

iv. j avaxi Svil is saxel obis istoriisa da eTnol ogi is
instituti

SoTa vadaWkor ia

sabWoTa ruseTTan
saqar Tvel os damarcxebis
zogi erTi faqtoris
dazustebi saTvis

(1921 wl is Teberval - marti)

UDC (uak)94(479.22;470)+355,48(479.22;470)`1921~
v- 126

naSromSi dokumentur masal aze dayrdnobi T gaanal i zebul ia: 1)wa-j eq- ukuj eqis is pol i tiki kursi, romel ic dasavl eT evropis saxel mwifoebma saqarTvel osTan mimar TebaSi 1919 wl is gazafxul idan 1921 wl is martamde gamoCiina (iaraRis, amuniCiis, sursaTis drou- l ad armiyidva, ful is arsesxeba); 2)naCvenebia, rom am qmedebiT, evro- pis saxel mwifoebma, qarTul i jaris gadai ar aRebas da sabrZol o masal iT (rusul i vaznebi, zarbaznis Wurvebi) momaragebas SeuSal a xel i. 3)saarqivo masal ebze dayrdnobi T wi na pl anzea wamoweul i 1921 wl is Teberval _ martis sabrZol o moqmedebebTan dkavSi rebul i umni Svnel ovanesi momentebi. dasabuTebul ia, rom saqarTvel os Sei- araraRebul i Zal ebi, XI armias kustarul ad datenil i rusul i vaznebi T Sexvda. safuZvl ianadaa gaanal i zebul i is taqtikuri Secdomebi, romel ic saqarTvel os Sei araraRebul i Zal ebis sardl obis mier iqna daSvebul i da mter Tan generl uri brZol is gamarTvls xel Semsi e- l i faktori gaxda. Sesabamis dokumentur masal aze dayrdnobi T, gamoTqmil ia mosazreba, rom baTumis okrugSi osmal eTis saokupa- cijo jaris Sesvl a, saqarTvel os kanonieri xel i sufl ebis `mi patiJe- bi T- ki ara, ruseT- osmal eTis wi naswari garigebiT ganxorciel da da mas `maraTonul rbenaze~ dafuZnebul i daswrebis kursi edo safuZvl ad.

redaqtori oTar j anel iZe
istoriis mecnierebaTa doqtori, profesori

recenzenti nato sonrul aSvi l i
istoriis doqtori, profesori

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Sesaval i

saqar Tvel os uaxl esi istoriis erT- erT umni Svnel ovanes monakveTs 1918- 1921 wl ebi warmoadgens. am mcire peri- odis gansakuTrebül i adgil i imiT aris ganpi robebul i, rom i gi ruseTiS kol oniuri uRI i sgan qarTvel Ta TavdaRwevas da Cvens si namdvi l eSi pirvel i demokratiul i respubl ikiS Seqmnas ukavSi ndeba. vi nc safuzvl i anad i cnobs am probl em- atiki sadmi mi ZRvnii uaxl es samecniero i literaturas, udaod dame Tanxmeba, rom saqar Tvel os pirvel i respubl ika, mefis ruseTiS mier ekonomikurad dacemul, finansurad gaZarc- vul da samxreT kavkasi i regionis garSemo mi mdi nare pol i- tikurad umZimesi procesebiS epi centrSi aRmocenda. vi sac saxel mwi fos mSenebl obisa da qveyniS Tavdacvi Ti meqani z- miS Seqmnis Tvis saWi ro finansuri da ekonomikuri SesaZl e- bl obebiS mni Svnel oba srul fasovnad aqvs gacnobi erebul i, miS wi naSe bunebri vad dai smeba ki Txva_ rogor i arseba 1028 dRiS ganmavl obaSi qarTul ma saxel mwi fom?... mi Tumetes, dRe- vandel i gadasaxedi dan, saqar Tvel os mesame respubl ikiS mTa- vrrobebs, ucxo saxel mwi foebi aTeul obi T mil i ardis daxma- rebas aZl evden da aZl even. mi uxedavad ami sa, qveyniS ekonomika, nul ovani ni Snul i dan, saSual o doniS mi marTul ebi T erTi safexuriT wi n ver wagvi wevia, xol o saxel mwi fos srul fa- sovnad damcavi da teritoriul i mTI i anobiS aRmdgeni cocx- al i meqani zmi, 2015 wel sac ver Segvi qmnia. tendenci urad da- weril i sabWouri i literaturis da saqar Tvel os pirvel i respubl ikiS xel i sufl ebis wevrebze ganawyenebul i piro- vnebebiS mier tyuil ebi T damZimebul i, simar TI i dan zarbaz- niS erTi gasrol iT dacil ebul i memuarul i i literaturis tyveobaSi moqceul zogierT Cems kol egas, an ki dev, istori- ul mecnierebaSi ucxo saxel mwi foTa dakveTiT Semoxi znul adami anebs Segnebul ad ar surs im udidesi sirTul eebiS gacnobi ereba, romel i c axl ad aRmocenbul i saxel mwi fos xvedria. mi Tumetes, Tuki ucxo qveynebi dan finansuri daxma- reba ar eqneba. Tu ramdenad did sirTul eebTanaa dakavSi- rebul i saxel mwi fos aRmSenebl obiS procesi, amiS saukeTe- so ni muSs dRevandel i saqar Tvel os yofa warmoadgens. `do- noni organi zaci ebi dan- N raodenobiS daxmarebiS mi uxeda- vad, dRevandel i saqar Tvel o ekonomikurad dacemul ia da

teritoriul ad daçexi l mdgomareobaSi a am mZime proçeſebs, afxazeTi dan da Si da qarTI is mTiani zoni dan_ `samxreT oseTi dan~ 400 aTasi devni l i emateba. am fonze Tuki SevafasebT saqarTvel os pi rvel i respubl iki s mTavrobi s saqmianobas, i gi I anzRva- gi nebas ki ara, qebaTa- qebas im saxurebs. mxedvel obaSi maqvs; 1)sabWoTa ruseTi s mier waqzebul i da maRaL doneze dafinansebul i separatistebi s safužvl - ianad al agmva; 2)afxazeTsa da Si da qarTI is mTian zona- Si qarTvel Ta iñeresebi s Rirseul ad dacva, mama- papeul samkvi dreb el ze damagreba da devni l ebad arqceva; 3)saer- TaSori so arenaze qarTvel Ta Rirsebi s maRaL doneze dacva (mar to kol bi s antiqarTul i notisadmi pasuxi c sakmari- sia); 4)evropi sgan Sepirebul i daxmarebi s armi Rebi s mi uxevadav, mezobel i qveynebi sgan (ruseTi, azerbaijan, somxe- Ti) 1918- 1920 wl ebi s agresiul i qmedebebi s Rirseul ad mo- gerieba; 5)saqarTvel os teritoriis mis istoriul sazRvre- Si Ziri Tadad aRdgena; 6)qveyni s ekonomi ki s sabWoTa ruseTze, azerbaijanze da somxeTze aTgzi s ukeTes mdgomareobaSi Cayeneba...

am CamonaTval is fonze, saqarTvel os pi rvel i respubl i- ki s mTavrobi s bi ol ogi urad možul e adamianebi s wi naSe vsvam ki Txvas: 1)ucxo saxel mwi foebi dan daxmarebi s gareSe, romel i pol i tiki ri Zal a SeZl ebda qveyni s Signi T refo- rmebi s ukeTesad gatarebas, rac saqarTvel os social - de- mokratiul i partiis i iderebma SeZl es 1028 dRi s ganmav- l obaSi? 2)ratom iviwyeben, qarTvel Ta yvel aze kritikul momentSi, erovnul - demokratiul i partiis i iderebma qve- yni s wi naSe pasuxi smgebl obas Tavi rom aari da da saqarTve- l os pi rvel i respubl iki s koal i ciur mTavrobaSi Sesvl - aze uari ganacxada? maT msgavsad qarTvel i social - demo- kratebi (menSevi kebi) rom moqceul iyvnen, qveyanas ruseTi s kouni sturi partiis (b) wevri qarTvel i renegatebi da epa- troneboda da saqarTvel os damouki debi obi s saki Txs wer- til i maSi nve daesmeboda; 3)evropi s qveynebi s pol i tiki romRvaweebTan urTierTobi dasamyarebl ad, saxel mwi foeb- rivad ar ari arebul saqarTvel oSi, romel i pol i tiki ri pa- rtiebi s i iderebs gaačnda im doni s avtoriteti da dafa- seba, rac karl o CxeiZes, irakl i wereTel s, evgeni gegeWkors, akaki Cxenkel s... qonda evropaSi?; 4)ingl i sisa da safrange-

Tis premier ministrebTan da sagareo saqmeTa ministrebT-an, romel i pol itikuri partiebis I iderebi SeZI ebda ukeT urTierTobas? ai, is el ementarul i ki Txvebi, romel sac saRad moazrovne istorikosebma, I literaturaTmcodneebma, Jurnal istebma... dasabuTebul i pasuxi unda gasces. mxol od amis Semdeg mi ecema zneobrivi ufl eba, il aparakos saqarTvel os pirvel i respubl ikis mTavrobi s Secdomebze. samwuxarod, maTi i eqsikis arsenal Si si tyva mi Rweva ar arseobbs. yovel SemTxvevaSi, 1918- 1921 wl ebis xel isufl ebis mimarT- mi Rwevas arsad ar iyeneben. afeti Seben mxol od im pol itikur Zal as, romel mac, rogorc zemoTac mqonda aRni Snul i, saqarTvel os pirvel i respubl ikis saxel mwifos mSenebl obis sarZikvel ze, Tavisi wil i aguris dadebaze da misi daSenebi s xarisxi s pasuxi smgebl obaze uari oficial - urad ganacxada.

am si namdvi l is gaTval i swineba nebi smier i saRad moazrovne istorikosisaTvis aucil ebel ia. Cemi aseTi pozici i s mi uxedadav, savsebi T I ogikurad da mi zanSewoni l ad mi maCnai saqarTvel os pirvel i respubl ikis mTavrobi s zogierTi wevrebis mxridan daSvebul i Secdomebi s aRni Svna da misi ganmapirobobel i mizezebi s dasabuTebul i formiT wi na pl anze wamoweva.

Cemi kol egebis garkveul i j gufis mier, saqarTvel os pirvel i respubl ikis mTavrobi s augad moi xseniebis erT- erT ganmapirobobel mizezad, sabWoTa ruseTTan 1921 wl is Teberval - martis saomari moqmedebebi s wagebaa dasaxel ebul i. maT Ziri Tad arguments, saqarTvel os garSemo warmoqmnil i rusul i safrTxis ignorireba, reagirebis droul ad vergakeTeba, qarTul i j aris saWiroebi samebr ar, an ver Seiar-aRebaa mi Cneul i. tendenciuri xasiATis memuarul I literaturaze dayrdnobi T, es adamianebe i seT fons qmnan, saqarTvel os pirvel i respubl ikis pol itikuri el ita Ti Tqos mxarTezoze iyo wamowol il i da saRaTas Zi l iT gaTangul i. qvenyis winaSe aisbergi s msgavsad wamomarTul da daZrul safrTxes ver, an ar acnobierebda. Tu ramdenad marTebul ia am mimarTul ebi T maTi mxridan saqarTvel os pirvel i respubl ikis mTavrobi s dadanaSaul eba da usistemod yvel a brunvaSi moxsenieba, saarqivo dokumentebze dayrdnobi T daweril i am naSr omis bol omde waki Txvis Semdeg, saRad mo-

azrovne mki Txvel ma Tavadve gansaj os.

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

am tyuil is simarTl ed gasaRebis mi zni T, cnobi l i istorikosis z.aval i Svi l is mogonebebisi Sesaval nawi l s iSve-l iebs da Sesabami si ci tatac moaqvs. mis mier motani l i amonaweris mixedvi T, saqarTvel os sazRvrebTan mdgomi `angel ozad- qmnI l i sabWoTa ruseTis XI armi is nawi l ebTan si tuaci is garTul ebaSi da saomari moqmedebi s dawyebaSi, Turme saqarTvel os pirvel i respubl iki s xel isufi eba yofil a damnaSave. i qve, saqarTvel os mTavrobi sadmi umka-cresi sayveduria gamoTqmuli i imasTan dakavSi rebi T, rom man, qveyni s Tavdacvis el ementarul i pirobebi s Seqmnaze ar izruna da sabWoTa ruseTis I aSqars `SeilaraRebul i xal xi-ki ara, `partiul i bel adebis j gufi... da maTTan erTad er-Tgul i miuri debi s mcire razmi ~ daaxvedra. z.aval i Svi l is es pozicia, XI armi is wi naaRmdeg mebrZol i qarTvel i gmi re-bis Seuracmyofel ia, istoriis fal si fikaci is Sesani Snavi nimusi da saqarTvel os pirvel i respubl iki s xel isufi eb-i sadmi usafuZvl o cili iswamebi Taa datvirTul i. aseTi fo-nis Seqmni dan gamodinare, 1917- 1921 wl ebis istoriis prob-

I ematikas Tan mi mar TebaSi arsebul i saarqivo dokumentebis si Rrmi seul ad m codne yvel a obieqturi mkvl evaris wi naSe principul ad i smeba ki Txva: ra mi zezebma ganapi roba z.aval i-Svil is im doneze ganawyeneba, rom mis mier daweril mogonebebSi, saqar Tvel os mTavrobi s saqmi anobi s Sefasebebi, Cveni qveyni s okupaci i sa da aneqsi s erT- erTi Semoqmedis_ Sal -va el i avas mosawoni rom gamxdariyo? am saki Txze pasuxis gacemi s mi zni T, harvardi s universitetisa da I evi l is unikal ur saarqivo masal ebSi dadasturebul i uamravi faqtebi dan, mxol od erT maTganze Sevacereb mki Txvel is yuradRebas. saqme exeba saqar Tvel os warmomadgenl obis mier dasavl eT evropis qveynebSi i araRis, amunic i s, sursaTi s da a.S. SeZenis mi zni T, saqar Tvel os sagangebo del egaci i s Tavdadebul da ti tanur Sromas, romel Si ac z.aval i-Svil ic aqtiurad monawi l eobda. i gi ve dokumentebi, saqar Tvel os mTavrobi sadmi mi si ganawyenebi sa da tendenci ur obis Sesazi o ganapi robebel mi zezebzedac mi ani Snebs. mxedvel obaSi maqvs parizSi myofi saqar Tvel os sazavo del egaci i s (di pl omatiuri, ekonomikuri, samxedro) gaer Ti anebul sxdomebze (1920 wl is 18, 29 mai si, 2, 8 ivni si) kCxei Zi s, kkandel akis, kgvarj al aZis i v.gobeCi as, d.RambaSi Zi s, gen. i l .odi Sel i Zi s, gen. al .erisTavis... mxri dan gamoTqmul i s gamanadgurebel i kritika, romel ic somxeb Tan erTad i araRis SeZenastan dakavSi rebi T, z.aval i-Svil is mier I ondonSi Tvi Theburad xel moweril i xel Sekrul ebi s mimart i qna dafi qsi rebul i. am faqtis Sesaxeb, davvri l ebi T naSrromis pi rvel paragrafSi meqneba saubari.

zemoaRni Snul i dan da saarqivo dokumentebi T dadasturebul i sxva faqtebi s gaTval i swinebi dan gamomdinare, z.aval i-Svil is mogonebebSi ukritikod da saarqivo masal ebTan Sedarebi s gareSe mi Reba yovl ad dauSvebel i a. mi Tumetes, obieqturi mkvl evaris ganpi rivel rigSi a gasaTval i swinebel i, rom es mogonebebSi, sabWoTa xel i sufl ebi s Tvi s aRmoCnda mi saRebi. i gi Targmna, wi nasi tyvaoba daur To da gamosacemad moamzada Sal va el i avam. i mave mTargmnel i s (S.el i ava) mi er i qna 1929 wel s dabeWdil i. wi gni A 4 formatis mocl obisaa da 250 gverds Sei cavs.

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

sis xel Sekrul eba da ra esaqmeboda XI armias saqarTvel o-Si. I ogikuri azrovnebis kategoriaSi moqceul am ki Txvas, man gverdi Segnebul ad auara. saqarTvel os pirvel i respublikiis istoriis fal sififikasiiT da sinamdvil is Tavdayira dayenebiT damZimebul i Sefasebebi SesTavaza mki Txvel saogadoebas. Tavisi `mignebebi Ta- da `mecni erul i mi Rwevebit- gaTamamebul i, istoriul i sinamdvil is zRvars maqsimai urad acda da 1918- 1921 wl ebis monakveTiS Semswavl el i qarTvel i istorikosebis misamarTiT cil ismwamebl uri sibinZure isrol a da Tanac urcxvad ganacxada: `sircxvili a, rodesac istorikosi dol aris safasurad istorias ayal b-ebs da Savs TeTrad warmoaCens.~ (gr.oniani. stal ini da menSevi kuri mTavroba. ix. gaz. `saqarTvel o da msofl io- 2015 w. #21) marTI ac da sircxvili a, roca istoriul mecnierebaSi Semoxiznul i da 1918- 1921 wl ebis unikal uri saarqivo masal ebis kl asikuri donis ucodinari pirovneba, saqarTvel os pirvel i respublikiis uaRresad rTI i istoriis problematikis kvl evaze da Sefasebaze pretenzias rom acxadebs. aTgjis sircxvili ad unda Cai Tval os is faqti, roca saqarTvel os teritoriis danakuwebis bral debis sibinZres, gr.oniani saqarTvel os pirvel i respublikiis mTavrobas mZivebi viT kiserze rom ki debs. saubedurod, istoriul i faqtebis amneziaqmnil s ar axsendeba: a)sabWoTa ruseTsa da osmal eTs Soris moskovSi xel moweril i (1921 wl is 16 marti) xel Sekrul eba da saqarTvel os samxreT- dasavl eTiS teritoriebis gasxvi seba; b)am danaSaul ebrivi qmedebisTv is samarTI ebrivi saxiS micemis mi zni T, 1921 wl is 13 oqtombers yarsSi xel moweril i xel Sekrul eba da saqarTvel os central uri aRmasrul ebel i komitetis sagangebo sesiaze (1922 wl is 14 april i) misi ratifikacia; g)Segnebul ad iviwyeb 1921_ 1936 wl ebSi, i oseb stal inisa da sergo orj onikiZis mier, saqarTvel os teritoriebiT mezobel i respublikebis dasaCuqrebis faqtebs. (ix. ruka # 1 da # 2). b.n. gr.onians unda Sevaxseno, rom istoriul i mecniereba, dil etantebis `saj il dao qvar warmoadgens da igi memuarul i literaturiT ki ara, saarqivo dokumenturi masal ebis si Rrmiseul i anal izis safu-Zvel ze iwreba. sabedni erod, es masal ebi yvel a mkvl evari- sTv isaa xel mi sawdomi da gr.onianiS msgavsi adami anebiS `Sexedul ebebiS~ sawi naaRmdegos RaRadaben.

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

saqarTvel os pirvel i respublika istoriis erT- erT umni Svenel ovanes sakiTx, qarTul i jaris SeiaraRebasTan dakavSi rebiT warmoqmni i probl emebis dazusteba da am saki TxTan mimar TebaSi Tanamedrove istoriografiaSi gavr- cel ebul i Tval sazrasis gadaxedva imi Tac aris ganpi robebul i, rom istorikosTa erTi nawil i, memuarul I literaturaze dayrdnobiT mki Txvel sazogadoebas araswor debul ebebs sTavazobs da cdil obs daarmunos, ruseT- saqarTvel os omis dros (1921 wl is Teberval - marti), Tbili isis arse- nal i Ti Tqos iaraRiT da amuni ci iT iyo savse.

am saki TxTan mimar TebaSi, WeSmari tebis dasadgenad, auci- l ebl ad mimacnia ganxi ul i iqnas Semdegi saki Txebi: 1)ra finansuri baza gaaCnda saqarTvel os, damouki debel saxel - mwi fod gamocxadebis pirvel safexurze; 2)qarTul i jaris Sesaqmnel ad, Tbili isis arsenal Si arsebobda Tu ara saWiro raodenobis iaraRi da samxedro amuni ci a; 3)riT iyo ganpi robebul i qarTul i jaris gadai arRebis auci ebl oba; 4)ra damoki debul eba gamoavl ina evropul ma saxel mwi foebma saqarTvel os pirvel i respubliki sadmi iaraRis miyi dvas- Tan mimar TebaSi.

rac Seexeba saqarTvel os pirvel i respublika finansur Sesazi ebl obebs, am mxriv igi urTul es mdgomareobaSi aR- moCnda. samwuxarod, zogierTi Cemi kol ega ar iTval i swinebs i m garemoebas, rom nefis xel isufi ebam 1914_ 1916 wl ebSi, saqarTvel os xazina oqros maragisgan safuzvl i anad gawmi- nda da ruseTSi gaitana. amas isic daerTo, rom saqarTvel o- Si Camosaxl ebul i rusi moxel eebis uzarmazari `armia~, adgi- l obriv mosaxl eobas daawa sarCenad. es ori faqtori, regi- onSi umZimes finansur garemos qmni da da saqarTvel os saxe- l mwi foebri vi warmonaqmni Sesaqmnel ad, mosamzadebel i safexuri saTvis Semaferxebel bariers warmoadgenda.

samecniero I literaturaSi dadasturebul i, rom im etapze moqmedma pol i tikiuri partiebisa da samoqal aqo speqtris I iderebis umetesobam, Seqmnili i mdgomareoba sworad Seaf- asa da Sesabamisi pragmatul i nabij i c gadadga. mxedvel o-

baSi maqvs kafxazisa da d.ni JaraZis mier axl ad arCeul i saqar Tvel os erovnul i sabWosadmi Tbil i si sa da quTaisis guberniebi s Tavadaznaur Ta qonebi s gadacemi s faqt. dokumenturi masal i T dadasturebul ia, rom es qoneba, saqar Tve- l os erovnul i fondis Seqmnas daedo safuzvl ad. i sic cno- bil ia, rom aRni Snul i fondis mi zans, saqar Tvel os damouki de- bl obisa da regionSi Seqmnil i urTul esi pol itikuri si tu- aci i dan gamosaval i safexuris momzadeba warmoadgenda.

qarTul i pol itikuri el itis warmoadgenl ebs kargad qondaT gacnobierebul i, rom erovnul i saxel mwifos fo- rmi reba da misi damcavi meqani znis_ SeiaraRebul i Zal ebi s Seqmna Ti Tqmis paral el ur reJi mSi unda momxdariyo. wi naaRm- deg SemTxvevaSi, samxreT kavkasi i s geopol i tikuri si vrcis specifi ki dan gamodinare, axl adSeqmnil i saxel mwifos ar- seboba xanmokl e aRmoCndeboda. am real obid dan gamodinare, saqar Tvel os erovnul i sabWos aRmasrul ebel i komitetis wevreibl qarTul i jaris Seqmna- SeiaraRebi saTvis Sesabami - si saSual ebebi s gamozbnas maqsimal urad cdil obdnen. am i s dadasturebas, saqar Tvel os erovnul i sabWos aRmasrul ebe- l i komitetis 1917 wl i s 8 dekembri sxdomis stenografiu- l i angariSi warmoadgens. dokumenti dan irkveva, rom am sx- domas aSS- i s, ingl i sis, safrangeTis, i tal i i s saxel mwifoe- bi s el Cebi eswreboden. maTi mxridan erT- erT umTavres saki Txad, qarTul i jaris Seqmna da ruseT- osmal eTis jer ki dev momqmedi frontis xazis dacvis aucil ebl oba iqna dasmul i. rac Seexeba saqar Tvel os pol itikuri el itis war- momadgenl Ta pozicias, stenografiul i angariSi mixed- vi T Tuki vi msj el ebT, n.Jordani am i gi Semdegi formiT Camo- ayal i ba: `Cven jaris mal e gveyol eba... magram iaraRi ar gva- qvs sakmao. iaraRi Tqven mogveciT, Cven davicavT Cvens teri- torias. Cven rom osmal eTs win davudgeT, ganmar toebi T xom ar davrCebi T, an mokavSireebi ra gvaris daxmarebas gagvi we- ven... Cven iaraRi gvWiria.~ am amonaweridan kargad Cans saqa- rTvel os pol itikuri speqtris I iderTa pirdapiri da gaxs- nill i pozicia. am faqtma antantis qveynebis warmoadgenl e- bi iZul ebul i gaxada qarTul i mxaris mxridan wamoWril saki Txebze konkretul i pasuxi gaeca. i ave sxdomis steno- grafiul i angariSi dan irkveva, rom evropel ebi saqar Tve- l os mxol od ful iT da evropel i samxedro oficrebis

mi Svel ebi T daexmareboda. rac Seexeba i ararRs, mi s mi wodeba-ze uars acxadebdnen.¹ arc imas akonkretebdnen, Tu rogor da ra gziT unda momxdariyo axl ad Seqmnil i qarTul i jaris SeiaraReba. aRni Snul i faqt i mis naTel i dadas-turebaa, rom dasavl eT evropis qveynebi, qarTvel ebi sadmi i ararIs mi wodebase, qarTul i saj ariso Senaer Tebis Seqmnis pirvel i safexuri danve i kavebdnen Tavs. es imas ni Snav-da, rom saqarTvel os erovnul sabWos, rusul i ararIs SeZenaze eznuna da imave (ukve gasabWoebul i) qveynis mier warmoebul i ararIs momxmarebl ad darCenil iyo. Tuki qarTul istoriografiaSi dRemde gabatonebul i Tval -sazrisiT_ samxedro sawyobebi Ti Tqos ararit iyo savse-vixel mZRvanel ebT, maSin evropis qveynebi sgan saqarTvel osad-mi ararIs armi yidva did tragedi ad ar unda Cai Tval os. aRni Snul i natyuari informacia gen. g.mazni aSvi I is memuare-bi dan i Rebs saTaves da misi gaziareba dRemde ukritikod xdeboda. am SemTxvevaSi, yuradRebis mi Rma yvel aze mni S-vnel ovani faqtori iyo datovebul i. mxedvel obaSi maqvs g.mazni aSvi I is memuarebis sabWoTa xel isufi ebis period-Si dawerisa da mTavl itis cenzuris gavl is Semdeg 1927 wel s stamburad dabeldvis faqt. bunebriva, am garemoebema Tavisi uaryofiT daRi daasva aRni Snul memuarebs. mxed-vel obaSi maqvs samxedro sawyobebSi ararIsa da tansacme- I is arsebobis Sesaxeb motanil i fantastikuri cifrebi. samwuxarod, misi sandoobi saki TxI dRemde ewis qveS aravis dauyenebia. CemTvis saintereso saki TxTan dakavSi rebiT imave memuarebSi vki Txul obT: `iararI, mokazmul oba da mTavar sursaTis maragi sawyobebSi imdeni iyo, rom Sesazi ebel i iyo qarTul i I aSqrts Tund 50 aTasi kacis SeiaraReba, mokazmva da gamokveba aTi wl is ganmavl obaSi.² an kidev: `1921 wl is maisSi, Cvens sawyobebSi darCenil i tansacml iT me SevZel i Semosva Tavi dan fexebamde 17 aTasi kaci sgan Semdgari wiTel i armi sa. es ar kmara: saqarTvel os sabWo-Ta mTavroba, dRidan Tbil isSi Semosvl is, ori kviris ganma-vl obaSi hkvebavda ufasod mTel i qal aqis mcxovrebl ebs samnistros sawyobebi dan.³

am amonawerebSi motanil i faqtebi, sabWoTa xel isufi ebis maRal Cinosnebis mi Ti TebiT rom aris Cadebul i iqedanac Cans, rom wi na gverdze i give g.mazni aSvi I SefarviTi formiT

wers: `mal e gamoir kva, rom saindendato sawyobebSi ac ar iyo tansacmel i da mokazmul oba, rac mTavaria, Tofebi c.-⁴ am SemTxvevaSi princi pul ad ismeba ki Txva: 1)Tuki saindendanto sawyobebSi tansacmel i, mokazmul oba da Tofebi ar iyo, ra gzi T unda momxdar iyo 50 aTasi kacis SeiaraReba, an cariel i sawyobebis Semyure g.mazniaSvil ma rogor SeZl o 17 aTas kaci ani qarTul i wiTel i I aSqrts Seqmna? sad ambobs simarTl es da sad tyuis i gi? 2)rac Seexeba imave g.mazniaSvil is mier mi TiTebul sursaTis marags, i gi konkretuI ad ar asaxel ebs skvebi produqtebis im saxeobas, roml iT-ac 50 aTsi j ariskacis 10 wl iT gamokvebas varaudobda. xazgasmi T mi mda aRvni Sno, rom ami erkavkasi aSi da mi Tumetes Tbil isis samxedro sawyobebSi, sursaTis (xorci, kartofil i, I obio, konservis qil ebi, Zexvi...) ara Tu 10 wl iT, aramed 2 wl iT Senaxvi saTvis Sesabamisi teqnol ogiuri saSual ebebi ar arsebobda; 3)dokumenturi masal iT dadasturebul ia, rom pirvel i msofl io omis dawyebisa da misi mi mdi nareobis paral el urad, ruseTi dan etapobrivid amierkavkasi aSi frontisTvis Semotanil i produqtis dani Snul ebi s mimarTul ebi T gagzavnas, ami erkavkasi is frontis mTavar sardl oba kuri rebda. es procesi ruseTi sdroebi Ti mTavrobis periodSi ac gagr-Zel da. misi Sewyveta, 1917 wl is oqtombris saxel mwifo gada-trial ebas da frontis xazidan j aris demobilizacias uka-vSirdeba. smecniero I literaturaSi dasabuTebul ia, rom 1918 wl is i anvar- Tebervl is CaTvl iT, osmal eTis fronti dan wamosul i gabol Sevikebul i rusul i eSel onebis, gansakuTrebi T bol o eSel oni s sursaTiT uzrunvel yofa, samxedro sawyobebis sicariel is gamo, ami erkavkasi is komisariatma udi de-si Zal isxmevis Sedegad moaxerxa.

roca saqarTvel os pirvel i respubliki s sursaTis sarez-ero fondis Sesaxeb vsaubrobT, pirvel rigSia gasaTval - i swinebel i: a)1918_ 1920 wl ebi s monakveTSi bol Sevi kuri aj anyebebis sal i kvi dacio da mezobel i saxel mwifoebi dan Tavdasxmebis moyeriebi Ti saomari operaci ebi, roml ebmac di di raodenobi T finanzebi da qveynis sasursaTo maragi Selwova; b)dasavl eT evropis saxel mwifoTa I iderebis mxri dan saqarTvel osadmi sursaTis mi wodebis danapi reb-is arSesrul eba; g)sasofl o- sameurneo produqci s war-moebis mxriv qveyanaSi im etapze arsebul i sinamdvil e. yo-

vel i ve aRni Snul i s gaTval i swi nebi dan gamomdi nare, 1921 wl i s 20 i anvramde saqar Tvel oSi sursaTis Tundac 2 wl i an sarez-
ervo maragze saubaric ki SeuZI ebel i a. mTel i pasuxismge-
bl obi T Semi ZI i a ganvacxado: 1) samxedro tansacmel i s, moka-
zmul obis, Tofebis, sursaTis (xorci, kartofil i, l obio,
konservis qil ebi, Zexvi...) saxeobebisgan sawyobebi dacari-
el ebul i l yo. rac Seexeba xorbal s, i gi umni Svenel o raode-
nobas warmoadgenda. 2) arqi vsacavebSi Cems mier mikvl eul i
dokumenturi masal ebi T dasturdeba, rom Tbili i sis sawyo-
bebis xorbl i T Sevseba, 1921 wl i s 20 i anvis Semdeg_ Teber-
vli i s pirvel ricxvebSi gaxda Sesazl ebel i. am SemTxvevaSi
gansakuTrebul i rol i saqar Tvel os xel i sufl ebi s mier
ni u- i orkis savawro saxl Tan_ `Sabier morel i ko-sTan
1919 wl i s noemberSi gaaformebul ma xel Sekrul ebam Seas-
rul a. am dokumentis mixedvi T, saqar Tvel os mTavrobis, aRni-
Snul i firmi sadmi 100 aTasi kil o abreSumis parki an maty-
l i (1 kg. abreSumis parkis sanacvl od 5 kg. matyl i) unda
meca. saqar Tvel os momaragebi s saministros Zal isxmevit,
1920 wl i s dekembris dasawyisSi, ni u- i orkis firma `Sabier
morel i ko-s, pirvel safexurze 62400 kil o abreSumis pa-
rki gaugzavnes (gem `frigze~ 40 aTasi kg. dai tvirTa, xo-
l i o gem `todl aze~ 22 aTasi 400 kg.). zemoaRni Sul i firma
danarCen 37600 kil o parks mxol od mas Semdeg mi i Rebda,
roca xel Sekrul ebi T gaTval i swinebul i 1350 tona xorba-
l i saqar Tvel oSi srul yofil ad iqneboda Semotanil i. i ave
dokumenturi masal ebi s mixedvi T, Sepi rebul i xorbal i fo-
Tis portSi 1921 wl i s i anvaris pirvel naxevarSi Semovida.
misi gemebi dan gadmotvirTva, mi wonva, matarebl i s vagoneb-
Si ganTvseba (76 vagoni Seadgina), mi Rebul i produqci i s
srul fasovnad Sefaseba da mi Reba_ Cabarebi s aqtze xel m-
owera 1921 wl i s 20 i anvars dasrul da. am umni Svenel ovane-
si dokumentis mixedvi T, abreSumis parki sa da matyl i s safas-
urad, saqar Tvel om 80,184 fuTi (1313456 kg. e.i. 1313,5 tona)
xorbal i Sei syida. es faqti, Sesabamisi uwyebebis warmoma-
dgenl ebi s xel mowerebi T da bewdebi Taa (saqar Tvel os mTa-
vroba, saq. resp. momaragebi s saministro, firma `Sabien mo-
rel iko- da foTis porti) dadasturebul i. xorbl i s dari S-
nul ebi samebr gagzavna da moxmarebi s mizni T misi damuSave-
bis procesi, mxol od am operaci i s damTavrebi s Semdeg

(1921 wl is 20 ianvari) gaxda Sesazl ebel i. saqarTvel oSi im etapze arsebul i sarkinigzo mimosvl is Sesazl ebl obebs da Sesabamis teqnol ogiur pi robebs Tu gavi Tval i swinebT, foTis portidan xorbl is transportireba da sawyobebSi srul fasovnad dabi naveba, Tebervl amde ver moxerxdeboda. rac Seexeba danarcen 36,5 tona xorbal s, igi imave firmis mi er 1921 wl is 16 Teberval s baTumSi iqna Semotanil i da misi miwonva- dabi naveba adgil zeve ganxorci el da.

xazgasmi T minda aRvi Sno, rom 1921 wl is ianvar_ Teberval Si saqarTvel oSi 1350 tona xorbl is Semotanis zemoaRni Snul i umni Svnsl ovanesi faqt (Semotanis dro), SeuZl ebel ia g.mazni aSvil is donis maRi Cinosani saTvis ucnobi yofil iyo. mi uxedavad amisa, igi am saki Txs gverds uvl is da mki Txvel sazogadoebas arsebul si namdvil es iseTi formiT sTavazobs, Ti Tqos 1921 wl is 20 ianvramde sawyobebi xorbl is maragiT iyo savse da amis Sesaxeb saqarTvel os xel i sufl ebas el ementarul i informacia ar gaaCnda. i masac Tu gavi Tval i swinebT, rom sabWoTa ruseTma saomari moqmedebebi somxeTidan 1921 wl is 11 Teberval s, xol o azerbaij anidan 16 Teberval s dai wyo, gamoricxul i ara, drois am mcire monakveTSi (31 ianvi_ 11 Tebervl i), xorbl is pirvel i partiis dafqvac rom ver ganxorciel ebul iyo. firma `Sabier morel iko-- s mi er saqarTvel oSi 1921 wl is ianvar_ Teberval Si Semotanil zemoaRni Snul xorbal s unda gul i sxmobdes g.mazni aSvil i, roca Tavis mogonebebSi sursaTis `10 wl i ani maragis~ Sesaxeb saubrobs.

samwuxaroa, magram faqtia, rom giorgi mazni aSvil is memuarebSi motanil i pirvel i safexuris tyuill is sazogadoebi sadmi mi wodebam, ideol ogiuri Tval sazrisiT, sabWoTa xel i sufl ebis mesveurTa Canafiqri maRal doneze Seasruli a. mxedvel obaSi maqvs, qarTvel i generl is mxridan saqarTvel os pirvel i respUBL iki s xel i sufl ebis diskredi taiciis mcdel oba, sabWoTa periodi dan moki debul i dReis CaTvili iT, istorikosebi, i tetaturaTmcodneebi da publ icistebi, arsenal Si iaraRis Ti Tqosda arsebobi s Sesaxeb g.mazni aSvil is memuarebSi motanil cifrobriv monacemebs eyr dnobden da dacariel ebul samxedro sawyobeb, raodenobi s iaraRiT aRvsil ad acxadebdnen. am cru informaci am, ki dev ufro `damaj erebel i ~ saxe mas Semdeg mi i Ro, roca g.mazni a-

Svil is memuarebSi motanil i tyuil i, rezo gabaSvil ma `mxatvrul ferebSi Camosxmul i- miawoda mkiTxvel sazogadoebas, xol o saqarTvel os xel isufi eba upasuxi smgebl o- baSi daadanaSaul a da anaTemas gadasca. `Tbil isis samxedro sawyobebi- wers r.gabaSvil i- dauSretel i (radgan naxevar mil ionze meti j aris central uri amunici i sa iyo)- i se dacariel da, rom SemTxvevi T gadarCenil i dan (an ver mi gnebul i dan)_ 1921 wl is omis Semdegac, bol Sevikebs darCaT 17000 axal i Tofi (quTaissi 300 xel uxl ebi tyvi i s mfrqvevel i) da... `mTavrobam~ (?) yurebi gamouWeda qveyanas: `iaraRi ar gvqonda da j ar i rogor unda Segveqmna, an riTi Segvei ar- aRebi na- o.⁵ r.gabaSvil is es da sxva kl asi kuri donis tyui- l ebi, saarqivo masal ebTan Sej erebis gareSe bn. gr.onianma dai mowma. misi simarTI ed gasaRebi sa da gafeti Sebis mi zni T, ekaterine gabaSvil is saxel is spekul irebas Seecada. `revaz gabaSvil i- wers gr.onian- aris cnobil i qarTvel i mwerl is ekaterine gabaSvil is ufrosi vaji.⁶ am SemTxveva- Si gr.onianma iseTi foni Seqmna, rom ekaterine gabaSvil is Svil i- r.gabaSvil i tyuil s ar i kadrebda da misi mogonebe- bidan motanil i faqtobrivi masal is amonari di, Ti Tqos simarTI es warroadgenda, xol o yovel i wi nadadeba saarqivo dokumentebze maRI a idga. qveyanas harvardis universiteti- sa da I evil is unikal uri saarqivo dokumentebi qondes da istoriul mecnierebaSi Semoxi znul i adami anebi, sazogadoebas r.gabaSvil is tyuil ebi T `kvebavdes,~ rbi l ad rom vTqva, istoriul i mecnierebis gamaxsaravebis mcdeI oba da imave sazogadoebis upativcemul obaa. mi Tumetes, r.gabaSvil is tyui- l ebi da anti saxel mwi foebri vi azrovneba, safuzvl i anad amxi- l a erovnul - demokratiul i partiis erT- erTma I i derma, Rrmad ganswavl ul ma iuristma da r.gabaSvil ze aTgzi s maRI a mdgomma pol itikurma moRvawem giorgi gvazavam. mxedvel o- baSi maqvs imave g.gvazavas mi er parizSi 1929 wel s dabeWdi- l i broSura `saqarTvel o da erovnul - demokratiul i parti- ia- es naSromi gansakuTrebul yuradRebas imi Tac iqcevs, rom misi avtori, 1917- 1921 wl ebi s mimdinare pol itikuri procesebis avangardSi idga, yvel a movl enis aqturi monaw- il e da Tvi Tmxil vel i iyo. sabedni erod, i gi simarTI es ar Ral atobs. saqarTvel os pirvel i respubliki s mTavrobis saqmi anobis r.gabaSvil i sa da d.vaCnaZi seul Sefasebebs, isto-

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

yovel i ve zemoTqmui s gaTval i swi nebi dan gamomdi nare xazgasmi T minda aRvni Sno: roca saubar i rusul Tofebze da tyvi amfrqvevrebze, r.gabaSvi l sa da arc `gabaSvi l istebs-erTxel ar dausvams saki Txi_rusul i vaznebis raodenobis, an misi saTadarigo fondi s arsebobi s Sesaxebs. arc imaze ufiqriaT, Sesatyvisi vaznebis gareSe darCenil i nebis mieri SaSxana Tu tyiamfrqvevi, gadaWril i wyal sadeni mi l is ufunqcio mdgomareobaSi rom aRmoCndeboda. am mimarTul ebi T saki Txi ar dausvamT imitom, rom saqarTvel os pirvel i respubliki s mTavrobis I anZRva- gi nebi T iyvnen da arian garTul ni. WeSmari tebis dadgena srul ebi T ar ainteresebT, wi naaRmdeg SemTxvevaSi, harvardi dan da I evi l i dan Camotani l dokumentur masal ebs safuzvl i anad Cauj debodnen da si Rrmi seul ad Sei swavl idnen. es rom moendomebi naT, r.gabaSvi l is zemoaRni Snul da sxva uamrav tyuil ebs farda aexdeboda. ami sTvis TavauRebel i da mZime Sroma iyo saWi ro. samecni-ero sferoSi i ol i gziT `moseirne- adami anebis, istoriul mecnierebaSi damkvidrebul i dRevandel i ganuki Txaoba, samwuxar od ami s Sesazi ebl obas aZl evs. aseTi mkacri Sefasebi dan gamomdi nare, simarTI i dasabuTebas, Sesabamis i saarqivo dokumentebi T Sevecdebi. arqivsacavebSi Cems mier moppovebul i pirvel adi dokumenturi masal ebi Tirkveva, rom saqarTvel os teritoriae arsebul samxedro sawyobebSi Tavmoysi l i rusul i warmoebi s sabrZol o iaraRi da amunicia, 1914 wl i sabrZol o moqmedebebi dan gamomdi nare, 1915_1916 wl ebSi saqarTvel odan maqsimal urad i qna gatani l i sariyami Ssa da al eqsandropol Si. rusul i samxedro SenaerTebis mier ruseT osmal eTis frontis datovebis Sem-

deg, aRni Snul samxedro sawyobebze kontrol s 1918 wl is i anvridan somxeTis erovnul i sabWo axorciel ebda. dokumenturi masal iT dadasturebul ia, rom amierkavkasi i s komisiariatis Zal isxmevi T, 1918 wl is martis Sua ricxvebSi al eqsandropol i dan da sariyamisi dan saqar Tvel os erovnuli ma sabWom mxol od 6 vagoni tyvi amfrqvevis vaznebis, 24 vagoni zarbaznis yumbarebis wamoReba da Tbll i si s arseanal Si ganTavseba SesZI o. amis Semdeg, somxebs qarTvel ebisaTvis arcerTi saxeobis vazna ar miucia. 1918 wl is i anvris monacemebi T, Tbll i si s arsenal Si arsebul i SaSxanebis raodenoba 18 aTas cal s Seadgenda. amierkavkasi i s komisiariatis dadgenil ebiT, i gi samad (qarTvel ebiTvis, somxebisTvis da azerbaijan ebiTvis) ganawi i da da saqar Tvel os samxedro SenaerTebs 6000 erTeul i SaSxana gadaeca.

rac Seexeba quTaisis samxedro sawyobebSi darCenil i arraRs, mis sakuTrebaze pretenzias quTaisSi disl ocirebuli i rusul i samxedro SenaerTi acxadebda. am saki TxTan dakavSi rebiT, saqar Tvel os erovnul i sabWos aRmasrul ebeli i komitetis 1917 wl is 10 dekembri s xdomaze i oseb gedevani Svi i xazgasmi T ambobda: `quTaisis rusis jaris qoneba Cvens jaris unda gadmoeces, magram sal daTebi qonebas ar iZI evian, Cvenia da Tan unda wavi RoTo.~ am faqts ukeTebda ra anal i zs, i give i gedevani Svi i dasZenda: `Segvi ZI i an mi vi RoT Zal iT, magram arasasurvel Sedegs moi tans.~⁷ aq garkvevi Taa naTqvami, rom rusis jarisadmi iaraRis Zal i-smieri gziT war Tmevis mcdel oba, qveyanaSi samoqal aqo omis dawyebis safuZvel i SeiZI eba gamxdariyo. aseT situaciaSi gadamwyveti rol i mSvidobi ani gziT mol aparakebas unda Seesrul ebina. mxedvel obaSi maqvs ori faktori: 1)rusul i jaris sardl obis mxridan `keTII i nebis- gamocenis SemTxvevaSi qarTvel ebisaTvis iaraRis datoveba da 2)evropel ebisgan Sepirebul i ful iT, am iaraRis Sesydvi s SesaZI ebl oba. aseT kritikul situaciaSi gadamwyveti rol s drois faktori gansazRvravda. evropel Ta mxridan 1917 wl is 8 dekembers saqar Tvel os erovnul i sabWos prezidiumi sadmi Sepirebul i ful iT daxmareba, ara Tu 1918 wel s, aramed 1921 wl is Teberval Siac ar ganxorciel ebul a.

