

noe Jordani as insti tuti
ivj avaxi Svil is istori isa da eTnol ogi is insti tuti

SoTa vadaWkor i a

Sei araRebul i aj anyebi s
samxedro gegmi s gacemi s
dazustebi saTvi s

saarqivo masal ebze dayrdnobiT, naSromSi ganxil ul ia da safuZvl ianadaa gaanal izebul i: 1)vj uRel isa da al .zaqari- aZis avtorobiT Seqmnil i `SeiaraRebul i aj anyebis samxedro gegmis- mniSvnel oba da adgil i sabWouri reJimis winaaRmdeg aj anyebis mosamzadebl ad; 2)dokumentur masal aze dayrdnobiT, dasabuTebul ia, Tu ra didi saCuqri moumzada saqarTvel os uSiSroebis maRal Cinosnebs, am gegmis gamcemma adami anebma; 3)wina pl anzea wamoweul i am gegmis `Ceka-- sadmi gadamgzavnis pol itikuri msofl mxedvel oba da partiul i warmomavl oba.

redkol egia: qristine faRava- bul ezi
Sarl ureviCi
stiven j onsi
nato sonRul aSvil i

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Sesaval i

saqarTvel os Zal datanebiTi gasabWoebisa da monobis rusul i uRI is dadgmi s sawyisi safexuridanve, Tavisufli ebi s dabruneba da Rirsebis SenarCuneba, qarTvel obam nomer pirvel amocanad dai saxa. am mimarTul ebiT gaweul i saqmi anoba, ero- vnu l - ganmaTavisufli ebel i moZraobis droSiT mimdinareobda. masSi monawil e adami anebis mi zans, qveynis teritoriis deoku- pacia warmoadgenda. saqarTvel os pirvel i respubl ikis (1028 dRe iarseba) xel isufal Ta mxridan, qarTvel Ta modgmi s sasargebl od gatarebul ma ekonomikurma da pol itikurma reformebma, 117 wl is manZil ze dakargul i da Sel axul i Rirseba aRudgina qarTvel ers. 1921 - 1924 wl ebi s erovnu l - ganmaTavisufli ebel i moZraoba, swored RirsebaaRdgenil i eris mrisxanebiT `naTqvami sityva- iyo.

dRevandel i gadasaxedi dan, roca erovnu l i cnobiereba dambl adacemul mdgomareobaSia da `pol itikuri el itis- safiqral s, mxol od mil ionebis Sovna da ganuzomel i raode- nobi T uZravi qonebis SeZena warmoadgens, am fonze, XX sau- kuni s 20- iani wl ebi s qarTvel Ta Tavdadeba samSobl os wi- naSe, gansakuTrebul pativi scemas im saxurebs. ra doneze unda yvareboda im adami anebis Tavisufli eba da saqarTvel o, piradi sicocxl e Segnebul ad mis samsxverpl oze rom mi qonda. maTi mxridan daRvril i yovel i wveTi sisxl i, dampyrobel is wi naSe momaval i Taobebis ardaCoqebis mowodebis anTebul Ci raRdans warmoadgens. am Wril Si unda movaxdinoT 1921- 1924 wl ebi s erovnu l - ganmaTavisufli ebel moZraobaSi monawil eTa Rva- wl is dafaseba. dauSvebl ad mi maCnia, 1922- 1925 wl ebSi da- xvretil Ta mimarT, sxvadasxva saxis damancirebel i epi Tetebis gamoyeneba. Cemi aseTi poziciis mi uxedavad, erovnu l - ganma- Tavisufli ebel i moZraobis xaziT daSvebul i nebi smieri Se- cdoma, mkvl evarma yuradRebis centrSi unda moaqcios da Sesabamisi anal izis Semdeg moaxdinos misi miudgomel i Sefaseba. dasaxul i amocanis gadasawyvetad, mis mier pirvel rigSi unda iqnas garkveul i: 1)arsebul i Secdoma, Segnebul ad gadadgmul nabij s efuzneboda Tu unebl ie qmedebi T iyo ga- npi robebul i; 2)romel i qmedeba SeiZl eba Cai Tval os mi ute- vebel danaSaul ad: a)Tavisufli ebi s mopovebis mi zni T, okupanti qveynis wi naaRmddeg Sei araRebul i aj anyebis momzadeba- ganxo-

რციელ ება, თუ ბ) იმავ ანების სამხედრო გეგმის გაცემა_ ცეკასადმი გადაგზავნა. დამპყრობელისადმი ანების გეგმის ყველა ნიუანსის გაცნობის ხელსემწყობი საფეხურის შემგნა?

ასეთი ზრვარის გავლენა უნდა დაედოს ამოსავალ საფუძველად, ამათუ იმპიროვნების ანტიტიკური პარტიის მიერ დასვებულ სეცდომებთან მიმართებაში გაკეთებულ სეფასებებს. ვინამდებარე ნაშრომის ამოცანაა, მკითხველს საზოგადოებას უცნობი: 1) რა რიგებულების დოკუმენტს უარყოფდა ვ. ჯ. ურელი-ალ. ჯაყარიას ხელისაწილობითი შეარაგებულების ანების სამხედრო გეგმა და მისი გაცემით, რა დიდი საცუყარი მოუზადა ამ გეგმის გამცემა ცეკას მარალ ცინოსნებს; 2) ვინ გასცა, ცეკას ვინ გადაგზავნა შეარაგებულების ანების სამხედრო გეგმა. რომელი პოლიტიკური პარტია იყო დაინტერესებული ამ დანასაუბრის ყმედების არსებობით და რატომ. დასმული საკითხებისადმი პასუხის გაცემის მცდელობას შეიცავს ვინამდებარე ნაშრომი, რომელიც ზირიტადად საარქივო მასალებს ეყრდნობა.

§. 1. Sei araRebul i aj anyebis samxedro gegma

saqarTvel os pirvel i respubl i kis gadasarCenad qarTvel i eris erTsul ovnebam da Tavdadebam daadastura: 1) qarTvel Ta cnobierebaSi erovnul i saxel mwi fos arseboba si Rrmiseul ad iyo Cakirul i; 2) misi SenarCunebis aTvis TavSewirva, yvel a qarTvel isaTvis siamayis gamovl inebis demonstrirebad aRiqmeboda. roca pirovneba, pirad keTil dReobaze maRl a samSobl os interesebs ayenebs da momaval i Taobebis wi naSe gansakuTrebul pasuxismgebl obas i Cens, Zal momreobis gziT misi damorcil eba SeuZl ebel i xdeba. aseTi erovnul i cnobierebis mqone qarTvel obasTan qonda saqme gasul i saukunis 20- ian wl ebSi sabWoTa ruseTs. marTal ia, 1921 wl is Teberval - martis movl enebi qarTvel Ta damarcxebiT da ruseTis saqarTvel oSi meored dabrunebi T damTavrda, magram, monobis uRel s qarTvel oba da gansakuTrebiT pol itikuri el ita ar Serigebia. mxedvel obaSi maqvs saqarTvel os gasabWoebis dRidan qveyanaSi mimdinare erovnul - ganmaTavisufl ebel i moZraobis aRmavl obis procesi. aRniSnul probl emasTan mi marTebaSi qarTvel i istorikosebis mier sakmao raodenobis samecniero xasiaTis weril ebi da monografi ebia dabeWdil i. miuxedavad amisa, mTel i rigi umniSvnel ovanesi sakiTxebi si Rrmiseul i kvl evis aucil ebl obas eqvemdebareba. wi namdebare naSromic am xarvezis garkveul i formiT amovsebis mcdel obas war moadgens. saqme exeba Sei araRebul i aj anyebis gegmas. marTal ia, Cemi kol egebi am gegmis arsebobaze mi uTi- Teben, magram; 1) arafers amboben Tu ra principi Ta igi Sedgenil i da qveynis ganTavisufl ebis ra forme bzea masSi ZiriTadi yuradReba gadatanil i; 2) dokumentis yovel i debul eba ra konkretul monacemebs emyar eba; 3) ra gziT xdeboda gegmis Semdgenel avtorTa mier motanil i faqtebis mopoveba da a.S.

am Tval sazrisiT, Cemi yuradReba orma umniSvnel ovanesma dokumentma miiqcia. mxedvel obaSi maqvs val iko j uRel is da ganibal is (al eqsandre zaqariaZe) samxedro moxsenebebi. pirvel i maTgani 1922 wl is 10 ivnisiT, xol o meore, imave wl is 7 seqtembri Ta da TariRebul i. orive dokumenti xel is manqanaze dabeWdil 42 gverds Seicavs da grifi_`srul i ad

saidumlo- adevs. dokumentebs aj anyebis gegmis Sesatyvi-sobaSi moyvanil i ori feradi ruka da osmal eTis armiis raodenobis, samxedro SeiaraRebis da dislokaciis adgil ebis dawvril ebiTi monacemebi aqvs darTul i. aRniSnul i faqto-brivi masal is gaTval iswinebidan gamomdinare, osmal eTis armiisgan mosl odnel i safrTxeebi, orive moxsenebaSi maqsimal uradaa gaTval iswinebul i. rac Seexeba ganibal is moxsenebas, Jurnal ma`mxedarma,- publ ikaciis avtoris dasaxel ebisa da komentarebis gareSe 1992 wel s dabeWda. teqstSi Semokl ebul i formiT motanil i saxel wodebebi da momxsenebl is fsevdonimi gauSi fravi datova. aRniSnul i da sxva xarvezebis gamo, publ ikacia mkiTxvel ze nakl eb efeqtur zemoqmedebas axdens. es arcaa gasakviri, radgan igi saerto gegmis mxol odert nawil s warmoadgens. es faqtori misi samecniero brunvaSi arSemotanis ZiriTad ganmapirobel mi zezad unda mi viCni oT.

vj uRel isa da al .zaqariaZis zemoaRniSnul i moxsenebebi dan, speci fiurobis Tval sazrisiT, vj uRel is samxedro moxseneba gamoirCeva. igi pirobiTad or nawil ad SeiZl eba gaiyos: a)politikur da b)samxedrod. xolo al .zaqariaZis moxseneba wmi nda samxedro xasiaTisaa. marTalia, am dokumentebis Seqmni s Sual edi 2 Tvea, magram is sakiTxebi, roml ebic samxedro ku-TxiTaa ganxil ul i, masSi motanil i ZiriTadi debul ebebi erTmaneTs avsebs. aqdan gamomdinare, pirvel i moxsenebis ganmeoris xel ovnurad gamoyofa da cal - cal ke ganxil va_yovl ad dauSvebel ia.

rac Seexeba vj uRel is moxsenebis pirvel nawil s, saqarTvel os okupaciis Semdeg qveyanaSi Seqmnil i umZimesi politikuri da ekonomikuri situacia kargadaa danaxul i da obieqturadaa Sefasebul i. gansakuTrebul i yuradReberis sul ieri aRmavl obis proceszea gadatanil i da mi sadmi droul ad miSvel eba, pirvel xarixovan amocanadaa miCneul i. dokumentis am nawil is avtoris (vj uRel i) mtkicebiT, Tuki es momenti xel idan iqneboda gaSvebul i da qarTvel i eris Sinagan cnobierebaSi uimedoba daisadgurebda, erovnul Tavisufebaze fiqrs qarTvel oba didi xniT unda gamoTxoveboda. dampyrobli s winaaRmddeg qarTvel xal xSi im etapze ukanasknel i Zal ebis mokrebi s Sinagani procesis mimdinareobis wina pl anze wamoweviT, qveynis ganTavisuflebis

sakiTxis droul ad dasmas vj uRel i gadaudebel amocanad mi iCnevda. es dokumenti gansakuTrebul yuradRebas imiTac iqcevs, rom mis pirvel nawil Si konkretul adaa dasmul i sakiTxi_ SeiZl eboda Tu ara mSvidobiani gziT saqarTvel o-saTvis Tavisufli ebis mopoveba. evropisa da ruseTis masStabiT mimdinare pol itikuri procesebis siRrmi seul i anal izidan gamomdinare, **saqarTvel os ganTavisufli ebis 4 ZiriTadi SesaZl ebl obaa** dokumentSi ganxil ul i da dasabuTebul i formiTaa naCvenebi TiToeul i maTganis efeqtianobis done.

