj ze. amgvarad, gaboroteba qarTvel gl exkacobaSi Zl ierdeba da sabWoTa xel isuflebis prestiJi ecema. ai ras ambobs iobiZe Tavis moxsenebaSi: qarTvel ebi Zal ian damonebul ni da datanj ul ni arian sabWoTa xel isuflebis damyarebis dRidan saqarTvel oSi. isini samxreT- oseTis da cxinval is raionSi menSevikuri avazakuri politikis msxverpl i Seiqmnen. adgil obrivi qarTvel ebi menSevikebs arasodes TanaugrZnobdnen osebis darbevaSi. osebi ki arian iseTni pirni, romel nic borotmomqmedebas scadian da pasuxisgebaSi miucemel ni rCebian.~ am cnobis miRebis Semdeg, Sin. saq. saxal xo komisariati mogaxsenebT: saqarTvel os revkomma cxinval is regionSi gagzavna sagangebo sameul i amx. xutul aSvil is meTaurobiT, romel sac gansakuTrebul i ufl ebeebi mieca, magram verc es sameul i SeZl ebs [wesrigis S.v.] aRdgenas am raionSi.

Sinagan saqmeTa saxal xo komisariatis azrit aucil ebel ia upirvel es yovl isa cxinval is raionidan moSorebul i iqnen is pirni da dawesebul ebani, roml ebmac ver SeZl es xal xis ndobis damsaxureba da misi gul is mogeba. amasTanave aucil ebel ia oseTis revkomis cxinval idan sxva adgil - as_Suagul oseTSi gadayvana, rom Tavidan avicil otis gaugebroba_ ufl ebis areva, romel sac adgil i aqvs cxinval is da oseTis revkomebs Soris. amitom, Sinagan saqmeTa saxal xo komisariati fiqrobs: 1)dauyovnebl iv gadayenebul unda iqnas cxinval is raionis revkomi da mis nacvl ad xal xmasaerTo yril obaze patiosan da uangaro muSakTagan iseTi revkomi unda airCios, romel sac is endoba. cxinval is raionis gansakuTrebul i mdgomareobis gamo, am revkomis Tavmj domared unda dainiSnos loial uri taqtikis mqone partiul i komunisti, gamocdil i da patiosani adami ani. Sinagan saqmeTa saxal xo komisariatma cxinval is revkomis gadayenebis da mis magier Sesafebi pirebis dayenebis saWiroeba acnoba kompartiis central ur komitets, magram ukanasknel s dRemdis araviTari gankargul eba ar mouxde- nia; 2) cxinval is raionidan dauyovnebl iv unda iqnas gamoyvanil i wiTel i armiis nawil ebi da maT magier gaigzavnos qarTul i jaris erTi rota, roml is saTaveSi unda dainiSnos patiosani da miudgomel i komunisti. am jaris arseboba cxinval is raionSi borotmomqmedi osebis madas ZirSive aRkveTavs da qarTl is sofl ebs daamSvi debs; 3)oseTis revkomi dauyovnebl iv unda iqnes gadayvanil i sof. j avaSi, sadac Sinagan saqmeTa saxal xo komisariatis mier miRebul i utyuari faqtebiT arc erTi saxl i ar aris damw- vari an dangreul i. binebi ki revkomis mosaTavsebl ad srul ad sakmarisia. saqarTvel os revkoms movaxseneb ra amas, vSuamdgoml ob, raTa zemoT aR- niSnul i zomebi dauyovnebl iv da saswrafod iqnes cxovrebaSi gatarebu- l i.

Sinagan saqmeTa saxal xo komisariatis saqmeTa mmarTvel i.
(xel moweril ia).

dokumenti # 79

oqmi # 36 saqarTvel os social isturi sabWoTa respubl ikis
revol uciuri komitetis prezidiumis sxdomisa 1921 w. ivl isis 11.
q. tfil isi

revkomis Tavmj domare: b.mdivani
prezidiumis wevrebi: el iava, qavTaraZe, kvirkvel ia, toroSel iZe,
revkomis wevrebi: el isabedaSvil i.
daeswrnen: a.TumaniSvil i.
mdivani: al .sal arize.

gansaxil vel i sagani.

14) samxreT oseTis revkomis moxseneba.

dadgenil eba.

1) winadadeba mieces saxal xo meurneobis umaRl es sabWos, xel i Seuwyos
teqnikur mowyobil obaTa gadatanis saqmes im qarxnebidan, romel nic daeT-
mo samxreT- oseTis revkoms; 2) mieces samxreT- oseTis revkoms saWiroeb-
isaTvis 2000 (raodenoba ar weria S.v.) fqvil i; 3) winadadeba mieces miwaT-
moqmedebis saxal xo komisars sameurneo saqonl is fondis ganawil ebis
dros samxreT oseTis mcxovrebn pirvel rigSi daakmayofil on; 4) daeva-
l os arsebul komisi aswrafad gamoarkvios samxreT oseTis revkomisa
da sxva mezobel i revkomebis samoqmedo sazRvreb; 5) winadadeba mieces
saxal xo meurneobis umaRl es sabWos dauyovnebl iv Seudges samxreT ose-
Tis revkomis saWiroebisaTvis Senobis mowyobas j avaSi; 6) samxreT oseTis
revkoms mieces saxal xo sasursaTo komisariatis saSual ebit 20 000 000
maneTi.

Tavmj domare: b.mdivani (xel moweril ia).
mdivani: al .sal arize (xel moweril ia).

dokumenti # 80

oqmi # 38 saqarTvel os social isturi sabWoTa respubl ikis
revol uciuri komitetis prezidiumis sxdomisa 1921 w. ivl isis 13.
q. tfil isi

Tavmj domare: b.mdivani.
prezidiumis wevrebi: el iava, kvirkvel ia, qavTaraZe, toroSel iZe.
daeswrnen: stal ini, orj onikiZe.
mdivani: al .sal arize.

gansaxil vel i sagani:

26) Sinagan saqmeTa saxal xo komisariatis Suamdgoml oba saWiro Tanxis
gadadebis Sesaxeb osebisgan dazaral ebul qarTvel mcxovrebtatvis dax-
marebis aRmoCenis Sesaxeb da agreTve mas mieces ufl eba ganagrZos daz-
aral ebul Tagan gancadebebis miReba.

dadgenil eba.

1. mi eces ufl eba Sinagan saqmeTa sax. komi sars dazaral ebul Tagan gancxdebis miReba ganagrZos; 2. masve winadadeba mi eces dazaral ebul Ta ricxvis gamorkvevis Semdeg, Suamdgoml oba aRZras revkomis winaSe dazaral ebul - Ta dasakmayofil ebl ad saWi ro Tanxis gadadebis Sesaxeb.

Tavmj domare: b.mdivani (xel moweril ia).

mdivani: al .sal arize (xel moweril ia).

dokumenti # 81

Sinagan saqmeTa saxal xo komisariatis 1921 wl is 20 ivl isis dadgenil eba `samxreT oseTis- avtonomiuri ol qis Seqmnis Sesaxeb.

Sinagan saqmeTa saxal xo komisariatis 1921 wl is 20 ivl isis sxdomis oqmis amonaweri

gansaxil vel i sagani:

samxreT_ oseTis avtonomiuri ol qis Seqmnis Sesaxeb.

dadgenil eba:

1) Sei qmnas avtonomiuri samxreT oseTis ol qi Semdegi Svidi yofil i sazogadoebidan:

a) rokis, wunaris, yornisis, j avis, yemul Tis, or tevis da bel oTis.

b) is sofl ebi, roml ebSi ac mosaxl eoben qarTvel ebi: vanaTi, awrisxevi, sacxeneTi, xoSori, xadurianTkari, dvani, zemo da qvemo avnevebi darCebian goris mazris cxinval is raionSi.

2) samxreT oseTis sabWoTa pirvel i yril obis mowvevamd is mTel i xel is- ufl eba miniWebul i aqvs samxreT oseTis revkoms, roml is centr ad droebi T aRiarebul i iqnas qal . cxinval i

3) sabWoTa yril oba airCevs aRmasrul ebel komitets, romel sac mieniWeba mazris aRmasrul ebel i komitetis ufl eba.

4) daeval os Sinagan saqmeTa saxal xo komisariats Seqmnas Sereul i komisia samxreT oseTis sazRvrebis dadgenisaTvis.

5) daeval os goris revkoms dauyovnebl iv gadasces samxreT oseTis revkoms yvel a saqmeebi, romel ic exeba samxreT oseTis teritorias da mis mcxovrebl ebs.

dedanTan sworia

Sinagan saqmeTa saxal xo komisariatis saqmeTa mmarTvel i iv.yifiani (xel - moweril ia)

dokumenti # 82

janmrTel obis saxal xo komisariatis mier Sinagan saqmeTa saxal xo komisariatisadmi 1921 wl is 28 ivl is gagzavnili werili

sssr janmrT. sax. komis. samkurnal o ganyofil eba. #1850
28 ivl isi 1921 w.

Sinagan saqmeTa saxal xo komisars

ganmeorebit umorcil esad gTxovT gvacnoboT sazRvrebi borCal osa da samxreT oseTis mazrebisa. es cnobebi Zier saWiroa janmrTel obis saxal xo komisariatisaTvis, vinaidan amastan aris dakavSirebuli ukve arsebuli samkurnal o dawesebul ebaTa wesieri muSaoba, maTi Tval yuris devna da axal i samkurnal o punqtebis gaxsnis gegmis gaTval iswineba.

janmrTel obis saxal xo komisari (xel mowerilia).
samkurnal o ganyofil ebis gamge (xel mowerilia).

dokumenti # 83

oqmi # 48 saqarTvel os sabWoTa social isturi respublikis revoluciuri komitetis prezidiumis sxdomisa 1921 w. ivl isis 29. q. tfilisi

revkomis Tavmj domare: b.mdivani.

prezidiumis wevrebi: qavTaraZe, el iava, toroSel iZe, kvirkveli.

revkomis wevrebi: kuWaiZe, svaniZe, baxtaZe, dumbaZe.

mdivani al .sal arize.

gansaxil veli sagani:

8) Sinagan saqmeTa saxal xo komisaris Suamdgoml oba osebisagan dazaral ebuli qarTuli soflis mcxovrebl ebisaTvis daxmarebis aRmosaCenad 500 mil . maneTis miRebis Sesaxeb.

dadgenil eba.

1. Sinagan saqmeTa saxal xo komisaris Suamdgoml oba dakmayofil ebul iqnes;
2. winadadeba mieces finansTa sax. komisars, gaxsnas Sinagan saqmeTa sax. komisaris gankargul ebisaTvis 500 mil . man. krediti osebisgan dazaral ebuli qarTuli soflis ebis mcxovrebl ebisaTvis daxmarebis aRmosaCenad.

Tavmj domare: b.mdivani (xel mowerilia).
mdivani al .sal arize (xel mowerilia).

dokumenti # 84

Sinagan saqmeTa saxal xo komisariatis administraciul erTeul Ta ganyofil ebis mier mTavari Stabis topografiul i ganyofil ebisadmi gagzavnii weril i. 1921 wl is 8 agvisto

Sinagan saqmeTa saxal xo komisariatis administraciul erTeul Ta ganyofil eba. 8 agvisto. 1921 w. # 16

mTavari Stabis topografiul ganyofil ebas

Sinagan saqmeTa saxal xo komisariatTan arsebobs ganyofil eba administraciul erTeul Ta, roml is funqcias Seadgens respublikis teritoriis danawil eba wvriil da msxvil administraciul erTeul ebad, sabWoTa respublikis Tanamedrove social ur_ekonomiuri da sxva pirobebis mixedviT. ganyofil ebas Tavis funqciaTa Sesasrul ebl ad metad esaWiroeba saqarTvel os da sazogadod kavkasiis dawvriil ebiTi ruka.

gTxovT, amitom, keTil i ineboT da gamougzavnoT ganyofil ebas TiTo saqarTvel os da kavkasiis ekzempl ari, rogorc topografiul is, ise sazogado rukisa, xuT verstiani masStabiT. Tu SeiZl eba axal i gamocema. xol o

Tu aseTi ar moepoveba, am SemTxvevaSi SeiZl eba Zvel i gamocemac.

Sinagan saqmeTa saxal xo komisari b.kvirkvel ia (xel moweril ia).
saqmeTa mmarTvel i iv.yifiani (xel moweril ia).
administraciul erTeul Ta ganyofil ebis gamge gr.gvel esiani (xel moweril ia).

dokumentis # 85

Sinagan saqmeTa saxal xo komisariatis mier janmrTel obis saxal xo komisariatisadmi 1921 wl is 10 agvistos gagzavnii weril i

s.s.s.r Sinagan saqmeTa saxal xo komisariati. 10 agvisto 1921 w. # 23
janmrTel obis saxal xo komisariats

pasuxad Tqveni Txovni sa 1921 w. 28 ivl isis TariRiT # 1850 gacnobebT, rom borCal os sazRvrebis sakiTxi sabol ood gadawyvetil i ar aris kompententur xel isufal Ta mier da amitom Sinagan saqmeTa saxal xo komisariats j er- j erobiT ar moepoveba gansazRvrul i cnobebi am sakiTxis Sesaxeb. amitom vidre borCal os mazris sazRvrebi gamoirkvevodes, unda vixel mZRvanel oT Zvel is moxazul obiT, ese igi sazRvrebi borCal os mazrisa datovoT ucvl el ad, rogorc es iyo neitral uri zonis gaCenamdi. rac Seexeba samxreT osetis mazras, aseTi mazra j er- j erobiT dawesebul i da

oficial urad dadasturebul i ar aris. aris mxol od goris mazraSi gan-
sazRvrul i nawil i oSta mier dasaxl ebul i da samxreT- oseTad wodebu-
l i, romel Siac Sedis Svdi Semadgenel i sofl is sazogadoeba: 1)ortevis,
2)bel oTis, 3)yornisis, 4)j avis, 5)yemul Tis. 6)rokis da wunaris. goris mazris
am nawil Si_ samxreT- oseTSi moqmedebs erTi central uri revkomi, mazris
revkomi saxiT.

Cemdami uwyebul komisariatSi daarsebul ia special uri mudmivi komisia,
romel ic amJamad ikvl evs sakiTxs oSta mosaxl eobis teritoriisas, magram
vidre komisia gamoi tandes Tavis daskvna, komi sariatma daadgina, droebiT
saxel mZRvanel oT samxreT- oseTis raionad CaiTval os mxol od Svdi
zemoxsenebul i sofl ebis sazogadoeba rva winda qarTul i sofl ebis
gamokl ebiT (vanaTi, awrisxevi, sacxeneTi, xoSura, xadurianTkari, dvani, zemo
avnevi da qvemo avnevi) romel nic administraciul ad rCeba goris mazris
cxinval is raionSi.

Sinagan saqmeTa saxal xo komisari
saqmeTa mmarTvel i
administraciul erTeul Ta ganyofil ebis gamge

dokumenti # 86

duSeTis mazris samxareo komiteti. 1921 w. 11 agvisto. saxal xo
samxedro da sazRvao komisariatSi Stabis ufross, asl i Sinagan
saqmeTa saxal xo komisariats

pataki

damatebiT Cemi patakisa a/w. 28 ivnisi dan # 1136 ganmeorebiT mogaxsenebT,
rom kobis da axal goris raionis mobanake osebi adgil obriv administra-
cias ar emorCil ebian da SeiaraRebul i Zal iT il aSqreben mis winaaRmdeg,
rac imiT aixsneba, rom dRemdis arcerTi samxedro val debul i osi dab.
1899- 1900 ww. ar gamocxadebul a gasawvev punqtebSi da siebs 1901- 1902 ww.
dabadebul ebiT adgenen. zemoaRniSnul is Sesaxeb Cems mier ecnoba Crdil -
oeT oseTis revkoms gankargul ebi saTvis, 21 ivnisi dan # 1067, magram dRem-
dis pasuxi ar maqvs. garda amisa, rogorc patakSi # 1136 mogaxsenebdiT,
isini SesamCnevad arian SeiaraRebul ni da adgil obrivi milicia maT ver
daimorCil ebs Tu damxmare samxedro jaris nawil i ar iqneba gamogzavni-
l i. aseTi arasasurvei i movl ena moqmedebs agreTve maT mezobl ad moba-
nake mcxovrebl ebzedac, rasac friad arasasurvei i Sedegi moaqvs.
zemoaRniSnul zed gTxovT gankargul ebas.

samxedro komisari camcievi.
samxedro zedamxedvel i yarangozaSvil i.
mdivani aval ovi.
sworia. mdivani (xel moweril ia)
rezol ucia: `duSeTis mazris revkoms. gvacnobon saqmis namdvil i
viTareba.~ (xel moweril ia)

dokumenti # 87

iusticiis saxal xo komisariatis mier Sinagan saqmeTa saxal xo
komisariatisadmi 1921 wl is 15 agvistos gagzavnili werili

iusticiis saxal xo komisariati. 15 agvisto 1921 w. # 2536
Sinagan saqmeTa saxal xo komisariats

gTxovT gvacnoboT Tu ra sazRvrebSi moqmedebis samxreT- osetis revkomi.

piradi Semadg. qvegany. gamge (xel mowerilia).
saqmis mmartveli (xel mowerilia).

dokumenti # 88

Sinagan saqmeTa saxal xo komisariatis mier iusticiis saxal xo
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S.s.s. komisariati. 20 agvisto 1921 w. # 29
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Tqveni SekiTxvisagamo, ama wl is 15 agvistos TariRiT (# 2536), amiT gacnobeT, rom Tanaxmad droebiT saxel mZRvanel od miRebuli dadgenil ebisa (ama wl is 20 ivl isis dadgenil eba Sin. saq. sax. komisariatisa) samxreT osetis revkomi moqmedebis fargl ebi isazRvreba Svidi Semdegi sofl is sazogadoebiT: 1)ortevis, 2)bel otit, 3)yornisit, 4)javit, 5)yemul tit, 6)rokit da 7)wunarit. amastanave unda arvnisnot, rom ortevs, bel otis da wunaris sazogadoebaSi Sedis rva winda qarTuli sofl ebi (vanaTi, awrisxevi, sacxeneTi, xosura, xaduriantkari, dvani, zemo avnevi da qvemo avnevi) romel nic droebiT, vidre sakiTxi maT Sesaxeb sabol ood gadawydebodes, zemoT arniSnuli dadgenil ebis Tanaxmad datovebul ni arian administraciul adcxinvalis raionSi da masasadame samxreT- osetis revkoms ar eqvemdebareba.

saqmeTa mmartveli
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`samxreT oseTis- revkomis, partkomisa da pasuxismgebel i partiul i muSakebis 1921 wl is 6- 8 seqtembris gaertianebul sxdomaze miRebul i `samxreT oseTis- sabWoTa social isturi respubl ikis konstituciis proeqti

Проект конституции Советской Социалистической Республики Юго- Осетия

1. Советская Социалистическая Республика Юго- Осетия образуется в границах (см. проект границ).

Столицей С.С.Р. Юго- Осети является м. Цхинвали.

Примечание. Детальное установление границ поручается особой смешанной комиссии.

2. С.С.Р. Юго- Осетия состоит в федеративной связи с С.С.Р. Грузией.

3. Власть в С.С.Р. Юго- Осетии организуется на основе Советской конституции, утвержденной 5- ым Всероссийском Съездом Советов.

4. Органами управления С.С.Р. Юго- Осетии являются местные Советы, Ц.И.К. и Совнарком С.С.Р. Юго- Осетии.

5. Ц.И.К. состоит из 25- ти членов, избираемых Съездом Советов Ю.- Осетии.

6. Для управления делами С.С.Р. Юго- Осетии учреждаются следующие народные комиссариаты: 1) Внутренних дел с управлением почт и телеграфов, 2) Юстиции, 3) Просвещения, 4) Здравоохранения, 5) Социального обеспечения, 6) Продовольствия, 7) Земледелия, 8) Финансов, 9) Труда, 10) Совета народного хозяйства (С отделом Путей сообщения), Рабочее- крестьянской Инспекции.

Примечание: Иностранные дела и внешняя торговля находятся в ведении соответствующих Комиссариатов С.С.Р. Грузии, в последнем имеется представительство С.С.Р. Юго- Осетии.

7. Народные комиссары Ц.И.К. Юго- Осети и ответственны перед ним.

8. В целях сохранения единства финансовой и хозяйственной политики советских республик Народные Комиссары С.С.Р. Юго- Осетии Продовольствия, Финансов, Труда, С.Н.Х. с отделом Путей Сообщения, Рабочее- крестьянской Инспекции, Управление почт и телеграфов К.В.Д. и Ч.К. Юго- Осетии находятся под руководством соответствующих органов С.С.Р. Грузией.

9. Народные Комиссары: Внутренних дел (без управления почт и телеграфов), Юстиции, Просвещения, Здравоохранения, Социального обеспечения, Земледелия самостоятельные в своих действиях.

10. Военными делами управляет Военный Комиссариат, подчиняющийся Наркомвоенмору С.С.Р. Грузии и назначавшийся по соглашению последнего с Совнаркомом С.С.Р. Юго- Осетии.

11. Для борьбы с контрреволюцией организуется особая Юго- Осетинская конная воинская часть с командованием на русском языке.

12. Всеми финансовыми и техническими средствами С.С.Р. Юго- Осетия снабжается из средств С.С.Р. Грузии.

13. По вопросам культурным и экономическим С.С.Р. Юго- Осетия может непосредственно сноситься с другими Советскими Республиками.

14. Советское правительство Юго- Осетии ведает культурно- просветительным делом осетинского населения Грузии, остающимся вне С.С.Р. Ю.- О. Соответствующими правами пользуются национальные меньшинства С.С.Р. Юго- Осетии.

15. Языком сношения между С.С.Р. Юго- Осетией и С.С.Р. Грузией служит русский язык.

Настоящий проект конституции С.С.Р. Юго- Осетии утвержден объединенным заседанием, Ревкома и Парткома с участием ответственных партработников Юго- Осети 6-8 сентября 1921 года.

Председатель объединенного заседания / подпись/
Секретарь /подпись/

dokumenti `samxreT oseTis- revkomis beWdiTaa dadasturebul i.

dokumenti # 90

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Rebul i `samxreT oseTis- sabWoTa social isturi respublikis ko-
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Краткая объяснительная записка

Постановление совместного Юго- Осетинского Ревкома и Парткома при участии ответственных партработников о политическом самоопределении Юго- Осетии 6- 8 сентября 1921 года.

Посылая к постановлению совместного заседания Юго- Осетинского Ревкома и парткома при участии ответственных партработников настоящую объяснительную записку, совместное заседание считает ее необходимой для уяснения тех объективных причин, которые диктуют необходимость образования Советской Социалистической Республики Юго- Осетии.

Географическое положение и количество населения Юго- Осетии

Осетины в Закавказье занимают сплошной полосой южный склон центра Кавказского хребта в границах: на Западе, гора Велюамта на высоте 7.234, на В.селение Коби, на Ю. мест. Цхинвали и на С. главный Кавказский хребет.

По переписи 1917 года осетинское население в пределах, указанных границ, исчисляется в 70.500 душ обоого пола. Если к этому числу прибавить 22.600 д. смешанного населения, которое должно войти в пределы образуемой С.С.Р. Юго- Осетии в границах, намеченных совместным заседанием, то общее количество населения составит 92.100 д. Вследствие малоземелья трудящиеся Юго- Осетии переселились и усели значительными массами в:

- 1.Триалетских горах (Горийский уезд) – около 20.000 д.
2. Кахетии (уездах Тианетский, Телавский и Сигнахский)- около- 15.000 д.
3. Белоключинском и Манглиском районах (Тифлис. у.)- свыше 2.000 д.
4. Более 30- ти сел, вкраплены в Горийский и Душетский уезды, более с населения живет в горах и только остальная часть занимает предгорья и плоскость.

Экономическое состояние Юго- Осетии и степень культурного развития населения

Согласно заключению той- же переписи, население Юго- Осетии в громадном большинстве причислено к малоземельным крестьянам с нищенским наделом и значительная группа к безземельным.

Вследствие недостатка в земле, при плохих почвенных климатических и топографических условиях хлебопашество является подпорной отраслью хозяйства.

Гораздо более важное значение имеет скотоводство, находящееся в несравненно лучших условиях.

Но и его развитие настолько тормозилось отсутствием дорог, зимних пастбищ и недостаточной степенью сельское- хозяйственной культуры, что не выводило трудящихся Юго- Осетии из тяжелого экономического состояния.

При советской власти, с развитием самодеятельности масс и устранением выше указанных причин, скотоводству предстоит блестящее будущее. С такими скудными экономическими ресурсами внутри страны, при наличии тяжелого помещичьего гнета, бедноте Юго- Осетии приходилось искать заработок на стороне.

С 1900 г. отход на промыслы получил самое широкое распространение, вплоть до отхода женщин и подростков. (Северный Кавказ, Закавказье и др.) Значительное число из беднейших крестьян оставалось на фабриках и заводах, пополняя кадры промышленного пролетариата (Тифлис, Баку, Грозный и др.) Наконец, некоторую поддержку хозяйству оказывали кустарное производство и заработки на лесных промыслах внутри страны. Главными пунктами, и притом единственными, экономического и культурного притяжения Юго- осетии являются мест. Цхинвали, Меджврисхеви и... Гори органически связанные с Осетией, которые развились благодаря ежегодному выбрасыванию на эти рынки значительного количества продуктов скотоводства (живой скот, мясо, шерсть и молочные продукты). После разгрома Юго- Осетии торговля в этих пунктах оживает... Степень культурного развития населения такова; сельских школ: одна смешанная гимназия, и 2 высших начальных училища.

Лиц с высшим образованием около 30- ти человек, гораздо больше со средним и довольно значительное число окончивших учительский институт, городские, технические и другие училища. При наличии... промышленных предприятий грамотность 35 %... Интеллигенция, как вышедшая из среды рабоче- крестьянских слоев в громадном большинстве является сторонницей Советской власти. В конечном итоге: малоземелье, тяжелое экономическое положение, гнет князей- помещиков и пролетаризация масс были факторами революционирования трудящихся Юго- Осетии.

Историко- социальное развитие

Революция 1917 года застает Юго- Осетию в период изживания полуфеодальных форм хозяйственных взаимоотношений.

Последние были не продуктом самобытного развития, а привнесены извне Грузией в 1853 году. Правда, с начала 19 го столетия, в Юго- Осетию Северной стороны, где феодализм прививается под влиянием Кабарды /Дигория, Кобан/ начинают просачиваться признаки сословных организаций, но они не развиваются вследствие географической обособленности последней от первой. Только с 50- х годов 19- го века грузинское княжество при поддержке Русского Царизма, сломив упорное сопротивление Юго- Осетинской бедноты, ставит ее под свою зависимость. Родовой быт не был еще изжит. Но к началу Революции 1917 г. он окончательно разложился. Процесс укрепления масс идет усиленным темпом. С появлением Советской власти в Юго- Осетии, социалистическое хозяйство переходного периода втягивает трудящихся в орбиту своего влияния.

История революционной борьбы Юго- Осетинской бедноты

История революционной борьбы трудовых масс Юго- Осетии носит главным образом характер крестьянской борьбы против помещичьего гнета, за землю и за Советскую систему управления. Поскольку ощущался национальный гнет /Царское правительство и, особенно, меньшевистское господство/, к мотивам Революционного движения примешивается и мотив национального освобождения. Движение 1905- 6 годов ознаменовалось в Осетии выступлением против помещичий клики, подавленное реакцией с большой жестокостью. После этого наступает затишье вплоть до февральской Революции 1917 года.

С падением Царского правительства, затихшие силы революционной бедноты опять выступают активно. Общность интересов и усилившееся культурно- политическое развитие масс объединяет осетинских крестьян с грузинскими, и в дальнейшем их деятельность протекает в тесном единении вплоть до разгрома Юго- осетии. С начала февральской революции до октябрьского переворота внутри Осетии боролись только мелко- буржуазные группы С.Д. / меньшевиков/ и С.Р.

О глубоком общественно-классовом расслоении не было и речи потому, что движение носило характер национального освобождения, и кулацкий элемент играл некоторую роль.

Беспартийная организация зародившаяся в октябре 1917 года в Тифлисе работала в то время исключительно среди осетинских рабочих и не имела никакого влияния на крестьян.

В процессе борьбы меньшевики, куда входили главным образом рабочие, побеждают и временно крестьянские массы идут за ними.

К началу октябрьского переворота их изменническая политика начинает проявляться и массы с наиболее сознательными местными рабочими, отходят от них. В декабре 1917 года созывается первый всенародный съезд в Цхинвале. «левая» группа впоследствии вошедшая в партию коммунистов захватила идейное руководство на съезде.

К этому времени с Кав. фронта возвращаются наэлектризованные большевизмом солдаты, усиливается и влияние Тифлисской секции большевиков на крестьян.

В массах происходит стихийное брожение. Обеспокоенное правительство Закавказского сейма становится на путь вооруженных репрессий. Последовал ряд массовых выступлений. /В Корнисах, Цхинвале, Сачхерах и Душетском уезде/. Руководство принадлежит группе большевиков. После ликвидации восстаний с июля 1918 г. в Юго- осетии зарождаются правильные парторганизации большевиков под руководством Тифлисской секции, перенесшей центр тяжести своей деятельности в деревню. К октябрю 1919 года Юго- Осетия покрывается сетью правильно организованных ячеек, районных организаций (17 райкомов) с числом членов и сочувствующих до 20000 человек, объединенных уже в Юго- Осетинский партком. Меньшевики и С.Р. прекращают свою работу. Масса идет за коммунистами. Происходившие в этот период народные съезды выдвигают на повестку дня вопрос о политическом самоопределении Юго- Осетии с ориентацией на Терскую, в то время, Советскую республику. Вопрос был поставлен настолько серьезно, что на пять съездов приезжают столпы меньшевизма: И.Церетели, И.Рамишвили и др. Большевики побеждают, и правительство Жордания разрешает вопрос с помощью германских солдат. Окончательно же вопрос о самоопределении снимается с повестки дня: 1).нашествием карательной экспедиции генерала Каралова и Горийского уезда начальника Карцивадзе, разгромивших Народный Совет в Цхинвале. 2).Нашествием экспедиционных войск меньшевистского правительства под командованием полк. Химшиева, после неудачного октябрьского выступления. Поход сопровождался расстрелами, поджогами, насилием и тому подобными бесчинствами. Партия уходит в подполье, наиболее видные товарищи изгоняются в Терскую область. С этого времени по июнь 1920 года меньшевистское правительство держит в разных частях Юго- Осетии значительные войсковые силы. Бесчинства их и административный произвол делает гнет невыносимым. В июле 1920 года по всей Осетии вспыхивает всеобщее

восстание, в результате чего в Цхинвале объявляется Советская власть на всей территории Юго-Осетии. Ряд неблагоприятных обстоятельств для повстанцев дают меньшевикам возможность ликвидировать революционное движение с небывалой жестокостью и зверством. К великому несчастью бессознательная часть грузинских крестьян, под влиянием шовинистической агитации меньшевиков, приняли участие в гнусных деяниях правительства. До февраля 1921 года оставшаяся часть населения Юго-Осетии остается под гнетом правительства, подвергаясь жестоким гонениям. Вот почему, главным образом, с момента прихода Советской власти трудовые массы Юго-Осетии резко выставляют принцип самоопределения.

Декларация Ревкома Грузии о свободном самоопределении трудящихся: Абхазии, Аджарии и Юго-Осетии была встречена беднотой с чувством глубокого удовлетворения.

Вышеизложенное логически и приводит к следующим выводам:

1. Так как географически Юго-Осетия составляет одно сплошное целое, в пределах вышеуказанных границ население ее этнографически однородно с особым национально-бытовым укладом жизни и хозяйственный быт ее обладает специфическими чертами- необходимо образовать из нее С.С.Р.

2. Степень классового расслоения и самосознания трудовых масс Юго-Осетии (необходимых для нормального развития республики) настолько высока, что обеспечивает республике нормальное развитие культурно-экономических ее сил.

3. Образование такой политической единицы, при данных объективных условиях, создает благоприятную почву для приобщения трудящихся Юго-Осетии к Советской власти (школа, суд и другие учреждения на родном языке) и скорейшего изживания чувства национального угнетения, которое появилось, главным образом, в период меньшевистского господства.

4. Свободное и успешное развитие культурно-экономических сил Юго-Осетии возможно только в том случае, если включить в состав ее те районы со смешанным населением, которые являются единственным культурно-экономическим центром Юго-Осетии и органически связаны с нею.

Председатель /подпись/

Секретарь /подпись/

dokumenti # 91

`samxreT oseTis- revkomis, partkomisa da pasuxismgebel i partiu-
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miRebul i `samxreT oseTis- sabWota social isturi respublikis
sazRvris proeqti

Проект границ Юго-Осетинской Социалистической Советской Республики

С севера- западной стороны: Пограничная линия начинается с границ Терской Области у истока р. Чанчахи и ее притоков; пересекает высоту 8.872; тянется вдоль хребта «Цительмта»,

пересекает р. Чанчахи при впадении в нее притока Геске; продолжается в юго- западном направлении по отрогам горы Геске, западнее этой реки; пересекает гору Геске, гору Джвар; высоту 6.062, реки Гарулу, ниже сел. «Нижний- Кважа» (Коз), реку Кведрулу, восточнее села Кведри; спускается по отрогам горы «Велуанта»; пересекает высоту 7.234, р. Джоджору, ниже селения Мрткаджин и упирается в высоту 7.616; пересекает гору Кудев, немного западнее высоты 2.932; продолжается в юго- восточном направлении вдоль подножия высоты 2.170, упираясь в гору Перенга на высоте 5.201; тянется на юг, по отрогам этой горы, западнее гори Дзирулы; пересекает последнюю и проходит по хребту Капребиссери до высоты 4.172; продолжается по верхнему течению р. Чаратхеви и далее по отрогам хребта Капребиссери, западнее р. Лопани; продолжается по дороге Чорчани- Цнелиси, пересекает р. Лопан, ниже Цнелиси; поворачивается на севера- восток; проходит выше села Атоци; пересекает левый приток р. Проне, ниже сел. Кватетри; далее пересекает р. Проне (Корнисскую), выше сел. Двани; проходит параллельно, севера- западной стороны, дороге Двани- Гуджабаури; пересекает р. большую Лиахву ниже гор. Цхинвали и выше сел. Никози; упирается в Ередви; пересекает р. малую Лиахву выше сел. Арбо, реку Чаребулу выше сел. Мерети и Кошки; поворачивает на юго- восток; пересекает р. Отреви, выше сел. Плависмани и р. р. Адзуру и Меджду ниже сел. Адзви и Меджврисхеви; продолжается севера- восточнее с. с. Кирбали и Бершуети; пересекает р. Тартлу, ниже сел. Цинакари, правый приток р. Лехуры, севернее сел. Хурвалети, захватывая сел. Орчочани и Абреви, и р. Лехуру, севернее сел. Сакоринтло; продолжается до пограничной линии Горийского и Душетского уездов и, огибая с юга края между Сакоринтло и Одзиси, пересекает р. Ксанку выше Одзиси; упирается в гору «Ипнианискеди»; поворачивает на север и пересекает котловину, проходя западнее линии сел. Микелианткари, Ирмиссопели и проч. огибает с запада средние отроги высоты 6.409; пересекает последнюю немного восточнее у развалин церкви; далее продолжается на север, вдоль течения р. Алеви, по хребту, восточнее последней; пересекает гору Чартала на высоте 8.283, гору Сапершети, гору Тахту; продолжается по линии водороздела между притоками р.р. Арагви и Ксани; пересекает высоты: Киркуты, Мунджухе, перевал Ломисский у развалин Монастыря и тянется до Джамурского перевала; поворачивается на восток, пересекает р. Арагву, ниже сел. Ганиси и Военное- Грузинскую дорогу, ниже сел. Кумлиسخе, продолжается на север по восточному склону горы Гуда и Крестовой, пересекает гору Сандземи и огибая с востока долину р. Нарвани, проходит через гору Кабарджин, на высоте 10.241, снова пересекает Военное- Грузинскую дорогу и р. Терек ниже станицы Коби; огибает с юга отроги горы Чуд, пересекает последнюю на высоте 9.828 и гору Сырхисар, восточнее высоты 12.040 и упирается возле горы Казбек в главный Кавказский Хребет; далее пограничная линия продолжается по южной Государственной границе Горской Республики, т. е. по главному хребту.

Пояснение: Согласно данному проекту в Юго- Осетинскую Социалистическую Советскую Республику войдут:

1) Сел. Грушели, Верхний и Нижний Кважа (Коз) и все Часавальское общество, при старом режиме в состав Рачинского уезда.

2) Сел. Теделет, Джалабет, Хамет, Вахниси, Цоиси и друг. входящие при старом режиме в состав Шорапанского уезда.

3) Гор. Цхинвали, общества: Оконское, без Авлевского подрайона; Велебское, входившее раньше в состав Дирбского общества (села Корди, Бадани, Велеби, Бугузантубани, Кватетри, Балантубани, Гвиргвина, Цедиси и др.); Тамарашенское, Цунарское, Корнисское, Джавское, Кемултское, Рокское, Ортевское, Белотское, сел. Ередви, Приси и др. входившие раньше в Дицкое Общество; Сатикарское входившее раньше в Меретское общество (села Чареби, Дмениси, Снекви, Хелчуа, Сатихари и др.); Меджврисхевское без сел. Кирбали, Бершуети, Зерти, Ахриси, и некоторых других; села Богеби, Гудианткари, Метесмани, Гдулети, Гучанткари, Парехисхеви, Бичианткари, Кеди, Цинагора, Земобегеби и др. составлявшие

раньше часть Хелтубанского общества; села: Орчосани, Абреви и др. составлявшие раньше часть Квемо- Чальского общества; это раньше составлявшее северную нагорную часть Горийского уезда.

4)Общество Лехурское, Монастырское, Ахалгорское, без сел. Одзиси, Бакакуриант- Кари и др; сел. Джварисубани и др. входившие раньше в состав Гремисхевского Общества; села Гуд, Архот, Сокурти- жау, Уалхваз, Урмиссопели, Ганиси и др. входившие раньше в Земо- Мтиулетское общест. и весь Кобисский- Трусовсий район. Все это при старом режиме составляло западную часть Душетского Уезда.

Настоящий проект утвержден протоколом объединенного заседания Ревкома и Парткома, с участием ответственных Парработников Юго- Осети 6- 8 сентября 1921 г.

Председатель объединенного заседания /подпись/

Секретарь /подпись/

dokumenti `samxreT oseTis- revkomis beWdiTaa dadasturebul i.

dokumenti # 92

Sinagan saqmeTa saxal xo komisariatis saqmeTa mmarTvel is da administraciul erTeul Ta ganyofil ebis gangis mier saqarTvel os revkomisadmi 1921 wl is 27 seqtembers gagzavnil i weril i

Sinagan saqmeTa saxal xo komisariati. 1921 w.
27 seqtemberi

saqarTvel os sabWoTa social isturi respubl ikis revol ucionuri komitetis saqmeTa mmarTvel s.

Sinagan saqmeTa saxal xo komisariati, komisar is daval ebiT, amasTanave gigzavniT moxsenebas samxreT- oseTis cal ke administraciul erTeul ad gamoyofis Sesaxeb da gTxovT igi SeitanoT revkomis sxdomaze gansaxil - vel ad.

saqmeTa mmarTvel i xaxanaSvil i (xel moweril ia).

administraciul erTeul Ta ganyofil ebis gamge gr. gvel esiani (xel moweril ia).

dokumenti # 93

Sinagan saqmeTa saxal xo komisar is b.kvirkvel ias mier, `samxreT oseTis- cal ke administraciul erTeul ad gamoyofasTan dakav- SirebiT_ saqarTvel os revol uciuri komitetisadmi wardgenil i moxseneba. 1921 wl is 27 seqtemberi. (dokumenti, xel is manqanaze nabeWdi arastandartul i furcl is 4 gverds Seicavs)

samxreT oseTis cal ke administraciul erTeul ad gamoyofa samazro er- oê

Teul is ufl ebebiT, geografiul i da ekonomiuri mosazrebebiT, sakiTxis detal urad Seswavl is Semdeg Sinagan saqmeTa saxal xo komisariats SeuZl ebl ad miaCnia.

samxreT oseTi, rogorc mTl iani geografiul i erTeul i ar arsebobs. aris mxol od osebiT dasaxl ebul i cal ke raionebi, romel Tac urTierT Soris araviTari damokidebul eba ara aqvs_ arc geografiul ad da arc ekonomiurad. TiToeul i am raionTagani warmoadgens ganuyofel organul nawil s sxvadasxva geografiul da sameurneo provinciabisas. es raionebi erTi meorisgan daSorebul i arian gadauval i mTebiT da amasTanave TiToeul maTgans aqvs srul iad Tavisufal i gamosaval i mxol od barSi. igini erTi meores mowvyetil ni arian wl is ganmavl obaSi ramdenime TviT da TiToeul i maTgani ekonomiuraT damokidebul ia im vel Tan, romel Tanac dakavSirebul ia geografiul ad. saqarTvel oSi osebi mosaxl eoben Semdeg regionebsi:

1). goris mazraSi_ didi l iaxvis xeobaSi sof. kexvamdis, xol o am sofl - idan dawyebul i samxreTiT marto qarTvel ebiT dasaxl ebul i sofl ebia, sadac osebis ricxvi mcxovrebaTa 15 % ar aRemateba.

2). patara l iaxvis xeobaze, sofel vanaTamdis; vanaTis zeviTac Crdil o-eTiT mdebareoben ramdenime qarTul i sofl ebi: bel oTi, ori xoSura, sacxene, awrisxevi da sxva.

3). mdinare frones saTaveze yornisis da wunaris raionebsi, sadac oSta mosaxl eoba mcxovrebaTa 88 % ar aRemateba.

4). duSeTis mazraSi_ md. aragvis da qsanis saTaveze.

5). raWis mazraSi mdinare j ej oras saTaveze.

TiToeul am raions erTi meorisagan yofs gadauval i mTebi da maTi dakavSireba geografiul _ topografiul i mizezebiT SeuZl ebel ia.

1) daviwyoT raWis mazridan. am mazraSi osebi mosaxl eoben Casaval is raionebsi, romel ic Tavis aRmosavl eTis sazRvrit ekvris goris mazras. am adgil ebSi, goris mazra raWis mazridan gamoyofil ia gardauval i mTebiT, romel Ta simaRI e aRwevs 9000 futamde. yvel aze dabal i mTa am adgil ebSi simaRI iT 6440 futia. maSasadame, misi dakavSireba geografiul ad goris mazris osobasTan SeuZl ebel ia, radgan erTi meores mTel i zamTris ganmavl obaSi srul iad mowvyetil ni arian da kavSiri maT Soris SeuZl ebel ia.

ekonomiurad Casavl is raions saerto araferi aqvs goris mazris osobasTan erTis mxriv imave geografiul i pirobebis gamo da meores mxriv ekonomiuri da administraciul i centri mTel i raWis mazrisa oni imdenad axl oa masTan (sul 10- 7 versia), rom sxva centrTan ekonomiuri kavSiris daWera am raionis mcxovrebaTavis sasurvel ic ar iqneba.

amgvarad, Casaval is raionis miwebeba goris mazris osobasTan iqneba srul iad xel ovnuri, bunebis da ekonomiuri urTierTobis sawinaaRmdago kavSiri.

2) amave mosazrebebiT SeuZl ebel ia davukavSiroT goris mazris oseTs duSeTis mazris [osebi S.v.], radgan am raions yofs Tovl iani mTebi, romel - Ta simaRI e 11.333 futamdis adis da arsad 7.500 futze dabl a ar aris da es mTebi wl is ganmavl obaSi 7- 8 Tve srul iad gadauval ia. amave bunebriv-geografiul i mizezebis gamo araviTari sameurneo kavSiri am or raions Soris ar arsebobs. kobis raioni, e.i. duSeTis mazris zemoarNiSnul i Crdil o- dasavl eTis seqtori, sadac osebis mosaxl eoba 60 %- s ar aRemateba, dakavSirebul ia ekonomiuraT duSeTTan samxedro gziT, romel ic 30- 40 versiT daSorebul ia am raions. goris mazris osobasTan kavSirisatvis ko-

bis raionis osoba iZul ebul i iqneba iaros wel iwadSi rva Tve mainc du-
SeTze_ mcxeTaze_ gorze_ cxinval ze da Semdeg ,`oseTSi-_ ristvisac
daaxl oebiT 150 versis gavl a dasWirdebaT. am raionis erTad- erTi gamo-
saval i mTel i wl is ganmavl obaSi aris mxol od samxedro gza, romel ic
mas, rogorc geografiul ad ise ekonomiurad akavSirebs mxol od duSeT-
Tan. maSasadame, am raionis miwebeba goris mazrasTan bunebis da ekonomiki
sawinaaRmdego kavSiri iqneba.

3)darCa goris mazris is nawil i, sadac osebi mosaxl eobs. rogorc zemoT
aRvniSneT, am mazraSi osebi mosaxl eoben didi da patara l iaxvis da
frones saTavis xeobaSi.

upirvel es yovl isa unda aRiniSnos, rom am samTave raionSi mcxovreba
ricxvi imdenad mcirea, rom (sul 32.000 sul i) maTi cal ke mazrad gamoyofa
SeuZl ebel ia. am SemTxvevaSi es sami raioni ekonomiurad da topografiu-
l ad dakavSirebul nic rom iyvnen, mainc cal ke samazro aparatis Seqmnas
da samazro masStabiT sameurneo muSaobis warmoebas ver SesZl eben. magr-
am, garda amisa, am sami raionis dakavSireba adgil obrivi pirobebis gamo
SeuZl ebel ia.

yornis- wunaris raioni e.i. frones saTave, am mdinaris xeobiT dakavSi-
rebul ia qarel is vel Tan da didi l iaxvis xeobi sagan yofs rustav-
zariko- j axis qedi, roml is simaRI e 6.230- 5.684 futze dabl a ar aris da warmoad-
gens bunebriv sazRvars mTasa da vel s Soris. gzebis srul i uqonl oba da
bunebrivi sazRvari rustav- zariko- j axis qedi, meurneobis mxriv, yornis-
wunaris raions akavSirebs qarTI is vel Tan_ tirifonasTan da mas saerTo
araferi aqvs l iaxvis xeobis osobasTan. am raionis erT_ erTi gamosava-
l i aris mxol od TiRva- oqona- fca- gomi da araviTar SemTxvevaSi l iax-
vis xeobis osobasTan mas kavSiri ara aqvs.

amis gamo yornisi- wunaris raionis dakavSireba didi l iaxvis seqtor-
Tan SeuZl ebel ia da ewinaaRmdegeba mis bunebriv- ekonomi ur denas vel isken,
romel Tanac is dakavSirebul ia kargi gzebiT da roml is ganuyrel naw-
il s Seadgens orografiul ad da gidrografiul ad.

rac Seexeba didi da patara l iaxvis xeobebs, aqac igive geografiul i
pirobebi SeuZl ebel s xdis am ori raionis dakavSirebas. aqac mTel i xe-
bis sigrZeze gadaWimul ia mTebis grexil i, romel Ta simaRI e 11.000- 6000
futze dabl a ar aris da zamTris TveebSi gadauval i simaRI eni arian.
amasTanave TiToeul maTgans aqvs sakuTari gamosaval i vel isaken da ekono-
miuraT dakavSirebul ni arian im vel Tan, roml iskenac geografiul ad gasava-
l i aqvT da roml is ekonomiurad ganuyrel nawil ebs warmoadgenen Ti-
Toeul i am xeobaTagani.

aseTia adgil obrivi topografiul i da sameurneo pirobebi, romel nic
SeuZl ebl ad xdiar qarTI is da raWis osuri mosaxl eobisgan erTi mazris
gamokveTas, radgan osebis mier dasaxel ebul i raionebi mokl ebul i arian
geografiul mTli anobas da Seadgenen geografiul ad da ekonomiurad
srul iad sxvadasxva provinciebis nawil ebs. aseTi CamonaWrebidan xe-
l ovnurad Semdgari administraciul i erTeul is Seqmna ganuxorciel ebl ad
unda CaiTval os topografiul i pirobebis gamo da srul iad ewinaaRmdege-
ba am raionebis sameurneo mdgomareobas.

am pirobebis gamo, Cven vfiqrobT, rom qarTI is da raWis osuri mosaxl e-
obis administraciul i marTva- gamgeoba unda moewyos ise, rogorc es Se-
efereba TviT osebis adgil obriv pirobebs.

zemoT naTqvami dan cxadia, rom xel ovnuri gamokveTa samazro erTeul is

osebisaTvis goris, duSeTis da raWis mazrebidan SeuZl ebel ia. maSasadame, osebis mosaxl eoba TiToeul i am mazrisa unda darCes im mazraSi, romel - Siac iyo aqnobamdis. amasTanave, TiToeul am raionSi garda wvri i admini- istraciul i erTeul isa_ Temisa, unda Sei qmnas sarai ono erTeul i. aseTebi iqneba: Casavl is_ raWis mazraSi, kobi sa_ duSeTis mazraSi, yornis isa, wunaris a, didi l iaxvis xeobisa da patara l iaxvis xeobisa goris mazraSi.

amave dros TiToeul i am mazris revkomSi osur mosaxl eobas eyol eba warmomadgenel i, romel ic daicavs oSta interesebs mTel i mazris masStab- Si. am ukanasknel s e.i. osuri mosaxl eobis warmomadgenel s samazro revko- mSi ufl eba unda mieces_ revkomis dadgenil eba, Tu igi ewinaaRmdegeba osuri mosaxl eobis interesebs, gaasaCivros saqarTvel os revkomSi, romel ic sadavo sakiTxis Sesaxeb gamoitans sabol oo gadawyvetil ebas.

amgvarad sakiTxis gadawyvetas gvikarnaxebs osuri mosaxl eobis adgil o- brivi geografiul i pirobebi da maTi ekonomiuri interesebi.