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

deba da osmal eTis dampyrobluri qmedebebis SeCereba, j erki dev arSemdgari qveynisTvis finansuri daxmarebis auci-
l ebl obas saWi roebda. Cems xel Tar sebul i saarqivo masal eb-
is mixedvi T Tuki vi msj el ebT, am sapasuxi smgebl o nabij is
gadadgmi sas, qarTvel i pol i tiko sebi finansur ad dasayr den
safexurs `saqarTvel os erovnul fondSi - Cadebul qoneba-
Si da imave fondi sadmi Semowirul obis safuzvel ze da-
grovi l TanxaSi xedavdnen. marTal ia, sawyisi safexuri saTvis
fonds garkveul i formiT saxel mwifos xazini s funqciis
Sesrul eba SeeZI o, magram i gi ver gawdeboda: a)damouki-
debel i qveynisTvis aucil ebel i urTul esi reformebi sa da
b)osmal eTis mier Tavsmoxveul i sabrzol o moqmedebebis
dafi nansebas. aucil ebl oba, garedan daxmarebas saWi roeb-
da. mi Tumetes, mefis ruseTis moxel eTa Semweobi T, saqarTve-
l os ekonomika `momakvdavi adami anis- dones utol deboda.
samwuxarod, Cemi kol egebi s umet esobis mxri dan zemoaRni S-
nul i faqtebi mi zanmi marTul adaa ignorirebul i. arada, oqros
maragis an sazRvargareTis qveynebis finansuri dauxmare-
bl obis gareSe (gansakuTrebiT pirvel safexurze) saxel mwifos
faqturi formireba war moudgenel ia. qarTul i pol i-
tikuri el ita Tuki am siZnel eebis met nakl ebad daZI evas
axerxebda, i gi mis Rir sebad unda i qnas aRia rebul i. rac Se-
exe ba samxedro da sxva reformebis srul yofil ad vergata-
rebas, qveynis mmartvel i pol i tikuri Zal is Sec domebi T ki
ara, Ziri Tadad uful obiT da iaraRis uqonl obiT iyo gan-
pi robebul i. saarqivo masal ebiT dasturdeba, rom saqarTve-
l os erovnul i sabWos mier 1918 wl is martSi damtki cebu-
l i proeqtis `qarTul i jaris reorganizaciis Sesaxe-
safexurebrivad bol omde ver ganxorciel eba, ful is, iara-
Ris da amuniciis uqonl obam ganapi roba. anal ogiuri bedi
xvda wil ad saqarTvel os erovnul i sabWosa da saqarTvel -
os mTavrobis mier 1918 wl is 20 agvistos mi Rebul kanonebs.⁸

qveynis sakonmdebl o organosTan arsebul i samxedro
komisi i sgani, saqarTvel os mTavrobis 1918 wl is 20 dekembris
sxdomaze war dgeni l i angari Si dan i rkveva, rom Tavdacvis
uwyebi sadmi daqvemdebarebul sawyobebSi arsebul i rusu-
l i vaznebi da qvemexis Wurvebi umni Svnel o raodenobas wa-
rmoadgenda. am xarvezis dauyovnebl i v aRmofxvis mi zni T,
imave sxdomaze mi Rebul i dadgeni l ebiT dai saki Txi _ evro-

pis qveynebi dan sabrZol o masal i s dauyovnebl i vi SeZenis, uki dures SemTxvevaSi, saqar Tvel oSi misi damzadebis mizanSewoni l obis Sesaxeb. am saki TxTan dakavSi rebi T, uaRresad sayuradRebo informacias Seicavs pol kovnik kol onel o kartel i s mier saqar Tvel os samxedro samnistros mTavari Stabisadmi gagzavnili (1919 wl i s 9 noemberi) weril i. am dokumenti dan irkveva: 1)saqar Tvel os mTavrobas, germani i s xel isufi ebisaTvis Txovni T mi umar Tavs, rom daxmareba gaewi a rusul i vaznebi sa da yumbarebi s, samxedro tansacml i sa da fexsacml i s, tel egrafisa da radiotel egrafisTvis saWi ro mowyobil obis SesaZenad. 2)im SemTxvevaSi Tuki qarTul i jaris SeiararebisTvis saWi ro sabrZol o masal a germani i s samxedro sawyobebSi ar aRmoCndeboda, rusul i vaznebi sa da Wurvebi s dasamzadebel i qarxnis aSeneba saqar Tvel oSi moexdi naT. i mave weril Si konkretul adaa mi Ti Tebul i pirveli i moTxovni sadmi uaris Tqmisi ganmapi robebel i Ziri Tadi mi zezebi. rac Seexeba vaznebi sa da Wurvebi s damamzadebel i qarxnis saqar Tvel oSi mSenebl obas, k.kartel i s mtkecebi T, i gi garkveul sirTul eebTan iyo dakavSi rebul i. mxedvel obaSi maqvs qarxnis gadai ar aReba, rac Sesabamisi Carxebi sa da yal i bebi s damzadebi s aucil ebl obas saWi roebda. meore mxriv, am mi marTul ebi T samuSaos Catareba, kapi tal i stebisaTvis damaxasi aTebel komerciul interessebs ukavSi rdebona. aRni Snul i s gaTval i swinebi dan gamomdinare, k.kartel i wi naswari monacemebi s saxiT moi Txovda: a)ra raodenobi s masal i s Semotana iyo aucil ebel i saqar Tvel oSi; b)konkretul ad ra tipis da ra raodenobi s unda yofil iyo qarxnis mier warmoebul i produqcia, romel i c saqar Tvel os swi rdebona. evropaSi mimdinare rTul i pol i tikuri procesebi s gamo, am saki Txis momdevno safexurze gansaxil vel ad gatana SeuZi ebel i gaxda. mi uxedadavd amisa, aRni Snul i faqti imaze mi gvani Snebs, rom im etapze saqar Tvel os xel isufi eba, saj ariso Senaer Tebis Sesiararebl ad da qveyni s Tavdacvis sunari anobi s asamaRI ebl ad, misTvis xel mi sawvdomi yvel a Sesazi ebl obis gamoyenebas cdil obda.

saqar Tvel os pirvel i respubli kis mTavrobis mesveurebs kargad qondaT gacnobi erebul i, rom qveyni s Tavdacvis sistemaSi Seqmnili urTul esi mdgomareobi s aRmofxvra, qarTul i jaris gadai ar aReba (**rusul i warmoebis iaraRis evro-**

pul iT Canacvl eba) mxol od antantis saxel mwi foebis dax-marebis gareSe SeuZl ebel i iqneboda. am mi zni T, dasavl eT evropaSi sagangebo del egacia iqna gagzavnii i. maTi warma-tebul i saqmi anobis xel is SemSi el ad ori faqtori moqmedebda; 1)evropis qveynebi dan im etapze saqarTvel os, rogorc damouki debel i pol itikuri erTeul is ar aRi areba. i sini saqarTvel os, `demokratiul i ruseTis- Semadgenel nawil ad moi azrebdnen; 2)daSnakcuTiuni s partiis I iderTa mxri dan, 1919 wl i dan saqarTvel os saxel mwi foebri obis wi naaRmdeg mi zanmi marTul i far TomasStabi ani kampaniis gaCaReba. am saki TxTan dakavSi rebi T dokumentur masal aze dayrdnobi T, akaki kvi taiSvili werda: `1919 wel s gai marTa kampania saqa-rTvel os wi naaRmdeg dasavl eTSi, gansakuTrebi T ki ingl i-sursa da nawil obri v frangul presaSi. presi s kampaniaSi did rol s TamaSobda yofil i ruseTis mefis dipl omatia general deni kinis karnaxiT. amave dros frangul ad dai be-Wda daSnakel Ta warmomadgenel is vardani anis wi gni saTau-ri T `somex- qarTvel Ta konfi iqti da kavkasiis omi.- wi gni aRsasFoTebel i, gaborotebul i, Tavi dan bol omde aRsavse cil i swamebebi T saqarTvel os wi naaRmdeg... wi gni daur i gda antantis umaRI esi sabWos wevrebsa da erTa I i gis meTaur- ebs. aseT mowaml ul garemoSi mouxda muSaoba qarTul del e-gacias. gansakuTrebi T ingl isel ebi i yvnen Cvens wi naaRmdeg, roml ebic im dros i yvnen saqmisi faqturi gadamwyvetni.⁹

saqarTvel os saxel mwi fos wi naaRmdeg evropis masStabi T amuSavebul i somxuri `ideol ogiuri manqanis- da misi mxardamWer i (somxuri diaspori sgan mosiyidul i) ingl isurenovani Jurnal istebi sgan presi furci ebze gavrcel ebul i cil i smwamebl uri informaciis daZl eva, gaRatakebul i qar-Tvel ebi saTvis udides sirTul eebTan iyo dakavSi rebul i. saqarTvel os saxel mwi fos warmomadgenl obas evropis qvey-nebSi gansakuTrebul i Zal isxmeva dasWinda, rom somxuri ingl isuri antiqarTul i `propagandistul i manqana- nawil - obri v SeeCerebina. amis mi Rweva mxol od meore internacio-nal is sapropagando saSual ebebis gamoyenebi T gaxda Sesaz- l ebel i. mxedvel obaSi maqvs, daSnakcuTiuni s partiis sazR-vargareTul i warmomadgenl ebi s tyui l ebSi mxil eba da evrop-el i social - demokratTa I iderebis mxri dan, evropul i presi s saSual ebi T zemoaRni Snul i saki Txis gapi areba. am

urTul esi samuSaos Catarebis Semdeg SeZI o qarTul ma del egaci am, antantis umaRI esi sabWos war momadgenl ebTan Sexvedra. am mxriv, gansakuTrebiT safrangeTiS premier ministr kl emansosTan saqarTvel os dipl omatiuri korpusis Sexvedris facti iqcevs gansakuTrebil yuradRebas. rogorc cnobil ia, saqarTvel os del egaci s mesveurebma mas sagangebo memorandumi gadasca. am dokumentSi qarTvel Ta moTxovna Semdegi formiT iyo Camoyal i bebul i: `Cven vi TxovT dauyovnebl iv daxmrebas imitom, rom viciT, rac ufro ZI ieri vi qnebiT da momzadebul i, miT ufro gaadvil deba bol Sevikebis Semosevis Tavidan acil eba.¹⁰

zemoaRni Snul i `Segonebis- mi uxedavad, safrangeTiS da evropis sxva qveynebis xel isufal T, saqarTvel osadmi Sepirebul i daxmrebis (araRi, ful i, amuni ci a, sursaTi) Sesasru- l ebl ad i otisodena nabij i ar gadaudgams. arada, saqarTve- l os garSemo mi mdinare rTul i pol i tikuri procesebi, qarTu- l i jaris dauyovnebl iv gadai ar aRebas, rusul i warmoebis aRWurvil obisgan ganTavisufi ebas da saqarTvel os Seiara- Rebul i Zal ebi s raodenobri vad zrdi s auci l ebl obas moi Tx- ovda. savsebi T sworad aRni Snavda akvi taiSvi l i, rom qarTul i jaris ricxobrivi raodenobas `sazRrvavda iaraRis raodenoba da ara survil ebi!... evropi sgan mi tovebul i saqarTve- l o Tavis Sinaur mterze damoki debul i, mainc axer xebs mcire SeiaraRebul i I aSqari iyol ios.¹¹ mdgomareobas isi c arTul ebda, rom bol Sevikebis yubani s ol qis daWerisa da misi gasabWoebis gamo, puris Sesyi dvi s SesaZI ebl obebi saqarTvel os gadaeketa. jaris raodenobri vi zrdisaTvis iaraRTan da tansacmel Tan erTad, puris maragic auci l ebl obas warmoadgenda. marTal ia, saqarTvel os mier xorbl - is didi raodenobis partia argentinaSi iyo Sesyi dul i, magram misi dani Snul ebi samebr transportireba, saqarTvel - os saxel mwifos wasaqcevad mosurne Zal ebi s zemoqmedebi- dan gamodinare i gvi anebda.

am fonze, ki dev ufro mi uRebel i Canda baTumis ol qSi az- erbaij anel Ta antiqarTul i saqmianobi sadmi ingl i sel Ta mxar- ndaWera. mi Tumetes, bol Sevikuri safiTxe daZrul i aisberg- iviT uaxl ovdeboda saqarTvel os. es saSi Shoeba qarTul i pol i tikuri el itis mesveurT si Rrmiseul ad qonda gacno- bierebul i da moaxl oebul i katastrofisgan TavdaRwevis

er TaderT meqani zms, evropis saxel mwi foebis mxri dan Sepirebul daxmarebaSi xedavda. amis Sesani Snav dadasturebas, egeWkoris mier parizSi myofi k.Cxei Zi sa da ak.Cxenkel i sadmi 1920 wl is 19 marts gagzavnil i weril i warmoadgens. `antantisgan aRTqmul i daxmareba i ararit da sursaTiT ar mi gvi Ri a da arc viciT rodis mi vi RebT da mi vi RebT Tu ara saer Tod. I odini ki am pirobebiSeuZl ebel ia... dauyovnebl iv unda gagvewios i ararit da sursaTiT daxmareba moaxl oebul i bol SevikTa wi naaRmdeg sabrZol vel ad. mdgomareoba i sea garTul ebul i,rom yoymani da I odini SeuZl ebel ia.~ samxreT kavkasi i regionis pol i tiki mdgomareobi gansakuTrebul ma garTul ebam da saqarTvel osadmi evropis qveynebi dan daxmarebis Sesaxeb avansad gacemul ma tyuil ma ganapi roba ingl i sis, safrangeTi, aSS- is, ital iis dipl omatiuri warmomadgenl ebi sadmi n.Jordani as mier 1920 wl is 20 marts gadacemul i weril obiTi gancxadeba. dipl omatiuri etiketis dacviT, masSi safuzvl i anadaa mxil ebul i dasavl eTis saxel mwi foTa mxridan saqarTvel osadmi micemul i dapi rebebis Seusrul ebl oba. `Cven gansakuTrebit Cagvca I axvari Tanxmobis qveynebis damoki debul ebam- vki Txul obT dokumentSi - Cveni Crdi l o sazRvrebis dacvi saqmeSi, sai danac Cveni saxel mwi fos dangrevis mi zniT bol Sevikeli moemar Tebian. Cven araeTxel aRvZariT Suamdgoml oba am brZol a-Si amuni ci iT da sursaTiT mxardaWerisaTvis. mxardaWeras dagvpir dn, Cven vel odiT moTmi nebiT magram ver mi vi ReT Tqvengan vercerTi vazna, vercerTi funti puri. axl a daga momenti, rodesac meti I odini SeuZl ebel ia da dapi rebebiT ver davkmayofil debiT... me mwared unda aRvn Sno, rom ise, rogorc gasul is wina wel s, Cven i sev martoni da-vrciT, an i mis gamo, rom Tqveni mTavrobebi arasakmar i sadarian Caxedul ni, an ki dev bol Sevikuri ruseTi mier Cveni respubliki s dangreva aRmosavl eTSi Tqveni interesebis xel yofad ar iTvl eba.¹² es vrcel i amonaweri evropis saxel mwi foTa i iderebis tyuil ze dafuznebul i Sepirebebis mxil ebi saukeneso nimuSs warmoadgens. aseTi mkacri ganaCenis mi uxedavad, dasavl eT evropis saxel mwi foebis, zemoRni Snul i danapi rebi Sesasrul ebl ad Tavi ar Seuwux-ebi aT.

antantis qveynebi sgan gacemul i danapi rebi sadmi upasuxi-

smgebl o damoki debul eba qonda mxedvel obaSi e.gegewkors, roca parizSi, romSi da konstantinopol Si myofi saqar Tve-
l os warmomadgenl ebi sadmi gagzavnil weril Si (1920 wl is
24 marti) xazgasmi T rom mi uTi Tebda Crdil oeTi dan moaxl -
oebul i safrTxis gardaval obaze da dasZenda: **`aseT fri-**
ad gamvvavebul pirobebSi Cven araeTxeL mi gvi marTavs
mokavSi reTa warmomadgenl ebi sadmi... araeTxeL vTxoveT
maT daxmareba sursaTiT da samxedro iaraRiT, magram mra-
val j er ganmeorebul i dapi rebis gardaj er-j erobi T aravi-
Tari daxmareba ar mi gvi Ria... auci l ebl ad saWi roa, raTa
Tqveni mxriv mi iRoT yovel gvari zomebi rom mokavSi reebma
rac Sei ZI eba saCqarod mogvawodon real uri daxmareba
sursaTiT, samxedro iaraRiT... Tu evropa marTI a dagvexma-
ra sursaTiT da iaraRiT, Cven ufro gabedul aT davel apa-
rakebi T bol Sevi kebs da imedi gvaqvs uki dures SemTxeva-
Si SevZI ebT maTTan gamkl avebas da Cveni damouki debl o-
bis dacvas.

am vrcel i amonawer i dan kargad Cans, rom qarTul i pol i-
tikuri el ita da qveyni s mmartvel i wreibi, bol Sevi kebTan
ukompromiso brZol is dawyebi sTvis iyvnen mzad da saqar Tve-
l os damouki debl obis gadar Cenas, evropi s saxel mwi foebis
umaRI esi eSel onebisgan gacemul i si tyvis argatexaSi da
danapi rebis Sesrul ebaSi xedavdnen. ramdenadac antantis
qveynebi s maRal Ci nosnebi pol i tikuri meZavis gzas daadgnen
da danapi rebis droul ad Sesrul ebaze ar fiqrobdnen, es
faqt, saqar Tvel os xel i sufl ebas Si da resursebze dayrd-
nobi T gamosaval i gzebis Zi ebi sken ubi Zgebda. Cems mier mi kvl e-
ul i saarqivo masal ebi s mi xedvi T, iaraRis, amuni ci i s da su-
rsaTs deficitis mi uxedavad, saqar Tvel os xel i sufl eba adgi-
l obriv resursebze dayrdnobi T, moaxl oebul i safrTxis
neitral i zebis mi zni T Tadarigs iWenda. mxedvel obaSi maqvs
saqar Tvel os sasazRvro zol is gamagrebasTan dakavSi rebi-
T general il ia odi Sel iZis mier qveyni s Tavdacvis sabWo-
sadmi 1920 wl is 4 Teberval s moxsenebi s saxi T wardgenil i
proeqti. es uaRresad sayuradRebo dokumenti maqsimal ur-
ad i Tval i swinebda yvel a i safrTxes, romel ic Crdil oe-
Ti dan (ruseTi) da samxreT- dasavl eTi dan (osmal eTi) emuq-
reboda saqar Tvel os. masSi samxedro specifi kisaTvis dama-
xasi aTebel i moTxovnebi s gaTval i swinebi T iyo gaweril i:

1) im strategiul i punqtebis dakavebis auci l ebl oba, romel ic saomari moqmedebebis dawyebis SemTxvevaSi qarTul i j aris nawil ebs upiratesobas SeunarCunebda; 2) qarTul i j aris raodenobrividad gazrdi, misi Seiar aRebi sa da umni Svnel ovanes strategiul sasazRvro poziciebze batal i onebis raodenobis ganl ageba; 3) proeqti Tavdacvi TTan er Tad, Setevi Ti xasi aTi s operaci ebi s Casatareb el umni Svnel ovanes ni uansebasac iTval i swinebda.¹³

am proeqtis yvel aze didi nakl i imaSi mdgomareobs, rom masSi dasmul i saki Txebi s gadawyvetis mizni T, Sesabami si samuSaos Casatareb el ad miaxi oebi Ti xarj TaRricxvac ar iyo gaTval i swinebul i. im etapze arsebul i dokumenturi masal ebi s mixedvi T Tuki vimsj el ebT, nebi smieri proeqti srul fasovnad mxol od im SemTxvevaSi i Tvl eboda, Tuki misi ganxorciel ebisaTvis saWiro xarj TaRricxvis 80%- iani j amuri monacemebi eqneboda darTul i. qveynis finansebTan dakavSirebul am umni Svnel ovanes faqtors, qarTvel i general ebi s umetesoba xSirad yuradRebi s mi Rma tovebda. angariSS ar uwedva saqarTvel os saxel mwi fos biuj etis SesaZ- I ebl obebs. arc imas iTval i swinebda, rom 1918 _dan 1921 wl is Tebervl amde, daxmarebi s saxiT dasavi eT evropi dan saqarTvel os arcerTi centi, arcerTi cal i vazna da gramipuri rom ar mi uRia. yovel i umni Svnel ovanesi wamowyeba mxol od Si da emisi aze iyo dafuznebul i.

aRni Snul i nakl i s mi uxedavad, es proeqti imis naTel i dadasturebaa, rom saqarTvel os xel i sufl ebas, qveynis usaf- rTxoebaze zrunva da misi droul ad mowesri geba nomer pirevel amocanad mi aCnda. xazgasmi T minda aRvni Sno, rom Cems mier mikvl eul i dokumenturi masal iTirkveva, rom im etapze Tavdacvi s uwyebi sadmi daqvemdebarebul sawyobebSi arsebul i Seiar aRebi sa da amuni ci s (Tofebi, vaznebi, yumbarebi, tansacmel i, sursaTi...) maragi imdenad umni Svnel o iyo, rom i gi i.odi Sel i Zi s mier SemuSavebul i proeqtis nawil obivid ganxorciel ebasac ver uzrunvel yofda. evropul i saxe- l mwi foebis l i derTa dapi rebebis Semyure saqarTvel os mdgomareoba ki dev ufro garTul da azerbaijanisa (1920 wl is 28 april i) da somxeTi s (1920 wl is 29 noemberi) gasabWoebi s Semdeg. momxdari faqtit, i.odi Sel i Zi s proeqtSi damatebi- Ti cvl il ebebi s Setana auci l ebel i Sei qmna. am proceduris

ganxorciel eba, dafinansebis Tval sazrisiT garkveul i for-
mi T koreqtivs saWi roebda. marTal ia, saqarTvel os clamfuZne-
bel i krebis 1920 wl is 15 ivnisis # 24- e sxdomis mier mi-
Rebul i dekretiT Tavdacvis fonds 400 milioni maneTi gamo-
eyo, magram igi minimal uradac ver wvdeboda im urTul esi
probl emis mogvarebas, romel ic qarTul i jaris Seiar-
aRebasTan iyo dakavSi rebul i. kidev ufro Seusrul ebadi
aRmoChda saqarTvel os mTavrobis 1920 wl is noembriS dad-
genil eba_ qarTul i jaris damatebiT 40 aTasi kaciT gazrd-
iS Sesaxeb. misi ganmapi robebel i mizezebi pirvel adi teqni-
kuri da finansuri saSual ebebis (iaraRi, tansacmel i, sur-
saTi, ful i...) uqonl obiT iyo gamowveul i. isic gasaTval is-
wi nebel ia, rom rusul i warmoebis vaznebiTa da yumbarebiT,
samxedro sawyobebis im etapze Sevseba SeuZI ebel i xdebo-
da. am saki TxTan dakavSi rebiT, general i al eqsandre zaqar-
iaZe mogvi anebiT gul istkivil iT werda: `Cveni ocneba iyo
ramenai rad samoci aTasi jari Segveqmna, magram ui aRaRobis
gamo es ocneba ocnebad darCa (mi uxedavad imisa, rom momza-
debul jariskacTa ricxvi saqarTvel oSi aRemateboda ora-
si aTass. saTanado sardl obac mzad iyo).~¹⁴

xazgasmiT minda aRvnisi Sno, rom vaznebi sa da yumbarebis
is maragi, romel ic sariyamisi dan da al eqsandropol idan
iqna Camotanii i (1918 wl is marti), 1918_ 1920 wl ebSi mim-
di nare saomarma operaciебma STanTqa. mxedvel obaSi maqvs:
1)osmal eTTan omi (1918 wl is marti _april i); 2)bol Sevi ke-
bis mier 1918 wel s mowyobil i 20- mde gl exTa Sei aRaRebu-
l i aj anyeba; 3)somxeTTan 1918 wl is oqtomber_ dekemberis
saomari operaciебbi; 4)bol Sevi kebis 1919 wel s aj anyebibi;
5)denikini s wi naaRmdeg 1919 wel s Catarebul i sabrZol o
moqmedebebi; 6)sabWoTa ruseTisa da gasabWoebul i azerba-
ijanis mier 1920 wel s ganxorciel ebil i Tavdasxma saqa-
rTvel oze da misi mogetieba; 7)osebi s 1920 wl is aj anyeba
da a.S. yovel i ve es, axl adSeqmnii i saqarTvel os saxel mwif-
fos xazinas aTeul obiT mill iardi dauj da. xol o Tavda-
cvis uwyebi sadmi daqvemdebarebul i sawyobebi rusul i war-
moebis vaznebi sa da yumbarebis maragi sgan Ti Tqmisi dacar-
iel da.

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

I iders Tedore RI onts, roca i mave partiis pirvel yri-
I obaze (1921 wl is 30 oqtomberi) ambobda: `3 wl is ganmav-
I obaSi, rac saqarTvel o damouki debel i iyo, Cven ar vici T
arcerTi sami Tve, rom gagvetarebinos uomrad, aj anyebis
gareSe. omi ki, mi T ufrro sistematuri omi, Tvi T aRa- maxmad
xanis reJiMze uaresia.~ nebismi erma mkvl evarma, romel ic
saqarTvel os pirvel i respubli kis Tavdacvis unarianobis
SesaZI ebl obebs Seexeba, pirvel rigSi unda gai Tval i swi-
nos: 1)zemoaRni Snul i procesebi dan gamomdinare, qveynis
finansurad da ekonomikurad damangrevel i Sedegebi; 2)pa-
suxi unda gaeces ki Txvas; 1918_ 1920 wl ebSi rac saqarTve-
I os pirvel ma respubli kam gadai tana, ra mdgomareobaSi aR-
moCndeboda nebismi eri sxva qveyana (gnebavT i give evropu-
l i) Tuki i mave evropul i saxel mwifoebi sgan finansur dax-
marebas ver mi i Rebda. am fonze, al ogikurad moCans gen. gi orgi
kvi ni taZis memuar ebSi gakeTebul i gancxadeba_ saqarTvel os
Seiar aRebul Zal ebs, 1920 wl is mais_ ivni sSi Ti Tqos ami erk-
avkasi i ganmaTavi sufl ebel i misi i Sesrul eba SeeZI o `es
iyo erTad_ erTi uaRresad xel sayrel i SemTxveva_ wers
g.kvi ni taZe_ azerbaij anisa da somxeTi s gasanTavi sufl ebl ad
bol Sevi ki dampyrobl ebi sagan. Cven SegveZI o bol Sevi kebi-
sagan mTel i kavksi i gawmenda da iqneb daRestni sac. es iyo
1920 wel i, rodesac pol oneTi oms awarmoebda ruseTTan da
general i vrangel i daZrul i iyo yirimi dan.~ erTi Sexedvi T
es gegma mi mzi dvel i Cans, magram Tuki yvel a aspeqtis gaTval -
i swinebi T ganvi xi l avT, misi ganxorciel eba saqarTvel os kata-
strofas daaqarebda. roca g.kvi ni taZe somxeTi s ganTavi su-
fl ebaze I aparakobs, i gi j er ki dev damouki debel saxel m-
wi fos war moodgenda. misi gasabWoeba, rogorc zemoTac mqonda
aRni Snul i, mxol od 1920 wl is 29 noemberSi ganxorciel da.
1)i m SemTxvevaSi Tu general g.kvi ni taZis mier SeTavazebu-
I i gegmi T i moqmedebdnen, saqrTvel os xel i sufl ebas azer-
baij anel Ta da somexTa mxri dan qarTul i j aris usafrTx-
oebis garantia unda qonoda. azerbaij anel ebi sgan amis mi R-
weva SeuZI ebel i iyo i m ubral o mizezis gamo, rom bol Sevi-
kebs qveyana Ti TqmisiYubrZol vel ad Caabar a. rac Seexeba so-
mxeTs, i gi xel sayrel i si tuaci i Seqmni s Tanave mis mi er `sa-
daod- qceul i qarTul i mi webis mi tacebas Seecdeboda. aRni S-
nul i dan gamomdinare, qarTul i mxedrobi sadmi azerbaij ane-

I Ta Ziri Tadi Zal ebs da prorusul i orientaciis mqone somexTa Tanadgoma saTaveSi ve iyo gamoricxul i. es imas ni-Snavda, rom Tuki saqarTvel o, ami erkavkasiis `ganmaTavisufl ebel is- funqias i kisrebda, i gi riskis pol itikis gzas unda dadgomoda. damfuZnebel i krebis 1920 wl is 25 ivnisis sxdomaze oponentTa misamarTi T v.Tevzai a ambobda: `azerbaij anis xal xi gagveTavi sufI ebi a ucxo Zal isagan... aseT mi znebs saqarTvel os respublika ver gaziarebs... is vinc fiqrobs, rom unda Caerios sxvis saqmeebSi... Sesul iyo maT dedaqal aqSi, gaeyara yvel a misi mokavSi re el ementebi... aseT Ti pol itika respublika ar qonia da arc eqneboda.~ i mave saki TxTan dakavSi rebi T akaki Cxenkel ma ganacxada: `Cveni mdgomareoba rTul ia, Cven irgvI iv rkal Semortymul i varT... Cveni mTavrobac ar awarmoebda riskis pol itikas da yvel a is rasac aq b-ni veSapel i brZanebda, aris riskis pol itika. Cven risks ver wawarmoebT sanam vgrZnobT pasuxismgebl o-bas Cveni eris, Cveni demokratiis wiNaSe.- 2)` omis gagrZel ebi s momxreni - yuradRebis mi Rma tovebdnen yvel aze mni Svnel o-van ki Txvas; SeZI ebda Tu ara saqarTvel os ekonomika xangrZI i vi omis xarj ebi s gadafarvas da ra mdgomareobaSi aRmoCndeboda qveyni s finansebi. mi Tumetes, 14 dRiani omi saqarTvel os biuj ets mil iard naxevari qarTul i boni dauj - da. 3)i sini arc imas ki Txul obdnen, Tu ra mdgomareoba iyo samxedro sawyobebSi iaraRis, vaznebi s, yumbaribi s, tansacmI i sa da sursaTi s Tval sazrisiT. **Tavdaciis sabWos gasai du-mI oebul i monacemebi s mixedvi T**, 1920 wl is ivnisis bol o-sTvis, samxedro sawyobebSi mxol od 1 mil ion 800 aTasi rusul i warmoebi s vaznebi s maragi iyo. azerbaij anis `ganmaTavisufl ebel ~ misi aTani dakavSi rebul i saomari moqmede-bebi s ganxorciel ebi s SemTxvevaSi, saqarTvel os samxedro SeiaraRebul Zal ebs minimum 2 mil ion 500 aTasi vazna daswirdeboda. gaurkvevel ia, Tu ra raodenobi s zarpaznis Wurvebi da sursaTi iqneboda saWi ro qarTul i jari s br-Zol i sunarianobi s SesanarCunebl ad da mis gamosakvebad. am mxriv, samxedro sawyobebi s sarezervo maragi Ti Tqmisi amowurul i iyo. es imas ni Snavs, rom kritikul momentSi, qarTul i jari rusul i warmoebi s vaznebi s, yumbaribi s da sakvebi s gareSe darCeboda. Tuki es moxdeboda, saqarTve- l os saxel mwifos katastrofa gardaval i iyo da rac mTa-

varia, vaznebis gareSe darčenili qarTul i jari, osebis 1920 wl is ivnisi aj anyebasac ver gaumkl avdeboda da os bol Sevi kebs, Tbilisi Tofis gasrol is gareSe Semosvili is SesaZI ebl oba mīecemoda. es aris mware sinamdvil e, roml isadmi angariSi gaweva nebi smieri mkvl evarisadmi auci l ebl obas warmoadgens. 4)mxedvel obaSia misaRebi 1918 wl is dasawyisi, somxeTisa da azerbaijanis interesebis dasacavad, saqarTvel os Tavgamodebi dan gamodinare mi Rebul i mware gamocdil eba. aRni Snul i pol itikuri kursi, erovnul i sabWos 1918 wl is 16 seqtembris sxdomaze, erovnul demokratma i maWavari anma `ocoboco~ pol itikad Seafasa da mmarTvel pol itikur partias mācri toniT miutTiTa: `daanebeT Tavi ocobocodias, daadeqiT real uri pol itikis gzas, daanebeT Tavi msofl ioze zrunvas... ai Cveni pasuxi sagareo pol itikaze.- azerbaijanis `ganmaTavisufl ebel i misi is warumatebl obis SemTxvevaSi, qveyni s mmarTvel i pol itikuri partia, i mave erovnul - demokratebi dan anal ogiuri Cawi xvi is mdgomareobaSi aRmoCndeboda. erTi ram udaod SeiZI eba iTqvas, opoziciuri partiebi da samxedro uwyebis arcerT maRal Cinosans, g.kvinitaZi s zemoaRni Snul i gegmis SesaZI o warmatebis dasabuTeba an mosal odnel i Sedegebis pasuxi smgebl obis aRebis Sesaxeb, raime saxi s dokumenti mTavrobi saTvis im etapze ar warudgenia. amMSemTxvevaSi, saqarTvel os xel isufl ebam imoqmeda Tavdacvis sistemas daqvemdebarebul smxedro sawyobebSi arsebul i SesaZI ebl obi dan da saxel mwifos interesebi dan gamodinare. samxedro sawyobebSi rusul i vaznebis maragi s amowurvis gamo, roca mis Sevsebas kustarul ad damzadebul i vaznebi T cdil oben, am fonze, bol Sevi kebi sgan azerbaijanis ganTavisufl ebis raime gegmebz sabari yovl ad dauSvebel ia. Cems mier arqivsacavebSi mikvl eul i dokumentiT dasturdeba, rom saqarTvel os mTavrobi s 1920 wl is 24 Tebervl is dadgeni- l ebi T, rusul i warmoebis vaznebis gasatenad (kustarul i wesi T dasamzadebl ad) da mwyobridan gamosul i Tofebis SesakeTebl ad, special uri saxel osnoebis mwyobi saTvis 9,440000 maneti iqna gamoyofill i. i mave saarqivo masal ebi T dasturdeba, rom rusul i warmoebis SaSxanebi s Sesabamisi nawil ebis dasamzadebl ad, zemoaRni Snul i ful iT 7 saxarato Carxi da erTi frezeris sistemis dazga SeiZi nes,

romel i c dani Snul ebi samebr 1921 wl i s 24 i anvars arsenal - Si gadai tanes. rac Seexeba vaznebis kustarul ad damzadebis i ideas, Tu vi sgan momdi nareobda i gi , amis Sesaxeb sayuradRebo informacias akvi tai Svil i s naSromi i ZI eva. am sak-i TxTan dakavSi rebi T masSi vki Txul obT: `saqarTvel os general uri Stabis ufrosi general i zaqariaZe Tavis `Cveneba~Si ambobs: `vaznebis maragi friad cota. ra vqnaT? gamosaval s Ti Tqmisi ver vxedavT! erT dRes Semovi da CemTan general i quTaTel aZe da meubneba: me maqvs erTi i idea, dami-Wi re mxari da vaznebs gavaCeno. me mas mi vuge: wi n da wi n gi- Wer mxars! raSia saqme? ai ra mi pasuxa man: arsenal Si mil-ionobi T hyria cariel i vaznebi da gavtenoT waml i TI_ ni kel i is tyviebs sad Soul ob?- vki Txe me. _ni kel i is tyviebi aris arsenal Si. es TaTrul i vaznebia, rac auarebel ia arsenal - Si. maT Cven amovaZrobT da gavukeTebT rusul vaznebs! rasakvi rvel ia, maT Soris gansxvavebaa da ZI ier gavl enas i qoni ebs srrol i sizusteze, magram masirebul i cecxl i s dros Sedegi mainc daaxl oebi T erTi da i give i qnebao. gen. quTaTel aZi s wi nadadeba si srul eSi moviyaneT.¹⁵ am faqtis Sesaxeb gen al .zaqari aZi s mogonebebSi vki Txul obT: `arsenal Si davieweT vaznebis xel iT awyoba. Cvenma gamoCenil ma artil eristebma Ren. quTaTel aZem da yazbegma es moaxerxes, magram ramdeni gveqneboda da rod i s gveqneboda saTanado Tadarigi? mxol od 1920 wl i s Semdeg avi yvaneT dRiuri ricxvi ase awyobi i vaznebis ocdaaTi aTasamde, arc amisTvis saWi ro masal i s Tadarigi iyo usazRvro.¹⁶

rusul i sabrZol o vaznebis damzadebis gazr dasTan dakavSi rebi T, gen. al .zaqariaZi s mogonebebi dan motanil i zemo-aRni Snul i informaciis siswores, Tavdacvis sabWos 1920 wl i s 13 noembri s dadgenil ebac adasturebs. am dokumentis mixedvi T, sxdomas sagangebod ganuxil avs saki Txi_ `vaznebis aRsawurvel saxel osnos Sromi s nayofierebis gaumj obesebis Sesaxeb.~ mi Rebul i dadgenil ebi T, dasaxul i mi zni s gansaxorciel ebl ad, Tavdacvis fondi dan 7,706000 maneTi i qna gamoyofil i. i mave Tavdacvis sabWos 1921 wl i s 11 i anvris sxdomam, rusul i SaSxanebisTvis gaTval i swinebul i `xi Stebis~ maketi moi wona da dasamzadebl ad Sesabami si nebarTva gasca.

Cems mier motanil i zemoaRni Snul i faqtebi or Ziri Tad

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

arsebul i umZimesi mdgomareobi dan gamondinare, iaraRi sa da sabrZol o masal is SeZenisi saki TxTan dakavSi rebi T, saqa- rTvel os mTavrobis 1920 wl is 18 martis dadgenil ebi T, saf- rangeTSi momuSave qarTul i del egaciis dasaxmarebl ad, gen. ilia odi Sel izis xel mZRvanel obiT specialuri komisia gaigzavna. **islic cnobil ia, rom saqarTvel os warmomadgen- l obam sagangebo memorandumi T mimarTa safrangeTi s xe- l isufl ebasi.** Cven vi TxovT_vki Txul obiT dokumentSi_dauy- ovnebl iv daxmarest... rac ufro Zi ieri vi qnebi T da mo- mzadebul i, mi T ufro gaadvil deba bol Sevikebi s Semose- vis Tavi dan acil eba.- rac Seexeba safrangeTi s premier- ministri kl emansos, konkretul i gadawyvetil ebi s mi RebasTan mimarTebaSi garkveul i mizezebi s gamo Tavs i kavebda. doku- mentur masal aze dayrdnobi T, am saki TxTan dakavSi rebi T a.kvitai Svi l i wers: `premier ministri kl emanso Seeki Txa del egaci as- iaraRi da amunici a rom gamogi gzavnoT... maTac i give bedi xom ar eweva, rogorc deniki nisaTvis gagzavnil s; mas bevri gavugzavneT da bol os yvel a es iaraRi bol Se- vikebi s xel Si gadavidao.- del egaci am mas saTanado Sesaf- erisi pasuxi misca. am TaTbiris Sedegi iyo dapireba iar- aRi s mi cemi sa.¹⁷

samwuxarod, es dapirebac Seusru ul ebel i darCa. Tuki gen. azaqari azis mogonebebs daveyrdnobi T, mokavSi re saxel mwi- foebi s umaRI es sabWos, general vrangel i saTvis daval eba mi ucia, rom konstantinopol is sawyobebSi arsebul i misi

yofil i jaris naqoni iaraRi qarTvel ebi saTvis gadaeca. i ave azaqariaZis informaciiT, am saki TxTan dakavSi rebiT konstantinopol Si `gai gzavna komisia Ren. quTaTel azis da Saqro mdivnis Semadgenl obiT. ramdenime dRe gaatara am del egaci am iq, magram arc erTi Tofi Cven maTgan ar mi gvi Ria... rusul sabWos Ren. vrangel is meTauroobiT gamou-tani a dadgeni l eba, rom yovel nairi zomebi yofil iyo mi Re-bul i, raTa qarTvel ebs iaraRi ar miscemoda.¹⁸

erTi ram dabej i TebiT Sei Zi eba iTqvas; ramdenadac vrangel i da denikini antantis saxel mwi foebi sgan finansdeboda da maTi mi Ti Tebebis Semsrul ebl ebi iyvnen, gansakuTrebiT ingl isisa da safrangeTis xel isufal Ta gareSe, saqarTve-l os sawinaaRmdegod veranair gadawyvetil ebas ver mi i Rebd-nen. mi Tumetes, stambol is samxedro sawyobSi Tavmoyril i vrangel is naqoni iaraRi, safrangeTis saxel mwi fos sakuTre-bas warmoadgenda. am SemTxvevaSi, gadamwyeti si tyva, safrange-Tis premier-ministr kl emansos unda eTqva. rogorc zemo-Tac mqonda aRni Snul i, ramdenadac mas orWoful i waj eq-ukuj eqis pozicia ewira, amiT gen. vrangel i sargebl obda da misi naqoni iaraRis vargisianobis Semowmebis ufl ebasac ar aZl evda qarTul mxares. arc isaa gamoricxul i, rom i-give kl emanso, evropel i maRal Cinosnebi sadmi damaxasi aTebe-l i orpirovani ianusis rol s rom TamaSobda. Torem, mis mier gacemul i brZanebis Sesrul eba- arSesrul ebaSi Care-vas, rusul i sabWo da gen. vrangel i namdvil ad ver gabedava-da. am SemTxvevaSi gadamwyet si tyvas evropel Ta interesebi gansazRrvavda. mxedvel obaSi maqvs maTi mxridan saqarTve-l os sazianod Cafiqrebul i samomavl o Roni szi eba. kerZod, saqarTvel osgan teritoriebis CamoWris safuZvel ze axal i fsevdo `saxel mwifos- Seqmnis mcdel obis faqt. am mima-rTul ebiT pirvel i qmediTi nabij i ingl isisa da safrange-Tis xel isufal Ta Zal isxmeyiT 1920 wl is 25 Teberval s gada-idga da erTa l igis mandatiT, baTumi porto-frankod of-icial urad iqna gamocxadebul i. baTumsa da mis garSemo arsebul i teritoriebis bazaze saqarTvel osgan gancal keve-biT, `patara damouki debel i saxel mwi fos- Seqmnis saki Txi, mokavSi re saxeI mwi foTa umaRI esi sabWos 27 Tebervl is I ondonis sxdomaze sagangebod gani xil es. evropel Ta es veragul i gegma, qarTvel pol i tikozebs mxedvel obi dan ar

gamorCenia da adeqvaturi nabi j i s gadasadgmel ad Sesabami - si safexuris momzadebas Seecadnen. ami s dadasturebas noe rami Svil i s mier parizSi myofi k.Cxei Zisa da ir.wereTel i sa- dmi gagzavnil i weril i warmoadgens, romel i c 1920 wl i s 22 martiTaa daTariRebul i. am dokumentis gansakuTrebui Rirebul eba i maSi mdgomareobs, rom masSi gamoaSkaravebu- l i a qartul i saxel mwi fos teritoriul i mTI i anobis wi- naaRmdeg dagegmil i ingl i sis xel i sufal Ta mi znebi da amo- canebi. meore mxriv, saqarTvel os samxreT_dasavl eTis isto- riul i teritoriis CamosaWrel ad, ingl i sur- somxuri al i an- sis Sesaxeb_ xazgasmi Taa mi Ti Tebul i. aRni Snul Tan dakav- Si rebi T dokumentSi vki Txul obT: `ingl i sel ebi cdil obs... dai kavon baTumis ol qi da Semdeg gai yvanon rki n gza baTu- mi dan ar taani T yarsamde... aseTi gegma warmoadgens ganmeo- rebas i m gegmisas, rac erTxel moxda Zvel saqarTvel oSi. samcxe_ saaTabagos mowyvetiT davkar geT ekonomiuri Zal a- gavl ena da Semdeg pol i tikuri suvereniteti. **ami tom vi brZ- vi T** ase energi ul ad am gegmis wi naaRmdeg. ar taani_ baTu- mis xazi savsebi T Cveni unda Sei ques. rogorc ar Segvi- ZI i a baTumis ol qis daTmoba, aseve ar SegviZI i a arc arta- anis ol qis somxebi saTvis gadacema.. somxebi i brZian arta- anis ol qi dan gai kafon vi wro gza baTumisken. gaJI i ton iq mcxovrebni, rogorc exl a JI eten artaanis ol qis aRmosa- vi eT nawil i s musl i manebs artil eriIT da qmnian sufTa derefans.⁻¹⁹ am dokumentis gacnobis Semdeg gasagebi unda i yos: 1)saxel mwi foebri vad ra maRal doneze azrovnebda Cv- eni wi naprebi da somexTa moTxovnebSi, saqarTvel os terit- oriul i mTI i anobis dasarRvevad ra did safrTxeebs xeda- vda; 2)i ave dokumentiT aSkarad i kveTeba, Tu ratom uWerda mxars ingl i sis warmomadgenl oba san- remos konferenciaz somxebi s usafuZvl o da mtacebl ur moTxovnebs. i sic sayura- dReboa, rom **antantis saxel mwi foebis mxridan baTumis po- rto- frankod** gamocxadebas, n.rami Svil ma karikaturul i saxel mwi fos Seqmnis mcdel oba uwoda da princi pul ad daayena saki Txi mis wi naaRmdeg energi ul i zomebis mi Rebis aucil ebl obis Sesaxeb. i mavdroul ad ingl i sis xel i sufl eb- i s saqarTvel osken Sesazl o Semobrunebis faqtorebis wi n wamowevazedac mi uTi Ta. amasTan dakavSi rebi T i ave weril - Si vki Txul obT: `Cven vfigrobT, Sei ZI eba ingl i sis xel mZR-

vanel wreeds advil ad davumtkicoT, rom ZI ieri saqar Tvel -
I o sworeT maT interesebSi da maT pol itikas mTel kavka-
siaSi da Sua aziaSi amtkicebs. ami tom, saWi roa saqar Tvel -
os interesTa uzrunvel yofa~

n.rami Svi I is es weril i imi Tacaa sayur adRebo, rom masSi
zaqaTal as ol qis azerbaij anis sazRvrebSi datovebis SeuZ-
I ebl obaze da am saki TxTan dakavSi rebi T antantis saxel m-
wi foTa mxardaWeris mi Rebazea yuradReba gamaxvil ebul i.
rogorc Cans, am saki Txze azerbaij anel ebs evropul i saxe-
l mwi foebis mxridan garkveul i formiT qonda I obireba.
mesame saki Txi es aris zaqaTal as ol qis yovl ad SeuZI ebel -
ia_ vki Txul obT dokumentSi_ am ol qis azerbaij anis farg-
I ebSi datoveba. ekonomi urad is gadaj aWvul ia Tbil isTan.
saWi roa am saki TxSi mi imxrot mokavSi reni. es mi T ufrro Se-
iZI eba, rom azerbaij anis gaZI ierebas saqar Tvel os xarj ze
ar moi surveben. saer Tod, **drea sazRvrebis saki Txi pirvel**
rigSi daayenoT. modis gen. odi Sel i Ze. man Cveni azri icis
da saWi roa misi erudici i savsebi T gamoyeneba. i medi maqvs,
Tqven SeZI ebT am ukanknel dabrkol ebaTa daZI evas.~

dokumenturi masal iT dasturdeba, rom I ondonis konfe-
renci is monawil e saxel mwi foebma, saqar Tvel os Tan mimar Te-
baSi srul i siyru e gamoi Ci na. qar Tvel Ta gasaWiri, misi yovel i
wi nadadeba ignorirebul i i qna. aseTi ve damoki debul eba ga-
moavl i na saqar Tvel osadmi iaraRi s mi yi dvas Tan mimar TebaS-
i ac. mar Tal ia, saqar Tvel os warmoadgenl obas oficial u-
rad uars ar eubneboden, magram arc danapi rebs asrul ebdnen.
es garemoeba qonda mxedvel obaSi ak.Cxenkel s, roca gr.rc-
xi l aZi sadmi gagzavnii weril Si (1920 wl i s 21 marti), ingl -
isis xel i sufl ebi s misamar Ti T gul i swyromi T rom werda:
`Cven ar vTxovT maT j ars, ar vTxovT mowyal ebas, gvi nda mx-
ol od megobrul ad mogvepyran. gamogvi gzavnon iaraRi, surs-
aTi, mogvcen saSual eba medgrad SevebrZol oT anarqias, ro-
gorc garedan i se S igni T.~ i mave ak.Cxenkel i mtkicebi T, ra-
mdenadac saqar Tvel o evropasa da azias Soris saaRebmi cemo
xi ds warmoadgenda, misTvis gaugebari rCeboda ingl isis
antiqar Tul i pol itikuri kursi. mi Tumetes, aRni Snul saki-
TxTan mimar TebaSi saqar Tvel os gansakuTreibul i funqcia
eki sreboda. am fonze, gr.rcxi l aZi wi naSe ak.Cxenkel i savse-
bi T kanonzomi erad svamda ki Txvas: `vis i Sovis ingl isi

ukeTess, gana mTel s aziaSi aris ki dev i seTi eri, rogorc qarTvel i, romel ic momwi febul ia pol itikuraT, surs evropul ad icxovros da mTel is arsebi Taa dainteresebul i didi britaneTis gverdiT, misi patara megobris saxiT Seasrul os Tavisi istoriul i misia? TbII isi gegemonia amierkavkasiisa, is erTgvari sul ieri simagrea, romel zedac dayrdhoba ingl isisTvis metad saxeli roa. rac ufro ZI ieri varT Cven, pol itikuraT da ekonomi kuraT, miT ufro kargia TviT ingl isisaTvis. amiT mis gavl enas daeqvemdebareba mTel i kavkasia... ratom ar esmis mas es garemoeba, ratom unda amierkavkasia bol Sevikebis saTel ad gaxados?... es pol itika... TviT ingl isis sasi cocxi o interesebis Ral atia... gTxovT imoqmedoT mTel is Zal Roni T. CaagoneT mag xal xs namdvili maTi interes, nu gvRupaven Cven, nu Ral atoben TviT ingl iss..