I. saqarTvel os ganTavisufli ebis pirvel i SesaZl ebl oba:
1)**evropis daxmareba:** dokumentis am nawil Si konkretul adaa miTiTebul i evropisgan saqarTvel osadmi Tanadgomis sam ZiriTad_ dipl omatiur, pol itikur da material ur SesaZl ebl obebze. rac Seexeba SeiaraRebul i Zal iT daxmarebas-anu intervencias, evropis sazogadoebriv- pol itikuri azris sawinaaRmdego damokidebul ebidan gamomdinare, im etapze aseTi nabjis gadadgma maTi mxridan gamoricxul i iyo. misi daSveba mxol od im SemTxvevaSi gaxdeboda SesaZl ebel i, Tuki ruseTi evropis romel ime saxel mwi fosTan saomar mdgomareobaSi aRmoCndeboda. genuis konferenciis Sedegebis anal izis gaTval iswinebiT, **dokumentSi daskvnis saxiT savsebi T sworadaa miTiTebul i, rom dipl omatiis gziT, saqarTvel odan saokupacio j arebis gayvanis il uziis tyveobidan, qarTul i pol itikuri el itis mesveurebi samudamod unda ganTavisufli ebul iyo. miTumetes, a)**mimdinare pol itikuri procesebis gaTval iswinebiT, im etapze saqarTvel o imaze mets verafers mi iRebda, rac genuis konferenciam mi sca; **b)**imave konferenciis msvl el obam daadastura, rom evropis saxel mwi-foebis mizans, ruseTTan morigeba da wi aRi seul i simdidre-ebis dapaTroneba warmoadgenda; **g)**es procesi, rogorc dokumentSia aRni Snul i, droTa ganmavl obaSi kidev ufro gai zrd eboda da evropel i pol itikosebis saqmi anobis dRis wesrigi- dan saqarTvel os sakiTxi ukana pl anze gadai weoda.

II. saqarTvel os ganTavisufli ebis meore SesaZl ebl oba:
2)**muSaTa saerTaSoriso internacional i:** saqarTvel os ganTavisufli ebis saqmeebSi am organizaciis Careva, mxol od ideol ogiuri da propagandistul i Tval sazrisiT iqneboda garkveul i efeqtis momtani. qveynis deokupacias da ruseTis jaris gayvanas igi ver uzrunvel yofda. berl inis konfe-

rencia da cxraTa komisi is daSl a amis naTel i dadastureba iyo.

III. saqarTvel os ganTavisufli ebis mesame SesaZl ebl oba:
3)kreml is dacema, Sida saxeel mwifoibrivi gadatrial eba: es procesi qarTvel i erisTvis yvel aze metad iyo misaRebi, radgan mas qveynis damouki debl obis aRdgena moyveboda. arsebul i sinamdvil idan gamomdinare, im etapze am sakiTxTan dakavSirebiT fiqri, rogorc dokumentSia miTiTebul i- fuW ocnebas warmoadgenda.

saqarTvel os SesaZl o ganTavisufli ebis zemoT CamoTvl il i samive forme bis anal izis Sedegad, dokumentSi vkiTxul obT: `arcerTi zemoaRniSnul i gza ar aris srul iad saimedo da utyuari. zogi maTgani susti da uZl uria da zogic metad probl ematur i. magram, niSnavs Tu ara es, rom qarTvel ma xal xma sasowarkveTil ebas mieces,... dakargos aqtiuri perspeqtiva da istoriis inercias danebdes? srul iadac ara, vinaidan rCeba kidev meoTxe da ukanasknel i gza.-

IV. saqarTvel os ganTavisufli ebis meoTxe SesaZl ebl oba:
4)ukanasknel i gza_ SeiaraRebul i aj anyeba. mis mizans, mezobel respubl ikebTan (saqarTvel o, somxeTi, azerbaij ani, daRestani) erTad sayovel Tao aj anyeba, erovnul i Zal ebis srul i darazmva warmoadgenda. dokumentebis Semdgenel Ta (vj uRel i, al .zaqariaZe) azriT, es gza umZimesi da uki duresi forma iyo, magram Tavisufli ebis mosapovebl ad qarTvel ers sxva gamosaval i ar qonda. maTive mtkicebiT, am gzaze Rirseul ad gavl a mxol od im ers SeeZl o, romel sac srul fasovnad hqonda Segnebul i da gacnobi erebul i saxel mwifo interesebi. mi Tumetes, damarcxebis SemTxvevaSi sabWoTa xel isufli eba aj anyebul ebisadmi umkacresi Roni sZiebebis gatar ebas moaxdena. `es Cven yovel Tvis kargad unda gvaxsovdes_ vkiTxul obT dokumentSi_ da aj anyebis sakiTxis ganxil vis dros ar unda davkmayofil deT mar to saqarTvel os viwro fargl ebiT, mxe dvel obaSi unda mi viRoT rogorc ruseTis saerTo mdgomareoba, ise evropi s Cvendami damoki debul eba.-

am SemTxvevaSi sakiTxi sworad iyo dasmul i. evropi s qveynebidan samxedro Zal iT dauxmarebl obis da ruseTis potenciuri SesaZl ebl obebis gaTval iswi nebi dan gamomdinare, aj anyebis mosawyobad Sesabamisi safexuris maRal doneze momzadebis aucil ebl obas dokumentebSi gansakuTrebul i

yuradReba aqvs daTmobil i. xazgasmiTaa miTiTebul i im qonebrivi da fizikuri msxverpl is gaRebis garduval obaze, romel ic mterze gamarjvebas unda dadeboda safuZvl ad. dasabuTebul ia, rom kavkasiis masStabiT aj anyebis mowyobis iniciativa da xel mZRvanel oba saqarTvel os unda etvirTa. am mimarTul ebiT pragmatul i gadawyvetil ebis miReba da Sesabamisi nabij is gadadgma mxol od im SemTxvevaSi iqneboda gamarTl ebul i, Tuki: **a)evropis saxel mwi foebi i araRiT a da ful iT aj anyebul ebisadmi daxmarebas uzrunvel yofda; b)aj anyebis dawyeba, ruseTis did saomar moqmedebebSi Caebmis, an qveynis SigniT saxel mwi fo gadatrial ebis SemTxvevaSi ac CaiTvl eboda mizanSewonil ad; g)osmal eTis mxridan neitral itetis dacva winaswar iqneboda garantirebul i.** dokumentebis Semdgenel Ta mtkicebiT, osmal eTis mxridan neitral itetze daTanxmeba Semdegi pirobebis gaTval iswinebiT gaxdeboda SesaZl ebel i: 1)ruseTis nacvl ad, iaraRis SeZenis garantias osmal eTi dasavl eT evropis saxel mwifoebidan Tuki mi iRebda da 2)somxeTis xel isufl eba, `osmal eTis somxeTisadmi - gansakuTrebul pretenziebs moxsnida; rac Seexeba osmal eTis mier gacemul i neitral itetisadmi ndobas, mxol od evropis romel ime Zl ieri saxel mwifos pasuxismgebl obis aRebis SemTxvevaSi iyo dasaSvebi. amis aucil ebl obas ganapirobebda: a)osmal eTi sabWoTa ruseTis `megobar da mokavSire- qveynad iTvl eboda; b)osmal eTis parl amentis 1920 wl is 28 ianvris `erovnul i paqtis- meore muxl is Tanaxmad, osmal eTi baTumis okrugze mdinare Col oqamde acxadebda pretenzias. am faqtorebis gaTval iswinebiT, saqarTvel os sazRvriskacis saqarTvel os mimarTul ebiT daZvra_ real obas warmoadgenda. osmal Ta neitral itetis safuZvel ze Tuki aj anyebul Ta zurgis usafrTxoebis garantia Sei qmneboda, es faqtori, aj anyebis monawil eTa moqmedebas met gabedul ebas SesZenda.

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

nel is funqias mTavari Stabi Seasrul ebda, romel ic Se-
sabamis miTiTebbs pol itikuri centridan miRebda; 3)aj anye-
bis mowyoba da xel mZRvanel oba mTavar Stabs daeval eboda,
roml is Semadgenl obaSi pol itikuri moRvaweebi da samxedro
special istebi Sevidodnen; 4)aRniSnul i organizaci is Stabebi,
im momentSi mTel i saqarTvel os teritoriaze_yovel mazraSi
unda yofil iyo ganTavsebul i. dokumentebSi motanil i stati-
stikuri monacemebiT, centris daqvemdebar ebaSi 20 aTasamde
kaci iyo navaraudebi, romel Tagan 16 aTasi Seiararebul i
iqneboda.

samxedro centris mier **`OKA--s** (kavkasi is sagangebo armi a)
Semadgenl obaSi Segzavnil i adami anebis gan miRebul i
informaci is safuZvel ze, dokumentebis Semdgenl ebisaTvis
cnobil i iyo: 1)ra raodenobis Zal ebi da SesaZl ebl obebi
gaaCnda sabWoTa ruseTs saqarTvel oSi da 2)mtrisadmi dasapi-
rispirebl ad ra Zal ebis gamoyvana dasWirdeboda samxedro
centrs. 1922 wl is martis monacemebiT, kavkasi is oTxive re-
publ ikaSi **`OKA--s** saj ariso SenaerTebi, ZiriTadad komu-
nistebsa da wiTel armiel ebs wadmoadgenda. misi raodenoba
40 aTas kacss Sedgenda da ZiriTadi birTvi (22 aTasi) saqa-
rTvel oSi iyo disl ocirebul i da Stabis xel mZRvanel obac
Tbil isSi imyofeboda. rc Seexeba aRniSnul i samxedro Se-
naerTebis kavkasi is masStabiT oTxive republ ikaSi raodeno-
brivad gadanawil ebas, sabWoTa ruseTisadmi mosal onel i
safirTxeebis gaTval iswi nebas emyareboda. **(ix. cxril i # 1;**

rusul i saj ariso SenaerTebis kavkasi is masStabiT ganl a-
gebis, punqtebis da ricxobrivi raodenobis dazustebis Se-
maj amebel i anal izis Semdeg, dokumentebSi principul adaa
dasmul i sakiTxi: 1)momaval i Seiararebul i aj anyebisaTvis
ramdenad momzadebul i iyo somxeTi, azerbaij ani da daRestani;
2)TiToeul republ ikaSi yavda Tu ara sakmarisi raodenobis
sando da maRal kval ificiuri oficrebi. am mxriv, rogorc
dokumentebSi aRniSnul i, isini umZimes mdgomareobaSi imyo-
febodnen. rac Seexeba saqarTvel os, im etapze 3000- ze meti
profesional i da saimedo oficeri yavda. aqedan gamomdinare,
mezobel i republ ikebisadmi dasaxmarebl ad 500 oficeris
gagzavnas varaudobdnen. imave dokumentebSi oTxive respu-
bl ikaSi samxedro potenciuri SesaZl ebl obebida dzustebul i
da xazgasmiTaa miTitebul i, rom amier kavkasi is regionSi

disl ocirebul i 40 aTasi rusul i samxedro SenaerTisaTvis, im etapze 65 aTasi kavkasiel i meamboxis dapiri spireba iyo SesaZl ebel i. gansakuTrebul i aqcenti am SemTxvevaSi saqarTveozea gakeTebul i, radgan 1922 wl is 1 ivni sis monacemebi T, `OKA--s winaaRmdeg saqarTvel os 22 aTasi, xol o kavkasiis oTxive respublikas 55000 aj anyebul is gamoyvana SeeZl o (ix. cxril i # 2; dokumentebis Semdgenl ebis mier aRmosavl eT da dasavl eT saqarTvel oSi aj anyebaSi monawil eTa savaraulo raodenobis is statistikuri monacemebi, romel ic Cems mier Sedgenil # 3- e cxril Sia motanil i, okupanti qveynisadmi qarTvel i jariskacebis, oficrebisa da mosaxl eobis damokidebul ebazea dafuznebul i. am fonze, mterze gamarj vebis umniSvnel ovanes pirobad, aj anyebul Ta erTdroul ad moqmedeba da si swrafea dasaxel ebul i. gegmiT gaTval iswinebul i moTxovnebis maqsimal urad dacvis Sedegad, saqarTvel os monobis uRel i unda gadaegdo da mezobel i respublikesadmi droul i daxmareba gaewia. dauyovnebl iv Caeketa mexadirisa da darubandis `WiSkari-.