Sinagan saqmeTa saxal xo komisari b.kvirkvel ia (xel moweril ia).

Sinagan saqmeTa saxal xo komisariatis saqmeTa mmartvel i v.xaxanaSvil i (xel moweril ia).

dokumenti # 94

oqmi # 73 saqarTvel os social isturi sabWoTa respubl ikis rev- ol uciuri komitetis prezidiumis sxdomisa 1921 w. seqtembris 30. q. tfil isi.

revkomis Tavmj domare: s.qavTaraZe.

prezidiumis wevrebi: toroSel iZe, okuj ava.

daeswrnen: kandel aki, amiraRovi, adanaia, sturua, cincaZe, i.mi qaZe, bi bi nei Svi l i. mdivani a.sal arize.

gansaxil vel i sagani:

1) sakiTxi samxreT oseTis aRdgenis Sesaxeb.

dadgenil eba.

1. winadadeba mieces finansTa saxal xo komisars misces samxreT- oseTis revkoms Sinagan saqmeTa saxal xo komisariatis saSual ebiT ori kviris ganmavl obaSi oTxasi (400) mil ionis maneTi; 2. winadadeba mieces saxal xo meurneobis umaRI es sabWos, sisrul eSi moiyyanos saqarTvel os revkomis dadgenil eba samxreT oseTis revkomisaTvis xetyis saxerxi qarxnebis ga- dacemis Sesaxeb.

Tavmj domare: s.qavTaraZe (xel moweril ia).

mdivani al .sal arize (xel moweril ia).

dokumenti #. 95

oqmi # 87 saqarTvel os revol uciuri komitetis prezidiumis
sxdoma 1921 wl is noembris 16.
q. tfil isi

revkomis Tavmj domare: b.mdivani
prezidiumis wevrebi: qavTaraZe, oraxel aSvil i, el iava, toroSel iZe.
daeswrnen: kvirkvel ia, cincaZe, kikal iSvil i, brodski, kandel aki (ganaTI eb-
is saxal xo komisari), atoevi.

gansaxil vel i sagani:

20. samxreT oseTis avtonomiuri respubl ikis sazRvrebis sakiTxi.

dadgenil eba: sazRvrebis sakiTxis gadawyveta gadaidos, vidre adgil o-
briv momuSave komisia saTanado moxsenebas warmoadgens.

Tavmj domare: b.mdivani (xel moweril ia).

mdivani: an.afanasi evi sa (xel moweril ia).

dokumenti # 96

`samxreT oseTis- avtonomiuri ol qis sazRvris damdgeni komisiis
1921 wl is 8 dekembris sxdomis oqmi # 4

Протокол № 4

**Заседания комиссии по установлению границ Автономной Области
Юго- Осети 1921- го года 8 декабря. гор. Цхинвали**

Слушали:

Об установлении границ Автономной Области Юго- Осетии согласно данных, полученных от Наркомвнутдел, Ревкома Юго- Осетии, Цхинвальского райревкома, Местных ревкомов, мнения населения, объезда комиссией спорных пунктов и пр.

Постановили:

1. Установить следующие границы Автономной Области Юго- Осетии:

А). с. севера: пограничная линия проходит по Главному Кавказскому хребту вдоль южной государственной границы Автономной Горской С.С. Республики; Б).с. запада: Пограничная линия начинается с. границ А.С.С. Горской Республики у истоков р. Чанчахи и ее притоков, пересекает высоту 8.872; тянется вдоль хребта Цительмта, пересекает р. Чанчахи при впадении в нее притока Госке; продолжается в юго- западном направлении по отрогам горы Геске, гору Джвар, высоту 6.062, р. Гарулу, ниже сел. Нижний Кважа (Коз), р. Кведрулу восточнее с. Кведри; спускается по отрогам горы Велианта; пересекает высоту 7.616; пересекает гору Кудев немного западнее высоты 2.932; продолжается в юго- восточном направлении вдоль подножия высоты 6.013; пересекает правый приток р. Квирилы, северо- восточнее

сел.Переви; проходит восточнее с. Переви, пересекает р. Квирилу, восточнее высоты 2.170; упираясь в гору Перанга на высоте 5.201; тянется на юг по отрогам этой горы западнее горы Дзирули; пересекает последнюю и проходит по хребту Капребис- сери до высоты 4.172; продолжается по верхнему течению р. Чаратхеви и далее по отрогам хребта Капребис- сери, западнее р. Лопан. В)с. юга: Пограничная линия продолжается по дороге Чорчани- Цнелиси, пересекает р. Лопан ниже Цнелиси, поворачивает на северо- восток; проходит выше сел. Атоци, пересекает р. Проне ниже сел. Окна; тянется на юг восточнее р. Проне, пересекает левый приток р. Проне ниже сел. Кватетри; далее пересекает р. Проне (Корнисскую) выше сел. Двани; проходит параллельно с северо- западной стороны по дороге Двани –Гуджабаури; пересекает р. Большую Лиахву ниже гор. Цхинвала и выше сел. Эргнети; упирается в с.Эредви; пересекает р. Малую Лиахву выше с. Арбо, р. Чаребулу выше с.с. Мерети и Кошки; поворачивает на юго- восток, пересекает р. Отреви выше с. Плависмани и р.р. Адзуру и Меджду немного выше с.с. Адзви и Меджврисхеви; продолжается северо- восточнее с.с. Кирбали и Берушети; пересекает р. Тартлу ниже с. Цинакари, правый приток р. Лехуры выше с. Хурвалети, захватывая группу селений Орчощани, Абреви и пр. пересекает р. Лехуру севернее с.с. Сакоринтло и Одзиси; пересекает р. Ксанку выше с. Одзиси и упирается в гору Ипнианискеди.

Примечание: Ввиду того, что состоялось постановление ЦК. Компартии Грузии об образовании Автономной Области Юго- Осетии с центром в пер. Цхинвале, комиссия практически считает возможным провести границу между Юго- Осетией и Горийским уездом ниже гор. Цхинвала и выше с. Эргнети со включением в Область сс. Дгврисы, Тамарашени, Ачабети, Курта, Кехви, Кемерта, Зарцеми, Свери и Хеити, вклиненных в осетинские районы в Джавском направлении.

Примечание 2: По вопросу о включение с. Окна, Суниси, Набакеви, Тигва, Эредви в Область Юго- Осетии т.т. Шоти и Элердов голосовали против включения и остались при особом мнении.

Г). с. востока: Пограничная линия от горы Ипнианискеди поворачивает на север и пересекает котловину, проходя западнее линии с.с. Микелиант- кари, Ирмис- сопели и пр.; огибает с запада средние отроги высоты 6.409; пересекает последнюю немного восточнее у развалин церкви; далее продолжается на север вдоль течения р. Алеви, по хребту восточнее последней; пересекает гору Чартала, на высоте 8.283, гору Сапершети, гору Тахту; продолжается по линии водораздела между притоками р.р. Арагвы и Ксанки; пересекает высоты Куркуты, Мунджухе, перевал Ломисский у развалин монастыря и тянется до Джамурского перевала; поворачивает на восток, пересекает р. Арагву ниже с. Ганиси и В.- Грузинскую дорогу ниже с. Кумлицихе; продолжается на север по восточному склону горы Гуда и Крестовой пересекает гору Сандзели и огибая с востока долину р. Нарвани, проходит через гору Кабарджин на высоте 10.241; снова пересекает В.- Грузинскую дорогу и р. Терек ниже ст. Коби; огибает с юга отроги горы Чуд, пересекает последнюю на высоте 9.828 и гору Сырхисар восточнее высоты 12.040 и упирается у горы Казбек в Главный Кавказский хребет.

2. О выезде на места для проверки линии границ

2. Ввиду того, что пограничная линия бесспорна, никаких сомнений и претензий со стороны представителей Наркомвнутдел и Югосревкома т.т. Элердова, Шоти, Гаглоева и Джатиева не вызывает и вообще разногласий в комиссии не встречается, а потому исключается необходимость в дополнительной проверке, ограничиться установлением ее по имеющимся материалам, тем более что спорные районы обследованы комиссией на месте.

Председатель комиссии по установлению границ Автономной Области

Юго- Осетии. /подпись/

Член комиссии: К.Какабадзе /подпись/

Секретарь /подпись/

dokumenti # 97

amonaweri

saqarTvel os komunisturi partiis pl enumis, pol itbiuros, orgbiuros 1921 w. dekembris 12 sxdomis oqmidan (# 39)

Слушали:

Доклад Южно- Осетинской пограничной комиссии. док. т.т. Какабадзе, Гаглоева, Квирквелиа.

Постановили:

1. Местопребыванием административного центра автономной области Осети признать г. Цхинвали с распространением автономной власти на территории населенные осетинами исключая Часавальское общество, которое остается в составе Рачинского уезда и Кобийского района.

2. Детально границы автономной Осетии будут определены особой комиссией уже работающей в этом направлении.

3. Впредь до перелома настроения грузинского населения Цхинвальского района в пользу включения этого района в автономную Осетию, власть над городом и окружающими селами,

оставить в руках районного ревкома входящего в состав Горийского уезда.

С подлинным верно:

управделами ЦК Зиракишвили /подпись/

dokumenti # 98

amonaweri

saqarTvel os sabWoTa social isturi respubl ikis revol uciuri komitetis prezidiumis sxdomis oqmidan (# 94). 20 dekemberi 1921 w. q. tfil isi.

gansaxil vel i sagani.

25. samxreT oseTis avtonomiuri mxaris sazRvrebis gamomrkvevi gansakuTrebul i komisiis moxseneba.

dadgenil eba.

1. samxreT oseTis avtonomiuri mxaris administraciul centradi CaiTvali os qal . cxinval i avtonomiuri xelisuflebis im teritoriaze gavrcelebiT, sadac osebi arian dasaxlebul i, garda Casavlis sazogadoebisada kobis raionisa, romel Taganac pirveli unda darces raWis mazraSi, xolo meore duSetis mazraSi.

2. miendos Sinagan saqmeTa saxal xo komisiats avtonomiuri oseTis sazRvrebis dawvrilebiT gamomrkveva, sazRvrebis gamomrkvev arsebul komisiatanertad.

3. im dromde sanam cxinvalis raionis qarTveli mosaxleobis sul ieri mdgomareoba ar Seicvleba q. cxinvalis raionis avtonomiuri oseTis ter-

itorii miCnevis sasargebl od, q. cxinval Si da mis irgvl iv arsebul i qarTvel i mosaxl eobis sofl ebSi Zal aufl eba dautovos saraiono revkoms, romel ic Sedis goris mazraSi.

dedanTan sworia
saqmis mwarmoebel i e.bal anCivaZe (xel mowerilia)

dokumenti # 99

wunaris Temis qarTul i mosaxl eobis mier saqarTvel os central uri aRmasrul ebel i komitetisadmi 1921 wl is dekemberSi wardgenil i gancxadeba_ osi yaCaRebis mier cadenil i danaSaul is Sesaxeb

Председателю Всегрузинского Центрального Исполнительного Комитета. Жителей Цунарской теми сел. автономной области Юго- Осетии

Заявление

Великое горе и несчастье причиненное нам 13- 17 декабря бандой осетин, которая в течении 4- х дней громила все наше селение, подвергая нас, мужчин и женщин. малых и больших женщин насилиям и бесчестию, расхищая имущество, истребляя домашний скот- вынуждает нас обратиться с покорнейшей просьбой к Вам Председателю ЦИК Грузии, дабы Вы назначили своего уполномоченного для расследования и выяснения на месте всех обстоятельств дела, относительно той беды, которая струсла над жителями с Авневи. Это ужасное злодейство учинили осетины из мести за то, что в 1920 году в нашем селе купца осетина Петра Гогишвили с женою убили в лесу. Убийцы, несмотря на все старания властей и местных жителей, до сих пор не обнаружены.

Во главе разгромившей наше село вооруженной банды стоял брат убитого купца житель с. Балты Давид Гогишвили.

По нашему мнению погром был учинен из- за личных интересов, в чем подписуются нижеследующие граждане с. Авневи.

(идут подписи 35 лиц).
1921 г. декабрь.

goris mazraSi mcxovrebi qarTul i sofl is mosaxl eobis
saprotesto weril ebi (nimuSisaTvis vbeWdav mxol od
ramdenimes)

saprotesto weril ebi meore etapi (1921 wl is 24_ 31 dekemberi)

dokumenti # 100

oqmi

sof. ergneTi. 1921 w. dekembris 20 dRe. Cven sofel ergneTSi mcxovre-
bel ni vadgenT ra am oqms safuZvl ad maszed, rom gadaeces es oqmi Cvens
mier amorCeul kacebs_ e.i. deputatebs saqarTvel os sabWoTa mTavrobaSTan
warsadgenad. vacnobebT ra s.s. mTavrobas, rom gagvagebinon Sinaarsi im
gadawyvetil ebi, rac gadawyda mTavrobis komisiis mier daba cxinval Si
xal xis yril obis dros, romel ic iyo mowveul i komisiis mier dekembris
ricxvebSi, viTomda cxinval is raionisa da misi sofl ebi oseb is xel Si
gadacemis Sesaxeb. ganmeorebiT Cven 60 koml i mcxovrebn i protests vacxa-
debT cxinval is oseb is xel Si gadacemaze. Tu vini cobaa, rom Cvens pirvel s
dadgenil ebas uars gamoucxadeben da damatebiT gagzavnil i Cveni del e-
gatebis piriT gamoTqmul protests ar miacqeven yuradRebas saqarTvel os
sabWoTa mTavrobaSi, maSin mogvces sxvagan bina, rom gadavsaxl deT rai on-
idan, rom ver moxvdebodes Cveni Tval i Cvens midamoeb s. komisiis winaSe
iyo moTxovnil eba, rom komisi as waekiTxa CvenTvis yril obis rezol ucia.
amis Sesaxeb yril obaze gvqonda gamocxadebul i piradaT, meore dRes vel odiT
rom gamogvcxadoda... weril obiTi Sinaarsi miRebul i gadawyvetil ebisa,
magram davrciT motyuebul ni komisiis mier. Tu moisurvebs s.s. mTavroba,
rom danamdvil ebiT gaigos Cveni gul is pasuxi, gavugzavniT xuTi kacis
magivrad qudze kacs, an 10 kacs amorCeul T. moviTxovT, raTa oseb is revko-
mma izrunos Tavisi saqmeebi awarmoos da moewyos d. j avaSi, radgan j ava
Seadgens maT centrs, razedac xel s vawerT.

xel s awers 60 kaci. yovel i koml idan erTi.
dadasturebul ia saTemo revkomis beWdiTa da xel moweriT.

dokumenti #. 101

oqmi

1921 wl is dekembris 24 dResa, Cven sofel browl eTSi mcxovrebn i vadgenT
ra am oqms sofl urad, maszed rom es oqmi gadaeces Cvens mier amorCeul
kacebs, e. i. del egatebs s.s.r. mTavrobaSTan warsadgenad, rom gagvagebi non
Sinaarsi im gadawyvetil ebi, raic gadaswyda mTavrobis komisiis mier daba
cxinval Si xal xis yril obis dros, romel ic mowveul i iyo komisiis mier

ama wl is dekembris ricxvebSi, viTom cxinval isa da misi raionis osebis xel Si gadacemis Sesaxeb. Cven 60 koml i sofl is mcxovrebn ganmeorebiT vacxadebT protests cxinval isa da misi raionis osebis xel Si gadacemis Sesaxeb. Tu vinicobaa, rom Cvens dadgenil ebas uars gamoucxadeben da Cvens mier gagzavnil i del egatebis piriT naTqvam protests mTavroba j ero-van yuradRebas ar miqcevs, maSin sxvagan mogvces miwa da gadagvasaxl on, saidanac ver miswvdes Cveni Tval i da yuri Cvens midamoebSa. komisiis winaSe iyo moTxovnil eba, rom komisiis Cvens yril obaze waekiTxa cxinval is yril obis rezolucia, an or dReSi weril obiT gamogvcxadoda revkomis gadawyvetil ebis Sinaarsi, rac piradad yril obazed gvqonda gamocxadebul i. magram, komisiis mier davrciT motyuebul i. Tu moisurvebs s.s mTavroba, rom danamdvil ebiT gaigos Cveni gul is pasuxi, ori kacis magier gavagzavniT qudzed kacss, an ki dev 10 kacss amorCeviT. pirvel i moviTxovT, rom oseTis revkomma izrunos Tavisi bina daidos d. j avaSi, romel ic aris maTTvis Sua adgil i da xerxiani. xel s vawerT sofl is mcxovrebn i.

xel s awers 60 kaci, yovel i koml idan erTi.
dadasturebul ia saTemo revkomis beWdiTa da xel moweriT.

dokumenti # 102

rwmunebis qaral di

1921 wl is dekembris 24 dResa, Cven qvemore amis xel is momwerni goris mazris, cxinval is raionis sof. sversa da qemertSi macxovrebel i moqal aqeni, Cvens saerTo krebazed erTxmad virCevT del egatad amave sof. qemertSi mcxovrb Saqro isakis Ze kasraZes. visac kasraZe amoirCevs Cven winaaRmdegni ar viqnebiT.

saqarTvel os central ur revkomSi mTavrobaTan gasagzavn del egatebs Cvengan eval eba mxol od Semdegi: warsdgnen saqarTvel os mTavrobis winaSe da gadascen Cveni ukmayofil eba imis Sesaxeb, rom erovnebaTa Tvi Tgamorkvebis aRsasrul ebl ad raistvis unda viqneT moqceul ni osebis Tvi Tgamorkvebis fargl ebSi? vinaidan mTel i sami mxare cxinval is raionisa da Cvenc Crdil oeti, mci re gamonakl isiT dasaxl ebul i varT qarTul enazed mosaubre, memkvidre qarTvel ebiT.

xel s awers 65 kaci, yovel i koml idan erTi.
dadasturebul ia saTemo revkomis beWdiTa da xel moweriT.

dokumenti # 103

oqmi

1921 wl isa dekembris 24 dRes, Cven sof. meRvrekisis mcxovrebnı vadgenT ra am oqms, sofl urad maszed, rom gadaeces es oqmi Cvens mier amorCeul kacebs, e.i. del egatebs s.s.r. mTavrobaTan warsadgenad, rom gagvagebinon Sinaarsi im gadawyvetil ebisa, rac gadawyda mTavrobis komisiis mier daba cxinval Si saxal xo yril obis dros, romel i yril obac iyo mowveul i komisiis mier ama wl is dekembris ricxvebSi, Sesaxeb imisa, rom cxinval i da misi raioni viTom gadadis osebis xel Si. ganmeorebiT vucxadebT Cven 120 koml i mcxovrebnı sof. meRvrekisani protests cxinval is da misi raonis osebze gadacemis Sesaxeb. Tu vinicobaa rom Cvens weril obiT pirvel dadgenil ebas da Cveni gagzavnı i del egatebis piriT gamoTqmul protests ar miaqceven j erovan yuradRebas da uars gamoucxadeben, s.s.r. mTavrobam maSin mogvces bina da sxvagan gadagvasaxl os saidanac, rom ver miswvdebodes Cveni Tval i da yuri Cvens midamoebis. komisiis winaSe iyo moTxovnil eba, rom komisiias CvenTvis waekiTxa yril obis rezol ucia. komisiam gadmogvca, rom me- 2- e dRes iqneboda gadacemul i revkomebSi qaRal debi yril obis Sinaarsis Sesaxeb, magram araviTari pasuxebi ar iyo da davrciT motyuebul ni komisiis mier. s.s.r. mTavroba Tu moısurvebs danamdvil ebiT gaigos Cveni gul is pasuxi, vugzavniT ori kacıs magier qudzed kacss, an ki dev 10 kacss amorCeviT. pirvel s moviTxovT, rom oseTma izrunos Tavisi revkomis bina j avaSi gadaitanos, romel ic aris maTTvis Sua adgil i da xerxiani. razedac xel s vawerT sofl el ebi:

xel s awers 30 kaci, yovel i koml idan erTi.
dadasturebul ia saTemo revkomis beWdiTa da xel moweriT.

dokumenti # 104

oqmi

1921 wl is dekembris 24 dRes, Cven sofel ıeredvis mcxovrebnı vadgenT am oqms sofl urad imis Sesaxeb, rom gadaeces es oqmi Cven mier amorCeul kacebs, e.i. del egatebs s.s.r. mTavrobaTan warsadgenad. del egatebs eval ebaT gaagebinos sofl is mTavrobis mier cxinval is raionSi gamogzavnı i komisiis muSaobisa da gadawyvetil ebis Sinaarsi. komisia gamogzavnı i iyo im mizniT, rom xal xis dakiTxviT adgil obriv gamoerkvia_ winaaRmdegni xom ar iqnebodnen, rom cxinval is raonis sofl ebi gadasul iyven oseTis republ ikis mmarTvel obis qveS. zemoaRniSnul i komisiis mier daba cxinval Si mowveul i raonis sofl ebis warmomadgenel Ta yril obaze gamoırkva, rom xal xi erTxmad winaaRmdegia saqarTvel os republ ikas CamoSordes cxinval is raioni da mieweros oseTis republ ikas. miuxedavad aseTi aSkara protestisa, yril obaze ar iyo oficial urad gamotanil i rezol ucia miRebul i da dadasturebul i yril obis mier. vinai dan aseTi mopyroba mSromel i xal xisadmi srul iad usamarTI od mi gvaCnia, vinai dan xal xma ar

icis komisia ra azriT da gadawyvetil ebiT warsdgebra s.s.r. mTavrobasTan am friad mwvave da mniSvnel ovani sakiTxis Sesaxeb. virCevT del egatebs da moviTxovT maTma gaarkvion zemoaRniSnul i sakiTxi da ganmeorebiT moaxsenon mTavrobas, rom sof. eredvis 250 koml is mcxovrebnI, erTxmad rogorc erTi kaci mTel i Tavisi arsebiT winaaRmdegia oseTis respubl i kasTan SeerTebisa. sof. irCevs gadasaxl des, aiyaros am adgil ebidan, sxva bina moZebnos, vinem saqarTvel os respubl i kas CamoSordes... masTan erTad vaval ebT Cvens del egats gadascen s.s.r. mTavrobas, rom ukeTu maT ar dauj ereben am oqmis simarTl es, maSin Cven mzada varT qudze kaci gavgzavnoT mTavrobasTan Cveni gul is nadebis gadasacemad.

xel s awers 277 kaci, yovel i koml idan erTi.
dadasturebul ia saTemo revkomis beWdiTa da xel moweriT.

dokumenti # 105

oqmi

1921 wl is 25 dekembers Cven sofel qordbis mcxovrebl ebma movaxdineT kreba. krebazed erTxmad davadgineT, rom Sedges oqmi sofl urad, maszed, rom Cvens mier amorCeul kacebs, e.i. del egatebs, romel sac dicis Temidan gavgzavniT s.s.r. mTavrobasTan, vacnoboT, rom gagvagebi non Sinaarsi mTavro- bis gagzavnil i komisiis mier a. w. 5 dekembers cxinval Si mowveul i krebis gadawyvetil ebisa, _viTom samxreT oseTis xel Si cxinval is gadacemis Sesax- eb. Tu vinicobaa marTal i gamodga zemoxsenebul i saqme, maSin ganmeorebiT vucxadebT protests Cven s.qordbis mcxovrebnI_ 100 koml i osebis xel Si cxinval is gadacemis Sesaxeb gadawyvetil ebas. Tu vinicobaa Cvens am pro- tests da im pirvel i uaris Tqmas yril obisas ar miqcevs j erovan yura- dRebas mTavroba, maSin mogveces bina da gadagvasaxl on Sors, sadme, rom Cvens Tval sa da yurs ver moswvdes Cveni adgil ebis kvnesa da ar atirebd- nen Cvens Zvel ad ganTqmul gmirul Cveul ebas.

cxinval is yril obam mostXova s.s.r. mier gamogzavnil komisi as, rom CvenTvis waekiTxa yril obazed miRebul i rezol ucia. magram, gamogvecxada sityvi- erad da ara weril obiT. Segvpir dnen, rom gadawyvetil ebis Sinaarss meore dRes weril obiT gagvacnobdnen, magram davrciT motyuebul ni komisiis mier. s.s.r. mTavroba Tu moisurvebs, rom danamdvil ebiT gaigos yovel i Cveni mcxovrebis gul is pasuxi, sofl idan gavugzavniT qudze kacss. s.s.r. mTavro- bisagan kidev moviTxovT, rom samxreT oseTis revkoms da maT xel qveiT osebs amcnos, rom izrunon, raTa Tavianti bina dai don d. j avaSi, romel ic aris maTTvis Sua adgil i. meore is rom, nu daaviwydebaT osebs da nu mihyvebian amayobas, rom ar gadmoabij on Taviant samzRvars, Tu rom undaT, rom iyves Cvensa da maT Soris sitkboeba da Zmuri kavSiri da ar moxdes araviTari ganxeTqil eba. amasTanave rac gamosca dekretebi S.s.s.k. # 21 Jurnal i `moambe~, razedac Cvens sakuTar xel s vawerT sofel i.

xel s awers 100 kaci, yovel i koml idan erTi.
xel mowera dadasturebul ia saTemo beWdiTa da xel moweriT.

dokumenti # 106

rwmunebis qaral di

1921 w. dekembris 25 dResa, Cven qvemore xel is momwerni sof. Zarwemis (cxinval is raioni) mcxovrebn moqal aqeni, Cvens saerTo krebazed vasax-el ebT da virCevT q. Tbil isSi gasagzavn del egatebs, amave sofel Si mcx-ovreb xariton daviTis Ze gogiZes. visac endoba gogiZe da amoirCevs, Cven xel is momwerni winaaRmdegobas ar gavuwevT. Cveni amomrCevl is piriT, del -egatebs eval ebaT Semdegi: warsdgnen saqarTvel os centris winaSe da moax-senon mTavrobas Cveni moul odnel i aRSfoTeba imis Sesaxeb, Tu ristvis unda viyoT moqceul ni oseTis fargl ebSi, erovnebaTa TviTgamorkvevis aRSasrul ebl ad. miT umetes, rom maTi ena CvenTvis srul i ad gaugebaria da ucxo. rac Seexeba erovnebaTa umravl esobas, mTel i es Crdil oeTi mxare raionisa, mcire gamonaki siT, dasaxl ebul ia qarTul enazed mosaubre memkvidre qarTvel ebiT. razedac xel s vawerT.

xel s awers 70 kaci, yovel i koml idan erTi.
dadasturebul ia saTemo revkomis beWdiTa da xel moweriT.

dokumenti #. 107

oqmi

1921 wel s 25 dekembrisas Cven s. arboSi mcxovrebl ebma movaxdineT kreba. krebazed erTxmad davadgineT, rom Sedges oqmi sofl urad, maszed, rom gadavceT Cvens mier amorCeul kacebs, e.i. del egatebs, roml ebsac dicis Temidan gavgzavniT s.s.r. mTavrobasTan, raTa mTavrobas vacnoboT, rom gagvagebinon Sinaarsi im gadawyvetil ebisa, rac mTavrobis gamogzavnil i komisiis mier 5 dekembers daba cxinval Si mowveul ma krebam gadawyvita, viTom da cxinval is gadacemis Sesaxeb samxreT oseTis xel Si. Tu vinioba marTal i gamodga zemoxsenebul i saqme, maSin, Cven s. arbos mcxovrebn (47 koml i) ganmeorebiT vacxadebT protests osebis xel Si cxinval is gadace-mis Sesaxeb. Tu viniobaa Cvens am protestzed da yril obis mier im pirve-l i uaris Tqmazed ar miaqcevs yuradRebas s.s.r. mTavroba, maSin mogvcen bina da gadagvasaxl on Sors sadme, rom Cvens Tval sa da gul s ver miswde-bodes Cveni adgil ebis kvnesa da ar atirebdnen Cvens Zvel ad ganTqmul s gul gmirobas. cxinval is yril obam mostxova s.s.r. mTavrobis gamogzavnil komisiis, rom CvenTvis waekiTxa yril obazed miRebul i rezol ucia, magram gamogvecxada sityvierad da ara weril obiT. Segvpirdnen, rom revkomebis saxel iT meore dRes weril obiT gamogvecxadeboda Sinaarsi gadawyvetil eb-isa, magram davrciT motyuebul ni komisiis mier. Tu rom moisurvebs s.s.m. rom danamdvil ebiT gaigos yovel i Cveni mcxovrebis gul is pasuxi, gavugza-vniT Tund qudzed kacss sofl idan. ki dev moviTxovT, rom mTavrobam amc-nos samxreT oseTis revkoms, rom izrunon TavianTi bina gadai tanon dj avaSi, romel ic aris maTTvis Sua adgil i, meore is, rom nu daaviwydebaT osebs, rom TavianT sazRvrebzed ar gadmoabij on, Tu rom undaT Cvensa da maT So-

ris iyves sitkboeba da Zmuri ganwyobil eba da ar moxdes araviTari ganxeTqil eba. amasTanave, Tanaxmad gamocemul i dekretisa Jurnal i 'moambe-S.s.s.k. # 21. razedac Cvens sakuTar xel s vawerT:

xel s awers 47 kaci, yovel i koml idan erTi.
dadasturebul ia saTemo revkomis beWdiTa da xel moweriT.

dokumenti # 108

oqmi

1921 wel i, dekembris 26 dRe. Cven sofel dicSi mcxovrebnI (goris mazra), vadgenT ra am oqms sofl urad maszed, rom gadaeces es oqmi Cvens mier amorCeul kacebs e.i. del egatebs saqarTvel os sabWoTa respubl ikis mTavrobasTan warsadgenad, rom gagvagebinon Sinaarsi im gadawyvetil ebisa, rac gadauwyvetia mTavrobis gagzavnil komisi as amxanag kakabaZis Tavmj - domareobiT daba cxinval Si dekembris ricxvebSi mowveul yril obazed, viTom cxinval isa da misi raionis osebis xel Si gadacemis Sesaxeb. Cven 150 koml i mcxovrebnI ganmeorebiT vucxadebT da vacxadebT protests cxinval is osebis xel Si gadacemaze. komisiis winaSe iyo moTxovnil eba, rom komisi as CvenTvis waekiTxa yril obis rezol ucia. maT wagvikiTxes, ase, `kreba erTxmad uars acxadebs, rom cxinval i gadaeces centr ad oseTs.- Cven moviTxoveT am is piri, rom sabuTad gvqonoda maTi rezol ucia, komisi ac dagvpi rda xval dil iT revkomSi davabeWdinebT da gadmogegezavnebaT Tqvens revkomSi o. meore, mesame dRes gavgzavneT kacebi revkomSi rezol uciis misaRebad, magram ver veRirseT mis miRebas da davrciT motyuebul ni komisiis mier. Tu moisurvebs saqarTvel os sabWoTa respubl ikis mTavroba, rom danamd-vil ebiT gaigos xal xis gul is pasuxi gavugzavniT ori sami kacis magier qudzed kacss, anda iyos gamogzavnil i axal i komisi a kidev xal xis dasakiTxad cxinval Si. pirvel s moviTxovT Cven, rom oseTis revkomi, romel ic aris cxinval Si iyos gadatanil i sj avaSi, romel ic Seadgens oseTis Suagul s, razedac xel s vawerT:

xel s awers 150 kaci, yovel i koml idan erTi.
dadasturebul ia saTemo revkomis beWdiTa da xel moweriT.

dokumenti # 109

oqmi

1921 w. 26 qristeSobisTve. sof. tirZnisi

Cven qvemore amisa xel ismomwerni goris mazris sof. tirZnisSi mcxovrebnI vadgenT am oqms sofl urad sasofl o yril obaze da vaZl evT

Cvens mier amorCeul del egatebs s.s.r. mTavrobasTan warsadgenad Sesaxeb imisa, rom gvecnobos Sinaarsi im gadawyvetil ebisa, romel ic gamoitana sabWoTa mTavrobis mier gamogzavnil ma sagamomZiebl o komisiyam a.w. 5 dekembers cxinval is saxal xo yril obaze, romel sac daeswro mTel i cxinval is raionis revkomis yvel a sofl ebis warmomadgenl ebi. sagamomZiebl o komisiyam val ad ido gaego xal xis, e.i. cxinval is revkomis fargl ebSi mcxovrbTa azri, d. cxinval is revkomisa da mTel i misi raionis osebis xel Si gadasvl is Sesaxeb. 5 dekembers cxinval is raionis revkomis fargl ebSi mcxovrebl ebma TavianTi del egatebis piriT erTxmad ganacxades protesti cxinval is raionis osebis xel Si gadasvl aze. maT, e.i. del egatebma aSkarad da gul axdil ad ganacxades: Cven, rogorc qarTvel ebs gvsurs da daJinebiT vacxadebT: rom cxinval i Tavisi raioniT darCes ise rogorc iyo, e.i. darCes saqarTvel os respubl ikis fargl ebSi. Cven gvsurs sul iTa da gul iT vemsaxuroT saqarTvel os mTavrobas. Cven mzaTa varT saqarTvel os mTavrobis yovel i moTxovnil eba da mowodeba dauyovnebl iv Sevasrul oT. rac Seexeba osebs, maT aqvT TavianTi centri d. j ava Tavisi midamoebiT, maTi teritoria gansazRvrul ia, kargad ician TavianTi mij nebi ij avaxiSvil is `saqarTvel os sazRvrebis rukiT- (gamocema 1919 w.) naTI ad aris naCvenebl Tu romel i erovneba sad cxovrobda aqomamde da sad unda icxovron exl a. Cven mudamJams gvqonda da exl aca gvaqvs osebtan Zmuri, megobruli, naTesauri kavSir- ganwyobil eba. exl ac gul axdil ad vacxadebT, rom maTTan_ osebtan Cven mtroba- qiSpobas ar gavyvebiT. qarTvel ebma icxovron Taviant fargl ebSi, hqondeT gansazRvrul i mij nebi, hyavdeT Tavianti mosamsaxure- mosamarTI e. osebma kidev Taviant fargl ebSi, ganagon Tavianti saqme, rogorc TiTona surT. es ori erovneba Taviant sazRvrebs nu gadavl en. qarTvel ebis centri iyo da iyves d. cxinval i, xol o osebis a d. j ava. maTve ganacxades (del egatebma) Cven Tu gvekiTxebian am saganze, Cven cxadad da gul axdiT vambobT: Cven gvsurs vicxovroT s.s.s. respubl ikis fargl ebSi da Tu s. mTavroba moisurvebs Cvenda uneburad Cveni wadil is wi naaRmdeg osebze gadawera_ gadacemas, maSin vTxovT s. mTavrobas: mogvcen sxva adgil as sacxovrebel i bina da dagvasaxl on s.s. respubl ikis fargl ebSi iseT adgil as, saidanac verc Cveni Tval i da verc gul i ver miswvdebodes Cvens mier datovebul midamoebis... sagamomZiebl o komisiyas del egatebma mostxoves weril obiT ecnobebinaT maTTvis gamoZiebis Sedegad miRebul i rezol ucia. pasuxs meore dRemdis ucades del egatebma, magram amaod. maT vera gaiges ra da Taviant saxl ebSi dabrundnen. egonaT, simarTI es revkomebis SemweobiT gavi gebTo, magram vera gaiges ra da darCnen motyuebul ni. ai, dRemdisac vel odiT_ gavi gebT rameso, magram tyuil ad. ai, amis gamo xel axl ad virCevT del egatebs da pirdapir vagzavniT s. mTavrobasTan... maT vaval ebT gai gon saqmis viTareba. saqarTvel os mTavroba Tu moisurvebs danamdvil ebiT gai gos Cveni gul is pasuxi, Cveni gul is nadebi da am Cvenis oqmiT ver dakmayofil deba da es sakmarisi ar iqneba, maSin Cven del egatebis magier Tundac qudzed kacss gamovgzavniT. Cven vacxadebT; cxinval i Tavisi raioniT darCes ise, rogorc iyo aqobamde, e.i. s.s.s. respubl ikis fargl ebSi, xol o osebis revkomma izrunos, Tavisi revkomi gadaitanos d. j avaSi. iq awarmoos Tavisi saqmeebi ise, rogorc TiTona surdeT. ai, es aris Cveni gul is pasuxi, razedac xel s vawerT:

xel s awers 250 kaci, yovel i koml idan erTi.
dadasturebul ia saTemo revkomis beWdiTa da xel moweriT.

dadgenil eba

1921 wl is 26 dekembris s.s. dvanis, avl evisa da nul is (cxinval is raioni)

Cven qvemore piradad xel is momwerel ni goris mazris cxinval is raionis s.s. dvanis, nul is da avl evis mcxovrebel ni ama ricxvebSi SevikribeniT sof. dvanSi saerTo krebaze da viqoniet msj el oba q. cxinval is da misi raionis samxreT oseTis administraciul marTva- gameobaSi mosal odnel i gadasvl is Sesaxeb. am metad mZime da sayuradRebo sakiTxis gamosarkvevad, raTa xal xs Tavidan ascil eboda is provokacia, raica iwvevda am or moZme erTa Sua mtrobasa da SuRI s. s.s.r. mTavrobis mier daniSnul i da gamogzavnil i iyoEkomisia amx. kakabaZis Tavmj domareobiT, romel sac, rogorc gavigeT daval ebul i hqonda, rom SehkiTxoda q. cxinval is da misi raionis mosaxl eobas, roml ebic Sedgeba sul qarTvel ebisagan sul mciredi gamonakl isiT, Tu ra azrisani iyven q. cxinval is samxreT oseTis marTva- gameobl obaSi gadacemis Sesaxeb. amaze yvel a sofl ebsa gvyavda q. cxinval Si gagzavnil i xuT- xuTi kaci_ sofl is ndobiT aRWurvil i. kreba moxda q. cxinval Si daaxl oebiT am sami kviris winad. krebaze daeswrnen yvel a sofl is warmomadgenel ni (45 sofel i). krebam moismina ra komisiis moxseneba cxinval is bediRbal ze, [komisiis Tavmj domarem S.v.] Tavis moxsenebas misca ganmar teba, rom samxreT oseTis administraciul centr ad qal . cxinval is gadacema araviTari sawinaaRmdego ar unda iyves qarTvel ebisatvis, da amasTanave winadadebiT mimarTa krebas_ gamoeTqva Tavisi azri am sakiTxis Sesaxeb. krebam erTxmad kategoriul ad protesti ganacxada q. cxinval is da misi raionis samxreT oseTze gadacemis Sesaxeb. krebam agreTve gamostqva azri, rom yovel mxriv daxmarebas vuvevT da gavuvevT kidec Cvens moZme osebs, rogorc yofil i menSevikuri mTavrobis Sovinisturi politikis msxverpl T da ganadgurebul T ekonomiurad. garda amisa, krebam survil i gamostqva da didi aRfrTovanebiT Sexvda oseTis erovnul TviT-gamorkvevas da xazi gausva, rom es TviTgamorkveva moxdes Tavidanve erovnul i niSnit gl exebSi. rac Seexeba imas, rom q. cxinval i Tavisi raioniT gadaeces samxreT oseTs, aseTi moTxovnil eba krebam mizanSeuwonl ad da ukanonod scno, radgan igi gamoiwvevs Cveni eris politikurad da zneCveul ebriv daCagvra- damonavebas. krebam didi protesti erTxmad ganucxada komisiis q. cxinval is da misi raionis samxreT oseTis marTva- gameobaSi gadacemis Sesaxeb.

didi xnis bWobis Semdeg, erTxmad davadgineT Semdegi: Tu ramdenad gauwia angariSi komisi am xal xis protests, an ranairi rezolucia gamoitana, aris Tu ara igi xal xis survil is damakmayofil ebel i, dRevandl amd is am komisiis dadgenil ebis Sinaarsis Sesaxeb Cven araferi ar gagvigia. amitom, amazed mivmarTavT s.s.r. mTavrobas, raTa Cven mier amorCeul i del egatis pirit gvacnobos vitareba am friad saWiro sakiTxis Sesaxeb. imeds gamovTqvamT, rom vinaidan q. cxinval i iTvl eboda da iTvl eba kidec rogorc geografiul i mdebareobiT, agreTve misi garSemortymul i qarTvel ebiT dasaxl ebul i sofl ebiT qarTl is Suagul kuTxed, amistvis ... imeds gamovTqvamT, rom muSur- gl exuri mTavroba angariSs gauvevs xal xis samarTl ian moTxovnil ebas, Cven da osebs Soris mosal odnel i SuRI is Tavidan asacil ebl ad q. cxinval i Tavisi raioniT dastovos s.s. respublikis marTva-

gamgeobis fargl ebSi. del egatad erTxmad amovirCieT da ndobiT aRvWur-
veT: 1) mose WavWavaZe, 2) JamieraSvil i, 3)Sio gobej iSvil i da 4) nikol ai
medoiZe. amaze Cven sakuTar xel s vawerT:

xel s awers 230 kaci, yovel i koml idan erTi.
dadasturebul ia saTemo revkomis beWdiTa da xel moweriT.

dokumenti # 111

dadgenil eba

1921 wl is dekembris 27- s s.s. zemo niqozisa, qvemo niqozisa, zemo xviTisa da qvemo xviTisa (cxinval is raioni)

Cven qvemo amisa xel is momwerni g. [goris S.v.] mazris cxinval is raio-
nis s.s. zemo niqozisa, qvemo niqozisa, zemo xviTisa da qvemo xviTisa mcx-
ovrebni moqal aqeni SevikribeniT zemo niqozSi 2/3 mesamedze meti mcxovre-
bl ebisa saerTo krebazed da viqonieT msj el oba Semdegze:

vinaidan, saqarTvel os sabWoTa mTavrobis mier q. cxinval Si 6 kacisagan
Semdgari komisia xal xis SesakiTxad da imis gamosarkvevad iyo warmogza-
vnil i, Tu ra sazRvrebSi unda moeqces samxreT oseTis avtonomia. ramdena-
dac aRniSnul ma komisi am msj el obis Semdeg Tavisi arc weril obiTi da
arc sityvieri rezol ucia ar gamoucxada cxinval is da misi raionidan
damswre del egatebs, amitom erTxmad davadgineT: amovirCieT zemoaRni Snu-
l i sofl ebidan; 1)daviT saZagl iSvil i; 2)giga da ivane l omsaZeebi, rol eb-
sac vaval ebT warsdgnen saqarTvel os sabWoTa respublikis mTavrobis
winaSe da sTxovon gamoucxadon aRniSnul i sofl el ebis del egatebs is
rezol ucia, romel ic gamoitana gamogzavnil ma komisi am q. cxinval is da
misi raionis Sesaxeb. xol o ukeTu rezol ucia ise ar aris gamotanil i
rogorc damswreTa survil i iyo, am SemTxvevaSi ufl ebas vaZl evT ze-
moaRniSnul Cvens warmomadgenl ebs gaacnon mTavrobas namdvil i mdgomar-
eoba q. cxinval is da misi raionis Sesaxeb Semdegi saxiT:

q. cxinval i uxsovari droidan, rogorc istoriul ad ise eTnografiu-
l ad Seadgenda da Seadgens saqarTvel os gul s_ saqarTvel os ganuyofel
nawil s. mas Crdil oeTiT, ToTxmeti versis manZil ze, e.i. sof. sveris Tavam-
de, Crdil o- aRmosavl eTis mxriv 25- 30 versis manZil ze, e.i. sof. awrisxe-
vis Tavamde, aRmosavl eTiT meWuris xevis zonis midgmamde, samxreTiT 16
versis manZil iT da dasavl eTiT 8- 12 verszed Semortymul i aqvs wminda
qarTul i mosaxl eobiT dasaxl ebul i 42 qarTul i sofl ebi, romel Ta ko-
ml Ta raodenoba udris 5500 da Seadgens cxinval is raions. TviT q. cxin-
val is umravl es nawil s mosaxl eobisas sul mciredi gamonakl isiT somx-
ebisa da osebisas, Seadgens namdvil qarTvel ebrael Ta mosaxl eoba. amit-
om, erTxmad vadgenT: eTxovos saqarTvel os s.s. respublikis mTavrobas
Cvenis zemoaRniSnul i warmomadgenl ebis saxiT miiRos Cveni Txovna da q.
cxinval i Tavisi raioniT dastovos qarTvel Ta eris_ saqarTvel os mTavro-
bis marTva- gamgeobaSi da araviTr SemTxvevaSi neba ar misces samxreT
oseTis revkoms iqonios raime administraciul i centri arc cxinval Si da
arc mis raionSi, Tu mTavrobas ar unda, rom Cvensa da osebs Soris gaiTxa-

ros saSvil iSvil o ufskrul i.

vatanT ra am dadgenil ebas Cvens warmomadgenl ebs, imeds gamovTqvamT, mTavroba Cvens samarTI ian moTxovnil ebas Seiwynarebs da Tavze ar mogva-xvevs imas rac xal xs ar surs. razedac xel s vawerT:

xel s awers 101 kaci, yovel i koml idan erTi.

dadasturebul ia saTemo revkomis beWdiTa da xel moweriT.

dokumenti # 112

oqmi

1921 wl is qristesSobisTvis 28 dRes, Cven qvemore amisa xel is momwerebma goris mazris cxinval is raionis sofel kexvis, movaxdineT kreba da amov-irCieT kacebi zura gl axoasZe mel anaSvil i da daTa ivanesZe kaxniaSvil i qal aqis centrSi gasagzavnad maszed, rom amaT danamdvil ebiT gaigon, daba cxinval is raionis sofl ebi gadasul a Tu ara samxreT oseTis gankar-gul ebis qveS. gaigon Tu ra mizeziT CamogvaSores Cven saqarTvel os. es aris Cveni srul i oqmi da xel sac vawerT mTel i sofel i.

xel s awers 64 kaci. yovel i koml idan erTi.

dadasturebul ia saTemo revkomis beWdiTa da xel moweriT.

dokumenti # 113

sofl is ganaCeni

31 dekembers 1921 wl isa Cven sofl. TamaraSenis mcxovrebl ebi Sevikriben-iT da viqonieT msj el oba sagangebo komisiis Tavmj domaris kakabaZis mier gakeTebul gancxadebaze_ samxreT oseTis mmarTvel obaSi cxinval is gada-cemis Sesaxeb. miviReT ra mxedvel obaSi misi gancxadeba, Cven erTxmad davadgineT, rom ecnobos umaRI es mTavrobas Cveni ganmeorebiTi da dabe-j iTebiTi uaris Tqma Cvengan amorCeul i da ndobiT aRWurvil i kacis umaRI es mTavrobaSi gagzavniT. eTxovos mTavrobas, rom mi iRos Cveni wrfel i gancx-adeba da Cvens sofel s nu gadascems samxreT oseTs mmarTvel obaSi, rad-gan mTel i sofel i qarTvel i mcxovrebl ebisgan Sesdgeba. rac Seexeba mezobl ur ganwyobil ebas, Cven kavSirs ar gavwyvetT da SeZl ebisdagvarad yovel mxriv davexmarebiT osebs, rogorc dacemul ebs.

xel s awers 51 kaci, yovel i koml idan erTi.

dadasturebul ia saTemo revkomis beWdiTa da xel moweriT.

dokumenti # 114

sofi is ganaCeni

31 dekembers 1921 w. Cven sof. dgvrissi mcxovrebl ebi SevikribeniT da viqonieT msj el oba sagangebo komisiis Tavmj domare kakabaZis gancxadeb-
is_ cxinval is samxreT oseTis mmarTvel obaSi gadacemis Sesaxeb. miviReT
ra mxedvel obaSi misi gancxadeba, Cven erTxmad davadgineT, rom Cvens mier
amorCeul i da ndobiT aRWurvil i kacis (tato burnaZe, sandro gel aSvil i)
vagzavniT, raTa umaRI es mTavrobas ecnobos Cveni ganmeorebiTi dabej iTe-
biTi uaris Tqma aRniSnul gadawyvetil ebaze. vTxovT mTavrobas, rom mi-
iRos Cveni wrfel i gancxadeba da Cvens sofel s nu gadascems samxreT
oseTis mmarTvel obaSi, radgan mTel i sofel i qarTvel i mcxovrebl ebisa-
gan Sedgeba. rac Seexeba mezobl ur ganwyobil ebas, Cven kavSirs ar vwyvetT
osebTan da SeZl ebisdagvarad davexmarebiT rogorc dacemul ebs.

xel s awers 80 kaci, yovel i koml idan erTi.
dadasturebul ia saTemo revkomis beWdiTa da xel moweriT.

dokumenti # 115

rwmuneba

1922 wel sa ianvris 3 dResa, Cven qvemore amis xel is momwerni sof. qurTa-
Si mcxovrebi moqal aqeni, qal aq Tbil isSi wasasvl el ad, Cvens saerTo kre-
bazed del egatebad virCevT amave sofel Si mcxovrebt: vasil gl axosZe
xaWapurizes da il ia ivanesZe yanCaSvil s. aRniSnul i del egatebi moval eni
arian moaxsenon saqarTvel os central ur mTavrobas Cveni uki duresi pro-
testi imis Sesaxeb, Tu ristvis varT Cven moqceul ni osTa fargl ebSi
TviTgamorkvevis aRsasrul ebl ad. mTel i cxinval is raioni dasaxl ebul ia
qarTul i da ara sxva enazed mol aparake qarTvel ebiT.
xel s awers 38 kaci, yovel i koml idan erTi.

dadasturebul ia saTemo revkomis beWdiTa da xel moweriT.

dokumenti # 116

`samxreT oseTis- avtonomiuri ol qis centradi, cxinval is gamoxadebis Sesaxeb miRebul i dadgenil eba (1921 w. 30 dekemberi)

ПРОТОКОЛ

Общий обзор Грузинских сел: Кехви, Квемо и Земо Ачабети, Тамарашени, Дргвиси, Свери, дзарцеми, Кемерти, Хеити (Саба- Цминда, Богианти, Гочианти, Шеразадати, Зубанти, Пехшвеланти) расположенных севернее гор. Цхинвали в сторону Джави численностью около двух тысяч человек. 30- го декабря 1921 г. в сел. Ачабети.