am vrcel i amonawer i dan kargad Cans, Tu ra maRal doneze qonda ak.Cxenkel s gacnobi erebul i kavkasiisa regionsi saqarTvel os geopolitikuri mni Svnel oba da is mosal odnel i safrTxeibi, romel ebic Crdil oeTidan da samxreTi dan emugreboda Cvens qveyanas. meore mxriv, masSi xazgasmi Taa mi T-i Tebul i ingl isis gansakuTrebui rol ze, rogorc damcav meqani zmze saqarTvel os Tan mimarTebaSi. samwuxarod, ingl isis xel isufi ebaze zemoqmedebis moxdena, ara Tu gr.rcxil aZes, aramed masze ufro maRal i rangisa da didi saxel mwifos warmomadgenel sac ar SeeZI o. im etapze ingl isis xel isufi eba ruseTis bunebriv simdi dreze fiqrobda da wurbel asaviT misi amowovis meqanizmis SemuSavebiT iyo dakavebul i. am fonze, saqarTvel o da samxreT kavkasia misTvis nakl ebad Ri nebul geografiul cnebad gadai qca. saqarTvel os xval-indel i dRisTvis ingl isel Ta es damRupvel i kursi, qarTul pol itikur el i tas mxedvel obis mi Rma ar darCenia da mas-Tan mimarTebaSi, adeqvaturi nabij is gadadgmis aucil ebl o-bas ayenebda. amis utyuar dadasturebad, e.gegewkoris mier 1920 wl is 24 marts parizSi, romSi da konstantinopol Si myofi saqarTvel os warmomadgeni ebi sadmi gagzavnii i werili i gamodgeba. `Cven ewi gvaqvs- vki Txul obT dokumentSi, -rom ingl isel ebi Cvens zurgsukan saiduml od mol aparakebas awarmoeben sabWoTa mTavrobastan... Tu i sin i bol Sevi kebi sgan mi i Reben mandats sparseT- indoeTi sTvis, amierkavka-

sias advil ad daTmoben. aseT mdgomareobaSi, arsebul i pi nobe-
bi Cven sxvas arafers gvi karnaxebs Tu ara saswrafod ener-
giul moqmedebas. mTavrobas gadawyvetil i aqvs dai cvas
respubl iki s damouki debl oba Tu is saWi ro iqneba iaraRiT
xel Si.- ingl i si sandoobasTan mimar TebaSi, e.gegewkori ar
tyuoda dokumenturi masal iT dadasturebul ia, rom imetapze
sabWoTa ruseTsa da ingl iss Soris ekonomikuri urTier-
Tobi saki TxebTan mimar TebaSi mol aparakeba da Sesabami si
xel Sekrul ebi s teqstis momzadebaze muSaoba marTI ac mim-
di nareobda. aRni Snul is gaTval i swinebi T, mxol od ingl isze
dayrdnoba da dasaxul i mi znis Sesasrul ebl ad sxva qveyne-
bi sken argaxedva, an saTanado nabij i s argadadgma da axal i
safexur i armosinj va, di di pol i tiki kuri Secdoma iqneboda.
am mxriv, qarTul i saxel mwi fos mmartvel wreeds safuzvl i-
ani gamocdi l eba da mimdi nare procesebi sadmi al Ros aRebis
Sesani Snavi intuicia gaaCnda. amis udao dadasturebas
imave dokumentebSi motanil i faqtebi iZI eva. am masal ebi s
Seswavl is Sedegad irkveva, rom ingl i sisgan gadamwyeti
pasuxis droSi Segnebul ad gaWi anurebi s gamo, iaraRis SeZe-
nasTan mimar TebaSi dawyebul i saqmianobis Ziri Tadi kursi,
saqarTvel os di pl omatiurma korpusma ital ia_ safrange-
Tis mimarTul ebi T aiRo. roca saqarTvel os del egaci i s
mier am qveynebi dan iaraRis SeZenasTan dakavSi rebi T gaweul
saqmianobas vexebi T, Cvens wi naSe principul ad ismeba ki Tx-
va_ samxedro aRWurvil obi s SesaZen nusxaSi Setanil i iyo
Tu ara saqarTvel os Tavdacvis saministrosadmi daqvemde-
barebul i ital iuri sabrzol o Tvi Tmfrinavebi saTvis saWi ro
sawavis Sesyidva. es saki Txi gansakuTrebul aqtual obas
im Tval sazrisiTac iZens, rom r.gabaSvi l is mogonebebi s
safuzvel ze, istorikosTa garkveul wreedsSi, `eqsper tebSi-
da Jurnal istebSi dRemde mcdari Sexedul ebaa `gabatoneb-
ul i,_ saqarTvel os xel isufl ebam Ti Tqos ar izruna da
Tvi Tmfrinavebi sTvis sawavis SesaZenad arcerTi TeTri ar
gaimeta. i sini gazepirebul i I eqsivi T imoreben r.gabaSvi-
l is mogonebebi s sarkazmi T Sezavebul teqsts. `sad iyo 12,
saukeTeso ital iuri haeropl ani, romel Tagan_wers r.gaba-
Svi l i vercerTi ver afrinda, mi uxedadavd saukeTeso qarTve-
l i mfrinavebi s (mayaSvi l ebi, bogomol ovi da ssv.), radgan
Cvenma `mzrunvel ma- xazeinma_ auci l ebel `gargoil isaTvis-

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

vinc am amonawers yvel a ni uansi T si Rrmi seul ad gani xi l - avs, udaod dame Tanxmeba, rom i gi tyuil ebi Taa damZimebul i da saqar Tvel os mTavr obi sadmi biol ogi urad moZul e adamani s miera daweril i. am teqstis avtors, 1918 wl is maisis umZi mesi dReebi unda gaxsenoda, roca man da misma Tanapartiel ebma, saqar Tvel os pirvel i respubl iki s koal i ciur mTavr obaSi Sesvl aze da qveyni s xaval indel i dRi s pasuxi smgebl obaze, upasuxi smgebl o gadawyvetil eba rom mi i Ro da `qandaraze Semomj dari ~ gul gril i mayurebel i opozicioneris rol Si yofna amj obina es aris mware simarTI e da mas vercerTi istorikosi ver gaeqceva.

rac Seexeba ital iuri warmoebis Tvi Tmfrinavebis sawavisTvis ful is TiTqos `vergametebas,~ am tyuil is mxil ebis uamravi dokumentia dacul i harvardis universitetisa da I evil is saaqivo masal ebi s Sesabamis fondebSi. imave masal ebSi dacul i informaciis mixedvi T, samxedro aRWurvil obastan erTad, aRni Snul i sawvavi ital iis Tavdacvis uwyebi dan unda mi eRo saqar Tvel os. am da sxva saki Txebi s mogvareba ital iaSi sagangebod mivl inebul gen. i gedevani Svi l s qonda daval ebul i. saqar Tvel os del egaciis (pol i - tikuri, ekonomikuri, samxedro) 1920 wl is 1 maisis sxdomis stenografiul i angari Si dan i rkveva, rom, saqar Tvel os warmomadgenl obis imedebi ital iis xel isufl ebam ver gaamarTI a. xel SemSI el faqtorad saki Txis pol i tikur Wril - Si gadatana da al iebis (al iansis saxel mwi foebis) mier gamocemul i brZaneba i qna dasaxel ebul i. es dokumenti, kavkasi i s da mcire azi i s teritoriae, i ararisa da nebi smieri sabrZol o saSual ebebisTvis gankuTvni l i nawarmis Setanas krZal - avda. aRni Snul i s gaTval i swinebi dan gamomdinare, saqar Tve - l os di pl omatiuri korpusi s mesveurebma, qveyni sTvis Tavdacvi Ti sabrZol o masal i s Sovna `Semovl i Ti gzi Tac~ mosi - nj es. am SemTxvevaSi maT mizans, qarTul i j aris Seiar aReba

da respubl iki s damouki debi obi s gadarCena warmoadgenda.

Seqmnil i urTul esi si tuaci i s gaTval i swinebi dan gamomdinare, evropaSi qarTul i misi s warmomadgeni ebma, moqmedebi s erT- erT safexurad, sayovel Taod cnobi l i pol i t kuri formul ireba_ `mizani amarTI ebs saSual ebas~ gamoyenebac scades. i sini ital iis kerzo savaWro sazogadoebi s `ICTA~- s xel mZRvanel s daukavSi rdnien da masTan iaraRi s SeZena_ transportirebaze mol aparakebi s garkveul i safexuri Seamzades. aRni Snul saki TxTan mimar TebaSi gansakuTrebui yuradRebas gr.rcxil azis mier 1920 wl i s 17 ianvars e.gegeWkorisadmi gagzavnil i weril i iqcevs. CvenTvi s saintereso saki TxTan dakavSi rebi T dokumentSi vki Txul obT: `erTi i tal iel i vaWari romel ic droebi T imyofeba aq, rogorc warmomadgenel i ital iuri savaWro sazogadoebi s `ICTA~, wi nadadebas iZI eva Seitanos saqarTvel oSi yovel nairi samxendro iaraRi, Tofebi, zarbaznebi, aeropl anebi, patronebi, yumbarebi da sxva. misi si tyvi T, yvel aferi es SeiZI eba i Sovos saqarTvel os mTavrobam i tal i aSi kerzo mwarmoebl ebi s da vaWrebi sgan. foTamde mi tanas iki sreben gadamyidvel ebi. sa-Wirao mxol od winaswar i codnen, SeiZI eba Tu ara am saqmeze pi r dapi ri I aparaki ital iis mTavrobam Tan. Tu es i se unda moewyos, rom ital iis mTavrobam ver gai gos. am saki Txvi s Sesaxeb me davpi rdi pasuxs ori kviris ganmavl obaSi da ami t- om gTxovT vi dre es vada gavi dodes macnoboT Tqveni Sexedul eba.~

Sesabami si saarqi vo masal ebi s Seswavl i s mi uxedavad, aRni Snul saki TxTan mimar TebaSi raime saxi s gadawyveti l ebi s mi Rebi s damadasturebel dokuments ver mi vakvl ie. rogorc Cans, zemoaRni Snul i kanoni s gaTval i swinebi dan gamomdinare, i tal i i dan aral egarul ad iaraRi s gamotana did riskTan iyo dakavSi rebul i. mi Tumetes, i m etapze xmel TaSua zRvi sa da Savi zRvi s umni Svnel ovanes navsadgurebs da Tvi T bosforis srutes konstantinopol i TurT_ ingl i s i s saj ari so Senaer Tebi akontrol ebda. saqarTvel osadmi iaraRi s mi yi dva- sTan mimar TebaSi ingl i s i s waj eq- ukuj eqi s pozici as Tuki gavi Tval i swinebT, bosforis sruteSi i tal i i dan aral egarul ad wamoRebul i iaraRi s gatarebas ingl i s i aravi Tar SemTxv- evaSi ar dauSvebda. aqedan gamomdinare, saqarTvel os saerT- aSor i s o mdgomareoba ki dev ufro damZi mdeboda.

ramdenadac iaraRis aral egarul ad transportireba did riskTan da mosal odnel saerTaSori so skandal Tan iyo dakavSi rebul i, saqarTvel os mTavrobam am nabi jis gadadgmi s-gan, rogorc Cans Tavi Sei kava. saarqi vo masal ebi dan i rkveva, rom saqarTvel os dipl omatiurma warmomadgenl obam, iaraRis SeZen is optimal ur formad, qarxnis mepatroneebTan mol aparakeba mi i Cni a. am mxriv saintereso informaciaa dacu-
I i n.j ayel is mier e.gegeWkor i sadmi 1920 wl is 30 ivniss gagzavnill weril Si. am dokumentis mixedvi T, n.j ayel i da i.ge-devani Svi l i sagangebod Casul an qal aq mil anSi raTa enax-aT ital iis metal urgiul i qarxnebis mmarTvel i wreibi da uSual od maTTan moexdinaT ital iuri warmoebis iaraRis Sesyi dvasTan dakavSi rebi T mol aparakeba. ramdenadac es mc-del oba warumatebl ad damTavnda, qarTul i dipl omatiuri korpusis warmomadgebnl ebi i Zul ebul i gaxdnen, del egaci-is wi naSe mdgomi saki Txebi s mogvarebas i sev I ondonSi cdi l i ynen. samwuxar od, maTi es misiac uSedego gamodga.

yovel i ve zemoTqmul i dan gamodinare, principul ad is-meba ki Txva: romel qveyanaSi apirebda r.gabaSvi l i Tvi TmfrinavebisTvis sawvavis SeZen as Tuki aseTi saxel m-wifo egul eboda, es saiduml o ratomdroul ad ar gaumx-
ll a i mave komisiis wevrebs? roca am Seki Txvas zogieTi `gabaSvi l isti ~ Cemi kol ega damaj erebel pasuxs gascems, amis Semdeg mi ecema moral uri da zneobrivi ufl eba gaakritikos da anaTemasac gadascos xel isufl ebi s is mesveurni, roml ebmac r.gabaSvi l isgan mi kvl eul i Tvi Tmfrinavis `sawvavis sabados- aTvi sebaze uari rom ganacxada.

qarTul i j arisTvis iaraRis SesaZenad gaweul i saqmi anobid an, gansakuTrebui interess gr.rcxi l aZi s mier e.gegeWko-
ri sadmi 1920 wl is 4 maiss gagzavnill i radiodepeSa iqcevs. am dokumenti dan i rkveva, rom ingl isis, safrangeTis da i tal -
iis qveynebis maRaL komisrebTan Sexvedraze, gr.rcxi l aZes principul ad dausvams saki Txi: `rodis Sei Zi eba mi vi RoT
dapi rebul i amunicia. rogorc mosal odnel i iyo-wers igi-gadaWri Ti pasuxi arcerTma ar momca. mi Txres, es saki Txi
Tvi T Cvenma mTavrobam unda gadawyvi toso da dampirdnen,
rom gaugzavni dnen depeSebs Tavi anT sagareo saqmeTa sami n-
istroebs am saqmeze. me vcdi l obdi gamegebi nebi na maTTvis,
rom daxmareba swored exl aa saWi ro, radgan baqoSi bol Se-

vi kebi s gamočenis Semdeg, saqar Tvel o Tavdacvis samzadis. Si a.~ samwuxarod, maTi mxridan qarTul i probl emisadmi civida indiferentul i damoki debul eba i grZnoboda. i seTi STabelWdil eba iqmn neboda, rom i sini qarTvel ebs gansaku Trebul informacias umal avdhen. qamel eonis pol i tiku ni Rabs amofarebul ni, mxol od zedapirul i dapi rebebiT ifargl ebodynen. ami s Sesani Snav dadasturebad, saqar Tvel os sazavo del egaciis 1920 wl is 4 maisis sxdomis stenografiul an-gariSSi dacul i informacia gamodgeba dokumentidan irkveva, rom k.gvarj al azis mier frangi pol kovnikis JorJisadmi mi cemul Seki Txvaze_ `Cven gvin da vi codeT... i arars Tu mi vi RebT, vi RebT mar to safra ngeTi dan Tu sxvebi danac.- respondentma (JorJma) am kanonzomieri Seki Txvi sadmi konkretul pasuks Tavi aari da. rac Seexe ba i mave k.gvarj al azis saubars kremer Tan, mas k.gvarj al azis aTvis yovel gvari Sefarvis gareSe uTqvams: `Tu gindaT mar Tal i gi TxraT, maSin azri aseTia,... i arars Tqven ar mogecemaT, radganac Tqven erTi meores wyvetT.~ am SemTxvevaSi mas somex- azerbaijanl Ta sisxl i ani dapi rispireba qonda mxedvel obaSi. samwuxarod, es danaSaul ebri vi qmedeba bral debis saxiT qarTvel ebze gadmoqondaT. anal ogiuri pozicia ewira qarTvel ebTan mimar TebaSi grenarsac. rogorc Cans, somxebis mxridan orive maTgans qarTvel Ta sawi naaRmdegod yal bi informacia qonda mi wodebul i. i gi qarTvel ebi simarTI esa da udanSaul obaSi mas Semdeg darwmunda, roca de- marte- l is depeSas gaecno. am dokumentSi xazgasmiT iyo mi Ti Tebul i: `saqar Tvel os energiul i Carevis wyal obiT, moweu- l i qna konferencia sami respUBL iki s da omi SeCe rebu- l ia somex- azerbaijanl Ta Soris.~

Cems mier motanil i fagtebi imis naTel i dadasturebaa, Tu ramdenad maRal doneze muSaobda mezobel i qveynebis (somxeTi, azerbaijanl) war momadgenl ebi qarTvel ebi s wi naaRmdeg yal bi informaciis gavrcel ebi s mi zni T. maT kargad moaxerxes saqar Tvel osadmi evropis i iderTa garkveul i nawi l - i s undobl obaSi darwmuneba. i arars SeZenis saki TxSi qarTul i dipl omatiis warumatebel i saqmi anobi s safuZvel Ta- safuZvel i evropis masStabiT qarTvel ebi sadmi somexTa gapi- arebul i yal bi bral debebi iyo. am saki TxTan dakavSi rebiT, saqar Tvel os del egaciis da ekonomi kuri komisiis 1920 wl is

1 mai si s gaer Ti anebul sxdomaze, k.Cxei Ze xazgasmi T mi uTi Tebda: `del egaci am iaraRis SeZenis saki Txis gamorkvevisTvis di di Sroma gaswia, magram saubedurod j er mi zans ver mi aRwia~ am SemTxvevaSi k.Cxei Zes i tal iaSi da ingl isSi qarTuI i del egaci is warumatebel i saqmi anoba qonda mxedvel obaSi. mi uxedadavad imisa, rom ingl isSi Ti Tqm is yvel a pasux-ismgebel i pirovneba iqna naxul i, isini qarTvel ebs iaraRis Sesyi dvasTan dakavSi rebi T erT da imave pasuxs aZl evden: `principul i mosazrebi T SeuZl ebel ia j er- jerobi T saki Txis sisrul eSi moyvana da a.S.-

ingl isis warmomadgenl obis mxri dan aseTi pozicii s dawe-
ra, moaxl oebul i safiTxi s wi naSe mdgomi saqarTvel osadmi
momakvdinebel dar tymas warmoadgenda. mi Tumetes, samxreT
kavkasi i s garSemo pol i tiki ri situaci i s gammwavebi s fonze,
saqarTvel o umZimes mdgomareobaSi imyofeboda. qveyanas sa-
brZol o iaraRi swirdeboda da am aucil ebel damcav instru-
ments, dapi rebi s mi uxedadavad, dasavl eT evropis saxel m-
wi foebi ver imetebda. am real obis gaTval i swinebi dan ga-
momdinare, parizSi, romSi, berl inSi, bernSi, LondonSi, kon-
stantinopol Si myofi saqarTvel os dipl omatiuri warmo-
madgenl ebi sadmi 1920 wl is 18 april s gagzavn i radiode-
peSaSi e.gegewkor i garkvevi T mi uTi Tebda: `Cven SevZl ebT
Tavdacvas sakuTari Zal ebi T, yovel SemTxvevaSi erTxans
gaumkl avdebi T mters. ra Tqma unda Cveni mdgomareoba ufro
imediani i qneboda, rom mokavSi reTagan Sepirebul i daxma-
reba mi gveRo. yovel dRe gpiv redebi an, magram j er arafeli
gamougzavn aT.~ am fonze, gansakuTreb ul yuradRebas iqcevs
imave e.gegewkor i s mier evropis qveynebSi saqarTvel os wa-
rmomadgenl obis sadmi 1920 wl is 30 april s gagzavn i radi-
odepeSa. `Cven gywi ri a- vki Txul obT dokumentSi - iaraRi,
amunicia da sursaTi. mokavSi reTa mi siebi gpiv redebi an daxma-
rebas, Tumca j er es dapi reba ar ausrul ebi aT... Tqven iq
unda mi i RoT yovel i zoma, rom es daxmareba Tuki cariel i
si tyva ar aris, maTi dapi reba davyovnebl iv mogvades.~
evropis qveynebis i iderebi dan sicruze dafuznebul i wa-
j eq- ukuj eqi s pol i tiki dan gamomdinare, saqarTvel os del e-
gaci is wi naSe principul ad dai sva saki Tx i marsebi Ti me-
qani zmis wi na pl anze wamowevi s aucil ebl obis Sesaxeb, romel -
ic dasavl eT evropis saxel mwi foTa i iderebs daaintere-

sebda. am mxri v, gansakuTrebul yuradRebas n.ni kol aZis mier SeTavazebul i wi nadadeba iqcevs. n.ni kol aZis azri T, ramdenadac bol Sevi kebi s mier baqos okupaci a ganxorc i el da, misi ganTavi sufl ebi s motivaci i T, qarTul mxares antantis qveynebi dan iaraRi s mi yidva unda moeTxova. am saki TxTan dakavSi rebi T qarTul mxares gen. foSi sadmi dasabu-Tebul i formi T Sesabami si moxseneba unda war edgi na. er Ti Sexedvi T es wi nadadeba i m Tval sazr i si T Canda misaRebi, rom aRni Snul saki TxTan m i mar TebaSi, navTobze daxar beb-ul ingl i si sa da safrangeTi s xel i sufal T SeiZI eba marT- I ac gasCenodaT garkveul i interes. meore mxri v, bol Sevi kebi sgan baqos ganTavi sufl ebi saTvi s saomari moqmedebeb-i s dawyeba, sabWoTa ruseTi sadmi omis gamocxadebas ni Snavda. i s iaraRI (vaznebi, yumbarebi ...) roml ebsac evropi s qveynebi dan qarTul i mxare marganeci s safasurad mi i Rebda, evropi s qveynebi s interesebi saTvi s sabWoTa ruseTTan omis dros dai xarj eboda da qarTul i j ari i sev ui araRod dar-Ceboda. am procesebs qarTvel Ta cocxal i Zal i s msxverp-I ad Sewi rvasTan er Tad, saqarTvel os ekonomiki s srul i ganadgureba da misi saxel mwifoebri obis dacema moyveboda. aqedan gamomdi nare, n.ni kol aZis zemoaRni Snul i wi nadadeba, i m periodi s qarTul i si namdvil i sadmi mi uRebel i lyo. Tundac i m el ementarul i mizezi s gamo, rom iaraRi s sanac-vi od ruseTan dapi ri spi rebi T, saqarTvel o evropi s saxe- I mwifoebi s interesTa zvaraki gaxdeboda.

Cems mier arqivsacavebSi mi kvl eul i dokumenturi masal - i s mixedvi T Tuki vi msj el ebt, antantis saxel mwifoebi ruseTTan omSi saqarTvel os Cabmi T marT I ac i yvnen dainter-esebul ni. amis Sesaxeb, gr.rcxi l aZis mier 1920 wl i s 21 i anvars parizSi myofi saqarTvel os del egaci i s winaSe gakeTebul moxsenebaSi, ingl i si s admiral di- robekTan saubris sayuradRebo faqtebia motanil i `di- robeki s nal aparakevi- i dan- vki Txui obT dokumentSi- gamoirkva, rom antantas ganzraxul i aqvs Cveni CaTreva omSi bol Sevi kebi s wi naaRm-deg. di- robeki s Tqm i T, mdgomareoba Txoul obs, rom saqarTvel o awarmoebdes bol Sevi kebTan ara marto Tavda-cvi T pol i ticas da mzad lyos mogeri ebi Ti omisTvi s, aramed i masac, rom saqarTvel o daexmaros moxal i seebs yubani s ol qSi bol Sevi kebi s uk an gadasrol i sTvi s... j er unda gamo-

i Ci nos saqar Tvel om faqturad aqtivoba bol Sevi kebis wi-naaRmdeg da maSin mi i Rebs iaraRso.~ di - robekis aRni Snul i pozicia gakvirvebas ar iwevs, radgan igi parizis konferenciis monawil e saxel mwi foebis mier miRebul i dadgenil ebi dan gamodinareobda. am SemTxvevaSi misi `damsaxureba- imaSi mdgomareobs, rom ingl isel ebisTvis damaxas-laTebel i `daxurul i kartis- TamaSis princi pi daar Rvi a da saqar Tvel os warmomadgenel s pir dapi r mi ani Sna_ antantis qveynebs saqar Tvel o da misi mosaxl eoba mxol od da mxol od `sazarbazne xorcad- swi rdeboda. ami s dadasturebas, kavkasi i s qveynebTan mimar TebaSi parizis konferenclaze mi Rebul i dadgenil ebi teqstis gr.rcxiI azisadmi gacnoba warmoadgenda. am dokumentSi xazgasmi T iyo aRni Snul i: `material uri daxmareba gaewios kavkasi i s respubl i kebs i mave pirobiT, rogorc moxal i seTa armias.~ es faqt i maze-dac mi gvani Snebs, rom antantis qveynebi, saqar Tvel os respubl i kas ara saxel mwi foebri v, aramed moxal i seTa armi i s doneze gani xii l avdnen. Cems mier zemoT motanil i faqtebis anal i zi dan gamodinare, varaudis doneze SeiZI eba iTqvas, rom saqar Tvel osadmi iaraRis mi yi dvasTan mimar TebaSi, antantis qveynebis i iderTa TavSekaveba, ruseTTan saomar moqmedebaSi saqar Tvel os mxri dan monawil eobi s mi Rebaze ofic-i al uri gancxadebis argakeTebiT rom yofil iyo ganpi robe-bul i.

rac Seexeba azerbaijanis gasabWoebis pol i tikuri mani pu-l i rebi s Sesazi ebl obas, es faqtori, rogorc i.odi sel i Ze aRni Snavda, saqar Tvel osadmi mosal odnel i safrTxis fonze, qarTul i di pl omatiuri korpusis mxri dan wi na pl anze unda yofil iyo wamoweul i da ingl i si dan an saf rangeTi dan i ar-aRis mi Rebi s saSual ebad eqci aT. es garemoeba qonda mxed-vel obaSi e.gegeWkors, roca parizSi myofi saqar Tvel os del egaci i s Tavmj domaris k.CxeiZi s saxel ze gagzavnil we-riI Si principul i formiT rom ayenebda saki Txs: `es weri- l i minda gavaTavo imi T, rom iaraRiT daxmareba mogvcen. ar vTxoul obt ufasod. mogyi don! nuTu saqar Tvel om es mai nc ver dai msaxura maT Tval Si?~ i give e.gegeWkori evro-paSi (parizi, romi, berl ini, berni, stambol i) saqar Tvel os warmomadgenl obebi sadmi 1920 wl i s 19 ivniss gagzavnil Setyobi nebaSi principul ad moi Txovda: `amasTanave saWi roa

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

azerbaij anSi bol Sevikebis Semosevam, ingl i sis xel i suf-al Ta mesveurni saqar Tvel os Tan mimar TebaSi garkveul `ko-mpromisze- wai yvana. mxedvel obaSi maqvs b.vansittartis mier z.avl i Svil i sadmi SeTavazebul i wi nadadeba_ qarTul mx-ares ingl i sis xel i sufl ebi sadmi iaraRis moTxovna somxe-bTan erTad war edgina. saqar Tvel os del egaci i s meTaurma k.Cxei Zem, am saki TxTan mimar TebaSi 1920 wl i s 8 mai si s sxdo-maze uaryofi Ti pozicia daafiqsira. i gi sxdomi s monawi l e- ebs Seaxsenebda, rom, somxebTan erTad iaraRis moTxovna da transportireba, `erTgvari pol itikuri demonstracia iqne- ba azerbaij anis wi naaRmdeg, rac cud STabeWdil ebas i qo- ni ebs da amave dros i sic ar vici T, am pol itikuri demon- straci i s samagiero kompensacia Tu rogori iqneba.-

k.Cxei Zi s es pozicia pol itikuri Tval sazri si T mar Tebu- l i yo da amier kavkasi i s regionSi Seqmnii urTul es si tu- acias savsebi T Seesabameboda. rac Seexeba riskze wasvl as, Tu ra saxis `kompensaci as- mi i Rebda ami sTvis saqar Tvel o, es saki Tx i i mave del egaci i s 1920 wl i s 29 mai si s da 2 i vn i s i s sxdomebi s sagangebo msj el obi s sagani gaxda. i mave sxdo-omebi s stenografi ul i angari Sebi dan i rkveva, rom somxeT- Tan erTad saqar Tvel os mxri dan iaraRis waRebi s saki Txis gadawyeti sas, sxdomi s monawi l eebi pirvel rigSi ruseTT- an dadebul xel Sekrul ebas da osmal eTi s argaRizianebi s faqtors i Tval i swinebdnen. `yvel a eseni erTad qmnis im mdgomareobas- ambobda k.Cxei Ze- romel ic gvaiZul ebs metis- metad frTxil ad moveqceT am saki Txs.- anal ogiuri pozi- cia daiWi ra k.kandel akma, roca l ondonSi myofi saqar Tve- l os ekonomi kuri komisi i s mxri dan vansittartis admi mi cemul pi robaze_ somxebTan erTad iaraRis Sesyidva- transportire- baze da Tanxmebas uaryofi Ti Sefaseba rom misca. misi samar- RTI i ani mtki cebi T, es saki Tx i pol itikuri xasi aTi s matar- ebel i yo da z.aval i Svil i s i gi pol itikur del egaci as Tan unda SeeTanxmebina. i gi ve k.kandel aki, z.aval i Svil i s zemoa- Rni Snul Tvi Tnebur gadawyeti l ebas da vansittart Tan Se- Tanxmebas naCqarevad mi i Cnevda. `saqme i maSi ki ar aris- ambo- bda k.kandel aki, - rom Cven somxebTan erTad mi gvaqvs iaraRi, pol itikuri safrTxe am saki Txis i maSi mdgomareobs, Tu

rogor gavuSvaT es iaraRi Cvens teritoriaze... me ar mesmis aseTi gul ubryvil oba. zaval iSvil s unda gaego vansi tartis wi nadadeba, somxebTan erTad iaraRis moTxovna da am iaraRis gaSveba Cvens teritoriaze ras ni Snavda. dRes saki Txi ase dgas... pol i t kuri mxriT, rom foTSi Casul i iaraRi SeiZI eba ar iqnes miRebul i Cvenebis mier.- aqedan gamomdi nare, k.kandel aki savsebiT kanonzomi erad moi Txovda, zaval iSvil is mier xel moweril i xel Sekrul ebiS SeCereb-iS aucil ebl obas. amiS saWi roebas gen. il .odi Sel iZec xedavda. misi mtki cebiT, ramdenadac saki Txi pol i t kuri iyo, igi sxdomis monawiI eebs Seaxsenebda: `iaraRis CataniT sargebol biS magier SeiZI eba vneba movutanoT Cvens qveyanas.- anal ogiuri mosazreba gamoTqva i.gobeCiamac. `zaval iSvil i-ganacxada man- mudam zerel ed uyurebda am saki TxS. man mi-aRwi a imas, rom somxebTan erTad gamosul iyo am saki TxSi... es misTvis umTavresia. danarCeni... ar aintereSebs. Cven xel - Sekrul eba gvaqvs bol SevikebTan. iaraRis gaSveba ar iqneba darRveva nei tral i tetis? meoreT, rogor gi ndaT, gvardia daTanxmdes_ somxebs mi vceT 75 % da danarCeni 25 % Cven da-vi tovoT.- am SemTxvevaSi saki Txi sworad iyo dasmul i. mi Tu-metes, iaraRis umni Svenl o nawil is (3- dan 1 Tofi), sanacvl - od, saqarTvel o gamousworebel pol i t k ur dar tymas Rebul obda. amasTan dakavSi rebiT, del egaci iS wevrebis wi naSe k.CxeiZe princi pul ad ayenebda saki TxS: Rinda Tu ara aTi aTasi TofisTvis somxebTan erTad gamosvl a da qveynisTvis pol i t k urad zianis mi yeneba. misive mtki cebiT, somex-qarTvel Ta erTobl ivi gamosvl a sxva saki TxebSi ufro meti sargebl iS montani iqneboda vi nem iaraRis erTobl ivi transportireba. magram ingl i sel Ta mxardaweriT gaT amamebul i somxebi, saqarTvel osadmi mezobel i qveynebis dasapi ri spirebel i safexuris Sesaqmnel ad moqmedebednen. `yvel aze ufro-ambobda k.CxeiZe- somxebs Cveni erTad gamosvl a aintereSebs... Cvens teritoriaze iaraRis gatareba, faqturad samxedro kavSiri gamodis somxebTan azerbaijanis wi naaRm-deg. ase erTad gamosvl as me vamj obineb cal ke vi qneT am SemTxvevaSi.-

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

vevi s apel i rebas moaxdenda da bol Sevi kuri provokaci ebi s ganxorciel ebi s Sesazl ebl oba miscemoda. aqedan gamomdi nare, umni Svnel o iaraRis mi Rebi s safasurad da evropul i dapi-rebebi s Semyure saqar Tvel o, sabWoTa ruseTTan da azerbaijanTan ganaxl ebul i samxedro dapi ri spirebi s wi naSe aRmo-Cndeboda. mi Tumetes, ingl i sisa da safrangeTi s xel isufal ni waj eq- ukuj eqis pol i tikan kurss adga da 1920 wl i s i vni-sisTvis sac gaugebari iyo, Tu ra gadawyvetil ebas mi i Rebda Ti Toeul i maTgani saqar Tvel os Tan mi mar TebaSi. amis sauKeTe-so dadasturebas saqar Tvel os del egaci i s 1920 wl i s 8 i vni-sis sxdomis stenografiul i angariSi warmoadgens. es dokumenti imi Tac aris saintereso, rom general ma al erisTavma, sxdomis monawil eebs pol kovnik JorJTan (frangi oficeri) saubri s Sinaarsi gaacno. mi si Tqm T, safrangeTi s mTavrobis somxebi sTvis iaraRis mi cemis gadawyvetil eba mi uRia da es iaraRi somxeTSi foTi s sazRvao portiT unda gagzavnil - iyo. rac Seexeba saqar Tvel os, i mave pol kovnik JorJs ganucxadeebi a, rom baTumi s garSemo Seqmni l i probl emi dan gamomdi nare, `safrangeTi s mTavrobis ar surs waaxdinos damoki debul eba ingl i s Tan, rac i sedac ar aris karg mdgo-mareobaSi ingl i sis mier krasini s mi Rebi s gamo... safrangeTi s samxedro samini stro daJi nebi T moi Txovs saqar Tvel osTvis iaraRis mi cemas. magram mas sagareo saqmeTa samini stro s dauki Txavad es ar Seuzl ia. es ukansknel i ki j erj erobi T gadawyvetil ebi s mi rebas ver bedavs ingl i sis gamo.-am amonawer i dan aSkarad Cans, rom evropi s qveynebi dan, Tug-ind safrangeTi dan saqar Tvel osTvis iaraRis mi yi dvi s saki Txis dadebi Tad gadawyetas, mxol od ingl i sis xel isufal Ta guneba- ganwyoba gansazRvravda. mi Tumetes, i m etapze yvel a sazRvao navsadgurs ingl i si akontrol ebda. aqedan gamomdi nare, saqar Tvel os sasi keTod nebi smieri saki Txis mowes i geba ingl i sis xel isufal Ta neba- survil ze iyo damoki debul i. aRni Snul Tan dakavSi rebi T, i mave sxdomaze k.gvarj al aZem gul i swyromi T ganacxada: `ingl i sma Cven aRgvi Tqva, rom sawi naaRmdego araferi eqneboda, Tu amerikaSi Sevi Zendi T iaraRs. da dRes ki wi naaRmdegni arian safrangeTi ma rom mogvces. me mgoni a aq raRac pol i tika unda i yves somxebi s mier nawarmoebi. mat undaT aqac mogvmar Ton, rom iaraRi Cvens teritoriae gavataroT.~ ki dev ufro mkacri

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

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

Ta saministros erT- erTi maRaL CinosanisTvis- Lord hartingsTvis mi umar Tavs. imavdroul ad, im mosal odnel i safrTxis Sesaxebac gaumaxviI ebiAT yuradReba, romel ic saqarTvel os, sabWoTa ruseTi dan emuqreboda. aqedan gamom-dinare, saqarTvel osTvis iaraRis miyi dviI droul i gadawyettI ebiI mi Reba, qveyni s sasi cocxl o interesebi saTvis daukavSi rebiAT. imave masal ebiI mi xedviT, am mni SvnI ovan saki TxTan mi marTebaSi, Lord hartings indiferentul i damoki debul eba gamouceni da ganucxadebi: `rodesac Sei qmneba aseTi situacia, romel zedac exI a Tqven I aparakobT, maSin SeiZI eba xel meoreT davsvaT eg saki Txi.~ misi aseTi pozicia gakvi rvebas ar iwevs imdenad, ramdenadac im etapze ingl isis xel isufl eba sabWoTa ruseTTan savaWro xel Sekrul ebiI teqtis detal ebs azustebda da ruseTi sadmi saqarTvel os `daTmobis- da kavkasi is regioni T `ardaintere-sebis- sanacvl od, garkveul SeRavaTeb el odeboda. mi uxedadavd ami sa, saqarTvel os dipl omatiuri korpusis warmoadgenI ebiI imeds ar kargavda da iaraRis Sesi dviI saki Txi is dadebiTad gadawyetas isev ingl isis daxmarebiT cdiI obda. amis erT- erT dadasturebas, parizSi myofi saqarTvel - os del egaciis (dipl omatiuri, ekonomi kuri, samxedro misiebi) gafarToebul i sxdoma (1920 wl is 18 mai si) warmoadgens. iaraRis SeZenasTan dakavSi rebiT imave sxdomaze mi Reb-ul dadgenI ebaSi vki Txul obT: iaraRi SeZenI i iqnas ingl - isidan. Tu mosaxer xebel ia mil ni dan. ekonomi urma komisi am gai Ros erTi da naxevari ($1 \frac{1}{2}$) mil ion franki da mi ewer os mTavrobas, rom manac gai Ros erTi da naxevari ($1 \frac{1}{2}$) mil ion franki.~

imave dokumenturi masal iTirkveva, rom am dadgenI ebiI safuzvel ze, ful is gamoyofisa da mil ni mier ramdenime dRiT adre gacemul i dapi rebiI mi uxedadavd, saki Txi adgiI - i dan ar daZrul a. ingl isuri mxare, saqarTvel osTvis am sasi cocxl o mni SvnI obis probl emis mi zanni marTul ad mi fuCeCebas Seecada. SeqmnI ma mdgomareobam, qarTul i del egaciis metauri kCxieiZe iZul ebul i gaxada, yovel gvari dipl omatiuri reveransebis gareSe evropel ebiI saTvis saTqmeli i pirdapi reTqva. amis dadasturebas saqarvel os del egaciis 1920 wl is 12 ivni sis sxdomis stenografiul i angariSi warroadgens. am dokumenti dan iirkveva, rom safrangeT-

is sagareo saqmeTa sami nistro s maRaL Cinosan moxel eebT-an grenarTan da I aroSTan, k.Cxei Zi sa da k.gvarj al aZis Sexvedris dros, qarTul mxares principul ad dausvams saki TxI_ Tuki somxebs aZI evdnen iaraRs, qarTvel ebTan mi mar TebaSi ra mi zni T axdendnen TavSekavebas. amasTan dakav-Sirebit I aroSS upasuxia: `marTal ia,somxebze aris I apar-aki da CvenTvis saWi roa vi codeT, Tqven gauSvebT Tu ara Tqvens teritoriaz iaraRso.~ am Seki Txvaze k.gvarj al aZes del egaciis saxel iT ganucxadebi a: `erT ToFs ar gavuS-vebT manamde, sanam Cvenc ar mogvcemen iaraRs. SeuZI ebel ia davuSvaT, rom Cvens irgvI iv yvel a SeiaraRdes, maSi n rode-sac Cven ui aRaRod vrCebiT!- aseTi principul i xasi aTi s gancxadebi s gamo, I aroSi iZul ebul i gamxdara, qarTvel di pl omatTan `vaWrobis- garkveul i forma gamoeyenebi na da Seki Txvis saxi T mi sTvis mi umarTavs: `Tqven rom mogceT naxevari maSi n gauSvebT?~ safrangeTi s warmomadgenl is mxri dan aseT kompromisze wasvl a imdenad mouI odnel i iyo, rom k.gvarj al aZes konkretul i psauxisaTvis Tavi au-ri debia_ `me ar SemiZI ia am saki Txze garkveul ad gi pasu-xoT, radganac arc Tqven da arc Cven ar vi ciT Tu rogori mdgomareobaa iq (kavkasiaSi S.v.) daeki Txet de- martel s Tqvens warmomadgenel s da im cnobebi s mixedviT imoqmedeT, xol o Cven ki erT ToFs ar gavuSvebT manam, sanam iaraRs Cvenc ar mi vi RebT.~ poziciis ase mkacrad gamoTqmI T, qarTul - ma mxarem safrangeTi s warmomadgenl obas pi rdapi r mi ani Sna, rom isini Sesani Snavad erkveodnen mi mdi nare pol i tiku procesebSi da maTi mxri dan SefiTul i formiT Cafiqrebul nebi smi er veragul qmedebas, qarTul di pl omatiur korpuSS ver gamoaparebdnen. swored ami s Semdeg gaxda SesazI ebel i, rom I aroSS nabij i uk an gadaedga da qarTul i mxarisTvis varnaSi (bul gareTi) arsebul i iaraRi SeeTavazebina. mi si TqmI T, antantas SeeZI o am iaraRis qarTvel ebi sTvis mi yi dva, magram wi naswar ainteresebda iaraRis transportireba SesazI ebel i gaxdeboda Tu ara baTumis navsadguriT. ramdena-dac im etapze baTumSi saqarTvel os iurisdiqcia ar vrcel deboda da ingl isel ebi batonobdnen, k.gvarj al aZem am SemTxvevaSi upiratesoba foTi s navsadgurs mi ani Wa da ique dasZi na: `transportis saqmes qarTul i mxare moagvarebda, oRond maT iaraRis micemis gadawyetil eba daCqarebiT

mi eRoT, radgan amas di di mni Svnel oba eqneboda saqarTvel o-saTvís. I aroSi qarTul mxares Sepi rda, rom am saki Txís Sesaxeb masal ebs Sekrebda da probl emis saçqarod gada-sawyvetad yvel a zomebs mi i Rebda.-

mi uxedavad i misa, rom qarTul i mxare iaraRis Sesyi dvi SemTxvevaSi mis transportirebaze i Rebda pasuxi smgebl o-bas, safrangeTis Sesabamis uwyebeks saqarTvel osTvís iaraRis mi yi dvi pragmatul i gadawyetil eba 1920 wl is 20 ivl i sisTvísac mi Rebül i ar qonda da saki Txí mxol od ma-Ral CinosanTa saubris doneze darCa. amis dadasturebas parizSi myofi saqarTvel os del egaci is 1920 wl is 21 ivl -isis gaerTianebul i (di pl omatiuri, ekonomikuri, samxedro) sxdomis stenografiul i angariSi warroadgens. am dokumentis mi xedvi T, general ma al .erisTavma bul gareTis sa-mxedro sawyobebSi arsebul i safrangeTis kuTvni i iaraRis saqarTvel osTvís mi yi dvi Sesaxeb, safrangeTis mTavrobis Tanxmobaze gaamaxvil a yuradReba. rac Seexeba iaraRis safas-urs, igi saqarTvel os mTavro basa da frang pol kovnik korbel s Soris mol aparakebis Sedegad unda gadawyetil iyo. imave sxdomaze kgvarj al aZem oficial urad ganacxada, rom safrangeTis sagareo saqmeTa samini stroSi pol k. deroziem i gi daai meda, rom safrangeTi 5 aTas Tofsa da 10 mil ion va-znas mi yi dda saqarTvel os.