dasaxul i amocanis warmatebiT Sesasrul ebl ad, aj anyebis momzadebisa da misi ganxorciel ebis gegma, dokumentebSi **sam ZiriTad** nawil adaa dayofil i: **1)aj anyebis winaswari samzadi si; 2)Tvi T aj anyeba da 3)aj anyebis gamarj vebis meore dRe_ Semdegi etapi.**

1)winaswari samzadi si: dokumentebis mi xedvi T, aj anyebis winaswar samzadi ss eqvemdebareboda: 1)oTxive respublikis (saqarTvel o, somxeTi, azerbaijani, daRestani) Zal ebis mobil izacia, sabrZol o mzadyofnaSi moyvana da maT Soris mtkice kavSiris danyareba; 2)ramdenime gamocdil i da maRal i donis organizaciul i RonisZiebebis gatarebis SesaZl ebl obebis mqone pirovnebisgan (viwro wrisgan) mtkice xel mZRvanel i Stabebis Seqmna da kavkasiis aj anyebis Zafebis maT xel Si Tavmoyra; 3)aj anyebis xel mZRvanel i mTavari Stabis Tbil isSi ganTavseba; 4)aj anyebisadmi farTo da masStaburi xasiaTis mi sacemad, azerbaij anSi, somxeTSi, mTaSi (daRestani), yubanSi da soWis okrugSi Stabebis mosawyobad saimedo warmomadgenl ebis samusaod winaswar gagzavna; 5)TiToeul i ol qisa da raionis Stabebis mier, adgil obrivi specifikisadmi morgebul i aj anyebis gegmis Sedgena, centrTan misi SeTanxmeba da moqmedebis erTdroul ad dawyebis uzrunvel yofa; 6)Crdil o

kavkasiaSi aj anyebis droul ad verdawyebis SemTxvevaSi, pirvel rigSi im strategiul i gzebis gafuWeba (rostovis rkinigzis xidis afeTqeba) unda moexdinaT, romel sac moskovi, kavkasiis aj anyebul Ta sawinaaRmdegod, rusul i Seiararebul i Zal ebis gadasayvanad gamoiyenebda.

es dokumentebi, aj anyebis mTel i samzadisis 4- 5 TveSi damTavrebas iTval iswinebda. dasaxul i miznis misaRwevd, yvel a saxeobis SesaZl ebl obebi maqsimal urad unda yofil iyo gamoyenebul i da moul odnel i dartymit, qveyana dampyrobli bisagan gaentavisufli ebinaT. Tu saSemodgomod es samzadisi ver movaTaveT- vkiTxul obT dokumentSi, aj anyebis ukanasknel vadaT unda CaiTval os momaval i [wl is S.v.] gazafxul i da Tu verc maSin movawyveT es aj anyeba, cxadi iqneba, rom misi SeZl eba aRar gvaqvs da Cvens sakuTar Zal ebze xel i unda aviRoT, istoriul i inerciis usicocxl otal Rebs unda mivendoT. es iqneboda Cveni sikotris da srul i uZurebis maCvenebel i.-

am amonaweridan kargad Cans, rom aRniSnul i gegma drois SezRudul monakveTze iyo gaTvlil i. moqmedebis dawyebas 1922 wl is gviani Semodgomidan, an maqsimum 1923 wl is adre gazafxul idan iTval iswinebda. dasaxul i miznis ganxorciel ebis aseT mkacr CarCoSi moqceva, im etapze arsebul saerTasoris (gansakuTrebit sabWoTa ruseTis) politiki kurda ekonomiki faktorებს emyareboda. mosal odnel i Secdomebis gan dazRvevis miznit, aj anyebis gegmis Semdgenlebs safuZvli anad hqondaT Seswavi il i da maqsimal urad gaTval iswinebul i ukrainis aj anyebul Ta damarcxebis ganmapirobel i mizezebi. aqedan gamomdinare, gasatarebel RonisZiebaTa nusxaSi, pirvel i rigis amocanad iyo Setanili: 1) samxedro operaciis dawyebamde, yvel a niuansis gaTval iswinebit moexdinaT Tbilisis Seswavi a da daedginaT mtris Zal ebis ganlageba; 2) aj anyebis xel mZRvanel i centrის daval ebis maRal doneze Semsrul ebel i samxedro dargis profesional i xel mZRvanel ebi, Tbilisis samxedro raionebsi da ubnebsi, dasaxul i gegmis dawyebamde ramdenime dRiT adre unda daeniSnaT; 3) konspiraciis dacvis miznit, 200 -mde gadacmul i mtkice mebrZoli, sacxovrebel i raionebis mixelvit unda SeyvanaT Tbilisis, romel sac 400- mde adgil obrivi meamboxe SeuerTdeboda; 4) am 600 kaciani razmis wevrebs, Tbilisis

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

2)aj anyeba: rac Seexeba aj anyebis xel mZRvanel ebs da damwyeb organizatorebs, winaswar unda gaeTval iswinebinaT Semdegi garemoebibi: 1)Tbil isis topografiul specificasTan erTad, misi geografiul i mdebareoba da mdinare mtkvrisgan or nawil ad gancal keveba. dokumentebSi motanil i faqtobrivi masal is anal izidan gamomdinare, ramdenadac gasabWoebul i saqarTvel os mTel i pol itikuri da administraciul i centri mdinaris marj vena mxares iyo ganl agebul i, xol o samxedro yazarmebis da jaris ZiriTadi nawil i marcxena mxares, es faqtori, Tbil isis centris xel Si Cagdebis real ur SesaZl ebl obas qmni da. am operaciis warmatebiT ganxorciel eba, Tbil isis marcxena naporis bedsac gadawyvetda; 2)Tbil isis aReba erTi xel is dakvriT unda momxdariyo. dauyovnebl iv ganexorciel ebinaT strategiul i mniSvnel obis punqtebis (saxkomsabWos, cekas, `Ceka-- s, `OKA--s Stabebis) dakaveba da maTi xel mZRvanel ebis dpatimreba. paral el urad daekavebinaT fosta- tel egrafis, tel efonis sadguris, rkinigzis sadguris gamgeobis da radios Senobebi. gaenTavisufl ebinaT cixis patimrebi. imavdroul ad dpatronebodnen j avSnian avtomobil ebsa da j avSnian matarebl ebs. im SemTxvevaSi, Tuki romel ime j avSnosanis damorCil eba SeuZl ebel i gaxdeboda, igi dauyovnebl iv unda aefeTqebinaT. dokumentebSi motanil i statistikuri monacemebis mixedviT, am operaciis dawyebis momentSi, aj anyebul Ta da mtris Zal Ta raodenoba TiTqmis Tanabari iyo (ix. cxril i # 3); 3)aj anyeba RamiT unda dawyebul iyo da winaswari gegmis Sesabamisad, zemoarNi Snul punqtebTan erTad, xel mZRvanel i Stabis miTitebiT, aj anyebul ebs Tbil isis (qal aqis) garSemoarsebul i strategiul i mniSvnel obis simaRl eebis droul ad dakaveba unda ganexorciel ebina (ix. cxril i # 4); 4)aj anyebul Tbil iss, gaTenebisas qal aqis gareubnis 2000 kaciani aj anyebul Ta razmi daexmareboda. rac Seexeba aj anyebul Ta 450 kacian rezervs, yazarmebSi myof bol SevikTa rCeul Zal ebze moul odnel i TavdsxmiT, maTi srul i ganiaraReba qonda daval ebul i; 5)Tbil isis paral el urad (imave Rames) aj anyeba unda dawyebul iyo quTaisSi, baTumSi, soxumSi da sxva qal aqebSi. saqarTvel oSi aj anyebis damTavreba 4- 5 dReSi iyo navar audevi. gamarj vebis

SemTxvevaSi, mezobel i respubl ikebis aj anyebul ebs saqarTvel o garkveul daxmarebas gauwevda; 6)aj anyebis centraluri Stabis miTitebiT, imave dResve Tu ara, meore dRes aj anyebebi unda dawyebul iyo erevanSi, baqosi da Crdil oeT kavkasiaSi. maT ZiriTad amocanas Seadgenda: a) **CKBO--s (rostovSi arsebul i Crdil oeT kavkasiis samxedro ol qis Stabi)** wevrTa dpatimreba; b)strategiul i mniSvel obis obieqtების xel Si Cagdeba da g)adgil obrivi garnizonebiSTvis amierkavkasiis mimarTul ebiT gadaadgil ebis maqsimal urad SezRudvis mcdel oba. rogorc dokumentebSi miTitebul i, aj anyebis cecxl i unda `danTebul iyo- **rostovi_ yizl ari_ baqo_ l enqorani_ erevani_ baTumi_ soCa** sivrceSi da mTavari RerZis funqcia saqarTvel os- Tbil iss Seesrul ebina. **(ix ruka # 1)** amasTan dakavSirebiT imave dokumentebSi vkiTxul obT: `kavkasiis ganmaTavisufl ebel i moZraobis mizani unda iyos aj anyebis cecxl is danTeba rostovidan l enqoranamde da yizl aridan vi dre baTumamde. magram mTavari RerZi da Zal Ta moZraobis unda iqnes amierkavkasia saqarTvel os meTaurobiT. yvel aze umj obesi da sasurvel ia erTbaSad moxdes **CKBO--s** srul i ganiaraReba da damorCil eba. magram Tu es erTi dakvriT ar moxerxda, pirvel xanebSi sakmarisi iqneba, Crdil oeT kavkasiis sxvadasxva kuTxeebSi moxdes iseTical ke aj anyebebi, roml ebic adgil obrivi mtris Zal ebis dezorgani zacias gamoiwveven da maTi daZvra amierkavkasiis wi naaRmdeg SeuZl ebel i iqneba da ise daazianeben ruseTi dan momaval strategiul gzebs, rom j arebis gadmoyvanas metad gaaZnel eben. aseT pirobebSi, amierkavkasia SeiZl eba gaxdes im TavSesafrad, sadac TavS moiyris da moRonierdeba anti bol Sevikuri mebrZol i Zal a, romel ic Semdeg aqtiurad daxmareba meamboxe Crdil oeT kavkasiis da sabol ood masac ganadevni nebs okupantebs.-

am vrcel i amonaweridan kargad Cans, rom dokumentebis Semdgenl ebi, dampyrobli ebis gan saqarTvel os ganTavisufl ebis sakiTxs ganixil avdnen ara viwro karCaketil i formiT, aramed arsebul i probl emis warmatebiT gadaWris SesaZl ebl obas, srul iad kavkasiis (Crdil o da samxreTi kavkasia) respubl ikebis erToblivi Zal ebis koordinebul moqmedebaSi xedavdnen. mi Tumetes, gamarj vebis SemTxvevaSi, mopovebul i warmatebis SenarCuneba gansakuTrebul sirTul eebTan