Председательства тов. Леван Докадзе.

Слушали:

Доклад Председателя от Ц.К.П. Грузии тов. Кокошадзе К. и содокладчика секретаря Горударкома Горгадзе А. о решении Рабочекрестянской Власти С.С.Р.Г. об образовании Автономной Области Юго- Осетии с центром в городе Цхинвали.

Постановили:

Единогласно приветствовать постановление Центральной Рабочекрестянской Власти Грузии об образовании Автономной Области Юго- Осетии с центром в гор. Цхинвали всецело присоединяясь к этому решению. Мы клеймим позором меньшевистскую власть, которая искусственно создала кровавую вражду между крестьянами Юго- Осетии и Грузии издавна живущих по братски. Заявляем, что подобным решением рабочекрестянской Власти Грузии закладывается прочный фундамент для спокойного и совместного сожительства трудовых крестьян Грузии Юго- Осетии.

Да здравствует братский союз многострадального Осетинского Народа с крестьянством Грузии.

Да здравствует Советская Власть Грузии и ее творец Компартия.

Председатель Л. Докадзе.

dokumenti # 117

Sinagan saqmeTa saxal xo komisariatTan arsebul i, cxinval is raionis darbeul i qarTul i sofl ebis mcxovrebaTazal is amnazarreb i komisiis Tavmj domaris yefianis mier saqarTvel os revkomisadmi gagzavnili werili. 1922 w. 30 ianvari

saqarTvel os revol uciur komitets

saqarTvel os revkomis saqmeTa mmartvel is momartvis Tanaxmad (28 ianvari # 864) maqvs pativi movaxseno revkoms Semdegi: 26 ianvris TariRiT # 487/64 revkomis moTxovniT gamovgzavne mokl e angariSi cxinval is raionSi darbeul qarTvel Ta zalal is amnazarreb i komisiisa da dazal ebul Ta mesame j gufis sia, roml ebic Txoul oben zalal is anazarreb i. j gufis Txovnebi inaxeba komisiSi. Tu mTavroba gadasdebs raime Tanxas

maT dasakmayofil ebl ad, maSin komisia ganixil avs am Txovnebs. yovel i Txovnis gamo moaxdens Sesafer gamoZiebas da amgvarad daakmayofil ebs moTxovnebs. Cems mier gamogzavnil siaSi 87 mTxovnel ia da maT mier war-modgenil i zaral i 2.027.400.000 manetia. imavdroul ad revkoms TxovniT mimarTa 68 dazaral ebul ma. es garemoeba imiT aixsneba, rom komisiaSi pirvel i 68 Txovna Semovida, romel Ta zaral i 1.382.000.000 man. Seadgenda. am mTxovnel ebs Sinagan saqmeTa saxal xo komisariatma zaral is dakmayofil eba-ze uari ganucxada. maSin maT TxovniT saqarTvel os revkoms mimarTes, xol o danarCeni 19 Txovna Semovida SemdegSi da SesaZl ebel ia ramdenime Txovna kidev Semovides, sanam komisia Txovnebis miRebis Sewyvetas ar gamoacxadebs.

cxinval is raionis darbeul i qarTvel ebis zaral is amnazRaurebel i komisiis Tavmj domare yefiani.

1922 w. 30 ianvari.

dokumenti # 118

saqarTvel os revkomis 1922 wl is 20 martis dekretis proeqti
`samxreT oseTis- avtonomiuri ol qis Seqmnis Sesaxeb

s.s.s. republ ikis revol uciuri komitetis dekreti samxreT
oseTis avtonomiuri ol qis Sesaxeb

dekreti

1)Seiqmnas avtonomiuri samxreT oseTis ol qi Semdegi Svidi yofil i sazogadoebidan:

a)rokis, wunaris, yornisis, j avis, yemul Tis, ortevs da bel oTis.

b)is sofl ebi, roml ebSiac mosaxl eoben qarTvel ebi: vanaTi, bel oTi, xoSori, sacxeneTi, xadurianTkari, zemo da qvemo avnevebi darCebian goris mazris cxinval is raionSi.

2)samxreT oseTis sabWoTa pirvel i yril obis mowvevamdiz mTel i xel isufl eba miniWebul i aqvs samxreT oseTis revkoms, roml is centrad droebiT aRiarebul i iqnas qal . cxinval i

3)sabWoTa yril oba airCevs aRmasrul ebel komitets, romel sac mieniWebi mazris aRmasrul ebel i komitetis ufl eba.

4)daeval os Sinagan saqmeTa saxal xo komisariats Seqmnas Sereuli i komisia samxreT oseTis sazRvrebis dadgenisaTvis.

5)daeval os goris revkoms dauyovnebl iv gadasces samxreT oseTis revkoms yvel a saqmeebi, romel ic exebs samxreT oseTis teritorias da mis mcxovrebl ebs.

s.s.s. republ ikis revol uciuri komitetis Tavmj domare
Sinagan saqmeTa saxal xo komisari

gr.gvel esianis mier, Sinagan saqmeTa saxal xo komisariati-sadmi_ `samxreT oseTis~ avtonomiuri ol qis Seqmnis Sesaxebágadagzavnili dekretis proeqtis redaqtirebuli da sabol oo varianti.þ

dekreti

1)Seiqmnas avtonomiuri samxreT oseTis ol qi Semdegi Svidi yofil i sazogadoebidan: a)rokis, wunaris, yornisis, javis, yemulTis, ortevs da bel oTis; b)is sofl ebi, roml ebSiac mosaxl eoben qarTvel ebi: vanaTi, bel oTi, xoSori, sacxeneTi, xadurianTkari, zemo da qvemo avnevebi, dvani da awrisxevi darCebian goris mazris cxinval is raionSi;

2)samxreT oseTis aRmasrul ebel i komitetis droebiT centradaRiarebuli iqnas qal aqi cxinvali;

3)samxreT oseTis aRmasrul ebel komitets eniWebamazris aRmasrul ebel i komitetis ufl eba;

4)daeval os Sinagan saqmeTa saxal xo komisariats Seqmnas Sereuli komisia samxreT oseTis sazRvrebis dadgenisaTvis.

5)daeval os goris revkoms dauyovnebi iv gadasces samxreT oseTis aRmasrul ebel komitets yvel a saqmeebi, romelic exeba samxreT oseTis teritorias da mis mcxovrebi ebs.

s.s.s. respublikis revoluciuri komitetis Tavmj domare
Sinagan saqmeTa saxal xo komisari

dokumenti # 119

Sinagan saqmeTa saxal xo komisariatis administraciul erTeul Ta ganyofil ebis gangis gr.gvel esianis moxsenebiTi baraTi.
(1922 wel is marti)

Sinagan saqmeTa saxal xo komisars

sss respublikis saxal xo komisariTa sabWosagan a/w. 20 martis TariRiT (# 2845), Sin. saq. sax. komisariats winadadebamouvida dekretis proeqtis Sedgenaze samxreT oseTis avtonomiuri ol qis Seqmnis Sesaxeb da Tanaxmad partiis dadgenil ebisa winadadebas Tanaxl avstviT mTavrobis dekreti... aseTi winadadebis gamo maqvs pativi mogaxsenoT Semdegi: imis Semdeg, rac mTavrobis dadgenil ebiT dawesda samxreT oseTis xel isufl eba mazris revkomis ufl ebiT, saWirosiqmna am ol qis administraciuli sazRvris garkveva, raTa erT da igive raionSi ar emeqmeda or xel isufl ebas, an erTi xel isufl eba ar SeWril iyo ukanonoT meore xel isufl ebis moqmedebis fargl ebSi. es sakiTxi Sin. saq. sax. komisariats hqonda dakisrebuli, romel mac vidre sazRvrebis sakiTxi detal urad da sabol ood

iqneboda Camoyal ibebul i, warsul i wl is 20 ivl iss gamosca droebiTi dadgenil eba, yvel a xel isufl ebisaTvis saval debul o. am ukanasknel iT samxreT oseTis ol qis teritorias Seadgenda Svidi yofil i sofl is sazogadoeba, saxel dobr: ortevs, bel oTis, rokis, yemul Tis, j avis, yornisis da wunaris. amastanave cxra wmindaqarTul i sofel i, romelic Sedioda ortevs, bel oTis da wunaris sazogadoebaSi droebiT darCenil iqna cxinval is raionSi. Semdeg amisa, kavbiuros dadgenil ebiT samxreT oseTs mieniWa avtonomiuri weswyobil eba, xolo sakiTxi misi sazRvrebisa gaurkveveli darCa.

gareSe amisa, sakiTxi samxreT oseTis Sesaxeb, special uri komisiis moxsenebiT dadga rogorc saqarTvel os komunisturi partiis plenumis, ise saqarTvel os revoluciuri komitetis winaSe. martalia, erTmac da meoremac qal . cxinval i samxreT oseTis avtonomiuri ol qis administraciul centradaRiara, magram amave dros TviT dadgenil ebaSi imaterTi metad sagul isxmo muxli (me- 3) Seitanes. im dromdi _vkiTxul obT aq_ sanam cxinval is raionis qarTul i mosaxleobis sul ieri mdgomareoba Seicvleba, q. cxinval is raionis avtonomiuri oseTis teritoriaT micnevis sasargeblod, qal . cxinval Si da mis irgvl ivarsebul i qarTul i mosaxleobis sofl ebSi Zal aufl eba dautovos saraiono revkoms, romelic Sedis goris mazraSi.-

aqedan cxadia, rogorc mTavrobis, ise partiis gadawyvetileba isetia, rom cxinval is raioni im dromdi vidre qarTvel i mosaxleoba am raionisar moisurvebs Seuertdes samxreT oseTis avtonomias, unda eqvemdebarebodes goris mazris xel isufl ebas. masasadame, mTavrobis da partiis mier qal . cxinval is centradaRiarebas is azri aqvs, rom aseT centradi xdeba mxol od mas Semdeg, Tu adgil obrivi qarTvel i mosaxleoba avtonomiur oseTsi Sesvl is survil s gamoTqvams.

a) gasul i wl is oqtomber- noembris TveebSi, rodesac xmebi gavrcele da, rom cxinval is raioni qal aqiturT unda gadavides samxreT oseTis xel isufl ebaze, mTel ma qarTvel ma mosaxleobam cxinval is raionisa, saxel - dobr, sofl ebma: kexvma, qvemo acabetma, zemo acabetma, arbom, dicma, qordma, qvemo niqozma, zemo niqozma, avnevma, Zarwemma, dgvrisma, nul ma, zemo xviTma, qvemo xviTma, yel qceul ma, qemertma, qurTam, TamaraSenma, vanaTma da TviT cxinval ma, ese igi 20 sofel ma gamogzavna Sinagan saqmeTa saxal xokomisariatSi Tavisi weril obiti dadgenil ebani, romlebitac isini Txoul oben Zvel administraciul ei. goris mazris fargl ebSi darCenas.

Suamdgoml oba amati imdenad kategoriul i formiTiyo gamoTqmul i, rom aravis eWvi ar Separvia mati aseTi neba- survil is sinamdvil esa da gul - wrfel obaSi. bevri am sofl el Tagani imasac ki ambobda_ sj obs cocxl ad dagvxocoT, sadme aqedan gadagvasaxl oT, vidre oseTis xel isufl ebis qves dagvtovoT. TviT cxinval is revkomma aseT saerto survil s, saerto Txovna- mudaras gamoexmaura da Sinagan saqmeTa saxal xokomisariatissaxel ze gamogzavnil momarTvaSi aRniSna: `a) cxinval is da mis garSemo mdebare qarTul i sofl ebis mcxovrebl ebSi im ambavma, rom osebi Tbil isSi wasul an saTxovnel ad, raTa qal . cxinval i da ramdenime qarTul i sofel i samxreT oseTis sazRvrebSi darCes, qarTul i sofl ebis mcxovrebl ebSi didi mRel vareba gamouwvevia; b) gl exoba am raionisa acxadebs; Tu mTavroba aseT nabij s gadadgams, Cvens mdgomareobas ar gaecnoba, am SemTxvevaSi sj obs yvel ani davixocoT. _aRniSnavs ra aseT mdgomareobas, ambobs: vxedavT ra am arasasurvele mdgomareobas da xal xis Rel vas, gTxovT saCqar-

od miiRoT Sesiferi zomebi_ gamogzavnoT momzadebul i partiul i amx-
anagebi xal xSi agitaciis gasawevad da adgil obrivi pirobebis gasacno-
bad. manam ki gTxovT, es sakiTxi ar iqnas gadaWril i, Torem vimeorebT,_
Cven miRebul i gvaqvs namdvil i cnobebi da Rmad varT darwmunebul i, rom
sisxl is Rvra garduval ia...-

amas ambobda ndobiT aRWurvil i cxinval is xel isufl eba_ saraiono re-
vkomi, romel mac zedmiwveniT icis adgil obrivi viTareba. am masiuri sa-
Civrevisa da TviT cxinval is revkomis momarTvis gamo, j er ki dev gasul i
wl is noemberSi komisar ma Suamdgoml oba warudgina saqarTvel os rev-
ol uciur komitets, romel Sic zogierTi zomebis miRebas da sxvaTaSoriss,
qarTvel Ta da osTa Soriss urTierTobis mowesrigebamde, samxreT oseTi-
saTvis administraciul i erTeul is Seqmnis sakiTxs revol uciuri komite-
tis msjel obidan droebiT moxsnas da 20 ivl isis dadgenil ebis (am dadge-
nil ebiT Svidi sofl is sazogadoeba Sedioda samxreT oseTis ol qSi)
Zal aSi darCenas sTxovda. mTel i cxinval is mosaxl eobis survil i is iyo,
romel ic zemoT aRvniSneT. amas cxinval is revkomi, TviT cxinval Si mcx-
ovrebi sazogadoebis yvel a erovneba ramdenj erme adasturebs:

a) a/w. ianvris TariRiT komisariatma miiRo qal . cxinval is qarTvel , so-
mex da ebrael Ta sazogado dadgenil eba, roml iTac isini moiTxovdnen
cxinval is da misi raionis kvl av istoriul sazRvrebSi darCenas; b) igive
survil i gamoTqves cxinval is raionis mcxovrebl ebma piradad gadmoce-
miT, special uri del egaciis Tbil isSi warmogzavnis saSual ebiT, romel Si-
ac am raionis TiTqmis yvel a sofl is warmomadgenel i Sedioda (ricxviT
40 kaci) da wel sam ori Tvis winad warudga rogorc saqarTvel os mTavrobas,
ise Sinagan saqmeTa saxal xo komisars da mTel i saqmis viTareba auxna.
amastanave warudgina sofl ebis ganaCenebi, roml ebiTac isini Suamdgom-
l oben maTi sofl ebis goris mazris teritoriis fargl ebSi datovebas.
magram arc am iT dasrul da erTsa da imave saganze Txovna- mudara qarTu-
l i sofl ebisa. komisars dResac mosdis masiuri Txovnebi, Suamdgoml o-
bani mTel i rigi sofl ebisa, roml ebiTac isini Txoul oben goris mazris
qvemdebare cxinval is revkomis xel isufl ebis qveS darCenas. am mokl e xa-
nSi ukve movida saTanado ganaCenebi Semdegi sofl ebidan:

1)sof. nedl aTidan. oqmSi, romel ic daweril ia 26 Tebervl is TariRiT,
naTqvamia, rom `Cven nedl aTis mcxovrebn miweril i viyaviT oqonas. dRes
oqona samxreT oseTs daeqvemdebara da Cvenc mZime pirobebSi CavcviydiT,
sxvaTa Soriss imitamac, rom warmoeba rusul ad da osuradaa, raic CvenTvis
gaugebaria.- Txoul oben goris mazris gomis raionis avl evis Temze miw-
eras, `sadc aqamdi viyaviT miweril io.-

2)sof. xundisubani. am sofl is mcxovrebn, oqonaze miweril ni igives
amboben da imasve Txoul oben, rasac sof. nedl aTis mcxovrebn.

3)sof. Sindaridan. am sofl is mcxovrebn (avl evis Temisa da gomis ra-
ionisa) 9 martis dadgenil ebiT amboben: `Cven ar SegviZl ia morCil eba
samxreT oseTisa, (Sors aris, gl axa sasiarul o gzebi gvaqvs) da amitom
gTxovT goris mazraze dagvaricxoT.-

4)sof. TiRvadan. am sofl is mcxovrebl ebi amboben: `gadagvricxes cxin-
val ze, e.i. oseTis xel isufl ebis qveS dagvayenes. winad ki viyaviT avl evis
TemSi (gomis raioni), exl a gvsurs viyoT gorze da gomze miweril i.-

5)sof. al abaridan. oqmi, romel ic a/w. 15 Tebervl is TariRiTaa Sedgeni-
l i naTqvamia: `varT oqonis raionisa, gvewevian cxinval isaken, Cven ki gv-
surs viyoT miweril i gorze.-

6)sof. sacxeneTidan. ianvris 2- is dadgenil ebaSi am sofl is mcxovrebl - ebi amboben: `sofel i qarTvel ebiTaa dasaxl ebul i. osebis xel qveS yofnas mets veRar SevZl ebT, l amis aris aviyarnoT da gadavsaxl deT sadme, radgan osebi dazaral ebul ni arian, yvel a xarj ebs mTavrobisa da Tavis sasargebl od Cvens kiserzed iReben.-

7)sof. zemo da qvemo oqonidan. am sofl ebis mcxovrebn i a/w. 22 Teberv- l is dadgenil ebiT Txoul oben `zemo da qvemo oqona darCes goris mazris mmarTvel obis qveS, rogorc dRemdis iyo. exl a ki ratomRac samxreT ose- Ti gvierTebS.- aqve Sevni SnavT, rom yvel a es sofl ebi gomis raionis sof- l ebia. ese igi, iseTi kuTxisa, romel ic yovel Tvis udao qarTul raionad iTvl eboda da qarTvel ebiTaa dasaxl ebul i.

am saxiT, qarTul i mosaxl eoba goris mazrisa da kerZiT cxinval is rai- onisa samjer erT da igive survil s gamoTqvams_ ar daumorcil on igi oSta xel isufl ebas. maSasadame, Cven srul i safuZvel i gvaqvs vTqvaT, rom faqtiurad SekiTxva am mosaxl eobisa ukve moxda, maT mier gamoTqmul ma survil ma cxadaT gvivena, rom goris mazris da kerZod cxinval is raionis qarTvel oba winaaRmdigia imisa, rom qal . cxinval i da misi raioni SeuerT- des samxreT- osetis avtonomiur ol qs. magram, rac sagul isxmoa am SemTx- vevaSi, amave azris saargumentaci od, es TviT oSta mosaxl eobis nawil is ganxadebaa.

goris samazro aRmaskomis Sinagan saqmeTa sammarTvel os ganyofil eba a/ w. 21 martis TariRiT (# 990), respubl ikis Sinagan saqmeTa saxal xo komi- sariats wers Semdegs: `bevria imiTana magal iTebi, rom sxvadasxva raioneb- Si osebi acxadeben survil s, raTa isini CamovaSoroT osetis revkoms, radgan maT surT qarTvel ebTan erTad cxovreba, radgan maT, osebs qarTvel ebTan gasayofi ara aqvT, da Tu vinme amas moiTxovs e.i. osebis cal ke yofnas, yovel ive es an sicruea, an raime mosazrebiT daintereseba.- aRni Snavs ra amas, ganyofil ebis gamges saWi rod mi aCnia sagangebo komi- si is dani Svna Seqmnil i mdgomareobis gamosaZiebl ad. Tan am mimarTvas darT- ul i aqvs dadgenil eba Sedgenil i sof. xurval eTSi a/w. 12 marts, Semdegi Sinaarsisa: `Cven qvemo Wal is raionis sofl ebis: 1)zemo baRebis, 2)qvemo baRebis, 3)gudiaanTkari s, 4)saRoreTis, 5)biCanaanTkari s, 6)metesmanis da 7)Rvd- ul eTis warmomadgenl ebma davadgineT: radganac arwevis me- 3 raionis aRmaskomi Zal iT moiTxovs am sofl ebis mcxovrebtagan maTTan adminis- traciul ad SeerTebas da axdens Cvens mimarT sxvadasxva gankargul ebebs, Cven ki maTTan kavSiri ara gvaqvs, vugzavniT dadgenil ebas umaRl es mTavrobas, raTa man winadadeba misces me- 3 raionis sof. arwevis aRmaskoms (osuri armaskomia), rom igi Camogvexsnas, radgan Cveni Rma survil ia veqvemde- barebodeT qvemo Wal is raionis aRmaskoms (qarTul i aRmaskomia), rogorc es mTavrobisgan aris daweril i.- am dadgenil ebas xel s awers 14 warmomad- genel i yvel a zemoT dasaxel ebul i sofl ebisa, romel Ta xel is moweras adasturebs qvemo Wal is aRmaskomis Tavmj domare sakuTari xel is mower- iT da beWdis dasmiT. am dadgenil ebis meore gverdze erTvis aseTi dadge- nil eba: `1922 wl is 13 marti sof. qvemo Wal a. Cven xurval eTis Temis sof. winagari s mcxovrebtTa warmomadgenel ni: xubul uri da biCanaSvil i (osebia), Cveni sofl is mcxovrebtTa daval ebiT vacxadebT survil s zemoxsenebul dadgenil ebaSi aRni Snul sofl ebTan erTad SevuerTdeT qvemo Wal is raions, rogorc vyofil varT mamapapurad, radgan ufro axl o da moxerxebul ia CvenTvis.- amaT xel is mowerasac qvemo Wal is aRmaskomis igive Tavmj domare adasturebs.

ras gviCvenebs es saintereso dokumenti? a)rva sofl is osoba Txoul obs qarTvel Tagan nu gamogvTiSavT da qvemo Wal is xel isufl ebis qveS dagvtoveTo; b)es rva sofel i ekuTvnis ise udao wmind qarTul territorias, rogoric aris xurval eTis Temi; g)pretenzias Zal aufl ebis gavrcel ebis as am rva qarTul sofl ebze acxadebs, rogorc Cans arwevis ufro Crdi- l oeTiT mdebare sofl is aRmaskomi, sadac avtonomiuri oseTis xel isu- fl eba gaCenil a.

orive ukanasknel i dokumenti ki e.i. is rac gomis raionis avl evis Tems exeba da is, rac qvemo Wal is raionis xurval eTis Tems, naTel yofs erT garemoebas_ avtonomiuri xel isufl eba samxreT oseTisa cxinval is raio- nis gareSec avrcel ebs Tavisi moqmedebis asparezs iseT raionebsa da Temebze, romel nic srul iad udao qarTul i territoriaa.

yovel ive zemoT moxsenebul i SesaZl ebl obas gvaZl evs gavakeToT Semde- gi daskvna:

1)raTa Sedgenil i iqnas samxreT oseTis avtonomiuri ol qis Sesaxeb proeqti dekretisa, roml is warmodgenis winadadeba mieca Sin. saq. sax. komisariats mTavrobis mier, saWiroa winaswar garkveul i iyos mTavari safuZvl ebi avtonomiis konstituciisa da sxvaTa Soris iseTi kardinal uri sakiTxebi, rogoric aris sazRvrebi avtonomiuri erTeul isa. sazRvrebi ki, avtonomi- uri oseTisa dRemdis garkveul i ar aris, ara Tu detal ebSi, mTavar xazeb- Siac ki. SeiZl eba detal izacia sazRvrebisa Semdegac moxdes, rogorc es windaxedul ia mTavrobis 20 dekembris da komunisturi partiis 12 dekembris dadgenil ebaTa me- 2 muxl Si, magram mTavari xazebi, sazRvrebis aRmniSvne- li, dekretis proeqtis Sedgenis dros ukve garkveul i unda iyos, vinaidan winaaRmdag SemTxvevaSi Seiqmneba qaosi da ar gvecodineba, Tu sad unda Tavdebodes avtonomiuri xel isufl ebis moqmedeba, an kidev uaresi, erTsa da imave adgil as Seiqmneboda ori xel isufl eba, rogorc es amJamad xdeba goris mazris sxvadasxva raionebsi.

2)miuxedavad imisa, rom cxinval is raionis mosaxl eobam samj er gamoTq- va Tavisi kategoriul i survil i goris mazris fargl ebSi darCenisa, Cven erTi wuTiTac rom davuSvaT, rom es cxinval is raioni samxreT oseTis avtonomiuri ol qis territoriaSi unda Sevides, amas dekretSi mainc ver davwerT, vinaidan sxvadasxva dros am termins sul sxvadasxva Sinaarsi hqonda da dRes ar viciT, Tu ra unda vigul isxmOT cxinval is raionis qveS. TviT oseTis xel isufl eba, rogorc es zemoT Tqmul idan Cans, iseT Temeb- sac ki sTvl is cxinval is raionSi, rogoric aris xurval eTis da avl evis Temebi. rom davasabuTod es Cveni azri, vi tyviT, rom mag. im cnobebis mi xed- viT romel nic moipoveba 1886 wl is saoj axo siebidan (Свод статистических данных о населении Закавказского края,... Тифлис.1893.) amoRebul statistikaSi cxin- val is ubanSi anu saboqaul oSi 37 sofl is sazogadoeba da sxvaTa Soris, is Svidi osuri sazogadoebac Sedis, romel ic w/w. 20 ivl isis dadgenil e- baSia aRnuxul i. dRes ki cxinval is raionSi Tanaxmad goris mazris revkomi s mier warmodgenil i gegmisa, Sedis garda TviT cxinval is Temisa, sami Temi _ dicisa, TamaraSenisa da Sindisisa. Semdeg ramdenimeT es gegma Sei cval a da Sin. saq. sax. komisariatis 9 agvistos dadgenil ebiT, cxinval is raionSi dawesda xuTi Temi_ qvemo aCabeTis, qvemo niqozis, dicis, Zarwemis da vana- tis. aseT gaurkvevl obaSi cxinval is raionis Setana dekretis proeqtSi yovl ad SeuZl ebel ia. garda imisa, rom, rogorc vsTqviT, arc mcxovreba survil i da arc mTavrobis da komunisturi partiis central uri komite- tis dadgenil ebani (ix. me- 3 muxl i) dRes- dReobiT amis safuZvel s ar gva-

ar iqneba samxreT- oseTis avtonomiuri ol qis sazRvrebI da im qarTul i mosaxl eobis sakiTxi, romel ic osTa Soris, Tu maT gareSe mezobl ad bi-nadroben. qarTul i mosaxl eobis SekiTxa cxadia unda moxdes im SemTxvevaSi, Tu mTavroba ar gaiziarebs am Cvens Sexedul ebas, rom neba-survil i qarTvel i mosaxl eobisa ukve sakmaod garkveul ia. an Tu es Cveni azri [dekretis gamoqveynebis S.v.] SeCerebis Sesaxeb raimeAmizeziT miuRebel ia. am SemTxvevaSi 2)miRebul i iqnas is proeqti dekretisa, romel ic s.s.s. respubl ikis revol uciur komitets Seudgenia mcireodeni cvl il ebebis Set-aniT pirvel i muxl is punqt **a-** Si: wunaris sazogadoebas sof. nul i unda gamoakl des da punqt **b-** Si Caematos sofl ebi dvani da awrisxevi (esenic wmindaqarTul i sofl ebi a). dasasrul saWi rod mimaCnia aRvni Sno, rom goris mazris zogierTi nawil is qarTul i mosaxl eobis mdgomareoba amJamad imdenad mZime da autanel ia, rom saWi roa sakiTxi maT Sesaxeb, Tanaxmad maTi samarTi iani moTxovnis da erTsul ovnad gamoTqmul i neba_ survil isa, saCqarod gadawydes. Sin. saq. sax. komisariatSi yovel dRe Semodis piradi weril obiTi gancxadebani, dadgenil ebani, saCivrebi, romel Tac amastanave vadgen da romel nic am mdgomareobas gvacnoben (sakmaod did nawil s am weril obiT sabuTebisas ver vadgen, vinaidan isini komisar kvirkvel ias gadaeca maSin goridan Camosul i deputaciis mier da Cems ganyofil ebaSi ar Semosul a).

danarTi: 1)pirebi partiis 12 dekembris da mTavrobis 20 dekembris dadgenil ebaTa; 2)dekretis proeqti mTavrobisa samxreT- oseTis avtonomiuri ol qis Seqmnis Sesaxeb da 3)dadgenil ebani, saCivrebi, oqmebi sofl ebisa ricxviT.

Sinagan saqmeTa saxal xo komisariat's administraciul erTeul Ta ganyofil ebis gamge: gr.gvel esiani (xel moweril ia)

dokumenti # 120

Sinagan saqmeTa saxal xo komisariat's administraciul erTeul Ta ganyofil ebis gamgis gr.gvel esianis moxsenebiTi baraTi. (1922 wl is marti)

Sinagan saqmeTa saxal xo komisars

im moxsenebis Semdeg, romel ic me warmogidgineT am ori dRis winad, romel ic exeba samxreT oseTis avtonomiuri ol qis Seqmnis gamo dekretis proeqtis Sedgenas, me mi vi Re oqmis (# 4) asl i im komisiis sxdomisa, romel ic Semdgara w/w. dekemberSi qal . cxinval Si da romel sac detal urad dadgenia sazRvrebI samxreT oseTis avtonomiuri ol qisa. ai am oqmis Semdeg maqvs pativi gauwyoT Semdegi:

1) komisiis mier sazRvrebis Sesaxeb miRebul dadgenil ebas arc partiis da arc mTavrobis sanqcia ar aqvs, amitom, dekretis Sedgenis dros mas araviTari saval debul o da saxel mZRvanel o mniSvnel obis Zal a ar eqneba, radgan komisiis es oqmi damtkicebul i da dadasturebul i ar aris mTavro-

bisa da partiis komitetis mier. es sxvaTa Soris iqedanac Cans, rom partiis 12 dekembris da mTavrobis 20 dekembris dadgenil ebebSi ar aris naTq-vami imis Sesaxeb, rom komisiis am dadgenil ebas saval debul o Zal a eZl e-odes. piriqiT, meore muxl i orive dadgenil ebisa saWi rod scnobs sazRvrebis detal izacias. cxadia, es oqmi Cven SegviZl ia gavsinj oT, rogorc marto masal a sazRvrebis sakiTxSi.

2)da rogorc masal a rom gavsinj oT, komisiis dadgenil eba radikal urad ewinaaRmdegeba partiis da mTavrobis zemoT aRniSnul dadgenil ebebs: a)samxreT oseTis avtonomiur ol qSi Setanil ia dasavl eTiT raWisa da Sorapnis mazris nawil ebi; b)aRmosavl eTiT didi nawil i duSeTis mazrisa; g)samxreTiT samxreT oseTis avtonomiauri ol qis teritoriaSi Setanil ia mTel i wyeba sofl ebisa, romel nic partiisa da mTavrobis zemoT aRniSnul dadgenil ebaTa Tanaxmad (muxl i mesame), Setanil i unda ignas am teritori-aSi mxol od im SemTxvevaSi, Tu goris mazris qarTvel i mosaxl eoba osTa Soris Tu mezobl ad mcxovrebi gamoTqvams Tavis kategoriul survil s dadges osTa avtoniuri xel isufl ebis qveS. manamdi ki es qarTvel i mosaxl eoba eqvemdebareba goris mazris xel isufl ebas. raTa naTel vyoT es, Cven CamovTvl iT yvel a im qarTul sofl ebs Tu qal aqebS, romel ic am oqmiT gadadis samxreT oseTze.

1. TamaraSenis sazogad oebisa

12 qarTul i sofl i X	saxel d- obr	qarTve- l ebi	osebi	sxva erovne- bebi	sul
1.	zemo aCabeTi	4119	525	6	4650
2.	qvemo aCabeTi				
3.	Tamara- Seni				
4.	patara Zarwemi				
5.	didi Zarwemi				
6.	sabawmi- nda				
7.	qemer ti				
8.	xeiTi				
9.	dgvr isa				
10.	qur Ta				
11.	kexvi				
12.	sver i				

X. qarTul sofl ebad vTvl iT iseT sofl ebs, sadac osebi 50 %- ze nak- l ebia.

2. cxinval is sazogadoebisa

1.sofel i da 1.qal aqi	saxel d- obr	qarT- vel ebi	osebi	sxva er ovne- bani	sul
1.qal aqi	cxinval i	1335	0	2697	4032 XX
1.sofel i	guj aba- uri	186	40	0	226

XX. 1917 wl is sameurneo aRweraSi cxinval is mosaxl eobis statistika ar moi poveba. 1886 wl is saoj axo siebidan Sedgenil i statistikuri nusxiT sul 3832 mcxovrebia. 1915 wl isaTvis ki administraciis mier Sekrebil i cnobebis mixedviT sul 4618. dReisTvis es cifri unda gaorkecdes.

3. wunar is sazogadoebisa

1.sofel i	saxel - dobr	qarTve- l ebi	osebi	sxva er ovne- bani	sul
sofel i	nul i	413	24	0	437

4. dirbis sazogadoebisa.

1.sofel i	saxel d- obr	qarTve- l ebi	osebi	sxva er ovne- bani	sul
sofel i	Zvel eTi	324	10	0	334

5. avl evi s sazogadoebi sa

11 sofel i	saxel d- obr	qarT- vel ebi	osebi	sxva erovne- bani	sul
1.	xundis ubani	1526	324	0	1850
2.	Sindara				
3.	Ti Rva				
4.	qal eTi				
5.	zemo oqona				
6.	qvemo oqona				
7.	nedl aTi				
8.	sufnisi				
9.	nabakevi				
10.	Wri ni si				
11.	bzi sxevi				

6. mereTis sazogadoebisa

6 sofel i	saxel d- obr	qarT- vel ebi	osebi	sxva erovne- bani	sul
1.	snekvi	1536	119	0	1655
2.	zardia- anTkari				
3.	qsuisi				
4.	Warebi				
5.	kul bidi				
6.	disevi				

7. ortevis sazogadoebisa.

1.sofel i	saxel - dobr	qarTve- l ebi	osebi	sxva erovne- bani	sul
1.sofel i	vanaTi	432	48	0	480

8. bel oTis sazogadoebisa.

8 sofel i	saxel do- br	qarTve l ebi	oseb i	sxva er ovne bani	sul
1.	awri sxevi	299	0	0	299
2.	sacxeneTi	289	0	0	289
3.	xoSura	135	0	0	135
4.	dvani X	369	0	0	369
5.	xaduri- anTkari X	22	0	0	22
6.	bel oTi	220	0	0	220
7.	zemo avnevi X	287	0	0	287
8.	qvemo avnevi X	127	0	0	127

D

X. 1917 wl is sameurneo aRweraSi am oTxi sofl is mcxovreba raodenoba aRniSnul i ar aris, ami tom Cven aqac 1886 wl is saoj axo siebidan amoRebul i cnobebiT visargebl eT da dReisTvis vaorkecebT.

Sinagan saqmeTa saxal xo komisariatis administraciul erTeul Ta ganyofil ebis gamge: gr. gvel esiani (xel mowerilia)

dokumenti # 121

grigol gvel esianis moxseneba_ `oseTis- avtonomiuri ol qis gamoyofis istoriisaTvis. (Savi xel naweris mixedvit). es dokumenti ojanel izemac dabeWda saTauriT_ rogor iqmneboda samxreT oseTis avtonomiuri ol qi (axal i saarqivo masal a) [kvadratul i frCx- il ebiT teqstSi Casmul i sityvebi Cems miera Camatebul i S.v.]

... yovel i eri, rac unda mcire iyos igi, TviT unda swyvetdes Tavis social ur- politikur svebeds, _es CvenTvis arasodes sadao ar yofil a. rogorc srul wl ovani pirovneba Tavis nebisyofofis gamoxatvaSi srul iad Tavisufal i unda iyos, ise kol eqtivi, eris saxiT, SezRudul i arafriT ar unda iyos im mxriv, rom mSobel i qveyana, sadac binadrobs, Caayenos im social ur- politikur mdgomareobaSi, romel ic mas ukeTesad miaCnia Tav- vis[i] erovnul - kul turul [i] da ekonomur[i] ganviTarebi saTvis.

ai, am, Cveni droisaTvis ukve saanbano, ubral o WeSmari tebaze aRmocenda is politikuri dogma, romel sac `erTa Tavisufal i TviTgamorkvevis ufl ebas- eZaxian da romel ic, samwuxarod, xSirad l itoni sityvaa cxovrebi

sinamdvil eSi, romel sac borotad iyeneben an iseT formebs aZl even mas, rom azri da Sinaarsi TviTgamorkvevis ufl ebisa ZiriTadad darRveul ia.

Cven erTa Tavisufal i TviTgamorkvevis ufl ebis udidesi damcvel i varT. dRes es ufl eba kul turul i kacobriobis im xal xisaTvis, romel ic Sromis ganTavisufl ebisaTvis ibrZvis, udavod aRiarebul i politikuri debul ebaa. magram aqac, rogorc sxva sferoSi, absol iutebi ara gwwams, vinda CvenTvis dro, sivrce, garemo, real uri pirobebi, cxovrebis sinamdvil e is faqtorebia, romel Tac Cven angariSs vuvevT, rodesac romel ime TiToeul debul ebas xorcs vasxamT, rodesac sityvidan saqmeze gadavdivarT, rodesac vmoqmedebT da ar vmsj el obT marto.

svvisi Tavisufl ebis momxre varT imdenad, ramdenadac misi Tavisufl eba Cvensas ara spobs. yovel garesknel Si Tavisufl ebis dacvis garantiebs veZebT. sadac aseTi garantiebi ar aris, iq Cven principal ur debul ebas gansazRvrul i momentis moTxovnas vufardebT. aseTs mdgomareobaSi dayenebul i sakiTxi, an srul iad unda moixsnas droebiT, an misi gadaWra gansazRvrul pirobebs daukavSirdes, an miRebul gadawyvetil ebaSi raime koreqtivebi iqnas Setanil i da svx. ganyenebul i, gayinul i formebiT saxel mwifos verasodes ver avagebT. real uri, sasicocxl o interesebi erisa, ai is berketi, romel sac Cven unda daveyrdnoT. ai is saxel mZRvanel o Tval sazrisi, saidanac politikur- social uri kategoriis sakiTxebis gadawyvetis dros Cven unda gamovideT. magram, ra Tqma unda, svvisi da sakuTari interesebi ise unda iqnas Setavsebul i, rom erTi meores ar Crdil avdes, erTi meores ar Cagravdes. TviTdacva arasdros erTnair sazRvars ar unda scil debodes, im sazRvars, ris Semdeg TviTnebobisa da Zal adobis sfero iwyeba. eri da saxel mwifo TviTdacvis saqmeSi, iuridiul i termini rom vixmaroT, arasdros `aucil ebl obis fargl ebs- ar unda scil debodes, ise rogorc kerZo pirovneba, romel sac vinme raime boroti ganzraxviT Tavs esxmis.

asetia Cveni masStabi, Cveni principal uri pozicia cxovrebis sinamdvil eSi dasaxul i, rodesac... saqme `erTa Tavisufal i TviTgamorkvevis ufl ebis- real izebas exeba. asetive masStabiT mi vdivarT ew. erovnul umciresobaTa ufl ebis sakiTxTanac.

erTi saxel mwifos fargl ebSi moTavsebul i erebi Tanasworni arian Tavisufl ebis sargebl obaSi (erTnairi ufl ebani, erTnairi moval eobani). aravitari gamonaki isi erTi eris sasargebl od, aravitari upiratesobani, ra erisac ar unda iyos moqal aqe. yovel i saxel mwifo sikeTe yvel a erze erTnairad [unda gavrcel des]; eri, saxel mwifos warmomSobi, sxva danarCen erTa sworia. gabatonebul i eri, ise rogorc gabatonebul i kl asi, erTnairad miuRebel ia, ai Cveni erovnul i politika.

Cvens dRiur wesrigSi erT- erTi erovnul i umciresobis sakiTxi dgas metad mwvaved... saxeSi gvaqvs oSta erovnul - teritoriul i avtonomiis sakiTxi...

imisaTvis, rom dayenebul sakiTxze raime gadaWril i daskvna gamovitanot, saWiroa CaukvirdeT saxel mwifo interesit Tval sazrisiT im konkretul moTxovnebs, romel Tac ayenebs osoba CvenSi. saWiroa gaviTval iswinoT obieqturi pirobebi, romel Ta Soris cxovrobs osoba an sazogadod mTel i Tanamedrove saqarTvel o, raTa sakiTxi gadavWraT araerTxel miRebul i [ara] ganyenebul i Teoriul i formul ebis mixedviT, aramed real uri pirobebis daqvemdebarebiT.

osebs, romel nic erT- erTi indoevropul i tomia kavkasiaSi, ukavia mTa-

vari kavkasiis qedis Sua nawil i, misi ori ferdobiT, daaxl oebiT 205- 210 oTx. mil i. imisda mixedviT, Tu romel i ferdobi mTavari qedisa ukavia osobas, Cven varCevT Crdil oeT oseTs, romel ic saqarTvel os respubl ikis sazRvrebis gareSea, Tergis ol qSi da samxreT oseTs, romel ic saqarTvel os teritoriis nawil ia. saqarTvel os sazRvrebSi Sedioda winaT osTami is dasaxl ebul i teritoriac, romel ic cnobil ia dval eTad da ardonis qvab- xeobad da romel ic geografiul ad kavkasiis uRel texil is or, mTavarsa da piriqiTul s qedebs Sua aris moqceul i. dRes ki igi Tergis ol qis nawil ia, romel sac Zvel ma ruseTma SeuerTa.

ramdenia amJamad osoba orive nawil Si_ samxreT- Crdil oeTSi, _amis Sesaxeb swori cnobebi ar moi poveba, magram... Cven SegviZl ia aRvricxoT daaxl oebiT 200 aTasi sul i maRal i da kerZod saqarTvel os oseTSi 100 aTasamdis. aqedan kompaqturad erTs adgil as dasaxl ebul i osoba goris mazrisa udris 32 aTas sul a, isic im SemTxvevaSi, Tu 1917 wl is sameurneo aRweras sarwmuno wyarod CavTvl iT. aseTive geografiul izol aciaSia momwyvdeul i raWis osuri mosaxl eoba. aRar[afers] vambobT osur eTnografiul kunZul ebze tfil isis, TianeTis da sxva mazrebis [Sesaxeb], romel nic Zal ze daSorebul ni arian mTavar osur seqtors goris mazrisas. aRaras vambobT arc TviT goris mazris samxreT nawil ze, sadac osobam ...didi xania rac dahkarga Tavisi erovnul i saxe, anda qarTul sofl ebSi... qarTvel ebTan Sereul ad mcxovrebi TiTo- orol a [koml ze]. danarCeni nawil i dafantul ia sxvadasxva mazris sxvadasxva raionebSi patar- patara j gufebad qarTul i mosaxl eobiT garSemortymul i.

cxadia, rodesac Cven vl aparakobT erovnul - teritoriul avtonomiaze, saxeSi SegviZl ia viqonioT mxol od erTad Sej gufebul i, erTs adgil as Tavmoyril i masa. aseTi masa ki osobaSi metad mcirericxovania. Svidi sofl is sazogadoeba goris mazrisa 32 aTasi mosaxl eobiT. ai winda osuri teritoria osebiT dasaxl ebul i. ai mxol od amaze SeiZl eba vil aparakoT. ai is miwa- wyal i, romel ic erovnul - teritoriul avtonomias SeiZl eba daedos safuZvl ad. sxva nawil ebze, sxva raionebze l aparaki srul iad [zed]metia, imitom, rom es nawil ebi metad umni Svnel o, CawveTebul ia qarTvel masebSi da maTi erT mTl ian geografiul sxgul ad Camoyal - ibeba yovl ad SeuZl ebel ia. marTal ia, sxva mxareebTan SedarebiT duSeTis mazraSi osuri raionebi sakmaod sagraZnob teritorias da mosaxl eobas Seicaven, magram mTis maRal i qedebiT mowvyetil ni [arian] goris mazras, geografiul ad gancal kevebul ni isini avtonomiur teritorias ver Sevlen ise, Tu ara xel ovnuri SekowiwebiT...

am osobas, asT viwro fargl ebSi moTavsebul s, daqsaqsul s sxvadasxva adgil as, SeuZl ia Tu ara avtonomiuri aparati Seqmnas da saTanadod gauZRves? amaze ori sxvadasxva azri SeuZl ebel ia viqonioT. avtonomia, ramdenadac igi saxel mwifo saqmeebis damoukidebl ad gaZRol as ni Snavs, imdenad sakuTar nivTier saSual ebebs da sakuTar erovnul Zal ebs moiTxovs. SegviZl ia amTaviTve dabej iTebiT vTqvaT, rom aseTi Zal ebis mqone, dRevandel i osoba ar aris.

avtonomiuri wyobil eba ...adgil obrivi cxovrebiis zogierTi dargis gasaZRol ad sakuTar, srul iad damoukidebel biuj ets gul isxmobs! avtonomiuri xel isufl eba moval ea adgil obrivi Semosavl iT gauZRves skol as, skol is gareSe ganaTl ebas da sazogadod yvel a kul turul saqmeebs, gzebs, xal xis j anmrTel obas, sasursaTo saqmeebs, sasofl o meurneobis mraVal - nair moTxovnil ebas da sxv. romel i Semosavl iT SeuZl ia dafaros yvel a

es xarj ebi iseT patara, mTian, mwir kuTxes, rogoric aris samxreT oseTi, sadac arcTu raime mrewel obis nairi ar aris, ubral o wvrii aReb- mice- mobasac ver vxedavT, sadac ekonomiuri cxovreba imdenad primitiul ia, rom mTel s mis teritoriaze erTi qal aqic ar moipoveba. yovel ive es Zal ian kargad esmiT TviT osTa xel mZRvanel wreeps da amitomac aris, rom isini damoukidebel i erovnul i arsebobisaTvis brZol aSi araviTar saSual ebas ar eridebian. saqarTvel oSi qarTvel i eris xarj ze teritorial ur gamdi- drebas, mTI iani teritoriis xel ovnurad Seqmnas eswrafvian, xol o saqarTve- l os gareSe Crdil oeT kavkasiis miwa- wyal Tan gaerTianebas [cdil oben], romel ic Tergis ol qSi mdebareobs da osebiTaa dasaxl ebul i.

avtonomia Tanamedrove osur pirobebsi aRmocenebul i, daiSI eba da daWkne- ba dabadebisTanave, ise rogorc es daemarTa afxazeTs, romel mac... Zal ian mal e srul s damoukidebl obaze ukeT, saqarTvel os respubl ikasTan fede- ratiul ad dakavSireba miCnia da vin icis, SeiZl eba aseve mal e es ukana- sknel ic avtonomiaze Secval os, xol o avtonomias unitarizmi amj obinos.

SeuZl ia Tu ara im patara oseTs, romel zedac Cven SevCerdiT, avtonomiur wes- wyobil ebas TviT sakuTari Zal ebiT gauZRves? es Cveni saqme ar aris, es TviT osTa nebiyofis saqmea. Cveni anal izi sakiTxisa, rac unda obieq- turi iyos igi, osebisatvis mainc saval debul o ar unda iyos.

Cven vnaxeT, rom osTa avtonomiuri teritoria ufro Sors midis, vidre es Cven warmogvidgenia. Cven vnaxeT, rom es patara eri, miuxedavad bevri ara xel Semwyobi pirobebsa, mainc ibrZvis erovnul - kul turul i aRorZinebi- satvis da amis ukeTes saSual ebad mas avtonomiuri wes- wyobil ebis dam- yareba miacnia... Cvenc, romel Tac ucxo monoba da erovnul i Cagvra- Sevi- wroeba kargad gvaxsovs, aba ra gvetqmis aseT wminda da samarTI ian mis- wrafebaTa winaaRmdeg! Cven, romel nic `TviTgamorkvevis- niadagze vdgev- arT, kargad gvesmis, rom xma erisa, rac unda mcire iyos igi, xma `RvTisaa- magram, amasTanave isic arasodes ar gvaviwydeba, rom iq, sadac nawil i qveynisa swyvets Tavis beds, saWiroa, rom mTel is interesebi ar iCagre- bodes. ramdenad misaRebia saqarTvel os saxel mwifo interesebisatvis oseTis erovnul - teritoriul i avtonomia, ai es sakiTxiki mTel ma qarTvel ma erma, danarCenma saqarTvel om unda gadawyvitos da ara osobam. Tu am mTel is saqarTvel os interesebidan gamoval T, Cven oseTis sakiTxSi pirvel yovl isa sazRvrebis sakiTxs vej axebiT.