dokumenturi masal iTirkveva, rom safrangeTis ma-Ral CinosanTa mxridan saqarTvel osadmi iaraRis mi yi dvi SemTxmobas, mxol od somxuri interesebi dan gamomdinare faktori gansazRvravda. amis dadasturebas pol k. derozies mier kgvarj al aZisadmi micemul Seki Txvaze_ `SeuzI ia Tu ara qarTvel ebs bul gareTSi Sesiyidul i iaraRi somxebTan erTad gai tanos,~ warroadgens. am saki TxTan dakavSi rebi T, saqarTvel os interesebi dan gamomdinare, di pl omatiuri etiketis dacvi T, kgvarj al aZem upasuxa: `es pol itikuri saki-Txia... neba momeci T frTxil ad viqne da gadawyetil i pas-uxi ar mogceT. mi Tumetes, gemi romel ic iaraRs wai Rebs, Cven-ni nedl i masal iT datvirTul i dabrundeba ukán. am SemTxvevaSi j obia mxol od Cveni iaraRi mi diodes. me vTxove, rom iaraRis mocemis Sesaxeb asl i moecaT CvenTvís, rom gagvec-no Cveni kurierisaTvís.~ am amonaweri dan kargad Cans, rom somxebTan erTad qarTvel ebi s mxridan iaraRis waReba pol i-

tikuri Tval sazri siT dauSvebel i iyo, mi Tumetes, i mave gams iaraRis safasurad saqarTvel odan nedl i masal a (wi aRiseul i) unda waeRo. amitom iyo, rom qarTul i mxare, bul gareTi dan iaraRis qarTvel ebisTvis cal ke gamogzavnas rom moi Txovda.

gr.rcxil aZis mier e.gegewkoriasadmi 1920 wl is 15 ivl - iss gagzavnii werii Si, iaraRis bul gareTi dan Sesyi dvi s zemoaRni Snul gegmasTan dakavSi rebiT Seqmni i si tuacia dawvrii ebiTaa aRwerii i. i mave dokumentidan irkveva, rom i.odi Sel iZisaTvis `frangebs uTqvams, iaraRis wamosaRebad ukve gaugzavniaT gemi qal aq varnaSi, sadac datvirTva unda moxdes. detal urad am saqmes giambobs TviT odi sel - iZe.~ Cems mier mikvl eul i saarqivo dokumentebi dan das-turdeba, rom es danapi rebic qarTvel ebisTvis uiRbl o aR-mochna. safrangeTi s samxedro misi s warmomadgeni is mier konstantinopol i dan e.gegewkoriasadmi 1920 wl is 27 ivl - iss gamogzavnii tel egramaSi vki Txul obT: `varnas navsad-guri s muSebma uari ganacxades iaraRis datvirTvaze saqarTvel osTvis da somxeTi sTvis. am mouI odnel i dabr-ko- I ebiT ai xsneboda `borisis- foTSi misvi is dagvi aneba.~ aseve Seusrul ebel i darCa ingl i sel i komisaris mier saqarTvel osTvis Sepirebul i 30 aTasi Tofis miyldva. am saki TxTan dakavSi rebiT gr.rcxil aZis i mave werii Si vki Txu- l obT: `ingl i sis komisarma Tqva, rom imi s garda rasac frangebi sgan mi i RebT da somxebisTvis dagrovil i iaraRi danac rac gergebat, damatebiT mi i RebT am Tavad 30 aTasi Tofs ingl i sis gan da Semdegac britaneTi s mTavroba mi eSvel eba saqarTvel os saWi roebi s mi xedvi T.~ marTal ia es dapi reba erTi SexedviT imedi s momcemi iyo, magram evropel ebi sgan mraval - gzi s motyuebul ma qarTul ma mxarem misi sandoobi s gadamowmeba gen. mi l nTan moaxdina. rogorc gr.rcxil aze wers, `meore dRes gen. odi Sel i ZesTan erTad vi naxul e gen. mi l ni, romel mac Tavazianad mi gvi Ro, magram Tqva, rom 30 aTasi Tofis Sesaxeb mas j er araferi cnoba ara aqvs... Cemis azriT, am saqmis wi n wasawevad saWi roa wi naswar i cnobebi s gagzava I ondonSi, radgan aq mi l ns amis Sesaxeb cnobebi ar aqvs. I ondonSi unda gamoi rkves rodis da ra gziT mi vi RebT ingl i si dan am dapi rebul iaraRs. SesaZi ebel ia britaneTi s warmomadgeni is gan Tbil iSSi I uki saganac Sevi tyot rai me

cnobebi am 30 aTasi Tofis Sesaxeb~.

saqarTvel osTvis es umni Svnel ovanesi saki Txi, ramdenad-ac adgil idan ar iZvroda da drois faqtori qartul i sax-el mwi fos sazianod musaobda, e.gegewkorma sagangebo daval eba misca gr.rcxil aZes, raTa sabol ood gaerkvia, ingl isi aZl evda Tu ara Sepirebul iaraRs saqarTvel os. am saki TxTan dakav-Sirebi T Cemi yuradReba gr.rcxil aZis mier 1920 wl is 13 seqtembers e.gegewkorisadmi gagzavnil ma weril ma miipyro. `Tanaxmad Tqveni daval ebisa- vkiTxul obT dokumentSi- admiral di- robeks xel axl a vTxove daxmareba iaraRiT saqarTvel osaTvis im sabuTiT, rom mosal odnel ia mdgomareobis garTul eba somxeTi dan mustafa-qemal - faSas jaris mxriv da rom saerTod samxedro Tval sazrisiT Cveni qvey-nis garSemo myudroeba ar aris. di- robekma sTqva, rom am saganze xel axl a tel egramis gagzavna l ondonSi jer Sei-zl eba usargebl o iyoso da umj obesia movucadoT stokss, uordropis magier saqarTvel oSi maRal komisrad danis-nul s, gavi goT mi sgan ukansknel i informacia da amis Sesaf-erisad gadavdgaT axal i nabij io. stokssi daaxl oebiT am Tvis 15-s i qneba konstantinopol Si.~

saarqivo masal ebis mi ukvl evl obis gamo, jer- jerobi T SeuZl ebel i xdeba imis garkveva, ra pozicia dai Wira ingl issis mier saqarTvel oSi gamogzavnil ma axal ma umaRI esma komisarma stokssma. erTi ram dabej i Tebi T SeiZl eba iTqvas, rom ingl isel ebi sgan iaraRis SeZenash, qarTul i dipl omatiuri korpusis warmomadgenl ebi 1920 wl is noembriis meore naxevarSiac Seecadnen. mxedvel obaSi maqvs ingl issis xel isufi ebis mier konstantinopol idan samxedro SenaerTebis gayvani s gadawyvetil ebis mi Reba da am faqtis iaraRis Sesaznad gamoyenebis mcodel oba. am saki TxTan dakavSirebi T, gan-sakuTrebil yuradRebas saqarTvel os warmomadgenel is i.gogo-l aSvil is mier stambol idan k.sabaxtarasViL isadmi 1920 wl is 15 noemberis gamogzavnil i weril i iqcevs. `exl a gavi ge- vkiTxul obT dokumentSi-, rom ingl isel ebi ori Tvis ganmavl obaSi konstantinopol s stoveben. e.i. jarabi gayavT aqedan da bosforSi stoveben mxol od Tavis `drwendoutebs.-nawi l i j arebi sa daaxl oebiT erTi divi zi a ukve wavi da aqedan, danarCensac wynarad ukeTeben evakuaci as. ori Tvis ganmavl - obaSi auci l ebl ad unda moaxdinon l i kvi dacia im amuni ci i-

sa, romel ic damzadebul i qondaT aq vrangel i saTvis. aq mo-
i poveba rasakvirvel ia Tofebic da patronebic, agreTve sx-
va samxedro masal ac. yvel afers yidian i af fasebSi da Se-
i ZI eba Cvenc Sevi ZinoT Tu damaval ebT centrobankis ganyof-
il ebi s saSual ebi T.- am dokuments, sagareo saqmeTa minist-
ris moadgil em k.sabaxtaraSvil ma Semdegi saxis rezol uc-
ia daado: `saCqarod Seeki Txet samxedro samnistros. k.saba-
xtaraSvil i.- rac Seexeba imave i.gogol aSvil is mier 1920
wl is 19 noembriT daTariRebul meore weril s, masSi xazga-
smiT iyo mi Ti Tebul i: `umorcil esad gTxovT macnobot depe-
Si T SeiZI eba Tu ara daviwo muSaoba iaraRis da patroneb-
is Sovnis Sesaxeb.~ am saki Txis Semdgom msvl el obasTan da-
kavSi rebiT, Sesabamis dokumentur masal as j er- j erobiT
ver mi vaku i.e. erTi ram dabej iTebiT SeiZI eba iTqvas, rom
qarTul ma mxarem ingl isel ebi sgan stambol Si vicerTi
saxeobis iaraRi ver Sei syida. am i Ziri Tadi ganmapi robebe-
l i mizezi somxeTis gasabWoebaSi (1920 wl is 29 noemberi)
unda veZioT. rogorc zemoTac mqonda aRni Snul i, ingl isi
da safrangeTi, saqarTvel osTvis iaraRis miyidvis im SemTx-
vevaSi Tanxmedeboden, Tuki am iaraRs somxebTan er Tad Sei-
Zendnen, transportirebas erTi gemiT moaxdendnen da somxe-
bisTvis gankUTvnii l iaraRs saqarTvel os teritoriaz e up-
robl emod gaatarebden. ramdenadac somxeTis gasabWoeba,
ingl isis jaris mier konstantinopol is sabol ood datove-
bamde moxda, gamoricxul i araa, romes faqtori ingl isel eb-
i sgan saqarTvel osTvis iaraRis miyidvis uaris Tqmisi safuz-
vel i gamxdariyo. aseTi mosazrebis gamoTqmisi Sesazi ebl o-
bis safuzvel s ingl isisa da safrangeTis xel isufal Ta
mxridan saqarTvel osTvis iaraRis miyidvis gacemul i pi ro-
bis Ti Tqmisi daviwyebis faqt i ZI eva.

Cems mier zemoT motani l i saarqivo masal ebi i mis utyuari
dadasturebaa, rom 1920 wl is monakveTSi, saqarTvel os xe-
l i sufl ebam, misma di pl omatiurma korpusma, evropis qveyne-
bi dan iaraRis Sesyi dvis yvel a gza da saSual eba mosinj a.
am mimarTul ebiT warmatebis mi uRwevl oba, saqarTvel os xe-
l i sufl ebis umoqmedobiT ki araa, evropis qveynebis maRaL Ci-
nosanTa tyui l ebiT damZimebul i dapi rebebiT iyo ganmapi robe-
bul i. evropis qveynebis I i derebi sgan pragmatul i gadaw-
yvetil ebi s mi uRebl obis gamo, saqarTvel osTan mimarTebaSi

Seqmni i urTul esi situacia, konkretul i RonisZi ebebi s gatarebas saWi roebda da qveyni s damouki debi obi s Sesanar-Cunebl ad Sesabami si gzebi s Zi ebi s auci l ebl obas moi Txovda. mi Tumetes, ami erkavkasi i s regi onSi saqarTvel os damouki debel saxel mwifod arseboba, sabWoTa ruseTi sgan xel SemSI el faqtorad iyo moazrebul i. aqedan gamomdinare, rusi da qarTvel i bol Sevikebi mi s gasasabWoebi ad yvel a saSuaI ebebi s maqsimal urad amoqmedebas cdil obda. amis erTerT dadasturebas, s.orj oniki Zi sa da s.ki rovi s mi er skp ck-i s yvel a wevrisa da I.trocki sadmi 1921 wl i s 2 i anvars gagzavnI i saiduml o weril i warmoadgens. am dokumentis merve da mecxre punqtebis mi xedvi T, saqarTvel os gasabWoeba Zal - i smieri formiT unda ganxorciel ebul iyo. am pozici i s das-abuTebas, weril i s avtorebi Semdegi mosazrebebi T cdil obdnen; **merve.** imis imedi, rom TviT saqarTvel oSi S igni dan moxdeba gadamwyeti afeTqeba,- vki Txul obT dokumentSi- ar unda gvqondes. amas amtkicebs i s ambebi, rac saqarTvel oSi xdeba. saqarTvel os, Cvens dauxmarebl ad gasabWoeba ar Zal uzs. **mecxre.** sababi saqarTvel os saqmeebSi Cveni Carevis-Tvis gvaqvs. saami sod saWi ro ar aris aSkarad Tavs davesxaT saqarTvel os, **gvaqvs** SesaZl ebl oba, rom davi wyoT moZraoba **afxazeTSi**, **aWaraSi**, **borCal** os **mazraSi**, sadac saami so ni adagi a. am mxriv Cveni daxmareba SeuZl ia agreTve TurqeTs da somxeTs da SesaZl ebel ia **Sei qmnas i seTi vi Tareba**, rom mxsnel ad movevl i noT saqarTvel os, romel ic ixrwneba da anarqias eZl eva.

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

bis msgavsad, karga xnis ganmavl obaSi gons ver mosul iyo.
es gardaval i safrTxe, gansakuTrebiT 1920 wl is dekembris
Sua ricxvebSi warmoCnda. mxedvel obaSi maqvs evropis sax-
el mwifoebisgan i ararais da finansuri daxmarebis mi uRe-
bl oba. am fonze, saqarTvel o im `dasakl av xars~ daemgvana,
roml is Tavis warsakveTad `Crdil oeTis meyafses~ gal e-
sil i maxvil i SemarTul i qonda da misTvis sasurvel i proce-
duris Casatarebl ad xel sayel pol i tikur situacias rom
el oda. Seqmni i urTul esi mdgomareobisa da safraangeTis
maRal Cinosnebis dapi rebebis Seusrul ebl obidan gamomdinare,
saqarTvel os dipl omatiuri korpusis mesveeurebi, i sev ing-
lis xel isufi ebas mi ubrundnen da saqarTvel osadmi adre-
micemul i danapirebis erTxel ki dev Sexsenabas Seecadnen.
amis dokumenturad dadasturebas, egegewkoris mier agugu-
Svi l isadmi I ondonSi gagzavnii weril i (1920 wl is 31
dekemberi) warmoadgens. CvenTvis saintereso saki TxTan dakav-
Si rebiT masSi vki Txul obT: `am weril is mi RebiSTanave, dauy-
ovnebl iv midi ser j on til Tan da I j orj is mdivanTan ke-
rTan da orives gadaeci Cemi saxel iT Semdegi: dadga wami,
rodesac saqarTvel os swirdeba real uri daxmareba finan-
surad da i ararit. kers gaaxseneT, rom misi e.i. keris Tanda-
swrebit I j orj ma me pi radaad dapi reba momca, rom i gi mzad-
aris daexmaros saqarTvel os. nebac momca, misi saxel iT es
mecnobebe na Cemi mTavr obisaTvis. exl a me veki Txebi maT, rCe-
ba Tu ara misi dapi reba Zal aSi da Tu rCeba, SeuZi ia Tu
ara mas am mxri v e.i. finansurad (aseTi saWiroa umTavresad
puris Sesaznad) da i ararit dauyovnebl iv daexmaros saqa-
rTvel os... erTi si tyiT, dauyovnebl iv da dauzarI ad Sea-
srul eT Cemi daval eba da dawrI ebiT macnobeT Sedegebi.-
samwuxarod, qarTul i mxaris es mcdel obac warumatebl ad
damTavrda. ramdenadac dasavl eT evropi dan daxmarebis saxiT
pragmatul i nabij ebi ar idgmeboda, tyui l iT damZimebul i
dapi rebebis amara myofi saqarTvel o_ real uri safRTxis
wi naSe dadga. arsebul i situaciis gaanal izebis Sedegad
mi Rebul i daskvnebis safuzvel ze, saqarTvel os pirvel i re-
spubl i kis mTavr obis Tavmj domare iZul ebul i gaxda, sabWo-
Ta ruseTTan garkveul kompromisze wasvl is mzadyofna ga-
moeTqva. am ukidures nabij s i gi mxol od im SemTxvevaSi
gadadgamda, Tuki saqarTvel oSi wiTel i armia ar Semovid-

da, eris damouki debi oba da suvereniteti iqneboda dacu-
l i. es pozicia, misi mxridan moskovis samxedro warmomad-
genel tol stoistTan da sabWoTa ruseTis atasesTan gene-
ral I ebedinski sTan saiduml o Sexvedraze (1920 wl is de-
kembbris bol o) iqna gamoTqmuli. gamoricxul i araa, rom am
informaci iT sargebl obda v.l enini, roca sorj oni ki Zi sadmi
gagzavnili weril Si (1921 wl is 2 marti) mi uTi Tebda: `uaR-
resad didi mni Svnel oba aqvs imas, rom gamoinaxos mi saRebi
kompromisi bl okisTvis Jordani as Tan, an mis msgavs qar Tvel
menSevi kebTan, roml ebic j er ki dev (I oreSi S.v.) aj anyeb-
bamde absol uturad mtrul ad ar iyvnen ganwyobil ni garkveu-
l i pirobebi T saqar Tvel oSi sabWoTa wyobil ebi s damyareb-
is azrisadmi. ~ aseTi kompromisul i pozicia, rogorc zemo-
Tac mqonda mi Ti Tebul i, I ores `aj anyebamde- da saqar Tvel o-
Si XI armi is Semosvl amde n.Jordanias marTI ac qonda, mag-
ram qveyni s okupaci is Semdeg, sabWoTa ruseTTan rai me daTm-
obaze wasvl a dauSvebl ad mi aCnda. es quTaisis 1921 wl is
17- 18 marti s mol aparakebebmac daadastura, roml is Sesaxebs
dawrili ebi T naSromi s meore paragrafSi meqneba saubar i.

xazgasmi T mi nda aRvni Sno, rom I ebedinski sTan n.Jordanias
Sexvedris da I eni is zemaoRni Snul weril Si motanil i
faqtебis gaanal i zebis as, zogierTi Cemi kol egas mier soci-
al istobi s terminol ogi is mani pul i rebi T, n.Jordania sabWoTa
ruseTis `motrifial edaa~ gamocxadebul i. maTi mxrid-
an davi wyebasa mi cemul i imave n.Jordanias mier 1918 wel s
gakeTebul gancxadeba: `aRmosavl eTis fanatikosebs dasavl -
eTis imperial istebi mi rCevnial- meore mxriv, i sini ar iTval -
i swineben im momakvdinebel da fsiqol ogi ur dar tymas, romel -
i c evropis qveynebma 1920 wl is dekembbris bol omde mi ayena
saqar Tvel os. mxedvel obaSi maqvs: 1) 1920 wl is 16 dekember s
saqar Tvel os erTa I i gaSi armi Reba da ingl is mxridan, sa-
mxreT kykasi is regions ar da interesebis official urad ru-
seTis wi naSe dadastureba; 2) evropis qveynebi s mier, saqar Tvel
I osTvis arcerTi saxeobi s iaraRis armi yi dva; 3) sabWoTa
ruseTis mier azerbaijanisa da somxeTis gasabWoeba, pol o-
neTTan droebi Ti dazaveba da vrangel is ganadgureba.

yovel i ve zemotqmuli is gaTval i swinebi dan gamomdi nare, ma-
rtod- marto darCenil i saqar Tvel o, sabWoTa ruseTs namd-
vil ad ver gaumkl avdeboda. am real obi s gaTval i swinebi T,

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

Cems mier arqivsacavebSi mopovebul i masal ebi s mi xedvi Tirkveva, rom zemoaRni Snul i SesaZI ebl obebis mosinj vis paral el urad, Tavdacvis sistemi s gasaZI ierebl ad, saqarTve- l os xel isufi eba qveynis ekonomi kuri potencial is maqsimal urad gamoyenebas cdil obda. mxedvel obaSi maqvs saqarTve- l os mTavrobis 1920 wl is 27 april is dadgenil eba, roml is Zal iTac respublikis Tavdacvis sabWo Sei qmna. imave sx-domam `respublikis Tavdacvis sabWos~ debul eba daamtkica. meore umni Svnel ovanesi RoniszI eba, romel ic saqarTve- l os mTavrobis mier i qna gatarebul i, 1921 wl is 6 i anvris dadgenil ebi s amoqmedeba iyo. am dokumentiT, qarTul i jarisTvis iaraRis Sesyi dvil mi zni T, Tavdacvis sabWos, sami mil iardi maneti gamoeyo.

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

ze konkretul i moTxovnebis daeyenebis Sesazl ebl oba misca. amis dadasturebas, imave e.gegewkoris mier stambol Si saqarTvel os general uri konsul is i.gogol aSvil isadmi 1921 wl is 29 ianvars gagzavni l i depeSa warmoadgens. `yvel a sawiro cnobebi Tu ra gwirdeba exl ave pirvel i rigis jaris mosawyobad_ vki Txul obT dokumentSi_ ukve gadaveci adgil obrivngl isis da safrangeTi s warmomadgenel T. amat es cnobebi daugzavnes TavianT mTavrobebs. Cven es movi TxoveT da amis dapi rebac mi vi ReT. sawiroa yvel a zomebis mi Reba, rom pirvel rigSi moTxovni l i sagnebi rac SeiZl eba saCqaroT mogvawdi noT.~

ramdenadac aRni Snul depeSasTan mimar TebaSi pasuxi igvianebda, saqarTvel os sagareo saqmeTa ministris moadgil em k.sabaxtarasvil ma morigi dasifril i depeSa gaugzavna (1921 wl is 14 Teberval i) konstantinopol Si myof saqarTvel os general ur konsul s i.gogol aSvil s. am dokumentis mi xedvi T vgebul obT, rom iaraRis SeZenis saki TxTan dakavSi reebiT, saqarTvel os mTavrobis daval ebi T konstantinopol Si gagzavni l i qna general i kir.quTaTel aZe da napol eon kaxiani. rac Seexeba general kir.quTaTel aZes, mas saqarvel o-Si myofi safrangeTi s warmomadgenel Seval i es sagangebo Suamdgoml obis barati mi qonda frang general pel esTan. i give dokumenti i.gogol aSvil s saqmisi kursSi ayenebda im mxrivac, rom iaraRis mi yi dvis Sesaxeb `safrangeTi s mTavrobam principial uri Tanxmobga ganacxada mogvyid os egreTwodebul i vrangel is Tadarigidan, xol o sawiroa general ma pel em mi i Ros saTanado gankargul eba safrangeTi s mTavrobi sgan. b-nma Seval i em gaugzavna depeSa Tavis mTavrobas, raTa ukansknel ma depeSi Tve misces aseTi gankargul eba general pel - es. iaraRis gadmocema unda moxdes rac SeiZl eba daki ebul fasebSi da... windawi nve SeTanxmebul pirobebSi.²⁰ im saarqivo masal ebi s mi xedvi T, romel ic Cems mier i qna mi kvl eul i, irkveva, rom iaraRis saqarTvel osadmi mi yi dvis procesis sabol ood dasrul eba kus nabij ebi T mi mdinareobda. am mxriv gansakuTrebi T safrangeTi s xel isufi eba i Cenda inertul - obas. amis Sesaxeb, konstantinopol Si myofi e.gegewkoris mier parizSi ak.Cxenkel isadmi 1921 wl is 20 Teberval s gagzavni l depeSaSi xazgasmi Taa mi Ti Tebul i. `bol Sevikebis reguliarul ma j arma- vki Txul obT dokumentSi- dai wyo Seteva

saqarTvel os wi naaRmdeg, mdgomareoba seriozul ia... mosTx-oveT (safrangeTi s S.v.) saministros misces brZaneba konstantinopol Si komisars, mogvces rac gwiria.~ dokumenturi masal iT dasturdeba, rom saqarTvel os warmomadgen-
I obis mxridan iaraRis saki TxTan dakavSi rebi T pa-suxis
mi Rebaze gauTavebel ma moTxovnebma, safrangeTi s xel i-su-
fl ebas marganecze iaraRis saqarTvel osaTvis mi yidvi s gada-
wyet il eba miaRebi na. am saki TxTan dakavSi rebi T, parizi dan
ak.Cxenkel is mier e.gegeWkor i sadmi gamogzavnii weri-l Si
(1921 wl is 21 Teerval i) vki Txul obT: `guSin win ki dev,
sanam Sen stambol idan gaxvi dodi, me gamomigzavnes saCqaro
depeSa iaraRis Sesaxeb aqve... saidanac gavige,... Cveni mol a-
parakebis marganecze iaraRis SeZenis Sesaxeb. aqaurma
mTavrobam gauSva iaraRi stambol idan mTavrobis saxel ze
j erxanad, sami Tvis... saqonl is Semowmeba ukve dawyebul ia.
mi uxedavad amisa, garkveul i dabrkol ebebis gamo, saqmi s daC-
qareba SeuZl ebel i xdeboda. qarTul i mxaris dajinebi Ti
moTxovni dan gamodinare, safrangeTi s mTavrobam 1921 wl is
25 Teerval s damatebi Ti brZaneba gamosca. amis Sesaxeb sa-
qarTvel os mTavrobis Tavmj domaris saxel ze akaki Cxenke-
I is mier parizi dan 1921 wl is 27 Teerval s gamogzavnii
daSi frul depeSaSi vki Txul obT: `brZaneba gacemul ia 25
Teerval s ficixl av iaraRis gamosagzavnad.~

am Tanxmobas qarTul ma mxarem mas Semdeg miaRwia, roca
safrangeTi s mTavrobam sakontraqto moTxovnebis nusxis
SemuSaveba daamTavra da qarTul mxares masze xel mowera
SesTavaza. amasTan dakavSi rebi T, ak.Cxenkel is mier parizi-
dan 1921 wl is 22 Teerval s gamogzavnii daSi frul depeSa-
Si vki Txul obT: `kontraqt samxedro pastavkebis safrangeTi-
idan mandatorebis saSual ebi T 10 milioni frankisa el is
mxol od xel is moweras. amis garda safrangeTi s mTavroba
iZl eva stambol idan davyovnebl iv Tofebs, patronebs, mi-
traiozebs samasi aTasi frankisas, rogorc ki xel s moawe-
rT sami Tvis vadjan veqsil s. masal a Sefasebul ia orj er
ufro i afad, vidre namdvil i misi Rirebul eba. exl ave aucil -
ebi ad saWi roa viyol ioT masal is misaRebad erTi aficeri
stambol Si da erTi parizSi. iqneb davtovoT droebi T afx-
azi.~

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

Tvis iaraRis mi yi dvi s Sesaxeb safrangeTis mTavrobi s gadawyetil eba Zal aSi mxol od 1921 wl is 25 Teerval s Sevida. rac Seexeba iaraRze orj r metad fasdakl ebas, akCxenkel is mxridan naCqarev Sefasebas warmoadgenda. Cems mier motanil i dokumenturi masal ebidi dan gamodinare, or Zi ri-Tad ki Txvas unda gaeces pasuxi: 1)1919 wl is gazafxul ze Sepirebul i iaraRis saqarTvel osTvis miyi dvi sa da misi transport irebis gadawyetil ebis mi Reba, evropis saxel mwi foebma, konkretul ad safrangeTma, ra pol itikur si tuacias daamTxvia; 2)ramdenad xarisxiani iyo es iaraRi da akmayofill ebda Tu ara im etapze sabrZol o moqmedebebi sa-Tvis el ementarul moTxovnebs.

zemoaRni Snul i saarqivo masal ebis mixedvi T Tuki vim-sj el ebT, safrangeTis mTavrobam saqarTvel osTvis iaraRis miyi dvi s gadawyetil eba 1921 wl is 14 Teerval s mi Ro, xolostambol Si arsebul i vrangel is naqoni iaraRis mi Tvl - is, misi vargi si anobi Semowmebis nebar Tva, imave wl is 21 Teerval s dauSva. rac Seexeba transport irebas, rogorc zemoTac mqonda mi Ti Tebul i, Sesabamisi brZaneba 25 Teerval s i qna gamocemul i. Cems mier motanil ricxvebs (14_ 25 Teerval i) Tuki im etapze sabWoTa ruseTis mxridan damouki debel i saqarTvel os wi naaRmdeg ganxorciel ebul samxedro moqmedebebs SevufardebT, aRmoCndeba, rom drois im monakveTSi: a)damouki debel i saqarTvel os samxedro SenaerTebi, sabWoTa ruseTis Seiararebul Zal ebs Tbil isis mi sadgomebTan erkin neboda; b)sabWoTa ruseTis XI armia Tbil isSi Semovi da da saqarTvel oSi sabWoTa xel isufl ebi s `gamarj veba- gamoacxada; g)Ti Tqmisi uiaraRod darCenili i qarTul i jaris nawil ebi, suramis uRel texil ze mtris SeCerebas cdil obda. imasac Tu mi vi RebT mixedvel obaSi, rom stambol Si arsebul safrangeTis kuTvnii samxedro sawyobebSi Senaxul i iaraRis mi Tvl as, misi daxarisxebas (vargisi anobi Tval sazrisiT), SefuTvas da transport irebas dro swirdeboda, safrangeTis xel isufl ebis mier saqarTvel osaTvis misayidat gametebul i iaraRi, saqarTvel os damouki debi obis gadasarCenad qarTul jars ver mi uswrebda.

imasTan dakavSi rebi T, Tu ramdenad vargi si an iyo safrangeTis mier saqarTvel osTvis miyi dul i vrangel is naqoni i ar-

aRi, pirdapir unda iTqvas; igi brZol i saTvis im etapze gamousadegari iyo da safuZvl i an SekeTebas saWi roebda. amis damadasturebl ad Cems mier arqivsacavebSi mi kvl eul i dokumentebi gamodgeba stambol Si saqar Tvel os general uri konsul is i.gogol aSvi l is mier 1921 wl is 28 Teberval s ak.Cxenkel i sadmi parizSi gagzavnil daSi frul depeSaSi vki-Txul obT: `stambol Si frangebis aq mxol od TxuTmeti aTasi Tofi da oriaTas samoci pul emi ot i daJangul ia. exl ave brZol i saTvis gamousadegaria. arc patronebi da arc yumbarebia. mdgomareoba kritikul ia. j ars masal a Semoakl -da. saWi roa saCqarod daxmareba mandedan.~ aRni Snul i depeSis sapasuxod, ak.Cxenkl i saqar Tvel os mTavrobi s Tavmj -domares n.Jordani as 1921 wl is 5 marts or depeSas (# 486, # 490) ugzavni s. pirvel maTganSi (# 486) garkvevi Taa mi Ti Tebul i, rom `iaraRs da sxva saWi ro masal as agzavni s safra -ngeTi.~ rac Sexeba meore depeSas (# 490), romel ic pirvel is -gan ramdenime saatIs Semdegaa gamogzavnil i, vki Txul obT: `miRebul ia yvel a zoma, iaraRs usaTuod mogvaSvel eben frangebi.~ im SeWi rvebis Jams Tu ra donis iaraRi mogvaSve -l a safra -neTi xel isufi ebam, es kargad Cans 1921 wl is 6 marts i.gogol aSvi l is mier ak.Cxenkel i sadmi gagzavnil depeSaSi. CvenTvis saintereso saki TxTan dakavSi rebi T masSi vki Txul obT: `gavagzavne Teqvs meti aTasi Tofi da asormo -cdarva pul emi ot, mil ioni patrona. iaraRi daJangul ia, SekeTeba swiria. gamodgeba sami meoTxedi. saCqarod saWi roa saTanado nawi l ebi an- I ui ebi s pul emi otebi saTvis. pariz -i dan unebar Tvod ar gvaZl even. **aq meti arafeeria.** Zi ier saWi roa saCqarod rusul i Tofebis patronebi da sam di umi -ani yumbarebi. mi i ReT zomebi.~ al bad aRni Snul i faqt qonda mxedvel obaSi g.mazni aSvi l s, roca mogvi anebi T daweril me -muarebSi mi uTi Tebda: `ar vici, yi des es iaraRi, Tu romel -i me saxel mwifom aCuqa igi, sai danac Cans, rom sazRvargare -Ti dan mosul i 9 aTasi Tofidan, saxmarad gamosadegi aRmo -Cnda mxol od 183 Tofi.~²¹ dokumenturi masal iTirkveva, rom baTumis portSi Semosul i es uvargisi iaraRi, sabWoTa xe -l isufi ebi s mesveurebma Tbil isSi gadmoitana da arsenal -i Si ganaTavsa. XX saukuni s 90- i an wl ebi dan, Tbil isis yofil i arsenal i sawyobebi s gaxsnis da masSi Catarebul i samuSaoebi s Sedegad, vrangel i s naqoni zemoaRni Snul i j ar -

Tad qceul i iaraRis `aRmoCeni l i ~ narCenebi da g.mazni aSvi l i s memuarebSi motanil i cnobebi gaxda i mis safuZvel i, rom zogierT istorikoss mcdari gancxadeba gaekeTebi na; Ti Tqos arsenal i iaraRiT iyo savse da maSi ndel ma xel i sufl ebam es `simdi dre~ danisMul ebi samebr ver gamoi yenao. rac Seexeba misi Cuqebisa Tu Sesyidvis saki Txs, xazgasmi T minda aRvni Sno, rom safrangeTi s xel i sufl ebam es iaraRi, marganecis mopovebis ufl ebi s sanacvl od misca saqarTvel os. imavdroul ad mis SesakeTebl ad Sesabamis nawil ebsac Sehporda smwuxarod, es danapi rebi Seusrul ebel i darCa. aRni Snul i faqtiT erTxel ki dev dasturdeba, rom Crdil oeTi dan karsmomingari safrTxi sadmi qarTvel i xal xis Rirseul ad daxvedrisa da misi Tavdacvisunari anobis amaRI ebi saTvis evropis saxel mwi foebi, maT Soris safrangeTi s xel i sufl eba dainterebul i ar iyo. 1919 wl is gazafxul ze maTi mxridan gacemul i danapi rebis Sesrul ebi sadmi sasxvaTaSoriso damoki debul ebi T iyo ganpi robebul i, e.gegewkoris mier parizSi myofi ak.Cxenkel i sadmi 1921 wl is 7 marts gamwyrat i formis Sinaarsi T gagzvnili i daSi frul i depeSa: `saCqar-oT gamogzavneT iaraRi. stambol Si iaraRi sakmarisi ar aRmoCnda.²²

Cems mier motanil i dokumentebiT dasturdeba, rom safrangeTi s xel i sufl ebi s mier saqarTvel osTvis mi sayidat gametebul i iaraRi uvargisi, SekeTebis gareSe brZol i sTvis gamousadegari da j arTad qceul i iyo. es faqti, mogvianebiT (1923 wl is 7 seqtemberi) erT- erTi frangi oficris mier ac i qna dadasturebul i. am saki TxTan dakavSi rebiT, stambol i dan saqarTvel os war momadgeni i sadmi parizSi gagzvnili weril Si kgvarj al aZe wera: `dRes CemTan movida frangebis oficeri da Semeki Txa Tu wavi Rebdit i m iaraRs, romel ic CvenTvis inaxeboda aq (stambol Si S.v.). es iaraRi, rogorc i ciT, arafraad mosaxmari da gamosadegari aRar aris... Tofebs akl ia iseTi nawil ebi, roml ebic xel axl ad unda gakeTdes, Torem maTi Sovna Znel ia. es Tofebi rusul i Tofebia. tyvi is mfrqvevel ni c yvel a daJangul i da wamxdarni arian. maTi gamoyeneba SeiZI eba mxol od... Tu gadavadnobdiT. es sad SegviZI ia Cven! me Tvi Ton frangebis officers Seveki Txe da maTi azriT am iaraRis gamoyeneba am saxiT SeuZI ebel iao. me maT ganucxade, ramdenadac am

iaraRis Senaxva aq Znel i da SeuZl ebel ia, iZul ebul i varT mis mi Rebaze uari vTqvaT. iaraRs Tvi Ton wai Reben da am uvargis rameSi amden ful s aRar gadagvaxdevi neben.~ Zne- l i dasaj erebel ia, safrangeTis samxedro uwyebi s maRal - Cinosnebs im etapze ar scodnoda, Tu ra doni s iaraRi ina-xeboda stambol Si_ safrangeTis kuTvni l samxedro sawyobSi. zemoaRni Snul i faqtебi dn gamomdinare, arsebul i si-namdvil e (mxedvel obaSi maqvs saqar Tvel osaTvis uvargisi iaraRis mi yi dvi s gaWi anurebul i procesi), ramdenime saxi s varaudis gamoTqmisi Sesazl ebl obas iZl eva: 1)safrangeTis xel i sui fl ebls maRal Cinosnebi s mier saqar Tvel osTvis iaraRis mi yi dvi s droSi gaWi anureba da Semdeg etapze uvargisi iaraRis_ gadadnobas daqvemdebarebul i jarTis SeTavazebi s pi rvel i safexuri s faqt, drois gayvanisa da aRni S-nul i saki Txis Tavi dan dawyebi s aRZvris taqtikis STabeW-dil ebas tovebs; 2)arc i saa gamoricxul i, rom saqar Tve- l osadmi mtrul ad ganwyobil ma osmal eTis, rusul i erovnu- l i sabWosa da vrangel i s warmomadgenl ebma, roml ebic iaraRis saqar Tvel osTvis mi yi dvi s wi naaRmdegni iyvnen, i gi Segnebul ad rom daazianes. Cemi es mosazreba varaudis doneze darCeba manam, sanam ami s damadasturebel i saar qivo dokumenti ar aRmoCndebeba.

xazgasmi T unda aRni Snos, rom saqar Tvel os xel i suifl ebi s maRal Cinosnebi s yovel gvari mcdel oba, samxedro masal isa da sursaTis 1919 wl i s meore naxevidan 1921 wl i s Tebervl - amde evropi s qveynebi dan droul ad mi Rebi s Sesaxeb_ uSede- god damTavrda. ar ada, saqar Tvel os sagareo saqmeTa ministris moadgil e k.sabaxtarasvili i, konstantinopol Si myofi saqar Tvel os general uri konsul i s i gogol aSvil i sadmi 1921 wl i s 28 Teberval s gagzavnili daSifril depeSaSi werda: `mdgomareoba kritikul ia, gagrasi didi Zal a moawa. Cveni razmi aq sul gawyda. uaxl ovdebi an soxums. samxedro masal e- bi Semogvel ia. frangebi aq arafers gvaZl even. jari uiar- aRod i brZvis.~²³ i mave k.sabaxtarasvili i s mier gagzavnili meore depeSaSi, romel i c iaraRis davyovnebl i v Sesyi dvi s mogvare- bas exeba, Ti Tqmisi brZanebi s forma iyo gamoyenebul i. `saWi roa am saqmis daCqarebi T damTavreba, dro ar iTmens. Tqven gev- al ebaT am saqmeSi aqturi monawi l eoba mi i RoT da saswrafod Seasrul oT es saqme.~ samwuxarod, saqmi s drou-

I i Sesrul eba ara i.gogol aSvi l ze, aramed safrangeTis xe-
I isufl ebis mxridan mi Rebul gadawyetil ebebze iyo damo-
kdebul i. dokumenturi masal i T dadasturebul ia, rom qarTu-
I i mxare protests gamoTqvamda, aRni Snul i iaraRis gamogz-
avni s saqmeSi osmal ebis Carevis gamo. amasTan dakavSi rebiT,
gansakuTreb ul yuradRebas al .asaTianis xel mowetiT arse-
bul i weril i iqcevs. masSi garkvevi Taa mi Ti Tebul i, rom
`samxedro daxmareba Cven unda mogveces pirdapir da ara
saTaTreTis saSual ebiT. CvenTvis yovl ad mouixerxebel ia,
rom Cven saTaTreTis saapekunod gavxdeT.-

ramdenadac safrangeTis xel isufl eba im etapze waj eq-
ukuj eqis kurss adga, iaraRis Sesyidvis saki Txis dasmas,
saqarTvel os dipl omatiuri korpusis mesveurebi saerTa-
Sori so konferenci aze Seecada. aRni Snul saki TxTan dakav-
Si rebiT gansakuTreb ul yuradRebas ak.Cxenkel is mier I o-
ndonis konferenci is (1921 wl is 21 Tebervl idan 14 marti)
monawi l e qveynebi sadmi (ingl isi, safrangeTi, ital ia, bel gia,
saberZneTi) war dgenil i sagangebo mimarTva iqcevs. Sesabam-
isi saarqivo masal is mi ukvl evl obis gamo, am etapze Seu-
Zl ebel i xdeba imis garkveva_ gani xil a Tu ara es dokumen-
ti I ondonis konferenciam. Cems xel T arsebul i masal ebis
mixedviT Tuki vi msj el ebT, 1)ingl issa da sabWoTa ruseTs
Soris jer kidev 1920 wl is oqtomberSi momzadebul i savawro
ekonomi kuri xel Sekrul ebis sabol oo teqstiSi_ ami erkavkasi-
is respubl i kebiT arda interesebis Sesaxeb Cadebul i muxl -
idan gamomdinare, ingl isis mxridan saqarTvel os Tan mimar-
TebaSi daxmarebaze dadebi Ti gadawyetil ebis mi Reba gamor-
icxul i iyo. mi Tumetes, I oid- j orij is mTavari mrCevel i
fr-f. uazi, sabWoTa ruseTis agenti gamodga da man 1923
wl idan sabWoTa saxel mwi fos Sesabamis uwyebaSi gaagrZe-
I a saqmi anoba. es faqti, saqarTvel os damoukidebl obis komi-
tetisadmi n.Jordani as mier 1923 wl is 9 april s gamogzavn-
il weril Sia dadasturebul i; 2)rac Seexeba germanias, saqa-
rTvel o-germani as Soris ur Tier Tobis saki TxebTan mimar-
TebaSi momzadebul i xel Sekrul ebis teqsti (1918 wl is 3 oq-
tomberi), jaris mosawyobad da finansurad saqarTvel osTvis
daxmarebas iTval i swi nebda. mi mdi nare pol i tiki ri proces-
ebis cvl ebadobam (germani is omSi damarcxeba, mTavrobaSi
momxdari cvl il ebebi da noembris movl enebi), am dokumentze

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

qarTul i mxaris safuzvl iani moTxovnebi da pretenzi ebi, rogorc dokumenturi masal ebidan irkveva, safrangeTi s mTavrobam Sei smi na da mis teritoriaz arsebul i samxedro sawyobi dan brZol isTvis vargisi iaraRis saqarTvel osTvis mi yi dvaze Tanxmobla mxol od 1921 wl is 17 marts ganacxada. es fapti, saqarTvel os damouki debi obis dasrul ebas ukavSi rdeba. mxedvel obaSi maqvs: 1)damouki debel i saqarTvel os warmomadgenel grigol I orTqi fani Zesa da gasabWoebul i saqarTvel os xel isufi ebi mesveurebs Soris quTaisSi 17 marts mi Rweul i SeTanjmeba_ saomari moqmedebebis Sewyvetis Sesaxeb (Sesabamis dokuments xel i oficial urad 18 marts moewera) da 2)saqarTvel os kanonieri mTavrobis mier 17 marts qveynis teritoriis datoveba. yovel i ve zemoaRni S-nul i dan gamomdinare, dabej iTebiT Sei ZI eba iTqvas, rom saqarvel osTvis 1919 wl is gazafxul ze Sepirebil i iaraRi, amunicia, sursaTi da ful adi daxmareba, dasavl eT evropam droul ad ver gaimeta. Ti Tqmis uiaraRod darcenil i saqarTvel o, Crdil oeTi s veSaps Casayl apavad mi ugdo.