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

3)aj anyebis gamarj vebis meore dRe: dokumentebis Semdgenl ebis samarTI iani mtkicebiT, yvel aze rTul i momenti gamarj vebis meore dRi dan, mopovebul i warmatebis SesanarCu-nebl ad daiwyeboda. mi Tumetes, ruseTi damarcxebas ar Seurigdeboda da meamboxe respubl ikebis winaaRmdeg sadam-sj el o RonisZiebas ganaxorciel ebda. am faqtoris maqsimal urad gaTval i swinebi dan gamomdinare, aj anyebis dawyebis konkretul drod, Semodgoma da gazafxul ia dasaxel ebul i. im momentisaTvis upi ratesoba gvi an Semodgomas aqvs miniWebul i da igi Semdegi argumentebiTaa dasabuTebul i: 1)Sua seqtembridan kavkasionis uRel texil ebi Tovl iT ifareba da gzebis bunebrivi Caketva, mtris Semotevis Semaferxebel i barieri gaxdeboda. uki dures SemTxvevaSi mowinaaRmdegis gadaadgil ebas maqsimal urad SezRudavda; 2)gvi an Semodgomaze mdi nare vol ga iyineba da samxedro amunciis gadazidvis mTel i simZime mxol od ruseTis rkinigzas daawveboda; 3)Semodgomi dan ruseTis rkinigzebi sazamTro momaragebis gadazidvebiTiyo dakavebul i da samxedro eSel onebis gadaadgil ebis procesebis dawyeba, urTierT xel SemSl el da droSi didad Semaferxebel faqtorad gadai qceoda; 4)Semodgomi meore naxevidan saqarTvel oSi gl exobas mosaval i dabinavebul i aqvs, xal xi ufro Tavisufal ia da mtris winaaRmdeg sabrZol vel ad meti SemarTebiT gamovidoda.

yovel ive zemoaRni Snul is gaTval i swinebi dan gamomdinare, aj anyebul regionebez ruseTi moulo darty mas ver ganaxorciel ebda. es upi ratesoba aj anyebis xel mZRvanel ebs maqsimal urad unda gamoeyenebina da aj anyebul Tarigebis raodenobrivad gazrdil i kontingenti i araRiT uzrunvel eyo. gamarj vebis SemTxvevaSi, aj anyebis gegmis avtorTa monacemebiT, mtris jariskacebis ganiaraRebiT da samxedro sawyobebis dauflebiT, aj anyebul ebs i araRis saxiT darCeboda: 60 aTasi Tofi, 100 zarbazani, 500 tyviamfrqvevi, 12 j avSnosani avtomobil i, 5 j avSnosani matarebel i, 20 mil i oni vazna. am raodenobis i araRiT, saqarTvel os 40 aTasamde mebrZol is

uzrunvel yofa SeeZl o.

aRni Snul i dokumentebis mi xedvi T, aj anyebis xel mZRvanel centrs, gamarj vebis pirvel ive dRidanve unda moexdina aj anyebul ebisadmi mxardamWeri wiTel i jaris daCqarebul i tempiT gaorkeceba, misi raodenobis 40 batal ionamde (TiTo-eul Si 750 kaci) gazrda da qarTul i Seiararebul i Zal ebis raodenobrivad 30 aTas mebrZol amde ayvana. am mimarTul ebi T qmediTi nabij is gadadgma, sabWoTa ruseTidan ganmeorebiTi dartyms garduval obiTiyo ganpirobepul i. dasaxul i amocanis warmatebiT gadasawyvetad, rogorc dokumentebSiamiTitebul i, saqarTvel os Sesabamisi potencial i gaaCnda. mxedvel obaSi maqvs: 1)maRal kval ificiuri donis 3 aTasze meti oficeri; 2)sami aTasze meti artil eristi; 3)2500 kaval eristi; 4)3000 metyviamfrqveve; 5)j avSniani matarebl ebis da avtomobil ebis specifikis 500- ze meti mcodne. yovel ive zemoTqmul idan gamomdinare, dasmul i probl emis mogvareba or kviraSi unda damTavrebul iyo da ruseTidan amierkavkasi-aSi Semosasvl el i yvel agzis dauyovnebl ivi gamagreba momxdariyo. **(ix. cxril i # 5)** am pirvel adi TavdacviTi samuSaos Catarebis Semdeg, erT TveSi amierkavkasi as 100 aTasze meti meomris dayeneba SeeZl o TofqveS. misi iaraRiT uzrunvel yofa, sabWouri samxedro sawyobebidan ganxorciel deboda. rac Seexeba axal i mobil izaciiT mTel i kavkasiis masStabiT jarSi gawveul Ta raodenobas, 200 aTas kacemde iyo navarraudevi. axal wweul Ta Seiarareba mxol od dasavl eT evropis saxel mwifoTa daxmarebiT unda momxdariyo. xazgasmiT Seizl eba iTqvas, rom orive dokumenti, yovel gvare il uziebi-sganaa dazRveul i da pragmatul i xedviT gansaazRvavs evropis saxel mwifoTa SesaZl o daxmarebis ganmapirobebl ZiriTad faqtorebs. mxedvel obaSi maqvs is konkretul i mi-TiTebebi, romelic pirdapir miani Snebda, Tu ra SemTxvevaSi SeeZl o evropas, kavkasiis respublikebisadmi daxmarebis `msxverpl is- gaReba. am sakiTxTan dakavSirebiT dokumentSi gar-kveviTaa naTqvami, rom evropa daxmarebis nabij s mxol od maSin gadadgamda Tuki: 1)kavkasiis respublikebis 100 aTasi aj anyebul i, sabWoTa ruseTis ganaxlebul ierisS 2- 3 Tvis ganmavl obaSi gaumkl avdeboda da aj anyebul Ta mxridan gamarj vebis perspeqtivas Seqmnda; 2)kavkasiis bunebrivi wia-Riseul i simdidris ruseTis xel idan gamoglj ej is da mi sadmi

dapatronebis SesaZl ebl obebi real obad daesaxebeda.

dasavl eT evropis saxel mwi foebi sadmi mi saRebi winapir obis Seqmni s ZiriTad safexurad, dokumentebis Semdgenl ebs, aj anyebis dawyebis pirvel i etapidanve `CKBO--s da `OKA--s SeiaraRebul i Zal ebis safuZvl iani ganiaraReba miaCnda. Tuki am amocanas warmatebiT gadawyvetdnen, amierkavkasiis SeiaraRebul i Zal ebis dasapirispirebl ad, sabWoTa ruseTs, Crdil o kavkasiaSi 200 aTasi jariskacis Tavmoyra dasWirdebeda. am miznis ganxorciel ebas (mTel i Tavisi mowyobil obiT da sursaTiT) ruseTi or Tveze adre ver SeZl ebda. amis Saxebe imave dokumentebSi vkiTxul obT: `es aris srul iad real uri da Seuryevel i angariSi... maSasadame, aj anyebul i kavkasiis srul gankargul ebaSi TiTqmis ori Tve iqneba da am xnis ganmavl obaSi, man unda SeZl os axal i Zal ebis darazmva, maTi mowesrigeba, SeiaraReba da gamokveba. yovel ive es moxdeba ucxoeTis saSual ebiT... ucxoeTi, romel ic dRes aseTi sifrTxil iT da uxal isod gvel aparakeba,... mas ar sjeracveni Zal a da momaval i. igi mxurval ed da erTgul ad dagvexmareba Tuki sakuTari teritoriebi gavanTavisufl eT da uamravi simdidris baton- patroni gavxdit. es Cven mtkiced unda Sevignot da mavne il uziebs droze davaRwi oT Tavi. Cven unda gavigoT, rom avansad, iaraRs da ful saravin mogvcems. amistvis saWiroa faqtiuri batonoba sakuTar teritoriaze. roca kavkasiis didi nawil i Cvens gankargul ebaSi iqneba, roca baqos, groznos, WiaTuris, tyvarCel is da maikopis saxel iT il aparakebs ara krasini, aramed ganTavisufl ebul i kavkasia, Cven advil ad viSovit ful s da ful is saSual ebiT saWiro iaraRs da mowyobil obas.-

Cems mier motanil am vrצל amonawerSi kargadaa danaxul i is real uri gzebi, romel ic kavkasiis bunebrivi simdidrit evropis saxel mwi foTa dai nteresebas ganapir obebda. evropas iZul ebul s gaxdida, Tavisufl ebisatvis mebrZol i kavkasiis xal xebisatvis ful iT, iaraRiTa da sursaTiT real uri daxmareba armoecina. xol o maTi mxridan gaRebul i `msxve-rpl is- sanacvl od, is bunebrivi wiaRi seul i simdidre mieRo, roml iTac evropa `siRaribes- gani cdi da.

iZul ebidan gamomdinare, sabWoTa ruseTis gan Seqmni l i zemoarNiSnul i orTviani Sual edi, kavkasiis respublikebs (saqarTvel o, somxeti, azerbaijani, daRestni) 200 aTasiani jaris

formirebisaTvis unda gamoeyenebina. amis SesaZl ebl obas kavkasiis xal xebis fizikuri potencial i iZl eoda. dasaxul i amocanis warmatebiT gadawyvetis SemTxvevaSi, Zal Ta bal ansi gawonasworebul i (200 aTasi- 200 aTasis winaaRmdeg) iqneboda. es faqtori, ruseTs iZul ebl s gaxdida aj anyebul i da ganTavisufl ebul i kavkasiis xel axl a dasapyrobad 300- 350 aTasiani j ari Seekriba. am mimarTul ebiT nabij is gadadgma moskovis mxridan axal i omisTvis mzadeba iqneboda, romel ic damatebiT xarj ebs da cocxal i Zal is mobil izacias moiTxovda. im SemTxvevaSi Tuki es faqtori amoqmeddeboda, moskovi iZul ebul i gaxdeboda, kavkasiis respubl ikebtan kompromi sze wasul iyo. amastan dakavSi rebiT dokumentebis Semdgenl ebi xazgasmiT miuTitebdnen: `ityvian, rom ruseTi veras gziT ver daTmobs kavkasi as da kerZoT baqoso. nebiT rasakvirvel ia ar daTmobs, magram Zal i iT man daTmo revel i, riga, besarabia da vl adivastoki! Cvenc am Zal as unda daveyrdnoT da Tu Zal a gveqna bol Sevikebi did daTmobaze wamovl en.- swored am `daTmobis- sakiTxTan mimarTebaSi unda Seesrul ebina dasavl eT evropis saxel mwifoebis arbitris roli.

yovel ive zemoTmul is gaTval iswinebidan gamomdinare, rogorc zemoTac mqonda miTitebul i, dokumentebis Semdgenl ebi, aj anyebisTvis saWiro mosamzadebel i samuSaoebis 4-5 TveSi damTavrebas, mTel i kavkasiis da gansakuTrebiT amierkavkasiis (daRestanis CaTvl iT) brZol isunariani mosaxleobis droul ad fexze dayenebis aucil ebl obas moiTxovdnen. `dRel dan es unda iyos Cveni mi zani da aqeT unda mi vmarToT yvel a Cveni Zal ebi. winaaRmdeg SemTxvevaSi- vkiTxul obT dokumentSi- Cveni saqme an wagebul ia, an didi xniT dasamarebul ad unda CaiTval os. Tu am naxevar wel iwadSi ver SevZel iT CvenSi bol Sevizmis I ikvidacia, SemdegSi es saqme TandaTan gaZnel deba. bol Sevizmi TandaTan marj vni v daiwevs da didi daTmobis wyal obiT Sesarigebel kompromi ss gamonaxavs burJuaziul evropasTan. ruseTTan morigebul evropas, TandaTan mi aviwydeba kavkasiac da saqarTvel oc. amitom,... dayovneba Cven ar gvargebs.-

dasaxul i amocnis warmatebiT gadawyvetis #1 probl emad, dokumentebis Semdgenl ebs finansuri sakiTxis mogvareba miaCnda. maTive mtkicebiT, samxedro centri im etapze ukiduresad mZime finansur krizi ss gani cdi da. `saqarTvel oSi

mebrZol ma amxanagebma- vkiTxul obT dokumentebSi- muSaobis Sesafer niadagze dasayenebl ad da mezobl ebTan mtki ce kavSiris gasabmel ad, TveSi 68 aTasi Turqul i qaRal dis l ira mogvTxoves. Cven kargad viciT, rom am Tanxis Sovna Cen ar SegviZl ia. amasTanave isic kargad viciT, rom am muSaobi saTvis TveSi ara nakl eb 20 aTasi l ira aris saWiro. Cven arc es ful i gvaqvs, da swored im dros, roca gaZl ierebul i da gadi debul i muSaobaa saWiro, Cven uful obis gamo iZul ebul i varT, ki dev ufro SevamciroT da SevboWoT Cveni muSaoba. es ki mTel i dawyebul i saqmis CaSl as udris.- aRniSnul is gaTval iswinebi dan gamomdinare, dokumentebis Semdgenl ebi kategoriul i formiT ayenebdnen sakiTxs: **`Cven unda gavxeTqoT miwa da ramdenime mil ioni franki aucil ebl ad unda vi SovoT!-**