Cven viciT ukve, rom osTa pretenziebi saqarTvel os oTxi mazris nawil e- bze vrcel deba. Cven viciT, rom TviT goris mazraSi maTi rukiT avtonomi- uri oseTis fargl ebSi Sedis erT- erTi qarTul i qal aqi (cxinval i) da ormocze meti qarTul i sofel i. Cven viciT, rom duSeTis mazris naxevari nawil i osuri proeqtiTve imave oseTis fargl ebSia moqceul i. viciT, rom maTi avtonomiis dasavl eTi sazRvari raWa- SorapanSi gadadis. viciT, rom Crdil oeT saqarTvel os sazRvrebi strategiul ad uzrunvel yofil i araf- riT ar aris da es mdgomareoba manamde ver Sei cvl eba, vidre is kuTxes, romel ic dRes Tergis ol qzea miweril i da wineT ki saqarTvel os nawil s Seadgenda_ dval eTi, ardonis qvab- xeoba kvl av saqarTvel os ar daubrun- deba da amiT igi ar daepatroneba Crdil oeTisken mdebare erT- erT gasaval s, roml is dacva mtris Semosvl is mxriv yovel Tvis advil ad SeiZl eba. dRes ki es gasaval i Cvens xel T araa. ardonis qvab- xeobas samxreTiT saqa- rTvel osTan 11 gadmosasvl el i aerTebis da maSasadame, avtonomiurad mow- yobil samxreT oseTs SeuZl ia didi saomari samzadisi gaaCaRos am TerT- meti gadmosasvl el is wyal obiT.

rodesac yovel ive es viciT, rodesac qarTl is centri _goris mazra xel ovnurad Suaze ipoba, rodesac saqarTvel os ecl eba iseTi adgil ebi, sadac oseTis teritoriis nasaxic ki ar aris, rodesac saqarTvel os respubl ika Crdil oeTiT mosal odnel i mtris xel Si vardeba, _maSin srul is moqal aqeobrivi SegnebiT da saRi pol itikuri svindisiT, Cven erTa TviTga-morkvevis niadagze mdgomni vambobT: arc erTs erovnul umciresobas da maT Soris osobas, ver miecema iseTi pol itikuri weswyobil eba, romel ic saerTo- saxel mwifo interesebs Zirs uTxris, romel ic samSobl os safrTxeSi agdebs.

sazogadod unda mogaxsenoT, rom osTaTvis avtonomiuri erTeul is gamoWris sakiTxi, romel sac saqarTvel os pol itikur programaSi TiTqos arc Tu SesamCnevi adgil i unda eWiros, Cven metad seriozul , saxifaTo sakiTxad migvaCnia. saxifaTod migvaCnia umTavresad ara imitom, rom osuri proeqti avtonomiisa qarTvel Ta miwa- adgil s epatroneba da arc imitom, rom TerTmeti zemoT aRniSnul i gadmosasvl el i osebs SeuZl iaT gamoiyenon samxedro miznebiT Tavis sasargebl od. yovel i[ve] es SeiZl eba gamoswordes_ sazRvrebi Seviwrodes da gadmosasvl el ebzec saimedo daraji, respubl ikis jaris saxiT davayenoT. ara, safrTxe ufro sxva garemoebaa. es garemoeba Semdegia: dRes osTa eris samSobl o or saxel mwifoTa Soris aris dayofil i_ ruseTsa da saqarTvel os Soris. aseTma mdgomareobam ki osebSi es erTi xania, srul iad bunebrivi l tol vil eba ori nawil is gaerTianebsken dabada. idea gaerTianebsa arc Tu Soreul i sakiTxia maTTvis. zogjer idea igi konkretul gamoxatul ebas hpoul obs. sakmarisia gaviXsenoT memorandumi, romel ic osebma parizis sazavo konferencias warudgines. sakmarisia davakvirdeT zogierT maT mier Sedgenil rukas, saidanac naTl ad gamosWvivi maTi tendencia samxreT da Crdil oeT oseTis gaerTianebsken. TviT osTa erovnul i sabWos Tavmj domarem menSevikebis dros daarsebul komisiaSi pirdapir ganaxada: cxival is yril obam daadgina- SeerTdes Crdil oeTi da samxreTi oseTi, dawesdes erTi suverenul i saxel mwifo, romel ic federaciul ad SeukavSirdeba ruseTso... (im komisiaSi, romel ic oseTis sakiTxze menSevikebis dros muSaobda, osTa warmomadgenel ma me gadmomca erTi ruka Suxartis mier Sedgenil i, romel zedac gaerTianebul i oseTi cal ke saRebaviT aris aRniSnul i).

aseTi ideis real izacias saqarTvel os saxel mwifo interesi veras dros ver Seurigdeba da ver Seurigdeba imitom, rom es mas wel Si gaswyvets, rom es respubl ikis yvel a ganapira kuTxeebSi centrisagan msrbol swrafvas xel s Seuwyofs, ganaviTarebs da erT mSvenier dRes, saxel mwifo... saqarTvel os respubl ikisa [srul] sicocxl es mokl ebul ConCxad gadaiqceva.

imisaTvis, rom didi pataras ar Seewiros, patara kuTxis interesma saerTo- saxel mwifo interesebi ar Cayl apos, xSirad mcire eris bedi iZul ebul ia dakmayofil des iseTi pirobebis SeqmniT, romel nic mas, TumcaRa srul iad damouki debel suverenul saxel mwifo arsebobas ar mianiWeben, magram miscemen saSual ebas normal ur erovnul - kul turul i ganviTarebisas. aseTs pirobebs hqmni kul turul i avtonomia.

samxreT oseTic dRevandel pirobebSi aseTi avtonomiit unda dakmayofil des, romel ic SeiZl eba personal ur principebze iqnas agebul i da am gziT sikeTe avtonomiuri TviTmmarTvel obisa kul turul saqmeebSi gavr- cel des yovel osze, sadac ki ar unda binadrobdes igi saqarTvel os respubl ikis fargl ebSi.

Tu osTa erovnul i interesebi aucil ebl ad Txoul oben ramdenime damou-

kidebel i pol itikuri wes- wyobil ebis Seqmnas, Cven, mi uxedavad im mosazre- baTa, romel nic zemoT moviyvanET da, romel nic Cveni azriT metad aferxe- ben, Tu SeuZl ebel ar hyofen oseTSi damouki debel pol itikur cxovrebas, provinciis avtonomiis masStabiT, momxreni viqnebiT osTa warmomadgenl o- basTan erTad pol itikuri avtonomiis SemoRebisa Semdeg pirobaTa wi naswari dacviT: a) avtonomiuri teritoria unda Semoifargl os mxol od goris mazris im Svidi sofl is sazogadoebiT, romel nic osTa mier aris dasaxl ebul i; b) am teritoriaze mosaxl eoba unda gamokiTxul iqnas, surs Tu ara mas avtonomiuri TviTmmarTvel oba da Tu surs, ra saxis da ra formebsi (referendumi) da saWiroa Sei qmnas saqarTvel os respubl ikis saxel mwifo mTI ianobis iseTi garantiebi, romel nic, Tu ver mospoben, Zal ze Seasuste- ben yovel gvar separatistul tendenciebs qarTul osobaSi da Tavdasxmi- Ti taqtikis warmoebas maTi mxriT yovel marj ve dros.

aseT garantiabad Cven migvaCnia: a) dval eTis saqarTvel osatvis dabruneba da Crdil oETisken gardasavl el [i] erTaderTi ardonis karis gamagre- ba da vidre es kardinal uri sakiTxi Cvenda sasargebl od ar gadawydeba, Crdil oET oseTTan SeTanxmebiT, manamde sakiTxi kul turul - teritoriu- l i avtonomiis Seqmnisa goris mazris osTaTvis unda moixsnas; b) gani- araReba osi mosaxl eobisa, romel Siac es erTi xania misi xel mZRvanel ni- mil itaristul tendenciebs aviTareben da iaraRs arigeben; g) samxreT ose- tis ol qis avtonomiur statusSi Setanil unda iqnes saTanado muxl ebi respubl ikis mTI ianobis uzrunvel sayofad.

Tu yvel a es pirobebi dacul [i] iqneba, ai am SemTxvevaSi qarTvel i eris suverenul i Zal aufl eba moval ea, yurad iRos saqarTvel os osebis erovnul i aRorZinebisaken mimarTul i swrafva da Tavis moZme, mezobel ers, romel T- anac mas xangrZl ivi istoriul i gza erTad uvl ia, misces avtonomiuri weswyobil eba sakanonmdebl o ufl ebebiT adgil obriv saqmeTa fargl ebSi. da dee, Semdeg TviT cxovrebam gadawyvitos, Tu ramdenad gamZl e da sic- ocxl is unaris mqonea es avtonomia.

dokumenti # 122

`samxreT oseTis~ central uri aRmasrul ebel i komitetis Txovna_ saqarTvel os central uri aRmasrul ebel i komitetisadmi, dekl araci- is saswrafod gamoqveynebis Sesaxeb.

Объединенного заседания Ц.И.К. и облпарткома Ю.О. 19 апреля 1922 года.

Председатель Владимир Санакоев.

Секретарь Николай Гасиев.

Слушали:

1) Об ускорении опубликования декларации.

Постановили:

Послать телеграмму в Ц.И.К. Советской Грузии следующего содержания: В некоторых пограничных с уездами районах, фактов входящих в состав Юго- Осетинской Области, Советской и партийной работы почти нет, ввиду юридической неоформленности их отхода от уездов и включении в состав области. Местные нужды этих районов неослуживаются обоими сторонами.

Этим положением нарушается правильный ход проднологовой компании, провокаторские элементы пользуются для дискритирования Соввласти среди населения. В связи с этим в Областной Партком и Исполком неправильно обращаются члены Партии и гр- не этих районов, требующие определенного указания, куда относятся их районы. Обсудив вопрос объединение заседания Областного Парткома и Ц.И.К. такое положение находит нетерпеливым ввиду чего просит Ц.И.К. о немедленном распубликование декларации об Автономной Юго- Осетии.

2) О назначении Зав. агитационным п/д.

Назначить тов. Джатиева Коста.

Председатель В.Санакоев.

Секретарь: /подпись/

dokumenti # 123

dekreti # 2

srul iad saqarTvel os sabWoTa central uri aRmasrul ebel i komitetisa da saqarTvel os saxal xo komisarTa sabWosi. samxreT- oseTis avtonomiuri ol qis mowyobis Sesaxeb

srul iad saqarTvel os sabWoTa central uri aRmasrul ebel i komiteti da saxal xo komisarTa sabWo adgens:

1. moewyos samxreT- oseTis avtonomiuri ol qi, rogorc saqarTvel os soc. sabW. respubl ikis nawil i; aRniSnul i ol qis centrad iqnes q. cxinval i.

2. samxreT- oseTis avtonomiuri ol qis Semadgenl obaSi moTavsdes teritoria, romel ic uWiravs samxreT- oseTis xal xs Semdeg sazRvrebSi:

a. Crdil oeTIT sanapiro xazi gaivl is kavkasionis mTavar qedze mTiel - Ta avtonomiuri respubl ikis samxreT saxel mwifo sazRvris gaswvri;

b. dasavl eTIT_ sanapiro xazi iwyeba mTiel Ta soc. sabW. avtonomiuri respubl ikis sazRvrebidan mdinare WanWaxis saTavesa da mis SenakadTan, gadasWris simaRI es 8.872, miemarTeba wiTel i mTis qedis gaswvri, gadasWris mdinare WanWaxis, Senakadi geskes SesarTavSi gagrZel deba samxreT- dasavl eTis mimarTul ebiT geskes mTis kal Tebze ama mdinaris dasavl eTIT; gadasWris geskes mTas, Zvaris mTas, simaRI es 6.062, mdinare Rarul as sof. dabl a- kvaJas qveviT, mdinare qvedrul as, sof. qvedis aRmosavl eTIT; daeS-veba vel uanTis mTis kal Tebze ama mdinaris dasavl eTIT, gadasWris simaRI es 7.616; dadasWris qudevis mTas, 2.932- s simaRI is cota dasavl eTIT gagrZel deba aRmosavl eT samxreTis mimarTul ebiT, 6.013 simaRI is Zir is gaswvri; gadasWris mdinare yviril as 2.170 simaRI es aRmosavl eTIT, mieb- j ineba perangis mTas 5.201 simaRI eze; miemarTeba samxreTIT; ama mTis kal Tebze Zirul as mTis dasavl eTIT; gadasWris ukanasknel s da gaivl is kapreb- is- seris qeds, 4.172 simaRI emde; gagrZel deba mdinare Warad- xevis zemo mimarTul ebiT da Semdeg kaprebis- seris qedis kal Tebis iqiT, mdinare l opanis dasavl eTIT.

g. samxreTIT: sanapiro xazi gagrZel deba WorWiiani- wnel isis gziT, ga-

dasWris mdinare l opans, wnel isis qveviT, mouxvevs Crdil o- aRmosavl eTiT; gaivl is sof. atocis zeviT, gadasWris mdinare frones sof. oqonas qveviT, miemarTeba samxreTiT, mdinare frones aRmosavl eTiT, gadasWris mdinare frones marcxena Senakads, sof. qvaTeTris qveviT; Semdeg gadasWris mdinare frones (yornisisa) sof. dvans zeviT; gaivl is dvani- guj a- bauris gzis paral el urad Crdil o- dasavl eTis mxriT; gadasWris mdinare did- l iaxvs qal aq cxinval is qveviT da sof. ergneTis zeviT; miebj ineba sof. eredvs; gadasWris mdinare patara- l iaxvs, sof. arbos zeviT, mdinare Warebul as, sof. mereTisa da koSkis zeviT; mouxvevs samxreT- aRmosavl eTiT, gadasWris mdinare oTrevas sof. fl avismanis zeviT da md. aZuras da mej udas, sof. aZvisa da mej vrisxevis cota zeviT; grZel deba sof. yirbal isa da beruSeTis Crdil o- aRmosavl eTiT; gadasWris mdinare tartl as sof. winakaris qveviT, mdinare l exuras marj vena Senakads sof. xurval eTis zeviT, Semouvl is sofel Ta j gufs: orWoSans, abrevsa da sxv. gadasWris mdinare qsans sof. oZisis zeviT da miebj ineba ifnians qedis mTas; **d. aRmosavl eTiT: sanapiro xazi** ifnians qedis mTidan mouxvevs Crdil o- eTiT da gadasWris xnarcvis,* gaivl is sof. miqel ianTkaris, irmis sofl is da sxva sofl ebis xazis dasavl eTiT; Semouvl is Crdil o- eTiT 6.409 simaRI is Sua kal Tebs, gadasWris ukanasknel s ekl esiis nangrevebis cota aRmosavl eTiT; Semdeg gagrZel deba Crdil o- eTisaken qediT md. al evis mi- marTul ebis gaswvriV ama mdinaris aRmosavl eTiT; gadasWris Wartal as mTas 8.283 simaRI eze, saferSeTis da taxtis mTebS, gagrZel deba mdinare aragvisa da qsnis Senakadebis Sua wyal Ta gamyofi qedis xaziT; gadasWris simaRI eebS: yuryutsa, munj uxsa da l omisis uRel texil s monastris nangrevebTan da miemarTeba j amuris uRel texil amde; gadasWris md. aragvis marj vena Senakadebs_ ganisis, ereTos da sxva sofl ebis dasavl eTiT; gagrZel deba Crdil o- dasavl eTiT md. aragvis zemo- mimarTul ebiT; mouxvevs dasavl eTiT, gadasWris l azg- wiTis mTas da miemarTeba wyal Ta- gamyofi qedis xaziT mdinare Tergisa da didi l iaxvis Senakadebis Sua, gadasWris 12.117, 11.333 da 12.572 simaRI eebS da miebj ineba vail k- parsis mTas.

3. samxreT- oseTis avtonomiuri ol qis mmarTvel i organoebia central uri aRmasrul ebel i komiteti da adgil obrivi sabWoebi.

4. samxreT- oseTis avtonomiuri ol qis saqmeTa mmarTvel obisaTvis daarsdeba saxal xo komisariatebi: a)Sinagan saqmeTa, b)iusticiisa, g)ganaTI ebisa, d)j anmrTel obisa, e)Sromisa da soc. uzrunvel yofisa, v)miwaTmoqmedebisa, z)sasursaTo, T)finansTa, i)saxal xo meurneobis sabWo da k)muSaTa da gl ex- Ta inspeqcia.

Seni Svna 1. samxreT- oseTis gansakuTrebul i saxal xo komisarTa sabWo ar daarsdeba da saxal xo komisariatebi moqmedeben, rogorc central uri aRmasrul ebel i komitetis ganyofil ebani.

Seni Svna 2. gareSe saqmeni da sagareo vaWroba rCeba saq. soc. sabW. res- publ ikis central uri organoebis gamebl obaSi.

samxedro saqmes ganagebs samxedro komisariati, romel ic uSual od eqvem- debareba saqarTvel os samxedro da sazRvao saxal xo komisariats da mowyobil iqneba ukanasknel is mier samxreT oseTis central ur aRmas- rul ebel komitetTan SeTanxmebiT.

kontr- revol uciasTan brZol a darCeba saqarTvel os sagangebo komisi- is organoTa gamebl obaSi, romel nic mowyobil iqneba ukanasknel is mier

*xnarcvi_ Rma Txril i, ormo.

samxreT- oseTis central ur aRmasrul ebel komitetTan SeTanxmebiT.

5. raTa saqarTvel os soc. sabW. respubl ikis teritoriaze dacul iqnes da moewyos erTiani safinanso da sameurneo saqmianoba, samxreT- oseTis avtonomiuri ol qis saxal xo komisariatebi: sasursaTo, safinanso, Sromisa, saxal xo meurneobis sabWo da muSaTa da gl exTa inspeqcia darCebian saqarTvel os soc. sabW. respubl ikis saTanado saxal xo komisariatebis qvemdebareobaSi; amasTanave ukanasknel Ta yovel i gankargul eba da RonisZieba ganxorciel ebul unda iqnes samxreT- oseTis saxal xo komisariatebis mier samxreT- oseTis central uri aRmasrul ebel i komitetis meSveobiT.

Seni Svna: mexuTe muxl Si dasaxel ebul i saxal xo komisrebi daniSnul iqnebian saq. soc. sabW. respubl ikis saTanado saxal xo komisariatebis mier, samxreT oseTis central ur aRmasrul ebel komitetTan SeTanxmebiT da damtkicebul iqnebian ukanasknel is mier.

6. samxreT- oseTis avtonomiuri ol qis saxal xo komisariatebi: Sinagan saqmeTa, iusticiisa, ganaTI ebisa, j anmrTel obisa, miwaTmoqmedebisa da social ur uzrunvel yofisa avtonomiuri arian Tavis moqmedebaSi da pasuxismgebel ni saq. soc. sabW. respubl ikis central uri organoebis winaSe, samxreT oseTis central uri aRmasrul ebel i komitetis meSveobiT.

7. samxreT- oseTis avtonomiuri ol qi yvel a saWiro safinanso da teqniki saSual ebebiT momaragebul iqneba saq. soc. sabW. respubl ikis saerto saxsridan saqarTvel os central uri aRmasrul ebel i komitetisa da saxal xo komisarTa sabWos uSual o gankargul ebisamebr samxreT- oseTisa da central uri aRmasrul ebel i komitetis meSveobiT.

8. im administraciul i erTeul ebis faqtiur gadacemas, roml ebic mieTviseba samxreT- oseTis avtonomur ol qs, awarmoebs Sereul i komisia, Semdgari samxreT- oseTis central uri aRmasrul ebel i komitetisa, mosazRvre dainteresebul i mazris aRmasrul ebel i komitetisa da saqarTvel os soc. sabW. respubl ikis central uri xel isufl ebis warmomadgenel Tan.

aRmasrul ebel komisas daeval eba Tavisi muSaoba daamTavros ara ugvi-
anes ama 1922 w. maisis 1- sa.

srul iad saqarTvel os sabWoTa central uri aRmasrul ebel i komitetis
Tavmj domare f.maxaraZe.

saqarTvel os soc. sabW. respubl ikis sax. komisarTa sabWos Tavmj domare
s.qavTaraZe.

aRmasrul ebel i komitetis mdivani T.kal andaZe.

1922 w. april is 20.

tfil isi- sasaxl e.

dokumenti # 124

amonaweri srul iad saqarTvel os muS. gl ex. w- arm. deputatebis central uri aRmasrul ebel i komitetis prezidiumis 1922 wl is aprili is 25- is sxdomis oqmidan (# 6)

gansaxil vel i sagani

1)О поправках в декрете об Автономной Юго- Осетинской области.

dadgenil eba:

1)Цхинвальский районный исполком остается как районный входящий в Ю. Ос. область.

2)В грузинских селениях администрация и милиция остается грузинская.

3)Кобийский район административно приписывается к Душетскому уезду.

4)Остальные оставить также, как указано в декрете.

5)Предложить НКВД привести означенные пункты в исполнение.

6)Поручить председателю Горийского уездисполкома т. Моцонелидзе следить за проведением в жизнь декрета и в случае возникновения каких либо недоразумений урегулировать на месте или разрешать совместно с центром.

Управделами ЦИК- а

/подпись/

С подлинным верно:

/подпись/

dokumenti # 125

**Sinagan saqmeTa saxal xo komisariatis saqmeTa mmarTvel s.
Sindisis raionis warmomadgenl is irakl i kapanaZis
gancxadeba**

vinaidan, osTa da qarTvel Ta Soris arasasurvel i gamwvavebis Tavidan asorebis mizniT, Sinagan saqmeTa saxal xo komisariatma ama wl is 25 maiss piradi mol aparakebis dros me momando Sindisis raionisaTvis gaZl ierebul i mil iciis 200 kacemde Sedgena, gTxovT momceT saTanado mandati.

1922 w. 27 mai si.

dokumenti # 126

`samxreT oseTis- ol qis partkomisa da central uri aRmasrul ebel i komitetis 1922 wl is 2 ivnisis gaerTianebul sxdomaze miRebul i dadgenil eba

ПРОТОКОЛ № 15

Объединенного заседания Областного Парткомса и Ц.И.К. Юго- Осетии от 2 Июня 1922 года. г. Цхинвали. Председатель Константин Джатиев. Секретарь Николай Гасиев.

Порядок дня.

1. Об административном устройстве области.
2. О Народном Комиссариате Внутренних дел.
3. О выборе жилищной тройки.
4. Об отпуске зерна Наркомздраву.
5. Текущие дела.

Слушали:

Об административном устройстве области.

Постановили:

I. В административном отношении Автономную область Юго-Осетии разделить на три кантона: А) Джавский с центром в Джавах, Цхинвальский с центром Цхинвал и Ксанский с центром Ахалгори.

II. В цхинвальский кантон входят: 1) Цунарский, 2) Корнийский, 3) Оконский, 4) Цхинвальский, 5) Ортевский, 6) Белотский, 7) Андоретский районы.

III. В Ксанский кантон: 1) Лехурский, 2) Ахалгорский, 3) Монастырский.

В конечном итоге Область делится на три кантона и четырнадцать районов. Органами Управления должны быть: В центре области Ц.И.К. Автономной области Юго-Осетии, в трех кантонах - кантональные исполнительные комитеты рабочих и крестьянских депутатов, а районах - районные исполкомы.

Примечание: штаты кантональных исполкомов должны быть приблизительно такие же, как и районных.

Примечание 2-е: В Джавах, Цхинвали и Ахалгорах функции райисполкомов переходят кантональным исполкомам.

Районные исполкомы подчиняются кантональным, а последние Ц.И.К. Юго-Осетии.

Применительно к административному устройству должны быть организованы и аппараты парторганизации области, т.е. созданы три кантональных парткома с приблизительными штатами райпарткомов и одиннадцать райпарткомов при условии перехода функции Джавского, Цхинвальского и Ахалгорского Райпарткомов к кантональным парткомам.

2. О народном Комиссариате Внутренних дел.

До приезда Предлика т. А. Джатиева, т. Ивана Завадина оставить на должности Вред Наркомвнутренних дел.

3. О выборе жилищной тройки.

Создать тройку из представителей: 1) Политбюро, 2) Совпрофа и 3) Местного исполкома, при Цхинвальском исполкоме.

4. Об отпуске зерна Наркомздраву.

Отпустить из средств Посевкома Наркомздраву 100 (сто) пудов кукурузы взаимнообразно.

5. Об оставлении служащих медсанучреждений на продовольственном и других снабжении.

Снабжать из местных средств.

П.п. председатель К. Джатиев, секретарь Н. Гасиев.

Верно: /подпись/

dokumenti # 127

miliciis mTavar sammarTvel os. 1922 w. 8 ivnisi. # 812/ 43

rogorc komisariatSi Semosul i cnobebidan cans, osTa da qarTvel Ta damokidebul ebam SesaZl oa mi iRos mwvave xasiaTi. gatyobinebT ra amas,

winadadebas gaZl evT miiRoT saWi ro zomebi, raTa gaZl ierebul i iqnas cx-
inval is raionis mil iciis Semadgenl oba ganapira sofl ebSi 200 kaciT.

saxal xo komisar is moadgil e xutul aSvil i (xel moweril ia).
saqmeTa mmarTvel i e.xaxanaSvil i (xel moweril ia).
saerTo ganyofil ebis gamge (xel moweril ia).

dokumenti # 128

`samxreT oseTis- avtonomiuri ol qis saStato erTeul ebis
Semcirebis Sesaxeb

Протокол № 17

Заседания Областного Парткома 15 июня 1922 года.

Председатель Ражден Козаев

Секретарь Каз.Абаев

Слушали:

1)О штатах Областной организации Юго- Осетии сокращение штата согласно предписания Ц К К П Г от 9/ VI 1922 г. за № 141.

Постановили:

Ответственные парработники, члены Цика т.т. Завадин, К.Джatieва переходят в распоряжение Цика Юго- Осетии. Из существующего штата при Облпарткоме с Политпросветом оставить: Отв. Секретаря В.Санакоева, Зав. агитпропом А.Чочиева, Делопроизв. Л.Абаева, Счетовода Е.Лохова, Машинистку Л.Киршбаум, Сторожем Д.Харебову, стат. информ. и учрасп. М.Бегизова. Инструктора: К.Абаев и Георгий Санакоев. Завженотдел Н.Тибилова, инструктор по женотд. В.Лалиеву.

Штаты райпарткомов упразднить от 15 Июня. Разъездными инструкторами по Рокскому району оставить т. В.Джatieва, по Джавскому М.Санакоева, по Кударо- Цоно- Теделетскому Е.Кочиева, по Корнийскому Х.Кочиева, по Цунарскому Д.Тедеева, по Оконскому С.Хабалова, по Ортево- Белотскому– Андоретскому Д.Бекоева.

Все остальные увольняются по сокращению штата с 15 Июля 1922 года.

Примечание I- е: На Областного Инструктора тов. Санакоева возложить заведываемые Цхинвальской райорганизацией.

Примечание II- е: В Лехурской райорганизации оставить временно т. Лексо Тибилова, впредь до передачи в область Ахалгорского района; с переходом Ахалгорского района Лехурский район объединяется с последним.

Примечание III- е: Андоретский район объединяется с Ортевским, Кемульгский с Джавским за заключением Цоно- Теделетского подрайона, который переходит к Кударскому.

2)О проведения в жизнь установлений высших органов власти Области.

Строго проводить в жизнь постановления высших органов власти области и не допускать освобождения преступных элементов из под ареста.

Председатель Р.Козаев

Секретарь К.Абаев

Верно: /подпись/

dokumenti # 129

muSaTa da gl exTa mil iciis sammarTvel o. 1922 w. 18 ivnisi.
15 Sinagan saqmeTa saxal xo komisariats. saiduml o

pasuxad Tqveni moweril obisa m/ 10 ivnisi dan # 5812/ 13 mogaxsenebT: goris mazraSi osTa da qarTvel Ta Soris uaryofiTi urTierTobis Tavidan asacil ebl ad da maT Soris normal uri damokidebul ebis dasamyarebl ad miRebul ia Semdegi zomebi:

1. saqmis yovel mxriv gamosarkvevad da adgil ze zomebis misaRebad samxreT oseTSi gaigzavna inspeqtori mixail ovski.
2. mil iciis saqmianobis mosagvarebl ad da gasaZl ierebl ad, mil iciis gundis 200 mil iciel is Semadgenl obis mosawyobad goris mazris mil iciis ufrosis dasaxmarebl ad goris mazraSi gaigzavna marqafa razmis ufrosis TanaSemwe aqmx. TuSmal aSvil i.
3. goris mazris revkoms weril obiT eTxova, raTa zemoaRniSnul Tanamdebobis pirebs aRmouCinos yovel mxrivi daxmareba maTze dakisrebul i mindobil obis aRsrul ebaSi da kerZod mil iciis gundis sando pirebiT dakompl eqtebaSi.

mil iciis mTavari sammarTvel os ufrosi k.xaratiSvil i. (xel moweril ia).
pol itkomi (xel moweril ia).
Stabis ufrosi (xel moweril ia).
saerTo kancel ariis ufrosi g.qavTaraZe (xel moweril ia).

dokumenti # 130

`samxreT oseTis- central uri aRmasrul ebel i komitetis
prezidiumisa da saol qo komitetis 1922 wl is 24 oqtombris
gaerTianebul i sxdomis dadgenil eba

ПРОТОКОЛ № 17

Объединенного заседания президиумов Ц.И.К. и Областкоме А.О.Ю. от 24 октября 1922 года.

Присутствовали: т.т. Вл.Санакоев, С.Гаглоев, Ал.Чочиев, К.Джатиев, Тасолтан Бекузаров, Че-

рмен Бегйзов, Николай Гасиев и Наркомы. Председатель Козаев Ражден. Секретарь Гасиев Николай.

Слушали:

1. Об административном устройстве А.О.Ю.О.

Постановили:

В административном отношении А. О. Ю. О. разделить на три уезда: А) Джавский уезд с центром в Джаве, Б) Цхинвальский с центром Цхинвали, В) Ксанский с центром в Ахалгори. В Джавский уезд войдут следующие районы (теми): А) Рокский, Б) Джавский, В) Кемультский и Г) Кударский.

В Цхинвальский уезд войдут следующие районы (теми): А)Цунарский, Б)Корнийский, В)Оконский, Г)Цхинвальский, Д)Ортевский, Е)Белотский, Ж)Андоретский.

В Ксанский уезд войдут следующие районы (теми): А)Лехурский, Б)Ахалгорский, и В)Монастырский.

В конечном итоге Область делиться на три уезда и 14 районов (теми). Органами управления должны быть: В центре области Ц.И.К. Авт. обл. Юго- Осетии, в трех уездах- уездные исполнительные комитеты рабочих и крестьянских депутатов, а районах- районные исполкомы (темские).

Примечание 1: штаты уездных исполкомов должны быть приблизительно такие же, как и районных (темах).

Примечание 2: В Джавах, Цхинвали и Ахалгорах функции райисполкомов переходят уездным исполкомам.

Районные исполкомы подчиняются уездным, а последние Ц.И.К. Юго- Осетии.

Применительно к административному устройству должны быть организованы и аппараты парторганизации области, т.е. созданы три уездных парткома с приблизительными штатами райпарткомов и одиннадцать райпарткомов при условии перехода функции Джавского, Цхинвальского и Ахалгорского Райпарткомов (темский парткомов) к уездным парткомам.

Примечание 3: В Юго- Осетинской области теми именовать районами; районов же в смысле передаточных организации между темами и областью в Юго- Осетии нет, не считая трех уездов.

Председатель Р.Козаев

Секретарь Н.Гассиев.

Зав. Общим отделом Облпарткома Юго- Осетии /подпись/

dokumenti # 131

Sinagan saqmeTa saxal xo komisaris agegeWkorus mier srul iad saqarTvel os central uri aRmasrul ebel i komitetis prezidiumisadmi gaghvni i weril i. 1922 wl is 16 dekemberi

srul iad saqarTvel os sabWoTa central uri aRmasrul ebel i komitetis prezidiumis.

vadgen ra amasTanave Sinagan saqmeTa saxal xo komisariatTan arsebul i special uri komisiis moxsenebas faqtiuri masal iT dasabuTebul s, da mi-macnia, rom or mezobel erTa Soris erTxel da samudamod bol o moeRos yovel ive uTanxmoeba- konfl iqtebs, teritorial ur niadagze aRmocenebul s da damyardes maT Soris mSvidobiani urTierToba da TanamSroml oba. vS-uamdgoml ob srul iad saqarTvel os sabWoTa central uri aRmasrul ebel i komitetis prezidiumis winaSe, raTa miRebul i iqnas jer- jerobiT mx-ol od principial uri gadawyvetil eba- gadasinj ul i iqnas dekreti nomeri me- 2. rac Seexeba im sakiTxis detal ur garkvevas, Tu ra cvl il ebebi iqnas Setanil i am dekretSi, es miendos Sinagan saqmeTa saxal xo komisariats, romel sac daeval os sakiTxis ganxil va special ur komisiaSi samxreT_oseTis warmomadgenl is monawil eobiT.

Sinagan saqmeTa saxal xo komisari agegeWkori (xel moweril ia)

Sinagan saqmeTa saxal xo komisariatTan arsebul i samxreT -oseTis teritoriul i gamijvnis Semswavl el i komisiis (gr.gvel esiani, d.kariWasvili, s.gorgaZe) moxseneba. 1922 wel is 16 dekemberi

jer kidev gamocemul i ar iyo saq. centr. aRmas. komitetis da saq. sax. komisarTa sabWos dekreti (# 2), roml iTac detal urad iyo gansazRvrul i samx. oseTis avtonomiuri ol qis fargl ebi, rom goris mazris osebTan mezobl ad mdebare qarTvel mosaxl eobaSi didi drtvinva, ukmayofil eba, protestebi gaisma im xmebis gamo, romel ic gavrcel da maT wreebSi da romel ic mdgomareobda imaSi, rom mraval i qarTul i sofel i Tu raioni goris mazrisa unda miezomos axl ad dawaesebul samxreT- oseTis avtonomiur ol qs da amgvarad, qarTvel i mosaxl eoba, osTa avtonomiur xel isuflebas daeqvemdebaros. unda vTqvaT, rom qarTvel i mosaxl eobis aseT ganwyobil ebas angariSi gauwia rogorc saqarTvel os revol uciurma komitetma, ise komunisturma partiam, roml ebmac, Tumca Taviant dadgenil ebaSi samxreT oseTis avtonomiis Sesaxeb (ix. komunisturi partiis pl enumis dadgenil eba # 39 w/w. 12 dek. da saq. revol. komitetisa w/w. 20 dekembrisa # 94). qal. cxinval i samxreT oseTis avtonomiuri ol qis administraciul centrada Riare, magram, es aRiareba iyo pirobiti, ara kategoriul i. zemoarnisnul dadgenil ebaSi maT Seitanes erTi sagul isxmo muxl i erTnairi Sinaarsisa, erTnairi redaqqiit, saxel dobr: me- 3 muxl i: `im dromdi_ vkiTxul obTaq _sanam cxinval is raionis qarTvel i mosaxl eobis sul ieri mdgomareoba ar Seicvl eba q. cxinval is raionis avtonomiuri oseTis teritoriad miCnevis sasargebl od, qal. cxinval Si da mis irgvl iv arsebul i qarTul i mosaxl eobis sofl ebSi Zal aufl eba dautovos saraiono revkoms, romel ic Sedis goris mazraSi.-

cxadia, rogorc mTavrobis, ise partiis gadawyvetil eba iseTia, rom cxinval is raioni im dromdi vidre qarTvel i mosaxl eoba am raionisa ar moisurvebs SeuerTdes samxreT oseTis avtonomias, unda eqvemdebarebodes goris mazris xel isuflebas. maSasadame, mTavrobis da partiis mier qal. cxinval is centrada Riarebas is azri aqvs, rom aseT centrada is xdeba mxol od mas Semdeg, Tu adgil obrivi qarTvel i mosaxl eoba avtonomiur oseTsi Sesvl is survil s gamoTqvams. am momentamdi ki_ da es azri mkafiod da kategoriul ad aris gamoTqmul i am dadgenil ebaSi_ qal. cxinval -sa da mis raionSi goris mazris xel isufleba rCeba. gareSe amisa, mTavrobam da kompartiis central urma organom, imave mosazrebaTa gamo (qarTvel i mosaxl eobis interesebis dacvis miznit) srul iad gamoricxa zemod moxsenebul i dadgenil ebit samxreT oseTis avtonomiuri teritoriidan Casavlis sazogadoeba da kobis raioni, romel Tagan pirvel i dastova isev raWis mazris, xol o meore duSetis mazris fargl ebSi. is sul ieri gardatexa qarTvel i mosaxl eobisa, romel zedac l aparakobs mTavrobisa da partiis dadgenil ebaTa zemoT amoweril i me- 3 muxl i, ara Tu ar moxda dRemdi oseTis sasargebl od, aramed Sin. saq. sax. komisariatის mier miRebul i didZal i weril ebi Tu weril obiti masal ebi amtkiceben piriqit, rom urTierToba os- qarTvel Ta Soris ufro da ufro mwvavdeba, ukmayofil eba ufro da ufro Rrmavdeba sofl ebis samxreT oseTze miweris niadagze. Seqmnili ukmayofil ebis mizezi mraval nairia: ekonomiuri, zne- Cveul ebaTa da sxva da sxva, enis ucodinaroeba, xel isuflebis Sevl iT gamowveul i

misvl a- mosvl is gaZnel eba, kul turul i sxvaoba da sxva da sxva. osTa mo-
sazRvre mTel i qarTvel i mosaxl eoba, ara erTxel gamosTqvams Tavisi kate-
goriul da uryev survil s, darCes goris mazris xel isufl ebis qveS.

maT aseT survil s naTel s hyofs im drois sabuTebi, rodesac j er kidev
samxreT oseTis avtonomiuri teritoria sabol ood Semofargl ul i ar
iyo. ise is sabuTebi, romel nic am teritoriis gansazRvris Semdeg (saq.
centr. aRmas. komitetisa da saq. sax. kom. sabWos me- 2 nomris qveS gamocemul i
dekretiT) dagrovda Sin. saq. sax. komisariatSi. mogvyavs am sabuTebis
nuxa Sinaarsis sqematurad gadmocemiT:

a) gasul i wl is oqtomber- noembris TveebSi, rodesac xmebi gavrcel da,
rom cxinval is raioni qal aqiTurT unda gadavides samxreT oseTis xe-
l isufl ebaze, mTel ma qarTvel ma mosaxl eobam cxinval is raionisa, saxel -
dobr, sofl ebma: kexvma, qvemo aCabeTma, zemo aCabeTma, arbom, dicma, qordma,
qvemo niqozma, zemo niqozma, avnevma, Zarwemma, dgvrisma, nul ma, zemo xviTma,
qvemo xviTma, yel qceul ma, qemertma, qurTam, TamaraSenma, vanaTma da TviT
cxinval ma, ese igi 20 sofel ma gamogzavna Sinagan saqmeTa saxal xo komi-
sariatSi Tavisi weril obiTi dadgenil ebani, roml ebiTac isini Txoul oben
Zvel administraciul e.i. goris mazris fargl ebSi darCenas.

Suamdgoml oba amaTi imdenad kategoriul i formiT iyo gamoTqmul i, rom
aravis eWvi ar Separvia maTi aseTi neba- survil is sinamdvil esa da gul -
wrfel obaSi. bevri am sofl el Tagani imasac ki ambobda_ sj obs cocxl ad
dagvxocoT, sadme aqedan gadagvasaxl oT, vidre oseTis xel isufl ebis qveS
dagvtovoT. TviT cxinval is revkomma aseT saerTo survil s, saerTo Txov-
na- mudaras gamoexmaura da Sinagan saqmeTa saxal xo komisariatSi sax-
el ze gamogzavnil momarTvaSi aRniSna: `ajim ambavma, rom osebi Tbil isSi
wasul an saTxovnel ad, raTa qal . cxinval i da ramdenime qarTul i sofel i
samxreT oseTis sazRvrebSi darCes, cxinval isa da mis garSemo mdebare
qarTul i sofl ebis mcxovrebl ebSi didi mRel vareba gamouwvevia; b) gl exoba
am raionisa acxadebs; Tu mTavroba aseT nabij s gadadgams, Cvens mdgomar-
eobas ar gaecnoba, am SemTxvevaSi sj obs yvel ani davixocoT. _aRniSnavs ra
aseT mdgomareobas, wers: vxedavT ra am arasasurvel mdgomareobas da
xal xis Rel vas, gTxovT saCqarod miiRoT Sesafebi zomebi_ gamogzavnoT
momzadebul i partiul i amxanagebi xal xSi agitaciis gasawevad da adgi-
l obrivi pirobebis gasacnobad. gTxovT, manam es sakiTxi ar iqnas gada-
WriLi, Torem vimeorebT, _ Cven miRebul i gvaqvs namdvil i cnobebi da Rr-
mad varT darwmunebul i, rom sisxl is Rvra garduval ia...~

amas ambobda ndobiT aRWurvil i cxinval is xel isufl ebis sarai ono revko-
mi, romel mac zedmiwveniT icis adgil obrivi viTareba. am masiuri saCivre-
bisa da TviT cxinval is revkomi momarTvis gamo, j er kidev gasul i wl is
noemberSi komisarma Suamdgoml oba warudgina saqarTvel os revol uciur
komitets, romel Sic zogierTi zomebis miRebas da sxvaTaSor is, qarTvel Ta
da osTa Soris urTierTobis mowesrigebamde, samxreT oseTisaTvis admin-
istraciul i erTeul is Seqmnis sakiTxs revol uciuri komitetis msj el o-
bidan droebiT moxsnas da 20 ivl isis dadgenil ebis (am dadgenil ebiT
Svidi sofl is sazogadoeba Sedioda samxreT oseTis ol qSi) Zal aSi dar-
Cenas sTxovda. mTel i cxinval is mosaxl eobis survil i is iyo, romel ic
zemoT aRvniSneT. amas cxinval is revkomi, TviT cxinval Si mcxovrebi sa-
zogadoebis yvel a erovneba ramdenjerme adasturebs:

a) a/w. ianvris TariRiT komisariatma miiRo qal . cxinval is qarTvel ,
somex da ebrael Ta sazogado dadgenil eba, roml iTac isini moiTxovden

cxinval is da misi raionis kvl av istoriul sazRvrebSi darCenas; b) igive survil i gamoTqves cxinval is raionis mcxovrebl ebma piradad gadmoce-miT, special uri del egaciis Tbil isSi warmogzavnis saSual ebiT, romel Si-ac am raionis TiTqmis yvel a sofl is warmomadgenel i Sedioda (ricxviT 40 kaci) da wel s warudga rogorc saqarTvel os mTavrobas, ise Sinagan saqmeTa saxal xo komisars da mTel i saqmis viTareba auxna. amastanave warudgina sofl ebis ganaCenebi, roml ebiTac isini Suamdgoml oben maTi sofl ebis goris mazris teritoriis fargl ebSi datovebas. komisars, amis Semdegac moxsenda masiuri Txovnebi, Suamdgoml obani mTel i rigi sofl ebisa, roml ebiTac isini Txoul obden goris mazris qvemdebare cxinval is revkomis xel isufl ebis qveS darCenas. ganaCenebi movida Semdegi sofl ebidan:

1)sof. nedl aTidan. oqmSi, romel ic daweril ia 26 Tebervl is TariRiT, naTqvamia, rom `Cven nedl aTis mcxovrebn miweril i viyaviT oqonas. dRes oqona samxreT oseTs daeqvemdebara da Cvenc mZime pirobebSi CavcviydiT, sxvaTa Soris imitamac, rom warmoeba rusul ad da osuradaa, raic CvenTvis gaugebaria.- Txoul oben goris mazris gomis raionis avl evis Temze miweras, `sadac aqamdi viyaviT miweril io.-

2)sof. xundi subanidan. am sofl is mcxovrebn, oqonaze miweril ni igives amboben da imasve Txoul oben, rasac sof. nedl aTis mcxovrebn.

3)sof. Sindaridan. am sofl is mcxovrebn (avl evis Temisa da gomis raionisa) 9 martis dadgenil ebiT amboben: `Cven ar SegviZl ia morCil eba samxreT oseTisa, (Sors aris, gl axa sasiarul o gzebi gvaqvs) da amitom gTxovT goris mazraze dagvaricxoT.-

4)sof. TiRvadan. am sofl is mcxovrebl ebi amboben: `gadagvricxes cxinval ze, e.i. oseTis xel isufl ebis qveS dagvayenes. winad ki viyaviT avl evis TemSi (goris raioni), exl a gvsurs viyoT gorze miweril i.-

5)sof. al abaridan. oqmi, romel ic a/w. 15 Tebervl is TariRiTaa Sedgenil i naTqvamia: `varT oqonis raionisa, gvewevian cxinval isaken, Cven ki gvsurs viyoT miweril i gorze.-

6)si f. sacxeneTidan. ianvris 2- is dadgenil ebaSi am sofl is mcxovrebl ebi amboben: `sofel i qarTvel ebiTaa dasaxl ebul i. osebis xel qveS yofnas mets veRar SevZl ebT, l amis aris aviyarnoT da gadavsaxl deT sadme, radgan osebi dazaral ebul ni arian, yvel a xarj ebs mTavrobisa da Tavis sasargebl od Cvens kiserzed iReben.-

7)sof. zemo da qvemo oqonadan. am sofl ebis mcxovrebn a/w. 22 Tebervl is dadgenil ebiT Txoul oben `zemo da qvemo oqona darCes goris mazris mmarTvel obis qveS, rogorc dRemdis iyo. exl a ki ratomRac samxreT oseTi gvierTebis.- aqve SevnSnvT, rom yvel a es sofl ebi gomis raionis sofl ebisa. ese igi, iseTi kuTxisa, romel ic yovel Tvis udao qarTul raionad iTvl eboda da qarTvel ebiTaa dasaxl ebul i. magram arc amit dasrul ebul a Txovna- mudara erTsa da imave saganze qarTvel i mosaxl eobisa. rode-sac winaswar gavrcel ebul i xmebi faqtad iqca da samxreT oseTis avtonomiuri teritoria meore nomris qveS gamocemul i dekretiT Camoyal ibda ise, rom am teritorias martl ac mohyva zogi qarTul i raioni da sofl ebi, ukmayofil eba goris da sxva mazrebis qarTvel i mosaxl eobisa ufro gacxovel da da amitomac amis Semdegac kvl av mravl ad iwyo dena Sinagan saqmeTa saxal xo komisariatSi saCivrebma, oqmebma, sofl is ganaCenebma. mokl ed mogvyavs dekretis gamocemis Semdegac Semosul i Suamdgoml obebis Sinaarsi, raTa yovel i Cveni azri weril obiTi sabuTiT gavmagroT.

1) oqmi a/w. mkaTaTvis 11- s Semdgari saerTo krebi s, qvemod dasaxel ebul i 10 sofl isa: TiRvisa, oqonisa, sunisisa, nabakevisa, tyisubnisa, Sindi ssa, nedl e- Tisa, al ibarisa, axal Senisa da xundisubnisa. oqmSi vkiTxul obT: `samxreT oseTis xazis gavl ebis dros movyeviT mis fargl ebSi, rac wadmoadgens ekonomiyuri Tval sazrisiT did uxerxul obas: a)cxinval Si siarul i ar gvexerxeba, Zvel Tagan Cveul ni varT gomSi, suramSi, gorSi siarul s, romel - Ta bazriTac vsargebl obT mudam da sadac saRdeba yovel i Cveni nawarmi; b)cxinval is gzebi imdenad Znel i sasiarul oa, rom yovl ad autanel ia CvenTvis da Cveni saqmisaTvis da g)dawesebul ebebSi siarul is dros, Cveni saqmi ano- bis gamo, migvaqvs imavdros gasayidaT yovel i Cveni nawarmi da amiT vi- matebdiT samuSao dReebS... davadgineT: vinaidan samxreT oseTis ol qze miwera gamoiwvevs Cvens daRupvas, kategoriul ad moviTxovT, raTa Cveni sofl ebi darCes goris mazris fargl ebSi da miweros maxl obel sacix- uris Tems.

2)sof. Warebis mcxovrebn i a/w. 23 agvistos ganaCeniT Txoul oben: `sof. Warebi gadadis osebis, saxel dobr cxinval is aRmaskomze, romel ic da- Sorebul ia Cvengan 30 versiT, Camodis mdinare patara l iaxvi, romel mac modideba icis 1 Tebervl idan seqtembris gasvl amdi. ase, rom am mizeziT kaci ver gadis... garda amisa, Cven qarTvel ebi varT da ar viciT osuri ena... am mosazrebaTa gamo gvinda ara osebis, aramed tyviavis raionis aRmasko- mze viyoT miweril ni, romel ic CvenTvis axl oa.

3)tyviavis Temis disevis da kul biTis mcxovrebn i a/w. 26 agvistos ganaCeniT acxadeben: `samxreT oseTze Cveni miwera arc istoriul ad, arc geografi- ul ad, arc eTnografiul ad da arc ekonomiyurad mizanSewonil ad da sa- marTi ianad ar migvaCnia. amitom imedi gvaqvs, rom mTavroba Cven qarTvel ebs gvartomobiT, ucxo tomis xel Si ar gadagvcems, romel Tanac Cven ar gvakav- Sirebs rogorc zemoxsenebul i garemoebani, ise ena da arc zne- Cveul e- bani.-

4)raWis mazris aRmasrul ebel i komiteti a/w. 20 agvistos TariRiT Sina- gan saqmeTa saxal xo komisariats atyobinebda: `raWis mazris qarTvel i gl exobis mier sabuTebiT SeZenil i uzravi qoneba_ saxnavi, saZovari miwebi da tyeebi mohyva samxreT oseTis ol qSi da dRes TiTqmis sadaod xdeba es maTi sakuTreba, radgan am adgil ebs osebi Taviant sakuTrebad sTvl ian. gl exebisaTvis tyiT sargebl oba im mxriTac uxerxul i xdeba, rom nebar- Tvis asaRebad maT cxinval Si unda wavidnen, romel ic 70 versis manZil zea... aRmasrul ebel i komiteti Txoul obs, SeCerebul i iqnas oseTis fargl ebSi Setana im tyeebisa, romel nic qarTvel i gl exobis sakuTrebas Seadgenen: winaaRmdeg SemTxvevaSi konfli qti osebsa da qarTvel ebs Soris mosal od- nel ia.-

5)amasve adasturebs raWis mazris wedisis Temis sof. wedisis, qvedisis da iris mcxovrebaTawmunebul ni, romel nic Taviant gancxadebebsi a/w. 6 seqtembers daweril Si amboben: `osebis sazRvrebSi moxvda zemo raWis TiTqmis yvel a satyeo agarakebi, saTibebi da saxnavi yanebi, romel Ta Soris ufro sayuradReboa wedisis Temis satyeo agaraki, saxnavi da saTibi ad- gil ebi, raic zemoaRniSnul i sofl ebi sakuTrebas Seadgens, exl a ki oseTis gankargul ebaSi gadavida. unda mogaxsenoT, rom central uri aRmaskomi (gancxadeba central uri aRmaskomis saxel zea) Tu aseT mniSvel ovan sak- iTxs yuradRebas ar miqcevs, izul ebul i gavxvdebiT yvel am Tavebi davi xo- coT da Cveni oj axebi wyal Si CavyaroT. magram, Cven imedi gvaqvs, Cvens agaraks, saTibebS, saxnav miwebS i sev Cven dagvi brunebT, e.i. moaqcevT saqarTve-

l os respubl ikis teritoriaSi.- al baT undodaT eTqvaT `raWis mazris fargl ebSio-, Torem saqarTvel os teritoriaSi exl ac aris_ oseTis avtonomiuri ol qis teritoria saqarTvel oa...