Cems mier zemoT motanil i saarqivo masal ebi da misi analizi srul yofii suraTs iZI eva im Zal isxmevis Sesaxeb, romel sac saqarTvel os pirvel i respUBL iki s xel isufi ebi mesveurebi eweodnen evropis saxel mwifoebi dan iaraRis Sesasyid dad da qarTul i j aris sabrZol o masal iT uzrunve-I sayofad. am fonze, zogierTi Cemi kol egas mxridan saqarTvel os mTavrobis dadanaSaul eba, Crdil oeTi dan moaxl oebul safrTxesTan mimar TebaSi da Tavdacvis sabWoze (1921 wl is 3 ianvari) gakeTebul moxsenebaSi i odi Sel iZis mier qarTul i j aris (rezervis CaTvl iT) 75 aTas kacamde gazredis aucil ebl obis moTxovnaze, Ti Tqos mmarTvel ma pol itikurma el itam droul i reagireba ar gaakeTa_ usafuzvl o bral debas warmoadgens.

amis Sesani Snav dadasturebas, dasavl eT evropis saxel m-

wi foebi dan iaraRis Sesyi dvi s mi zni T, par i zSi myofi saqar Tve-
l os del egaci i s gaer Ti anebul i (di pl omatiuri, ekonomikuri,
samxedro) sxdomebis (1920 wl i s 1, 2, 4, 18, 29 maisi, 8 ivnisi)
stenografiul i angari Sebi warmoadgens. i mave dokumenteb-
i s mixedvi T, aRni Snul sxdomebis eswrebodyen da dasmul pr-
obl ematikas Tan mimar TebaSi gamar Tul di skusiebSi aqtur
monawil eobas i Rebdnen: generl ebi_ i l .odi Sel i Ze da al .eri-
sTavi , k.Cxei Ze, k.kandel aki , k.gvarj al aZe, d.Rambasi Ze, n.ni kol aZe,
i v.gobeCia. aqedan gamodinare, i .odi Sel i ZisaTvis cnobil i
gaxda i s udi desi sirTul eebi, romel i c iaraRis SeZenasTan
dakavSi nebi T del egaci i s wi naSe aRimar Ta. i mave dokument-
i s mixedvi T, del egaci i s sxva wevrebTan erTad, garkveul i
rekomendaci ebis SemuSavebaSi i gi aqtur monawil eobas i Rebda.
rac Seexeba i .odi Sel i Zis zemoaRni Snul moxsenebas,
masSi gamokveTi l i formi Taa mi Ti Tebul i, rom saqar Tve-
l os si namdvi l i dan gamodinare, **iaraRis, tansacmel i s, sur-**
saTis da sxva saWi ro aRWurvil obis SeZena sazRvargare-
Tis qveynebi dan unda momxdar i yo. dokumenti i m udi des fi-
nansur xarj ebsac i Tval i swinebda, roml i s gaReba, iaraRis
SeZen i s SemTxvevaSi mouwevda saqar Tvel os.

xazgasmi T unda i Tqvas, rom evropi dan finansuri daxma-
rebi s mi uRebl obis SemTxvevaSi, i m periodis saqar Tvel os
bi uj eti, i .odi Sel i Zis moxsenebaSi arsebul i moTxovnebi s
pi rvel i safexurisTvis val utiT gaTval i swinebul saWi ro
xarj ebs mi n i mal uradac ver gawdeboda. meore mxriv, i give
i .odi Sel i Ze, saqar Tvel os Sei aRaRebul i Zal ebi saTvis sa-
Wi ro iaraRis SeZenas, konstantinopol Si varaudobda. mi si-
ve mtki cebi T, dasaxul i amocanis warmatebi T gadawyeta,
konstantinopol Si ganTavsebul i antantis saokupacio ja-
rebi sa da vrangel i s armi i s naqoni iaraRis maragi s baza-
ze advil ad iyo Sesazl ebel i.²⁴ aRni Snul i moxsenebi dan sami
Tvis Semdeg, i .odi Sel i Zis xel mZRvanel obi T evropaSi
samxedro mi si s saqmi anobi s Sedegebi dan gamodinare, mi s T-
vis dResavi T gaxda naTel i: a)ra didi pol i tikuri Zal i s x-
meva da barierebis daZl eva iyo saWi ro, Tavdacvis sabWo-
sadmi warldgenil moxsenebaSi (1920 wl i s i anvari) dasmul i
saki Txebi s gadasawyvetad; b)gi imasi ac darwmunda, rom dasav-
l eT evropi s saxel mwi foTa l i derebi, roml ebic sabWoTa
ruseTTan `pol i tikuri kekl ucobiTa~ da merkantil izmis

kursis axal i formebis damuSavebi T iynnen garTul ni, Crdi - I oeTis veSapi sgan saqar Tvel os gadarCena nakl ebad ain- teresebdaT. rac Seexeba konstantinopol Si arsebul i sa- frangeTi s kuTvnili samxedro sawyobebSi i mave i odi Sel i Zis moxsenebi T nagul isxmev vrangel i s naqoni iaraRis vargisi- anobas, ami s Sesaxeb zemoT dawrviL ebi T mqonda saubari da si tyvas ar gavagrZel eb. mxol od aRvni Snav, rom Cems mier motaniL i umZimesi saarqivo dokumenturi masal i s anal iz- i s fonze, Seusabamod moCans saqar Tvel os pirvel i respubl - i kis mTavrobi s SefasebasTan mi mar TebaSi b-n. a.CaCxiani s mier gakeTebul i daskvna: `maSin, 1920 wl i s bol os da 1921 wl i s dasawyisSi, saqar Tvel os demokratiul i respubl i kis samTa- vrobo- pol i tikurma el i tam adeqvaturad ver i moqmeda. man ki dev erTxel ar daugdo yuri simarTI i s xmas. mi sma udi debul esoba istoriam ki, sul sxvanairad gansaj ... general odi Sel i Zis mier Tavdacvis sabWosa da saqar Tvel os mTavro- bi sadmi waynebul i es kategoriul i moTxovnebi ki, samwuxa- rod darCa `xmad mRaRadebl i sa udabnosa Si na... Tumca es ukve sul sxva istoriaa...²⁵ di ax, mi sma udi debul esoba istoriam, am istori i s sazogadoebi sadmi mi mwodebel ma WeSmari- tma istorikosma da obieqturma mkvl evarma pi r dapi r unda Tqvas maSindel i evropis pol i tikurad gameZavebul i l i dere- bis tyuil ze dafuznebul i dapi rebebi s Sesaxeb. 1)ar unda dai viwyos, rom ruseTi s bunebriv simdi dreze daxarbebul ma evropis saxel mwi foTa pirvel ma pi rebma, saqar Tvel o gasa- wirad gaimeta da 1919 wl i dan 1921 wl i s 25 Tebervl amde, sa- qar Tvel osaTvis iaraRis mi yi cvi pragmatul i gadawayetil eb- i s mi Reba Segnebul ad gaaWi anura; 2)maTi mxri dan saqar Tve- l osTvis yvel aze kritikul momentSi marganecis sanacvl - od miyidul i iaraRi, im etapze brZol i sTvis uvargisi da j arTad qceul i yo; 3)1920 wl i s martSi gamgzavrebul i saqa- r Tvel os ekonomikuri misi i sadmi (k.kandel aki (xel mZRvane- l i), f.gogi Cai Svil i (saxel mwi fo kontrol iori), n.nikol aZe, z.aval i Svil i, m.sumbaTaSvil i), dasavl eT evropis saxel mwi- foebis l i derebis (ital ia, safrangeTi, ingl isi) mxri dan dapi rebul i daxmarebis Sesasrul ebl ad konkretul i gad- awayetil ebis mi Rebis nacvl ad, maTi pasuxi mxol od_ `moi ca- deT~, `dagvacadeT~ formatiT Semoifargl a. dokumenturi masal i T dadasturebul ia, rom evropis saxel mwi foTa

I iderebis gan saqarTvel osadmi finansuri da ekonomi kuri daxmarebis rekomenaci ebi s gacema da gadawyvetil ebi s mi Reba, zemoaRni Snul i misiis 7 Tvi ani Tavdadebul i muSaobi s Semdeg (1920 wl is oqtomber_ noemberi), gaxda Sesazl ebel i. mxedvel obaSi maqvs ital iur firma `il vasTan- (oqtomberi), safrangeTis firma `ferran gentranTan- (noembris dasawyisi) da rac mTavaria, marganecis xarj ze, britaneTis sagareo vaWrobi s bankTan (noembris bol os) 1,5 milioni girvanqa sterlingis sessad aRebi s Sesaxeb xel Sekrul ebebi s gaformeba. am dokumentebSi Cadebul i pirobebi s amoqmedeba 1921 wl is zafxul i dan iyo gaTval i swinebul i.

yovel i ve zemoaRni Snul i dan gamondinare, roca saqarTvel os pirvel i respubliki s mTavrobi s saqmi anobi s Sefasebas vcdil obT, gansakuTreb ul i siffrTxil ea sawiro. mi mdinare pol i tikuri situaciisa da axl adSeqmni l i saqarTvel os saxel mwi fos ekonomi kuri Sesazl ebl obebi s evropis qveynebi dan ar daxmarebis fonze, yvel a saxeobi s dokumenti erTianobaSi unda iqnas ganxil ul i, moxdes maTi urTierT Sepir i spi reba da sinTezuri analizi. mxol od amis Semdeg SeiZl eba gakeTdes Sefasebi Ti daskvna. i sic gasaTval i swinebel - ia, rom saqarvel os pirvel i respubliki s mTavroba damfuZnebel i krebis mier iyo arceul i da damtkicebul i, xol o qveyni sakanonmdebl o organo, srul iad saqarTvel os mosaxl eobam aircia da mis saxes warmoadgenda. ami tom, zemoaRni Snul i faqtorebi s gauTval i swinebl obiT, saqarTvel os pirvel i respubliki s mTavrobi s survil i samebr `abur Taveba, naCqarevad gakeTebul i daumsaxurebel i bral debebi T `Semosva_ ganqi qeba da mezobel i qveynebi s fal siifikatori istorikosebi sadmi `fotnasi T~ msuye I ukmis SeTavazeba_ yovl ad dauSvebel ia.

xazgasmi T unda iTqvas, rom, ramdenadac 1919- 1920 wl ebi s monakveTSi evropis saxel mwi foebma saqarTvel os iaraRi armi yi da, es faqti sabWoTa ruseTis xel isufal T saqarTvel - os wi naaRmddeg moqmedebi s stimul s azl evda. maT kargad i codnen, rom saqarTvel o gaWianurebul i omebi s warmoebas ver SeZl ebda. amis Ziri Tad safuzvel s, saTadarigo iaraRis (rusuli i vaznebi sa da yumbarebi s) uqonl oba qmni da. am daskvnamde misasvl el ad sabWoTa ruseTs di di sadazvervo samuSaoebi s Sesrul eba ar swirdeboda. mi Tumetes, rusul i warmoebi s

iaraRis momxmarebel i qarTul i jarisTvis, imave iaraRisTvis Sesatyvisi vaznebis da yumbarebis Sesyidva mxol od ori gzi T: a)sabWoTa ruseTSi da b)evropaSi (safrangeTSi) iyo SesaZl ebel i. aqedan gamomdinare, maTematikis saSual o donis mcodne samxedro dargis maRal Cinosanic advil ad mi xv-deboda, rom saqarTvel o iaraRis sarezervo fondis gareSe iyo darCenil i.

amrigad, 1)qarTul i politikuri el itis mcdeI oba, erovnu-
l i saxel mwifos formirebis paral el urad qarTul i jaris Sesatyvisi raodenobiT da srul yofil i SeiaraRebiT Se-
qmna moexdina, finansebi sa da iaraRis uqoni obam Seaferxa.
qarTul istoriografijaSi dRemde gavrcel ebul i mosazreba
_saqarTvel oSi arsebul samxedro sawyobebSi TTITqos N
raodenobis iaraRI iyo, natyuar informacias emyareba da
sinamdvil es ar Seesabameba; 2)dasavl eT evropis saxel mwifoebis gan 1919 wl is gazafxul ze Sepirebul i daxmarebis
(iaraRI, amunicia, sursaTi, ful i) droul ad mi Rebis mcde-
l oba, 1921 wl is 25 Tebervl amde uSedego aRmoCnda. naSrom-
Si motanil i dokumenturi masal ebi adasturebs, rom zemo-
aRniSnul i danapirebis Sesasrul ebl ad, safrangeTis xel i-
sufl ebam pirvel i qmediTi nabij i mxol od 1921 wl is 25
Teberval s gadadga. stambol Si arsebul i safrangeTis ku-
Tvnil i samxedro sawyobebi dan saqarTvel osadmi mi yidu-
l i vrangel is naqoni iaraRI, uvargisi da immetapze sabrz-
ol o moqmedebebi saTvis gamousadegari iyo; 3)vargisiani
iaraRis saqarTvel osTvis miyi dvi s gadawyvetil eba, safrange-
Tis xel isufl ebis mxridan mxol od 1921 wl is 17 marts
i qna mi Rebul i. es faqti, saqarTvel os kanonieri mTavrob-
isa da gasabWoebul i saqarTvel os warmomadgeni ebs Soris
(gr.I orTqi fani Ze, m.oraxel aSvill i abenuqi Ze, S.el lava) brz-
ol is Sewyvetis Sesaxeb quTaisSi mi Rweul SeTanxmebas, da
saqarTvel os pirvel i respubliki s xel isufl ebis mi er qve-
ynis teritoriis datovebas (17 marti) daemTxva. dasavl eT
evropis saxel mwifota waj eq-ukuj eqis pol itikuri kurs-
idan gamomdinare, saqarTvel os pirvel i respubliki s SeiaraRebul i Zal ebi, gasabWoebul i ruseTis 1921 wl is Teberval - marti agresias, arsenal Si kustarul ad damzadebu-
l i rusul i vaznebi Ta da sagangebod Seqmnill saxel osno-
ebSi SekeTebul i SaSxanebi T Sexvda.

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

saqarTvel os pirvel respublikas qudbedad dalyva mezobel i saxel mwifoebis gan qarTvel Ta istoriul i sacxovrissi sadmi teritoriul i pretenziEBI. axl adaRmocenebul i da fexze wamosadgmel ad gamzadebul i qarTul i saxel mwifos wasaqcevad, samxreTidan, aRmosavl eTidan da CrTil oeTidan wamosul i mumi is, 1918_1920 wl ebSi mogerieba metnakl ebad Sesazi ebel i gaxda. yvel asgan mi tovebul i qarTvel oba, goni vrul i gadawyvetil ebebisa da `mkl avis siZI ieris~ amara aRmoCnda gamZvinarebul i mtrebis piri spir. gansakuTrebiT mZime mdgomareoba Sei qmna azerbaijani sa (1920 wl is 28 april i) da somxeTis (1920 wl is 29 noemberi) gasabWoebis Semdeg. ramdenadac, samxreT kavkasi is regionSi sabWoTa ruseTis xel SemSI el ad saqarTvel o moiazreboda, mis `gasawi TI ebl ad- Sesabamisi safexuris SemzadebiSaTvis provokaciebis ramdenime saxeoba iqna SemuSavebul i. erT- erT maTgans, somxebis mier sadaod qceul i sazRvrис_ borCal os mazris nei tral uri zonis probl emis da masTan dakavSi rebiT wi na- swar Sedgeni I i pirobebis SefuTul i formiT win wamoweva war moadgenda. istoriografi aSi dadasturebul ia, rom ingI is- safrangeTis xel isufal Ta Zal isxmevit, borCal os mazra sam nawil ad (1919 wl is ianvari) gaiyo: 1)borCal os mazris samxreTi nawil i mieca somxeTs; 2)central uri nawil i_ I ores rai oni nei tral ur zonad gamoxadda; 3)borCal os mazris Crdil oeTi nawil i saqarTvel os kuTvni l ebad gamoacxades. saqarTvel os pirvel i respublikis xel isufl eba kargad acnobierebda, rom I ores nei tral ur zonad datovebas Cveni qveynisTvis denTis kasris funciis Sesrul eba SeeZI o. aqedan gamodinare, xel isufl ebiS mmartTvel i wreibi maqsimal urad cdiI obdnen aRni Snul i saki Txis droul ad gada- wyetas. or mezobel qveyanas Soris umZimesi situaciis gan- muxtvis erTaderT saSual ebad, qarTul - somxuri del eg- aciis mol aparakebis magidasTan daj doma da Sesabamisi do- kumentis momzadeba iqna mi Cheul i. am mxriv gansakuTrebiT qarTul i mxare aqtu rolda. mxedvel obaSi maqvs saqarTve-

Ios mTavrobi s 1920 wl is 2 seqtembris sxdomis saoqmo Canaweri. am dokumentidan irkveva, rom sxdomis monawil eTa msj el obis Ziri Tad sagans, somxeT-saqarTvel os Soris neutraluri zonis gauqmebis da administraciul i sazRvrvis official urad dawesebis Sesaxeb, Sesabamisi xel Sekrul ebis momzadeba warmoadgenda. amasTan dakavSi rebiT, imave sxdomis mier mi Rebul dadgenil ebaSi vki Txul obT: `mi endos gareSe saqmeTa ministris moadgil es xel ismowera im xel Sekrul ebaze, romel ic dadebul i iqneba somxeTsa da saqarTvel os Soris, am or respublika Ta Sua neutraluri zonis gauqmebisa da administraciul i sazRvrvis dawesebis Sesaxeb. proeqti xel Sekrul ebisa xel is moweramde moxsendes mTavrobas.~ samwuxarod, dokumentSi mi Ti Tebul i ar aris, qarTul i mxari dan konkretul ad vis unda ewarmoebi na somxur del egaciasTan mol aparakeba da aRni Snul saki TxTan mimarTebaSi vin unda yofil iyo pasuxi smgebel i. es xarvezi mogvianebiT, saqarTvel os mTavrobi s 1920 wl is 21 oqtombris sxdomaze iqna gamosworebul i. Sinagan saqmeTa ministris n.rami Svi l is moxsenebis safuzvel ze mi Rebul i dadgenil ebiT, somxeTis del egaciasTan mosal aparakebl ad, qarTul i mxaris warmomadgenl ebad n.rami Svi l i, s.mdivani da gr.l oTqifanize iqna damtkicebul i.

arqivsacavebSi Cems mier mikvl eul i masal ebidan irkveva, rom qarTul i jaris neutral ur zonaSi garkveul i droiT (3 Tvi T) Seyvanas, somxuri mxare mxol od mas Semdeg da Tanxmda, roca osmal ebi sgan am zonis okupaciis real uri safr-Txe Sei qmna. es faqtori daedo safuZvl ad saqarTvel os Tavdacvis sablos 1920 wl is 12 noembris dadgenil ebas_ qarTul i jaris mier neutraluri zonis dauyovnebl iv dakavebas. amasTan dakavSi rebiT imave dokumentSi vki Txul obT: `borCaI os mazris samxreTi nawil i axl ave iqnas dakavebul i da gamocxaddes samxedro wesebi. adgil obriv mcxovrebT ecnobos, rom Cven SevediT iq osmal Ta mosal odnel i Semosevisagan maTi dacvis mi zni T.~ saqarTvel os mTavrobi s es qmedeba, saqarTvel o- somxeTs Soris 1920 wl is 13 noembers xel mowneril i Se TanxmebiT iqna samarTI ebrivad dadasturebul i. dokumentis mixedviT, qarTul i jaris neutral ur zonaSi 3 Tvis ganmavl obaSi darceboda. Tuki im periodSi neutraluri teritoriis sazRvrvis gamij vni saki Txi ver gadawyde-

boda, saqar Tvel os SeiaraRebul i zal ebi aRni Snul zonas datovebda da adrindel i Sereul i administraciul i mmar Tvel oba aRdgeboda.²⁶ erTi ram xazgasmi T unda aRni Snos, somxebis aseT `kompromissze- wasvl a, osmal eTis mxridan somxebis wi naaRmdeg warmatebul i samxedro operaci ebi T iyo ganpi robebul i. es faqti, saqar Tvel os Tavdacvis sabWos 1920 wl is 19 noembri sxdomis saoqmo CanawerebSiac ai saxa. i ave dokumenti dan irkveva, rom zemoT dasaxel ebul i xe- l Sekrul ebi Sesaxe, gen. i.odi Sel i Zes sagangebo moxsene- ba gaukeTebia, xol o sxdomas Sesabamisi dadgeni l ebac mi u- Ria. `j er- j erobiT- vki Txul obT dokumentSi- Cveni j arebi darc es neitral ur zonaSi, xol o im SemTxvevaSi Tu osmal e- bma dai kaves karakl isi da gamoCndnen bezomdal is uRel te- xil ze da amave dros somxeTis jari gadayvani l i iqna borC- arCal os mazris samxreT nawil i dan, -Cveni j aris mier dakavebul i iqna es rai oni mazris samxreT sazRvramdis waevi T.~ am amonaweris mixedviT borCal os mazris neitral ur zo- naSi Seyvani l qar Tul i j aris nawil ebs aqturi moqmedebis funcia qonda dakisrebul i. maT amocanas osmal o dampy- robl ebi sadmi Rinseul i winaaRmdegobis gaweva da neitral- uri zonis srul ad gakontrol eba warmoadgenda. dasaxu- l i mznis ganxorciel ebi erT- erT pirobad, i ave dokumentis me- 4 punqtis Tanaxmad, borCal os mazraSi saxal xo gvardi is nawil ebi iqna dauyovnebl iv gagzavnili i. saqar Tve- l os xel isufi ebi mier ganxorciel ebul i es RoniszIeba, meore mni Svnel ovani faqtoriTAC iyo ganpi robebul i. mixed- vel obaSi maqvs somxi oficrebi da j ariskacebi sagan qvey- nis teritoriul i sazRvris darRveva da SeiaraRebul fo- rmebis axal qal aqis mazris sofi ebSi Tvi Tneburad Semos- vi a. maTi es qmedeba, ucxo qveyni sgan agentebis Semogzavni sa da dazvervi Ti procesis STabeWdi l ebas tovebda. aRni Snu- l i gaTval i swinebi dan gamodinare, es saki Txi Tavdacvis sabWos 1920 wl is 9 da 12 noembri sxdomebze sagangebo ms- j el obi sagani gaxda. amasTan dakavSi rebi T mi Rebul dadge- ni l ebaSi vki Txul obT: `xsenebul pirebs aeyaros iaraRi, oficrebi gaigzavnos borj omSi, xol o j ariskacebi ganawi- l ebul i iqnan sofi ebi adgil obri vi administraci is meTva- l yureobi s qveS. CamorTmeul i iaraRi gadatani l i iqna ax- al cixeSi.~

somxeTTan dadebul ma zemoaRni Snul ma xel Sekrul ebam da qarTul i saj ariso SenaerTebis mier neutral ur zonaSi TavdacviTi poziciebis daWeram, saqarTvel os sazRvrebsi somexi Seiararebul i oficrebi sa da j ariskacebis Tvi Tneburi Semosvl a, mxol od somxeTis gasabWoebamde Seacera samxreT kavkasi i regionSi mindinare pol itikuri procesebis gaTval i swinebi dan gamodinare, samxreT- dasavl eT, gansakuTrebiT samxreT- aRmosavl eT da aRmosavl eT saqarTveI os sasazRvro zol i swinebi dan gamagrebis auci l ebl oba qveyni s xel i sufl ebisaTvis prioritetur sakiTxs warmoadgenda am mimarTul ebiT im etapze iseTi qmediTi nabi j i unda gadagmul iyo, risi Sesazi ebl obac evropis qveynebi dan zurgSeqceul, motyuebul da yal bi dapi rebebis Semyure saqarTveI os si namdvi l i swinebi s fonze iyo Sesazi ebel i meore mxriv, qveyni s garSemo Seqmni l i safrTxeebis gaTval - i swinebi dan gamodinare, saqarTvel os Seiararebul i Zal ebi s sardl ad iseTi pirovneba unda dani Snul iyo, romel sac sxvebTan SedarebiT momqmedi armi i srigebSi yvel a safexuri qonda gavl ii i da msxvi l i samxedro SenaerTebis marTvis didi gamocdil eba gaaCnda. imavdroul ad, samxedro operaciebSi gansakuTrebul i warmatebi saTvis umarI esi xarisxis samxedro wodebis da ordenebis mfl obel i iqnebo da. im etapze, qarTul si namdvi l eSi aseT pirovnebas gen. i.odi Sel i Ze warmoadgenda.

yovel i ve zemoTqmuli s gaTval i swinebi dan gamodinare, respubli kis Tavdacvis sabWos 1920 wl i s 22 noembris (oqmi # 22) sxdomis dadgeni l ebiT, gen. i.odi Sel i Zes saqarTveI os Seiararebul i Zal ebi s mTavarsardl i s moval eobi s Sesrul eba daeval a, xol o imave wl i s 13 dekembris dadgeni l ebiT, respubli kis Seiararebul i Zal ebi s mTavarsardl ad dai ni Sna. rac Seexeba samxreT- aRmosavl eTis fronts, i.odi Sel i Zi s rekondaci iT (22 noemberi), misi xel mZRVanel oba gen. i gedevani Svi l s mi andves. am faqtidan 15 dRis Semdeg, Tavdacvis sabWos 1920 wl i s 6 dekembris dadgeni l ebiT, axial qal aqi- axal cixe- artaanis rai onebSi ganl agebul i qarTul i jaris yvel a saxeobis sardl oba gen. v.wul uki Zes Caabares.

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

i ebebi s nusxas, romel i c axl ad dani Snul sardl ebs, maT-dami daqvemdebarebul i j aris nawil ebSi unda gaetarebina. mi Tumetes, samxreT- aRmosacl eTis mimarTul eba, yvel aze rTul sasazRvro monakveTs warroadgenda. mdgomareobas somxeTis gasabWoeba (1920 wl i s 29 noemberi) ki dev ufro ar-Tul ebda. mi Tumetes, gekker i s moxsenebi dan gamomdi nare, sab-WoTa ruseTis gegmebi saqarTvel os xel i sufl ebi saTvi s cnobil i yo. es faqt, qveyni s SeiaraRebul i Zal ebi s sardl o-bas gansakuTreb ul i pasuxi smgebl obi s wi naSe ayenebda da mi sgan Sesabamisi Roni sZi ebebi s dauyovnebl i v gatarebas moi Txovda. am mxriv gansakuTreb ul yuradRebas saqarTvel os Tavdacvis sabWos 1920 wl i s 3 dekembr i s sxdomi s amsax-vel i masal ebi iqcevs. genstab i s ufrosis moadgi l i s mier saerTo mdgomareobi s Sesaxe b gakeTebul i moxsenebi s safuZ-vel ze mi Rebul dadgeni l ebaSi vki Txul obT: `1) a)yvel a frontze myof j aris ufrosebs mieces wi nadadeba, rom somxeTSi sabWoTa mTavrob i s gamocxaedebi T, respubl i k i s sazR-varze Seqmn i l mdgomareobi s gamo, mi i Ron zomebi meti si-frTxil i saTvis. moer i don adgi l obriv mcxovrebl ebTan raime konfl i qts da Tu mezobel i saxel mwi foebi sgan mi i Res raime wi nadadebebi dauyovnebl i v acnobot Tavdacvis sabWos. b)borCal os mazraSi da tfil i sis mazris samxreT- aRmosavl eTis nawil Si mi Rebul i iqnes samxedro wesebi da general - gubernatoris ufl eban i am rai onSi mi eni Wos samxreT- aRmosavl eTis j arebi s sardal s i gedevani Svi l s.- es dokumenti qveyni s SeiaraRebul i Zal ebi s da samxreT- aRmosavl eTis frontis sardl obas, mosal odnel i safrTxid an gamomdi nare, sasazRvro strategi ul i punqtebi s gamagrebasTan erad, gar-duval i provokaci ebi s droul ad aRmosafxvrel ad wi naswar i Tadarigis daWeris auci l ebl obaze mi ani Snebda. dokumentSi motanil i wi nadadeba- `mi i Ron zomebi meti si frTxil - i saTvis, ~ j aris nawil ebi s saomar mdgomareobaSi Cayenebas da rac mTavar i a, yvel a saj ariso qvedanayofSi discipl i-nis umaRI es safexur ze ayvanas i Tval i swinebda.

ramdenadac borCal os mazra, rogorc zemoTac mqonda aRni Snul i, sasazRvro zol i s yvel aze rTul monakveTs warroadgenda, respubl i k i s Tavdacvis sabWo mi sadmi gansakuTreb ul yuradRebas iCenda. ami s dadasturebas i mave sabWos 1920 wl i s 16 dekembr i s sxdomi s saoqmo Canawerebi warroad-

gens. am dokumenti dan i rkveva, rom borCal os mazraSi dabanakebul i qarTul i jaris mdgomareoba qveynis mTavar-sardal s Seumowmebia da miRebul i STabeWdil ebebi sabWos wevrebisaTvis moxsenebis saxiT warudgenia aRni Snul sak-i TxTan dakavSi rebiT imave sxdomis mier miRebul dadgenil ebaSi vki Txul obT: `a)neba mieces samxreT- aRmosavl e-Tis frontis j arebis sardal s ganai ar aRos sofl ebi uzun- liari, axpati da Si naxi; b)Tu borCal os mazris nei tral urizonis administraciaSi an rkinigzis mosamsaxureTa Soris aRmoCndeba TanamdebobiS Seuferebel i pirni, neba eZI eva samxreT- aRmosavl e-Tis frontis j arebis sardal s, gadaay-enos aseTebi Tanamdebobi dan; g)samxreT- aRmosavl e-Tis frontis sardal s Tavdcvis fondi dan mieces 200000 man. daz-vervis saWi roebi saTvis.~ imave Tavdacvis sabWos 1920 wl is 18 dekembris sxdomaze, samxreT- aRmosavl e-Tis frontis j arebis sardl is mier gakeTebul i moxsenebebi dan gamodinare, mdi nare debeda- Cai ze xi dis asagebad 643500 maneti i qna gamoyofil i.

Cems mier motanil i faqtebi, qveynis Tavdacvi sunari anobis gaumj obesebasTan da mtris mosal odnel i Tavdasxmis SemTx-vevaSi, misadmi Rirseul ad daxvedris auci l ebl obaze iyo gaTvl il i. saj ariso Senaer Tebis marTvis specifi ki dan gamo-mdinare, gadamwyeti rol i frontis sardl obas ekisrebo-da. mxedvel obaSi maqvs arsebul i sirTul eebi sadmi Rirseul ad Tavis garTmeva da rac mTavarria, saqarTvel os sazR-var Tan aRmarTul i `aisbergis- Sesacerebel i, uki dures SemTx-vevaSi misadmi Rirseul ad daxvedris ramdenime saxeobis me-qani zmis SemuSavebis auci l ebl oba, rac saj ariso qvedanay-ofebis mzadyofnaSi moyvanasTan i qneboda dakavSi rebul i. am mimarTul ebiT pragmatul i gadawyvetil ebiS miReba imi-Tac iyo auci l ebel i, rom wiTel i armi is nawil ebi Tvi Tneburad arRvednen saqarTvel os sazRvars da adgil obrivi sofl ebiS mosaxl eobiS Zarcvas eweodnen. respUBL ikiS Tavdacvis sabWom (1920 wl is 13 dekemberi), arsebul i mdgomare-obis gamsasworebl ad dipl omatiuri gza aircia da Sesabam-iSi RonisZiebis gatareba sagareo saqmeTa saministros daaval a. `daeval os gareSe saqmeTa ministrs- vki Txul obT dokumentSi- gagzavnos moskovSi da evropaSi protestis nota imis Sesaxeb, rom a)sabWoTa wiTel i armi is moTareSe naw-

il ebma gadmol axa Cveni sazRvari da borCal os mazris sofl ebs daeca.~ mi uxavedavad ami sa, sabWoTa ruseTis mxridan anal ogiuri saxis provokaci ebi Semdgom etapzedac gagr-Zel da. amis dadasturebas Tavdacvis sabWos 1920 wl is 22 dekembbris sxdomis masal ebi warmoadgens. dokumenti dan irkveva, rom samxreT- aRmosavl eTis frontis j arebis sardl is mier gakeTebul moxsenebaSi amis Sesaxeb konkretul ad iyo saubari. mi Rebul dadgenil ebaSi garkveviT iqna aRni S-nul i: `a)daeval os general uri Stabis ufross moel aparakos sabWoTa ruseTis samxedro atasEs wiTel armiel Ta mier Cveni sazRvrebis gadmol axvisa da adgil obrivi mcxovrebl ebis Zar cvis gamo.~

samxreT- aRmosavl eTis frontis xazze Seqmnili vi Tareba, sardl obis wi naSe, samxedro xel ovnebisTvis aucil ebeli i specifikisa da adgil obrivi bunebrivi pirobebis Sesattyvisi TavdacviTi samoqmedo gegmis SemuSavebis aucil ebl obas moi Txovda. dokumenturi masal iT irkveva rom am mimar Tul ebiT adgil obriv sardl obas individual urad Ti-Tqmisi aranairi konkretul i gadawyvetil eba ar mi uRia da i gi Tavdacvis sabWos mi Ti Tebebis Semyure darCa. Seqmnili vi Tareba, borCal os mazris nei tral uri zonis sofl ebi somxuri mosaxl eobis dauyovnebl iv gani araRebas saWi roebda. amis Sesaxeb Tavdacvis sabWos mier sagangebo dadgenil eba (1920 wl is 29 dekemberi) iqna mi Rebul i. `daeval os samxreT- aRmosavl eTis j arebis sardal s- vki Txul obT dokumentSi-ganai araRos borCal os mazris mTel i nei tral uri zonis mcxovrebl ebi. pirvel rigSi ganai araRos sofl ebi uzunlaris, axpatiS, Si nixis mcxovrebl ebi.~ saomari moqmedebebis dawyebisas, sarkinigzo transportis Seuferxebel ad muSao-bis SenarCunebis mi zni T, samxreT_ aRmosavl eTis frontis sardal s, borCal os mazris nei tral ur zonaSi rkinigzis administraciaSi mosamsaxure saewvo da Seuferebel i pirebis gadayenebis ufl eba ezi eoda. winaswari Tadarigis da usafr Txoebis garantiis Seqmnas iTval i swinebda Tavdacvis sabWos 1920 wl is 22 dekembbris dadgenil ebiS (**b**) punqt. ~`b)somxeTis rkinigzis mosamsaxuren da tel egrafistebi - vki Txul obT dokumentSi- moxsnil ni iqnen rkinigzis I i andagi dan da vidre mati mdgomareoba saer Tod gamoir kveodes gai gzavnon: pirvel ni_ respubl ikiS saxazino rkinigzis

ufrosis gankargul ebaSi da meoreni fosta- tel egrafis ufrosis gankargul ebaSi; g)borCal os mazraSi dabanakebu- l i j arisTvis sursaT- sanovages mi sawodebl ad dai ni Snos gzaTa departamentis gankargul ebi T ori orTqaval i vagonebis saTanado ricxviT, erTi sadgur sandaraze da meore sadgur sanainze.

samxreT- aRmosavl eTi dan mosal odnel safiTxesTan mi- mar TebaSi, aRni Snul i dadgenil ebebi erTi Sexedvi T safuz- vl iani mzadebis garregnul STabeWdil ebas tovebs. anal o- giuri saxis damoki debul eba iqna gamovl enil i saqar Tve- l o- azerbaij anis sazRvris perimetr Tan mimar TebaSi ac. mxed- vel obaSi maqvs Tavdacvis sabWos 1920 wl is 6 dekembris dadgenil eba. es dokumenti qveynis interesebi dan gamomdinare, yaraiazis tyis zonaSi Tvi Tneburad Semosul i azerbaij anel ebis uk an gabr unebas da saqar Tvel oSi azerbaij anel Ta `aral egarul i formiT mimosvl is- akrZal vas kategoriul ad moi Txovda. es gadawyvetil eba saqar Tvel os saxel mwi- fos interesebSi srul ad Tavsdeboda Tundac im el ementa- rul i mizezis gamo, rom im etapze, azerbaij ani ruseTis mi- er iyo gasabWoebul i da es ori qveyana saqar Tvel oze Tav- dasxmis myar safexurs amzadebda. amasTan dakavSi rebi T, sa- qar Tvel os respUBL iki s Tavdacvis sabWos 1920 wl is 13 de- kembri s dadgenil ebis (**b**) da (**g**) punqtebSi xazgasmi T iyo mi Ti Tebul i im anti saxel mwi foebri vi qmedebebis Sesaxeb, romel ic azerbaij anma da sabWoTa ruseTma saqar Tvel o- sTan mimar TebaSi er Tobl i ovad rom ganaxorci el a. mxedve- l obaSi maqvs: 1)baqodan navTis saqar Tvel osadmi mi wodebis umizezod Sewyeta da 2)foil os xidis midamoebSi wi Tel i armi is nawi l ebi s Tavmoyra, sangrebis gaTxra da zarbazneb- is dadgma. es Roni szi ebebi imdenad gamokvetil i da gamom- wvevi formiT mi mdinareobda, rom nebis mieri saSual o donis samxedro piri sa da pol i t kosi sTvis sac misaxvedri iqnebo- da, rom sabWoTa ruseTi mi zanmimar Tul ad da safexurebri- vad saqar Tvel oze Tavdasxmis aTvis emzadeboda. es faqti, samxedro uwyebis mesveurT, adeqvaturi Roni szi ebebi s davy- ovnebl ivi gatarebis aucil ebl obas aval ebda. mi Tumetes, Tavdacvis sabWos (eswrebotnen: gr.l orTqi fani Ze_ sxdomis Tavmj domare, n.r ami Svi l i, i.odi Sel i Ze, v.j uRel i, i.gedevani Si l i, al .Tayai Svi l i, al .dgebuaZe. al .zaqari aZe) 1920 wl is 24 noem-

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

pol itikuri procesebis swrafad cval ebabobam, zemoaRni Snul i dadgenil ebis 9 dReSi Secvl is aucil ebl oba daayenna. mxedvel obaSi maqvs Tavdacvis sabWos 1920 wl is 2 dekembri's sxdoma, romel mac foil os xidis midamoebSi Seqmnil i mdgomareobis Sesaxeb, mTavrobis Tavmj domaris rwmunebul is gr.cincabaZis da genStabis ufrosis al .zaqariaZis moxsenebebi moi smi na. saqarTvel os sazRvrebTan Seqmnil i umZimesi mdgomareobis anal izi dan gamomdi nare, imave sxdomaze mi Rebul dadgenil ebaSi vki Txul obT: `1. b) foil os xidze da mis midamoebSi sastikad iqnes dacul i samxedro wesebi da aravis ar mieces xidze mimosvl a adgil obrivi samxedro ufrosis nebadaur Tvel ad; 4. a) dauyovnebl iv gamagrebul i iqnas foil os da wi Tel i xi debi da maT dasacavad dati Snuli i iqnes sakmao ricxvi j arebisa artil eriit. orive xidi i vos damzadebul i ucbad asafeTqebi ad. am dokumentis mi Rebi dan meore dRes (3 dekemberi), Tavdacvis sabWom meore umni Svnel ovanesi dadgenil eba mi i Ro, romel ic saWi roebis SemTxvevaSi rkini gziT j aris Seuferxebl ad gadaadgil ebasa da dati Snul adgil ze misi momaragebis uzrunvel yofas iTvali i swi nebda. amasTan dakavSi rebiT imave dokumentSi vki Txuli obT: 'wi nadadeba mieces gzaTa departaments mi i Ros zomebi samxedro matarebl ebiS mimosvl is dasaqarebl ad, j aris gadasayyanad dati Snul i raodenobiS zamTris pirobebis mixedviT mosawyobaT da saTanado sadgurebz j aris saWi roebi- saTvis cxel i wyl is dasamzadebl ad. yvel a am zomebiS asasrul ebl ad saWi ro Tanxa moTxovnil iqnes gzaTa departamentis mier Tavdacvis fondi dan.

am dokumentSi dasmul i saki Txebis Sesrul ebiS procedura, Tavdacvis saministros dabal i rgol is Sesabamisi uwye- bis Cinovnikebi sa da frontis mowinave xazis sardl obis prerogativas warmoadgenda. mi Tumetes, pol itikuri procesebis swrafad cval ebabobam da sasazRvro zol ze mezobe-

I i qveynis mxridan Seqmnili ma real urma safrTxeebma, Tavdacvis xazis gasamagrebl ad adre arsebul i xarvezebis dauyovnebl iv aRmofxvra moi Txova. mxedvel obaSi maqvs foil osa da wi Tel i xi debis im doneze danaRmva, rom saWi roebis SemTxvevaSi misi srul fasovnad afeTqeba da mtris garkveul i droiT SeCereba yofil iyo SesaZl ebel i. zemoaRni Snul i dadgenil ebiT gaTval i swinebul i Ronisziebebis ma-Ral doneze Sesrul eba -arSesrul ebi s mi mdinare procesebis zedamxedvel obis pasuxismgebl oba_ qveynis mTavar-sardal sa da mis xel qvei Tebs_frontis mowinave xazis xel - mZRvanel obas eki sreboda. maT unda uzrunvel eyoT dokumentSi dasmul i saki Txebis Sesabami s qvemdebare rgol amde davvana, konkretul i pirovnebebi sadmi daval ebi s mi cema da mi-mdinare praqtilikul i samuSaos Sesrul ebi s xarisxe umkac-resi kontrol is daweseba. samwuxarod, saqarTvel os Seiar-aRebul i Zal ebi s sardl oba, qveynisTvis kritikul momentSi srul fasovnad mobil ur mdgomareobaSi ver aRmoCnda da mis wi naSe mouI odnel ad amozidul i probl emebi sadmi Tavis garTmeva gauWinda. ami s dadasturebas Cems mier arqivsa-cavebSi mopovebul i masal ebi warmoadgens, roml is mi xedvi-Tac i rkveva, rom Tavdacvis sabWos zemoaRni Snul i dadgeni-l ebebis garkveul i nawil i Seusrul ebel i darCa, ramac Tavi l oreSi, foil osa da wi Tel i xi debis mi damoebSi gamarTu-l i brZol ebi s dros i Ci na Tavi. ami s Sesaxeb qvemoT dawvri-l ebiT meqneba saubari, magram amj erad principul ad davs-vam ki Txvas: nefis ruseTis armi s Seiar-aRebul i Zal ebi s sardl is brZanebis an Tavdacvis sabWos dadgenil ebi s Sesrul ebi s aucil ebl obas, qarTvel i generl ebi da oficrebi saval debul od Tuki mi i Cnevden, riT unda ai xsnas maTi mxri-dan anal ogiuri brZanebis an dadgenil ebi s Seusrul ebl o-ba qarTul i j aris Semadgenl obaSi samsaxuris dros? am ki-Txvaze srul fasovani pasuxis gacema mxol od Sesabami si kvl evi Ti samuSos Catarebis Semdeg gaxdeba SesaZl ebel i. ami s naTel dadasturebas saqarTvel o- somxeTis sazRvarze l ores saomari moqmedebebi warmoadgens.

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

vana moi Txova. mi uxedavad i misa, rom qarTul i mxare mezobeli i respubliki s xel isufal T probli emis mSvi dobi anad gadawyetis wi nadadebas sTavazobda, rkp (b) central uri komitetis kavbi uros mi Ti Tebi T, somxebi pirobebze Tanxmobas Segnebul ad aWi anurebda da mi zanmi marTul ad arTul ebda. am faqtTan dakavSi nebi T, k.sabaxtarasVi l is mier im etapze evropaSi myofi e.gegeWkorisadmi 1921 wl is 12 Teberval s gagzavnii weril Si vki Txul obT: `somxeTma sabWoTa mTavrobi s gamocxadebi sTanave mogvTxova borCal os mazridan Cveni j arebis gayvana. Cven amazed pi rdapi r uari ar gvi Tqvams da wi nadadeba miveci T amis Taobazed mol aparakeba gagvermarTa. somxeTi s mTavroba dagvTanxmda da movel odi T mis war momadgeni ebs momaval qarTul - somxur konferenciaz-ed. Cven imedi gvqonda, rom borCal os mazris saki Txs mSvidobi anad movagvarebdi T.~ xazgasmi T unda aRini Snos, rom arsebul i probli emis mSvi dobi ani gzi T mogvareba, sabWoTa russetis interessebSi ar Tavsdeboda. maT mier SemuSavebul i gegmis mixedvi T, I ores saki Txi, saqarTvel os gasabWoebi s xel Semwyob faqtorad unda yofil iyo gamoyenebul i. arc issaa gamoricxul i, rom dasaxul i amocanis warmatebi T ganxorciel ebi s da am saqmeSi somxeTi s gansakuTrebui i mxardaWeris SemTxvevaSi, rkp (b) central uri komitetis kavbi uros xel mZRvanel obam, I ores neutraluri zoni s saqarTvel osaTvvis CamoWris winaswari piroba rom misca somxeTi s xeli isufal Ta mesveurebs.

aseTi mosazrebis gamoTqmisi Sesazi ebl obas, I ores probli emis somxur- qarTul konferenci aze mSvi dobi anad gadawyetis Sesaxeb, somxeTi s xel isufi ebi s mxridan gacemul i pirobi s mouI odnel ad `daviwyeba- i Zi eva. Tu ri T iyo ganpirobekl i SeTanxmebi s vadis amowurvamde ori dRiT adre saomari moqmedebebi s dawyeba, amis Sesaxeb, saintreso mosazrebaa gamoTqmul i k.sabaxtarasVi l is mier 1921 wl is 12 Teberval s e.gegeWkorisadmi gagzavnii weril Si. `j er- j eroibi T am ieriSi s mi zani – vki Txul obT dokumentSi. CvenTvvis naTI ad gamokveTi l i ar aris. Sei Zi eba vi fi qroT, rom somxebs srul i imedi hqondaT borCal os mazraSi mZi avri aj anyeba moewyoT, iZul ebul i gavexadeT dagvetovebi na i gi da... daveyenebineT Sesrul ebul i faqtis winaSe. mi T umetes,... Zvel i somxeTi s mTavrobasTan xel Sekrul ebi s Zal iT, Cven j arebs

borçal os mazraSi yofnis vada xval 13 Teberval s gadi s.- es mosazreba angari Sgasawevi a im Tval sazrisi Tac, rom Tuki I ores saki TxTan mimar TebaSi zemoaRni Snul i SeTanxmebis Sesabami sad somex- qar Tvel Ta konferencia gaimar Teboda, somxebi mokarnaxi s_ momgebi an rol Si aRmoCndeboda da qar Tu- l i mxari sadmi maqsimal uri moTxovnebi s dayenebi s SesaZl e- bl oba mi ecemoda. aRni Snul is gaTval i swinebi dan gamomdi nare, saqar Tvel os xel isufi ebis erT- ert prioritetul amoca- nad, im etapze I ores `incidentis- saswrafo I okal izacia warroadgenda. amasTan dakavSirebiT, imave k.sabaxtarasvi- l is mier e.gegewkorisadmi gagzavnil weril Si vki Txul obT: `es garTul eba borçal os mazraSi erTob seriozul movl e- nad unda Cai Tval os... Cveni mi zani a am saqmis I okal izacia da Tanac rac SeiZl eba I ikvidaci a Cqara movaxdinoT.- samwuxarod, qar Tvel i sardl ebis mier dasvebul i sabedi swe- ro Secdomebis gamo, saqar Tvel os xel isufi ebam dasaxul i mi znis Sesrul eba ver SeiZl o. xazgasmiT minda aRvni Sno, rom borçal os mazraSi XI armi is nawil ebis 11 Teberval s SeWra, omisTvis saqar Tvel os mzadyofni sa da qarTul i jaris brZol isunari anobi s Semowmebis safexurs warroadgenda.

I ores rai onSi qarTul i jaris sardl oba mowodebi s si- maRI eze rom yofil iyo da mowinaarmdeges Ri rseul ad dax- vedroda, azerbaijani dan XI armi is nawil ebis 16 Teberval s saqar Tvel oze Tavdasxmis gadadeba gamoricxul i ar iyo. I oreSi qar Tvel Ta katastrofam, mowi naarmdeges moqmedeb- is stimul i misca. samecniero da memuarul i literaturaSi er Txmadaa aRiarebui, rom borçal os mazraSi qarTul i jaris uCveul o ganl agebiT da wesrigis ver damyarebiT, gen. i.odi Sel i Zem momakvdinebel i Secdomebi dauSva. mxed- vel obaSi maqvs: 1)borçal os mazraSi da azerbaijanis sasazRvro zol ze qarTul i jaris nawil ebis araswori ganl ageba; 2)uprincipoba; 3)j aris nawil ebSi udiscipli- noba da vakxanal iiis umarI es xarisxSi ayvana.