Cems mier motanil i amonawerebi dan kargad Cans, rom aj anyebis zemoaRniSnul i gegmis mixedviT Sesabamisi samuSaos gagrZel eba da dawyebul i saqmis bol omde miyvana, ful is SovnasTan da finansuri krizisis daZl evasTan iyo dakavSirebul i. Tuki qarTul i emigracia am uaRresad mniSvnel ovan probl emas moxsni da, aj anyebis samxedro centri dasaxul i mi znisken svl as warmatebiT gaagrZel ebda. es imas niSnavda, rom aj anyebisTvis saWiro yvel a safexuris srul yofil ad momzadebis SemTxvevaSi, misi dawyeba ori mniSvnel ovani faqtorisaTvis unda daekavSirebi naT. mxedvel obaSi maqvs: 1)saqarTvel os sasargebl od xel sayrel i saerTaSoriso situaciis Seqmna da 2)ruseTis Sinauri mdgomareobis maqsimal urad garTul eba. aRniSnul i xel Semwyobi procesebis arSeqmnis SemTxvevaSi, imave dokumentis Semqmnel ebi gamafrTxil ebel i formiT miuTitebdnen: `Tu saerTaSoriso urTierToba Cvens wi naaRmddeg moewyo da imavdroul ad bol Sevikebi TviT ruseTsi ganmtki cdnen, cxadia, amer kavkasi is aj anyeba mi utevebel avanturad CaiTvl eba;- 3)samxedro komisi is wi naSe, vj uRel is mier 1923 wl is 15 Teberval s parizSi gakeTebul i moxsenebiT irkveva, rom antisabWouri gamosvl ebis zemoaRniSnul i gegma Zal aSi rCebel da. masSi mxol od, 1923 wl is ianvris monacemebiT `okas- daqvemdebarebaSi arsebul i rusul i samxedro SenaerTebis raodenoba iyo dazustebul i.

amrigad, Cems mier motanil i faqtobrivi masal is anal izidan gamomdinare irkveva: 1)saqarTvel oSi Seqmnil i

mZime pol itikuri da ekonomikuri situaciis fonze, qarTvel
li xal xis erovnul i Tavisufli ebisaken swrafvis aRmavl o-
bis procesi, warmodgenil dokumentebSi maqsimal uradaa
gaTval iswinebul i; 2) dasavl eT evropasa da ruseTs Soris
mimdinare ekonomikuri daaxl oebis ganmapirobebel i fa-
qtorebis siRrmiseul i anal izis fonze, saqarTvel os
ganTavisufli ebis mSvidobiani gza (evropis mxridan Seiara-
Rebul i ZI iT daxmareba, muSaTa saerTaSoriso internaci-
onal is Zal isxmeva da kreml is dacema) uperspeqtivod da
il uziadaa miCneul i; 3) srul iad kavkasiis masStabiT Sei-
araRebul i aj anyebj sadmi prioritetis micema da am saqmeSi
saqarTvel osadmi xel mZRvanel is funqciis dakisreba, do-
kumentebis Semdgenel Ta mxridan damaj erebel i argumente-
biTaa warmodgenil i. konkretul adaa miTitebul i aj anyebis
mosamzadebel i safexurebis da misi srul ad ganxorciel ebi-
saTvis saWi ro RonisZiebis Sesaxeb; 4) aj anyebis gamarj vebis
SemTxvevaSi, sabWoTa ruseTis morigi agresiasagan damcavi
meqanizmis is saSual ebebi, roml ebiC dokumentebSi a warmo-
dgenil i, im periodis (pol itikuri, samxedro strategiul i,
finansuri, kavkasiis respublikebis erToblivi moqmedebis
potenciuri SesaZlebeli da a.S.) moTxovnebs srul ad
pasuxobda. es dokumentebi, SeiaraRebul i aj anyebis momza-
debisa da misi ganxorciel ebis mokl evadian (1922 wl is
gviani Semodgoma_ 1923 wl is adre gazafxul i) srul fasovan
gegmad unda Sefasdes. mi Tumetes, dasaxul i mi znis mi saRwevad
gasatarebel i RonisZiebebis yvel a ni uansi, maqsimal uradaa
gaTval iswinebul i.

cxრილი # 1

კავკასიის რესპუბლიკების დისოცირებული `OKA--ს (კავკასიის საგანგებო არმია) სამდგენი ობა და სეარარება (1922 წლის მარტის მონაცემებით).							
სეარარების დანახვების ელენობა	სეარარების დანახვების ელენობა	სეარარების დანახვების ელენობა	სეარარების დანახვების ელენობა	სეარარების დანახვების ელენობა			
სეარარების დანახვების ელენობა	სეარარების დანახვების ელენობა	სეარარების დანახვების ელენობა	სეარარების დანახვების ელენობა	სეარარების დანახვების ელენობა	სეარარების დანახვების ელენობა	სეარარების დანახვების ელენობა	სეარარების დანახვების ელენობა
1.კომუნისტური სამდგენი ობა	3330	თვითმფრველი	534	კომუნისტური სამდგენი ობა	2100	თვითმფრველი	274
2.სეარარების დანახვების ელენობა	36630	ზარბაზანი	104	სეარარების დანახვების ელენობა	20339	ზარბაზანი	64
სულ	39960			სულ	22439		
სულ	40000			სულ	22000		
`OKA--ს სამხედრო ნაწილების დისოცირების ადგილები				`OKA--ს სამხედრო ნაწილების სეარარების დანახვების ელენობა			
1. სეარარების დანახვების ელენობა							
ა)თბილისი				9000			
ბ)ბათუმი				4000			
გ)კუთაისი				3000			
დ)ლორე				3000			
ე)სხვა ადგილები				3000			
2. აზერბაიჯანი				8000			
3. დასტანი				6000			
4. სომხეთი				4000			
სულ				40000			

cxრილი # 2

`OKA-- s SelaraRebul i Zal ebis winaaRmdeg mebrZol i kavkasiis respubl ikebis samxedro potencial i (1922 wl is 1 ivnisis monacemebiT)		
respubl ikebi	jaris Semadgenloba	jariskacTa raodenoba
1.saqarTvel o	qarTul i wiTel i l aSqari	5000
	milicia da sxva razmebi	3000
	sakuTari farul i samxedro organiza- cia	14000
	sul	22000
2.azerbalj ani	wiTel i l aSqari da adgil obrivi razmebi	5000
	sakuTari Zal ebi pirvel i daZaxebisTana	8000
	sul	13000
3.somxeTI	somxeTis wiTel i l aSqari	6000
	farul i samxedro organizacia	10000
	sul	16000
4.mTa (daRestani)	sakuTari pirvel i dakvris Zal ebi	4000
	sul	55000
`OKA-- s 40000 jariskacs daupirispirdeboda kavkasiis respubl ikebis 55000 aj anyebul i		

ბების წინააღმდეგ იკების სამხედრო სამონაცემო (T)	
ქალაქის	14000
სოფლის	3000
სულ	22000
დასავლეთის	5000
სამხრეთის	8000
სულ	13000
სადასავლეთის	6000
სადასამხრეთის	10000
სულ	16000
სადასავლეთის	4000
სადასამხრეთის	55000
დაუპირისპირებდა სადასავლეთის	

ცხრილი # 3

რუსი ოკუპანტების წინააღმდეგ მეზობლის საკარტვლოს საიდუმლო სამხედრო ორგანიზაციის მხარდამხმარებელი ჯარისკაცების რაოდენობა (1922 წლის I კვირის მონაცემები)			
დასავლეთის საკარტვლო		აღმოსავლეთის საკარტვლო	
ქალაქის, მაზრების და რეგიონების	ჯარისკაცების რაოდენობა	ქალაქის, მაზრების და რეგიონების	ჯარისკაცების რაოდენობა
1. სოხუმის ოლქი	1000	1. ხაშურის რაიონი	500
2. ჯუღდიდის მაზრა	700	2. ახალციხის მაზრა	400
3. სენაკის მაზრა	800	3. ახალქალაქის მაზრა	300
4. ფოთი	400	4. გორის მაზრა	1000
5. ბათუმი	400	5. მანგლის რაიონი	300
6. გურია	1800	6. ბორჯომის მაზრა	400
7. სამტრედია	1000	7. დუსეთის რაიონი	800
8. კუთაისი	700	8. ყაზბეგის რაიონი	400
9. იმედი	500	9. ტიანეთის მაზრა	300
10. რაჭა	300	10. თბილისის გარეუბანი	2000
11. სვანეთი	1500	11. გარეკახეთი	1000
12. სოფლის მაზრა	1600	12. ტელავის მაზრა	800
		13. სირანოვის მაზრა	1000
სულ	10700	სულ	9200
ორივე რეგიონის დამატებით 2-3 ათასი კარტული ჯარი და 3-4 ათასი კარტული მხარდამხმარებელი თანობის ახლებული რაოდენობა 22000 იქნება.			
მეზობლის საკარტვლოს ჯარისკაცების რაოდენობა თბილისის (1922 წლის I კვირის მონაცემები)			
სადასავლეთის ეტაპის ახლებული მხარდამხმარებელი ორგანიზაციის:			
ჯარისკაცობა	ახლებული რაოდენობა	მხარდამხმარებელი რაოდენობა	
1. ფარული სამხედრო ორგანიზაცია	1500	4000 აქტიურად მონაწილე ჯარისკაცი	
2. კარტული მხარდამხმარებელი	1500		
3. რევიზიის და კალაქის მხარდამხმარებელი	1000		
4. სულ	4000		
მხარდამხმარებელი და რევიზიის	3000		

cxril i # 4

aj anyebul Ta mier Tbil isis aR- ebisa da pirvel i dartymsaT- vis saWiro Zal Ta ganawil ebis gegma (1922 wl is seqtemberi)	
dasakavebel i strategiul i simaRI eebisa da obieqteb- is dasaxel e- ba	dasakavebel i obieqt- ebis mixedviT, aj anye- bul Ta SelaraRebul i Zal ebis raododenob- rivad gadanawil eba
1.ZmaTa sasaf- l ao 2.maxaTas mTa da ferdobi 3.botanikuri baRI 4.mamadavi Ti da mTawminda	1000
svadasxva mimarTul eba	2000
1.saxal xo ko- misariati, ce- ka, kavbiuro, `OKA-- s Sta- bi, `Ceka-	150
2.cixis ganTa- visufl eba	100
3.fosta, tel e- grafi, tel efoni da radio	100
4.j avSniani matarebl ebi, j avSniani avtomobil ebi, tankebi	200
sul	3550
aj anyebul Ta rezervi	450 kaci daniSnul e- bisa mebr iqneboda gam- oyenebul i. gaTenebi- sas Tbil iss, qal aqis gareubnidan 2000 aj a- nyebul i gauwevda da- xmarebas.