6)sof. Zvil eTis mcxovrebl ebma Semdegi TxovniT mimarTes Sinagan saqmeTa saxal xo komisariats (Txovnas a/w. 5 agvistas TariRi aqvs); `sof. Zvil eTi aRmosavl eT- dasavl eTiT da samxreTiT gars Semortymul ia qarTul i sofl ebiT da es sofl ebi da TviT Zvil eTi ekuTvnian zemo qarTl s. winad viyaviT miweril i dirbis sazogadoebaze, anu Semdeg dirbis Temze. exl a migwaweres samxreT oseTis ol qze. Cven pital o qarTvel ebi varT, osuri ena srul iad ar viciT: dirbis sasamarTI o Cvengan sam verszea, xol o Tu samxreT oseTis fargl ebSi davrciT, maSin wunarSi 15 versze mogvixdeba siarul i. amastanave mdinare dvanis frone didia da CvenTvis Zal ian Znel ia iq siarul i. amitom gTxovT, migwawerot isev dirbis Temze, goris mazraze.-

7)qsnis Temi (duSeTis mazra) Suamdgoml obs (dadgenil ebiT a/w. 21 oqto-mbers miRebul iT). `gamogvecxada ra, rom qsnis Temi gadadis samxreT oseTze, Cven es yovl ad SeuZl ebl ad migvaCnia: a)cxinval i daSorebul ia Cvens Temze 50 versiT metze da am siSoreze siarul i saCivrevisa Tu sxva da sxva saqmisa gamo SeuZl ebel ia, radgan muSa kacisgan moiTxovs mocdenas, wasvl a- wamosvl aSi ara nakl eb 3- 4 dRisa, raic damrupvel i iqneba Cveni meurneobisaTvis. zamTarSi xom SeuZl ebel i iqneba iq siarul i, rodesac duSeTi Cvenzea 18 versis manzil ze... rac unda gagviWir des, Cven cxinval Si ver vivl iT da bevri usamarTI oba da Cveni gaWirveba mTavrobas darCeba gaugebari. Zi ier mniSvnel ovania isic, rom Cven mezobel sofl ebTan, roml ebic mdebareoben duSeTisaken, gvaqvs axl o damokidebul eba mamul is da sxva saqmeebis gamo da amastan saqmis mosagvarebl ad unda viarot duSeTs da isini ki, Tu Cvenze saCivari eqnebaT_ cxinval s. amnairad sul agveweweba saqme. amitom, vTxovT mTavrobas migwaweros isev duSeTs da agvacdinost mraVal i gaWirveba da usiamovneba... amgvarad, qarTvel i mosaxl eoba goris mazrisa daJinebiT, kategoriul ad erTsa da imaves iTxovs. ara erTxel da sxva dros, sxvadasxva saxiT (weril obiT Tu piradad deputaciis saSu- al ebiT) erTsa da imave survil s gamoTqvams oTxj er, ar daumorcil on igi oSta xel isufl ebas. aseTive survil s gamoTqvams raWis da duSeTis mosaxl eoba. maSasadame, Cven srul i safuZvel i gvaqvs vsTqvaT, rom SekiTxa am mosaxl eobisa, rasac zemoT aRniSnul i mTavrobis da komunisturi partiis central uri komitetis 12 da 20 dekembris dadgenil ebaTa me-3 muxl i gul isx- mobs, faqtiurad ukve moxda, da rom am SemTxvevam cxadad gviCvena;_ goris mazris da kerZod cxinval is raionis qarTvel oba, agreTve raWis da duSe- Tis mazrebisa, wi naaRmdegi a imisa, rom qarTul i sofl ebi da raionebi gor- is mazrisa, kerZod qal . cxinval i da misi raioni, agreTve duSeTis da raWis mazrebis nawil ebi Seuertdes samxreT oseTis avtonomiur ol qs. aq am SemTxvevaSi Cveni azris saargumentaci od ufro sagul isxm o is aris, rasac TviT oSta mosaxl eobis nawil i acxadebs.

goris samazro aRmaskomis Sinagan saqmeTa sammarTvel os ganyofil eba a/ w. 21 martis TariRiT (# 990), respubl ikis Sinagan saqmeTa saxal xo komis- ariats wers Semdegs: `bevria imiStana magal iTebi, rom sxvadasxva raioneb- Si osebi acxadeben survil s, raTa isini CamovaSoroT oseTis revkoms, radgan maT surT qarTvel ebTan erTad cxovreba, radgan maT, osebs qarTvel ebTan gasayofi ara aqvT, da Tu vinme amas moiTxovs e.i. osebis cal ke yofnas, yovel ive es an sicruca, an raime mosazrebiT daintereseba.-

aRni Snavs ra amas, ganyofil ebis gamges saWi rod mi aCnia sagangebo komisi-
 is dani Svna Seqmnil i mdgomareobis gamosaZiebl ad. Tan am mimarTvas darT-
 ul i aqvs dadgenil eba Sedgenil i sof. xurval eTSi a/w. 12 marts, Semdegi
 Sinaarsisa: `Cven qvemo Wal is raionis sofl ebis: 1)zemo baRebis, 2)qvemo
 baRebis, 3)gudiaanTkaris, 4)saRoreTis, 5)biCanaanTkaris, 6)metesmanis da 7)Rvd-
 ul eTis warmomadgenl ebma davadgineT: radganac arwevis me- 3 raionis
 aRmaskomi Zal iT moiTxovs am sofl ebis mcxovrebtagan maTTan adminis-
 traciul ad SeerTebas da axdens Cvens mimarT sxvadasxva gankargul ebebs,
 Cven ki maTTan kavSiri ara gvaqvs, vugzavniT dadgenil ebas umaRl es mTavrobas,
 raTa man winadadeba misces me- 3 raionis sof. arwevis aRmaskoms (osuri
 armaskomia), rom igi Camogvexsnas, radgan Cveni Rrma survil ia veqvemde-
 barebodeT qvemo Wal is raionis aRmaskoms (qarTul i aRmaskomia), rogorc
 es mTavrobisgan aris daweril i.- am dadgenil ebas xel s awers 14 warmomad-
 genel i yvel a zemoT dasaxel ebul i sofl ebisa, romel Ta xel is moweras
 adasturebs qvemo Wal is aRmaskomis Tavmj domare sakuTari xel is mower-
 iT da beWdis dasmiT. am dadgenil ebis meore gverdze erTvis aseTi dadge-
 nil eba: `1922 wl is 12 marti sof. qvemo Wal a. Cven xurval eTis Temis sof.
 winagaris mcxovrebtTa warmomadgenel ni: xubul uri da biCanaSvil i (osebia),
 Cveni sofl is mcxovrebtTa daval eb iT vacxadebT survil s zemoxsenebul
 dadgenil ebaSi aRni Snul sofl ebTan erTad SevuerTdeT qvemo Wal is raions,
 rogorc vyofil varT mamapapurad, radgan ufro axl o da moxerxebul ia
 CvenTvis.- amaT xel is mowerasac qvemo Wal is aRmaskomis igive Tavmj domare
 adasturebs.

ras gviCvenebs es saintereso dokumenti? a)rva sofl is osoba Txoul obs
 qarTvel Tagan nu gamogvTiSavT da qvemo Wal is xel isufl ebis qveS dagv-
 toveTo; b)es rva sofel i ekuTvnis ise udao wmind qarTul teritorias,
 rogorc aris xurval eTis Temi; g)pretenzias Zal aufl ebis gavrcel ebi-
 sas am rva qarTul sofl ebze acxadebs, rogorc Cans arwevis ufro Crdi-
 l oetiT mdebare sofl is aRmaskomi, sadac avtonomiuri oseTis xel isu-
 fl ebaa.

orive ukanasknel i dokumenti ki e.i. is rac gomis raionis avl evis Tems
 exeba da is, rac qvemo Wal is raionis xurval eTis Tems, naTel yofs erT
 garemoebas_ avtonomiuri xel isufl eba samxreT oseTisa vrcel deba iseT
 raionebsa da Temebze, romel nic srul iad udao qarTul i teritoriaa. es
 garemoeba, roml is dasabuTebas Cven am moxsenebis didi nawil i movandomeT,
 imdenad udao da aSkara iyo TviT mmarTvel i wreebisaTvis, rom rogorc
 vTqviT, mTavrobam da komunisturi partiis central urma xel mZRvanel ma
 organom Sesazl ebl ad ver dainaxes Taviant dadgenil ebebSi samxreT ose-
 Tis avtonomiuri ol qis Sesaxeb SeetanaT duSeTis mazris kobis raioni da
 raWis mazris Casavl is sazogadoeba. garda amisa, ...TviT qal . cxinval i
 samxreT oseTis administraciul centr ad mxol od pirobiT gamocxades.
 igi aseT centr ad mas Semdeg unda gamxdariyo, Tu adgil obrivi qarTul i
 mosaxl eoba avtonomiur oseTsi Sesvl is survil s gamoTqvamda. manamde...
 qal . cxinval Si da mis raionSi goris mazris xel isufl eba rCeboda (ix.
 dadgenil ebani mTavrobisa da kom. partiis centr. kom. wina wl is 12 da 20
 dekemberi).

marTalia, amis Semdeg samxreT oseTis avtonomiuri ol qis Sesaxeb
 gamocemul ma dekretma (# 2) mdgomareoba ZiriTadad im mxriv Secval a, rom
 mraval i qarTul i sofl ebi da raionebi oseTis avtonomiur teritoriaSi
 moeqca, magram aseT mdgomareobas sinamdvil e ver Seurigdada, rogorc

ukve aRvniSneT, qarTvel i mosaxl eoba dRemdi ganagrZobs am garemoebiT gamowveul ukmayofil ebas, drtvinvas da aseTi ukmayofil ebis mizezze Cven ukve miyuTiTeT. saxel dobr: a)samxreT oseTis avtonomiur ol qSi DdekretiT # 2 Setanil ia dasavl eTiT raWis da Sorapis mazrebis nawil ebi; b)aRmosavl eTiT didi nawil i duSeTis mazrisa da g)samxreTiT mTel i wye-ba sofl ebisa, romel nic Tanaxmad mTavrobisa da partiis zemod aRniSnul dadgenil ebaTa (mux. me- 3) safuZvel ze Setanil i unda yofil iyo am teritoriaSi mxol od im SemTxvevaSi, Tu goris mazris oSta mezobl ad Tu oSta Soris mcxovrebi qarTvel i mosaxl eoba Tavis kategoriul survil s gamoTqvamda_ daemorCil os oseTis avtonomiur xel isufl ebas. manamdi ki, es qarTul i mosaxl eoba goris mazris xel isufl ebis qveS unda darCenil iyo. aqac Cveni azris gasaSugebl asd faqtiur masal as miymarTavT. CamovTvl iT im qarTul sofl ebsa da qal aqs, romel nic oseTis samxreTiT mdebar-eoben da dekretiT (# 2) samxreT oseTze gadavida.

1. TamaraSenis sazogad oebisa

12 qarTul i sofel i X	saxel d- obr	qarTve- l ebi	osebi	sxva erovne- bebi	sul
1.	zemo aCabeTi	4119	525	6	4650
2.	qvemo aCabeTi				
3.	Tamara- Seni				
4.	patara Zarwemi				
5.	didi Zarwemi				
6.	sabawmi- nda				
7.	qemer ti				
8.	xeiTi				
9.	dgvr isa				
10.	qur Ta				
11.	kexvi				
12.	sver i				

X. qarTul sofl ebad vTvl iT iseT sofl ebs, sadac osebi 50 %- ze nak- l ebia.

2. cxinval is sazogadoebisa

1.sofel i da 1.qal aqi	saxel d- obr	qar T- vel ebi	osebi	sxva er ovne- bani	sul
1.qal aqi	cxinval i	1335	0	2697	4032 XX
1.sofel i	guj aba- uri	186	40	0	226

XX. 1917 wl is sameurneo aRweraSi cxinval is mosaxl eobis statistika ar moi poveba. 1886 wl is saoj axo siebidan Sedgenil i statistikuri nusxiT sul 3832 mcxovrebia. 1915 wl isaTvis ki administraciis mier Sekrebil i cnobebis mixedviT sul 4618. dReisTvis es cifri unda gaorkecdes.

3. wunaris sazogadoebisa

1.sofel i	saxel - dobr	qar Tve- l ebi	osebi	sxva er ovne- bani	sul
sofel i	nul i	413	24	0	437

4. dirbis sazogadoebi sa.

1.sofel i	saxel d- obr	qar Tve- l ebi	osebi	sxva er ovne- bani	sul
sofel i	Zvel eTi	324	10	0	334

5. avl evi s sazogadoebi sa

11 sofel i	saxel d- obr	qarT- vel ebi	osebi	sxva er ovne- bani	sul
1.	xundis ubani	1526	324	0	1850
2.	Sindara				
3.	TiRva				
4.	qal eTi				
5.	zemo oqona				
6.	qvemo oqona				
7.	nedl aTi				
8.	sufni si				
9.	nabakevi				
10.	Wvrinisi				
11.	bzi sxevi				

6. mereTis sazogadoebisa

6 sofel i	saxel d- obr	qarT- vel ebi	osebi	sxva er ovne- bani	sul
1.	sneqvi	1536	119	0	1655
2.	zardia- anTkari				
3.	qsui si				
4.	Warebi				
5.	kul bidi				
6.	disevi				

7. ortevis sazogadoebisa.

1.sofel i	saxel - dobr	qarTve- l ebi	osebi	sxva er ovne- bani	sul
1.sofel i	vanaTi	432	48	0	480

8. bel oTis sazogadoebisa.

8 sofel i	saxel do- br	qarTve l ebi	oseb i	sxva er ovne bani	sul
1.	awri sxevi	299	0	0	299
2.	sacxeneTi	289	0	0	289
3.	xoSura	135	0	0	135
4.	dvani X	369	0	0	369
5.	xaduri- anTkari X	22	0	0	22
6.	bel oTi	220	0	0	220
7.	zemo avnevi X	287	0	0	287
8.	qvemo avnevi X	127	0	0	127

D

X. 1917 wl is sameurneo aRweraSi am oTxi sofl is mcxovrebtA raodenoba aRniSnul i ar aris, ami tom Cven aqac 1886 wl is saoj axo siebidan amoRebul i cnobebiT visargebl eT da dReisTvis vaorkecebt.

sul [ˈsamxreT oseTze- S.v.] gadasul ia 41 qarTul i sofel i da erTi qal aqi sadac 20325 qarTvel ia, xol o oSta raodenoba 1100 sul s udris. Tanaxmad yvel a zemoT aRniSnul i mosazrebisa, special ur komisi as Sinagan saqmeTa saxal xo komisariatTan arsebul s aucil ebel saWi roebad miaCnia gadasinj ul i iqnas is dekreti (# 2), roml iTac oseTis avtonomiuri ol qis fargl ebSi Setanil ia mraval i sofel i qarTul i mosaxl eobiT (goris da duSeTis mazra) an kidev mosazRvre mazrebis iseTi nawil ebi, Sereul i Tu wminda osuri mosaxl eobiT, romel nic geografiul i, ekonomiuri da sxva pirobebis gamo, mraval nair uxerxul obas, dabrkol ebebs, adgil obrivi mosaxl eobis interesTa daCagvras iwveven. marTal ia, TviT saqarTvel os sab- WoTa central uri aRmasrul ebel i komitetis prezidiumma Seitana dekret- Si (# 2) j er kidev a/w. 25 april s zogierTi koreqtivi, saxel dobr: a) qarTul

sofl ebSi administracia da mil icia darÇes qarTul i~ (mux. me- 2; 25 apri-
l is dadgenil eba) da b)kobis raioni adminidtraciul ad miweros duSe-
Tis mazras.~ (mux. me- 3 imave dokumentisa), magram es Sesworebani Seqmnil
mdgomareobas SesamÇnevad ver cvli an. is rac mTavar yuradRebas unda
iqcevdes_ qarTl is Suagul is qarTul i sofl ebi teritoriul ad kvl av
samxreT oseTis fargl ebSi rÇeba da maSasadame, am ukanasknel is xel isu-
fl ebis qveS.

yovel ive zemoT moxseniebul i safuZvel s gvaZl evs vTqvaT, rom dasax-
el ebul i dekreti (# 2) roml iTac samxreT oseTis avtonomiuri ol qis
sazRvrebis Camoyal ibda, saWiroebs radikal ur gadasinj vas im mizniT, raTa
erTxel da samudamod os_ qarTvel Ta urTierToba normal ur pirobebSi
Cadges da mezobel erTa Soris teritoriul niadagze dava, Seicval os
srul is sol idarobiT da mSvidobiani, Zmuri TanamSroml obiT.

komisiis Tavmj domare gr. gvel esiani (xel moweril ia).
wevrebis: d.kariWaSvil i (xel moweril ia).
s.gorgaZe (xel moweril ia).

dokumenti # 133

**Sorapnis mazris mil iciis ufrosis mier, Sinagan saqmeTa saxal xo
komisariatisadmis 1923 wl is 25 maiss miweril i weril i**

**Sinagan saqmeTa saxal xo komisariats. 25 maissi 23 w.
1989/ 2055**

mogaxsenebT, rom Cemi mazris saÇxeris ubnis rwmunebul ma_ mil iciis ufro-
sma patakiT momaxsena, rom misi ubnis mil iciis sammarTvel oSi SeutaniaT
weril obiTi ganxadeba Wal is Temis sof. perevis mcxovrebl ebs (saÇxeris
ubani), sadac arweril ia vel uri Tavdasxma sofl is Tedel eTis osebisgan,
roml ebic ar aZl even mosvenebas mSvidobian mcxovrebt, rom Tavisufl ad
iSromon TaviantTi arsebobisaTvis, ra mizeziTac mosal odnel ia moxseneb-
ul i osebis Tavdasxmis dros sisxl is Rvra mSvidobiani sofl is perevis
mcxovrebl ebisa, Tu ar iqna miRebul i zomebi Tedel eTis osebis winaaRm-
deg.

mogaxsenebT ra zemoxsenebul s, gTxovT Tqvens saTanado gankargul ebas,
raTa zemoxsenebul i osebisgan Sewyvetil i iqnes vel uri Tavdasxma mSvi-
dobian mcxovrebl ebze da ar eqnes adgil i nacional ur SurisZiebas da
mtrobas maT Soris.

Sorapnis mazris mil iciis ufrosi (xel moweril ia).
saqmis mwarmoebel i (xel moweril ia).

rezol ucia: saswrafo. saqmeebi da dedani gagzavnil ia samil icio ganyo-
fil ebaSi.

dokumentis # 134

Sorapnis mazris mil iciis ufrosis mier, Sinagan saqmeTa saxal xo komisarisdmi 1923 wl is 25 maiss gagzavnil i weril i

Sinagan saqmeTa saxal xo komisars.

25 maissi 1923 w. # 1994

mogaxsenebT, rom Cemi mazris rwmunebul ma saCxeris ubnis mil iciis ufrosma patakiT momaxsena, rom 9 ama maisis RamiT Tavs dasxmia qurdul ad osebi, mcxovrebi sof. kudaroSi (goris mazra javis raioni), roml ebsac misi Tavli dan gautacnia erTi cxeni kutvnil i mil iciisa. gagebiTanave mil iciis ufrosi imegrel iSvil i 4 mil icioneris TanxebiT dadevnebia ukan Tavdamsxmel ebs, roml ebsac miwevian javis raionis sof. qoTinakoSi, autexiaT srol a erTi meorisatvis, romel srol amac gastana 2 ^{1/2} saat, xol o Wril obiT da anu mkvl el obiT dazianeba arcert mxares ar mosvilia. rogorc iuwyeba zemoarNiSnul i ubnis mil iciis ufrosi, am garemoebas uyurebdnen adgil obrivi osetis Temis armaskomi da mil icia, magram araviTari daxmareba Cveni mil iciisaTvis ar ar mouCeniaT da piriqiT, daxmareba gauveviaT qurd bacacebisaTvis.

mogaxsenebT ra yovel ive am zemoxsenebul s, gTxovT Tqvens saTanado gankargul ebas, raTa moeTxovos sastiki pasuxi javis raionis soft is qoTinakos Temis armaskoms da adgil obriv mil icias avazakebis daxmarebisaTvis.

Sorapnis mazris mil iciis ufrosi (xel mowerilia).

saqmis mwarmoebel i (xel mowerilia).

rezolucia: saswrafod samilicio ganyofil ebas moxsendes.

dokumenti # 135

raWis mazrisa da `samxret oseTis- avtonomiuri olqis sadao sazRvrebis garkvebis mizniT, saqartvel os central uri armasrul ebel i komitetis mier Sesabamisi komisiis Seqmna

С.С.Р.Г. Народный Комиссариат Внутренних- дел. 11 июля 1923 года. № 2224. г. Тифлис.

Копия

На один месяц.

Мандат

Предъявитель сего член Всегрузинского Центрального исполнительного комитета тов. Гаглоев назначен Председателем Комиссии по выяснению и урегулированию пограничных пастбищных и лесных вопросов между Рачинским уездом и Юго-Осетией.

Все советские учреждения, должностные лица и железнодорожная администрация приглашаются оказывать тов.Гаглоеву законное содействие при выполнении возложенных на него поручений.

Зам. председателя Совнаркома С.С.Р.Г. и Наркомвнудел А.Гегечкори.
Зав. общим отделом Чиковани.
С подлинным верно
Делопроизводитель. /подпись/

dokumenti # 136

**amonaweri raWis samazro komitetTan Seqmnil i sasazRvro
komisiis 1923 wl is 13 ivnisis sxdomis oqmidan**

sazRvari Cveni adgil ebisa aRmosavl eTis mxriT aris mdinare j ej oris Senakadi saxel wodebiT `daRvarul a-, romel ic iwyeba misi saTavidan mTa daRvarul as zevidan da mTavrdeba `daRvarul as- j ej orTan SesarTavSi. am daRvarul as marj vena mxares aris Casavl is raionis osebis adgil ebi, marcxniT ki Cveni sofl is iris mcxovrebl ebisa. adre aq arcerT oss araviTari adgil ebi ar qoniaT. aq aRniSnul i sazRvrebidan Cven sof. iris mcxovrebl ebi uxsovari droidan vfl obdiT da vsargebl obdiT am adgil ebiT. Cven isedac mcire miwis mqone da umiwawyl o mSromel i gl exebi varT da Tu CamogverTva es miwebi, sabol ood daviRupebiT. iTxoven, rom aRsrul ebul i iqnas Suamdgoml oba sadac j er ars, raTa es adgil ebi maT daubrundes.

xel saweren: darispan gagniZe, pavl e gagniZe, l uarsab gagniZe, al eqsandre gagniZe. am xel moweras amowmebs wedisis Temis aRmaskomis Tavmj domare amaisuraZe.

sofel wedisis da iris mcxovrebl ebis warmomadgenl ebis mier naCvenebi sazRvrebi aris Cveni namdvil i sazRvari. ese igi sofel wedisis mcxovrebl ebis adgil ebis sazRvris xazi iwyeba im adgil ebidan, sadac erTvis Senakadi daRvarul a mdinare j ej ors, aqedan am sazRvars aqvs mimarTul eba Crdil o- aRmosavl eTisken, gadaWris mTas `qveda mTas-, samxreT- aRmosavl eTisken mdebare `ukivl eTis- kal Tebs, mTa `kl de boZal s-. am teritoriaze arcerT oss Casavl is raionisas araviTari adgil ebi ar qonia. marj vniT, ese igi, aRweril i sazRvris aRmosavl eTis mxriT aris osebis, dasavl eTis mxriT Cveni_ sofel wedisis.

iTxoven rom zomebi iqnas miRebul i da Suamdgoml oba aRsrul ebul i, raTa maT es adgil ebi daubrundes.

xel saweren: estate maisuraZe, grigol maisuraZe, vano maisuraZe, severian maisuraZe. wedisis Temis aRmaskomis Tavmj domare amaisuraZe.

sofel qvedis mcxovrebl ebis warmomadgenl ebi: spiridon meTodesZe, zaqaria giorgisZe, pavl e kikiasZe da spiridon gl axuasZe maisuraZeebi adastureben zemoaRniSnul i mcxovrebl ebis warmomadgenl ebis Cvenebes sazRvrebze. amastanave dasZenen, rom sazRvrebis xazi sofel qvedis mcxovrebl ebis adgil ebisa iwyeba `kl de boZal is- mTis wver raRybidan da miemarTeba Crdil o_ aRmosavl eTisaken mTis wverebze, gadaWris simaRI es 3036, gadadis l esaris wverebze, gagrZel deba mTis zurgebze- wverebze, qvedrul as saTavis `boJiskars-, gadaWris mTa `gormaRal as-_ simaRI e 1498, mi dis mTis qedebze Crdil o oseTis sazRvarTan, gagrZel deba averSenj i- birzonis uRel - texil amdi. es sazRvari mobrundeba samxreT- dasavl eTis mimarTul ebiT,

miyveba mdinare kozindonos (igive Rarul as) Senakads `ursi donis- mdinare kozindonis (igive Rarul as) Sesar Tavamdis.

xel s aweren: spil oa da spiro maisuraZeebi, s.mai suraZe, pavl e maisuraZe, zaqaria maisuraZe a.mai suraZe.

wedisis Temis aRmaskomis Tavmj domare a.mai suraZe.

sofel Raris da gl ol is warmomadgenl ebi: Temis aRmaskomis Tavmj domare sergo ZiZiSvil i, ivane gogiCiSvil i, maTe xorebaSvil i, beso j ul aZe, petre al ixanaSvil i, iason Cital aZe, viqtor maxarobl iSvil i, amtkiceben da adastureben zemoaRni Snul sazRvrebs da Tavis mxrivac iZl evian Cvenebas Semdegi sazRvris Sesaxeb: sazRvari iwyeba im adgil as, sadac erTvis Rel e ursdini mdinare kozil ins (igive Rarul as). Semdegi is miemarTeba Crdil o- aRmosavl eTisken, miyveba Rel e ursdins ukanasknel mis mosaxvevamde, grZel deba da miemarTeba Crdil o- aRmosavl eTisken mTis kal Tebze, gadaWris simaRI es 1440, gayveba mTis mwverval ebs, gadaWris simaRI es 392, gagrZel deba Crdil o- aRmosavl eTis mimarTul ebiT, gadaWris mdinare CanCaxs im adgil as, sadac mas erTvis Senakadi `sami- j auri-. miyveba mdinare CanCaxs mis Senakad `bobris ruis- Sesar Tavamde. miyveba am Senakads `bobris ruis- saTavemde wiTel i mTis wveramde, im adgil as, sadac horizontal i simarl e 1280 SeuerTdeba meridians 61^o 25¹ sferodan, miyveba qedebz da miemarTeba Crdil o- aRmosavl eTisken qedebze, gadaWris simaRI es 1607 da grZel deba mTis qedebze mdinare CanCaxis saTavemde da misi Senakadebis saTavemde. miyveba imave mimarTul ebiT yinul ian mTebz da mi va mTa `adai zoxamde- (kl de).

xel s vawer T: ivane gogiCiSvil i, maTe xorebaSvil i, iason Cital aZe, beso Wel iZe, p.pl oxaraSvil i, viqtor maxaraSvil i, gl ol is Temis aRmaskomis Tavmj domare sergo bibiaSvil i.

daumateT mas, rom Cven `wiTel mTaze- da samaraneze gvaqvs saToxari yanebis adgil ebi, roml ebic damuSavebul ia Cvens mier, magram osebi aRar gvanebeben. uxsovar droidan Cven gl ovel ebi am adgil ebiT vsargebl obdiT. osebi ar gvinaxavs im raionSi samuSaod, exl a ki i fl oben (isakuTreben S.v) da aRar gvanebeben im adgil ebs. viTxovT, rom aRZrul i iqnas Suamdgoml oba sadac j er aras, radgan zemoT naCveneb sazRvrebSi moqceul i adgil ebi Cven dagvi brundes. mi Tumetes, isedac mcire miwebis mqone mSromel i gl exebi varT. ivane gogoCiSvil i, maTe xorebaSvil i, gl ol is Temis aRmaskomis Tavmj domare s.CoCiSvil i.

dokumenti raWis mazris aRmaskomis beWdiTaa dadasturebul i.

dokumenti # 137

amonaweri skp raWis samazro komitetis pl enumis sxdomis oqmidan.
19 ivnisi 1923 wel i

moi smi nes: samxreT oseTis sazRvrebze saTibebis da saZovrebis Sesaxeb. momxsenebel i al .gociriZe.

gl ol is da wedisis sofl is mcxovrebtTa saZovrebi da saxnavebi moyo-
l il ia samxreT oseTis sazRvrebSi da gl exebs axdevineben ij aras.

daadgi nes: gamoqveynebul i iqnas komisiis mier warmodgenil i oqmi, romel -
ic gaegzavnos cekas da eTxovos, rom am oqmsi naCvenebi saZovari adgil ebi,
roml ebic Sedis samxreT oseTis sazRvrebSi, namdvil ad aris raWis teri-
toria da am adgil ebiT sargebl obs raWis mcxovrebtTa 600 koml i. raWis
mcxovrebl ebsa da osebs Soris mdgomareoba rom ar gamwvaves, maT Soris
SuRI i rom ar Camovardes, amitom aucil ebl obas saWiroebs oqmsi naCvene-
bi adgil ebis raWis mazrisadmi gadacema.

dedanTan sworia

raWis sam. partkomis saerTo ganyofil ebis gamge /xel moweril ia/

rezol ucia:

raWis sam. aRmaskomis Tavmj domares amx. n.engCizes [srul ad ar ikiTxeba
S.v.]

gegZavnebaT cnobad da saxel mZRvanel od 20. VI. 23 w.

raWis sam. partkomis pasuxismgebel i mdivani (xel moweril ia)

dokumenti # 138

sssr raWis mazris aRmasrul ebel i komiteti. 1923 w. 20 ivnisi
1203.

Sinagan saqmeTa saxal xo komisariats

Sinagan saqmeTa saxal xo komisariatის gasul i wl is 14 seqtembris # 4936/
9177 moweril obis Tanaxmad, raWis samazro aRmaskomi amasTanave erTad
adgens aRmaskomis mier arCeul i komisiis oqms Tavisi daskvniT. samxreT
oseTis ol qis da raWis mazris sazRvrebis Sesaxeb gacnobebT, rom dekret-
iT # 2 gayvanil i sazRvrebis gamo, samxreT oseTis avtonomiuri ol qis
sazRvrebSi moqceul ia rogorc oqmidana Cans 10700 deset. tyeebi da sxva
adgil ebi. faqtiurad am adgil ebiT sargebl oben raWis mazris mcxovre-
bl ebi (daaxl oebiT 85 %).

wl evandl amdis saTibebis da sabal axoebis sargebl obisaTvis baJebis
mokrefa da xe- tyis mosaWrel ad nebarTvis gacema mcxovrebl ebze swar-
moebda raWis mazridan. amJamad ki ukanasknel is [raWis mazris S.v.] damouki de-
bl ad samxreT oseTi Seudga am baJebis akrefas, ramac didi ukmayofil eba
gamoiwvia mcxovrebl ebSi, im SiSis gamo, rom viTom maT erTmevaT es erTad-
erTi umTavresi wyaro maTi arsebobisa (saTibebi, yanebi, sabal axoebi). es
bundovaneba Tumc gafantul i iqneba, magram es imis srul garantias ar
iZl eva, rom momaval Si kidev ar gamwvavdeba es sakiTxi da seriozul
xasiaTs ar miiRebs.

sabal axoebze baJebis akrefis da xe- tyis sargebl obisaTvis operacieb-
is warmoebis dros Sesazl ebel ia adgil i eqnes sul patara gaugebrobas,
romel ic sakmarisi iqneba erTmaneTs Soris SuRI is gaRvivebis saTvis.

raWis samazro aRmaskomi aucil ebel saWi roebad sTvl is Secvl il i iq-
nas sazRvreb i samxreT oseTis avtonomi uri ol qisa da raWis mazras Soris,
Tanaxmad TandarTul i oqmisa da rukis mixedviT, ristvisac gTxovT mi-
iRoT saTanado zomebi. amastan erTad igzavneba; oqmi komisiis daskvniT,
axsniTi ruka da sampartkomis dadgenil eba.

sam. aRmaskomis Tavmj domaris moadgil e (xel moweril ia).
mdivani a.gamyrel iZe (xel moweril ia).

dokumenti # 139

s.s.s.r. saxal xo komisarTa sabWo. 1923 w. 23 agvisto. Sinagan saqmeTa saxal xo komisariats # 1439

Tqvens momarTvaze 1049/5962 raWisa da samxreT oseTis sazRvrebze mde-
bare saZovari adgil ebisa da satyeo mamul ebis sakiTxis ganxil vis Sesax-
eb, gibrundebaT ra amastanave mimowera 12 furcl ad aRniSnul sakiTxze.
gacnobebT, rom saqarTvel os saxal xo komisarTa sabWo Tanaxmaa raTa aRniS-
nul i sakiTxis ganxil va gadmotanil i iqnas qal aq Tbil isSi, ris gamoc
winadadeba geZl evaT moaxdinoT saTanado gankargul eba.

saxal xo komisarTa sabWos Tavmj domare S.el iava (xel moweril ia).
saqmeTa mmarTvel i (xel moweril ia).

dokumenti # 140

Sinagan saqmeTa saxal xo komisariati. 1923 w. 29 agvisto # 6736 raWis mazris aRmaskomis Tavmj domares

a/w. ivnisis 20 TariRiT # 1450 saxal xo komisarTa sabWos Tavmj domaris
moadgil isadmi Tqvens momarTvaze gacnobebT, rom Tanaxmad saxal xo ko-
misarTa sabWos a/w. agvistos 23 TariRiT # 6435 momarTvisa raWa- samxreT
oseTis sazRvrebze mdebare saZovari adgil ebis da satyeo mamul ebis sak-
iTxis ganxil va da sabol oo gadawyveta gadatanil ia Tbil isSi kpartii
cekas uaxl oes pl enumisTvis an `cakis- uaxl oesi sesiisaTvis, sadac Camov-
l en orive dainteresebul mxareTa warmomadgenl ebi da centris warmo-
madgenl ebTan erTad gadawyveten sakiTxs.

S.s.s. komisar is moadgil e (xel moweril ia).
komunal uri ganyofil ebis gamge (xel moweril ia).
sateqniko saqmeTa gamge (xel moweril ia).

dokumenti # 141

amonaweri mej vrisxevis aRmaskomis sxdomis # 4 oqmidan, romel ic Sesdga 27. 03. 1924 w. daeswrnen l .fsitize, k.Saxnazarovi, b.Saxnazarovi, gr.zumbul aZe, vas.marRiSvil i, k.korinTel i da k.metrevel i. Tavmj - domare l .fsitize. mdivani k.Saxnazarovi

moismines: samxreT oseTis miw. moqmedebis komisariatis momarTvis ganxil va sof. Tel aginel ebis gadmosaxl ebis Sesaxeb mej vrisxevis daCaSi_saTibSi.

daadgines: 7)saTibi, romel ic mdebareobs mej vrisxevis maxl obl ad Sua tyeSi, iq dasaxl eba yovl ad SeuZl ebel ia, vinaidan iq dasaxl eba gaanadgurebs tyes, romel tyesac aqvs didi mniSnel oba, rogorc mej vrisxevis, ise qvemdebare sofl ebisaTvis da Tavidan acil ebul ia niARvrebi, miT umetes, komisi am romel ic iyo daniSnul i centridan 5- 6 marts, adgil obrivi daTvalierebiT gamoarkvia, rom dasaxl eba mej vrisxevis daCis tyeebSi yovl ad SeuZl ebel ia, rac damtkicebul ia sssr miw. moq. komitetis mier 8. 03. 24 w.

dedani saTanadod xel moweril ia.

dedanTan sworia.

mej vrisxevis raiARmaskomis mdivani j afarize.

(dokuments azis beWedi)

dokumenti # 142

goris samazro aRmasrul ebel i komiteti 1924 w. 14 ivl isi. # 7018
Sinagan saqmeTa saxal xo komisariats.

Tanaxmad Tqveni saswrafo moweril obisa a.w. 31 maisis TariRiT # 4763 sof. disevis (kul biTis) samxreT oseTis fargl ebidan gamoyofis da goris mazraze miweris Sesaxeb, mogaxsenebT, rom aRniSnul i sofel i, aRmaskomis azriT aucil ebl iv gamoyofil i unda iqnas samxreT oseTis ol qidan da miweril i goris mazraze, roml is mosazrebac gamoixateba SemdegSi: sofel i disevi (kul biTi), romel ic mdebareobs samxreT oseTis ol qSi da mdebareobs tyviavidan 6 versis manZil ze, ekonomi urad dakavSirebul i aris rogorc sof. tyviavTan, agreTve q. gorTan. aRniSnul i sofl is mcxovrebn i qarTvel obaa, misdeven xvna- Tesvas da nawil obriv mevenaxeoba- mexil eobas. am ukanasknel ma kul turam fexi moikida mis mezobel sofl ebSic da gl exkacobas Tavisi nawarmis real izaciisaTvis q. gorTan uxdeba dakavSireba. nawil i am sofl is mcxovrebl ebisa iricxebian sof. tyviavSi arsebul mexil eTa amxanagoba `l iaxvis- wevreb ad. mi si administraciul i daqvemdebareba samxreT oseTis ol qTan disevis gl exkacobas xel ovnurad akavSirebs cxinval Tan. am mizeziT disevis mcxovrebt uxdebaT ekonomi uradac cxinval Tan dakavSireba, magram es miTvis uxerxul i da usargebl oa, radgan cxinval Si igi ver izens pirvel saWi roebis sagnebs. Tavis nawarms ver asaRebs cxinval is bazris mcire moTxovnil ebis gamo. disevis mcxovrebt

uxdebaT or adgil as kavSiris daWera: administraciul ad cxinval Tan da ekonomurad gorTan. mSromel i xal xis sakeTil dReod ki saWiroa erT adgil as mWidrod dakavSireba, romel ic unda moxdes im centrTan, romel - sac gl exkacoba ver CamoSorebia, radgan ekonomuri mxaris siZl ieres mxars ver auqceven. zemoT moyvanil i motivebi rom mniSvnel ovania, amas isic mowmobs, rom disevi arasodes ar yofil a dakavSirebul i im administraciul erTeul Tan, romel Tanac igi exl a aris miweril i. sof. disevi mudam Sedioda sof. tyviavis fargl ebSi. geografiul i mosazrebi garda, ekonomuri mosazrebiTac disev- kul biTi unda iyves miweril i tyviavze, radgan am ukanasknel ze ufro xel sayrel ia, vidre andoreT- cxinval ze. miTumetes, am ukanasknel T SuaSi uZevs mdinare l iaxvi, roml is adidebis drosac SeuZl ebel i xdeba gavl a da cxinval Si mimaval ma xal xma tyviavze unda gaiaros. mogaxsenebT ra yovel ive zemoT aRniSnul s, aRmaskomi Sua- mdgoml obs Tqvens winaSe, raTa sof. disevi gamoyofil i da miweril i iqnas goris mazris tyviavis raionze.

samazro aRmaskomis Tavmj domare (xel moweril ia).
mdivani (xel moweril ia).

dokumenti # 143

Sinagan saqmeTa saxal xo komisariati. friad saswrafod. saidum- l od. 1924 w. 16 ivl isi # 25/2. srul iad saqarTvel os central uri aRmasrul ebel i komitetis mdivans

amasTan erTad gaaxl ebT a/w. ivl isis 15- is oqms samxreT oseTis avtonomiuri ol qis sazRvrebSi Semaval i zogierTi sofl ebis xsenebul i ol - qidan gamoweris da duSeTis mazraze miweris Suamdgoml obis Sesaxeb da gTxovT zemoxsenebul i sakiTxi gansaxil vel ad warudginoT sr. saqarTvel os central ur aRmasrul ebel komitets.

saqmeTa mmarTvel i (xel moweril ia).
ganyofil ebis gamge (xel moweril ia).

dokumenti # 144

amonaweri goris sampartkomis pl enumis 1924 wl is 30 ivl isis sxdomis # 2 oqmi dan

moismines: 5. amx. fsitizis gancxadeba, rom goris mazraSi qarTvel da os gl exebs Soris ar sufevs sasurvel i sul ieri ganwyobil eba, rac gam-

oixateba imaSi, rom osebi gadmodian qarTvel ebis sofl ebSi saqurdl ad da saqonl is gasatacebl ad. Tumca mazrkomis TiToeul pl enumze am sakiTxis mosagvarebl ad gamotanil i yofil a dadgenil eba, magram dRemde araviTari zomebi ar aris miRebul i.

daadgin es: eTxovos cekas, raTa am sakiTxis erTxel da samudamod mosagvarebl ad gamoyofil i iqnas komisia, romel ic adgil obrivad gamoarkvevs yovel gvar uTanxmoebas da miiRebs saWiro zomebs.

amonaweri sworia. cekas informatori parkaZe (xel moweril ia)

dokumenti # 145

amonaweri

duSeTis mazraRmaskomis prezidiumis 1924 wl is 1 agvistos sxdomis # 20 oqmi dan.

moismines: oqmi gremisxevis sabWos sxdomisa #1, 27 ivnisi 1924 w.

daadgin es: gremisxevis sofl ebi, roml ebic mohyvnen samxreT oseTis av-

tonomiuri ol qis fargl ebSi, duSeTis mazrazed gadasvl is Sesaxeb ganmeorebiT aRiZras Suamdgoml oba Sin. saq. sax. komisariat is winaSe. Tavmj domare berize. mdivani amirize.

sworia: saqm is mwarmoebel i (xel moweril ia)

dokumenti # 146

**goris samazro komiteti. 1924 w. 12 agvisto.
s.k. parti is cekas**

gaaxl ebT ra amastanave erTad gormazrkomis pl enum is sxdomis oqmi dan # 2 amonawers, Sesaxeb imisa, rom samxreT oseTidan gadmosul i osebi did zians ayeneben qarTvel gl exobas da es mdgomareoba dRemde ar aris mogvarebul i, amitom gormazrkomi gTxovT pl enum is dadgenil eba am sakiTxis Sesaxeb moyvanil i iqnes sisrul eSi. danarTi moxsenebul ia.

gormazrkomis mdivnis magier s.cxovrebaSvil i (xel moweril ia).
saerTo ganyofil ebis gange parkaZe (xel moweril ia).

rezol ucia. Sinagan saqmeTa saxal xo komisars. miiReT saTanado zomebi.

Tqvens mier miRebul zomebze acnobeT cekas.

saqarTvel os kompartiis centr. komitetis organizaciul i ganyofil ebis gange al .boboxize.

19. VIII. 1924 w.

dokumenti # 147

**duSeTis samazro aRmasrul ebel i komiteti. 1924 w. 13 agvisto.
sssr Sinagan saqmeTa saxal xo komisariats**

gidgenT amasTanave mazraRmaskomis prezidiumis sxdomis # 20 oqmi dan amonawers, gremisxevis sabWos krebis oqmi dan amonawerTan erTad. mazraRmaskomi Suamdgoml obs Tqvens winaSe da gTxovT Tqvenis mxriv uSuamdgoml oT mas saxal xo komisarTa sabWos winaSe, raTa gremisxevis sofl ebi, roml ebic mohyven samxreT oseTis avtonomiuri ol qis fargl ebSi gadavides duSeTis mazrazed, vinai dan TviT aRniSnul i sofl is mcxovrebl ebi moiTxoven duSeTze datovebas axl o mdebareobis, rusul i da osuri enebis arcodnis gamo. samxreT oseTis ol qze gadacemaze isini did ukmayofil ebas acxadeben, ristvisac gTxovT miiRoT mxedvel obaSi yovel ive zemoaR-

niSnul i am sakiTxis gadaWris dros.

mazraRmaskomis Tavmj domare (xel moweril ia).
mdivani rostiasvil i (xel moweril ia).

dokumenti # 148

**sssr Sinagan saqmeTa saxal xo komisariati. saorganizacio-
sainstruqcio ganyofil eba. 1924 w. oqtomberi.
raWis mazris aRmaskomis Tavmj domares**

srul iad saqarTvel os central uri aRmasrul ebel i komitetis da S.s.s. komisariatis winaSe ramdenime Suamdgoml obaa aRZrul i samxreT oseTis avtonomiur ol qSi Semaval i zogierTi sofl is gamowaris da am ol qis mezobel mazrebze miweris Sesaxeb.

S.s.s. komisariatis mier aRZrul ia sr. saqarTvel os cakis winaSe Suamdgoml oba yvel a aseTis Suamdgoml obis gasarkvevad sagangebo komisiis daarsebis Sesaxeb. amisdakval ad komisariati gTxovT acnobot mas, aRZrul ia Tu ara rodisme Tqvendami rwmunebul mazraRmaskomis da misi prezidiumis mier zemoxsenebul is msgavsi Suamdgoml oba da Tu aRZrul ia rodis, vis winaSe da romel i sofl is Sesaxeb. sasurvel ia Semdegi miwer_ moweris da

sakiTxis gaWianurebis Tavidan asacil ebl ad, Tqvens moxsenebas daurToT
pirebi winad aRZrul i saamiso Suamdgoml obebisa.

Sinagan saqmeTa saxal xo komisari al . gegeWkori.
saorganizacio sainstruqtoro gany. gamge Jordania.

dokumenti # 149

Sinagan saqmeTa saxal xo komisariati. saorganizacio sainstruq-
cio ganyofil eba, 1924 w. noemberi. srul iad saqarTvel os central uri
aRmasrul ebel i komitetis prezidiums

moxseneba samxreT oseTis da mis mezobel mazrebs Soris sadao
sakiTxebis gamosarkvevad sagangebo komisiis daniSvnis Sesaxeb

srul iad saqarTvel os central ur aRmasrul ebel komitetSi da S.s.s.
komisariatSi Semosul ia ramdenime Suamdgoml oba samxreT oseTis avtono-
miur ol qSi Semaval i sofl ebisa, ol qidan gamoweris da sxva mazrebze
miweris Sesaxeb. yvel a aseTi saxis Suamdgoml obaTa gamosarkvevad, srul i-
ad saqarTvel os central uri aRmasrul ebel i komitetis mier sagangebo
komisiis daniSvna S.s.s. komisariats saukeTeso saSual ebad miacnia. komisia,
yvel a zemoxsenebul Suamdgoml obas gaarcevs, Sesafiris masal as Seiswav-
l is, Tu saWiroeba moiTxovs, mas adgil obrivadac Seamowmebs da Tavis
namuSevaris sabol ood gadasawyvetad sr. saq. c.a.k- s warudgens. Sinagan
saqmeTa saxal xo komisariati Suamdgoml obs srul iad saqarTvel os cen-
tral uri aRmasrul ebel i komitetis prezidiumis winaSe zemoxsenebul i
komisiis daarsebis Sesaxeb.

Sinagan saq. sax. komisari.
saorganizacio_ sainstruqcio gany. gamge Jordania.

dokumenti # 150

brZaneba

duSeTis mazris miliciisadmi # 62. 1 dekemberi 1924 wel i.
qal . duSeTi.
samwyobro nawil i \$. 4.

duSeTis mazris mSromel gl exobas Tavzari qonda dacemul i cnobil i
yaCaRebis dianoza Zaxoevisa da gurgena gul araSvil is mxecuri moqmedebe-
biT. xsenebul ma yaCaRebma ramdenime wel iwads iTareSes duSeTis mazraSi,
magram maTi Sepyroba mouxerxebel i gaxda sxvadasxva mi zezebis gamo; 1)adg-

il mdebareobis xel Sewyobi sa da 2)mosaxl eobis umravl esobis Seugnebl obis gamo. samazro mil icias yovel gvari RonisZieba qonda miRebul i, raTa maTi mxecuri moqmedebisaTvis bol o moeRo da mSromel i gl exoba gaenTavisu- fl ebina maTi mxecuri moqmedebisagan. bol os, mazrmil iciis Semadgenl o- bam miaRwia Tavis mizans. a/w. 23 noembers sof. xofsSi cocxl ad iqna Sepyrobil i erTi maTgani gurgena gul araSvil i. igi fexSi iyo daWril i. meore misi amxanagi dianoza Zaxoevi a/w. 30 noembers Setakebis Sedegad mokl ul i iqna mil iciis mier Trusos xeobaSi (kobis raioni). maT mospoba- Si energiul ad da dauRal avad ibrzoda mazrmil iciis rigebidan Semdegi amxanagebi: 1)bedoSvil i niko, 2)cocxal aiSvil i samson, 3)gedevaniSvil i kote, 4)cabol ovi Saqro, 5)meZmariaSvil i daviT, 6)l afanaSvil i sul xan, 7)SaburiS- vil i arCil , 8)pavl iaSvil i vano, 9)al isul eiman- oRl i, 10)muxranis raionis mil iciis ufrosis TanaSemwe qurTiSvil i kote. xsenebul ma amxanagebma gamoiCines saqmianoba xsenebul i yaCaRebis SepyrobaSi da energiul ad ebrZol es maT, ramac bol o mouRo maT TareSs da Tavxedobas mazraSi. viReb ra mxedvel obaSi zemoT xsenebul i amxanagebis dauRal av energias da gaweul Sromas am saqmeSi, samsaxuris mxriv vucxadeb maT udides mad- l obas da vusurveb SemdegSi ufro gaorkecebul energias mSromel i gl ex- ebis dacvis saqmeSi, masTan vSuamdgoml ob S.s.s. komisariatis winaSe, raTa xsenebul i amxanagebi iqnan daj il doebuni.

dedans xel s awers mazris ufrosi WurRul ia amonaweri sworia. sammarTvel os mdivani berize (xel moweril ia)

dokumenti # 151

duSeTis mazris mil iciis ufrosis 1924 wl is 2 dekembris moxseneba saq. Sin. saqmeTa saxal xo komisariatis administraciul i ganyofil ebis ufros

damatebiT Cemi a/w. 28 noembris # 762 moxsenebisa (yaCaRi gurgena gu- l araSvil is Sepyrobis Sesaxeb) mogaxsenebdiT, rom meore yaCaRi dianoza Zaxoevi, es Seubral ebel i da dauZinebel i mteri mazris mSvidobiani da myudro cxovrebi sa, dRes ukve aRar arsebobs. 30 noembers igi Cven mier mokl ul i iqna Trusos xeobaSi (kobis raioni).

amrigad, yaCaRTa TareSs Cemdami rwmunebul duSeTis mazraSi bol o moe- Ro da mazris mSromel gl exobas SeuZl ian damSvidebiT iyos, radgan aRar arseboben isini, roml ebic mas mosvenebas ar aZl evdnen, oj axs uwi okebdnen da xSirad sicocxl es stacebdnen. ameridan mazra uzrunvel yofil ia mS- vidobiani da uSiSi cxovrebi T.

dianoza Zaxoevis mokvl is saqmis viTareba mokl ed SemdegSi gamoixateba: 23 noembers Sepyrobil i yaCaRi gurgena gul araSvil i me Camovi yvane sasa- marTI oSi 24 noembers dil iT, imave dRes me Sevudeqi winaswari gamoZi ebis saqmes da davkiTxe datyvevebul i gul araSvil i. dakiTxvis mTavari mizani

meore yaCaRi dianoza Zaxoevis gza- kval is gageba iyo. patimar gul araSvil s pirvel xanad ar surda cnobebis micema, magram roca gul wrfel obisaTvis patieba da sicocxl is Cuqebas davpirdi, ena aexsna da saqmis viTareba dawvril ebiT amixsna. gul araSvil is sityvebidan gamoirkva, rom dianoza Zaxoevi, gul araSvil is dapatimrebis Semdeg didxans aRar gaCerdeboda duSeTis mazraSi da svagan gadasvl as Seecdeboda. damainteresa ra gul araSvil is am gancxadebam, me vurCie mas mieTitebina, Tu romel i gziT Seecdeboda Zaxoevi mazridan gasvl as. man migviTiTa or mTavar gzaze. asTebi iyo: 1)qsnis xeobiT_ kobi- yazbegis mimarTul eba da 2)saqarTveli os samxedro gziT_ gudaUri- Trusos xeobis gziT.