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

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

Cał os mazrası qarTul i j ari Semdegnai rad iyo ganl agebul i: 1)voroncovka- j al al - oRı i_ 4 gvardii s qvei Ti batal ionı; ori saartil erio batarea, ori cxenosani eskadroni, ori j avSan- avtomobil i (pol kovniki Cxei Ze, SımnasıSvil i); 2)bambakis xeoba_ sanain- Sagal is mimarTul eba _ meore saarmio brigada, sami qvei Ti aTaseul i, ori batarea, ori cxeenosani eskadroni (gen. sumbaTaSvil i); 3)bobki nis mTa_ ori qvei Ti batal ionı (pol kovniki giorgi xımnıaSvil i); b)azerbaij anis sazRvarTan: 1)wi Tel i xidis mimarTul eba_ erTi qvei Ti batal ionı (mai orı xomeriki); 2)fol- l os xidTan_ ori qvei Ti batal ionı, erTi batarea, erTi cxenosani eskadroni, erTi sanapiro aseul i, mesangreTa mwyo- obri da j avSnosani matarebel i # 4 (pol kovniki kodua).²⁷

qarTul i j aris nawıI ebi s somxeT_ azerbaij anis 110 ko- lometrian sasazRvro perimetrze aseT danawıI ebas, i m pe- riodis samxedro dargis special istebi did Secdomad mi- iCnevnden i m Tval sazrisiT, rom frontis am vrcel i monakve- Ti s saSual o doneze uzrunvel yofas, mi nınum 80 aTasi j arisk- aci dasWi rdebdə. am raodenobi s cocxal i Zal i s gamoyvana saqarTvel os i m etapze ar SeeZl o Tundac i m el ementaru- l i mizezis gamo, rom evropi s qveynebi dan Sepi rebul i dax- marebi s mi uRebl obi s gamo, mi si srul fasovnad SeiaraRebi s uzrunvel yofas ver moaxerxebda. **meore di di strategi ul i Secdoma** i maSi mdgomareobda, rom gen. i oseb gedevani Svil i s brZanebi s Sesabamı sad, qarTul i j aris meore qvei Ti brigada bambaki s xeobaSi Seiyvanes da somxur sofl ebSi patar- patara j gufebad daanawıI es. am qmedebi s ZiriTad motivs, sofl - i s somxuri mosaxl eobi dan i araRis amoReba da aj anyebi s mcdel obi s neutral i zeba warmoadgenda. Cems mi er motanıI zemoaRni Snul faqtebs ukeTebda ra anal i zs, g.kvi ni taZe das- Zenda; `mTavarsardal s (i.odi Sel i Zes S.v.) am Zal ebi s gan- l ageba zustad unda scodnoda, mi Tumetes j ari i q ukve di di xania idga. Tu es ganl ageba ar eWaSni keboda, an saer- Tod arasworad mi aCnda, unda Careul iyo da gamoesworebina Tavisi Sexedul ebi samebr.²⁸ mi Tumetes, qarTul i dazvervis mi er mopovebul i XI armi s ufrosis gekkeris moxseneba_ sabWoTa ruseTi s mxri dan saqarTvel oze Tavdasxmı s Sesax- eb, i.odi Sel i ZisaTvi s cnobi l i iyo. j er- j erobi T iseTi sa- xi s dokuments ver mi vakvl i e, romel ic daadasturebda, qarTu-

I i j aris sofl ebSi gadanawil ebi s i.gedevani Svi l is zemo-aRni Snul i mcdar i gadawyvetil ebi sadmi i.odl Sel i Zi s kritikul damoki debul ebas da mi si droul ad gamosworebi saTvis rai me qmedi Ti Roni sZi ebi s gatarebas. am mi mar Tul ebi T mTavarsardl is mxri dan droul i reagi rebi s argakeTeba da konkretul i Roni sZi ebi s argatareba mafiqrebi nebs, rom drois im monakveTSi, i.odl Sel i Ze j aris gadaadgi l ebi s i.gedevani Svi - l i seul gadawyvetil ebebs i zi arebda.

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

2)uprinci pobaz: im per i odi s cnobi l i samxedro da pol i-tikuri moRvaweebi er Txmad mi uTi Teben i.odl Sel i Zi s uprinci pobaze. aRni Snul saki TxTan dakavSi rebi T gansakuTrebul yuradRebas gen. g.kvi ni taZi s mogonebebis meore wigni i qcevs. masSi dawvril ebi Taa ganxi l ul i i.odl Sel i Zi s zemo-aRni Snul i `moxseneba- da umni Svnel ovanesi saki Txebi s mi mar T, diskusi i s vrcel i mimoxi l vaa war modgeni l i. i qvea dbe-Wdi l i i.odl Sel i Zi s Tvi sebebTan mi mar TebaSi ama Tu im pi ro-vnebebis mxri dan gakeTebul i Sefasebebi c. ni muSi saTvis, maTi mxri dan i.odl Sel i Zi s Tandaswrebi T warmoTqmul i si tyvebi dan, Sesabami s amonari ds SevTavazeb mki Txvel sazogadoebas. **n.xomeriki:** `general i odi Sel i Ze garkvevi T arasodes arafers ambobda da arc sakutar mosazrebebs i cavda, ami t-om i qmneboda STabeWdi l eba, rom Tavis moTxovnebs mai ncd-amainc did mni Svnel obas ar ani Webda.~ **v.j uRel i:** `xSi rad SeuZl ebel i xdeboda er TmaneTi sgang gagerCi aT mni Svnel o-vani da umni Svnel o moTxovnebi ... sakmarisi i yo Jordani as an rami Svi l is sawinaaRmdego eTqvaT, rom general i odi Sel i Ze xmas gakmendda xol me. saqmec ase wydeboda.... raSiac Jordani as sdebT bral s, Tqven Tvi Ton xar T damnaSave, rad-gan garkvevi T da dajinebi T arasodes ar mogi xsenebi aT. ssawrafod eTanjmebodi T yvel as yvel aferSi. ai batonebo rogor xdeboda: war modgens moxsenebas general i odi Sel i Ze, Sevedavebi _ dameTanjmeba; mere gamova dgebuaze, romel i c xSi-rad mewi naaRmdegeboda, general i axl a dgebuaze s eTanjmeba. modiT da gaarkvi eT... ra undoda general odi Sel i Zes. mudam

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

3) jaris nawi ebSi disciplinis verdamyareba: i.odi Se-
l i Zis generl obamde da armi s sardl obamde amaRI ebi s yve-
l aze xel SemSi el faqtorad, jarSi mtkice disciplinis
verdamyareba da saomari moqmedebebis dawyebis procesSi
saRi azrovnebis dakargvis da dabneul obis Tvis sebebi gada-
iqceoda. Tuki es nakl ovani mxareebi ruseTis armi aSi sam-
saxuris dros misTvis damaxasia Tebel i ar iyo, qarTul i
jaris sardl obisas, sadac qveyni s xval indel i dRis bedi
unda gadawyvetil iyo, zemoaRni Snul ma mankierma mxareebma
maRai doneze iCina Tavi. mxedvel obaSi maqvs I ores nei t-
ral ur zonaSi ganl agebul i qarTul i saj ariso Senaer Teb-
is rigebsi damkvidrebul i srul i vakxanal ia. am faqt Tan
dakavSi rebi T XI armi s samxedro komisari da I ores samxe-
dro operaci i s erT- erTi xel mZRvan i i.l aziani 1936 wel s
daweril mogonebebSi, bambaki s xeobaSi qarTvel Ta samar cx-
vino damarcxebas Semdegnairad aRwers: `...mTavari mni Svnel o-
vani saqme aj anyebis mowyobaSi iyo Sagal i s operacia; rac
unda dagvj domoda, unda gadarCenil iyo Sagal i s xidi, romel -
ic danaRmul i iyo (qarTvel ebi s mier); im xids qonda gan-
sakuTrebui mni Svnel oba; am saqmis mowyobi s Tvis gai gzav-
na yofil i Stabskapi tani stepani ani, romel mac wai yvana bev-
ri samxedro special isti. stepani anma da sxvebma Cai cves
I tol vil ebi s tani samosi, maT gaxsnes Sagal Si samiki tnoe-
bi, savse Rvini Ta, aryi Ta da koni aki T. ami T i s i ni dauaxl ovd-
nen qarTvel j ariskacebs da oficrebs; iyo qei fi da dros
tareba. gai ges rogori wesit iyo xidi danaRmul i. maT gam-

oimusaves xidis xel Si Cagdebis gegma, merme 12 Teberval s
 uecrad daecnen xids, xel Tigdes i gi da maT daepatronen.³⁰
 ramdenadac aq motanil i faqtebi sabWoTa generl is mog-
 onebebs warmoadgens, mki Txvel ma SeiZI eba misi sandooba
 elvis qveS daayenos. samwuxarod, i gi simarTI es Seesabameba.
 amis naTel dadasturebas TviT i.odi Sel iZis mier dawer-
 il i `moxseneba~ warmoadgens. zemoaRni Snul faqtTan dakav-
 Si rebiT masSi vki Txul obT: `rac Seexeba aTaseul is daRup-
 vas (mexuTe da merve aTaseul i), jariskacebi da oficroba
 am aTaseul ebi sa daumegobrdnen somxebs, qei fobdnen maTTan
 da bavSvebs unaTI avdhen; imave dros ki naTI imamebi naTI i-
 ebs umzadebdnen daRupvas. am aTaseul ebs rom ar eqeifat
 da bavSvebi ar enaTI aT da yofil iynen fxiZI ad Tavis sa-
 guSagoze_ es ambavi ar moxdeboda. **aq iyo usaTuod kol eq-
 tiuri borotmoqmedeba.**³¹ am saki TxTan dakavSi rebiT a.kvi-
 taiSvill i savsebiT kanonzomierad svams ki Txvas: `sad aris
 sardl obis Tval i? sad aris `Cveni~ (ufro ki maTi) kontr-
 Spi onaji?~ unda vaRiaroT, rom im sabediswer o momentSi
 i.odi Sel iZem, i.gedevani Svil ma, g.sumbaTaSvill ma da sxvebma,
 roml ebic borcal os mazraSi ganl agebul i qarTul i jaris
 nawi l ebs sardl obdnen, srul i uunaroba gamoCi na da qarTu-
 l i SeiaraRebul i Zal ebi katastrofas Seuwo xel i. am
 faqts TviT i.odi Sel iZec aRiarebs. `mTavari mizezi Cemi
 gadayenebi sa mTavarsardl obidan-wers i gi- Sagal is xid-
 Tan momxdari moul odnel i katastrofa iyo... i ciT ra mox-
 da? mtris agentebma I xini gaumarTes Sagal is frontze
 myof jariskacebs, daaTvres. RamiT Sagal is xidze SeumCne-
 vl ad `moxsnes- Cveni daraj i, gadmovidnen xidiT da Tofis
 gausrol el ad Cai gdes mTvrsl i mZinare Ti Tqmis Cveni Zal e-
 bi.~ es aris saqarTvel os pirvel i respubliki SeiaraRebu-
 l i Zal ebi mTavarsardl is gen. i.odi Sel iZis aRiarebi Ti
 Cveneba. jaris nawi l ebSi damkvidreibul i aseTi vakxanal i-
 i dan gamomdinare, nebismer qveyanaSi ara Tu Tanamdebo-
 bi dan gadayenebas dasj erdeboden, mas pirvel rigSi wode-
 brivad Camoaqvei Tebdnen da tribunal s gadascemdnen.

exeboda ra borcal os mazraSi qarTul i jaris sabedis-
 wer o da samarcxvi no damarcxebis ganmapirobel mi zeze-
 bs, grigol urataZe gul i swyromiT savsebiT kanonzomier-
 ad dasZenda, rom borcal os mazraSi momxdari `kol eqtiu-

ri borotebis Sedegi iyo `mTel i armis naxevaris~ ubrZol vel ad ganadgureba. aman ra Tqma unda, daangria Cveni Tavdacvis saqme, dascal a strategi ul i punqtebi da gaa-ZI iera mtris gamarj vebis Sansebi.~ amas isic daemata, rom darCenil i jaris nawil ebi usardl od aRmoCnda da maTi bedi, mxol od TiToeul i qvedanayofis xel mZRvanel is gada-wyvetil ebebze i qna damoki debul i.

borCal os mazraSi 1921 wl is 12 dan 15 Tebervl is CaTv-
l iT ganxorciel ebul i sabrZol o operaci ebTan mimar Teba-
Si arsebul i faqtebis anal izidan gamodinare, a.kvi tai Svi l i
wers: `12_ 16 Tebervl amde qarTul j ars namdvil i patroni
ar hyavs. aqa- iq gancal kevebul i jarisa da gvardi is naw-
il ebi gadadian Setevaze. mi Rwevebic aqvT, magram radganac
maTi moqmedeba ar aris SeTanjmebul i da ar Cans sardl is
nebi syofa, romel mac unda moaxdinos maTi moqmedebis koor-
dinacia, marcxdebi an.~ amis Zi ri Tadi ganmapi robebel i mize-
zebi gen. i.odi Sel iZis umoqmedobaSi unda veZi oT. am sak-
i TxTan dakavSirebiT, i.odi Sel iZis zemoaRni Snul i `mox-
senebis- ganxil vis dros, v.j uRel ma daufar avad ganacxa-
da: `frontze pi rvel i gasrol iSTanave general i odi Sel -
iZe ise dai bna, rom saomari moqmedebis warmarTvis yovel -
gvari unari dakarga, j ars aravi Tari mi Ti Teba ar mi uRia
da yovel i nawil i, rasac undoda imas akeTebda.³² e.i. jaris
koordinrebul i marTvis el ementarul i formebi iyo dar-
Rveul i. mdgomareobas isic arTul ebda, rom im momentSi
i.odi Sel iZe arsebul i situaci is droul da swor Sefasebas
ver axdenda. amis damadasturebl ad Semdegi faqti gam-
odgeba. roca rusebma foil os xi dTan ganl agebul i saqa-
rTvel os saj ariso SenaerTi sawinaaRmdegod pozici ebze
ramdeni me qvemexi gamoi tana, qarTul i jaris erT- erTi ko-
l onis meTauri pirdapiri mavTul iT i.odi Sel iZes dael ap-
araka; `mteri amaRam auci l ebl ad gadmova Setevaze. neba
momeci T xidi avafeTqo.~ aRni Snul Tan dakavSirebiT i.odi-
Sel iZem upasuxa: `Cven vi myofebiT megobrul ganwyobil eb-
aSi sabWoTa ruseTTan. dauSvebel ia Cveni mxridan mtrul i
moqmedeba. erideT provokaci as.~ aseT brZanebas iZI eva sa-
rdal i, romel sac rusul _ somxurma samxedro SenaerTebma,
12 dan 15 Tebervl is CaTvI iT jaris ori mesamedi gaunadg-
ura da omis samomavl o bedi qarTul mxares 3/4%-iT wa-

agebi na⁴⁴mi Tumetes, foil os xi dis aufeTqebi oba, taqtikuri Tval sazrisiT i.odis Sel iZis mxridan morig gamousworebel Secdomas warroadgenda. am xi dis moqmedunari anobi s Senar-Cuneba, rogorc g.kvi ni taze wers, `mowi naaRmdeges rkini gaze Tavi sufl ad moZraobi s saSual ebas aZI evda. i gi Tavi suf- I ad gadaiyvanda j ars, advil ad mi awodebda i ararRs, sursaTs, bol os da bol os j avSanmatarebl iT moqmedebas SeZI ebda.³³ yovel i ve aRni Snul i dan gamomdinare, foil os xi dis afeTqeba pirvel xarisxovan amocanas warroadgenda, Tundac im el ementarul i mizezis gamo, rom mis aRdgenamde, XI armi- is nawil ebs, rkini gzi (im etapze yvel aze xel sayrel i da efekturi satransporto saSual eba) gamoyenebis Sesazl e- bl oba Seekveceboda. aqedan gamomdinare, iZul ebul i gaxde- boda mTel i yuradReba wi Tel i xi dis mimarTul ebi T gada- etana. Tumca, misi gadaadgil ebi sa da Sesabami si samxedro masal iT droul ad momaragebi s procesebis mxol od SezRu- dul formebsi ganxorciel ebas SeZI ebda. samwuxarod, saqa- rTvel os Seiararebul i Zal ebi s sardl obam es umni Svnsl o- vanesi Sansi droul ad ver gamoi yena. mxedvel obaSi maqvs i mage xi dis mogvianebiT arasrul fasovnad afeTqebis faqti. Seqmni i umZimesi mdgomareobi dan da mTavarsardl is_ i.odis Sel iZis umoqmedobi dan, arsebul i situaci s Sesatyvisi ta- qtikuri xasi aTi s RonisZiebebi s argatarebi dan gamomdinare, wi Tel xi dTan qarTul i j aris nawil I ebma marcxI gani ca- da. aRni Snul saki TxTan dakavSi rebi T arsebul i memuarul i da samecniero I literaturiT ar dasturdeba, rom i.odis Sel iZe wi Tel i da foil os xi debi s mimarTul ebi T usistemod `gada- srol i l i ~ qvedanayofebis erT muStad Sekvras cdil iyo. am SemTxvevaSi man borCal os mazraSi_ I oreSi daSvebul i taqtikuri Secdoma gaimoora.

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

brZol i s dros erTmaneTs?...

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

zemoaRni Snul ma taqtikurma Secdomebma erTobl i obaSi gamanadgurebul i dar tyna mi ayena saqarTvel os Sei aRaRebul Zal ebs, xol o XI armi i s nawi l ebs brZol i sa da Setevi Ti operaciebis gagrZel ebi s `xal i si- da rac mTavaria, gamarj vebis imedi Causaxa. aseT umZimes situaciaSi ganxorciel da naxevrad ganadgurebul i qarTul i j aris mTavarsardl i s Secvl a. saqarTvel os mTavrobi sa da Tavdacvi s sabWos gadawayeti l ebi s Tanaxmad, i.odi Sel i Zi s nacvl ad mTavarsardl ad g.kvi ni taZe dai ni Sna. gen. al .zaqariaZe am cvl il ebas i.odi Sel i Zi s avadmyofobi T xsni s da gverds uvl i s im taqtikur Secdomebs, roml ebi c 11- dan 15 Tebervl i s CaTvl iT i.odi Sel i Zi s mTavarsardl obi s periodSi iqna daSvebul i da rusul - somxuri Sei aRaRebul i Zal ebi s warmatebi s gamapi robebel i fatori gaxda.

ramdenadac 1919 wl i s 13 seqtembris teraqatis dros i.odi-Sel i Zem (saxeSi dai Wra) mZime kontuzia mi i Ro, savaraudoa, rom misi srul yofili ad gamoj anmrTel eba i m etapze ver moxerxda. mi Rebul i fsiqikuri Soki, nerviul i sistemis daZabul obi s SemTxvevaSi, rogorc Cans `Tavs axsenebda- am faqtoris gaTval i swi nebi dan gamodinare Tuki mi vudgebi T saki Tx s, i gi marTI ac avad unda yofili iyo. wi naaRmd- eg SemTxvevaSi: 1) yovi ad dauSvebul ia, rusul j arSi general - I ei tenantis safexuramde (1914 wl i s 11 oqtomberi) da dasavl eTis frontis me- 3 armi i s (1917 wl i s 12 seqtemberi), xol o i mave wl i s 2 oqtombri dan kavkasi i s rusul i armi i s sardl obamde amaRI ebul pirovnebas, ruseTis saxe- l mwifos Ti Tqm i s yvel a umaRI esi xarisxis ordenebi s (wminda stanissi avskis I da III xarisxis, wmind a anas I, II da III xarisxis, wmind a vi admiris III da IV xarisxis, wmind a giorgis IV xarisxis, oqros i arari warweriT- `mamacobi sa-Tvis-) mfl obel s, saqarTvel os pirvel i respubliki s yof-

na- aryofnis gadamwyvet momentSi, samxedro dargis profesional i maRaL CinosnisaTvis warmoudgenel i da qarTu-
l i SeiaraRebul i Zal ebis Ti Tqmisi ganadgurebis xel Semw-
yobi taqtikuri Secdomebi daeSva; 2)i.odi Sel iZis samxedro
ganaTi ebisa da mefis ruseTiS armiaSi safexurebrivid
gavl il i udidesi praqtil i gamocdil ebis fonze, a.gekkeri
da i.l aziani samxedro saqmisi dil etantebad SeiZi eba Cai T-
val os. (a.gekkeri_ 1909 wel s samxedro saswavl ebel i da-
amTavra, xol o 1917 wel s, gasabWoebul i ruseTiS genStabis
samxedro akademi asTan Seqmnili i daCqarebul i kursebi gai-a-
ra; i.l aziani_ aso Tamwyobi, gasabWoebul i somxeTiS jaris
pol i tganyofil ebis ufrosi). am donis sardl ebTan moux-
da gen. i.odi Sel iZes 1921 wl i s 11 Tebervl i dan 16 Tebervl -
i s CaTvI iT dapi ri spi reba. im SemTxvevaSi, Tuki drois am
monakveTSi m mindinare sabrZol o moqmedebebis Sesaxeb g.kvi-
ni taZi s mogonebebSi motanil faqtobriv masal as sarwmun-
od mi vi CnevT, Cvens wi naSe saqarTvel os SeiaraRebul Zal ebT-
an mimar TebaSi katastroful i suraTi warmoCndeba.

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

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

a)aspi nzi s mecxre aTaseul i, b)meSvi de aTaseul i, g)sadaraj o aTaseul i, d)sanapi ro batal ion, e)qarTI is ori batal ion, v)gvardi is erTi batal ion, z)gvardi is mZime metyvi amfrqve- veTa batal ion, T)xuTi saartil erio batarea, i)j avSni an avtomobil Ta erTeul i da k)j avSni ani matarebel i # 3; 3)orxevis seqtori _ mdinare mtkvris marcxena sanapi rodan- sof el araj ana pavl ias mTame sof el I II os CaTvl iT. am xazis dacvis uzrunvel yofa gen. j ij ixias qonda mindobil i. mis gankargul ebaSi imyofeboda: a)imereTi s meore batal ion, b)zugdi dis batal ion, g)rezervSi idga duSeTi s gvardi is batal ion, d)savel e batarea #5 da e)samTo batarea, v)cxe- nosanTa brigadis ori pol ki, romel ic sof. I II oSi idga.³⁵

samecniero da memuarul I literaturaSi erTxmadaa aRi- arebul i, rom g.kvi ni taZiseul ma jaris ganl agebis zemoaRni S- nul ma taqtikam gaamarTI a. 18 Tebervl i dan 22 Tebervl is CaTvl iT XI armi is yvel a Semotevebi warmatebi T iqna mogerie- bul i. qarTul i jaris nawil ebi Setevazeda gadavida da mowi naaRmdeges gamanadgurebel i dar tymebe mi ayena. mi ux- davad ami sa, qarTul i SeiarRebnul i Zal ebi s imdroindel i mdgomareobi dan gamomdinare (jararisa da qarxnul i wrmoebi s vaznebi s uqonl oba), saqarTvel o gaWi anurebul i omis warmoebas ver gauZl ebda. es faqtori saqarTvel os xel i su- fl ebi s maRaI Cinosnebs kargad qondaT gacnobierebul i. amis naTel dadasturebas, ruseTi s agresi s Sesacerebl ad qarTve- l i dipl omatebi sagan evropi s saxel mwifoebi Carevi s mcde- l obebi warmoadgens. am mxri v gansakuTrebul yuradRebas, ital iaSi myofi akaki Cxenkel is mier berl insi saqarTve- l os warmomadgenl is I ado axmetel i sadmi 23 Teberval s gagzavnil i weril i iqcevs. am dokumentSi garkvevi Taa mi- TiTebul i, rom I ado axmetyel i maqsimal urad cdil i yoraTa berl ins garkveul i gavl ena moexdina moskovze, rom mas saqa- rTvel os wi naaRmdeg agresi ul i qmedebebi SeeCerebi na. `es mol aparakeba rogorc berl insi, i se moskovSi _ vki Txul obT dokumentSi _ unda xdebodes srul iad sai duml od. Tvi T Seni nabi j ebi saiduml od unda Seinaxo, amxanagebsac ar unda ga- ando. j er unda Sei tyo, aris Tu ara raime Zafi berl insa da moskovs Soris. sul erTia, oficial uri Tu araoifical - uri. unda gai go, saTaveSi vis uwiravs es Zafi da mere imo- qmedo. CvenTvis araa sasargebl o parizSi an sxvagan i cod-

nen, rom berl ini cdil obs CvenTvis. unda dausuraTxato mand, ramdenad aucil ebel ia da sasar gebl o germani i saTvis Cveni gza, mas Semdeg rac mesopotami aSi fexi amoakveTines. unda daai medo, rom baqos da er evni s ganTavi sufl ebac drois saki Txi a. maSasadame, berl ins SeuZl ia dabej iTebi T Caagonos moskovs, nu mtrobs saqar Tvel os romel ic Sesazl oa komerciul i kari gaxdes Tvi T baqos Tvis evropaSi.~ am amonaweri dan kargad Cans i s Ziri Tadi mi marTul ebebi, romel ic qarTu l i di pl omatiuri korpusi s warmomadgenl ebi s muSaobas germani i s xel i sufl ebasTan safuZvl ad unda dadeboda. mxed-vel obaSi maqvs germani i s mxri dan saqar Tvel osadmi I obirebis mi zni T, sabWoTa ruseTze zemoqmedebi s berketebi s amoqmedebi s aTvis Sesabamisi safexuri s mosamzadebel i samuSaoebi s Catarebis aucil ebl oba. Tu ramdenad iqna gaTval i swinebul i akCxenkel i s zemoaRni Snul i moTxovnebi berl inSi myofi saqar Tvel os warmomadgenl i s I .axmetel i sgan, ami s Sesaxeb srul informacias i Zl eva i mave I .axmetel i s mi er ukve I ondonSi myofi akaki Cxenkel i sadmi gagzavn i weri i (1921 wl i s 28 Teberval i). am dokument dan kargad Cans: 1)germani i s samTavrobo wreebTan mol aparakebaSi germani i s social - demokratiul i muSaTa partiis I iderebis aktiurad CarTvis procesi; 2)i mave pol i tikuri partiis I iderebis Zal i sxmevit, germani i s prezident erbertTan, I .axmetel i s Sexvedris faqti. am RonisZiebi s Ziri Tad mi zans, qveyni s prezidenti sadmi Txovna war moodgenda, raTa, garkveul i zemoqmedeba moexdina germani i s mTavrobaze, i m Tval sazrisiT, rom Sesabamisi uwyebas saiduml o kavSi rebi gaeba sabWoTa ruseTi s umarI es eSel onebTan da ruseT- saqar Tvel os saomari moqmedebebi s SeCerebi s aucil ebl obaSi daerwmunebina. i mave Sexvedraze I .axmetel ma germani i s prezident erberts sam muxl i ani moTxovna war udgi na: 1)dauyovnebl i v moexdinaT berl inSi myofi sabWoTa warmomadgenel i s gaweva da i mavdroul ad mi ecaT wi nadadeba, rom moskovi s Tvis omis saswrafod SeCerebi s aucil ebl obi s Setyobi neba gadaeca; 2)moskovSi myofi germani i s warmomadgenel i s aTvis ecnobebinaT, rom mas garkveul i formi T gavl ena moexdina I ondonze, raTa i ngl i sis mxri danac yofil iyo moTxovna omis SeCerebi s Sesaxeb; 3)ecnobos ul - rix rauSers, rom mas germani i s saxel i T emoqmeda omis SesaCerebl ad.

i mave weril i s mixedviT, germaniis prezidents erberts, qarTvel i dipl omatebisadmi micemul i dapi reba Seusrul ebida germaniis mTavrobi s kabinetis 1921 wl i s 25 Tebervl i s sxdomaze zemoaRni Snul i samive saki Tx i principul ad dausvams. i sic dasturdeba, rom qarTul i mxaris wi nadadebebi, i mave sxdomis wevrebis mier gaziarebul i iqna. Sesabamisi masal ebi s miukvl evl obis gamo, j erj erobi T SeuZl ebel i xdeba i mis garkveva, saqarTvel osTan mimar TebaSi Semdegi safexurebri v nabij i gadadga Tu ara germaniis mTavrobam da konkretul ad ra formiT Semoifargl aigi. i mave arqivs-acavebSi mikvl eul i masal ebi s mixedviT, qarTul i dipl omatiuri korpusis warmomadgenl ebi, sabWoTa ruseTi sadmi safrangeTi s meSveobi T osmal eTi dasapi ri spirebl adac mu-Saobdnen. ami s udao dadasturebas, parizSi myofi saqarTvel os warmomadgenl obis TaTbiris (1921 wl i s 19 marti) oqmi warmoadgens. am dokumentis mi xedviT i rkveva, rom aRni Snul i sxdoma i m saki TxTa SeTanjmebas uZRoda win, romel i c safrangeTi s sagareo saqmeTa ministr Tan ak.Cxenkel i s Sexvedrisas, qarTul mxares unda daesva. 1)osmal eTs uari unda eTqva saqarTvel os teritoriis mitacebaze da 1914 wl i s monacemebi T arsebul i sazRvrebi eRiar ebin a; 2)osmal eTi kavkasi aze gabatonebis survil s sabol ood gamoTxoveboda da am saqmeSi arbitris rol i erTa l i gas Seesrul ebin a; 3)saqarTvel os samxedro daxmareba unda mi eRo ara osmal eTi s aSual ebi T (osmal eTi s Cvendami apekunoba yovl ad mi-uRebel ia), aramed pirdapir safrangeTi dan; 4)yvel a zoma unda yofil iyo mi Rebul i raTa safrangeTi s mTavrobi s Carevi T da antantis saxel mwifoTa garantii T, osmal eTi saqarTvel osTan erTad ruseTi s wi naaRmdeg gamosul iyo. marTal ia, aq CamoTvl il i saki Txebi i mave sxdomis monawi l eTa mier mowonebul i da mi Rebul i iqna, magram misi praqtikul ad ganx-orciel eba ori ZiriTadi faqtoris gamo iyo SeuZl ebel i: 1)osmal eTi s parlamentis mier 1920 wl i s 28 i anvars mi Rebul i `erovnul i paqtidan- gamodinare, osmal eTi s saxel mwifos sazRvrebi gansazRvrul i da dadgenil i iyo; 2)moskovi s 1921 wl i s 16 martis ruseT- osmal eTi s `megobrobis xel Sekrul ebi s- oficial uri teqsti, ruseTTan dapi ri spirebis Sesazl ebl obas osmal eTs ar aZl evda. meore mxriv, i mave xel Sekrul ebi T sabol ood iqna `dadgenil i~ osma-

I eT-saqarTvel os Soris gamaval i saxel mwi fo sazRvari. aqedan gamomdinare, osmal eTis mxridan raime kompromisze wasvl a, evropis saxel mwi foebid dan mxol od gansakuTrebull i politikuri zewol iT iqneboda Sesazl ebel i; 3) ruseT-saqarTvel os saomari moqmedebebi da evropis saxel mwi foebis mxridan mayurebl is poziciis daWera, osmal eTs, mi tacebul i teritoriebis SenarCunebis myar garantias uqmni da. mi Tumetes, 1921 wl is 22 Tebervl is ul timatumis Semdeg, saqarTvel o izul ebul i gaxda ardagani sa da arTvinis ol qebi ubrzol vel ad daeTmo. xazgasmi T unda iTqvas, rom osmal eTis xel isufi ebam, zemoaRni Snul i nabij i mas Semdeg gadadga, roca qarTul i jaris nawil ebma XI armias gamanadgurebel i dar tyma miayena. am fonze osmal eTma, sa-mxreT-dasavl eTi dan saqarTvel os axal i probl emebi Seuqmna, xol o sabWoTa ruseTs aqturi moqmedebis meti Sesazl ebl obebi misca. i mave dokumenturi masal iTirkveva, rom n.Jordani as mier 1921 wl is 22 Teberval s ak.Cxenkel i sadmi gamogzavnili depeSaSi dasmul i moTxovna, ak.Cxenkel i sgani Sesrul ebul i iqna. amasTan dakavSi rebiT parizi dan i mave ak.Cxenkel i s mier mTavrobis Tavmj domaris saxel ze 1921 wl is 27 Teberval s gagzavnili depeSaSi vki Txul obT; `mi vdi var I ondonSi, angoras Sesaxeb... protesti formal uri ganvacxade I ondonSi. etyoba SeTanxmeba moxda antantas da angoras Soris, am SemTxvevaSi Sesazl ebel ia gavl enis moxdena angoraze. dasmul ia somxeTis saki Txi, vecdebi dai svas Cveni saki Txic.~ am mimarTul ebiT qarTvel dipl omatTa mcdeI obebi uSedego aRmoCnda. es gakvirvebas ar iwevs, radgan im etapze inglisis pol itikurad gameZavebul xel isufi ebas, savaWro-ekonomikuri xel Sekrul ebi sabol oo teqsti sabWoTa rusettan jer kidev 1920 wl is meore naxevarSi qonda momzadebul i. oqros moxveWi T daxarbebul inglisis burJuazias, qarTvel i eris saxel mwi foebriobis dakargva Ciris fasadac ar uRinda. zemoaRni Snul i xel Sekrul ebiT (oficial urad xel i 1921 wl is 16 marts moewera) inglisisma, ami er kavkasi a sabWoTa ruseTs gadaul oca. mxedvel obaSi maqvs i mave xel Sekrul ebaSi Cadebul i sagangebo muxl i, roml iTac kavkasi is saqmeebSi ar da interesebul mxared inglisi oficial urad acxadebda Tavs. aqedan gamomdinare, inglisisa da misi satel iti qveynebi sgan saqarTvel osadmi

raime formiT mxardaweraze figri_ il uzi as warmoadgenda.
sazRvargareTis qveynebi dan dauxmarebl obis mi uxedavad,
Tbil isis misadgomebTan qarTul i j aris gmirul ma brZol e-
bl ma da mtris didi danakargiT damarcxebam, qarTul i di p-
l omatiuri korpusis warmomadgenl ebs mterze gamarj vebis
rwmena gauormaga. amis dadasturebas parizSi myofi ak.Cxe-
nkel is mier berl inSi l ado axmetel isadmi gagzavnil i we-
ril i warmoadgens. saqarTvel odan mi Rebul i `ukanasknel i
cnobebi - vki Txul obt dokumentSi - damamSvi debel ia. omi
moviget, vfi qrobT rom borCal os saki Txi sabol ood gadaw-
ydeba Cvenda sasargebl od.~ qarTul i dipl omatiis am opti-
mizs ori faktori ganapi robebda: 1)1921 wl is 22 Tebervl i-
dan 24 Tebervl is CaTvl iT, saqarTvel os SeiaraRebul Zal ebs
yvel a strategiul i dani Snul ebi s simaRI e qonda dakavebu-
l i; 2)sabWoTa xel isufI ebi s wi naaRmdeg aj anyebul ma somx-
urma mosaxl eobam, qal aqi erezani ai Ro. i mavdroul ad aj an-
yeba azerbaij anSi - TauzSi dai wyo. Tuki g.mazni aSvi l s, a.kvi ta-
i Svi l s, v.TevzaZes da sxvebs verwmunebi T, XI armi is sard-
l oba ukansknel Zal ebs i krebda da Tbil isis aRebas maqsim-
al urad Cqarobda. mis amocanas, j aris nawil ebSi omis msvl -
el obis gaWi anrebi T warmoqmnili ukmayofil ebi s minimumam-
de dayvana, somxeTsa da azerbaij anSi dawyebul i aj anyebi T,
XI armi isadmi zurgSi Seqmnili mosal odnel i safiTxis
gaZI ierebi sadmi daswreba warmoadgenda. gamouval mdgomam-
reobaSi myofma gekkerma, samxedro xel ovnebaSi damkvi drebu-
l i eSmakobis formas mimarTa. mxedvel obaSi maqvs gener-
al uri brZol is imitaciis Seqmnisa da am saqmeSi JI obas
XII cxenosani diviziis moixerxebul ad gamoyenebis faqt.~
samxedro dargis special istebis monacemebi T, g.kvi ni taZem
kargad auRo al Ro Seqmnili situacias da andronikaSvi l is,
mazni aSvi l is, j ij ixias Tavdacvis seqtorebs, 24 Teberval s
meOTxe seqtori_ patara l il odan kus tbamde xazi dauma-
ta. samwuxarod, mis xel mZRvanel ad pol kovniki nikol oz
gedevani Svi l i iqna dani Snul i. marTal ia, Teoriul ad igi
maRaI doneze iyo momzadebul i, magram, a.kvi taiSvi l is si-
tyvebiT rom vTqvaT, `yovl ad uargisi gamodga praqtilul
brZol aSi- did Senaer TTa xel mZRvanel obisaTvis.~ imave a.kvi-
taiSvi l is monacemebi T, pol kovnik n.gedevani Svi l is da
cxenosani j aris brigadis meTauris pol kovnik si damon-

erisTavis daudevrobis dan gamomdi nare, mtris mcireodenma
 mxedrobam, patara I II os Tavdacvis xazs Semouara da
 mosaxl eobaSi pani kis Seqmnis mizni T, avWal is rkingzis
 sadguris mimarTul ebi T `patara TareSi- ganaxorciel a.
 am faqtis siwores, gen. CxeiZisadmi daweril pasuxSi, j avS-
 nosani matarebel is meTauri val odia goguaZec adasturebs.
 `j avSnosani matarebl iT avWal isken gaveSure, mtris mcire
 gundi garekil i iqna, mil icia da sadguris mosamsaxuren
 Tavis adgil ze aRvadgineT.³⁶ xazgasmi T unda aRini Snos, rom
 saqarTvel os gasabWoebis Semdeg, pol kovnik si damon
 erisTavi moskovSi iqna gadayvanil i da wl ebi ganmavl o-
 baSi kreml Si_ istal inis `oxrankaSi- msaxurobda. rac
 Seexeba Tavdacvis meoTxe seqtoris xel mZRvanel pol kovnik
 n.gedevani SviI s, a.kvitai SviI is mtkicebi T `al Ro verafers
 ver auRo da pani ki T mocol ma mi atova Tavisi ubani, gaeqana
 mTavar StabSi mdgomareobis `asaxsnel ad.~ swored am pani-
 kurma `axsna- ganmar tebam i TamaSa sabedi swero rol i TbiI i-
 sis mi tovebaSi.³⁷ am faqtis siwores pol kovnik v.TevzaZec
 adasturebs. `pol kovnik gedevani svil is dabrulebam Teberv-
 I is 24- Si, didad dagvafiqra. is dRisi T dani Snul i iqna
 frTazed moqed j arTa ufrosad. mi si arasrul i Sefasebi T
 mteri marcxena qvei TTa j arisa da artil eriis garRveiT
 gvemuqreboda.³⁸ am monacemebis mixedvi T, 24 Teerval s dRisi T
 sardl ad dani Snul i pirovneba, saRamos StabSi garbis, j ar-
 sa da Tavdacvis xazs meTauris gareSe upatronod tovebs
 da mis mier mi taniI i informaciiT, Stabis wevrebSi pani kas
 qmnis. arada, n.gedevani SviI is pirvel xarisxovan amocanas,
 cxenosani j aris unariani marTva da arsebul i situaciis
 Sesatyvisi gadawyvetil ebabis droul i mi Reba warmoadgen-
 da. am SemTxvevaSi, meoTxe seqtoris sardl is moval eobis
 nacvl ad, n.gedevani SviI ma informatorisadmi dakisrebul i
 funqcia Seasrul a. pani ki T Sezavebul i formiT, mis mier
 StabSi mi taniI i cnobebi gaxda mTavarsardl is mxri dan
 TbiI isis dasatovebl ad gadawyvetil ebi s mi Rebis erT- erTi
 myari safuzvel i. Tuki frontis mowinave xaxis central uri
 seqtoris sardal is g.mazni aSviI is memuarebSi motanil i
 monacemebis mixedvi T vi msj el ebT, mdgomareoba arCTu sa-
 gangaSo iyo. amasTan dakavSi rebi T i gi garkveiT wers: `fron-
 tis mdgomareoba ki 24 Teerval s aseTi iyo: mowi naaRmdegis

ier i Sebi yvel a rai onSi moger i ebul ni iqnen da darwmunebul i viyavi, rom mTel i dRis brZol iT daqancul i mowinaaRmdege Ramis ier i Sebs ar moaxdenda, xol o di l iT, radganac mowinaaRmdege i dga mTis gaSI il ferdobze da xevSi, Cveni kargad mowyobi l i poziciebis pirispri, iZul ebul i gaxdeboda an iaraRi aeyara, an da Tu vini cobaa uk an dai xevda, mTl ad gawydeboda, I egi onebi s ufrosebTan tel efonebi T l aparakis dros es Cemi azri TandaTan mtki cdeboda.~ mi Tu metes, saintendant da saartil erio sawyobebi dan Tavdacvis uwyebam 24 Teberval s g.mazni aSvi l is seqtorSi sanovagi sa da vaznebis didi maragi Sei tana. aRni Snul i faqtebi natyuari informacia rom i yos, i gi sxva samxedro maRal Ci nosnebis mxridan umkacresi kritikis sagani gaxdeboda. Tumca, g.kvi nitaZe, al .zaqariaZe da sxvebi, Tavis martl ebi s mi zni T, arsebul si tuacias i se warmosaxaven, Ti Tqos mdgomareoba katastroful i iyo da Tbil i sis datovebi s garda sxva gamosaval i ar arsebobda. xazgasmi T minda aRvni Sno, rom am saki Tx-Tan mimar TebaSi, utyuar dokumentur masal aze dayrdnobi T, samxedro dargi s special istebi s mxridan si Rrmi seul i samecni ero kvl evi Ti samuSaos Cataereba da Sesabami si saxeobi s rukebis (dawrili ebi Ti monacemebi s darTvi T) Sedgena pirvel i rigis amocanas warmoadgens. mxedvel obaSi maqvs: a)yvel a sabrZol o operaci i s (Tavdacva da Seteva); b)qarTul i j arisa da mtris samxedro Senaer Tebis 1921 wl is 24 Tebervl is monacemebi T ganl agebi s; g)i mave saj ariso Senaer Tebis mier 24 Tebervl i sTvis dakavebul i punqtebi s, simaRI eebisa da xevebi s topografiul i saxis dawrili ebi Ti rukebi s Sedgena; d)somxeTsa da azerbaijanSi dawyebul i aj anyebebi s (monawili eTa raodenobi s garkveva) moqmedebi s sivrcis Sesabami si rukebi s Sedgena. yovel i ve aRni Snul i s erTobl i obaSi ganxili va, mi udgomel i da safuZvi i ani sinTezuri anal izi SesaZi ebl obas mogvcems swori daskvna gavakeToT, Tu ramdenad kanonzomi eri iyo general g.kvi ntaZi s #131- e brZanebi s safuZvel ze Tbil i sis ubrZol vel ad datoveba.

samwuxarod, zemoaRni Snul i brZanebi s avtorobas zogier-Ti pol i tikuri moRvawe n.Jordanias abral ebs. mxedvel oba-Si maqvs r.gabaSvi l is memuarеби, sadac vki Txul obT; `Jordanias` mTavr obi s~ brZanebi T Tbil isi unda migvetovebi na da evakuacia xdeboda. ami s damadasturebel sabuTad i s

`kuri ozi - mai nc gamodgeba,... rom benia Cxi kvi Svi l ma... rogorc
`qal aqis Tavma,~ Tu Tbil issis `gubernatorma- Reneral - gubernatoroba,- daTa vaCnaZes gadasca yvel a Tavi si xarisxe-
bi da moval eobani: `Tbil iss upatroneTo- da Tvi Ton,- ba-
TuSi gadavi da Reneral - gubernatorad.³⁹ im momentSi Tu
ara, memuarabis daweris dros r.gabaSvi l ma Sesani Snavad
i coda g.kvi ni taZis (qveynis mTavarsardal i) xel moweriT
oficial urad gamocemul i zemoaRni Snul i #131- e brZaneb-
is arseboba. XX saukuni s 30- ian wl ebSi, emigraciaSi myofi
samxedro dargis maRal Cinosnebi, presaSi garkveiT werd-
nen, rom Tbil issis datovebis saki Txi Tavdacvis sabWos sx-
domam gadawyti da ara piradad n.Jordani am. amis Sesaxeb
dawrili ebi Taa saubar i g.kvi ni taZis, al .zaqariaZis, k.i mnaZisa
da sxvaTa memuarebSi. vi nc am pirovnebaTa mogonebebs gaec-
noba darwmundeba, rom Tavdacvis sabWos sxdomaze Tbil i-
sis datovebis saki Txi dasmis iniciatori g.kvi ni taZe iyo.
amis Sesaxeb al .zaqariaZe garkveiT wers: `Tavdacvis sab-
Wos sxdoma gai xsna saRamos Svid saaTze Cems kabinetSi.
mTavarsardal ma (g.kvi ni taZem S.v.) gaukeTa mas (n.Jordani as
S.v.) dawrili ebi Ti moxseneba Seqmnili i mdgomareobis Sesax-
eb da miawoda... frontebis meTaurTa azri, rom xval gameo-
rebul bol Sevikebis ieriSebs isini veRar gauZI ebdnen...
mTavarsardal i askvni da: xval i dan an brZol a al yaSemort-
ymul Tbil issi ... anda daxeva mcxeTis poziciebze.⁴⁰ aRni Snul
faqts g.kvi ni taZe Semdegnai rad gadmoscems: `saRamos 5-
6 saaTis aTvis mTavrobis Tavmj domares movaxsene Cemi gada-
wyetil eba ukandaxevi Sesaxeb. brZol is yvel a saSual eba
amovwureT da al yaSi moqceva gvermuqreboda. 9 saaTis aTvis
es brZaneba (saubar i #131- e brZanebaze S.v.) gadaeca j ars,
romel sac ukandaxeva Ramis 12 saaTze unda daewyo... Cemi
brZanebis Tanaxmad j ars sam kol onad unda daexia ukana.⁴¹
momdevno gverdze i give g.kvi ni taZe wers: `Tbil issis datove-
bis saki Txi saxel mwifo Tavdacvis sabWos kiserzea, romel -
mac orj er principul ad gadawyti is, anu dedaqal aqis
datoveba brZol is Sewyvetad da qveynis damarcxebad ar
mi i Cni a... gadawyetil eba droul i iyo. mxol od 25 Tebervl a-
mde SeiZI eboda j aris gadarCena.⁴²

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

cess. imavdroul ad xazgasmi T mi uTi Tebs, Tu ramdenad uary-ofiT i zemoqmedeba moaxdina g.kvi ni taZeze Tbil i sis dacvis marcxena seqtoris sardl is gen. j ij ixias mier satel e-fono xazi T mowodebul ma sasi xarul o informaci am_ mtris sastikad damarcxebis da pirvandel i sawyi si strategi ul i mni Svnel obis poziciebis dakavebis Sesaxeb. rogorc k.imnaze wers, Tavdacvis sabWos sxdomi sadmi mis mier miwodebul ma am informaci am g.kvi ni taZe gansakuTreibul a da mTavrobis Tavmj domares gadadgomi T daemuqra. igi `gaeqana mTavrobis Tavmj domari sken da ganucxada: `ia otstupai u!-es ori si tyva iq myofT mexivi T daatyda Tavze... mTavrobis Tavmj domarem saTval e moixsna da gaocebul i gamometryveli ebi T Seeki Txa mTavarsardal s:- rogor, ra moxda... uk an daxeva aucil ebel ia?!- di ax!... -gesmi T aseTi nabij is pasuxi-smgebl oba da Rebul obT am pasuxi smgebl obas Tavze?_ di ax!... da Seudga am moul odnel i gadawyvetil ebi s dasabuTebas.⁴³ Cems mier motanil i am amonaweri dan gamokvetil i formi Taa naCvenebi: a)g.kvi ni taZis mxri dan Tavdacvis sabWos sxdomaze Tbil i sis datovebis kategoriul i moTxovna; b)gen.j ij ixias seqtoridan mi Rebul i sasi xarul o informaci i dan gamomdi-nare misi gansakuTreibul i ganervi ul eba. es faqti, gakvirvebas ar iwevs, radgan: 1)Tavdacvis sabWosadmi SeTavazebul i misi wi nadadebis sisworis dasabuTebis myar argumentad, g.kvi ni taZe marj vena seqtorze gen. j ij ixias warumatebl obas iyenebda; 2)imave gen. j ij ixias mier dRis meore naxevarSi mtris sastikad damarcxebis da gansakuTreibul i mni Svne-lobis strategi ul i simaRI eebis dakavebis faqtma, g.kvi ni-taZis debul ebebi safuzvl i anad Searya. yovel i ve es, r.gabaSvil i saTvis cnobil i iyo, magram, saqarTvel os mTavro-bisa da misi l i derEBI sadmi bi ol ogiuri siZul vil is gamo-tyui l ebi s gza airCi a. samxedro xel ovnebis sferosi daS-vebul i Secdomebi dan gamomdi nare, qarTvel i generl ebi sad-mi wasayenebel i bral debebis nusxa, samoqal aqo seqtorSi gadmoi tana, n.Jordani asa da mTavrobis sxva wevrebs mZivebi-vi T Camohki da ki serze. misi gansakuTreibul i tendenci uroba i maSi ac vl indeba, rom i.odi Sel i Zi s, g.kvi ni taZis, i.gedevani-Svil i s, n.gedevani Svi l i s da sxva samxedro maRal Ci nosnebi s mier daSvebul momakvdinebel Secdomebze Segnebul ad xu-Wavs Tval s da sabWoTa ruseTTan damarcxebis ganmapi robebel

mi zezebs, r.gabaSvi I i s si tyvebi T rom vTqvaT mxol od `menSe-vikur mTavrobaSi ~ eZebs. erTi ram dabej i Tebi T SeiZI eba i Tqvas: g.kvini taZis mier Cafiqrebul i `manevri ~_ Tbil i sSi mtris `Semotyueba,~ mcxeTaSi gamagreba da iqedan genera-luri brZol i s dawyeba, gamanadgurebel i dartytmebiT Tbil i-sis i sev uk an dabruneba_kraxiT damTavrda. es arcaa gasakvi-ri, radgan masSi Semdegi uaryofi Ti faqtorebi iyo Cadebu-I i: 1)qarTvel Ta fsiqol ogiuri ganwyobi s argaTval i swineba, romel i c safuZvl ad daedo saqarTvel os saj ariso Senaer Tebis sabrZol o aRmafrenis mouI odnel ad Caqrobas. Tbil i s i s `dakargvam- qarTul i j aris nawil ebze dambl ad amcemi fsiqol ogiuri zemoqmedeba moaxdina da ui medobi dan gamomdinare, mi si brZol i sunari anoba Ti Tqmisi nul amde dai yvana; 2)Tbil i s i s 25 Teberval s Semosul i bol Sevikebi, rom-ebmac saqarTvel oSi sabWoTa xel i sufl ebi s damyareba oficial urad gamoacxada, saqarTvel os dedaqal aqs advi l ad ar Seel eoda. yovel i qucisa da sadarbazos SesanarCunebl - ad samkvdro- sasicocxl o brZol ebs gamarTavda. uki dures SemTxvevaSi, I .trockis si tyvebi T rom vTqvaT, Tbil i s i s karebs i se mZl avrad mi axeTqebda, rom Tbil i s i dan `erTi aguri c ki aRar darCeboda.~ ami s gakeTeba maT ar gauWi rdebo-daT, radgan Sesabami si praqtika maRal doneze qondaT gav-ill i; 3)Tbil i s i s muzeumebSi da sxva dawesbul ebebSi darCe-nil i erovnul i simdi dris, Tundac metnakl ebad Ri rebul i s, maqsimal urad Tavmoyras da saqarTvel odan dauyovnebl i v gatanas moaxdendnen.