C)

aj anyebis gamarj vebi daxmarebis (finanseb Ti...) SemTxvevaSi, kavI gamoeyvana (1922 wl is	
respublikebis dasaxel eba	coctxal Zal is raoden
1.saqarTvel o	120000
2.somxeTi	60000
3.azerbaij ani	30000
4.mTa. (daRest- ani)	10000
sul	220000

cxრილი # 5

აქ ანების გამარჯვების და ევროპის სახელმწიფოთა დამარების (ფინანსები, იარაღი, ამუნიცია, სურსათი...) შემთხვევაში, კავკასიის 4 რესპუბლიკის შემთხვევაში (1922 წლის ივნისის მონაცემებით):			
რესპუბლიკების დასახელება	ცოცხალი ჯარის რაოდენობა	სტრატეგიული მნიშვნელობის პუნქტების გამაგრება	ცოცხალი ჯარის განაწილება
1.საქართველო	120000	დასახელება	ცოცხალი ჯარის რაოდენობა
2.სომხეთი	60000	1.დარუბანდის უიშკარის და დარესტანის დაცვა	50000
3.აზერბაიჯანი	30000		
4.მთა. (დარესტანი)	10000		
სულ	220000	2.სავიზრვის სანაპიროს გამაგრება	20000
		3.დარიალის ხეობის ცაქეტვა	10000
		4.მამისონის ურელ ტეხლის ცაქეტვა	5000
		5.ცრდილოეთის სხვა გადასვლების ცაქეტვა	10000
		6.სამხრეთის სავრის დაცვა	30000
		სულ	125000
		რეზერვში დარცხობა და საუროების ამებრიყნობა გამოყენების	55000

ის არ-
მისა-
ტების
ი)
ობიექ-
ტების
რეზერ-
ვების
და
სულ
და
გამ-
არჯვ-
ების
და
და

§. 2. 1924 wl is SeiaraRebul i aj anyebis samxedro gegmis gacemis dazustebisaTvis

saqarTvel os okupaciis Semdeg dawyebul i erovnul - ganmaTavisufli ebel i moZraobis istoriis Sesaxeb daweril samecniero da publicisturi xasiaTis SromebSi daweril ebi Taa arweril i 1922_1924 wl ebis monakveTSi SeiaraRebul i aj anyebis mzadebis mimdinare procesebis da `samxedro centr is- gacemis faqti. magram, gamokveTil i formi T araa moculi: 1)aj anyebis dasawyebad gadawyvetil ebis miRebis dros, `damkomisa- da `samxedro centr is- warmomadgenel Tamier gaTval iswinebul iqna Tu ara sazRvargareT momzadebul i da qarTvel i samxedro special istebisgan mowonebul i aj anyebis samxedro gegmaSi mocemul i yvel a moTxovna; 2)politikuri partieb is mxridan, arsebobda Tu ara piradi ambiciebisa da partitul i interesebisadmi aj anyebis daqvemdebareb is mcdel oba; 3)SeiaraRebul i aj anyebis ori gegmidan (1. v. j uRel i- al .zaqariaZe; 2. r. musxel iSvili), romel i maTgani iqna gacemul i da es qmedeba, romel i politikuri partiis warmomadgenel TameresebSi Sedioda.

arada arniSnul i sakiTxebis srul fasovnad arwarmoCena, ama Tu im politikuri mimdinareobisa da TviT politikur moRvaveTamier gaweul qmedebasTan mimarTebaSi, obieqturi Sefasebebis gakeTebis SeuZl ebl obas qmnis. am sakiTxiT Cemi mxridan gansakuTrebul i daiintereseba harvardisa da l evill is saarqivo fondebis safuZvliani Seswavis Sedegad mikvl eul ma masal ebma ganapiroba. meore mxriv, yuradRebis centrSi v. j uRel isa da al .zaqariaZis avtorobiT Seqmnil aj anyebis samxedro gegmaSi dasmul i ZiriTadi debul ebebi moeqca, romel ic safuZvl ad da saxel mZRvanel od unda da deboda SeiaraRebul i aj anyebis samzadiss. smwuxarod, es procesi pirvel safexurzeve iqna SeCerebul i. misi ignori reba mas Semdeg ganaxorciel es, roca am gegmis mxardamWerebi mi zanmarTul ad iqna politikuri sarbiel idan Camocil ebul i. am faqtoreb is gauTval iswinebl obis SemTxvevaSi, nebi smieri mkvl evari tendenciurobis tyveobaSi moeqceva da obieqturi Sefasebis gakeTebas ver SeZl ebs. am mxriv, gansakuTrebul pretenzia arc me gamaCnia, magram, yvel a saxeobis

saarqivo masal is anal izidan gamomdinare, Sevecdebi erTi uki duresobidan meoreSi ar aRmovCnde.

CemTvis xel mi sawvdomi saarqivo masal ebis mi xedvi Tirkveva, rom `samxedro centri- sasurvel informacias sabWoTa jarabis general uri Stabi dan i Rebda. maTTvis cnobil i iyo, rom xel isufl ebisa da misadmi qvemdebare uSiSroebis komi tetis mizans, umkacresi represiebis gasatarebel sababad, saqarTvel oSi anarqi is gamwvavebis gamoyeneba war moadgenda. aRni Snul is gaTval iswi nebi dan gamomdinare, madoneris fsevdonimi T Teimurazisadmi (n.rami Svili) gagzavnil daSi frul weril Si gamafrrTxil ebel i formi T iyo miTi Tebul i, rom `samxedro centris- xel mZRVanel obas, gasabWoebul i saqarTvel os xel isufl ebis provokaciebis aRmkveTi RonisZiebebi droul ad gaetarebina. am pozicias saqarTvel oSi aral egarul ad moqmedi social - demokratiul i partiis xel mZRVanel obac iziarebda. amis udao dadasturebas, saqarTvel os social - demokratiul i partiis cekas prezidiumis mdivnis mier sandros fsevdonimi T parizSi myofi saqarTvel os mTavrobisadmi gagzavnil i weril i war moadgens. dasmul sakiTxTan mi mar TebaSi, am dokumentSi vki Txul obT: `Tqven unda icodeT, rom Cven nabij sar gadavdgamT Tu amistvis garkveul i perspeqtiva ar gveqneba da Tu ar viqeni T darwmunebul i gamarj vebaSi. es ki ASesaZl ebel ia maSin, roca ruseTSi da kavkasiaSi garTul deba mdgomareoba da imave dros, Tqven Tu mogvcemT imas, rasac gTxovT da rac aucil ebel ia maSin.- am amonaweridan kargad cans, rom saokupacio reJi mis wi naaRmdeg gamosvl as, saqarTvel os social - demokratiul i partiis mesveurebi mxol od im SemTxvevaSi mi iCnevda mizanSewonil ad, Tuki: 1) sabWoTa ruseTSi _ gansakuTrebi T kavkasiaSi pol itikiuri da ekonomi kuri mdgomareoba damZimdeboda; 2) dasavl eT evropasi saqarTvel osadmi mxardamWeri real uri pirobebi Sei qmneboda; 3) gamarj vebis perspeqtivaSi darwmunebul ni iqnebodnen. aseTi poziciis mi uxedavad, imave weril is avtori, aj anyebistvis winaswar mzadebas aucil ebl obad mi iCnevda Tundac im el ementarul i mi zeidan gamomdinare, rom qveyanaSi moulo dnel ad Seqmnil i xel sayrel i situacia maqsimal urad yofil iyo gamoyenebul i. dasaxul i amocanis Sesrul ebisaTvis Sesabamisi safexuris momzadebis ZiriTad pi robad, dafinansebis sakiTxis droul i mogvareba iyo miCneul i. am Sem-

TxvevaSi gadamwyveti si tyva dasavl eT evropis saxel mwi foebis unda eTqva. Tuki evropis qveynebi okupirebul i saqarTvel os devnil kanonier xel isuflebas finansur daxmarebas ar amouCenda, erovnul - ganmatavisuflebel i moZraoba saqarTvel oSi amavl obis process Sewyvetda, xol o dasavl eT evropa, nebsiT Tu unebl ieT sabWota ruseTis sasargebl o saqmes gaakeTebda. aRniSnul i faqtebi qonda mxedvel obaSi saqarTvel os social - demokratiul i partiis central ur komitets, roca 1923 wl is mowodebaSi `qarTvel sazogadoebas- saokupacio rejimis winaarmdeg brZol is dawyebisas windaxedul ebisada gonierebis gmoCenisken rom mowodebda. `okupantebTan brZol a _vkiTxul obT dokumentSi_ windaxedul i, organizaciul i, politiki, gonierebiTa da ganTavisuflebis ideal iT unda iyos gasuqebul i! erideT mtris provokacias, ar wamogot mis ankers, ar ayvet gabrazebul gul isTqmas. Cven vbrZvit ara pirovnebebs, aramed rejims, ara erT romel imejal aTs, aramed yvel ajal aTebis. maTTan angariSi gasworebis dro mal e dagvidgeba.-¹

Cems mier motanil i amonawerebis mixedvit Tuki vimsjel ebT, saqarTvel oSi moqmedi social - demokratiul i partiis liderTa pozicia, aucqarebl obze, mtris winaarmdeg brZol isTvis safuzvl ianad momzadebaze, saerTasorisoda ruseTsi Seqmnili xel sayrel i politikur- ekonomikuri situaciis maqsimal urad gatval iswinebis moTxovnebze iyo gatvili. amis Sesaxeb vj urel isada al .zaqariaZis mier Sedgenil aj anyebis samxedro gegmaSi dawvril ebiTaa saubari. garkvevitaa miniSnebul i Turafaqtorebi SeiZlebamincneul iyo aj anyebisTvis xel sayrel ad.² im SemTxvevaSi, Tuki antisabWota aj anyebis momzadebaze da saWiroebis SemTxvevaSi Zal ismieri gziT saokupacio rejimis uRl is mocilebaze fiqri Secdomas warmoadgenda, maSin, Secdomad unda iqnas mincneul i damkomsada samxedro centris Seqmnis faqtebi. kritikis sagnad, mxol od social - demokratiis erT- erTili lideri n.xomeriki ki ar unda iqnas mizansi amoRebul i, aramed, es kritika yvelaim politikuri Zal is warmomadgenel TamimarT (ganurCevlad social uri warmomavl obisa) unda gavrceles, vinc sabWouri rejimis damxobas Zal ismieri formebis gamoyenebitvli da Sesazleblad. samwuxarod, es principi ratomRac xSirad irveva da bral debebis mTel i wyeba erT pirovnebaze

gadaaqvT. mxedvel obaSi maqvs n.xomerikis mier sabWoTa xel isufli ebis sawinaaRmdegod ganxorciel ebul i pragmatu- l i xasiaTis RonisZiebebis eqstremistul _ avantiuristul i da erovnul i saSiSroebis mimarTul ebad gamocxadebis faqti.³ am Sexedul ebis gasamyarebl ad, prof. g.ciciSvil i eyrdnoba n.qarcivaZis mier damkomis erT- erT sxdomaze gakeTebul ganocxadebas, roml is Sinaarsi gr.rcxil aZis 1924 wl is 21 noembris CvenebaSia warmodgenil i. `nikol oz qarcivaZem- vkiTxul obT gr.rcxil aZis CvenebaSi,- erT- erT sxdomaze ganocxada, menSevikTa partiam damakisra gansaxil vel ad davsva sakiTxi, Tu ra xasiaTi eqneba am eridan damoukidebl obis komi tetis muSaobaso. mas mi aCnda, rom saqarTvel os damouki de- bl obis mosamzadebl ad da aRsadgenad, gaurkvevel i da ucnobi vadiT muSaoba arafers mogvitans, rom saWi roa davTqvaT raime vada, davukavSi roT igi moxerxebul saerTaSoriso vi- Tarebas, am droisaTvis movamzadoT mTel i Zal ebi, rac ki SeiZl eba gvyavdes da am dResve daTqmul dros gavSal oT saqmi anoba. es vada, mi si azriT SeiZl eba ufro gvi anac dagve- Tqva imi sda mixelv iT Tu rogori iqneboda viTareba. magram am vadis fiqsacia warmatebul i mzadebis saWi ro wanamZRvr ad ar mi aCnda.-⁴