Trusos xeoba daSorebul ia saq. samxedro gzas 28 versiT da midis parallel el urad pirvel Tan. xeoba igi gansakuTrebiT dasaxl ebul ia osebiT da metad mivardnil da miyruebul midamoT iTvl eba. gul araSvil is gancxadebis Semdeg Cven ukve xel ebi gvexsneboda. saWiro iyo mxol od swrafi da gadamwyveti moqmedeba., rom dro ar dagvekarga da borotmomqmedi xel idan ar gagvsxl tomoda. saeWvo Zal is adgil ebSi samazro partkoms vTxoverTi avtomobil i. 24 noembers, RamiT me ramdenime TanamSroml iT gavCndi kobi- yazbegis rai onSi. yaCaRis pirvel i gziT axal goris gaswri v me davayene aTi SeiaraRebul i TanamSromel i, xol o meore gasavl el gzazed, sad. gudaurTan davayene sami guSagi (ori TanamSromel i da erTi moqal aqe piradad kargad mcnobi yaCaR Zaxoevisa).

Zaxoevs Seetyo, rom mas axal goridanve sdevda Cveni razmi, ami tom sa swrafod marSruti Secval a da Seecada gadasul iyo samxedro gzaze. aqedan, gudaUri s mxridan Tergis ol qSi gadasvl as Seecdeboda. 27 noembers RamiT gudaURTan igi Casafrebul guSagebs waawyda. ukanasknel T mistvis srol a autexiaT. yaCaRs sibnel iTa da adgil mdebareobiT usargebl ia, mistvis dagebul i maxisTvis Tavi dauRwevia, gzi dan marcxniv gadasul a da Trusos xeobaSi Casul a. guSagebi mas kval dakval dasdevnebian. Trusos xeobaSi Cvens mier Seqmnil i adgil obrivi agentebis wyal obiT mdevarT SeutyviaT, rom yaCaRi Zaxoevi erTi osi gl exis saxl Si imal eboda. am mi zniT wi naswar SeiaraRebul i gl exebis daxmarebiT, mdevarT saxl isTvis al ya Semour tyams da saxl is patronisave piriT Zaxoevisgan danebeba mouTxoviaT, razedac Zaxoevi ar daTanxmebul a da saxl idan srol a autexia. mdevarT ac sapsuxo cecxl i gauxsniAT. am srol azed dianoza Zaxoevi mokl ul i aRmoCnda.

mogaxsenebT ra zemoT aRni Snul s, erTxel ki dev xazgasmiT aRvni Snav, rom vidre mazris gl exoba yaCaRebis devnis saqmeSi pasiurobas iCenda, maTi Sepyroba ase Tu ise Znel deboda. roca gl exoba pasiurobi dan aqtivobaze gadavida, maTi Sepyroba sul advil i Sei qmna, da ai Cven dRes xel Ta gvyavs ori bel adi- qveynis naZiral ebisa.

yaCaR dianoza Zaxoevisa da gurgena gul araSvil is Sepyroba mWermetyveli urad RaRadebs da amtkicebs, rom Cvenma mazris mSromel ma gl exkacobamac gamoiRviZa, ukve arCevs Tavis mtersa da moyvares, iTvi sebs da iyvarebs sabWoTa xel isufl ebas, roml is ganmtkicebis aTvis igi sicocxl es ar zogavs, miutovebia Tavis piradi yovel dRiuri saqme, iaraRiT xel Si tye- tye kval dakval sdevnis qveynis orgul T.

marTal ia, mazrmil icias es Zvirad dauj da, sanam gl exebis gul s moigebda, maTSi ndobasa da Tanadgomas ganimtkicebda, bevri Sromis da energiis daxarj va dasWir da. Cveni saqmianobis nayofi naTI ad Cans da Cvens Sromas muqTad ar Cauvl ia, rac ufro sagraZnob gamarj vebad unda Cai Tval os, vi dre TviT yaCaRebis Sepyroba.

vamTavreb ra Cems moxsenebas, ar SemiZl ia gverdi avuqcio da ar gavi xseno mazrmil iciis, saerTod da gansakuTrebiT ramodenime TanamSroml is mier moval eobis mtkiced Segneba, saqmis da samsaxurisadmi siyvarul i, erTgu- l eba da mistvis Tavganwirva, rac daamtkiices xsenebul i yaCaRis devnis dros.

Sinagan saqmeTa saxal xo komisariats umorCil esad vTxovdi keTil nebas, raTa Rirseul ad daesaCuqrebina yvel a, vinc Tavi isaxel a am saqmeSi (aqve gaaxl ebT maT sias), es iqneboda erTis mxriv samarTl ianoba da meores mxriv magal iTi da waqezeba sxvaTaTvis. amasTan erTad gaaxl ebT pataks Cems mier am operaciebis saWiroebisaTvis gaweul i xarjebis Sesaxeb da vSuamdgoml ob, rom komisariati ar daiSurvebs duSeTis mazris mil icii- saTvis saWiro da sakmao Tanxis gaRebas.

duSeTis mazra. qal aqis mil iciis ufrosi WurRul ia (xel moweril ia)

dokumenti # 152

amonaweri `samxreT oseTis- avtonomiuri ol qis muSaTa da gl exTa deputatebis sabWoebis V saol qo yril obis (1925 wl is 27- 31 marti) sxdomis oqmidan. sakiTxi # 10.

Слушали: Сообщение представителя Севера- Осетинского ЦИК тов. Каргиева о реше-нии 1- го съезда Северной Осетии по вопросу объединения с Юго- Осетией.

Постановили:

1. Выслушав заявление представителя ЦИК Северной Осетии тов. Харитона Каргиева о состоявшемся решении съезда Советов Авт. области Северной Осетии об объединении Северной и Южной Осетии, 5- й съезд Советов Автономной области Юго- Осетии приветствует решение 1- го съезда Советов Автономной области Северной Осетии и считает своевременным постановку этого вопроса.

2. 5- й съезд Советов Юго –Осетии мыслит осуществление этого объединения Северной и Южной Осетии в пределах ССР Грузии.

3. 5- й съезд Советов поручает новому ЦИК у Юго- Осетии совместно с ЦИК ом Северной Осетии образовать объединенную специальную комиссию по изучению вопроса объе-динения обеих Осетий.

4. По изучению комиссией вопроса объединения окончательное разрешение его, т.е. объе-динения обеих Осетий поручить соответствующим ЦИК ам.

dokumenti # 153

duSetis mazris gremisxevis aRmasrul ebel i komiteti. 12 ivnisi 1925 w. duSetis mazraRmaskoms

Tqveni moweril obisadmi # 4988 TandarTul i samxreT oseTis ol qis axal goris raionis aRmaskomis mimoweris # 681 dabrunebi T, ama zemoxsenebuli i mimowerebisa gauwyebT, rom Tanaxmad Tqvens mier gamogzavnil i Cemdami rwmunebul i raionis sofl ebis siis 1)kodiSTavi, 2)petri aanTkari, 3)Taborikari, 4)mi Svel ianTkari, 5)cigri anTkari da 6)murRul i ani_ Sedian gremisxevis TemSi. garda amisa, arc TviTon zemoT xsenebul i sofl ebis gl exebisa surT gada vidnen samxreT oseTis ol qis gankargul ebaSi, vinai dan oseTis ol qis centri daSorebul ia maTze daaxl oebi T 60 versi T, duSeti ki 12 versi T. garda amisa, oseTis ol qs yovel gvare saqmis warmoeba aqvT rusul enazed. aseTi saqmis warmoeba qarTvul mosaxl eobas da yovel gvare kanonebis aRsrul ebas aviwroebis. amis garda, me rogorc Temis aRmaskomis Tavmj-domare, Tanaxmad arsebul i kanonebisa, ar maqvs ufl eba Tqvens mier Cabarebul i sofl ebi Cemis nebi T gadavce sxva mazras, vinem amis Sesaxeb Sesabamisi gankargul eba ar meqneba Cemi piradi mazraRmaskomidan.

agitaciis Sesaxeb movaxseneb mazraRmaskoms, rom me gremisxevis TemaRmaskomis Tavmj domare buzal aZes zemoxsenebul sofl ebSi araviTari agitacia ar gamiwevia imis Sesaxeb, rom es sofl ebi samxreT oseTis gankargul ebaSi ar gadasul iyvnen, ris Sesaxebac umorCil esad gTxovT Tqvens gankargul ebas, daniSnot amistanacil is wamebazed komisia da moxdes sastiki kvl eva- Zieba or mxareTa Soris, Tu vin eweva agitacias da swaml avxal xs, me Tu samxreT oseTis warmomadgenl ebi. garda amisa, gTxovT SeekiTxoT sadao sofl ebis mcxovrebl ebs, sad surT, duSetze Tu oseTze. danarTi 3 furc.

TemaRmaskomis Tavmj domare I .buzal aZe.
saqmis mwarmoebel i d.g. (xel moweril ia)

dokumenti # 154

duSetis samazro aRmasrul ebel i komiteti. 1925 w. 22 ivnisi. Sinagan saqmeTa saxal xo komisariats

gidgenT amastanave mimoweras # 179 samxreT oseTis avtonomiuri ol qis axal goris raionis aRmaskomis momarTvis # 681 samxreT oseTis avt. ol - qis da duSetis mazris sazRvrebze myofi sofl ebze davis Sesaxeb. mogaxsenebT, rom aRniSnul i saqme j erac ver aris mogvarebul i Sesaferisad, sadac sofl ebi, rogoric arian petri anTkari, Taborikari, mi Svel aanTkari da cigri aanTkari mTl ianad Sedian sof. gremisxevSi, iTvl ebian rogorc ubnebi am sofl isa. rac Seexeba sof. kodiSTavs da murRul s, es sofl ebi zemoaRniSnul sofl ebTan erTad Sedian gremisxevis TemSi da ara samxreT oseTis avtonomiuri ol qis fargl ebSi. yvel a zemoaRniSnul i sofl ebi

ekutvniან დუსეტის მარას. ახალ გორის რაიონში კი ცდილობს რაიმე სასუალ ებით გადაიწეროს ისინი სამხრეთ ოსეთზე. ასეთი საკითხი ახალ გორის რაიონში უკმაყოფილებას იწვევს გრემისხევის გლახობას. მათ სურთ დუსეტის მარასი დარცენა, სამხრეთ ოსეთს კი გაურბიან როგორც დიდი მანჯილის ისე საკმის რუსულად უმოებინა გამო.

რატა თავიდან იკნას ახალ ების არასასურველი მოვლინები, გთხოვთ ერთხელ და სამუდამოდ გადავიტოვოთ ეს საკითხი დასახლებული სოფლებს დუსეტის მარაზე მივრით.

დანართი 4 ფურცელზე.

მარაონში ტავმჯ დომარე (ახალ მოვლინა).

მდივანი (ახალ მოვლინა).

დოკუმენტი # 155

ცრდილობა `სამხრეთ ოსეთის- გაერთიანების საკითხის საკარტვლის ოსაკ- ის სესიის სქდომაზე

ამონაწერი სრულიად საკარტვლის ოს საბჭოთა ცენტრალური ანმარსრული ების კომიტეტის მესამე მოწვევის მეორე სესიის სტენოგრაფიული ანგარიშიდან.

მესამე სქდომა (1925 წლის 15 ივლისი)

ტავმჯ დომარე ფ.მაქარაზე. ახალ ამხანაგებო, ახალ გორის ავტონომიური ოსეთის ოლქის ტავმჯ დომარე თაკოვი, რომელიც უკმაყოფილებს ერთ უარესი მნიშვნელობის მოსენებას.

თაკოვი. ამხანაგებო! მე უკმაყოფილები ვარ ცრდილობა ოსეთის ცენტრალური ანმარსრული ების კომიტეტის მიერ ცრდილობა ოსეთის ავტონომიური ოლქისა და სამხრეთ ოსეთის ავტონომიური ოლქის გაერთიანების საკითხის გამო. ჯერ

კიდევ ახალ წლის იანვარსი ცრდილობა ოსეთის ავტონომიური ოლქის საბჭოთა ყრილობაზე დადგენილი იკნა- ანმარსრული ცენტრალური ხელისუფლებების წინაშე საკითხი ცრდილობა ოსეთისა და სამხრეთ ოსეთის გაერთიანების შესახებ. ამავალ წლის მარტის 25- ს სამხრეთ ოსეთის ავტონომიური ოლქის საბჭოთა ყრილობაზე გამოტანილი იკნა დადგენილება, რომელიც გამოტყმული იყო სურვილი ცრდილობა ოსეთისა და სამხრეთ ოსეთის გაერთიანების თაობაზე.

ცრდილობა და სამხრეთ ოსეთის მსრომელთა მიერ ასეთი ნებისყოფის გამოტყმის გამო ცენარევი წესის საკითხი რ.ს.ფ.ს.რ. ცენტრალური ანმარსრული ების კომიტეტის პრეზიდიუმის წინაშე. ეს საკითხი დაყენებული იკნა სამდეგ საფუძველზე: ცრდილობა და სამხრეთ ოსეთის ერთდებთან ერთ ავტონომიურ საბჭოთა რესპუბლიკად და სედიან საკარტვლის ოს რესპუბლიკის სამადგენლობას.

სრულიად რუსეთის ცენტრალურ ანმარსრული ების კომიტეტმა განიხილა ეს საკითხი. არავითარი საინაარმდეგო რამ არ იყო გამოტყმული და გამოტანილი იკნა დადგენილება, რომ საწიროა ეს საკითხი წინასწარ შეთანხმებული იკნის

Crdil oeT- saol qo da aRmasrul ebel komitetTan, romel Siac Sedis Crdil oeT- oseTis ol qi, da saqarTvel os central ur aRmasrul ebel komitetTan, romel Siac Sedis samxreT- oseTis avtonomiuri ol qi.

Cven didi winaswari mol aparakeba gvqonda saqmis mosamzadebl ad Crdil oeT- saol qo aRmasrul ebel komitetTan, romel ic saqmis seriozul i ganxil vis Semdeg, Tanaxma gaxda sakiTxis ase dayenebaze. rodesac kavkavSi pl enumis sxdomebi iyo, es sakiTxi dayenebul i iqna saol qo aRmasrul ebel komitetSi da gamotanil i iqna Semdegi dadgenil eba: `sawinaaRmdego ara aris ra saTqmel i Crdil oeT da samxreT oseTis gaerTianevisa da am axal i avtonomiuri respubl ikis saqarTvel os soc. sabW. respubl ikis Semadgenl obaSi Sesvl is gamo.~ maSasadame, am mxriv sakiTxi Crdil o- saol qo aRmasr. komitetis mier ukve gadawyvetil ia. Cven dagvrCenia mxol od mi viRoT am aqtis gamo Tanxmoba saqarTvel os respubl ikisa, radganac srul iad ruseTis central uri aRmasrul ebel i komitetis prezidiumi scnobs, rom sakiTxi Crdil oeT da samxreT oseTis saqarTvel os respubl ikis Semadgenl obaSi Sesvl is Sesaxeb j er kidev winaswar SemuSavebul i ar aris, da ar daayenebs mas sabol oo ganxil visaTvis. amis gamo Crdil oeTis centr. aRm. komitetma momando me aRvZra es sakiTxi j er saqarTvel os centr. aRmasrul ebel i komitetis winaSe da Semdeg meorej er srul iad ruseTis centr. aRm. komitetis winaSe. es sakiTxi Seexeba mTI ad sabWoTa kavSirs. Crdil oeT- oseTis avtonomiuri ol qi xom ruseTis soc. fed. sabW. respubl ikaSi Sedioda. amitom, Cven mogvixdeba ganvaxorciel oT zogi ram teritorial uri gamoyofa r.s.f.s.r- s Semadgenl obidan da es misgan CamonaTali ol qi gadavceT saqarTvel os respubl ikas. vimeoreb, am sakiTxs sakavSiro xasiaTi aqvs da misi sabol oo gadawyveta SeiZl eba moxdes mxol od sakavSiro central ur aRmasrul ebel komitetSi.

Crdil oeT da samxreT oseTis gaerTianevisa da maTi saqarTvel os resp. Semadgenl obaSi Sesvl is motivebi garkveul ia da naTel i da Crdil oeT da samxreT oseTis mSromel Ta mier srul iad Secnobil i. ar SeiZl eba iTqvas, rom axl andel i viTarebis mixedvit oseTis orive nawil Si nacional uri avtonomia iyos. Cven nacional uri avtonomia ara gvaqvs, Cven gvaqvs tomobrivi avtonomia: Crdil oeT- oseTis avtonomia da samxreT- oseTis avtonomia. Cveni nacional uri politikis Tval sazrisiT aseTi viTareba arafrad ar varga. arsebul i gaTavTavadeba metis metad aferxebes Crdil oeT- oseTisa da samxreT- oseTis kul turul ganviTarebas. amJamad orive ol qSi swarmoebs paral el uri muSaoba da rasakvirvel ia, am muSaobis Sedegi ar SeiZl eba didi Rirebul ebisa iyos. is rac misaRebia samxreT- oseTisaTvis, xandaxan, kul turul momuSaveTa Tval sazrisiT, ar Seesabameba Crdil oeT oseTs. piriqit, is rac mi zanSewonil ia Crdil oeT- oseTisaTvis, SeiZl eba ewinaaRmdegebodes samxreT- oseTis interesebes.

aSkaraa, qarTvel amxanagebs mSvenivr ad esmit, rom saqmis aseTi viTareba saSinl ad ciudad moqmedebes rogorc Crdil oeT- oseTis, ise samxreT- oseTis kul turul ganviTarebaze. aseT gankerZoebul arsebobaSi, rogorc samxreT- oseTs, ise Crdil oeT- oseTs aravitari sameurneo perspeqtivebi ara aqvT. amis gamo, yvel a SesaZl ebl oba sameurneo progresis sferoSi, rasac- ki ram am mcire erTeul ebs gaaCniaT, SeiZl eba gamoyenebul i iqnes uaxl oes 3- 5 wl is ganmavl obaSi. amrigad aSkaraa, rom, raTa Cveni nacional uri politikis principi bol omde da mi zanSewonil ad iqnes ganxorciel ebul i Crdil oeT da samxreT oseTis mSromel TaTvis, saWi roa es ol qebi gavaerTianoT da meurneobisa da bunebriv SesaZl ebl obaTa gamoyenebis

saSual ebiT warvmarToT es qveyana ekonomiuri ganviTarebis gziT. iqneba visme egul isxmeba, ratom aris orientacia aRebul i saqarTvel ozeo? imitom, rom oseTi arsebobda da mxardamxar vidoda saqarTvel os respublikasTan. Tu ukanasknel dromde vismes kidev hqonda eWvi saqarTvel os respublikis Semadgenl obaSi Sesvl is Sesaxeb, exl a es eWvi gafantul ia. es imitom, rom Crdil oeT da samxreT oseTis mSromel ni, da miT ufro pasuxismgebel ni muSakni, Tval naTI ivad hxedaven, rom saRi nacional uri politika ise mizanSewonil ad arsad ar xorciel deba, rogorc saqarTvel os respublikasi da, saerTod- ki, amierkavkasiaSi. am garemoebam, raRa Tqma unda, sabol ood daarwmuna TviT is erTi- ori pirovneba, romel Tac es sakiTxi afiqrianebda, daarwmuna, rom Crdil oeT da samxreT- oseTis kul- turul i da ekonomiuri ganviTarebisatvis saWiroa saqarTvel os soc. sabW. respublikasi Sesvl a. amas garda, amxanagebo, samxreT- oseTi kategoriul ad ayenebs sakiTxs, rom igi mxol od maSin gauertianebeba Crdil oeT oseTs, ukeTu es ukanasknel i Tanaxma iqneba saqarTvel os s.s.r- s Semadgenl obaSi Sesvl aze. samxreT- oseTis mSromel ni acxadeben, rom maT kul- turul moTxovnil ebat da sameurneo saWiroebaT saqarTvel os respublikamTI ad, srul iad da ucil obl ad akmayofil ebs. amitom, isini scnoben, rom araviTari saWiroeba ar aris da srul iad usargebl oc iqneba raime axal i eksperimentis moxdena e.i. saqarTvel odan gamoyofa.

aSkaraa, rom samxreT- oseTis es saRi Zaxil i yovel mxriv yuradRebis Rirsia. oseTis mSromel Tagan aravin aris winaarmdegi saqarTvel os soc. sabW. respublikis Semadgenl obaSi Sesvl isa. amJamad sakiTxi SeTanxmebis fargal Sia. me mgonia, saqarTvel os central uri aRmasrul ebel i komitetis sesiam iseTive pasuxi unda mogvces, rogoric Crdil oeTis saol qo aRmasrul ebel ma komitetma mogvca, e.i. rom sesia winaarmdegi rodia Crdil oeT da samxreT oseTis gaertianebis da maTi saqarTvel os s.s.r- s Semadgenl obaSi Sesvl isa.

amxanagebo, am aqts aqvs ara marto adgil obrivi mniSvnel oba_ Crdil oeT da samxreT oseTisaTvis, aramed mas aqvs saerTaSoriso mniSvnel oba. es aqti aSkarad daanaxvebs saerTaSoriso kontrrevol ucias, rom mTel s evropaSi gavrcel ebul i Worebi da miTqma- moTqma, viTomc sabWoTa xel isufl eba scagravdes qarTvel ers, absurdia da mogonil i. es aqti yvel a Cvens mters naTI ad daanaxvebs, rom, mTel i avtonomiuri ol qi, rogorc Crdil oeT- oseTi, survil s acxadebs r.s.f.s.r- s CamoSordes da Sevides saqarTvel os s.s.r- s Semadgenl obaSi. ameridan yvel a is mgel i, romel ic hRmuoda, viTomc saqarTvel o iCagrebao, dadumdeba,_ es aqti CasCris maT pirSi burTs.

Crdil oeT- oseTis central uri aRmasrul ebel i komitetis saxel iT me vTxov srul iad saqarTvel os central uri aRmasrul ebel i komitetis sesias daayenos es sakiTxi gansaxil vel ad da gamoitanos iseTi dadgenil eba, romel ic me wagikiTxeT (Zl ieri taSi).

Tavmj domare: amxanagebo, Cven movismineT amx. takoevis moxseneba. amx. takoevma mogaxsenaT, Tu ra motiviT da mosazrebiT unda gaertianes Crdil oeT- oseTis da samxreT- oseTis xal xi. rogorc iciT, dRes es erTi erovneba_ osoba gapobilia Suaze. bunebrivi sazRvri_ es aris kavkasiis uRel texil i. osebis erTi nawil i cxovrobs Crdil oeT kavkasiaSi, meore ki samxreT kavkasiaSi. sabWoTa xel isufl ebis nacional ur politikas aq win eRobeba mraval i dabrkol eba, vinai dan dRes osoba, rogorc erTi eri, ver sargebl obs savsebiT im ufl ebebiT, ra ufl ebebic sabWoTa xel isufl ebam mi aniWa winad daCagrul xal xT. meore mosazreba,_ rogorc amxanagi tako-

evi ambobs, aris kul turul i muSaoba. am dargSi muSaoba brkol deba: is, rac surs Crdil oeT- oseTs, ver aris SeTanxmehul i imasTan, rac surs samxreT- oseTs. garda amisa, yvel aze didi mniSvnel oba aqvs ekonomiuur mxares. dRes oseTis xal xs ara aqvs araviTari perspeqtivebi momavl isa, ar aris gaTval iswinebul i, Tu rogor unda ganviTardes misi meurneoba. aseTia is motivebi, roml iTac xel mZRvanel obdnen am sakiTxis gadaWris dros.

ibadeba meore sakiTxi: rogor unda moxdes es gaerTianeba, romel i respubl ikis fargl ebSi, ruseTis respubl ikisa Tu saqarTvel os respubl ikis fargl ebSi; Tqven iciT, rom dRes osebis erTi nawil i imyofeba ruseTis fargl ebSi, meore ki saqarTvel os fargl ebSi. pasuxismgebel amxanagebs da TviT mSromel massebs, rogorc samxreT- oseTisas, ise Crdil o- oseTisas, es sakiTxi gadauwvetiaT imdenad, rom gaerTianeba samxreT da Crdil - oeT oseTisa unda moxdes saqarTvel os respubl ikis fargl ebSi. ratom gadawyda es sakiTxi ase? ai, aq amxanagi takoevi pirvel yovl isa aRniSnavs imas, rom oseTis xal xi istoriul ad dakavSirebul i iyo saqarTvel osTan; meores mxriT, amxanagebma aswon- daswones, miRes mxedvel obaSi gamocdil eba, da mivi dnen im daskvnamde, rom osebisatvis ufro mizanSewonil i iqneboda sabWoTa saqarTvel os fargl ebSi gaerTianeba. garda amisa, samxreT- oseTi, romel ic saqarTvel os fargl ebSi Sedis, gadaWriT moiTxovs Crdil oeT oseTisagan, rom gaerTianeba moxdes saqarTvel os fargl ebSi. es garemoeba metad sagul isxmoa, nametur, roca warmovidgenT imas, Tu ra ganwyobil eba da urTierToba arsebobda aq osebsa da qarTvel ebs Soris menSevikebis dros. axl a ki Cven vxedavT, rom mezobel da Zmur xal xebSi kvl av damyarebul ia keTil i da Zmuri urTierToba. da amas Cven sabWoTa xel isufl ebas unda vumadl odeT. es metad sasiamovno movl enaa.

ai, amxanagebo, mTI ad is mokl e informaciul i moxseneba, romel ic aq gadmogvca amx. takoevma. am gancxadebaze Cven unda mivscet Sesafebi pasuxi. Cemis azriT, Crdil oeT da samxreT oseTis gaerTianeba didi nabij ia win damoukidebl ad imisa, Tu romel respubl ikaSi moxdeba es gaerTianeba. es aris iseTi didi nabij i oseTis xal xis istoriaSi, romel sac udidesi mniSvnel oba eqneba oseTis xal xis ganviTarebisatvis. da Cven, misi moZmeni, mis mezobl ad mcxovrebn, WirSi da l xinSi masTan erTad myofni, am gaerTianebas unda mivegebot arTacebiT.

amx. takoevi winadadebas iZl eva_ miRebul i iqnes Semdegi rezol iucia: saqarTvel os centr. aRmasr. komitetis mesame mowvevis meore sesiam, moismina ra moxseneba amx. takoevisa da jatievisa_ Crdil oeT da samxreT oseTis gaerTianebis Sesaxeb erT avtonomiur respubl ikad, adgens: 1)sesia siamovnebiT aRniSnavs da iwonebs samxreT da Crdil oeT oseTis gaerTianebas erT avtonomiur respubl ikad; 2)rac Seexeba oseTis mSromel i xal xis survil s, rom es gaerTianeba moxdes saqarTvel os fargl ebSi, sesia savsebiT uerTdeba im dadgenil ebas, romel ic ukve gamotanil ia amis Sesaxeb, erTis mxriT, ruseTis centr. aRmas. komitetis mier, da meores mxriT_ Crdil oeT kavkasiis centr. aRmasr. komitetis mier.

Cven, rasakvirvel ia, aRfrTovanebiT miviRebT aseT dadgenil ebas, arTacebiT SevegebebiT Cvens Zmebs da, rac ki gagvwyoba, xel s SevuyyobT gaerTianebul i oseTis avtonomiuri respubl ikis winsvl as da ganviTarebas (mxurval e taSi).

vis surs sityva, amxanagebo? **sityva ekuTvnis amx. gegel ias.**

gegel ia. samxreT da Crdil oeT oseTis gaerTianeba da maTi saqarTvel osTan SeerTeba aris iseTi udidesi mniSvnel obis pol itikuri aqti, rom me,

moxuci, vRel av, rogorc pawia bal Ri, romel sac mSobl ebisgan raime saCu-
qari miuRia. vimeoreb, es aqti metis- metad seriozul i istoriul i aqtia
da amasTanave igi mwvave sil aa Cveni pol itikuri mtrebisaTvis saerTa-
Soriso masStabiT.

Tumca amx. fil ipem aRniSna, rom sul erTia, romel respubl ikasac unda
SeuerTdes Crdil oet da samxreT oseTi, magram piradad me vfiqrob, rom
udidese mniSvnel oba swored im garemoebas aqvs, rom oseTi uerTdeba
Tavis Zneb qarTvel ebs.

amas miT ufro meti mniSvnel oba aqvs CvenTvis, qarTvel ebisaTvis, gansa-
kuTrebit imitom, rom, rogorc yvel as gvaxsovs, Crdil oet da samxreT-
oseTis osebma bevri ram tanj va ganicades menSevikebis pol itikisgan.

ai, amitom, moZme afxazetis respubl ikis saxel iT me kvl av mivesal mebi am
uaRresi mniSvnel obis pol itikur da istoriul aqts da mivuZRvni gansa-
kuTrebul TanagrZnobas da madl obas amx. takoevs, romel mac, ueWvel ia,
didi Sroma, Zal Rone da energia daxarja Crdil oet da samxreT- oseTis
gaerTiane bis saqmisaTvis. meores mxrit, ar SemiZlian ar aRvniSno, rom
al baT saqarTvel os respubl ika awarmoebda swor da saR pol itikas, rom
ase mal e da ase Zlierad dai pyro oseTis mSromel Ta ndoba.

me erTxel kidev mivesal mebi am udides pol itikur da istoriul aqts
Crdil o da samxreT- oseTis saqarTvel osTan Zmuri kavSirit SeerTebisa.
kvl av aRvniSnav, rom es maCvenebel i iqneba Cveni erTobisa msofi io mas-
StabiT. ise var sul ierad aRel vebul i, rom ar Zal miZs gamovsTqva yvel a
is, rasac vgrZnob, rogorc monawil e aq Cven win momxdari didi aqtisa_
oseTis saqarTvel osTan SeerTebisa.

Tavmj domare: sityva ekuTvnis amx. jatievs, samxreT- oseTis central uri
aRmasrul ebel i komitetis Tavmj domares.

jatievi. amxanagebo! Cven yvel am aq vnaxet, rogor ubral od, naTI ad da
advil ad swydeba sabWoTa prole tarul respubl ikaSi uaRresi mniSvnel o-
bis sakiTxebi, roml ebzedac burJuaziis mTavrobani aTaswl obiT Tavsi im-
tvreven. megona, rom am sakiTxis gamo Crdil oet- oseTis mcxovrebaTa Soris
aRiZreboda zogi ram winaarmdegoba, radganac maT SoriT mouxdebaT svl a
aq, saqarTvel oSi, da radganac maT mexsierebaSi menSevikebis pol itikas
jer kidev siaxl is ieri ar daukargavs, sinamdvil eSi ki aRmoCnda, rom
saqarTvel os mTavroba awarmoebda iset real ur da fxizel pol itikas,
rom man didis siadvil iT dai pyro uaRresi ndoba osTa Soris.

me msurs gagiziaroT zogi ram Cemi STabelWdil eba: rodesac amx. takoevi
sof. xumal aSi (es sofel i didi sofel ia, 600 koml i iqneba) moxsenebas ake-
Tebda, erT- erTi moxucTagani gamovida da sTqva: `eg yvel a kargi, Cven
didi madl obel ni varT Tqveni; Tqven Tval saCinod gaumj obeseT Cveni
mdgomareoba, gadasaxadebic SegvimcireT, magram Cven gvainterebsebs erTi
sakiTxi, roml is Sesaxebac Tqven arafers ambobT da Cven- ki misi gamokvl -
eva dagaval eT. es sakiTxia, Crdil oet da samxreT oseTis gaerTiane bis
sakiTxi.- amxanagma takoevma ganumarta, rom es sakiTxi aravit ar winaarmde-
gobas ar iwvevs. amx. takoevis pasuxs gl exebi aRtacebit Sexvdnen da ai,
aman naTI ad dagvanaxa, rom miuxedavad yovel gvare siZnel isa da dab-
rkol ebisa, rasac, raRa Tqma unda, Tval i ar unda avuqciot, saqarTvel os
mTavrobas Tavisi saRi pol itikiT uaRresi ndoba moupovebia.

me mgonia, aseTi uaRresi mniSvnel obis sakiTxebi mraval jer unda iqnes
gamorkveul i massebis winase. amas winad es sakiTxi Cven davayeneT samxreT-
oseTsi da iqac Cvens winadadebas aseTive erTsul ovnebit Sexvdnen da ar-

aviTari eWwi ar aRuZravs.

am sakiTxis sargebl obasa da pol itikur mniSvnel obaze me ar vil apara-
keb. aRvniSnav mxol od, rom swored es garemoebaa uaRresi yuradRebis Ri-
rsi, rogorc maCvenebel i Cveni mtkivneul i nacional uri sakiTxis swori da
saRi gadawyvetisa. dee, Cvenma mtrebma dainaxon, ra ubral od da advil ad
swyvets am Znel sakiTxs sabWoTa respubl ikaSi komunisturi partia. me mg-
onia, rom is erTsul ovneba, roml iTac Sexvden afxazeTis da aWaris warm-
omadgenel ni amx. takoevis moxsenebas, imis mWermetyvel uri sabuTia, rom
Crdil oET da samxreT oseTis avtonomiuri ol qebis gaerTianebris aqti
aris saRi da mSvenieri saqme. me mgonia, rom Tu amierkavkasiis federacia,
kerZod- ki afxazeTi, aWara da oseTi, amave gziT ganagrZoben Tavisi pol i-
tikis warmoebas, es iqneba xsna amierkavkasiis yvel a respubl ikisaTvis.

Tavmj domare: amxanagebo, surs kidev visme sityva? **sityva eZl eva amx.**
gogiberiZes.

gogiberiZe. amxanagebo, sworeT maSin, roca am ori patara nawil is gaer-
Tianebris sakiTxi dai sva, me iq viyavi. me amas Sevxdidi aRtacebiT imi tom, rom,
rogorc amxanagma takoevma sTqva, Cven gvyavs mtrebi, romel nic amboben:
saqarTvel om dahkarga Tavisi teritoriao. es gaerTianeba ki imis maCvenel
ia, rom saqarTvel o ki ar hkargavs teritorias, aramed afarToebs mas.
ai, am Cvens mtrebs xel idan gamoecl ebaT saagitacio masal a Cvens winaaRm-
deg. isini veRar gabedaven sTqvan_ sabWoTa xel isufl ebam saqarTvel os
miwa- wyal i gaaCuqao.

gaumarj os saqarTvel os, gaumarj os sabWoTa respubl ikebs.

Tavmj domare. aris kidev vinme msurvel i? aravin aris. maSasadame kenWs
vuyri winadadebas. vin aris momxre warmodgenil i winadadebisa, gTxovT
aswiOT xel i. vin aris winaaRmdegi? aravin. miRebul ia erTxmad. (ix. danar-
Ti 1- I i).

danarTi 1.

Crdil o da samxreT oseTis gaerTianebris Sesaxeb

srul iad saqarTvel os sabWoTa central uri aRmasrul ebel i. komitetis
mesame mowvevis meore sesiam, moismina ra takoevisa da jatievis infor-
maciul i moxsenebani Crdil oET da samxreT oseTis avtonomiuri ol qebis
erT avtonomiur respubl ikad gaerTianebrisa da am gaerTianebul respub-
l ikis saqarTvel os soc. sabW. resp. fargl ebSi Sesvl is Sesaxeb da miRo
ra mxedvel obaSi Crdil oET kavkasiis saol qo aRmasrul ebel i komitetis
damokidebul eba aRniSnul i sakiTxisadmi, _ daadgina:

1)srul iad saqarTvel os cakis mesame mowvevis meore sesia mxurval ed
miesal meba oseTis ori gancal kevebul i nawil is gaerTianebas, miuxedavad
imisa, Tu romel sabWoTa respubl ikis fargl ebSi Seva es axal i saxel mwi-
foebrivi erTeul i, da xedavs am aqtsi erovnul i sakiTxis sworad gada-
Wras im xal xTa mimarT, romel nic iCagrebodnen yofil i ruseTis imperiis
arsebobis dros.

2)rac Seexeba gaerTianebul i oseTis saq. soc. sabW. respubl ikis far-
gl ebSi Sesvl as, sesia uerTdeba im rezol iuciebs, roml ebic am sakiTxis
Sesaxeb miRebul iqna Crdil o- kavkasiis saol qo aRmasrul ebel i komite-
tisa da Crdil o da samxreT oseTis avtonomiuri ol qebis cakebis mier.

saqarTvel os central uri aRmasrul ebel i komitetis mier gamoyofil i special uri komisiis 1925 wl is 25 seqtembris moxseneba, romel - sac mindobil i qonda raWis, goris, duSeTis mazrebsa da `samxreT oseTis- avtonomiur ol qs Soris sasazRvro sadao sakiTxebis mowesrigeba.

komisiis Semadgenl obam: amx. I .suxiSvil i (Tavmj domare),g.gagl oevi (muSaTa da gl exTa inspeqciidan), i.xubua (Sinagan saqmeTa saxal xo komisariatidan), bagaevi da jatievi (samxreT oseTidan) da Cikoize (saq. miwaTmoqmedebis saxal xo komisariatidan) daaTval iera yvel a is adgil ebi, sadac miwebisa da tyeebiT sargebl obis irglv iv adgil i qonda dasas da saWi rod scno cxovrebaSi gatarebul iyo Semdegi zomebi:

1)raWasa da samxreT oseTs Soris:

1)samxreT oseTis teritoriaze aris 4 1/2¹/₂ desetina miwa ori sofl is_iris (raWis mazra) da vatras (samxreT oseTis) Sua. aq winaT yofil a tye, romel ic orive sofel s gauCexia da exl a amuSaveben mas. am or sofel s Soris aris dava am miwis irglv iv, Tu romel sofel s ramdeni ekuTvnis sargenl obisaTvis. Znel ia imis garkveva, Tu romel sofel s ramdeni Sroma miuZRvis tyis gakafvaSi. cxadia, Sroma orive sofel s miuZRvis tyis gakafvaSi, raSiac komisia darwmunda. ukanasknel i adgens: sadao miwa orive sofel s Soris Tanabrad gaiyos. amasTanave, 3 desetina saxnavi miwa, romel ic mdebareobs zemo zol Si saxel wodebit `dgvirul a- da sofel iris gl exis maisuraZis da sofel fataras osi gl exebis sargebl obaSi, darCes irel ebis sargebl obaSi;

2)raWis mazrasa da samxreT oseTs Soris sazRvrebis Sesaxeb komisia saWi rod scnobs darCes Zal aSi dekreti # 2, gamocemul i saqarTvel os c.a.k- is mier 1922 wel s. samxreT oseTis avtonomiuri ol qis da raWis mazris sazRvari;

3)raWis mazris gl exebis mxrit samxreT oseTis teritoriaze mdebare tyeebiT sargebl obis Sesaxeb, komisia adasturebs samxreT oseTis avtonomiur ol qsa da raWis mazris Sereul i komisiis dadgenil ebas 1924 wel s tyis mcvel obis mowyobis Sesaxeb qvemo raWaSi. es dadgenil eba saCqarod unda gatardes cxovrebaSi.

2)samxreT oseTsa da goris mazras Soris:

1)komisiam ganixil a dava sofel kasapil sa (goris mazra) da orWosans (samxreT oseTi) Soris saxnavi miwebis Sesaxeb, roml ebi mdebareobs sazRvarze da daadgina: a)vinaidan es dava SeiZl eba gadawydes mxol od miwaTmowyobis muSaobis wesiT da amJamad ki gamourkvevel ia am sofl ebs Soris sargebl obaSi myofi miwebi, saWi roa saqarTvel os miwaTmoqmedebisa da sax. komisariatma saswrafod gaataros miwaTmowyobis samuSaoebi modave

sofl ebis teritoriaze; b)sadao nakveTi miwebisa ki normaze meti aRebul i iqnes fondSi da gaunawil des orive sofl is umiwawyl o da mcire miwawyl is mqone gl exebis; g)vinaidan aseT dasav aqvs niadagi da SeiZl eba aRmocendes mTel i sazRvris zol ze, pirvel rigSi gatar des miwis mowyobis saqme am zol Si. sasurvel ia moewyos special uri razmi miwis mzomel ebisa saqarTvel os miwaTmoqmedebis sax. komisariatsa da samxreT oseTis avt. ol qs Soris SeTanxmebiT.

2)oseTis Svidi koml is Sesaxeb, roml ebic Tavis nebiT gadasaxl dnen mej vrisxevis zemoT buCqnarian miwaze, romel sac dacviTi xasiaTi aqvs, komisia adgens: a)vinaidan is adgil i, sadac oseTidan gadasaxl da Svidi koml i, dafarul ia dacviTi xasittis tyiT da saxnav miwebaT misi gakafva mewyeriTa da niaRvriT emuqreba ara mar to mej vrisxevs, aramed iqve axl os gamaval tirifonas arxsac, amitom, saWi rod iqnes cnobil i aRniSnul i gl exebis gadasaxl eba TviTnebo biT mitacebul i miwebidan; b)rom es gl exebi ar dazaral dnen, goris samazro aRmaskomma maT saWi ro raodenobiT mej vrisxevSi misces saWi ro raodenobiT sasaxl karo miwa da saxnavi miwebi normiT imave sofl is miwebidan; g)im SemTxvevaSi, Tu gadasaxl ebul ebi raime mizezebis gamo ar daTanxmdebi an mej vrisxevis sazRvrebSi dasaxl ebaze, mieces winadadeba samxreT oseTis c.a.k- s moawyos isini samxreT oseTis fargl ebSi; d)vinaidan tyis aseTi gaCexva SemCneul ia oseTis mxriT sazRvrebze mdebare sofl ebSi, mieces winadadeba samxreT oseTis miwaTmoqmedebis saxal xo komisariats miaqci os am movl enas seriozul i yuradReba da mospos sofl is meurneobisaTvis aseTi saSiSi movl ena.

3)adgil obrivi Semadgenl obis tyeebiT sargebl obis Sesaxeb samxreT oseTis teritoriaze goris mazris sofl ebis: mej vrisxevis, qvemo Wal is, sacixuris, dirbis, xel Tubnis, avl evis, dicis, Sindisis, ruisis da Tezis mcxovre bTa mier komisia adgens: a)saWi rod iqnas cnobil i adgil obrivi mniSnel obis tyeebis gl exebis sargebl obaSi gadacemis dros, pirvel rigSi gadaeces is aRniSnul i sofl ebis mcxovre bT samxreT oseTis fargl ebSi; b)adgil obrivi mniSnel obis tyeebis gamoyofamde, samxreT oseTis miwaTmoqmedebis saxal xo komisariats daeval os gaavr cel os yvel a pirobebi tyis SeRavaTiani sargebl obis Sesaxeb aRniSnul i sofl ebis mcxovrebl e bze, e.i. uRaribes mcxovrebl ebs an aRmaskomis mowmobebis mixedviT tye eZl eva Tavisi piradi saWi roebisaTvis ufasod uaxl oesi tyeebidan. SeiZl ebul i gl exebi tyiT sargebl oben saerTo wesiT Soreul i tyeebidan da agreTve eZl eva axal gazrda tyidan dadaRvis Semdeg. skol ebi, saavadmyofoebi da sxva sazogadoebrivi Senobebi tyeebs iReben SeRavaTian fasebSi; g)gavr cel des amnistia aRniSnul sofl ebSi tyis gaCexvisaTvis 1925 wl . 1- l agvistomde daj arimebul gl exebze.

3)samxreT oseTisa da duSeTis mazras Soris:

1)komisi am ganixil a kiTxva: karkuSianTkaris, burRul is, miqel ianTkaris, Taborikaris, TamaraanTkaris da karanTkaris, duSeTis mazraze gadacemis Sesaxeb. adgil obrivi daTval ierebisa da mosazRvre sofl ebis mcxovre bTa gamokiTxvidan komisia im daskvnamde mivida, rom Tanaxmad 1922 wl is 20 april is # 2 dekretisa da mcxovre bTa survil iTac aRniSnul i sofl ebi gadacemul i unda yofil iyvnen duSeTis mazraze. adgil obrivi administra-

cia SecdomaSi iyo SeyvaniI i samxreT oseTis arsebul rukasa da dekrets Soris Seusabamobis gamo. saxel dobr: rukaze sadao adgil ze sazRvrebi da sofl ebi nawil obriv SecdomiT, nawil obriv gaurkvevl ad aris aRniSnul i. komisia adgens: mieces saTanado axсна- ganmarteba, rogorc samxreT oseTis agreTve duSeTis mazris administracias.

2)komisiam ganixil a dava sofl Sabnarsa da cigrianTkars Soris `dadi-kaanTkaris- miwis irgvl iv, zomiT 6 desetina. miRo ra mxedvel obaSi, rom aRniSnul i sadao miwa unda ganawil des mezobel sofl ebs Soris miwaT-mowyobis wesiT, roca gamorkveul i iqneba raodenoba miwis mosargebl eTa da miwis sargebl obisa. komisi am daadgina: droebiT miwaTmowyobis srul i- ad gatarebamde, sadao miwa gaiyos or nawil ad (marcxniv da marj vniv) da mieces sasargebl od orive mxares.

3)komisiam moismina agreTve dava sofl ebs_ del vansa da cigrianTkars Soris Tu vis unda ekuTvnodes mudmivi sargebl obis ufl eba 1 desetina miwaze da daadgina: gadaeces es dava gasarCe vad erTi kviris vadaSi duSe- Tis saxal xo mosamarTI es.

komisia udgens ra c.a.k- s Tavis dadgenil ebebs, sTxovs mas daadasturos is.

sadao kiTxvebis garCevis dros komisiaSi iRebda monawil eobas raWis mazridan amx. wul ukiZe, goris mazridan amx. fsi tiZe da duSeTis mazridan amx. j afarize.

danarTi oqmebi # 1, 2, 3, 4 da mimowerani 33 furcel ze.
komisiis Tavmj domare (xel mowerilia)

sauwyebaTasoriso komisiisadmi 1919 wl is
ivniSSi wardgenil i statistikuri mo-
nacemebi _ saTauriT: `osTa mosaxl eoba
saqarTvel oSi 1917 wl is aRweris mixed-
viT~ (qarTul i varianti)

dikumenti # 159



ოსთა ძმოსახლეობა საქართველოში 1917 წლის
აღმოსავლეთის მიხედვით.