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

sabrZol o moqmedebebi merve, mecxre da mecamete armi ebi s Sesabamisma di vi zi ebma gaaZI ieres. 25 Teberval s mami sonis uRel texil i gadmol axa 33- e samTo- msrol el i di vi zi i s 38- e brigadam, xol o 28 Teberval s, mterma Trusos uRel - texil i sa da xeobis dakaveba SeZI o. soWi- soxumis mima- rTul ebi T aqtiuri moqmedeba dai wyo gen. I evandovskis sardl obiT IX armi i s samma qveiTma da erTma cxenosanma di vi zi ebma, roml ebsac general i arTmel aZe Rirseul ad um- kl avdeboda 7 martamde manam, sanam sabrZol o masal ebi Semo- el eoda.

rac Seexeba Cveni qveyni s samxreT- dasavl eTel mezobel _ osmal eTs, sabWoTa ruseTi s Rirseul mokavSi res, saqarTve- l os wi naaRmdeg saomari moqmedebebis gaaqtitureba dai wyo. qarTul i andazis ar iyos_ `Sendebodes Seewie, iqceodes waesie- s mdgomareobaSi aRmoCnda saqarTvel os pirvel i respublika 1921 wl i s 25 Tebervl i s Semdeg. somxeTi, azer- baij ani, ruseTi da osmal eTi, erTmaneTTan `Sexmatkbil e- bul ni- moqmedebdnен saqarTvel os saxel mwifoebriobis wi naaRmdeg da TiToeul i maTgani damsaxurebisda mixedviT qarTvel Ta istoriul i sacxovrisid dan msuye teritoriul CamonaWrebs el oda. am mxriv, saerTaSori so doneze pirvel i gabedul i nabij i sabWoTa ruseTma 1921 wl i s 16 marts gada- dga. mixedvel obaSi maqvs sabWoTa ruseTsa da osmal eTs Soris moskovSi xel mowerili i `Zmobisa da megobrobis~ xel Sek- rul eba. am dokumentis pirvel i muxl iT, osmal eTi s Crdil - oeTi s sasazRvro xazi im formiT iqna gatarebul i, rom ar- Tvinis, artaanisa da ol Tisis okrugebi osmal eTi s Semadge- nl obaSi moeqca. rac Seexeba i mave xel Sekrul ebi s meore muxl s, osmal eTi keTi l nebas iCenda da baTumis okrugs siuzereni tetis ufl ebi T uTmobda saqarTvel os.⁴⁴

aRniSnul i xel Sekrul ebi s oficial urad gamoqveynebul i teqstis mixedviT, saqarTvel o_ osmal eTs Soris gavl ebu- l i sazRvari samarTI ebriv CarCoSi rom Camj dariyo, sabWo- Ta saqarTvel os war momadgenel is saxel iT, saqarTvel os sazRvris saki TxTan dakavSi rebi T, **Sesabamisi komisi i s sx- domis oqmze xel i mi xa cxakai am moawera.** zemoaRni Snul i dokumentis meore muxl iT da damatebis I (A) nawi I iT, osma- l eT_ saqarTvel os sazRvari mdinare WoroxTan iqna gavl e- bul i da baTumis okrugi saqarTvel os sazRvrebSi moaq-

cies. aqedan gamomdi nare, baTumis okrugSi 9 marts Sesul osmal eTis jaris nawil ebs aRni Snul i teritoria dauyovnebl iv unda dacl a. amis sanacvl od, baTumSi Sesul ma osmal eTis j arebis sardal ma qiazim- beim 17 marts Tavi qal aqis gubernatorad gamoacxada. am qmedebi T, osmal ebma moskovis 16 martis xel Sekrul ebi s Sesabami si muxl ebi daarrvia. osmal Ta mxridan aseTi gaTavxedebul i formiT moqmedeba, misi mokavSi re sabWoTa ruseTi sadmi da zemoaRni S-nul i xel Sekrul ebi sadmi angariSis argaweva, momxdari faqtisadmi sabWoTa ruseTi sagareo saqmeTa saministros mxridan Sesabamisi reagirebis argakeTeba, bevr ki TxviT ni Sans acens. Cemi azriT, masze pasuxis gacemis mxol od nawil obrivi formiT SesaZI ebl obas, saqarTvel os demokratiul i respublika da gasabWoebul i saqarTvel os warmomadgeneli ebi s (gr.I or Tqifani Ze, moraxel aSvi I, al .svani Ze, abenuqi Ze) quTaisis 17 martis mol aparakebi s stenografiul i angariSi izi eva.

Tuki am dokuments gul dasmi T gavecnobi T, iseTi STabeWdil eba Sei qmneba, rom gasabWoebul i saqarTvel os warmomadgeneli ebi (abenuqi Ze, moraxel aSvi I, al .svani Ze) wi naswar `daweril i scenariT~ moqmedebdnен. mxedvel obaSi maqvs baTumis okrugis saqarTvel os Semadgeni obaSi darCeni sadmi mxardaweris sanacvl od, gasabWoebul i saqarTvel os xel isufi ebi s aRi arebi sa da misi I egi timaci s mcdel oba. maT kargad esmodaT, rom osmal eTis saokupacioj arebis baTumis okrugi dan gasadevnad, erT- erTi mni Svnel ovani rol i XI armiis samxedro Senaer Tebs unda Seesrul ebi na. gasabWoebul i saqarTvel os `mTavr obi s~ (revkomi s) mesveurebTan SeT-anxmebaz, demokratiul i saqarTvel os warmomadgeneli uars Tu ganacxadebda, qveyni s kanonieri i xel isufi ebi s mxridan baTumis okrugis osmal eTis sadmi gadacemis bral debis i ideo- I ogi ur bazas, bol Sevi kebi advi I ad Seqmni dnen da warmatebul adac gamoi yenebdnen. es da sxva danarCeni faqtebi, rom I is Sesaxebac qvemoT meqneba saubari, saqarTvel os kanonieri xel isufi ebi s warmomadgenel ze zemoqmedebi s meqani zmis xel ovnurad Seqmnas i saxavda mi znid. qarTvel i bol Sevi kebi s moqmedeba, osmal eTTan gasaiduml oebul i formiT wi naswari garigebi s STabeWdil ebas tovebda. mi Tumetes, moI aparakebi s procesSi, abenuqi Zem ruseT- osmal eTis xel Sek-

rul ebazec gaamaxvi l a yuradReba da baTumis okrugis saqarTvel os Semadgenl obaSi darCenas sagangebod gausva xazi. i mavdroul ad gr.l orTqi bani Zes sabWoTa mTavrobi s aRi areba mosTxova. anal ogi ur pozici as Tavgamodebi T i cavda mora-xel aSvI l i. misi `mtki cebi T: 1)erT teritoriaz e ori mTavrobi s arseboba SeuZl ebel i iyo da uzenaesoba erT (sabWoTa) mTavrobas unda qonoda mini Webul i; 2)sabWoTa mTavrobi s sasargebl od unda gadawyvetil iyo Tu vis daeqvemdebare-boda demokratiul i saqarTvel osa da XI armi s saj ariso SenaerTebi; 3)saqarTvel oSi saxel isufI ebo gadatrial ebi dan gamomdinare, `Cveni pi rvel i moTxovni l eba aris- ambob-da m.oraxel aSvI l i,- meore mxarem scnos gadatrial eba saqarTvel oSi da aRiaros damouki debel i saqarTvel os social - isturi sabWoTa respubl ika da misi dRevandel i... revol uciuri komiteti... Tu es ar iqneba mi Rebul i, rasakvirvel ia sxva detal ebi s mi Reba zedmeti iqneba... umTavresi moTxovni l eba Cveni pl atformisa aris cnoba baTumis mTavrobi s (n.Jordani as S.v.) mier saqarTvel os revol uciuri komite-tisa da aRia reba saqarTvel os damouki debel i sabWoTa respubl i kisa. am saki TxSi Tu SevTanxmdebi T... danarCen saki-TxebSi SeTanxmebi s ni adagi ukve gamorkveul i iqneba da gagvi-advi l ebs saqmes... Tuki dResve iqneba ariarebul i sabWoTa gadatrial eba saqarTvel oSi da am gadatrial ebi dan gamosul i saqarTvel os revol uciuri komiteti.-

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

demokratiul i mTavroba i tovebs mudam ufl ebas da rode-sac Sesaferis SemTxvevas i povis Tavs gamoacxadebs mTavrobad.~ am Sesazi ebl obis SenarCuneba i yo mi uRebel i qarTve-I i bol Sevi kebi saTvis. maT mi zans, saqarTvel os demokratiul i respubl iki s mTavrobi saTvis samarTI ebrivi statusis CamorTmevis mi Rweva waroadgenda. am amocani s gadasawyvetad, baTumis okrugSi osmal o asker ebi s yofni s gamoyenebas maqsimal urad cdil obdnien.

i mave dokumentidan kargad Cans, rom gr.I orTqi fani Zem Rirseul i pasuxi gasca mis oponentebs (m.oraxel aSvi I, ab.en-uqiZe, al .svaniZe) da dausabuTa: 1)ramdenadac saqarTvel oSi Sinauri gadatrial eba ar ganxorcziel ebul a da saxel isufi ebo cvl il eba ucxo qveynis samxedro Senaer Tebma moax-dina,Zal momreobaze dafuznebul i mTavrobi s legitimacias, saqarTvel os demokratiul i respubl iki s mTavroba ver moax-denda; 2)saqarTvel os mTavrobas Zal aufl ebi s gadacema sxvi-sTvis ar SeeZI o, radgan am ufl ebi s wyaros saqarTvel os damfuznebel i kreba warmoadgenda, romel ic saqarTvel os mosaxl eobis mier iyo arCeul i; 3)saqarTvel os mTavroba iyo da rCeboda kanonier mTavrobad. i gi im etapze mxol od `axal i mTavrobi s- sasargebl od, mis mier kontrol irebad teritorias Tmobda mxol od im pirobiT, rom XI armiis na-wil ebi saqarTvel osTvis baTumis okrugis SenarCunebas Se-ZI ebda; 4)ramdenadac saqarTvel os sabWoTa xel isufi eba xal xis mier ar iyo arCeul i, i gi fiqtiur saxes atarebda. rac Seexeba sabWoebi s da SemdegSi misi arCevnebis Catarebasi, samomavl o proeqts warmoadgenda. gr.I orTqi fani Zi s aseTi pozicii s mi uxedavad, saqarTvel os teritoriul i mTI i anobis SenarCunebis interessebi dan gamodinare, i gi xazgasmi T mi uTi Tebda: `saqarTvel os demokratiul i respubl iki s mTavrobam gadawayvi ta, saqarTvel os teritoriis SesanarCune-bl ad omis I i kvidacia moaxdinos. xel i Seuwyos da yovel -gvari saSual eba ixmaros, rom baTumis okrugi darces saqa-rTvel os sazRvrebSi da es teritoria gadaeces im xel isufi ebas, romel ic dRes aq aris warmodgeni l i.~ i mave dokumentidan irkveva, rom m.oraxel aSvi I i da sxdomi s sxva wevrebi, iZul ebul ni gaxdnen, gr.I orTqi fani Zi s wi nadadebas da Tanxme-bo dnen. mITunet es, baTumis okrugSi qiazim bei sa da osma- l o asker ebi s Tar eSi s f aqt i s, gasabWoebul i saqarTvel os

revkomi s sal egi t i maci od gamoyenebi s maTi mcdel oba- uSe-
dego aRmoCnda. am SemTxvevaSi gadamwyeti rol i gr.I orTqi-
fani Zi s saRma azrovnebam da I ogi kuri msj el obi s maRal ma
donem Seasrul a. am faqtorma, sabWoTa xel isufl ebi s mesve-
urebi iZul ebul i gaxada, mi s mier SeTavazebul wi nadadebe-
bs daTanxmeboden. 18 marts xel moweril i 17 punqtiani SeTan-
xmebi s_ pi rvel i dan meeqvse muxl is CaTvl iT, sabWoTa xel i-
sufl ebas baTumi s okrugis teritori i s gakontrol ebi s, xo-
I o XI armi s nawi l ebs Tavisufl ad gadaadgil ebi sa da ba-
TumSi uprobl emod Sesvl is ufl eba m i eca. marTal ia, am do-
kumentis VI punqti orive mxaris saj ariso Senaer Tebis os-
mal o askerebi s wi naaRmdeg erTobl iv moqm edebas i Tval i-
wi nebda, magram, i gi sabWoTa xel isufl ebi s mesveur Ta mxri-
dan Seusrul ebel i darCa. amas garkveul i ganmapi robebel i
mi zezebi qonda. am mi marTul ebi T srul fasovani pasuxis
gacema mxol od mas Semdeg gaxdeba SesaZl ebel i, roca gava-
rkvevT, baTumi s okrugis damouki debel i saqarTvel os xel isufl
ebam gadasca osmal eTs Tu, am saki Tx i T sabWoTa ruseTi
mani pul i rebda da ruseT- osmal eTs Soris Sesabami si wi na-
swari garigebebi arsebobda. am saki Txs pi rvel ad yuradRe-
ba prof. I .Toi Zem mi aqci a. man savsebi T kanonzomierad das-
va ki Txva, Tu ri T iyo ganpi robebul i osmal eTis xel isufl
ebi s mxridan moskovi s 1921 wl is 16 martis xel Sekrul eb-
i s pi rvel i da meore muxl ebi s, damatebi Ti pi rvel i (A) punq-
tis dar Rveva. amas Tan dakavSi rebi T mi s mier gamoTqm ul i
i qna mosazreba, i mi s Sesaxeb, rom Tuki osmal eTi baTumi s ok-
rugSi sabWoTa ruseTs j aris Seyvanas daaswrebda, mi s wi naaRmdeg
ruseTi iaraRs ar gamoi yenebda da amaSi qiazim- bei da-
imedebul i iyo. am mosazrebi s sasargebl o argumentad, ruseT-
osmal eTis mokavSi reoba da saberZneTis wi naaRmdeg osma-
I eTi sadmi sabWoTa ruseTis daxmareba daasaxel a.⁴⁵ varau-
dis doneze gamoTqva axal i mosazreba i mi s Sesaxeb, rom de-
mokratiul i saqarTvel os mTavrobam, Ti Tqos wi naswari garige-
bi T baTumi s okrugSi osmal ebi mdinare Col oqamde Semo-
uSva. am SemTxvevaSi I .Toi Ze saqarTvel os demokratiul i
respubl i kis erT erTi yofil i moxel i s, baTumi s ci xis yofi-
l i komendantis i furcel azi s mogonebebs eyrdnoba, roml i s
nawyveti v.nozaZi s wi gnSi a dabeWdil i.⁴⁶ Ti Tqm is anal ogi ur i
pozicia uWi ravs g.mazni aSvi l sac. mi si Tqm i T, `qiazim- bei s

tkbil i zRaprebi T- gabr uebul ma saqar Tvel os xel isufi e-
bam `dauTmo osmal eTs... j er axal ci xis mazris nawil i da
mTel i ardagani sa da arTvinis ol qebi.⁴⁷

xazgasmi T mi nda aRvni Sno: 1)am saki TxTan mimar TebaSi i.furcel azisa da g.mazni aSvi l is mogonebebi, XX saukuni s 20_30- i ani wl ebi s monakveTSi daiwera da im periodis sabWoTa ideol ogi iT gaTval i swinebul moTxovnebs pasuxobs. es araa gasakvi ri imdenad, ramdenadac orive pirovneba, saqar Tvel os gasabWoebi s Semdeg, garkveul i mosazrebebi dan gamomdinare, sabWoTa j arSi sapasuxi smgebl o Tanamdebobebze muSaobda. maTi pozicia garegnul ad sabWoTa ideol ogi iT gaTval is-winebul propagandas unda damTxveoda. amis aucil ebl obas im etapze saqar Tvel oSi mimdinare politikuri procesebi moi Txovda. rac Seexeba ardagani sa da arTvinis okrugebi s osmal eTis aTvis `daTmobas,~ es nabij i qiazim- beis `tkbil i zRaprebi T- ki ar iyo ganpi robebul i, aramed, rogorc zemot Tac mqonda aRni Snul i iZul ebi dan gamomdinareobda da amis Sesaxeb Sesabami si dokumenturi masal ac arsebobs; 2)saqar Tvel os pirvel i respubli kis mTavrobis mxridan baTumis okrugis osmal eTisadmi `daTmobis- dabrai ebi s ideol ogiuri safexuris Semqmnel i f.maxaraZea. mis mier gazeT komunist-Si - 1921 wl is 26 marts gamoqveynebul ma weril ma_ `risTvis gai qcnen?~ zemoaRni Snul i yal bi Sexedul ebi s damkvi drebas daudo saTave. Jordania- rami Svi l is yofil ma mTavrobam-wers i gi- ukansknel Jams osmal eTis askerebs gauRo baTu-mis karebi; magram rogorc vici T aqac maTi Ral ati droze iqna gamoaSkaravebul i da dauyovnebl ivi zomebis mi Rebi T misi Sedegi gabaTil ebul i iqna... gacceul i yofil i mTavrobis Savi ganzraxva aSkaraa. aSkaraa isic Tu ra bedi ewia imat moral atur, danaSaul ebriv avanturas.-

saqar Tvel os pirvel i respubli kis mTavrobis f.maxaraZi-seul i es daxasi aTeba, gasabWoebul i saqar Tvel os mmar Tvel i wreebis ideol ogi is erT- erT dasayrden nawil ad iqca. isic faqtia, rom sabWouri istoriografia mis ganvrcobasa da dakanonebas cdi l obda. i.furcel azisa da g.mazni aSvi l is mogonebebi s di di nawil i, Sesabami si uwyebi s zemoqmedebebi dan gamomdinare, am ideol ogiuri CarCos moTxovnebi s Sesabami-sobaSi a moyvani l i. winaaRmdeg SemTxvevaSi g.mazni aSvi l i nebi T namdvi l ad ar dawerda: `Tu mTavrobis wevrebi mar-

Tal ni i yvnen, ratom ar unda darCenil i yvnen CvenTan da ratom ar unda gaezi arebinat CvenTan er Tad damarcxebul - Ta bedi?~⁴⁸ damouki debel i saqarTvel os mTavrobis wevrebi s.orj oni ki Zes da sabWour `Cekas- xel Si rom Cavardnoda, advil i warmosadgenia ra yofaSi aRmoCndeboda i sini. mi Tu-metes, rogorc zemoTac mqonda mi Ti Tebul i, bol Sevi kebi s mi zans, saqarTvel os kanonieri xel i sufl ebi sgan kapi tul aci-is oficial urad aRi arebi s mi Rweva warmoadgenda. am SemTx-vevaSi qarTvel i bol Sevi kebi saqarTvel os kompartiis centraluri komitetis 1921 wl is 12 martis dadgenil ebi T mo-qmedebdn. am dokumentis mixedvi T, `menSevi kebi ~ da sxva pol i tikuri partiiebi Tuki oficial urad aRi arebdnen gas-abWoebul i saqarTvel os mTavrobas, maTi warmoadgenel ebi revkomisa da saxel mwi fo xel i sufl ebi s umaRI esi organoebi s Semadgenl obaSi iqneboda daSvebul i. aRni Snul i dadgenil ebi s saj ar od gaxmovaneba or ZiriTad datvirTvas atarebda: 1)qarTvel i bol Sevi kebi s marionetul xel i sufl ebas, saqarTvel os pirvel i respUBL iki s mmarTvel i pol i tikuri partiis I iderebis ZiriTadi nawil i satyuar ankesze wamogeba hqondaT mi znad dasaxul i. Tuki saqarTvel oSi maT darCenas SeZI ebdnen, sabWouri wamebi s araadami anuri meTo-debi s gamoyenebi T, revkomTa xel i sufl ebi s oficial urad aRi areba da `samarTI ebriv CarCoSi- moqceva advil ad gaxdeboda SesaZI ebel i; 2)saqarTvel os pirvel i respUBL iki s damarcxebul i mmarTvel i pol i tikuri Zal is mimarT, adgil obriiv mosaxl eobaSi undobl obis el ementebis Setanis paral e-l urad, axal i xel i sufl ebi s `kompromisul i ~ da `humanuri-pol i tikuri kursi, garkveul i formiT i deol ogi urad wi na pl anze unda yofil iyo wamoweul i.

rac Seexeba baTumi s okrugi s osmal eTi sadmi `nebayofl obi T- daTmobas, ami s Sesaxeb zemoaRni Snul pi rovnebaTa mog-onebebi s garda, bral debi s damadasturebel i saarqivo dokumenti j erj erobi T arcerT mkvl evars ar warmoudgenia arc i mis anal izi gaukeTebiaT, ramdenad iyo SesaZI ebel i, qiazi m _beisTan si tyvieri SeTanxmebi s safuzvel ze, saqarTvel os teritoriis osmal eTi sadmi samarTI ebrivad gadacema. ase-Ti saki Txebi s qiazi m - beis doneze gadawyeta SeuZI ebel i iyo. misi ganxorciel eba mxol od ori saxel mwifos mTavrobaTa meTaur ebis an sagareo saqmeTa ministrebis oficial u-

rad xel mowerril i dokumentiT unda momxdariyo, sadac orive mxaris garkveul i val debul ebebi da masTan Sesabami sobaSi moyvanil i pirobibi i qneboda warmodgenil i. sanam mkvl e-varTa mxridan saxel mwifoebriv doneze Seqmnili aseTi saxis saarqivo dokumenti ar iqneba mi kvl eul i, sabWoTa ideol ogiis wnexis qveS moqceul i generl ebisa da oficrebiis memuarebze dayrdnobiT qveyni s teritoriis gasxvi-sebaSi saqarTvel os pirvel i respubl ikis mTavrobis dadanaSaul eba, fmaxaraZiseul i gzi gagrZel ebad da istoriis fal si fikaciis morig mcdel obad unda Cai Tval os. mi Tu-metes, am gzi s mi mdevarTa mxridan dRemde pasuxgaucemel i rCeba: 1)Tuki saqarTvel os pirvel i respubl ikis mTavrobam baTumis okrugi osmal eTs gadasca, maSin ra mizans emsaxureboda saqarTvel os mTavrobis Tavmj domaris n.Jordani as 1921 wl is 16 martis brZaneba_ qal aqis Tvi TmmarTvel obisadmi baTumis xel isufi ebi s gadacemis, cixidan 1000 bol Sevi ki patimrisa da maTi meTaurebis ganTavi sufl eba, baTumis okrugis komisaris g.gi orgaZisadmi daval ebi s mi cema_bol SevikebTan mol aparakebis gamarTvis da okrugis masStabiT maTi mxridan Zal aufl ebi s dauyovnebl iv xel Si aRebis Sesaxeb?; 2)ramdenad sandoa patimrobi dan 17 marts ganTavi sufl ebul i TJRentis mier g.mazni aSvi l isadmi mi wodebul i informacia_ `gacqceul i mTavrobis nebarTvi T, ramdenime dRis wi naT, baTumSi Semovi dnen osmal ebi s jarebi.~ sai dan i coda TJRentma, osmal ebi baTumSi 9 marts `nebar-Tvi T~ Semovi dnen Tu unebarTvod? i gi 17 mart tamde xom ci-xeSi ij da da `gare samyarosTan~ nakl ebi urTierToba qonda?; 3)saqarTvel os kanonier xel isufi ebas baTumis okrugis da Tvi T baTumi osmal eTisTvis rom gadaeca, sabWoTa xel isufi ebi s maRal Ci nosnebis (m.oraxel aSvi l, Sel iava, abenuqi Ze) wi naSe, baTumis okrugis saqarTvel os Semadgeni obaSi darCenis kategoriul i formiT dayenebas gr.I o-Tqi fni Ze namdvil ad ver SeZl ebda. mi Tu-metes, saqarTvel os revkomis mesveurni, momxdar faqts quTaisis 17 martis mol aparakebaze sagangebo msj el obis sagnad gaxdi da da gr.I o-Tqi fani Zi s wi naaRmdeg warmatebul ad gamoi yenebda. imave sxdomis stenografiul CanawerebSi dadasturebul ia, rom qiazim-beis da osmal o askerebis mxridan baTumis okrugis da Tvi T baTumis dakaveba, sxdomis Tavmj do-

mar em abenuqi Zem ki ar dagmo, ar amed mi s gamarTl ebas Seecada da Tavisi pozici i s dasasabuTebel ZiriTad argumentad, antantis qveynebi dan baTumTan mi mar TebaSi mosal odnel i safrTxe daasaxel a. amasTan dakavSi rebi T i mave doku-ment-tSi vki Txul obT: `osmal eTis j arebi s ufross -ganacxada abenuqi Zem_ sxvadasxva pirobebi ... ukarnaxebs i mas, rom i sarge-bl os i mi T, rom antanta mudmivi da dauZinebel i mteria ruseTi sa. i sargebl a Zal iT, rom baTumi dai sakuTros.~ am amonaweri dan kargad Cans, rom baTumi s okrugi s osmal eTis mxri dan dakaveba, antantis saxel mwi foebi sgan ruseTi sad-mi dauZinebel i mtrobis motivaci iT da Zal i smieri meTod-i s gamoyenebi T ganxorciel da; 4)Cems mier arqivsacavebSi mikvl eul dokumentur masal ebSi garkveul i formiTaa war-modgeni l i arTvin- ardagani s okruebi dan qarTul i jaris gamoyvani s ganmapi robebel i iZul ebi Ti garemoebibi. i mave dokumentebSi safuzvl iani Si Si a gamoTqmul i im mosal od-nel i safrTxeebis Sesaxeb, romel ic osmal ebis mxri dan axal ci xis mazrasa da baTumi s okrugs emuqreboda. am saki-TxTan dakavSi rebi T, n.Jordani as mier parizSi myofi ak.Cxe-nkel i sadmi 1921 wl i s 22 Teberval s gagzavnil depeSaSi vki Txul obT: `dRes ocdaor Teberval s mi vi ReT angoris mTavrobi sgan nota, roml i Tac gvacnobebe, rom xval oc-dasami Tebervl i dan iWer en ardagani sa da arTvinis ol qebs. Cven exl a wi naaRmdegobas ver gavuwevT. faqturaT Semo-uSvebT, xol o xel s ar movuwyobT. gveSi ni a baTumi da axal ci xis ar dai kavon. waradgi neT dasabuTebul i protesti l ondoni s konferenci i s wi naSe.~ ardagani sa da arTvinis okruebi osmal ebis `SemoSveba- rogorc aRni Snul i mqonda, samxreTis frontis argaxsni T da saomari moqmedebebisad-mi Tavis ari debiT, baTumi s okrugi sa da axal ci xis mazris gadarCeni s mi zni T i yo ganpi robebul i. meore mxriv, es imi-sTvi sac gakeTda, rom 22 Teberval s qarTul ma SelaraRebul ma Zal ebma brwyinval e gamarj veba moi pov a XI armi i saj ari-so Senaer Tebze da qarTul i jaris sardl oba 23_ 24 Teber-val s XI armi i sgan general uri Setevi s dawyebas el odebo-da. am umZimes si tuaci aSi, osmal eTis mxri dan axal i frontis oficial urad gaxsna qarTul i jaris aTvi s momakvdinebel i dartyma i qneboda. im SemTxvevaSi, Tuki saqar Tvel os mTavrobi s mier gadadgmul am nabij s Cemi kol egebi dai-

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

saarqi vo masal ebidan irkveva, rom saqarTvel os xel isufi ebi s mesveurni, osmal eTisgan zemoaRni Snul i okrugebis (ardagani, arTvin) mi tacebas ar equeboda da xel sayrel i pol i tikuri si tuaci i Seqmni sTanave, misi dabrunebi s sak-i Txisi dauyovnebl iv dasmas axdenda. amis dadasturebas saqarTvel os mTavrobi s Tavj domari sadmi akCxenkel i s mier 1921 wl i s 12 marts parizi dan gamogzavnili i daSifrul i depeSa warmoadgens. `SeTanxmeba angorasa da antantas Soris mi Rweul ia, mxol od sabol oo ar aris. amitom, aqturi gamosvi a angoras CvenTan, jer uimedoaa. didi Secdoma iqnebo-da dauTmoT angoras Tugind artaani, manam, sanam saer To SeTanxmeba ar moxdeba Cveni angoras Tan- artaanis monawi-leobi T. Cveni safuzvel i unda darces ruseT- osmal eTis 1914 wl i s sazRvrebi.~ aq garkvevi Taa naTqvami, Tu ra CarCo-Si unda moqceul iyo saqarTvel os teritoria. im SemTxveva-Si, Tuki artaanis saki Txisi dai smeboda dRis wesrigSi, misi bedi artaanis pol i tikur el itasTan erTobl ivi SeTanxme-bis safuzvel ze unda gadawyetyl iyo.

osmal eTis saokupacio qmedebasTan qarTul i mxaris Seurigebl obas da am saqmeSi safrangeTi s xel isufi ebi s aqturad Carevis mcdel obebze mi uTi Tebs k.sabaxtarasvili i s mier 1921 wl i s 13 marts akCxenkel i sadmi parizSi gagzavnili i depeSa. `dRes Seval i esTan erTad Cavedi konstantinopol Si, Cveni j aris xazia Sorapani, rioni, zugdidi. mTavroba baTum-Sia. **cxra marts qemal i s jarebi batumiSi Semovi da.** vcdi-I obT Tu sawiro iqneba brZol a gavagrzel oT baTumis ol qSiac, risTvisac sawiroa qemal istebma xel i ar Segvis-al on. unda vecadoT qemal istebis mier samxedro okupaci-i T dakavebul Cvens ol qebSi SevinarCunoT Cveni suvereno-ba safrangeTi s mandati T. amis Sesaxeb dRes meqneba I aparki general pel esTan. vi medovneb, pel ec da Seval iec mxars dami Weren da saTanado depeSasac gavugzavni safrangeTi s mTavrobas.~ am dokumentis mixedvi T, baTumSi osmal Ta j arebis Sesvi a, saqarTvel os mTavrobi s `mi pati Jebi T- rom momxdariyo, sagareo saqmeTa ministris moadgil e ksabaxtarasvili i

si tyva **Semovi das** nacvl ad, **Semovi yvaneT-** dawerda. da rac mTavaria, osmal ebis j aris mier dakavebul **saqarTvel** os kuTvnili okrugebs_ okupirebul ad ar gamoacxadebda. rac Seexeba osmal o askerebis qmedebi sadmi im etapze dumil iT Sexvedras, i gi izul ebi Ti faqtorebi T_ meore frontis argaxsni T da XI armi is nawil ebTan meomari qarTul i j aris qvedanayofebis ardanakuwebiT iyo ganpi robebul i. aRni Snul dokumentSi es garkvevi Taa mi Ti Tebul i.

baTumis okrugSi osmal eTis j arebis `mi patiJeba- saqarTvel os mTavrobas rom moexdina, es faqti osmal eTis armi is yofil i sardl is vexib- faSasTv is sac da berl inSi saqarTvel os di pl omatiuri warmomadgenel is I ado axmetel isTv is sac cnobi i iqneboda. am formiT saki Txis dasma imiT aris ganpi robebul i, rom Cems mier arqivebSi mikvI eul i dokumentis mixedvi T, pol oneTSi saqarTvel os di pl omatiuri misiis mrCevel i da imJamad berl inSi myofi vl .baqraZe, I ado axmetel is Txovni T, 1921 wl is 16 marts, saRamos 5 saaTze val ter bernSteinis binaSi vexib- faSas Sexvda. rogorc moxsenebis teqsti dan irkveva, saubari ZiriTadad saqarTvel os mdgomareobas Seexo. imave dokumentis mi xedvi T, `vexib- faSam il aparaka ki dev Rimi i T `patara Secdomebze- rom- lebic vi Tom dauSva saqarTvel os mTavrobam. am Secdomebis Sedegia sxvaTa Soris vexib- faSas azriT is mdgomareoba, romel Si dac Cavarda exl a saqarTvel o. yovel SemTxvevaSi saqmis gamosworeba ki dev Sei ZI eba... me mi vdivar ramdenime dRis Semdeg romSi, sadac Sevxvdebi Cvens (angoras) del egaci as, Londonidan angoraSi mimaval s. me Semi ZI ia wagiyvanoT Tqven da SexvdeT Cvens del egaci as. **saqarTvel osTv is, sTqva man, aris exl a erTaderTi gamosaval i, Tavis nebit xel i ai Ros baTumze da baTumis ol qze da dakmayofil des im teritoriis fargl ebSi romel ic mas ekuTvnis mis mier dadebul (?) xel Sekrul ebis (al bad baTumis 1918 wl is 4 ivnis, roml is ratifikacia saqarTvel os parlamentma ar moaxdi na S.v.) Zal iT. maSin Cvens Soris megobrul i kavSiri damyardeba da Cven dagexmarebi T. Tu j erj erobi T aSkarad ara, farul ad mainc bol SevikebTan brZol aSi. Semdeg daiwy yo mtkiceba, Cven bol Sevikebi ar varT, bol Sevikebi mxol od droebiT mokavSireni arian Cveni da bol omdis maTTan siaru- l i ar Sedis... Cvens gegmaSi. bol Sevikuri `sistema~ Rimi-**

I iT da ironiul i kil oTi Tqva man, _CvenTvis srul iad mi-
uRebel i a. Cveni gzebi mal e erTmaneTs daSordeba.~ am vrce-
l i amonawer i dan kargad Cans baTumis okrugi sadmi vxi b-
faSas damoki debul eba. **Tuki saqarTvel os xel isufi ebam**
baTumis okrugi osmal ebs 9 marts nebayofl obiT marTI ac
gadasca, maSin raSi dasWinda i mave vxi b- faSas `momxdari
faqtidan- erTi kviri s Semdeg baTumis okrugi s osmal eTi-
sadmi gadacemis aucil ebl obis xel meored dasma. xol o
am operaciis osmal eTis sasargebl od warmatebiT gadaw-
yvetis SemTxvevaSi, saqarTvel os xval indel i dRis `ukeTe-
sobi sken- Semobrunebis, saqarTvel o- osmal eTis megobru-
l i urTierTobis SesaZI o gaRr mavebis da bol Sevi kuri
ruseTis winaaRmdeg brZol aSi daxmarebis dapi rebebis ma-
ni pul ireba?

rac Seexeba TviT qiazim- bei s, i gi saqarTvel os garSemo
Seqmni l i umZimesi pol itikuri situaci iT sargebl obda da
zRvars gadaci l ebul TviTnebur qmedebebs eweoda. am i erT-
erT saukeTeso nimuSs, mis mier 1921 wl is 17 marts qal aq
baTumSi gavrcel ebul i prokl amacia warmoadgens. `uka-
nasknel dros_ vkiTxul obT dokumentSi _ saqarTvel os
mTavrobis **TanxmobiT**, baTumis mxare da axal qal aqisa da
axal cixis ol qebi Cveni j arebis mier iqmenen dakavebul i.
osmal eTis didi erovnul i krebis mTavrobis dadgeni l ebiT,
romel ic emyareba sxva da sxva drois xel Sekrul ebebiT
mraval j er dadasturebul erovnul ufl ebebs, es mxareebi
dRei dan br undebi an samSobl os sazRvrebSi da pol itikura-
dac, da administraciul adac eqvemdebar ebi an osmal ur ero-
vnul mTavrobas.~⁴⁹ am amonawer i dan kargad Cans osmal eTis
mi znebi da amocanebi saqarTvel os Tan mimar TebaSi, magram am
prokl amaciis paral el urad qiazim- bei m ratom ar gamoaci-
na is `Tanxmobis- dokumenti, romel ic saqarTvel os mTavrobam
vi Tom rom misca osmal eTis warmoadgenel s? mki Txvel s
Sevaxseneb n.Jordanis 22 Tebervl is depeSi s erT monakveTs:
`gveSini a baTumi da axal cixe ar dai kavon- osmal ebma. xaz-
gasmiT minda aRvni Sno, rom qiazim- bei s, saqarTvel os xe-
l isufi ebis mxri dan baTumis okrugis da TviT qal aq baTu-
mis, axal qal aqisa da axal cixis osmal eTis admi gadacemis,
an osmal eTis j aris Semoyvanis `Tanxmobis- rai me xel Cas-
Wi di sabuti rom qonoda, yovel gvari moridebis gareSe, ba-

Tumis revkomis Tavmj domares da imave revkomis wevrebs aufrial ebda da Tavis pretenziasac samarTI ebrivad dasbuTebul formas miscemda. imavdroul ad, osmal eTis parl amentisgan 1920 wl is 28 i anvars mi Rebul i `erovnul i paqtis-meore muxl is (roml is mixedvi Tac osmal eTis sazRvari mdinare Col oqze gadi s)- saerTaSori so samarTI is safuz-vel ze amoqmedebi s saki Txzac daayenebda.

osmal o okupantebis TavaSvebul i qmedebebi sadmi saqar Tve-
I os mTavrobam Tu ra damoki debul eba gamoavl ina, es kar-
gad Cans e.gegeWkoris 1921 wl is 23 martiT daTari Rebul i
depeSiT. `ukanasknel dReebSi osmal ebi i seT zomebs i Rebd-
nen- vki Txul obT dokumentSi, rom SeuZI ebel i Sei qmna omis
gagrZel eba. 17 marts qazim- beim Tavisi Tavi gamoacxada
baTumis general - gubernatorad, baTumis ol qis aneqsi iT
Seer Tebul ad. mTavrobas wi nadadeba misca j arisTvis i ara-
Ri agveyara da mTavroba wasul iyo. mTavroba izul ebul i
gaxda ul timatum uareyo. moexsna fronti da Seewyvi ta
wi naaRmdegoba bol Sevi kebi saTvis.~ am dokumentis mi xedvi T
Tuki vi msj el ebT, quTaisis mol aparakeba, bol Sevi kebTan
Sesabami si SeTanzmebis gaformeba da XI armiisaTvis baTu-
mis mimarTul ebiT gzin gaxsna, roml is Sesaxeb zemoTac
mqonda saubari, mxol od da mxol od baTumis okrugis daka-
rgvis safrTxit iyo ganpi robebul i da ara bol Sevi kebi-
sadmi simpaTi iT.