miuxedavad imisa, rom es Cveneba sapyrobel eSi da sukis TanamSromel Ta zewol is qveS iwereboda, ZiriTadi yuradReba damkomis momaval saqmi anobazea gamaxvil ebul i. imavdroul ad gasdagebadaa naTqvami: 1)saqarTvel os damoukidebl obis aRsadgenad aucil ebel i iyo winaswari safuZvl iani samzadisi da Zal Ta maqsimal uri mobil izacia; 2)mTel i Zal ebis mza- dyofnaSi moyvana da xel sayrel i saerTaSoriso viTarebis Seqmni sTanave moqmedeba. aRni Snul is gaTval iswi nebi dan gamo- mdinare, antisabWouri Zal ebis moqmedebis konkretul i dro dasaxel ebul i ar iyo; 3)aj anyebis dawyeba, warmatebul i mza- debiT ar unda ganesazRvraT. konkretul ad ras niSnavda xel sayrel i si tuaci is Seqmna da Zal Ta maqsimal uri mobil i- zacia, amis Sesaxeb vj uRel isa da al .zaqariaZis mier SemuSa- vebul aj anyebis samxedro gegmaSia saubari da masze yura- dRebas ar SevaCereb, avRni Snav mxol od, rom gr.rcxil aZis Cvenebi dan Cems mier motanil amonawerSi, avantiurizmi sa da eqstremizmi sel ementebi ar aris. aqedan gamomdinare, n.xome- rikisadmi wayenebul i umkacresi bral debebis damada-

sturebl ad aRniSnul i dokumenti ar gamodgeba. im SemTxvevaSi, Tuki erovnul - ganmaTavisufl ebel i moZraobisa da Tavisufl ebis mosapovebl ad brZol is samzadisi avantiurizmi da eqstremizmia, maSin, Sors rom ar wavi deT, mTel i XIX saukunis da XX saukunis dasawyisis saqarTvel os istoria, avantiurizmiTa da eqstremistul i qmedebebiT yofil a damZimebul i. Sefasebis aseTi formis gamoyeneba imaze migvaniSnebs, rom monobaSi myofma erma, Tavisufl ebis mosapovebl ad ar unda i brZol os da STamomavl obas, monobis uRel i xel Seuxeb ad samudamod dautovos. rac Seexeba piradad n.xomeriks, misi Zal isxmeviT gaxda Sesazl ebel i sabWouri represiebis Sedegad (1921- 1922 wl ebi) miZinebul i da sul TmobrZavis sarecel ze garTxmul i antisabWouri saqmianobis gamocxl eba.

im masal ebis mixedviT, romelic l. j. iqias aqvs motanil i Tavis naSromSi, aSkaraT ikveTeba aral egarul i muSaobis is saocari specifiuri da organizaciul i formebi, romelic umkacresi konspiraciis dacvis miZniT n.xomerikma Semoi Ro. xazgasmiT minda aRvni Sno, rom mtkice organizaciul i disciplinisa da maRal i pasuxismgebl obis moTxovnebis damkvirdrebiT, man SesZlo im aral egerul i `institutis- amuSaveba, romlis ZiriTad amocanas, mowinaaRmdege mxaris samoqmedo gegmis, miZnebis da amocanebis Sesaxeb dawvril ebiTi informaciis mopoveba warmoadgenda. muSaobis am meTodis gamoyenebiT, igi Seqmnili situaciis Sesatyvisi pragmatul i gadawyvetil ebebis miRebas axerxebda.⁵

aset formaze daafuZna man antisabWouri konspiraciul i muSaoba gasabWoebul saqarTvel oSi. amis udao dadasturebas n.kirTazis mier sukis arqivebidan motanil i masal ebi warmoadgens. aRniSnul sakiTxTan mimarTebaSi, am dokumeentebSi gamokveTil i formiTaa miTitebul i, rom n.xomerikis saqarTvel oSi Camosvl am (1922 wl is noemberi) `gamoArviZa da kvl avac sabrZol od ganawyo indiferentul i ganwyobiT mocul i partiul - politiki cxovreba. isev amoZravda partitetul i struqtura_ damkomi, romel Tanac swored n.xomerikis iniciativiT aqtiurad amuSavda axl ad reorganizebul i `samxedro komisia-... xomeriki TiTqmis erTpirovnul i winamZRol i Seiqmna qarTul politikur wreebSi axal i saaj anyebo ganwyobi l ebis da mzadebis saqmianobaSi. igi TiTqmis damo-

uki debl ad... iyenebda yvel afers; beWdavda da aqveynebda, rac undoda. kavSi rebs amyarebda mazrebTan, sofl ebTan; damkomi c TiTqm is sakuTar aparatad gaxada. TviTon menSevikuri parti is saorganizacio saqmi anobasac ganagebda erTpi rovnul ad.-⁶

am vr cel i amonaweridan aSkarad ikveTeba n.xomerikis organizatorisa da praqtikosis saxe. romel mac 1922 wl is represiebis Sedegad, rogorc zemoTac mqonda aRniSnul i, TiTqm is damb l adacemul mdgomareobaSi myofi erovnul i moZraoba gamoacocxl a, riTac antisabWouri saqmi anoba saqarTvel oSi axal safexurze aiyvana. misi Zal isxmeviT, anti-sabWoTa kavkasiuri frontis Sesaqmnel ad, aRdgenil i iqna urTierToba Crdil o kavkasiisa da azerbaij anis erovnul - ganmaTavisufl ebel i moZraobis l iderebTan. aRniSnul i faqtiebis si swores, n.kirTaZisa da l j iqias samecniero monografi ebSi motanil i dokumenturi masal ebic adasturebs.

rac Seexeba damkomi s `sakuTar aparatad- gadaqcevas, misi es qmedeba, damkomi s wevrebi sadmi undobl obi T, sasi cocxl o mniSvnel obis gasatarebel i RonisZiebebis maqsimal urad gasaiduml oebis motivaci iT unda yofil iyo ganpi robebul i. n.xomerikis mxridan aseTi `gadametebul i- si frTxil is daWeris mizanSewonil oba Semdegi periodis ganviTarebul ma movl ebebm ac daadastura, roml is Sesaxebac qvemoT meqneba saubari.

yovel ive zemoaRniSnul i dan gamomdinare, aSkarad ikveTeba, rom Cavardnil i aral egarul i saqmi anobis fexze wamosayenebl ad saWi ro RonisZiebebis gatarebis da safexurebrivad Semdgom etapze gaZRol is mZime tvirTis tarebis Tavis Tavze aRebiT, nebsiT Tu unebl ieT, n.xomeriki l ideris funqci is ampl uaSi aRmoCnda. es srul ebi Tac ar ni Snavs, rom n.xomeriks samxedro diqtatoroba da avantiurizmi amoZravebda, an `eqstremi stebis avantiuristul mi swrafebebs asazrdoebda, - rogorc amas prof. gciciSvil i wers.⁷ samwuxarod, igi daeWvebis gareSe mxol od im pol itikuri parti is warmomadgenl ebis dakiTxvis Cvenebebs eyrdnoba, roml ebic n.xomerikis pirovnebas Tavi danve odiozurad aRiqvamden. Tumca, aseTi sababis Seqmnas n.xomeriki maqsimal urad gaurboda. mxedvel obaSi a misaRebi, `samxedro komisi aSi- m.j avaxiSvil is `marj vena xel ad- mi sgan gamocxadebis faqti. aseTi ndobis oficial urad

aRiarebis miuxedavad, erovnul - demokratebis garkveul i nawil isaTvis n.xomerikis pirovneba miuRebel i darCa ori garemoebis gamo: 1)n.xomerikis mxridan umkacresi konspiraciis damkvidrebis formi Taral egarul i saqmi nobis gaaqtiureba, social - demokratiul i partiis warsulis gamocdil ebas emyareboda. am marTul ebit gaweul i muSaoba, politikuri situaciis Sesatyvisi pragmatul i gadawyvetil ebebis miRebas, xSirad individual urad iTval iswinebda. es faqtori, n.xomerikis, rogorc politikuri figuris avtoritetis safexurebrivad amaRl ebas axdenda. misi aseTi nabiji mj avaxiSvil isTvisac miuRebel i unda yofil iyo. mi Tumetes, rogorc prof. g.ciciSvil i wers, mj avaxiSvil i `erovnul - demokratebis ck da kerZod misi prezidiumis yvel aze Wkviani da dinji politikosi- iyo.⁸ Tuki es faqti simarTl es Seesabameba, erovnul - demokratiul i partiis liderებს udidesi politikuri Secdoma dauSviaT, `yvel aze Wkviani da dinji politikosi- mj avaxiSvil i, Tavis droze erovnul i sabWos (1917 wl is noemberi) wevrobisa da damfiZnebel i krebis kandidatTasiis (1919 wl is 29 ianvari) aTeul Si rom ar daasaxel es. misi politikuri niWiereba, saqarTvel os pirveli respublikis saxel mwifoebriw mSenebl obas rom ar moaxmares. mj avaxiSvil is aqtiuri politikuri saqmi noba, 1918 wl is 26 mai sidan- 1921 wl is 25 Tebervl amde, 1028 dRis ganmavl obaSi, dokumenturi masal iT ar dasturdeba. aqtiur politikur sarbiel ze misi gamocena, saqarTvel os gasabWoebis Semdeg safexurTanaa daka- vSirebul i. 2)n.xomeriki social - demokrati iyo da erovnul - ganmaTavisufl ebel moZraobaSi misi yovel i warmatebul i nabiji, erovnul - demokratiul i partiis avtoritets Crdil avda. am garemoebas, aRniSnul i politikuri partiis zogierTi lideri `mZimed- aRiqvamda.

rac Seexeba dasavl eT evropis saxel mwifoebisgan saqarTvel osadmi daxmarebis Sesazl ebl obas, amis Sesaxeb n.xomerikma paritetul i komitetis sxdomaze wakiTxul moxsenebaSi garkveiT Tqva: `Tu SevZel iT saqarTvel os aj anyeba da erTori Tvec gavZel iT, maSin aris imedi dasavl eT evropis saxel mwifoTa mxridan dipl omatiuri Carevisa da ful iT daxmarebisa.-⁹ xazgasmit unda iTqvas, rom n.xomerikis es gancxadeba, vj uRel isa da al .zaqariaZis xel mZRvanel obiT SemuSavebul i da parizis politikuri komisiis (samxedro

special istebTan erTad) mowonebul i aj anyebis samxedro gegmis erT- erTi debul ebaTagania, romel ic n.xomerikma si-tyvasi tyviT gaimera. parizis pol itikuri komisiis sxdomebis saqmo Canawerebis mixedviT, mauzeris sistemis 1000 revolver is Sesyidva pol oneTSi iyo gaTval iswinebul i. am informaciaze dayrdnobiT, 1923 wl is 24 Teberval s markis fsevdonimiT saqarTvel os emigraciul i mTavrobisadmi gagzavnil weil Si vkiTxul obT: `Tu ...pol onel ebi sgan i araRis dapi reba **Sesrul deba, naSi n aucil ebl ad unda davkr aT.**¹⁰ imave pol itikuri komisiis momdevno sxdomebis stenografiul i angariSebis mixedviT, TiTqmis gadawyvetil i sakiTxis bol omde miyvana SeuZl ebel i gaxda pol oneTSi garTul ebul i pol itikuri procesebis gamo. Tuki am faqtebs gaviTval iswinebT, prof. g.ciciSvil is ganxadeba: `Cven ki vxedavT, rom n.xomerikma amj eradac icrua¹¹ _simarTi es ar Seesabameba radgan, n.xomeriki, pol oneTis xel isufl ebis maRal CinosanTa mxridan gacemul dapi rebas emyareboda. samwuxar oa, roca k.misabl iSvil isa da m.j avaxiSvil is qomagobis fonze, n.xomerikis pol itikuri figuris damcrobis mcdel obiT, igi iseTi fonis Seqmnas cdil obs, rom `samxedro centris- gacemisa da 1924 wl is aj anyebis damarcxebis ganmapi robebel i mizezebi l amis n.xomeriks gadaabral os.