79452

№	სახმოსახლო დასახლების სა- ხელწოდება	მცხოვრებნი			სახმოსახლო დასახლების სახელ- წოდება	მცხოვრებნი					
		სულ	მამაკ.	%		სულ	მამაკ.	%			
	<u>ათონის მამონა</u>				17	კათალიკი	Λ	377	41	10,9	x
1	<u>ათონის საბოტაჟი</u>				18	კათალიკი	Λ	186	63	33,9	x
2	თბილისი (კადა?)	91	64	70,3	19	საბალონი	Λ	310	54	17,4	x
	თბილისის საბოტაჟი	5891 4895	64	1,1	20	საბალონი		171	93	54,4	
	<u>ახალქალაქის</u>				21	საბალონი		279	279	100	
2	ახალქალაქი	182	182	100	22	კვიციანი (კვიციანი?)	✓	70	70	100	✓
	თბილისის საბოტაჟი	6179 5250	182	3,0	23	კვიციანი	Λ	90	60	66,7	
	<u>ახალქალაქის სახ.</u>				24	გაბია	Λ	284	284	100	
3	ახალქალაქი	735	14	1,9	25	კათონის ავჯი	0	167	167	100	✓
	თბილისის საბოტაჟი	1270 1238	14	1,1	26	ავჯი	Λ	882	12	1,4	x
	<u>ავჯის საბოტაჟი</u>				27	ფიჩვიციანი (საბოტაჟი?)	✓	167	167	100	✓
4	ავჯის საბოტაჟი	317	118	37,2	28	საბალონი	0	159	159	100	✓
5	საბალონი	182	63	3,5	29	მკვანა		215	215	100	
6	ავჯის სკოლა	51	51	100	30	მკვანა	0	136	136	100	✓
7	საბალონი	81	81	100	31	ქაბა-კვანა	Λ	253	23	9,1	x
8	საბალონი	217	217	100	32	კვიციანი	0	329	183	55,6	x
9	საბალონი	61	61	100	33	მკვანა	Λ	294	235	100	✓
10	საბალონი	193	118	61,1	34	კვიციანი (საბოტაჟი)	0	59	59	100	✓
11	საბალონი	104	104	100	35	საბალონი	0	95	95	100	✓
12	საბალონი	210	210	100	36	საბალონი	0	200	200	100	✓
13	საბალონი	373	90	24,1	37	საბალონი	0	64	64	100	✓
14	საბალონი	244	15	6,1		თბილისის საბოტაჟი		9408 15136	4259	45,3	
15	საბალონი	161	107	66,5	38	საბალონი		411	380	92,5	
16	საბალონი	372	365	98,1	39	საბალონი		363	111	30,6	



№	საძირის სახელი - წოდება	მუხრანის რაიონი			№	საძირის სახელი - წოდება	მუხრანის რაიონი			
		მუხრანის რაიონი	ფართობი				მუხრანის რაიონი	მუხრანის რაიონი	ფართობი	
			მ ²	%					მ ²	%
40	მეგრული მიწები	196	126	64,3	65	მუხრანის რაიონი	168	168	100	
	მაკედიონური მიწები	2285 (439)	617	27,0	66	საბანო	24	24	100	
	<u>ქვემოთ აღნიშნული</u>				67	ქვემოთ - ვაჭარები	13	13	100	
41	ქვემოთ - ვაჭარები	4	4	100	68	ქვემოთ - ვაჭარები	24	24	100	
42	მიწა	117	117	100	69	ქვემოთ - სარეზერვუარი	70	70	100	
43	მეგრული	329	329	100	70	ქვემოთ - სარეზერვუარი	27	27	100	
44	ქვემოთ - ვაჭარები	10	10	100	71	საძირის რაიონი	36	36	100	
45	ქვემოთ	4	4	100	72	მუხრანის რაიონი	91	91	100	
46	მეგრული - ვაჭარები	51	51	100	73	მეგრული	312	312	100	
47	მუხრანის რაიონი	20	20	100		მაკედიონური მიწები	3003 (1004)	2249	69,9	
48	მეგრული	18	18	100		<u>ქვემოთ აღნიშნული</u>				
49	ქვემოთ	33	33	100	74	საბანო	222	222	100	
50	ქვემოთ	19	19	100	75	საბანო	450	450	100	
51	ქვემოთ - ვაჭარები	19	19	100	76	მუხრანის რაიონი	488	488	100	
52	საბანო	22	22	100	77	საბანო	163	163	100	
53	საბანო	123(61)	62	50,4	78	ქვემოთ - ვაჭარები	158	158	100	
54	საბანო	58	58	100	79	საბანო	86	86	100	
55	საბანო	77	77	100	80	ქვემოთ	106	106	100	
56	საბანო - ვაჭარები	38	38	100	81	ქვემოთ	225	225	100	
57	საბანო	110	110	100	82	საბანო	404	404	100	
58	საბანო - ვაჭარები	46	46	100	83	საბანო	143	143	100	
59	საბანო - ვაჭარები	63	63	100	84	საბანო	87	87	100	
60	საბანო	58	58	100	85	საბანო	131	131	100	
61	საბანო	97	97	100	86	საბანო	230	230	100	
62	საბანო	86	86	100	87	საბანო	32	32	100	
63	საბანო	156	156	100	88	საბანო	291	291	100	
64	საბანო	37	37	100	89	საბანო	71	71	100	



№	საბითბაბლო დასახელება	მუხრანის მუხრან			№	საბითბაბლო დასახელება	მუხრანის მუხრან			
		მუხრან	მუხრან				მუხრან	მუხრან		
			მუხრან	მუხრან				მუხრან	მუხრან	
90	ბათონი	57	57	100	117	კობახი	229	229	100	
91	ჩინობრეხუნი	91	91	100	118	კოვა	254	254	100	
92	კახიანი - კახი	36	36	100	მაკრ სომხეთში			7096	7096	100
93	ქუჩი	23	23	100	viii					
94	ქაქუცხვაძე	18	18	100	119	მკვირი	380	49	100	✓
95	ქაქუცხვაძე	110	110	100	120	მკვირისი	209	209	100	
96	ბაქრაძე	128	128	100	121	ქაქუცხვაძე	84	84	100	
97	ქაქუცხვაძე	131	131	100	122	მკვირი	62	62	100	
98	ქაქუცხვაძე	367	367	100	123	ქაქუცხვაძე	334	10	3,0	x
99	ქაქუცხვაძე	79	79	100	124	ქაქუცხვაძე	378	13	9,4	x
100	ქაქუცხვაძე	130	130	100	125	ქაქუცხვაძე (31/12)	240	240	100	
101	ქაქუცხვაძე	279	279	100	126	ქაქუცხვაძე-ქაქუცხვაძე	138	138	100	
102	ქაქუცხვაძე	80	80	100	127	ქაქუცხვაძე (ქა-სომხ)	312	312	100	✓
103	ქაქუცხვაძე	171	171	100	128	ქაქუცხვაძე-სომხ	128	128	100	
104	ქაქუცხვაძე	59	59	100	129	ქაქუცხვაძე	146	146	100	
105	საქუცხვაძე	82	82	100	მაკრ სომხეთში			6093	1411	29,2
106	ქაქუცხვაძე	46	46	100				(4221)		
107	ქაქუცხვაძე I	123	123	100	ix					
108	ქაქუცხვაძე-ქაქუცხვაძე	173	173	100	130	ქაქუცხვაძე	1231	14	1,1	
109	საქუცხვაძე	157	157	100	მაკრ სომხეთში			3743	14	0,4
110	ქაქუცხვაძე II	250	250	100				3696		
111	ქაქუცხვაძე	141	141	100	x					
112	ქაქუცხვაძე	259	259	100	131	ქაქუცხვაძე	309	309	100	✓
113	ქაქუცხვაძე	90	90	100	132	ქაქუცხვაძე-ქაქუცხვაძე	180	180	100	
114	ქაქუცხვაძე	60	60	100	133	ქაქუცხვაძე-ქაქუცხვაძე	135	135	100	
115	ქაქუცხვაძე	76	76	100	134	საქუცხვაძე-ქაქუცხვაძე	265	7	2,6	±
116	ქაქუცხვაძე	50	50	100	135	ქაქუცხვაძე	102	102	100	
					136	ქაქუცხვაძე	146	146	100	



№	სა ბიბლიოთეკო დაუბეჭედი სანქც- იონი	მუხრანის რაიონი			№	სა ბიბლიოთეკო დაუბეჭედი სანქც- იონი	მუხრანის რაიონი			
		ფურცლები	დათარი				ფურცლები	ფურცლები	%	
			წელი	%						
284	ვახუშტი	481 (432)	49	10,2	308	შემოთავაზ	393	393	100	
285	მამისიძის	196	196	100	309	სოფო (2093)	144	144	100	
286	შენიჭი	186	186	100	310	შენიჭი	143	143	100	
287	მამისიძის	161	161	100	311	ვახუშტი	62	62	100	
288	ქობულაძის	53	53	100	312	ქობულაძის	72	72	100	
289	მამისიძის	857	857	100	313	შემოთავაზ	63	63	100	
290	ჩუბინი	505	505	100	314	აქო ქობინი	208	208	100	
	მათი სანქციონები	4195 (432)	3703	89,5	315	ქობულაძის	189	189	100	
	მამისიძის სანქციონი				316	ქობულაძის	178	178	100	
291	მამისიძის	447	90	20,2	317	მამისიძის	94	94	100	
292	მამისიძის	627	213	33,9		მათი სანქციონები	4534 (23)	4511	99,3	
	მათი სანქციონები	5606 (5273)	303	5,4		ადამიანების სანქციონი				
	მათი სანქციონები				318	შემოთავაზ	262	46	17,9	x x
293	ვახუშტი	616	616	100	319	ადამიანების	356	25	7,0	x x
294	ქობულაძის	318	318	100	320	ქობულაძის	197	72	36,5	x x
295	ქობულაძის	111	111	100	321	სამაგისტრო	152	71	46,7	x x
296	შენიჭი	109	109	100	322	ბიბლიის	221	214	96,8	v v
297	ქობულაძის	183	183	100	323	ქობულაძის	748	10	1,3	x x
298	შემოთავაზ	183	183	100	324	ბიბლიის	646	35	5,4	x x
299	შემოთავაზ	187	187	100	325	მამისიძის	192	105	54,7	v v
300	ქობულაძის	164	164	100	326	ქობულაძის	613	9	1,5	x x
301	ქობულაძის	376	376	100	327	ქობულაძის	528	196	37,1	x x
302	ქობულაძის	67	67	100	328	ქობულაძის	554	10	1,8	x x
303	ქობულაძის	72	72	100	329	ქობულაძის	129	51	39,5	x x
304	ქობულაძის	146	146	100		მათი სანქციონები	5382 (4532)	844	17,7	
305	ქობულაძის	153	153	100		ადამიანების სანქციონი				
306	ქობულაძის	230	230	100		მამისიძის	347	16	4,6	x
307	ქობულაძის	110	110	100		ქობულაძის	448	21	4,7	x



№	საბიბლიოთეკო კატეგორიის სახელი- ტიტული	მუხრანული			წელი	საბიბლიოთეკო კატეგორიის სახელი- ტიტული	მუხრანული		
		მუხრანული	ბიბლიო				მუხრანული	ბიბლიო	
			წიგნი	%				წიგნი	%
181	წიგნი	222	220	100	208	ბიბლიო (კლასიკა)	147	147	100
182	წიგნი-კლასიკა	41	41	100	209	კლასიკა	200	200	100
183	მედიკალი	153	153	100	210	ქართული	143	143	100
184	კლასიკის კლასიკა	64	64	100	211	ქართული	219	219	100
185	ქართული	183	183	100	212	ქართული	92	92	100
186	ბიბლიო	222	222	100	213	ბიბლიო (კლასიკა)	290	290	100
187	ბიბლიო	252	252	100	214	ბიბლიო	190	190	100
188	კლასიკა	323	26	8.1	215	კლასიკა	226	226	100
189	საბიბლიოთეკა	301	4	1.3	216	საბიბლიოთეკა	55	55	100
190	ბიბლიო	143	143	100	217	ბიბლიო	62	62	100
191	წიგნი-ტიტული	303	209	69.0		ბიბლიო საბიბლიოთეკა	3826	3826	100
192	ბიბლიო	302	302	100					
193	წიგნი-კლასიკა	175	175	100	218	კლასიკის საბიბლიოთეკა			
194	კლასიკა	119	119	100	219	ბიბლიო	713	713	100
195	ბიბლიო	282	282	100	219	საბიბლიოთეკა	167	167	100
	ბიბლიო საბიბლიოთეკა	6874	2432	35.4	220	საბიბლიოთეკა	373	373	100
		4312			221	ბიბლიო	548	548	100
196	ქართული				222	ბიბლიო	171	171	100
196	ბიბლიო	45	45	100	223	ბიბლიო	603	603	100
197	ბიბლიო	150	150	100	224	ბიბლიო	393	393	100
198	ბიბლიო	73	73	100	225	ბიბლიო	164	164	100
199	ბიბლიო	169	169	100	226	ბიბლიო	184	184	100
200	ბიბლიო	67	67	100	227	ბიბლიო	224	224	100
201	ბიბლიო	12	12	100	228	ბიბლიო	623	623	100
202	ბიბლიო	192	192	100	229	ბიბლიო	1055	1055	100
203	ბიბლიო (საბიბლიოთეკა)	117	117	100		ბიბლიო საბიბლიოთეკა	5271	5271	48.8
204	ბიბლიო (საბიბლიოთეკა)	330	330	100			60		
205	ბიბლიო	606	606	100	230	ბიბლიო	311	5	0.6
206	ბიბლიო (საბიბლიოთეკა)	223	223	100	231	ბიბლიო	397	307	77.3
207	ბიბლიო	278	278	100					



№	სახელი	საბჭოთა პერიოდი			სახელი	სახელი	საბჭოთა პერიოდი			
		წილი	პროცენტი				წილი	პროცენტი		
			აბსოლუტური	პროცენტი				აბსოლუტური	პროცენტი	
X	232	ბეკვაძე	469	101	21.5	258	გომიონაძე - კაცი	158	158	100
V	233	სოფიასონი	463	463	100	259	ჭიჭლაძე	335	335	100
V	234	სელაძე	490	484	98.8	260	მინდიაშვილი	152	152	100
	235	ბონიფაცია კაცი	85	18	21.2	261	ქვიციანი - კაცი	150	150	100
	236	ქიქოძე	133	133	100	262	თხომცვენი	246	246	100
		მათეოსი	5082	1571	30.9	263	კახიანი	223	223	100
			3497			264	ქიქოძე	1017	62	5.9
X		ქვიციანი				265	კახიანი	112	112	100
	237	გომიონაძე კაცი	55	55	100	266	სოფიასონი	251	251	100
	238	მინდიაშვილი	297	297	100	267	კვიციანი	153	153	100
V	239	სოფია	111	111	100	268	კვიციანი	154	154	100
IV	240	მინდიაშვილი	52	52	100	269	მინდიაშვილი	166	166	100
IV	241	მინდიაშვილი	146	146	100	270	კვიციანი კაცი	219	210	95.9
IV	242	კვიციანი	644	644	100	271	კვიციანი	153	153	100
V	243	ქიქოძე	345	112	32.4	272	ქვიციანი	288	288	100
V	244	მინდიაშვილი (ახალი)	98	98	100	273	მინდიაშვილი	167	167	100
V	245	კვიციანი	225	225	100	274	ქვიციანი	335	335	100
IV	246	ქვიციანი	137	137	100	275	მინდიაშვილი	356	52	14.6
V	247	ქვიციანი	64	64	100	276	ქვიციანი	306	40	1.3
V	248	მინდიაშვილი	90	90	100		მათეოსი	1338	6743	50.6
V	249	ქვიციანი	218	218	100			(535)		
	250	კვიციანი	31	31	100	XX	მათეოსი			
X	251	მინდიაშვილი	115	115	100	277	მინდიაშვილი	341	341	100
V	252	ქვიციანი	182	182	100	278	კვიციანი	47	47	100
V	253	ქვიციანი	62	62	100	279	კვიციანი	440	440	100
IV	254	კვიციანი	35	35	100	280	მინდიაშვილი	40	40	100
IV	255	კვიციანი	175	175	100	281	ქვიციანი	488	488	100
IV	256	ქვიციანი	163	163	100	282	ქვიციანი	42	42	100
IV	257	ქვიციანი - კაცი	172	172	100	283	კვიციანი	298	298	100

№	საბუნებისმეტყველების სპეციალური	მუხრანის რაიონი			საბუნებისმეტყველების სპეციალური	მუხრანის რაიონი			
		დოკუმენტების რაოდენობა	დაზარალებული			დოკუმენტების რაოდენობა	დაზარალებული		
			წილი	რაოდენობა			წილი	რაოდენობა	წილი
284	ვახუშტი	481 (432)	49	10,2	308	783	100		
285	მთაწმინდა	196	196	100	309	144	100		
286	ქუთაისი	186	186	100	310	143	100		
287	მთაწმინდა	161	161	100	311	62	100		
288	ქუთაისი	53	53	100	312	72	100		
289	თბილისი	857	857	100	313	63	100		
290	ქუთაისი	505	505	100	314	208	100		
	<u>მთაწმინდა რაიონი</u>	4195 (432)	3703	89,5	315	189	100		
	<u>მთაწმინდა რაიონი</u>				316	178	100		
291	ქუთაისი	447	90	20,2	317	94	100		
292	ქუთაისი	627	213	33,9					
	<u>მთაწმინდა რაიონი</u>	5606 (5273)	303	5,4		4534 (23)	4511	99,3	
	<u>თბილისის რაიონი</u>								
293	ქუთაისი	616	616	100	318	262	46	17,9	x x
294	ქუთაისი	318	318	100	319	356	25	7,0	x x
295	ქუთაისი	111	111	100	320	197	72	36,5	x x
296	ქუთაისი	109	109	100	321	152	71	46,7	x x
297	ქუთაისი	183	183	100	322	291	214	96,8	v v
298	ქუთაისი	183	183	100	323	749	10	1,3	x x
299	ქუთაისი	187	187	100	324	646	35	5,4	x x
300	ქუთაისი	164	164	100	325	192	105	54,7	v v
301	ქუთაისი	376	376	100	326	613	9	1,5	x x
302	ქუთაისი	67	67	100	327	528	196	37,1	x x
303	ქუთაისი	72	72	100	328	554	10	1,8	x x
304	ქუთაისი	146	146	100	329	129	51	39,5	x x
305	ქუთაისი	153	153	100					
306	ქუთაისი	230	230	100					
307	ქუთაისი	110	110	100					
	<u>თბილისის რაიონი</u>					5392 (4532)	844	17,7	
	<u>ქუთაისის რაიონი</u>								
	<u>თბილისის რაიონი</u>					547	16	4,6	x
	<u>ქუთაისის რაიონი</u>					448	21	4,7	x



№	საბმომსახურე დასახელება სამსახურის	მსახურის			№	საბმომსახურე დასახელება სამსახურის	მსახურის			
		საბმომსახურე	დასახელება				საბმომსახურე	საბმომსახურე	დასახელება	
			მსახურე	დასახელება					მსახურე	დასახელება
x 332	ფუნდები	553	6	1.1	356	ბმდების	97	97	100	
	ბაილი სარეგისტრაციო	5356 4385	43	0.8	357	ქრონიკები	248	440	177.7	
x 333	ბიბლიოთეკის სარეგისტრაციო	251	13	5.2	358	ქრონიკები	197	166	84.3	
x 334	სტამბო	694	35	5.0	359	ქრონიკები	37	37	100	
v 335	ფუნდები	178	178	100	360	ქრონიკები	61	61	100	
336	კუთხისა და სხვა	112	112	100	361	ქრონიკები	71	120	169	
x 337	ქრონიკები	207	7	3.4	362	სტამბო	122	122	100	
x 338	საბმომსახურე	527	19	3.6	363	სტამბო	227	27	11.9	
339	სტამბო	40	40	100	364	სტამბო	41	41	100	
v 340	სტამბო	147	147	100	365	სტამბო	106	106	100	
x 341	სტამბო	366	58	15.9	366	სტამბო	41	41	100	
342	სტამბო	39	39	100	367	სტამბო	107	107	100	
343	სტამბო	82	82	100	368	სტამბო	70	70	100	
344	სტამბო	28	28	100		ბაილი სარეგისტრაციო	6520 4721	1649	26.8	
345	სტამბო	93	93	100	x 369	სტამბო	280	280	100	
346	სტამბო	179	179	100	370	სტამბო	422	238	56.4	
x 347	სტამბო	200	33	16.5	371	სტამბო	93	34	36.6	
v 348	სტამბო	231	231	100	372	სტამბო	1277	6	2.8	
349	ბაილი სარეგისტრაციო	9641 (5741)	1299	13.5	373	სტამბო	113	55	48.7	
x 350	სტამბო	176	64	36.3	374	სტამბო	117	42	35.9	
v 351	სტამბო	204	204	100	375	სტამბო	402	238	59.2	
v 352	სტამბო	44	66	89.2	376	სტამბო	101	101	100	
v 353	სტამბო	140	140	100	377	სტამბო	417	234	67.9	
354	სტამბო	37	37	100	378	სტამბო	216	95	44.0	
x 355	სტამბო	142	9	2.1	379	სტამბო	195	195	100	
		204	204	100	380	სტამბო	112	62	55.4	
					381	სტამბო	603	9	0.5	



№	საბოლოო დასახელება	მუხრანის			საბოლოო მუხრანის	საბოლოო დასახელება	მუხრანის			შედეგები
		Le	მუხრანის				Le	მუხრანის		
			მ	%				მ	%	
382	აღმოსავლეთის მუხრან	100	100	100	409	კომპლექტი	352	352	100	✓
383	ქვემო მუხრან	90	6	6.7		მაკრ. შემოკლებული	5577 413	5164	92.6	
	მაკრ. შემოკლებული	6769 5025	1739	25.7						
384	მუხრანის შემოკლება				410	ქვემო მუხრან	226 (136)	40	17.7	
385	მუხრან	404	404	100		მაკრ. მუხრანში	189333 (104.269)	60495	31.9	
386	ქვემო მუხრან	468	468	100						
387	მუხრან	162	162	100						
388	მუხრან	459	459	100						
389	მუხრან	89	89	100						
390	ქვემო მუხრან	301	301	100						
391	აღმოსავლეთის მუხრანის (მუხრანის) მუხრანის	96	96	100						
392	ბორჯომი	286	286	100						
393	ქვემო მუხრან	70	70	100						
394	მუხრანის მუხრან	109	109	100						
395	ქვემო მუხრან	71	71	100	I7	აღმოსავლეთის მუხრან				
396	მუხრანის მუხრან	67	67	100	1	მუხრანის მუხრან - მუხრან	290	16	5.5	X
397	მუხრანის მუხრან	56	56	100		მაკრ. შემოკლებული	1190 110	16	1.3	
398	მუხრანის მუხრან	437 (413)	24	5.5	II47	აღმოსავლეთის მუხრან				
399	მუხრანის მუხრან	124	124	100	2	მუხრანის მუხრან	77	77	100	✓
400	მუხრანის მუხრან	59	59	100	3	მუხრანის მუხრან	201	72	35.8	X
401	მუხრანის მუხრან (მუხრანის)	179	179	100	4	მუხრანის მუხრან (მუხრანის)	205	196	95.6	✓
402	მუხრანის მუხრან	149	149	100	5	მუხრანის მუხრან	65	65	100	✓
403	მუხრანის მუხრან	249	249	100	6	მუხრანის მუხრან	10	10	100	✓
404	მუხრანის მუხრან	133	133	100	7	მუხრანის მუხრან	261	261	100	✓
405	მუხრანის მუხრან	195	195	100	8	მუხრანის მუხრან	124	124	100	
406	მუხრანის მუხრან	202	202	100	9	მუხრანის მუხრან	88	88	100	
407	მუხრანის მუხრან	376	376	100	10	მუხრანის მუხრან	164	164	100	✓
408	მუხრანის მუხრან	461	461	100	11	მუხრანის მუხრან	291	291	100	✓



№	სომხური სახეობის წოდება	მნიშვნელობა			№	სომხური სახეობის წოდება	მნიშვნელობა		
		L	S				L	S	
			%	L				%	L
12	ქიხვი	152	152	100	III	ძაღვლის სომეხი			
X 13	ქიხვი	177	86	486	38	ქიხვი	165	29	17.6
14	ქიხვი	118	118	100	39	მთაწი	186	28	15.1
X 15	ქიხვი	222	40	18.0	40	სახეობა	362	74	20.4
16	ქიხვი	32	32	100		მთაწი სომეხი	9566	131	3.7
X 17	ქიხვი	787	33	4.2			3158		
X 18	ქიხვი	581	39	6.7	IV	ქიხვის სომეხი			
19	ქიხვი	60	60	100	41	სახეობა	327	327	100
20	ქიხვი	86	86	100		მთაწი სომეხი	972	327	33.6
X 21	ქიხვი	113	29	25.7	V	ქიხვის სომეხი			
22	ქიხვი	67	67	100	42	სახეობა	144	144	100
23	ქიხვი	164	164	100	43	ქიხვის სომეხი	62	62	100
24	ქიხვი	118	118	100	44	ქიხვის სომეხი	38	38	100
25	ქიხვი	170	170	100	45	სახეობა	356	6	1.7
X 26	ქიხვი	504	8	1.6	46	სახეობა	116	109	93.9
27	ქიხვი	51	51	100		მთაწი სომეხი	1547	359	23.2
28	ქიხვი	19	19	100			1188		
29	ქიხვი	219	212	96.8	VI	ქიხვის სომეხი			
30	ქიხვი	127	118	92.9	47	ქიხვი (სახეობა)	168	168	100
31	ქიხვი	87	87	100	48	ქიხვი (სახეობა)	63	63	100
32	ქიხვი	136	136	100	49	სახეობა	79	79	100
X 33	ქიხვი	279	14	5.0	50	ქიხვი	135	135	100
34	ქიხვი	119	119	100	51	სახეობა	120	120	100
35	ქიხვი	75	75	100	52	სახეობა	178	178	100
36	ქიხვი	122	122	100		მთაწი სომეხი	5015	889	17.6
37	ქიხვი	148	148	100	VII	ქიხვის სომეხი			
38	ქიხვი	8634	3651	42.3	53	სახეობა	236	236	100
39	ქიხვი	4409			54	სახეობა	189	189	100
40	ქიხვი				55	სახეობა	29	29	100



№	საბუნების დასახელება	მუდმივი			პროცენტი	საბუნების დასახელება	მუდმივი		
		საბუნების	მუდმივი				საბუნების	მუდმივი	
			საბუნების	მუდმივი				საბუნების	მუდმივი
56	დავით აღმაშენებელი	105	105	100	100	დავით აღმაშენებელი			
57	გიორგი	238	238	100	80	დავით აღმაშენებელი	36	36	100
58	გიორგი	53	53	100	91	დავით აღმაშენებელი	40	40	100
59	გიორგი	153	153	100	82	დავით აღმაშენებელი	17	17	100
60	გიორგი	129	129	100	89	დავით აღმაშენებელი	51	51	100
61	გიორგი	199	199	100	84	დავით აღმაშენებელი	36	36	100
62	გიორგი	215	215	100	85	დავით აღმაშენებელი	81	81	100
63	გიორგი	59	59	100	86	დავით აღმაშენებელი	162	162	100
64	გიორგი	111	111	100	87	დავით აღმაშენებელი	69	69	100
65	გიორგი	69	69	100	88	დავით აღმაშენებელი	64	64	100
66	გიორგი	312	312	100	89	დავით აღმაშენებელი	91	91	100
67	გიორგი	349	349	100	90	დავით აღმაშენებელი	71	71	100
68	გიორგი	168	168	100	91	დავით აღმაშენებელი	100	100	100
69	გიორგი	207	207	100	92	დავით აღმაშენებელი	130	130	100
70	გიორგი	138	138	100	93	დავით აღმაშენებელი	19	19	100
71	გიორგი	281	281	100	94	დავით აღმაშენებელი	94	94	100
72	გიორგი	252	252	100	95	დავით აღმაშენებელი	120	120	100
73	გიორგი	91	91	100	96	დავით აღმაშენებელი	45	45	100
74	გიორგი	183	183	100	97	დავით აღმაშენებელი	107	107	100
75	გიორგი	150	150	100	98	დავით აღმაშენებელი	203	203	100
	დავით აღმაშენებელი	4584	3856	84.2	99	დავით აღმაშენებელი	101	101	100
		724			100	დავით აღმაშენებელი	129	129	100
76	დავით აღმაშენებელი	325	7	2.1	101	დავით აღმაშენებელი	33	33	100
	დავით აღმაშენებელი	2090	7	0.3	102	დავით აღმაშენებელი	37	37	100
		2073			103	დავით აღმაშენებელი	148	148	100
77	დავით აღმაშენებელი	107	85	79.4	104	დავით აღმაშენებელი	91	91	100
	დავით აღმაშენებელი	3771	85	2.2	105	დავით აღმაშენებელი	97	97	100
		1207	105		106	დავით აღმაშენებელი	29	29	100
		194	113		107	დავით აღმაშენებელი	23	23	100
		313	10						
		(1174)							

№	სახე	მნიშვნელობა			№	სახე	მნიშვნელობა		
		საბუღალტრო	ფაქტობრივი	%			საბუღალტრო	ფაქტობრივი	%
108	საბინაო ხაზი	102	102	100	130	გაფრთხილება	27	27	100
109	საბინაო	24	24	100	131	საბინაო	227	227	100
110	საბინაო	59	59	100	132	საბინაო	73	73	100
111	საბინაო	66	66	100	133	საბინაო	108	108	100
	საბინაო	2622	2536	96.7	134	საბინაო	55	55	100
111	საბინაო	35			135	საბინაო	13	13	100
112	საბინაო	566	590	68.9	136	საბინაო	153	153	100
113	საბინაო	234	234	100	137	საბინაო	228	228	100
114	საბინაო	4542	674	14.8	138	საბინაო	682	682	100
	საბინაო	3057			139	საბინაო	25	25	100
114	საბინაო	629	21	3.3	140	საბინაო	691	691	100
115	საბინაო	689	689	100	141	საბინაო	590	590	100
	საბინაო	1326	710	54.2	142	საბინაო	690	690	100
	საბინაო	578			143	საბინაო	259	259	100
116	საბინაო	137	137	100		საბინაო	2861	5722	91.1
117	საბინაო	349	349	100		საბინაო	59		
118	საბინაო	159	159	100	144	საბინაო	296	296	100
119	საბინაო	185	185	100		საბინაო	4691	296	6.1
120	საბინაო	89	89	100		საბინაო	59		
121	საბინაო	19	19	100	145	საბინაო	263	13	4.6
122	საბინაო	124	124	100		საბინაო	1948	19	0.7
123	საბინაო	228	228	100		საბინაო	1925		
124	საბინაო	290	290	100		საბინაო	66612	1339	2.9
125	საბინაო	31	31	100		საბინაო	1308		
126	საბინაო	238	238	100		საბინაო			
127	საბინაო	111	111	100		საბინაო			
128	საბინაო	212	212	100		საბინაო			
129	საბინაო	213	213	100		საბინაო			



წელიწადი	საბიბლიოთეკო დასახელება	ბიბლიოთეკაში			საბიბლიოთეკო დასახელება	ბიბლიოთეკაში		
		წილი	შთამო გნობა	%		წილი	შთამო გნობა	წილი
	<u>თბილისი ბიბლიოთეკა</u>							
I	<u>თბილისი ბიბლიოთეკა</u>				განსახილველი	344	-	-
o 1	გაბაშვილი	163	152	93,3				
o 2	ჩუბინაძე	112	112	100				
	<u>მათე ბიბლიოთეკა</u>	2119	264	12,5				
II	ჩუბინაძე							
v 3	საბინა	40	40	100				
v 4	საბინა	102	102	100				
v 5	გაბაშვილი	329	329	100				
v 6	ბიბლიოთეკა	164	164	100				
v 7	გაბაშვილი - 4-ე	208	208	100				
v 8	გაბაშვილი	155	155	100				
v 9	გაბაშვილი - 4-ე	364	364	100				
v 10	გაბაშვილი	27	27	100				
v 11	გაბაშვილი	136	136	100				
v 12	გაბაშვილი	234	234	100				
v 13	გაბაშვილი	166	166	100				
o 14	ბიბლიოთეკა	187	187	100				
v 15	გაბაშვილი	305	305	100				
o 16	ბიბლიოთეკა	29	29	100				
v 17	გაბაშვილი	88	88	100				
v 18	ჩუბინაძე	1128	1128	100				
	<u>მათე ბიბლიოთეკა</u>	3662	3662	100				
	<u>მათე ბიბლიოთეკა</u>	82715	3926	4,7				

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№ по порядку	Название населенных мѣстъ	Грузины			Армяне			Осетины			Турки			15	16	17	18	19	20
		Мужчинъ	Женщинъ	Дѣтѣ обо-го пола	Мужчинъ	Женщинъ	Дѣтѣ обо-го пола	Мужчинъ	Женщинъ	Дѣтѣ обо-го пола	Мужчинъ	Женщинъ	Дѣтѣ обо-го пола						
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20
	Тифлисская губ. Торійскій уездъ. I Авлевское																		
1.	Курисъ - Убани	106.	93.	139.				69.	43.	118.							175.	142.	317.
2.	Шингара	68.	65.	133.				32.	31.	63.							100.	96.	196.
3.	Чурисъ - лѣви							29.	22.	51.							29.	22.	51.
4.	Чуриски	45.	41.	86.													45.	41.	86.
5.	Чериски	300.	299.	599.													300.	299.	599.
6.	Ургили							46.	35.	81.							46.	35.	81.
7.	Урвдзиски							152.	65.	217.							152.	65.	217.
8.	Кода	76.	61.	137.													76.	61.	137.
9.	Лалани							35.	26.	61.							35.	26.	61.
10.	Погрикетки	43.	32.	75.				65.	38.	118.							108.	85.	193.
11.	Самтани							54.	50.	104.							54.	50.	104.
12.	Самти							110.	100.	210.							110.	100.	210.
13.	Малва	146.	137.	283.				47.	46.	93.							193.	183.	376.
14.	Маларашени	130.	112.	242.				8.	7.	15.							139.	120.	259.
15.	Пшоубани	75.	72.	147.				6.	8.	14.							81.	80.	161.
16.	Дзачено	3.	4.	7.				206.	159.	365.							209.	163.	372.
17.	Кисеви	167.	169.	336.				25.	16.	41.							192.	185.	377.
18.	Костки	67.	56.	123.				34.	29.	63.							101.	85.	186.
19.	Алсеви	244.	243.	487.													244.	243.	487.
20.	Ахалшени	143.	113.	256.				27.	27.	54.							170.	140.	310.
21.	Амбифри	40.	38.	78.				46.	47.	93.							86.	85.	171.



№ по порядку	Название населенных мѣстъ	Грузины			Армяне			Осетины			Страны Кавказа			Татары			Иные		
		Мужчинъ	Женщинъ	Лицъ обо-го пола	Мужчинъ	Женщинъ	Лицъ обо-го пола	Мужчинъ	Женщинъ	Лицъ обо-го пола	Мужчинъ	Женщинъ	Лицъ обо-го пола	Мужчинъ	Женщинъ	Лицъ обо-го пола	Мужчинъ	Женщинъ	Лицъ обо-го пола
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20
22.	Ганта							146.	133.	279.							146.	133.	279.
23.	Тужио - леви	33.	28.	61.													33.	28.	61.
24.	Учрлвина							38.	32.	70.							38.	32.	70.
25.	Теофилинда	19.	11.	30.				29.	31.	60.							48.	42.	90.
26.	Тална - Ахлеви							164.	120.	284.							164.	120.	284.
27.	Торисъ - тави	89.	78.	167.													89.	78.	167.
28.	Атони	468.	391.	859.	5.	6.	11.	8.	4.	12.							481.	401.	882.
29.	Тирвина							89.	78.	167.							89.	78.	167.
30.	Тедети	63.	63.	126.													63.	63.	126.
31.	Талети							83.	76.	159.							83.	76.	159.
32.	Метехи	110.	105.	215.													110.	105.	215.
33.	Муриси	29.	30.	59.				131.	104.	235.							160.	134.	294.
34.	Мураури							72.	64.	136.							72.	64.	136.
35.	Суриси	84.	88.	172.													84.	88.	172.
36.	Кабახеви	74.	93.	167.													74.	93.	167.
37.	Земо - Охона	110.	118.	228.				11.	12.	23.							121.	130.	251.
38.	Квемо - Охона	127.	66.	193.													127.	66.	193.
39.	Тарарванки	88.	58.	146.				95.	88.	183.							183.	146.	329.
40.	Тоделина							32.	27.	59.							32.	27.	59.
41.	Миси							55.	40.	95.							55.	40.	95.
42.	Орди							115.	85.	200.							115.	85.	200.
43.	Телашна							34.	30.	64.							34.	30.	64.
	Итого по обществу	2947.	2664.	5611.	5.	6.	11.	2033.	1634.	3707.	1.	1.	2.				5046.	4365.	9411.



№ по порядку	Название населенных мѣсть	Грузины			Армяне			Осетины			Русскіе			Дары			Иные		
		Мужчинъ	Женщинъ	Лицъ обо-го пола	Мужчинъ	Женщинъ	Лицъ обо-го пола	Мужчинъ	Женщинъ	Лицъ обо-го пола	Мужчинъ	Женщинъ	Лицъ обо-го пола	Мужчинъ	Женщинъ	Лицъ обо-го пола	Мужчинъ	Женщинъ	Лицъ обо-го пола
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20
11	Билотское с. обш.																		
1.	Табарантъ-кари							3.	1.	4.							3.	1.	4.
2.	Реса							64.	53.	117.							64.	53.	117.
3.	Зонкари							188.	141.	323.							188.	141.	323.
4.	Тифраантъ-кари							6.	4.	10.							6.	4.	10.
5.	Джалма							2.	2.	4.							2.	2.	4.
6.	Мандлантъ							26.	25.	51.							26.	25.	51.
7.	Турквантъ-кари							12.	8.	20.							12.	8.	20.
8.	Шамбѣтъ							12.	5.	17.							12.	5.	17.
9.	Тога							17.	16.	33.							17.	16.	33.
10.	Турчи							12.	7.	19.							12.	7.	19.
11.	Фарвантъ-кари							9.	10.	19.							9.	10.	19.
12.	Чепаруха							12.	10.	22.							12.	10.	22.
13.	Абурчи	32.	29.	61.				38.	24.	62.							70.	53.	123.
14.	Унаурчи							32.	26.	58.							32.	26.	58.
15.	Алаурчи							43.	34.	77.							43.	34.	77.
16.	Калараантъ-кари							25.	13.	38.							25.	13.	38.
17.	Санта							64.	46.	110.							64.	46.	110.
18.	Кисвантъ-кари							22.	24.	46.							22.	24.	46.
19.	Сатвантъ-кари							33.	30.	63.							33.	30.	63.
20.	Курта							29.	29.	58.							29.	29.	58.
21.	Унаурчи							53.	44.	97.							53.	44.	97.
22.	Априсави	159.	140.	299.				54.	35.	86.							153.	140.	299.
23.	Сабиласо							51.	35.	86.							51.	35.	86.



№ по порядку	Название населенных МѢСТЪ	Грузины			Армяне			Осетины			Горцы Турки			Талары Бурсы			Итого		
		Мужчинъ	Женщинъ	Всѣхъ обо- ихъ пола	Мужчинъ	Женщинъ	Всѣхъ обо- ихъ пола	Мужчинъ	Женщинъ	Всѣхъ обо- ихъ пола	Мужчинъ	Женщинъ	Всѣхъ обо- ихъ пола	Мужчинъ	Женщинъ	Всѣхъ обо- ихъ пола	Мужчинъ	Женщинъ	Всѣхъ обо- ихъ пола
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20
24.	Витуря							20.	26.	156.							90.	66.	156.
25.	Далуга							16.	21.	37.							16.	21.	37.
26.	Шгазхурь.							84.	84.	168.							84.	84.	168.
27.	Салхети	163.	126.	289.													163.	126.	289.
28.	Канури	68.	67.	135.													68.	67.	135.
29.	Белоти	122.	98.	220.													122.	98.	220.
30.	Саханано							14.	10.	24.							14.	10.	24.
31.	Квемо-Вахури							5.	7.	13.							5.	7.	13.
32.	Земо-Вахури							11.	13.	24.							11.	13.	24.
33.	Квемо-Саринс							35.	35.	70.							35.	35.	70.
34.	Земо-Саринс							14.	13.	27.							14.	13.	27.
35.	Самтхаро							18.	18.	36.							18.	18.	36.
36.	Шулаури							52.	39.	91.							52.	39.	91.
37.	Мармазети.							165.	147.	312.							165.	147.	312.
	Итого по обществу.	544.	460.	1004.				1257.	1041.	2298.							1801.	1501.	3302.
III	Меграбисево-ское общ. (Андреево)																		
1.	Джарнашени.	21.	16.	37.													21.	16.	37.
2.	Уагдакитъ-кари.							29.	26.	55.							29.	26.	55.
3.	Мохиси							159.	138.	297.							159.	138.	297.
4.	Сабуз							58.	53.	111.							58.	53.	111.
5.	Панткарн							27.	25.	52.							27.	25.	52.
6.	Навалакви							77.	69.	146.							77.	69.	146.
7.	Кивани.							337.	307.	644.							337.	307.	644.



№ по порядку	Название населенных мѣстъ	Грузины			Армяне			Осетины			Турки Русские			Татары			Черкесы		
		Мужчинъ	Женщинъ	Лицъ обо-го пола	Мужчинъ	Женщинъ	Лицъ обо-го пола	Мужчинъ	Женщинъ	Лицъ обо-го пола	Мужчинъ	Женщинъ	Лицъ обо-го пола	Мужчинъ	Женщинъ	Лицъ обо-го пола	Мужчинъ	Женщинъ	Лицъ обо-го пола
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20
8.	Земо-Архаби	57.	55.	112.				122.	104.	223.							186.	159.	345.
9.	Мерсия							78.	59.	137.							78.	59.	137.
10.	Аркарети							50.	48.	98.							50.	48.	98.
11.	Кв.-Кутрози.							121.	104.	225.							121.	104.	225.
12.	Бериджавари II							36.	28.	64.							36.	28.	64.
13.	Карули							49.	41.	90.							49.	41.	90.
14.	Земо-Белари.							121.	97.	218.							121.	97.	218.
15.	Квириха							14.	17.	31.							14.	17.	31.
16.	Омреви							68.	47.	115.							68.	47.	115.
17.	Кв.-Белари.							105.	77.	182.							105.	77.	182.
18.	Бериджавари I							35.	27.	62.							35.	27.	62.
19.	Икарта							51.	34.	85.							51.	34.	85.
20.	Ултехиши							99.	76.	175.							99.	76.	175.
21.	Биеши							92.	71.	163.							92.	71.	163.
22.	Шахатвора	10.	9.	19.				79.	74.	153.							79.	74.	153.
23.	Валиахтв-кари							83.	75.	158.							83.	75.	158.
24.	Бендери							172.	163.	335.							172.	163.	335.
25.	Цинори							78.	74.	152.							78.	74.	152.
26.	Зерти	352.	300.	652.	288.	245.	533.										640.	545.	1185.
27.	Кв.-Горети							84.	66.	150.							84.	66.	150.
28.	Тлаинвали							133.	113.	246.							133.	113.	246.
29.	Караула							122.	101.	223.							122.	101.	223.
30.	Бериджети	487.	459.	946.				34.	28.	62.	3.	6.	9.				524.	493.	1017.
31.	Ахриси.	172.	136.	308.	53.	49.	102.										225.	185.	410.



№ по порядку	Название населенных мѣсть	Грузины			Армяне			Осетины			Гурки-Гусски			Татары			Иные		
		Мужчинъ	Женщинъ	Лицъ обо- го пола	Мужчинъ	Женщинъ	Лицъ обо- го пола	Мужчинъ	Женщинъ	Лицъ обо- го пола	Мужчинъ	Женщинъ	Лицъ обо- го пола	Мужчинъ	Женщинъ	Лицъ обо- го пола	Мужчинъ	Женщинъ	Лицъ обо- го пола
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20
32.	Пелалика.							62.	44.	106.							62.	44.	106.
33.	Сакверети.							137.	114.	251.							137.	114.	251.
34.	Швети.							82.	71.	153.							82.	71.	153.
35.	Дзаварети.							76.	77.	153.							76.	77.	153.
36.	Ахалиси							82.	72.	154.							82.	72.	154.
37.	Тондакты-кари							91.	75.	166.							91.	75.	166.
38.	Трами	3.	6.	9.				120.	70.	190.							123.	96.	219.
39.	Земо-Китрози.							160.	122.	282.							160.	122.	282.
40.	Андорети.							23.	74.	167.							23.	74.	167.
41.	Земо-Торети.							130.	145.	275.							130.	145.	275.
42.	Кирбани	306.	254.	560.													306.	254.	560.
43.	Ахали-Убани	14.	14.	28.													14.	14.	28.
44.	Азуби	161.	143.	304.				29.	23.	52.							130.	166.	296.
45.	Мегдурисъ-дхи.	1485.	1391.	2876.	49.	48.	97.	22.	18.	40.	2.	1.	3.				1538.	1458.	3016.
		3068.	2783.	5851.	330.	342.	672.	3669.	2072.	6737.	5.	7.	12.				7127.	6205.	13332.
IV	Квемо-Чаивские с.бл.																		
1.	Квемо-Сорахети.							13.	13.	26.							13.	13.	26.
2.	Квемо-Чама.	743.	651.	1394.				4.	5.	9.				4.	2.	6.	751.	658.	1409.
3.	Нагарбазви	284.	230.	514.	63.	45.	108.										347.	275.	622.
4.	Хилоди							121.	101.	222.							121.	101.	222.
5.	Сакрети	150.	155.	305.													150.	155.	305.
6.	Ахалиси.	75.	66.	141.													75.	66.	141.
7.	Квемо-Сорани							18.	23.	41.							18.	23.	41.



№№ по порядку	Название населенных мѣстъ	Грузины			Армяне			Осетины			Гуски			Обриси			Итого			М
		Мужчинъ	Женщинъ	Лица обоего пола	Мужчинъ	Женщинъ	Лица обоего пола	Мужчинъ	Женщинъ	Лица обоего пола	Мужчинъ	Женщинъ	Лица обоего пола	Мужчинъ	Женщинъ	Лица обоего пола	Мужчинъ	Женщинъ	Лица обоего пола	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21
8.	Рванцала							82	71	153							82	71	153	
9.	Вандишъ - цсаро.							34	30	64							34	30	64	
10.	Квано-Тено							95	88	183							95	88	183	
11.	Накциани							125	97	222							125	97	222	
12.	Вахо							62	57	119							62	57	119	
13.	Тадриано.	104	91	195													104	91	195	
14.	Квими							145	107	252							145	107	252	
15.	Ицети	160	137	297				13	13	26							173	150	323	
16.	Самтавиан	149	143	292	3	2	5	2	2	4							154	147	301	
17.	Махлеби							78	65	143							78	65	143	
18.	Зано - Рене	51	43	94				116	93	209							167	136	303	
19.	Кодисъ - шкоро	104	99	203													104	99	203	
20.	Орпотани							167	135	302							167	135	302	
21.	Зано - Курн							100	75	175							100	75	175	
22.	Аорети							154	128	282							154	128	282	
23.	Ланисъ - карн.	455	433	888													455	433	888	
	Итого по обществу.	2275	2048	4323	66	47	113	1322	1103	2425					2	6	5679	3200	6879	
V	Меретская с. общ.																			
1.	Мерети	395	346	741				3	2	5							398	348	746	
2.	Кв. - Карн	200	189	389													200	189	389	
3.	Карон	219	219	438													219	219	438	
4.	Корун	122	95	217													122	95	217	
5.	Дениси	7	7	14				198	175	373							205	182	387	



№ по порядку	Название населенных мѣстъ	Грузины			Армяне			Осетины			Русские			Татары			Умоо		
		Мужчинъ	Женщинъ	Литъ обо-го пола	Мужчинъ	Женщинъ	Литъ обо-го пола	Мужчинъ	Женщинъ	Литъ обо-го пола	Мужчинъ	Женщинъ	Литъ обо-го пола	Мужчинъ	Женщинъ	Литъ обо-го пола	Мужчинъ	Женщинъ	Литъ обо-го пола
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20
6.	Снехи	190.	172.	362.				57.	77.	101.							247.	222.	469.
7.	Чарехи	194.	157.	351.													194.	157.	351.
8.	Самухари							245.	218.	463.							245.	218.	463.
9.	Коччи	11.	11.	22.													11.	11.	22.
10.	Кенгча	4.	2.	6.				247.	237.	484.							251.	239.	490.
11.	Кубьдита	75.	74.	149.													75.	74.	149.
12.	Заргиантъ-кара	23.	30.	53.	6.	8.	14.	10.	8.	17.							39.	46.	85.
13.	Зено-Кари							69.	64.	133.							69.	64.	133.
14.	Коччи	165.	151.	316.													165.	151.	316.
15.	Дисеви (Дичи?)	208.	124.	332.													208.	124.	332.
	Умоо по обществу	1813.	1583.	3396.	6.	8.	14.	829.	742.	1571.							2648.	2339.	4987.
VI	Мамарашенское с. общ.																		
1.	Кв.-Арабети	163.	173.	336.													163.	173.	336.
2.	Зено-Арабети	149.	113.	262.													149.	113.	262.
3.	Зено-Дарчети	259.	189.	448.													259.	189.	448.
4.	Кв.-Дарчети	68.	57.	125.				38.	34.	72.							106.	91.	197.
5.	Мамарашети	186.	145.	331.				12.	13.	25.							198.	158.	356.
6.	Сабашингда	45.	36.	81.				33.	32.	71.							78.	74.	152.
7.	Кейтисъ-Триси	3.	4.	7.				116.	22.	214.							119.	102.	221.
8.	Кемурти	409.	329.	738.				2.	2.	10.							411.	337.	748.
9.	Кейоти	342.	269.	611.				17.	18.	35.							359.	287.	646.
10.	Монастири	45.	42.	87.				56.	39.	95.							101.	81.	182.
11.	Дарчети	303.	295.	598.	3.	3.	6.	5.	4.	9.							311.	302.	613.