4)prof. I.Toi Zem gansaku Trebul i yuradReba 1921 wl is 16
martis moskovi s xel Sekrul ebi s pirvel i, meore muxl ebisa
da damatebi s pirvel i (A) punqtis osmal eTis mxridan Seus-
rul ebl obas, ruseT- osmal eTis saj ariso Senaer Tebi sgan
baTumis dakavebi sTvis daswrebi s gamoyenebi s da mxareebi s
faqtis wi naSe dayenebi s mcdeI obas mi aqci a.⁵⁰ Tu riT iyo
ganpi robebul i maTi mxridan `maraTonul i siswrafiT- ba-
TuSi Sesvi is survili, amis Sesaxeb uaRresad angari S-
gasawevi faqtia motanil i Sal va maRI akel iZis mogonebeb-
Si. masSi dawvril ebi Taa saubari xaSuri- borj omi- axal -
cixi s gziT, goderZi s uRel texil iT baTumisken wamosul i
JI obas cxenosani divizi isadmi dakisrebul i amocanis Sesax-
eb. imave S.maRI akel iZis mtki cebi T, moskovi s konferenci is
gaxsnamde (1921 wl is 9 marti), osmal o askerebi saTvis baTu-
Si Sesvi a JI obas unda daeswro. amasTn dakavSi rebi T mis

memuarebSi vki Txul obT: `JI oba ver gadmovi da goderZis uRel texil ze, didi Tovl i ido. amdenad Wkviani iyo I eni-ni. baTumi rom ar dakargoda JI obas mi ando_ xaSurs rogorc miaRwevdnen, borj omis gziT axal ci xeSi unda gaWril iyo, gasul iyo goderZis uRel texil ze da pirvel i Casul iyo baTumSi, imi tom rom xel Sekrul eba aqvs I enins TurqeTTan saqarTvel os gayofaze, romel teritoriasac dai kavebs TurqeTi, misi i qneba da JI obas mi ando, rom daaswros Turqebs, magram didi Tovl oba iyo da ver gadmovi da, Turqebma daswres da baTumi dai kaves. ami tomac dResac `seatos- da `sentos- organizacia baTums xmel TaSuazRvis paqtiT Turqe-Tisad Tvl is, magram bol Sevi kebma es saki TxI gadai tanes ise, rom menSevi kebma gadmovi dnen Cvens mxarezeo. tyuil i! menSevi kebma baTumi rom wagvarTveso.~ v.rcxil azis Seki Txvaze_ `marTI a xom qarTul ma j arma gandevna Turqebi?~ S.maRI akel i Zem upasuxa: `di ax, menSevi kebma gandevnes da marTa-I i arian Turqebi. Cven menSevi kebma gagvdevna, Tqvenma mtreb-mao da Cven SeTanxmebul i vi yavi T: romel sac Cven davikavebT, Cven gvrCebao da romel sac Tqven dai kavebT is Tqven grCe-baTo. pi rdapir weria salduml o mol aparakebaSi I eninsa da aTa- Turqs Soris, rom `vse zeml i v rezul tate vaini, kotorie budut zaniati I ibo Castiami tureckimi, I ibo sovetskimi, im prenadl ejat eti samie zeml i...~ JI oba meub-neba: `mi svami oba pogibl i!~ ratom- Tqo_ Seveki Txe, `ni kog-da ne prastit mne etovo!~ e.i. baTumi ver davikaveo. `gl av-noe, papaSa ne prastit.~ papaSao e.i. I eninio. oriveni isev movbrundi T ukhan baTumSi, sastumroSi. JI obasgan gavi ge me, rom ruseTsa da TurqeTs daunawil ebiaT Turme saqarTve-l o. e.i. sai duml o samxedro SeTanxmeba yofil a ruseTsa da TurqeTs Soris, ingl isel ebis dasturiT.~⁵¹

im SemTxvevaSi, Tuki zogierti Cemi kol ega f.maxaraZis zemoaRniSnul sagazeTo statiaSi, g.mazni aSvi I i sa da i.furce- I azis memuarebSi motanil faqtebs ucxadebs ndobas, analogiuri damoki debul eba ratom ar unda gamovi CinoT general S.maRI akel i ZesTan mimar TebaSi? mi Tumetes, mis mi er mowodebul i informacia, sabWoTa xel isufl ebis samxedro maRal CinosanTa korpusis gamoCenil i warmomadgenel isgan-cxenosani diviziis sardl isgan qonda mi Rebul i. S.maRI akel i zis zemoaRniSnul i informaciis namdvil obis mxardaw-

eraze metyvel ebs I .ToiZis mier motanil i faqtebi: 1)go-
derZis uRel texil ze JI obas winsvl is SesaCerebl ad qiaz-
im- beis mier daqiravebul i xal xi sgan gavrcel ebul i natyu-
ari informacia, Ti Tqos baTumi ingl is- safrangeTis j ars
da sazRvao fl ots qonda dakavebul i da rusis j ars ba-
TumSi xafangs umzadebdnen.⁵² am faqtma da didTovl obam,
JI obaze garkveul i zemoqmedeba moaxdina da goderZis uRe-
l texil ze gadasvl a droebiT gadaafiqrebin; 2)roca ser-
go orj oni ki Zes acnobes JI obas gadawyvetil eba, ganrisxen-
bul ma `sergo orj oni ki Zem maSi nve aparattan moi xmo cx-
enosani armi is samxedro komisari, romel sac ubrZana, brZa-
nebis Seusrul ebl obisatvis daepati mrebin JI oba da pira-
dad gaZRoi oda armias win baTumi saken. es brZaneba JI obam-
ac moi smina. daSi nebul i, Tvi Ton wauZRva armias, di di Tovl -
is gadal axvis SeuZl ebl obis Sesaxeb krintic ar dauZravs
da uRel texil ic warmatebi T gadal axa,⁵³ magram dagvianebi T.
osmal ebi 9 martidan ukve baTumSi iyo Sesul i. S.maRI akel i-
Zis mier motanil i zemoaRni Snul i `daswrebis~ faqtis sasa-
rgebl od metyvel ebs v.l eninis mier g.Cicerini sadmi gagzav-
nil i weril i: `amx. Cicerin! metad SeSfoTebul i varT, rom
Turqebi aWi anureben baTumi Sesaxeb SeTanjmebis xel mow-
eras, dros i geben, sanam maTi j arebi baTumi sken midian. aseTi
gaWi nurebis saSual eba ar unda mivceT...~ moskovi 16 mart-
is ruseT- osmal eTis xel Sekrul ebis samxedro sai duml o
nawil Si `daswrebis~ muxl is arseboba rom ara, osmal ebi
baTumi sken winaswar j aris gadaadgil ebas da xel sayrel i
`sastarto poziciebis~ daWeras ar moaxdendnen. mi Tumetes,
rogorc aRni Snul i mqonda, am dokumentis Ziri Tadi teqsti
orive mxarisTvis Sesabamisi damatebi Ti muxl ebi T 1920 wl is
dekembridan cnobil i iyo. mi uxedavad imisa, rom xel Sek-
rul ebis meore muxl iT, baTumi okrugi saqarTvel os rCeb-
oda, baTumSi myofma osmal ebma, wi Tel i armi is 33- e divizi-
is 292- e pol kis qal aqSi SeSvebaze 17 marts uari ganacxa-
da. maTi es qmedeba wi naswar gaTvl il ideol ogiur samzad-
iss efuzneboda. mxedvel obaSi maqvs osmal eTis Sesabamisi
uyebis mesveurTa mxridan, evropis qveynebis I iderebis
da imave qveynebSi myofi saqarTvel os el Cebis darwmunebis
mcdeI oba_ baTumi da misi okrugi saqarTvel os kanoni erma
xel isufi ebam Ti Tqos osmal eTs gadasca. am mimarTul ebi T

gaweul i propagandistul i saqmi anobi T i seTi foni Seqmnes, rom osmal eTis mier baTumis dakavebas, ruseT_ osmal eTis saiduml o gari geba ki ara, saqarTvel os xel isufl ebi sgan osmal ebi s `mi patiJeba- edo safuZvl ad. amis erT- erT dадастуребад, ingl isSi myofi saqarTvel os el Ci ak. Cxenkel i sa da I ord kerzonis Sexvedra_ saubris stenografiul i an-gariSi warmoadgens. am dokumentis mi xedvi T, I ord kerzo-nis ak. Cxenkel i saTvis uTqvams: `rogorc gavige, saqarTvel os mTavrobam TviTon moi wvi a osmal ebi baTumSi... Cveni cnobebi da sami - bei s naTqvami eTavaxmeba erTmaneTs imaSi, rom saqarTve-l os mTavrobam moi wvi a osmal ebi.~ amas Tan dakavSi rebi T, sa-qarTvel os mTavrobis Tavmj domari sgan oficial urad adre gamogzavnili dokumentze dayrdnobi T, ak. Cxenkel ma, I ord kerzonis dasabuTebul i formiT upasuxa: `ara, me macnoba mT-avrrobis Tavmj domarem, rom osmal ebi Cvens nebadaurTvel ad Semovi dnen j er artaanSi da arTvinSi da Semdeg baTumSi. vi nai dan Cven ruseTi yovel i mxri dan gvebrZoda, i Zul ebul i vi yavi T ubrzol vel ad dagvetovebina xsenebul i adgil ebi... me am ori dRis wina Tac mi vi Re stambol i dan depeSa, damadas-turebel i imisa, rac mogaxseneT. sami_ bei m mec mi Txra, rom osmal eTis j ari TiTqos saqarTvel os mTavrobis TanxmobiT Sesul i yos baTumSi da iq osmal os sardl obas TiTqos daetovebinos saqarTvel os mTavrobis uzenaesoba da misi moxel eni.~

stenogramis am amonawerSi garkvevi Taa naTqvami: a) I ord kerzonis sadmi mi wodebul i informacia, mxol od osmal ur wy-roebi eyrdnoboda da natyuari iyo; b) am dokumentSi garkvevi Taa mini Snebul i_ osmal eTis xel isufl ebi namoqmedaris gamarTI ebi s mi zni T, saerTaSori so arenaze ra maRa-l i aqtu robiT moqmedebda osmal eTis warmoadgenel i sami-bei. rac Seexeba sabWoTa ruseTi neutral i tets baTumTan mimarTebaSi da mi mdinare procesebi sadmi Sori dan mayureb-I i ampl uaSi yofnas, I ogikuri kategoriis arcert formaSi ar Tavsdeba. Tundac im el ementarul i mizezis gamo, rom: 1) 1921 wl is 25 Tebervl idan, sabWoTa ruseTi saqarTve-l os pirvel i respUBL iki s xel isufl ebas kanonierad aRar cnobda. am fonze, gakvirvebas iwevs fsevdo `mi patiJebi s- osmal Ta mxri dan wina pl anze wamoweva da umaRI es `sa-marTI ebriv- kategoriiamde ayvanis mcdel obis faqt; 2) mosk-

ovis 1921 wl is 16 martis oficial uri xel Sekrul ebiT, sazRvris aRsadgenad sabWoTa ruseTi val debul i iyo, osmal eTis winaaRmdeg Zal ismieri meTodis gamoyenebisTvis miemarTa. ramdenadac am mimarTul ebiT adeqvaturi nabij i ar gadadga, momxdari faqti gvafiqrebinebs, rom aq gadamwyeti rol i im `maraTonul ma gadarbenam~ Seasrul a, romel - ic teritoriis dakavebasTan dakavSi rebiT, osmal o askerebma JI obas cxenosan divizias mougo. am faqtis Sesaxeb i mave I .ToiZis mier motani l dokumentSi vki Txul obT: Sal va dadi anTan misul 292- e pol kis meTauri ganucxadebia, rom mas miRebul i aqvs `saqarTvel oSi sabWoTa ruseTis warmomadgenel i s Seimani s brZaneba, Sevi des baTumSi da gadavi des samxedro sabWos gankargul ebaSi, magram Turqi askerebi amis saSual ebas ar aZI even. Sal va dadi ani da 292- e pol kis meTauri qiazim- bei s ewivnen mosal aparakebl ad. qiazim- beim kategoriul i uari ganucxada baTumSi 292-e pol kis SeSveba-ze. darCa erTi gamosaval i: Setakeba. asec moxda. Sal va dadi ani s brZanebiT qarTul i SeiaraRebul i razmebi dai Zra 292- e pol kTani SesaerTebl ad. askerebma winaaRmdegoba ganswies. orsaati ani sisxl ismRvrel i brZol ebiS Semdeg... Turqebi gandevnes Tavi anTi pozici ebi dan da 18 marts 292- e pol -ki baTumSi Sevi da... am brZol ebiS qarTul ma j arma didi danakl i si gani cada.

sul mal e askerebma Tavi mouyares TavianT Zal ebs, fortebTan cecxl i gauxsnes qarTul jars da ganavi Tares Seteva barcxana- mi xail ovos yazarmebze. qarTul ma mxedrobam brZaneba mi i Ro, fexosnebi ca da cxenosnebic kontrSetevaze gadasul iyvnen da Turqebi baTumi dan ganedevnaT. es amocana brwyinval ed Seasrul a qarTul ma mxedrobam ise, rom wi Tel i armi is 33- e diviziis 292- e pol ks araviTari sabrZol o monawil eoba ar mi uRia. amave qarTul ma mxedrobam dai kava gandevni l i Turqi askerebis pozici ebi da fortebi ...⁵⁴

am vrcel amonawerSi kargadaa warmoCenil i damouki debebel i saqarTvel os pirvel i respubli kis saj ariso Senaer Tebis Tavgamodebul i brZol is faqtebi osmal o dampyrobl ebiS winaaRmdeg. i mavdroul ad isicaa naCvenebi, Tu ra pasi ur mdgomareobaSi imyofeboda wi Tel i armi is meomrebi (292- e pol ki, JI obas 3000 kaciani cxenosani divizia) osmal o dampyrobl ebTan mimarTebaSi. Tuki XI armi is nawi l ebiS aseTi TavSe-

kaveba moskovis 1921 wl is 16 martis `megobrul i - xel Sekru-
I ebis oficial uri teqsti dan gamomdinareobda, i mave teqs-
tis (# 1, 2 muxl ebi da I (A) punqti) mi xedvi T, osmal eTis j a-
ris nawil ebs baTumis okrugi uprobl emod unda daetovebi-
na, radgan xel Sekrul ebis oficial uri teqsti T, baTumis
okrugi saqarTvel os kuTvnil ebadaa aRiarebul i da sazR-
vari mdinare WoroxTanaa gavl ebul i. arsebul probl emas-
Tan mimar TebaSi obiecturi daskvnis gakeTebis mi zni T, Cemi
azri T Semdegi Ziri Tadi faqtorebi unda iqnas gaTval i swineb-
ul i: 1)osmal eTis mxridan xel Sekrul ebis oficial uri
teqsti sadmi daumorci l ebl oba; 2)sabWoTa ruseTis sagareo
saqmeTa saxal xo komisiariatisgan osmal eTis sadmi oficial -
uri protestis argaggavna; 3)wi Tel i armiis saj ariso Sena-
erTebis osmal o askerebTan saomar procesebSi arCabma da
maqsimal urad Tavis Sekaveba. mi Tumetes, saqarTvel oSi rsf-
sr srul ufl ebi ani warmomadgenel is a.Sei mani sagan, 292- e
pol kis sardl obas baTumSi Sesvl a qonda nabrzanebi; 4)yove-
l i ve zemoaRni Snul Tan erTad, qiazi m-beis Tavxeduri qmede-
bebi sadmi baTumis revkomiis wevrTa gansakuTrebul i moride-
bul i damoki debul eba, myar safuzvel s qmnis imisaTvis, rom
Sal va maRI akel iZi s mogonebebSi JI obas naambobze dayrd-
nobi T, moskovis 1921 wl is 16 martis xel Sekrul ebis samxedro
nawil Si- baTumis okrugSi Sesvl is daswrebis saiduml o
muxl is arseboba_ si namdvi l ed iqnas mi cheul i. es garemoe-
ba srul Sesazi ebl obas iZi eva ganvacxado: a)moskovis 1921
wl is 16 martis xel Sekrul ebis teqsti Sesabamisi damate-
bebi T, rogorc zemoTac mqonda aRni Snul i, ramdenadac
1920 wl is dekembrisATvis iyo mzad, masSi Cadebul i yvel a
debul eba, sabWoTa da osmal o maRaL Ci nosnebis garkveul i
wrisaTvis saiduml oebas ar warmoadgenda. swored ami tom
aCqarebda s.orj oniki Ze baTumSi Sesasvl el ad JI obas. rac
Sexeuba am dokumentze oficial urad xel moweras, orive
mxare mxol od xel sayrel i pol itikuri si tuaciis Seqm-
nas_ ruseTis mxridan saqarTvel os wi naaRmddeg saomari
moqmedebebis dawyebas el odeboda; b)osmal o askerebis ba-
Tumis okrugSi, Tvi T baTumSi da axal ci xeSi Sesvl as, sa-
qarTvel os pirvel i respUBL i kis mTavr obisgan `mi pati Je-
ba-, ki ara, aRni Snul i xel Sekrul ebis damatebi T nawil Si
Caweril i pirobebis_ okrugSi Sesvl is aTvis daswreba_ `ma-

raTonul i rbena- edo safužvl ad. arc i saa gamori cxul i, rom quTaisis mol aparakebis dros, sabWoTa xel i sufl ebis warmomadgeni ebis mier, saqar Tvel os kanonieri mTavrobis mxridan kapi tul aciis oficial urad gamocxadebis mi Rzewvis mcdel oba, am garemoebiT yofil iyo nakarnaxevi; g)rogorc zemoTac mqonda mi Ti Tebul i, amj eradac er Txel ki dev xazgasmi T minda aRvni Sno, rom saqar Tvel os pi rvel i respubl iki s mTavrobis mxridan osmal ebis baTumSi `mi patiJeba- rom momxdariyo, es umni Svnel ovanesi faqt, m.oraxel aSvi l sa da S.el i avas yuradRebis mi Rma ar darCeboda- da da 17 marts quTaisSi gamar Tul i mol aparakebis dros, gr.I orTqi fani ZesTan di skusi i s procesSi warmatebul ad gamoi yenebdnen.

Cems mier motanil i masal ebis erTobl iobaSi gaanal i ze- bis safužvel ze, arasworad mi mačni a saqar Tvel os damfužnebel i krebis 1921 wl i s 16 martis sxdomis mier_ ruseTTan saqar Tvel os damarcxebis ganmapi robebel i mi zezebis Sesaxebs mi Rebul i dadgenil eba. mki Txvel s Sevakseneb am dokumentis Ziri Tad muxl ebs: `1. mTavroba srul i ad moumzadebel i aRmo- Cnda qveyni s Tavdacvis Tvis, Tumca i coda, rom mteri saqa- rTvel oze Tavdasxmas amzadebda da Tvi Tonac araer Txel ganucxadebi a, rom respubl iki s dasacavad yvel a saTanado zoma mi Rebul i aqvs; 2. mTavrobam ver Seqmna respubl iki s dasacavad samxedro Zal a da mraval i daudevrobisa da Sec- domis gamo, srul ad ver gamoi yena Tavdacvis s Zal ebi, ro- mel i c mis gankargul ebaSi iyo; 3. omis warmoebis drosac mTavrobam ver gamoi Ci na saWi ro simtkice da Seiqmna pani- kisa da arevdarevis wyarod.

damfužnebel i kreba aRni Snavs, rom Tumca qar Tvel ma xal x- ma yovel i ve mi tana samSobl os dacvis samsxverpl oze, dRevand- del ma mTavrobam mai nc ver SeZl o saqar Tvel os damouki de- bl obisaTvis brZol i s xel mZRvanel oba da ucxadebs mas undo- bl obas.⁵⁵ am dokumentze xel momweri pol i tikuri partieb- is (social ist- federal istebi, social ist- revol ucion- rebi, damouki debel i social - demokratebi (sxivel ebi), ero- vnul demokratebi) I iderebi, Cems mier zemoT motanil i sa- iduml o dokumenturi masal i s 1%- sac ar i cnobdnen. aRni S- nul i s gaTval i swinebi dan gamomdinare, sbWoTa ruseTTan da- marcxebis ganmapi robebel i mi zezebis maTi mxri dan mxol od

saqar Tvel os pirvel i respubliki s mTavrobi sadmi gadabra-
I ebis zemoT motanil i samive debul ebis Ziri Tadi nawi-
I i sinamdvil i gayal bebis mcdel obaze dafuznebul aras-
wor formul irebebs Seicavs.

amrigad, 1)qar Tvel i sardl ebris (i.odi Sel iZe, i.gedevani Svi-
I i, g.sumbaTaSvili i) mier daSvebul ma taqtikurma Secdomebma
da saj ariso Senaer TebSi gamefebul ma udisci pl inobam, ba-
mbakis xeobaSi qarTul i jaris samarcxvino damarcxebas, 3/
4 -iT ganadgurebas da XI armiis sardl obis gaTamamebas
Seuwo xel i. Tbilisis dasacavad gen. g.kvintazis mier
saj ariso Senaer Tebis seqtorebad gadanawil eba, taqtikuri
Tval sazrisiT swor gadawyetyl ebas warmoadgenda. mis
mier gatarebul i Tavdacvi Ti RonisZieebi, 1921 wl is 18-
dan 22 Tebervil is CaTvl iT, mtris Semotevebis warmatebit
mogeriebis safuzvel i gaxda. 2)IV Tavdacvi Ti seqtoris xe-
I mZRvanel is- n.gedevani Svi i is mxridan arsebul i situ-
aci i is sworad verSefasebam, genStabSi mis mier mi tanil ma
paniki T aRvsavse informaciam, fsiqol ogiuri teroris fu-
nqcia Seasrul a da Tbilisis Tavdacvi Ti brZol ebris gagrZe-
I ebaze uaryofit i zemoqmedeba moaxdi na. g.kvintazis br-
Zanebis (# 131) safuzvel ze Tbilisis datoveba, mcxeTaSi
gamagrebis gegma da generluri brZol iT Tbilisis isev
dabruneba, qarTvel jariskacTa fsiqol ogiuri ganwyobis
argaTval i swinebas warmoadgenda. i gi qarTul sinamdvil-
esTan SeusabamobaSi modi oda, radgan momxdarma faqtma,
qarTul mxedrobaze fsiqol ogiurd dambl adamcemi funq-
cia Seasrul a da maTi brZol isunarianoba maqsimal urad
daaqvei Ta. 3)saqar Tvel os pirvel i respubliki s mTavrobi s
mxridan, baTumis okrugis mdinare Col oqamde osmal eTi-
sadmi datmobi s Sesaxebs qarTul istoriografiaSi gamoTqmu-
I i mosazreba, arcerTi saarqivo dokumentiT ar dastur-
deba. am bral debis Seqmna f.maxaraZisa da T.JRentis saxe-
I rbTanaa dakavSi rebul i da man garkveul i formiT sabWo-
Ta j arSi mosamsaxure samxedro maRal Cinosnebis memuareb-
Si ac hpova asaxva. naSromSi motanil i fagtebis anal izi
adasturebs, rom baTumis okrugSi da TviT baTumSi osmal-
ebis Sesvi a, garkveul i politikuri mosazrebi dan gamomd-
inare, sabWoTa ruseTisa da osmal eTis maRal CinosanTa wi-
naswari garigebis safexurs Si cavda. damouki debel i saqa-

rTvel os pirvel i respubl iki s xel isufi ebi sadmi am faqtis `mi pati Jebi s~ formi T gadabral eba,bol Sevikebis mxri-dan mis diskreditaci aze iyo gaTvi il i da istoriis fali sififikasi s morig mcdel obas warmoadgenda.

daskvnebi

saqarTvel os pirvel i respubliki si istoriaSi yel aze rTu-
l i monakveTis_ 1921 wl is Teberval - martis movl enebis
katastrofiT damTavrebi s ganmapirobel i mizezebis gamokv-
I evisa da sazogadoebi sadmi dasabuTebul i formiT swori
informaciis mi wodebis mi zni T, Cems mier Seswavl il ma saar-
qi vo masal ebma, Semdegi daskvnebis gakeTebis SesaZl ebl oba
momca:

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

2)dasavl eT evropis saxel mwifoebi sgan 1919 wl is gazafx-
ul ze Sepirebul i daxmarebis (iaraRi, amunicia, surstaTi,
ful i) droul ad mi Rebis mcdel oba, 1921 wl is 25 Teberv-
l amde uSedego aRmoCnda. naSromSi motanil i dokumenturi
masal ebi adasturebs, rom zemoaRni Snul i danapi rebis Sesas-
rul ebl ad, safrangeTis xel isufl ebam pirvel i qmedi Ti
nabij i mxol od 1921 wl is 25 Teberval s gadadga. stambol -
Si arsebul i safrangeTis kuTvnil i samxedro sawyobebi dan
saqarTvel osadmi mi yidul i vrangeli s naqoni iaraRi, uvar-
gisi da im etapze sabrzol o moqmedebebi saTvis gamousade-
gari iyo;

3)vargisi ani iaraRis saqarTvel osTvis mi yi dvi s gadawy-
vetil eba, safrangeTis xel isufl ebis mxridan mxol od 1921
wl is 17 marts iqna mi Rebul i. es faqt, saqarTvel os kanon-
ieri mTavrobi da gasabWoebul i saqarTvel os warmomad-
genl ebs Soris (gr.I orTqi faniZe, m.oraxel aSvi l i abenuqi Ze,
S.el iava) brZol is Sewyvetis Sesaxeb quTai sSi mi Rweul
SeTanxmebas, da saqarTvel os pirvel i respubliki s xel isu-
fl ebis mier qveynis teritoriis datovebas (17 marti) da-
emTxva. dasavl eT evropis saxel mwifota waj eq- ukuj eqis
politikuri kursi dan gamodinare, saqarTvel os pirvel i
respubliki SeiaraRebul i Zal ebi, gasabWoebul i ruseTis

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

4)qarTvel i sardl ebis (i.odi Sel i Ze, i.gedevani Svi l i, g.su-
mbaTaSvll i) mier daSvebul ma taqtikurma Secdomebma da
saj ariso SenaerTebSi gamefebul ma udisci pl i nobam, bam-
bakis xeobaSi qarTul i j aris samarcxvi no damarcxebas, 3/
4 -iT ganadgurebas da XI armi is sardl obis gaTamamebas
Seuwo xel i. Tbil isis dasacavad gen. g.kvini taZis mier
saj ariso SenaerTebSi seqtorebad gadanawi l eba, taqtikuri
Tval sazrisiT swor gadawyvetil ebas warmoadgenda. mis
mier gatarebul i Tavdacvi Ti RoniSziebebi, 1921 wl is 18-
dan 22 Tebervl is CaTvl iT, mtris Semotevebis warmatebi T
mogeriebis safuzvel i gaxda.

5)IV Tavdacvi Ti seqtoris xel mZRvanel is- n.gedevani Svi-
l is mxridan arsebul i situaci is sworad verSefasebam, ge-
nStabSi mis mier mitanil ma pani ki T aRvsavse informaciam,
fsiql ogiuri teroris funcia Seasrul a da Tbil isis
Tavdacvi Ti brZol ebis gagrZel ebaze uaryofiT zemoqmedeba
moaxdina. g.kvini taZis brZanebis (# 131) safuzvel ze Tbil i-
sis datoveba, mcxeTaSi gamagrebis gegma da generl uri br-
Zol iT Tbil isis isev dabruneba, qarTvel j ariskacTa fsi-
qol ogiuri ganwyobi s argaTval i swinebas warmoadgenda. i gi
qarTul si namdvil esTan SeusabamobaSi modi oda, radgan
momxdarma faqtma, qarTul mxedrobaze fsiql ogiurd dam-
bl adamcemi funcia Seasrul a da maTi brZol i sunari ano-
ba maqsimal ur ad daaqvei Ta.

6)saqarTvel os pirvel i respubl iki s mTavrobi s mxridan,
baTumi s okrugis mdinare Col oqamde osmal eTisadmi daT-
mobis Sesaxeb qarTul istoriografiasi gamotqmuli mo-
sazreba, arcerTi saarqivo dokumentiT ar dasturdeba. am
bral debis Seqmna fmaxaraZisa da T.JRentis saxel rbTanaa
dakavSi rebul i da man garkveul i formiT sabWoTa j arSi
mosamsaxure samxedro maRal Cinosnebi s memuarebSi ac hpo-
va asaxva. naSromSi motanil i faqtebis anal izi adasturebs,
rom baTumi s okrugSi da TviT baTumSi osmal ebis Sesvl a,
garkveul i politikuri mosazrebi dan gamomdinare, sabWo-
Ta ruseTisa da osmal eTis maRal CinosanTa wi naswar i garig-
ebis safexurs Si cavda. damouki debel i saqarTvel os pirve-

I i respubl iki s xel isufl ebisadmi am faqtis `mi pati Jeb-
is- formiT gadabral eba, bol Sevikebis mxridan mis dis-
kreditaciaze iyo gaTvl il i da istoriis fal sifikaciis
morig mcdel obas warmoadgenda.

damowmebul i wyar oebi da I iteratura

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Shota Vadachkoria

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

Summary

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

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

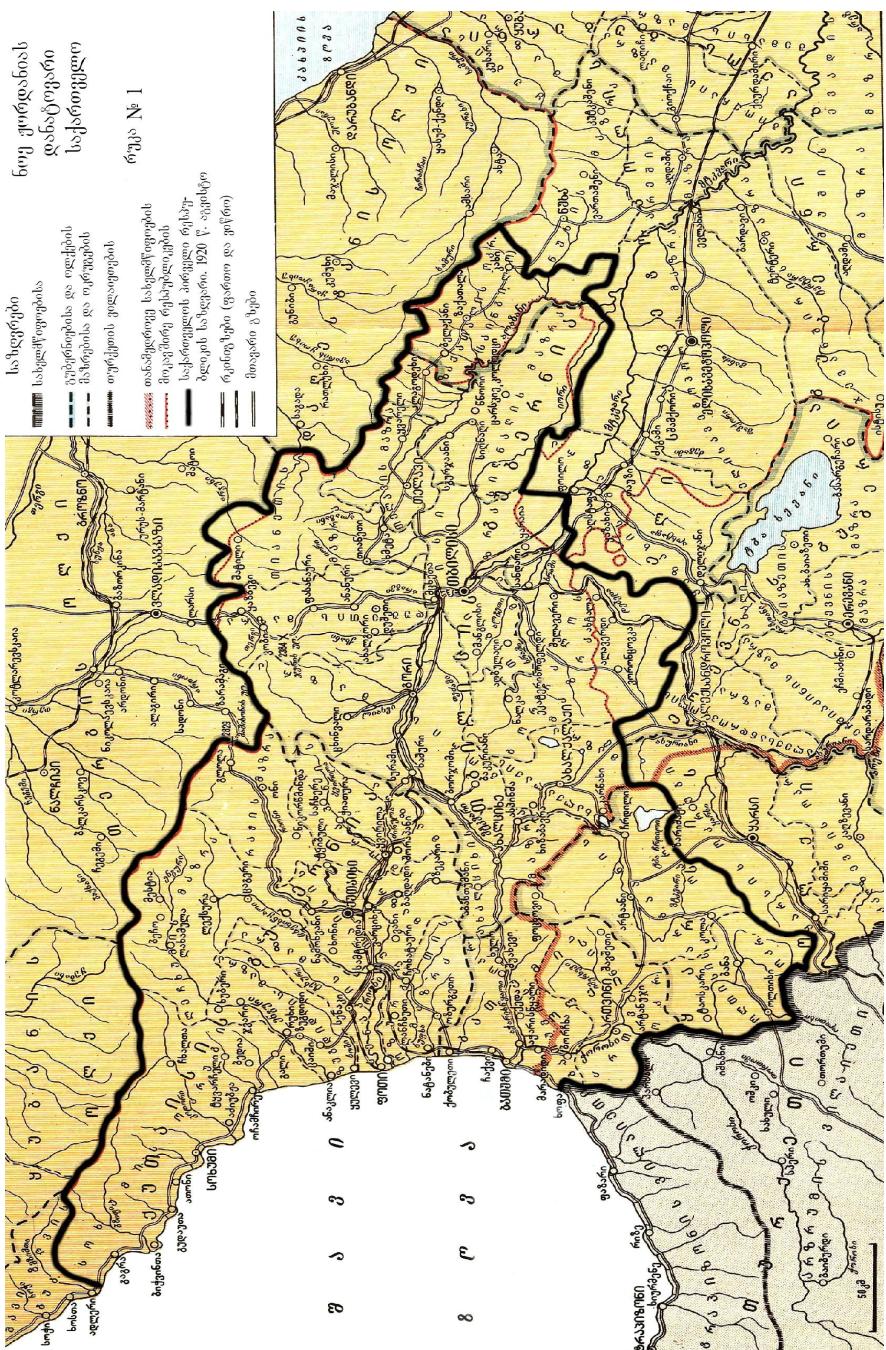
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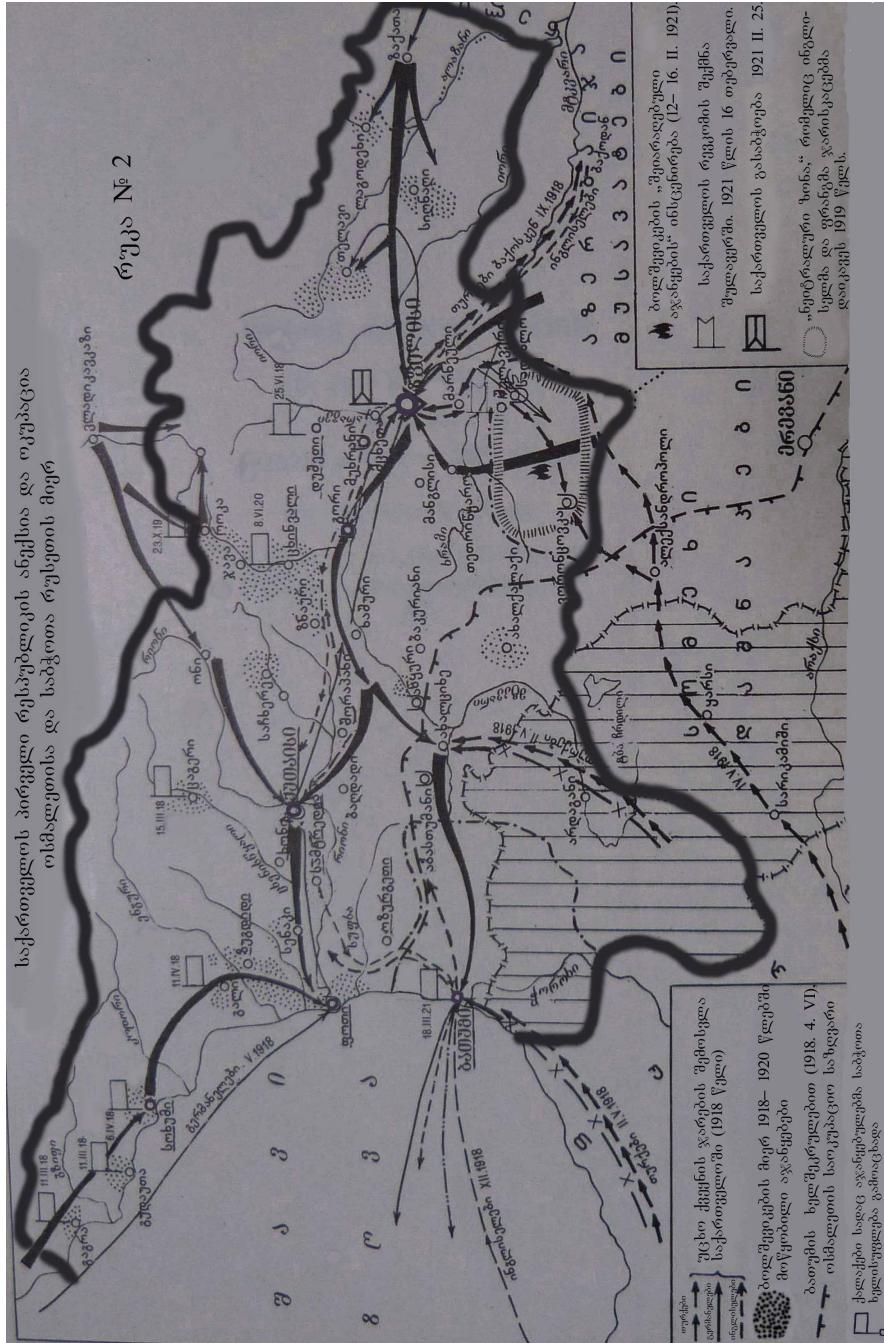
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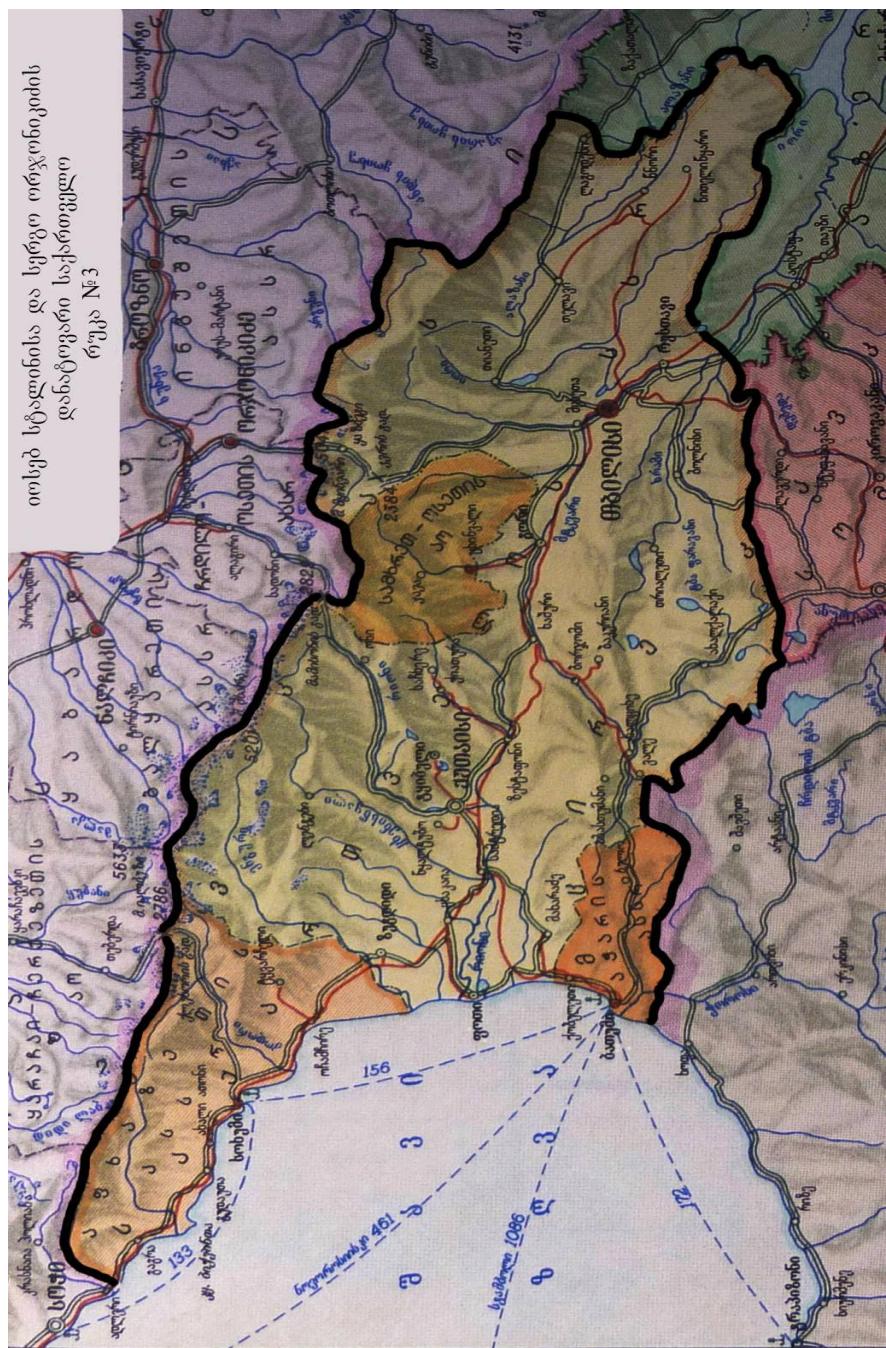
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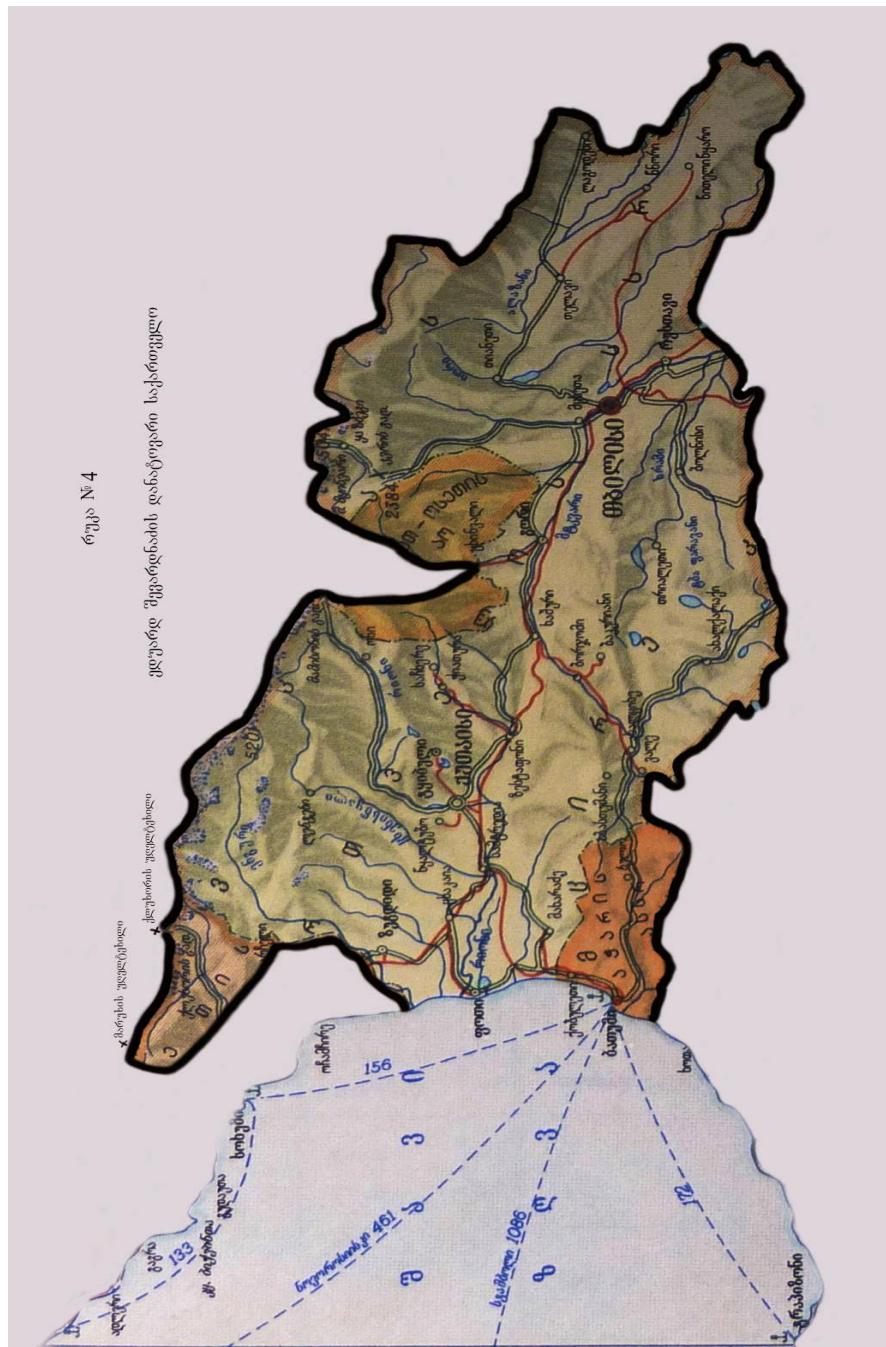
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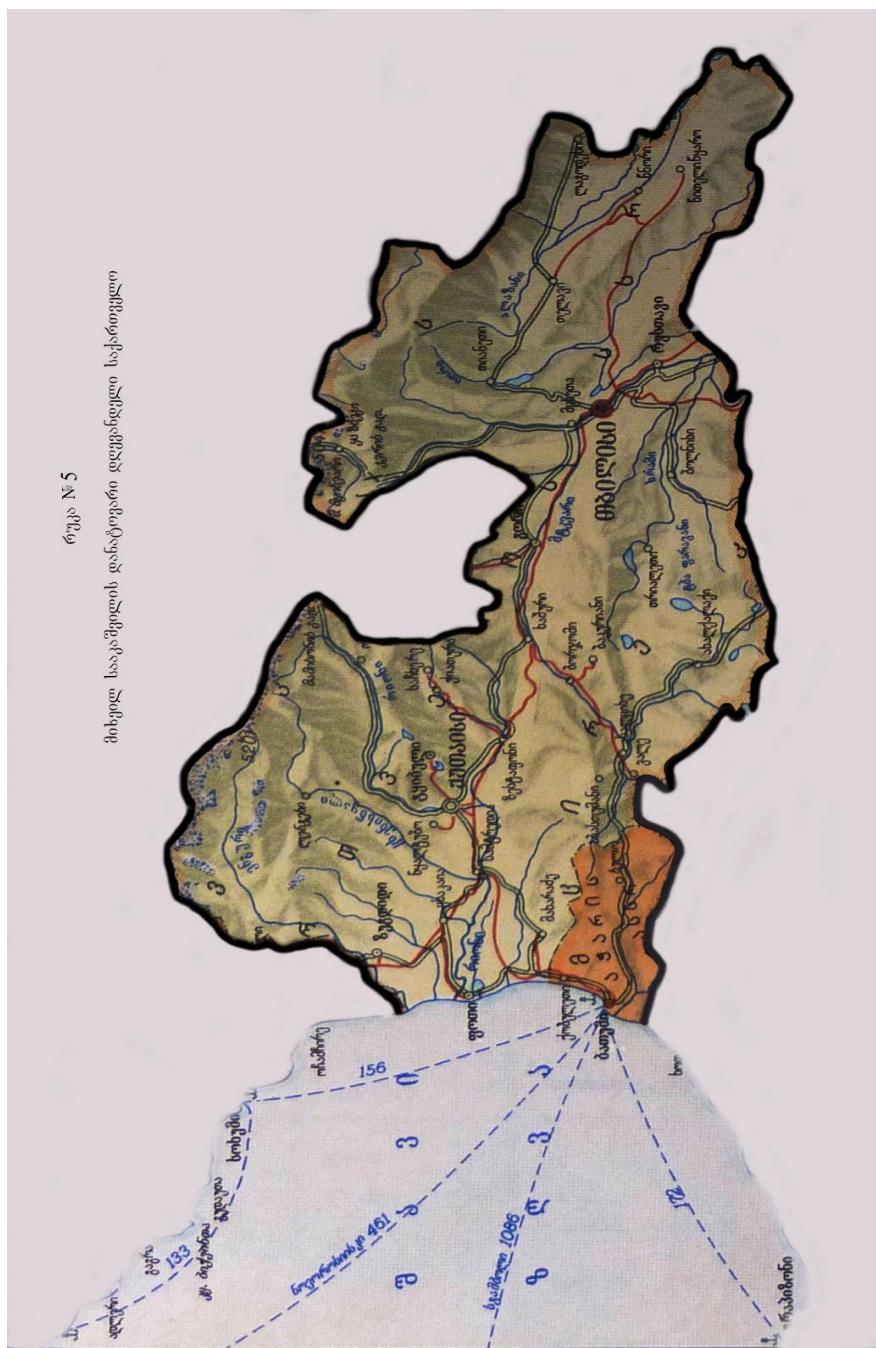




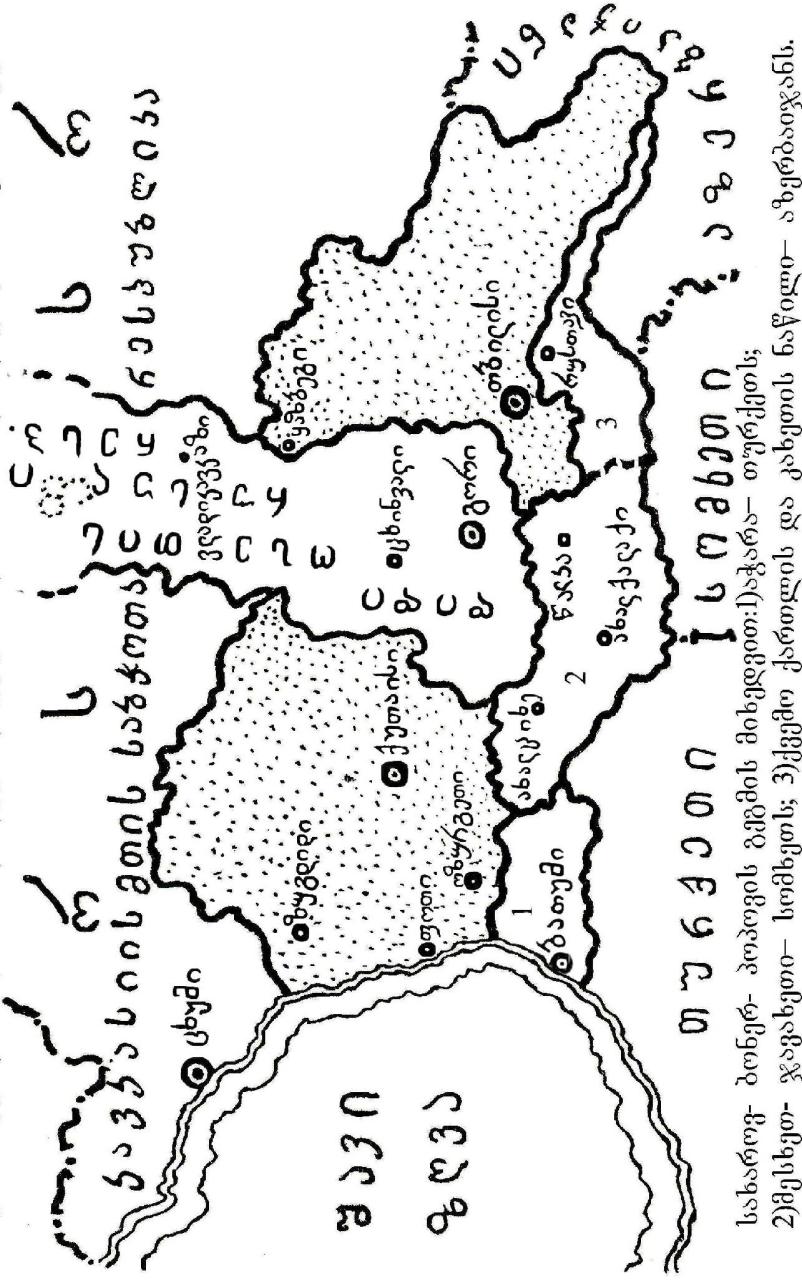




საქართველოს ზინადმდება დაგეგმვით მოსალოდნელი საფრთხეები:



ପ୍ରକାଶିତ ପାଠ୍ୟମାଧ୍ୟରେ ଉଚ୍ଚବ୍ରତିକାରୀ ହେଲେ ଏହାର ପାଠ୍ୟମାଧ୍ୟରେ ଉଚ୍ଚବ୍ରତିକାରୀ ହେଲେ



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Tbilisi

2016

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