№ по порядку	Название населенных мѣстъ	Грузины			Армяне			Осетины			Турки Русские			Татары			Имя		
		Мужчинъ	Женщинъ	Лицъ обо-го пола	Мужчинъ	Женщинъ	Лицъ обо-го пола	Мужчинъ	Женщинъ	Лицъ обо-го пола	Мужчинъ	Женщинъ	Лицъ обо-го пола	Мужчинъ	Женщинъ	Лицъ обо-го пола	Мужчинъ	Женщинъ	Лицъ обо-го пола
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20
12.	Курта	187.	145.	332.				104.	32.	136.							291.	237.	528.
13.	Кеви	283.	261.	544.				6.	4.	10.							289.	265.	554.
14.	Сери.	74.	55.	129.													74.	55.	129.
	Имя по обществу	2516.	2113.	4629.	3.	3.	6.	389.	348.	737.							2908.	2464.	5372.
VII																			
	Хелтубанское (Хурвал.)																		
1.	Деха	4.	3.	7.	66.	62.	128.	6.	7.	13.							76.	72.	148.
2.	Хелтубани	204.	230.	434.	300.	254.	554.										504.	484.	988.
3.	Теробури	103.	81.	184.													103.	81.	184.
4.	Свешети	305.	263.	568.	51.	40.	91.	23.	12.	35.							379.	315.	694.
5.	Карачети	236.	203.	439.	644.	588.	1232.										880.	791.	1671.
6.	Патара-Соризь	162.	140.	302.	186.	144.	330.										348.	284.	632.
7.	Мертуга	224.	210.	434.													224.	210.	434.
8.	Кв.-Собиси							86.	92.	178.							86.	92.	178.
9.	Цурактъ-кари							65.	47.	112.							65.	47.	112.
10.	Земо-Собиси	109.	91.	200.				4.	3.	7.							113.	94.	207.
11.	Кв.-Собиси	196.	145.	341.													196.	145.	341.
12.	Кварцети	60.	51.	111.													60.	51.	111.
13.	Ахалъ-сони	238.	242.	480.	24.	23.	47.										262.	265.	527.
14.	Метснани							18.	22.	40.							18.	22.	40.
15.	Цруцети							83.	69.	152.							83.	64.	147.
16.	Патара-Хурвалети	54.	35.	89.													54.	35.	89.
17.	Диди-Хурвалети	164.	124.	288.				27.	31.	58.							131.	155.	346.
18.	Цурактъ-кари							22.	17.	39.							22.	17.	39.



№ по порядку	Название населенныхъ мѣстъ	Грузины		Армяне		Осетины		Русскіе		Греки		Полки		Евреи		Абхазцы	
		Мужчины	Женщины	Мужчины	Женщины	Мужчины	Женщины	Мужчины	Женщины	Мужчины	Женщины	Мужчины	Женщины	Мужчины	Женщины	Мужчины	Женщины
19	Тарасий-леви					50.	32.	26.									
20	Тугиантъ-кари					18.	10.	28.									
21	Кери					50.	43.	93.									
22	Умакара					23.	26.	179.									
23	Назрети	100.	94.	194.		2.	3.	6.	103.	97.	200.						
24	Шамкети	120.	112.	232.					120.	112.	232.						
25	Умий-мисе	336.	320.	656.					336.	320.	656.						
26	Бегдзети	308.	256.	564.					308.	256.	564.						
27	Демо-Тамби					111.	110.	231.	121.	110.	231.						
28	Диги-Коругаби	142.	136.	278.	67.	46.	113.		202.	192.	394.						
	Итого по обществу.	3043.	2736.	5779.	1331.	1157.	2195.	669.	579.	1219.							
	Итого по 7-ми обществамъ.	16322.	14337.	30659.	1702.	1563.	3371.	10230.	6376.	18976.	6.	8.	14.	4.	2.	6.	22270.

Примечаніе: 1) Крайне переименныя общества, Осетины (въ Тарасийскомъ уездѣ) значить такъ-же въ слѣдующихъ: 1) Донавскаго 7036 осетинъ об. пола, т.е. равно 100% населенію этого о-ва; 2) Зинд-дерскаго 3221 осет. об. п. или 97% насел. уезда; 3) Кавказскаго 3826 об. п. или 100%; 4) Кортевскаго 5201 осет. об. п. или 99%; 5) Ортевскаго 4135 или 100%; 6) Рожскаго - 4511 или 99,5%; 7) Умарскаго - 5158 или 99%.

Въ означенныхъ обществахъ подробныя свѣдѣнія не даны, т.е. таковыя не значатъ, въ сущности, числа жителей Министрства въ д. Всѣмъ по Туринскому уезду всѣхъ свѣдѣній 1,74% общей численности населенія.

4) Уездъ, подъ названіемъ „Русское“ въ сущности состоитъ изъ индѣевъ; по вѣдѣніямъ, таковыя вѣдѣнія въ составъ Меретскаго общества.

Завѣдывающій Отдѣломъ
Старшина А. Толмаковъ

17 Января 1912. Старшій конторъ в. делъ



№ по порядку	Название населенных мѣсть	Грузины			Армяне			Осетины			Душе			Татары			Турки		
		Мужчинъ	Женщинъ	Лицъ обоего пола	Мужчинъ	Женщинъ	Лицъ обоего пола	Мужчинъ	Женщинъ	Лицъ обоего пола	Мужчинъ	Женщинъ	Лицъ обоего пола	Мужчинъ	Женщинъ	Лицъ обоего пола	Мужчинъ	Женщинъ	Лицъ обоего пола
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20
	Мифлисская губ.																		
	Душетский уездъ																		
1	Ахалгорское с. общ.																		
1	Ахалгори	15	13	28	239	265	504	36	36	72							350	314	664
2	Ахмадчи							75	59	134							75	59	134
3	Безуати-Нау	7	2	9				101	95	196							108	87	205
4	Безапти нари										25	31	56				25	31	56
5	Вазвети							30	45	165							30	45	165
6	Буда							5	5	10							5	5	10
7	Бесельта							35	30	65							35	30	65
8	Вашловани							61	63	124							61	63	124
9	Весови	85	67	152													85	67	152
10	Чарубани							56	32	88							56	32	88
11	Георгиани							153	138	291							153	138	291
12	Груа	48	43	91				54	32	86							102	45	147
13	Гду							94	70	164							94	70	164
14	Бурчум							135	126	261							135	126	261
15	Гудацвера	136	117	253													136	117	253
16	Дзеллеви	91	91	182				19	21	40							110	112	222
17	Делмали							70	48	118							70	48	118
18	Зедя Вале							13	19	32							13	19	32
19	Земо Авлеви	139	114	253													139	114	253
20	Земо Болм	62	55	117													62	55	117
21	Нанчавети	281	261	542				20	19	39							301	280	581
22	Нвавись Джвари							38	22	60							38	22	60



№ по порядку	Название населенных мѣсть	Грузины			Армяне			Осетины			Турки Джиги			Татары			Цыгане Итало		
		Мужчинъ	Женщинъ	Цѣль обрѣ-го пола	Мужчинъ	Женщинъ	Цѣль обрѣ-го пола	Мужчинъ	Женщинъ	Цѣль обрѣ-го пола	Мужчинъ	Женщинъ	Цѣль обрѣ-го пола	Мужчинъ	Женщинъ	Цѣль обрѣ-го пола	Мужчинъ	Женщинъ	Цѣль обрѣ-го пола
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20
23	Ивелио Бѣли	87	90	177													87	90	177
24	Курта	158	120	278													158	120	278
25	Коринта	28	26	54													28	26	54
26	Котораум							50	36	86							50	36	86
27	Ивелио Авлови	159	117	276													159	117	276
28	Ереда	51	45	96													51	45	96
29	Мамулаантъ Нарц							34	33	67							34	33	67
30	Мзаврети							57	61	118							57	61	118
31	Каломеви							95	75	170							95	75	170
32	Икоти	424	410	834													424	410	834
33	Китварц							26	25	51							26	25	51
34	Одзиси	252	251	503				6	2	8				3	5	8	261	258	519
35	Цинь-Убани							50	37	87							50	37	87
36	Цихеель-Сопел							39	36	75							39	36	75
37	Ципмель-Цкаро							73	63	136							73	63	136
38	Цирном	137	125	262	1	2	3	8	6	14							146	133	279
39	Садзамет							9	10	19							9	10	19
40	Сарбѣи							122	97	219							122	97	219
41	Сона	4	5	9													4	5	9
42	Тандара							68	54	122							68	54	122
43	Тами (осет.)							68	80	148							68	80	148
44	Тами (Баканури)	69	60	129													69	60	129
45	Тамисеви	48	36	84				74	15	29							62	51	113
46	Цихеель-Сопел							143	128	271							143	128	271
	Итого по области	2281	2048	4329	300	267	567	1917	1648	3565	25	31	56	3	5	8	4526	3999	8525



№ по порядку	Название населенных мѣстъ	Грузины			Армяне			Осетины			Турки Талыши			Татары			Варяги		
		Мужчинъ	Женщинъ	Лицъ обо- его пола	Мужчинъ	Женщинъ	Лицъ обо- его пола	Мужчинъ	Женщинъ	Лицъ обо- его пола	Мужчинъ	Женщинъ	Лицъ обо- его пола	Мужчинъ	Женщинъ	Лицъ обо- его пола	Мужчинъ	Женщинъ	Лицъ обо- его пола
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20
11	Земо-Кевское об-во																		
1	Бандара							11	18	29							11	18	29
2	Замачура							25	28	53							25	28	53
3	Абано							116	120	236							116	120	236
4	Суатишь							139	142	281							139	142	281
5	Джи-мара							126	112	238							126	112	238
6	Безилаитъ							109	80	189	1						110	83	193
7	Десъ-Нижний							30	29	59							30	29	59
8	Карети-Кау							110	105	215							110	105	215
9	Цоцолта							102	81	183							102	81	183
10	Гесъ							100	107	207							100	107	207
11	Тена							132	120	252							132	120	252
12	Ветришь							163	149	312							163	149	312
13	Ноль-Кау							79	59	138							79	59	138
14	Шавардени							73	77	150							73	77	150
15	Малазъ							19	12	31							19	12	31
16	Окронана Верх.							69	60	129							69	60	129
17	Окронана Нижнзъ							59	52	111							59	52	111
18	Мна							91	77	168							91	77	168
19	Кеби							178	171	349							178	171	349
20	Ухатъ Верх.							107	92	199							107	92	199
21	Ухатъ нижний							37	32	69							37	32	69
22	Хуртиси	181	168	349													181	168	349
23	Каноби	199	176	375													199	176	375



№ по порядку	Название населенных мѣстъ	Грузины			Армяне			Осетины			Дети-Поляки			Татары			Дети-Татары		
		Мужчинъ	Женщинъ	Дѣтъ обо-го пола	Мужчинъ	Женщинъ	Дѣтъ обо-го пола	Мужчинъ	Женщинъ	Дѣтъ обо-го пола	Мужчинъ	Женщинъ	Дѣтъ обо-го пола	Мужчинъ	Женщинъ	Дѣтъ обо-го пола	Мужчинъ	Женщинъ	Дѣтъ обо-го пола
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20
24	Бурманшъ							49	56	105							49	56	105
25	Резъ вереній							46	47	153							46	47	153
	Итого по обществу	380	344	724				2000	1856	3856	1.	3.	4.				2381	2203	4584
III	Монастырское об-во							+											
1	Кора верен.							67	46	113							67	46	113
2	Кора нати.							65	65	130							65	65	130
3	Кудми - Кау							27	18	45							27	18	45
4	Моганта							45	46	91							45	46	91
5	Верен. Бадузъ							53	47	100							53	47	100
6	Цисъ - сопеш							8	15	23							8	15	23
7	Пелати - Кау							19	18	37							19	18	37
8	Цзонть - Кау							56	46	102							56	46	102
9	Бабути - Кау							20	16	36							20	16	36
10	Нависъ жевн							17	16	33							17	16	33
11	Ломиса							105	98	203							105	98	203
12	Забуатъ							37	34	71							37	34	71
13	Вехеръ							53	44	97							53	44	97
14	Взатаитъ нари							31	33	64							31	33	64
15	Варетъ - нари							49	42	91							49	42	91
16	Чхунети							35	31	66							35	31	66
17	Джортиси							30	72	162							30	72	162
18	Велиси							30	21	51							30	21	51



№ по порядку	Название населенных мѣстъ	Грузины			Армяне			Осетины			Турки			Татары			Турки <i>Имго</i>		
		Мужчинъ	Женщинъ	Всѣхъ обо- ихъ пола	Мужчинъ	Женщинъ	Всѣхъ обо- ихъ пола	Мужчинъ	Женщинъ	Всѣхъ обо- ихъ пола	Мужчинъ	Женщинъ	Всѣхъ обо- ихъ пола	Мужчинъ	Женщинъ	Всѣхъ обо- ихъ пола	Мужчинъ	Женщинъ	Всѣхъ обо- ихъ пола
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20
19	Мудухъ							68	61	129							68	61	129
20	Сабарлети							81	67	148							81	67	148
21	Касиди	48	31	79													48	31	79
22	Крошесъ -цнаро	55	37	92				35	26	61							90	63	153
23	Лоро							58	43	101							58	43	101
24	Беселта							9	8	17							9	8	17
25	Нуцзаяетъ							53	54	107							53	54	107
26	Турциѣ							39	42	81							39	42	81
27	Дзангата							36	33	69							36	33	69
28	Горча							19	17	36							19	17	36
29	Ипнетъ							10	9	19							10	9	19
30	Хусара							14	15	29							14	15	29
31	Им. Бандшанъ							46	48	94							46	48	94
32	Бизаантъ Коу							22	18	40							22	18	40
33	Трдими							11	13	24							11	13	24
34	Турта							30	29	59							30	29	59
	Итого по области	103	68	171				1338	1191	2529							1441	1259	2700
IV. Режувское об-во																			
1	Картиси							117	95	212							117	95	212
2	Чанчхара							143	116	259							143	116	259
3	Монастырь II-ой							37	36	73							37	36	73
4	Цзелкумси							375	305	680							375	305	680
5	Велури							120	108	228							120	108	228



№ по порядку	Название населенных мѣстъ	Грузины			Армяне			Осетины			Турки			Татары			Турки Штош		
		Мужчинъ	Женщинъ	Дѣтъ обо-го пола	Мужчинъ	Женщинъ	Дѣтъ обо-го пола	Мужчинъ	Женщинъ	Дѣтъ обо-го пола	Мужчинъ	Женщинъ	Дѣтъ обо-го пола	Мужчинъ	Женщинъ	Дѣтъ обо-го пола	Мужчинъ	Женщинъ	Дѣтъ обо-го пола
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20
6	Надзбури							60	48	108							60	48	108
7	Армази							181	167	348							181	167	348
8	Закаро							160	128	288							160	128	288
9	Цольда							386	305	691							386	305	691
10	Цури							376	306	682							376	306	682
11	Цинь-Закаро							135	93	228							135	93	228
12	Сатамури							7	6	13							7	6	13
13	Цубени							219	161	380							219	161	380
14	Кода							17	10	27							17	10	27
15	Балобани							50	39	89							50	39	89
16	Балисхиди Цанда							103	82	185							103	82	185
17	Нвитмури							120	93	213							120	93	213
18	Цети							52	59	111							52	59	111
19	Чонтгора							16	15	31							16	15	31
20	Колоти	120	86	206				10	11	21							130	97	227
21	Вильда	64	43	107				106	77	183							170	120	290
22	Оксонта							28	27	55							28	27	55
23	Цклеби							14	11	25							14	11	25
24	Берзинтъ-Кари							9	10	19							9	10	19
25	Ардисъ							84	53	137							84	53	137
26	Асатуръ							86	73	159							86	73	159
27	Исраиль-Кеви							87	69	156							87	69	156
28	Тба Цимеубани							80	73	153							80	73	153
29	Свалант-Кари	42	28	70													42	28	70



№ по порядку	Название населенных мѣстъ	Грузины			Армяне			Осетины			Турки <i>Джиги и Джиги</i>			Татары			<i>Татары</i>			Русские			Греки		
		Мужчинъ	Женщинъ	Лицъ обо- его пола	Мужчинъ	Женщинъ	Лицъ обо- его пола	Мужчинъ	Женщинъ	Лицъ обо- его пола	Мужчинъ	Женщинъ	Лицъ обо- его пола	Мужчинъ	Женщинъ	Лицъ обо- его пола	Мужчинъ	Женщинъ	Лицъ обо- его пола	Мужчинъ	Женщинъ	Лицъ обо- его пола	Мужчинъ	Женщинъ	Лицъ обо- его пола
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26
30	Вани							68	56	124							68	56	124						
	Итого по Обществу.	226	157	383				3846	2632	6478							3478	2789	6267						
	по 4-мъ обществамъ.	230	2617	5807	300	267	567	8501	7327	15828	26	34	60	3		8	10220	10950	21170						

Всего по Душетскому уезду вани составляютъ
2,323% общей численности населения уезда

Заведующий Счет.
Исчисленіе А. Тонкозюк

Ст. Канц. В. Аваніани.

17 июля 1919г.

rukebi

„სამხრეთ ოსეთის“ განსაკუთრებული ადმინისტრაციული საეროებო ერთეულის საზღვრები– ოსების ეროვნული საბჭოს მიერ ამიერკავკასიის კომისარიატისადმი 1918 წლის 10 იანვარს წარდგენილი პროექტის მიხედვით. შედგენილია საუწყებოთაშორისო კომისიის შეკვეთით 1919 წელს. (გაარკვია და დოკუმენტურად დაასაბუთა შოთა ვადაჭკორიამ). რუკა № 1



პირობითი ნიშნები: რუკის ავტორებია ანდრია ბენაშვილი და სერგი ცხაკაია
 1) გორის მაზრისადმი ჩამოსაჭრელი ტერიტორია. 2) დუშეთის მაზრისადმი ჩამოსაჭრელი ტერიტორია
 3) რაჭის მაზრისადმი ჩამოსაჭრელი ტერიტორია 4) მორაპნის მაზრისადმი ჩამოსაჭრელი ტერიტორია
 რუკაზე პირობითი ნიშნები დაურთო შოთა ვადაჭკორიამ

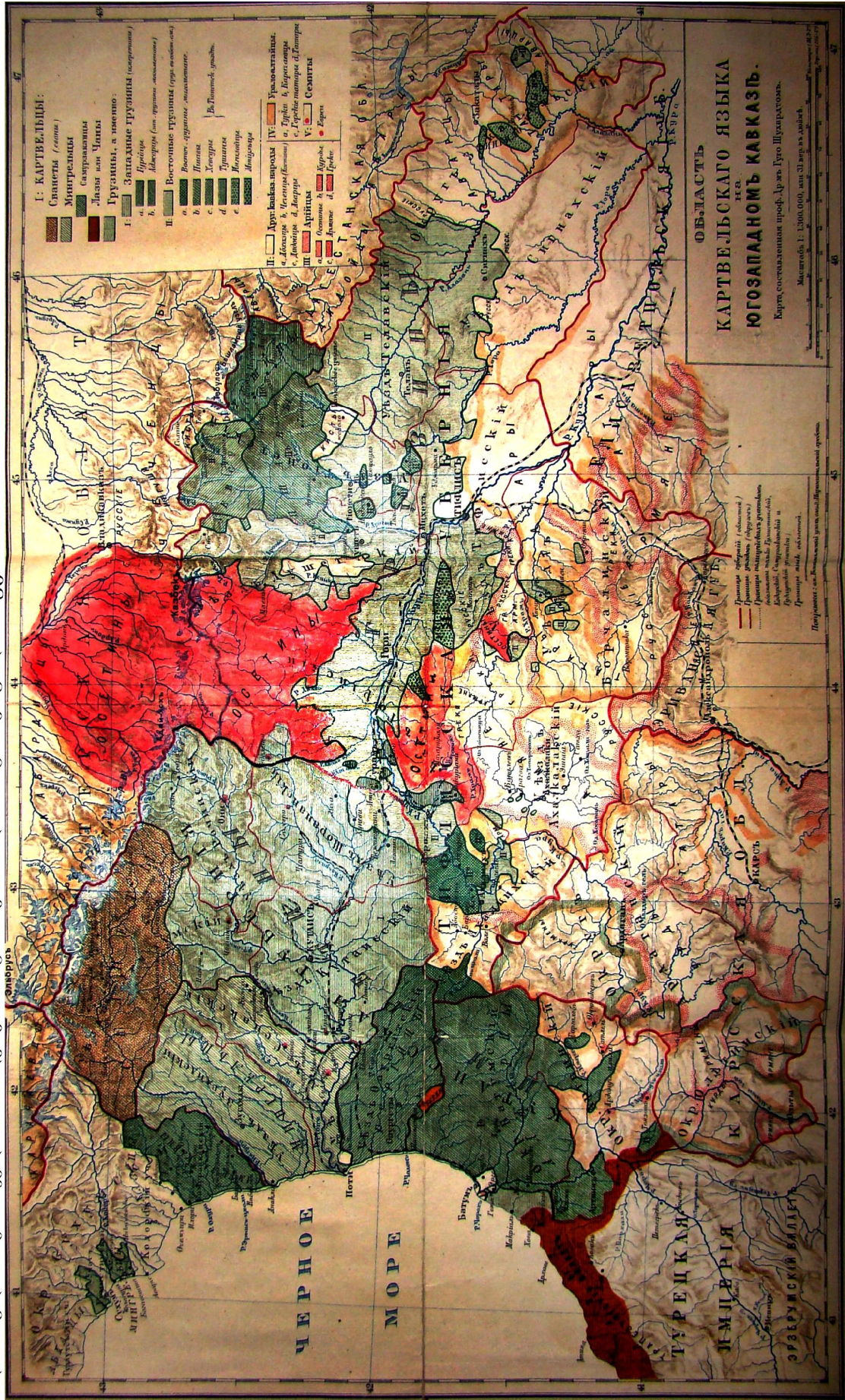
ჯავის სამაზრო ერობის საზღვრები. დამოუკიდებელი საქართველოს შინაგან საქმეთა სამინისტროს 1919 წლის პროექტის მიხედვით. შედგენილია საუწყებთაშორისო კომისიის ინიციატივით 1919 წელს. (გაარკვია და დოკუმენტურად დასაბუთა შოთა ვადაჭკორიამ). რუკა № 2



პირობითი ნიშნები: 1. გორის მაზრისადმი ჩამოსატრეული ტერიტორია; 2. რაკვის მაზრისადმი ჩამოსატრეული ტერიტორია; 3. შორაპნის მაზრისადმი ჩამოსატრეული ტერიტორია.
რუკის ავტორებია ანდრია ბენაშვილი და სერგი ცხაკაია.

რუკაზე პირობითი ნიშნები დაურთო შოთა ვადაჭკორიამ

ოსების ეროვნული საბჭოს მიერ საუწყებო-აშორისო კომისიისადმი 1919 წელს წარდგენილი რუკა. „ერთიანი ოსეთი“ კარდისეუკითაა აღნიშნული. საქართველოს საზღვრებში იგი შავი ხოლთაა გამოყოფილი. რუკა № 3 (ააბრკვას და დოკუმენტურად დადასტურება შიოთა ვადაქობიანებ)



საქართველოს პირველი რესპუბლიკა 1920 წლის ივლისის მონაცემებით. რუკა № 4

რუკის ავტორები: გ.გაჩეილიძე, ქ.ხაგანია, თბილისი 1920 წელი



რუკა № 5
მაკეტი

სასოფლო საზოგადოებები, რომლებიც საფუძვლად დაედო რუკის № 2-ის მიხედვით „სამხრეთ ოსეთის“ ავტონომიური ოლქის შემსახ. ცენტრს, დედას, რაჭისა და შირაზის მახლობელ მუკროლი ტერიტორიებს).

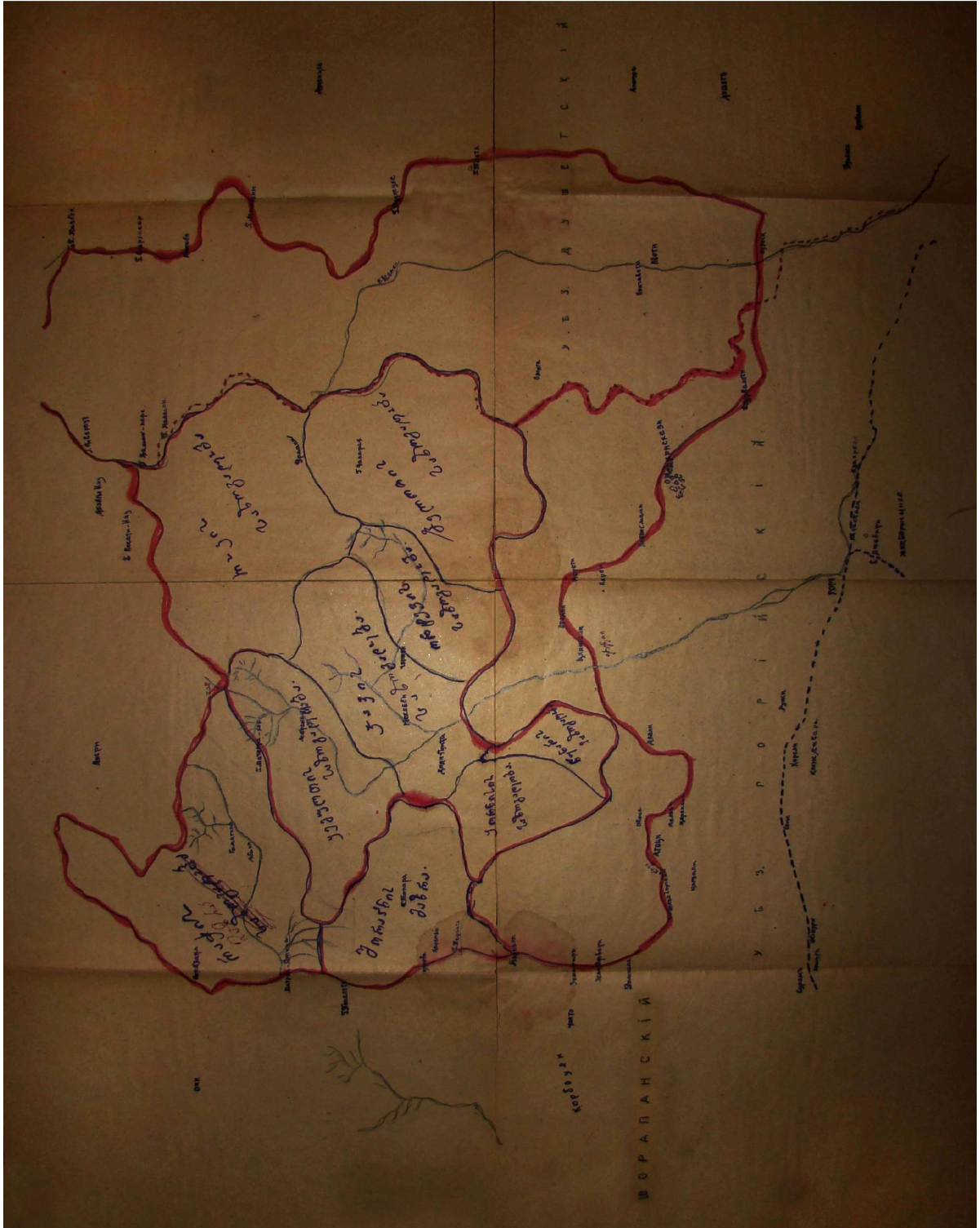
პირბოთი ნიშნები:

— „სამხრეთ ოსეთის“ ავტონომიური ოლქის საზღვარი შინაგან საქმეთა ხ.ხ. კომისიის 1921 წლის 20 ივლისის დადგინებისა და საქ. რეკომის 1922 წლის 20 მარტის დეკრეტის პრინციპების მიხედვით.

— „სამხრეთ ოსეთის“ ავტონომიური ოლქის საზღვარი 1922 წლის 20 აპრილის დეკრეტის № 2-ის მიხედვით.

რუკის მაკეტის ავტორია მსხვი ბარბოძე

რუკაზე პირბოთი ნიშნები დაურთო შოთა კვაცეტორია



რუკა № 6

მაკეტი

გორის, დუშეთის, რაჭისა და შორაპნის მაზრებისადმი ჩამოჭრილი ტერიტორიების პასაჟზე შექმნილი „სამხრეთ ოსეთის“ ავტონომიური ოლქის რუკის მაკეტი.

პირობითი ნიშნები:

■ „სამხრეთ ოსეთის“ ავტონომიური ოლქის საზღვარი 1922 წლის 20 აპრილის დეკრეტი № 2-ის მიხედვით.

■ „სამხრეთ ოსეთის“ ავტონომიური ოლქის საზღვარი, შინაგან საქმეთა სახალხო კომისარიატის 1921 წლის 20 ივლისის დეკრეტის და საქალაქის დასახლების 1922 წლის 20 მარტის დეკრეტის პირობების მიხედვით.

რუკის მაკეტის ავტორის ქვეყნიერება

რუკაზე პირობითი ნიშნები დაუერთო შიშა ფავაჯკორიანმა



სამხრეთ-ოსეთის ავტონომიური ოლქის რუკა

შედიგნირალი სრულად საქართველოს საბჭოთა ცენტრალურ ადმინისტრაციულ კომიტეტსა და საქ. სსსრ. კომ. საბჭოს დარეული № 2 საგენერ. სანჯღერებში.
 თანდართულია: 26 მ. კომპლანეტის საბჭოთაო განყოფილება... უფროსის მ. ქუთაისის რეალური სკოლის 23 კლასის რუკა



ავტონომიური ოლქების

- სამხრეთ-ოსეთის ავტონომიური ოლქი
- სამხრეთ-დასავლეთ-კავკასიის ავტონომიური ოლქი
- სამხრეთ-აღმოსავლეთ-კავკასიის ავტონომიური ოლქი
- სამხრეთ-დასავლეთ-კავკასიის ავტონომიური ოლქი
- სამხრეთ-აღმოსავლეთ-კავკასიის ავტონომიური ოლქი

ავტონომიური

- სამხრეთ-ოსეთის ავტონომიური ოლქი
- სამხრეთ-დასავლეთ-კავკასიის ავტონომიური ოლქი
- სამხრეთ-აღმოსავლეთ-კავკასიის ავტონომიური ოლქი
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ნიშნები

- სამხრეთ-ოსეთის ავტონომიური ოლქი
- სამხრეთ-დასავლეთ-კავკასიის ავტონომიური ოლქი
- სამხრეთ-აღმოსავლეთ-კავკასიის ავტონომიური ოლქი
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- სამხრეთ-აღმოსავლეთ-კავკასიის ავტონომიური ოლქი

რუკა № 7

პირობითი ნიშნები:
 1) ოლქის მახრისადმი ჩამო-
 კრული ტერიტორია; 2) დეკლარაცი-
 იის მახრისადმი ჩამოკრული
 ტერიტორია; 3) რაიონის მახრის-
 სადმი ჩამოკრული ტერიტორია;
 4) შორეული მახრისადმი
 ჩამოკრული ტერიტორია;
 5) საქართველოს კომპარტის
 პოლიტიკური, ორგანიზაციის
 და რეკონსტრუქციის 1921 წლის 12
 და 20 დეკემბრის დადგენილ-
 კანონით (№ 39, № 94) ცხინვალის
 და თამარაშენის საზოგადო-
 ება „სამხრეთ ოსეთის“ ავტონომიის
 შექმნის შემდეგ, რომლებსაც
 არ უნდა შეესაბამებოდეს.

რუკა შედგენილია სრულიად
 საქართველოს რუკათა, გეოგრაფი-
 კული და წარმართობის დეპარტამენ-
 ტის და საქართველოს კომიტეტის
 პრეზიდიუმის 1922 წლის 25
 აპრილის დადგენილებით, იმა-
 კვეთის 20 აპრილის დეკრეტით
 № 2-ში შეტანილი ცვლილებების
 გათვალისწინებით.

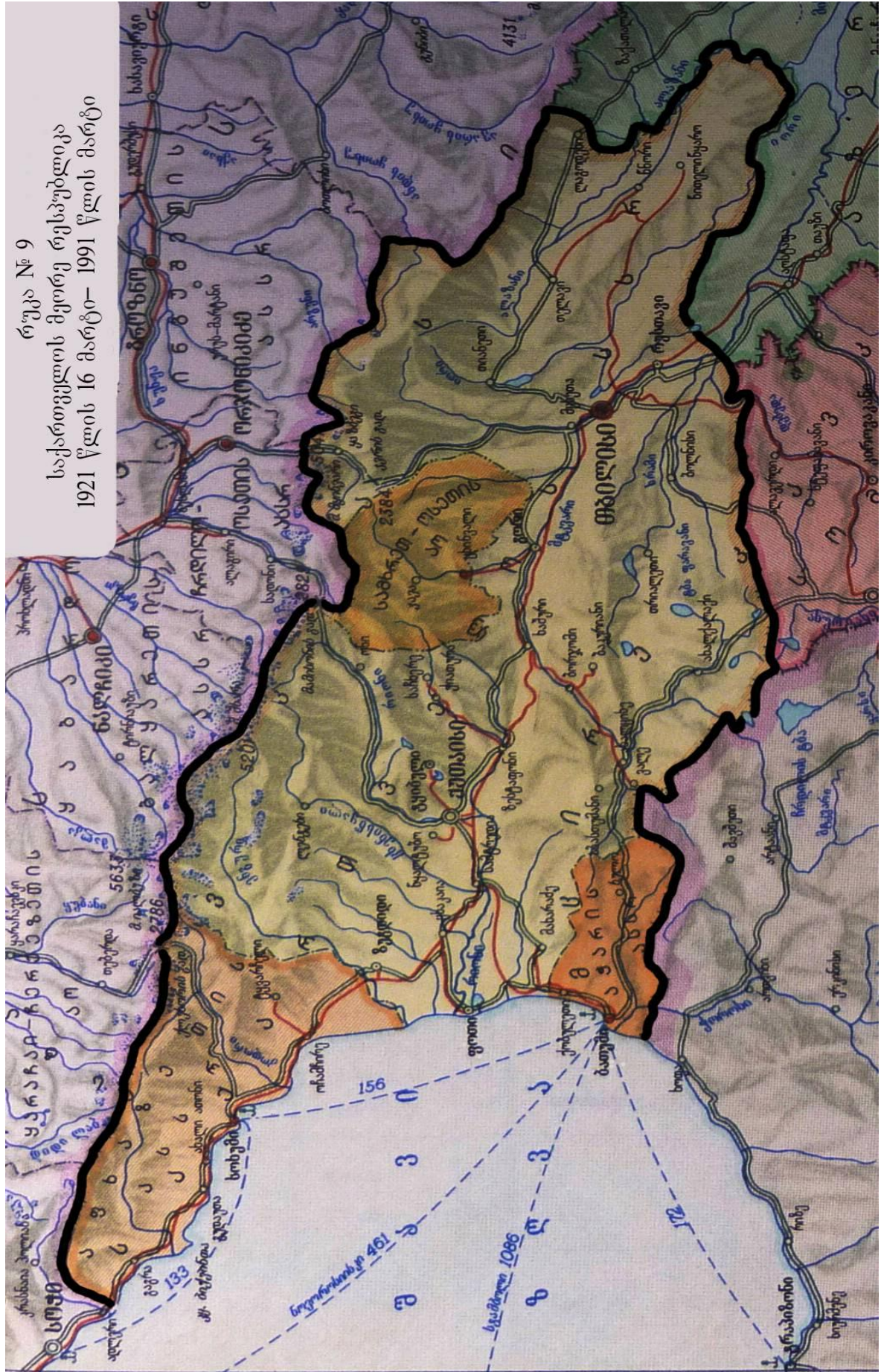
რუკაზე პირობითი ნიშნები
 დაკრული შთის ვალდებულებით

დეკრეტი № 2-ის საფუძველზე რაჭის მაზრისადმი ჩამოჭრილი და „სამხრეთ ოსეთისადმი“ გადაცემული ტერიტორია. რუკა შედგენილია ევსევი ბარამიძის მიერ. რუკა № 8



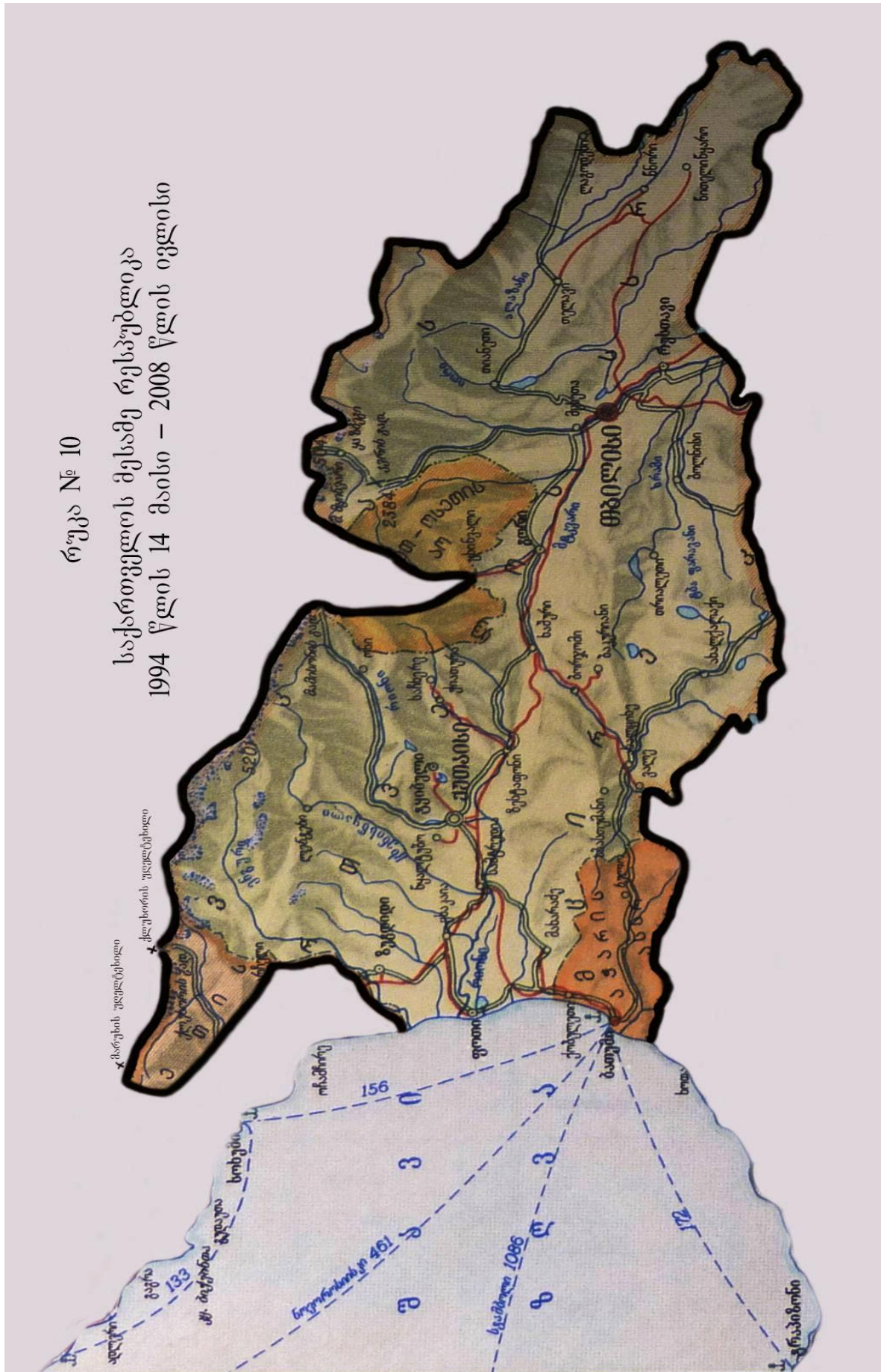
პირობითი ნიშნები: 1)რაჭის მაზრის ტერიტორიის ნაწილი, რომელიც ადგილობრივი მკვიდრი მცხოვრებლების კუთვნილებას წარმოადგენდა და 1922 წლის 20 აპრილის დეკრეტის თანახმად „სამხრეთ ოსეთის“ ავტონომიურ ოლქს გადასცეს; 2)რაჭის მაზრის ჩასაგლის საზოგადოება, სადაც ოსური დასახლებები იყო; 3)რაჭის მაზრის ტერიტორიის ნაწილი, სადაც კავკასიის ეთნოგრაფიული რუკის მიხედვით ოსები ცხოვრობდნენ; 4)რაჭის მაზრის დანარჩენი ნაწილი. სასაზღვრო ნიშნები ზემოდან ქვემოთ: 1)მწვანე სასაზღვრო ნიშანი— საქართველოს საბჭოთა სოციალისტურ რესპუბლიკასა და მთის საბჭოთა რესპუბლიკას შორის არსებული საზღვარი; 2)ლურჯი სასაზღვრო ნიშანი— მაზრების საზღვარი; 3)ყვითელი სასაზღვრო ნიშანი— რაჭის მაზრასა და „სამხრეთ ოსეთის“ ავტონომიურ ოლქს შორის დეკრეტი №2- ით გავლებული საზღვარი; 4)წითელი სასაზღვრო ნიშანი— რაჭის მაზრის აღმასრულებელ კომიტეტთან შექმნილი კომისიის მიერ, სოფლების: ირის, წედისის, ქვედის, დარის, გომის და გლოლის მცხოვრებთა ჩვენების საფუძველზე გავლებული საზღვარი. მარჯვენა მხარეს (ჩასაგლის რაიონი) ოსები ცხოვრობდნენ.

რუკა № 9
საქართველოს მეორე რესპუბლიკა
1921 წლის 16 მარტი - 1991 წლის მარტი

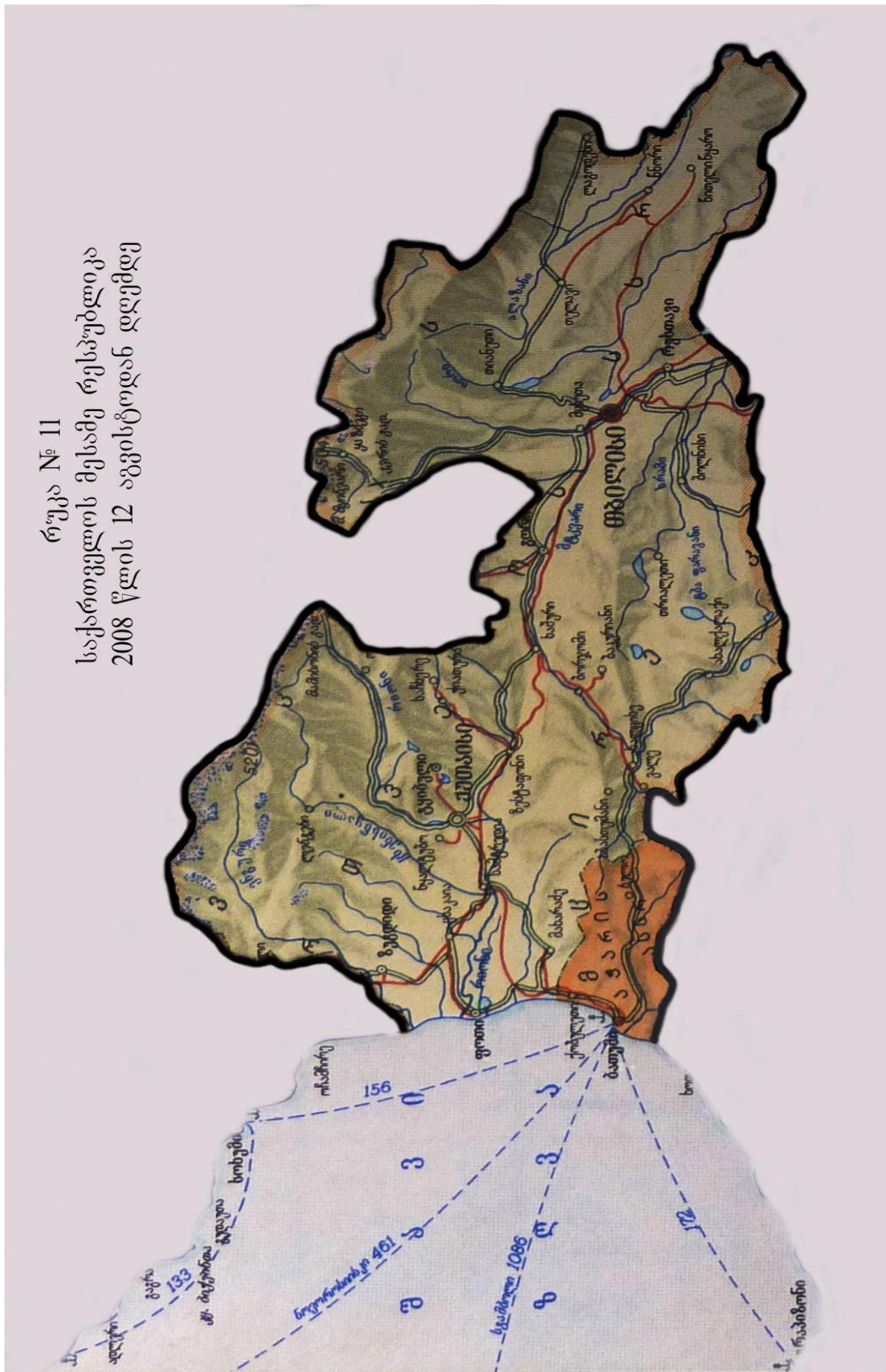


რუკა № 10

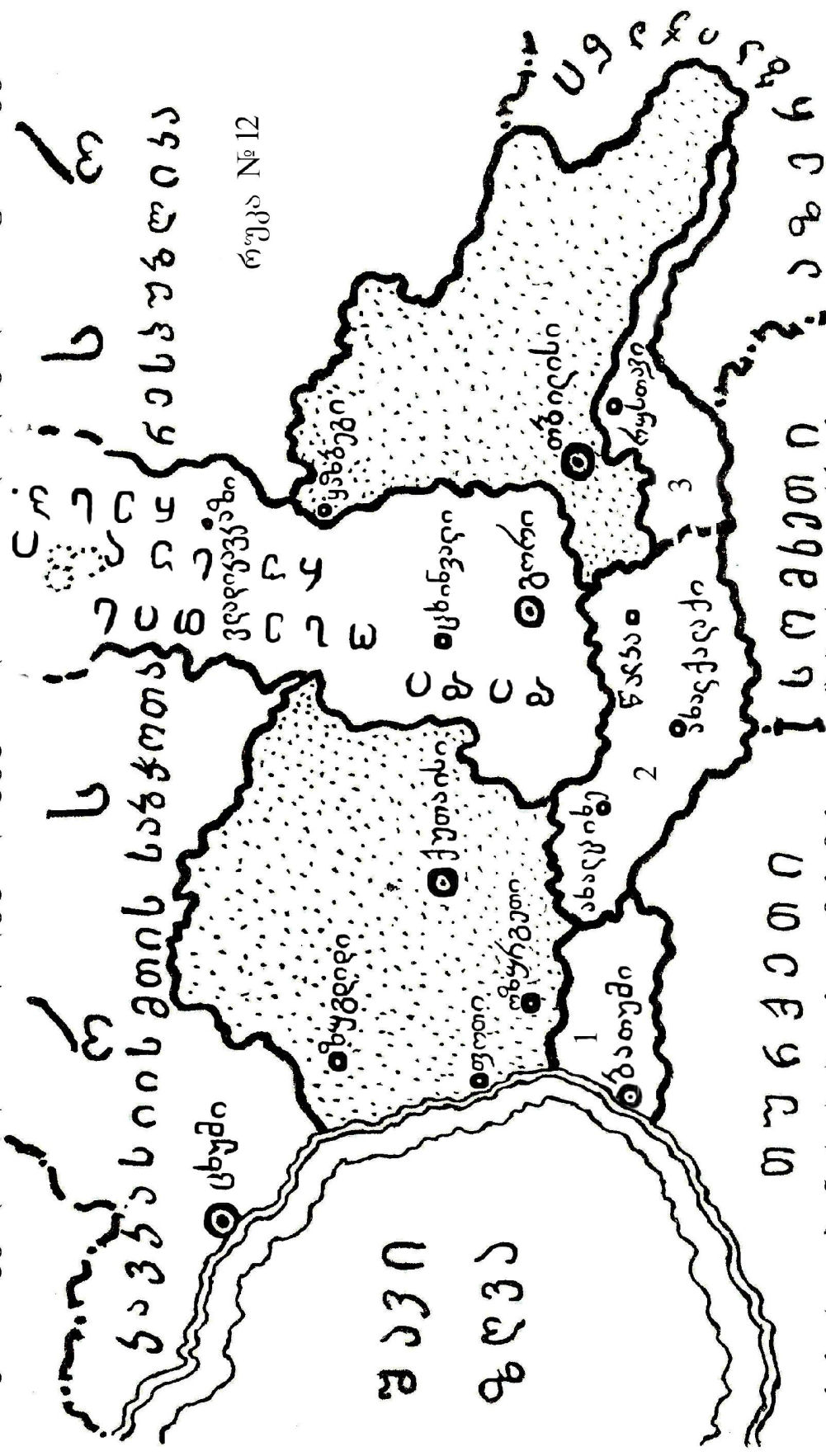
საქართველოს მესამე რესპუბლიკა
1994 წლის 14 მაისი – 2008 წლის ივლისი



რუკა № 11
 საქართველოს მესამე რესპუბლიკა
 2008 წლის 12 აგვისტოდან დღემდე



საქართველოს წინააღმდეგ დაგეგმილი მოსალოდნელი საფრთხეები:



სახარო- ბონერ- პოპოვის გეგმის მიხედვით: 1) აჭარა- თურქეთს;
 2) მესხეთ- ჯავახეთი- სომხეთს; 3) ქვემო ქართლის და კახეთის ნაწილს- აზერბაიჯანს.

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wigni l

Tbil isi
2020

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gakeTeba, rukebis gadaReba, operatorisa da dizaineris
finansurad uzrunvel yofa), Cems mier 2014 wel s gaRebul ma
finansurma xarj ebma, 2300 l ari Seadgina.

ПРЕДУПРЕЖДЕНИЕ!

**БЕЗ ПИСЬМЕННОГО РАЗРЕШЕНИЯ АВТОРА, РАСПРОСТРАНЕНИЕ
ЭЛЕКТРОННОЙ ВЕРСИИ ИЛИ РАЗМЕЩЕНИЕ НАСТОЯЩЕЙ РАБО-
ТЫ НА ИНТЕРНЕТ- САЙТЕ, БУДЕТ СЧИТАТСЯ НАРУШЕНИЕМ
АВТОРСКИХ ПРАВ.**