im saarqivo masal ebis mixedviT, romel ic Cems mier iqna mopovebul i, social - demokratiul i partiis l iderebis mxridan saokupacio rejimis winaaRmddeg sabrZol vel ad Sesabamisi bazis safuZvl iani momzadebis aucil ebl obaze miuTitebs. am mxriv gansakuTrebul yuradRebas n.ramiSvil is mier 1923 wl is 22 agvistos saqarTvel os social - demokratiul i partiis cekasadmi gagzavnil i weril i iqcevs. am dokumentebSi gansakuTrebul i yuradReba taqtikur sakiTxebzea gadatanil i da xazgasmiTaa miTitebul i_ evropisa da ruseTis pol itikur- ekonomikuri mdgomareobis gaTval iswinebis aucil ebl oba. am fonze, n.ramiSvil i saqarTvel os social - demokratiul i partiis cekas wevrebs princi pul i formiT mimarTavda: `arc aCqareba arc dagvianeba. aseTi unda iyos Cveni l ozungi. aCqareba ganadgurebas gvimzadebs, rogorc avantiuristul i gamosvl a. **sakiTxis dadebi Tad gadasaWrel ad sami pi robaa saWi ro: 1)umTavresi a qarTvel i xal xis unari. igi sakmaod gatyda, gansakuTrebiT pol itikuri organiza-**

ciebis Zvel i wevreb i. xel sayrel i momentis SeqmnisTanave, qarTvel i eris amoZraveba aucil ebel i pirobaa; 2)meore pirobaa_ saqarTvel os gancal kevebiT gamosvl a ar SeuZl ia. aucil ebel ia ruseTs mTel i kavkasia daupirispirdes; 3)mesame pirobaa_ evropis daxmareba, ful iT, iaraRiT. es Cveni kategoriul i daskvnaa.- anal ogiuri saxis gamafRTxil ebel i da saprogramo miTiTebaa imave n.ramiSvil is 1924 wl is ivnisisa da ivl isis weril ebSi, roml ebic saqarTvel os social - demokratiul i partiis cekasa da damkomisadmi iqna gagzavnil i. am dikumentebSi xazgasmiTaa miTiTebul i, rom saokupacio reJimis winaaRmddeg brZol is dawyeba Semdegi faqtorebisTvis daekavSi rebi naT: 1)saqarTvel oSi antisabWouri gamosvl ebi, ruseTSi masobrivi ukmayofil ebis aRmavl obis moments unda damTxveoda; 2)am gamosvl ebSi qarTvel i eris yvel a aqtiuri Zal is CarTvis uzrunvel yofa momxdariyo; 3)antisabWouri gamosvl ebisTvis iseTi momenti SeerCiaT, roca Tbil iSi qarTvel oba srul yofil ad iqneboda Tavmoyril i; 4)saqarTvel oSi mcxovreba somxebSi Sesabamis muSaoba Caetarebi naT, raTa gamosvl ebis dros, maTi mxridan neutral iteti yofil iyo dacul i; 5)azerbaj anisa da antisabWourad amoZravebul i kavkasiis gamo, osmal eTi neutral itets daicavda. am faqtorebis gaTval iswinebidan gamomdinare, qarTvel oficrebs azerbaij anel oficrebTan moqmedebis saerTo gegmis SesamuSavebl ad mol aparakeba dauyovnebl iv unda daewyoT. aRni Snul sakiTxebTan mimarTebaSi, erT- erT Semaj amebel weril Si igive n.ramiSvil i xazgasmiT werda: **`am faqtebs unda mi vaqci oT Cveni yuradReba da maT gar Semo vawarmooT agitacia. ruseTis Sinaur cxovrebaSi usaTuod eqneba adgil i garTul ebebs da am movl enebS Cven mzaT da organizebul i simagriT unda davxvdeT. Cveni muSaoba kavkasiis masStabiT unda xdebodes, amaze I aparaki aRaris saWiro da amis Sesaxeb araerTxel momiwria.-**

Cems mier motanil i faqtebi imis utyuar dadasturebas warmoadgens, rom social - demokratiul i partiis erT- erTi lideri da saqarTvel os devnil i mTavrobis wevri n.ramiSvil i, sabWouri okupaciis winaaRmddeg brZol as, safuZvl iani momzadebis, ruseTSi mimdinare politikiuri procesebis maqsimal urad gaTval iswinebis da xel sayrel i momentisadmi dal odebis taqtikuri kursis aRebas moiTxovda. meore mxriv, sru-

I i ad kavkasi i s dapyrobil i xal xebis qarTvel Ta mxardamxar
brZol a da gaerTianebul i Zal ebiT sabWoTa ruseTisadmi
dapi rispireba, mas gamarj vebis erT- erT pirobad miaCnda.
winaaRmdeg SemTxvevaSi, mar to qarTvel ebis gamosvl as, ga-
rduval damarcxebas uwinaswarmetyvel ebda. **es idea, ki dev
ufro vrcel i da dasabuTebul i formiTaa warmodgenil i
imave n.ramiSvil is mier abesal omisadmi gagzavnil saprogra-
mo weril Si. igi gamafrTxil ebel i formiT kategoriul ad
svamda sakiTxs, sisxl isgan dacl il i qarTvel i eris
fizikuri msxverpl is umiznod Sewirvis dauSvebl obis Se-
saxeb.**

Tuki yovel ive zemoTqmuls, vj uRel isa da al .zaqariasis
mier SemuSavebul i aj anyebis samxedro gegmis ZiriTad de-
bul ebebTan SevadarebT, mi si identuroba aSkarad warmocndeba.
es imas ni Snavs, rom n.ramiSvil i, saqarTvel oSi iatakveSeTSi
moqmedi pol itikuri Zal ebisa da organizaciebis xel mZRvane-
l obas, am gegmis maqsimal urad dacvis moTxovnebs uyenebda.
winaaRmdeg SemTxvevaSi, nebi smieri nabiji mas danaSaul ebriv
qmedebad mi aCnda. aqedan gamomdinare, social - demokratiul i
partiis aqtiuri wevris noexomerikis aral egarul i saqmi-
noba, im saprogramo kursis Semadgenel i nawil is praqtikul ad
real izaciis mcdel obas warmoadgenda, romelic zemoaRni-
Snul i gegmiTiyo gaTval iswinebul i. meore mxriv, yovel gvari
rekl amisa da xmauris gareSe, am gegmis ZiriTadi debul ebebi
mas maqsimal urad unda daecva, radgan amis aucil ebl oba,
parizis pol itikuri komisiis sxdomam daaval a n.xomeriks
da imave sxdomis dadgenil ebiTi qna igi saqarTvel oSi gamo-
gzavnili.

rac Seexeba SeiaraRebul i gamosvl isadmi damokidebul ebas,
amasTan mimarTebsi damkoms gamokveTili pozicia eWira.
mxedvel obaSi maqvs 1924 wl is marti, roca damkoms kursi
SeiaraRebul i aj anyebis aucil ebl obisken iyo mimarTuli.
amis Sesani Snav dadasturebas devnil obaSi myofi saqarTve-
l os mTavrobisadmi damkoms Tavmj domaris k.andronikaSvi-
l is mier saqarTvel odan gagzavnili werili warmoadgens.
igi stambol Si 1924 wl is 2 april si qna miRebuli. am do-
kumentis mixedvit Tuki vimsjel ebT, kandrionikaSvil is mtki-
cebiT: 1)im periodis saerTasorisovitar eba, saqarTvel os
erovnul - ganmatavisufi ebel i moZraobis sasargebl od iyo

mi marTul i; 2) saqarTvel oSi da ruseTSi Seqmnil i xel sayrel i momentis argamoyeneba `udidesi danaSaul i iqneboda erisa da istoriis winaSe;- 3) saqmis dasawyebad, 25- 30 aTasi l i- ras saqarTvel oSi dauyovnebl iv gagzavna aucil ebol obas wrmoadgenda. am `mtki cebul ebebis- fonze, igi devnil obaSi myof xel isufli ebas sayvedurobda: `damkomi gamoTqvams Tavis gakvirvebas, rom mTavrobas aseTi momentisaTvis ar qonebia momaragebul i gansakuTrebul i Tanxa.- marTalia, es sayveduri savsebiT samarTli ani iyo, magram isic gasaTval iswinebel ia, rom evropis qveynebis maRal Cinosnebis mxridan, saqarTvel os xel isufli ebisadmi finansuri daxmarebis saqarTvel os pirvel i respublikis droindel i val ebis gadaxdis gacemul i piroba, ingl isis mTavrobisgan Seusrul ebel i darCa. am faqtorma gansazRvra saqarTvel os damkomisadmi ful is droul ad miwodebis SeuZl ebl oba.

marTalia, saqarTvel os damkoms aj anyebis kursi qonda aRebul i, magram am mi marTul ebiT aCqarebul i nabij is gada- dgmis, rogorc zemoTac mqonda miTiTebul i, social - demokra- tiul i partiis erT- erTi lideri n.ramiSvil i sastikad ewinaaRmdegeboda. miuxedavad amisa, abesal omis (fsevdonimia) saxel ze gagzavnil weril Si, bol Sevi kebis dacemis momentis maqsimal urad gamoyenebas da saxel isufli ebo Zal aufl ebis dpatronebas igi aucil ebl obad miiCnevda. aseTi sarisko nabij is gadasadgmel ad, garkveul i doziT Sesabamisi samza- disis Catarebas saval debul od Tvl ida. dasaxul i mi znis miRwevis erT- erT pirobad, qarTvel oficrobasTan saiduml o kavSiris damyarebas miiCnevda. amasTan dakavSirebiT imave dokumentSi vkiTxul obT: `Cveni mizania arsebul i qarTul i l aSgris gadaqceva damouki debel i demokratiul i respubl i- kis mTavar berketad da miT Cveni brZol is gaadvil eba. saWi ro iqneba dauyovnebl iv l aSgris xel mZRvanel Ta gawmenda mobol Seviko da faSistur- reaqcionuri el ementebisagan. unda veridoT gvardiis msgavsi razmebis Seqmnas. piriqiT, Tavidanve SevecadoT yvel a moxal iseTa razmi l aSgarSi CavricxoT da sastik discipl inas davumorCil oT, rom gada- trial ebisas qveynis baton- patroni demokratia Sei qnes da ara faSisturi reaqcionul i el ementebi...aqedanve unda movaxdinoT moxal iseTa Cumi aRricxva. amistvis srul i adac ar aris saWi ro maTi Tavmoyra da mTel i nebarTvis miReba,

aramed varaudiT movaxdinoT zedmeti saxel is wodebiT Cveni momxreebis saiduml o aRricxva. es gansakuTrebiT saWiroa Tbil isSi, sadac unda viyol ioT sakmao Zal a im SemTxvevisaTvis.- am amonaweris mi xedviT, gamokveTil ad moCans n.ramiSvil is damoki debul eba im Roni sZiebebis gatarabasTan mi marTebaSi, romel ic saokupacio reJimis wi naaRmdeg mi marTul samzadisTan unda yofil iyo dakavSirebul i. meore mxriv, dasaxul i mi znis mi Rwevis umni Svel ovanes pi robad konspiraciul i muSaobis maRal doneze dayeneba aucil ebl obadaa miCneul i. rac Seexeba bol SevikebTan mol aparakebas, imave n.ramiSvil is kategoriul i moTxovniT, igi mxol od erT sakiTxTan_ saokupacio j aris saqarTvel odan gayvanis pi robebis Sesaxeb SeiZl eboda Semdgar iyo.

dasavl eT evropasi mimdinare pol itikuri procesebis swrafad cval ebadobi dan gamomdinare, dasavl eTis sazogadoebriv pol itikuri azris warmomadgenl ebTan permanentul i saqmi ani urTierToba da maTi saqarTvel oTi daintereseba aucil ebl obas warmoadgenda. am mi znit, muSaobis iseTi formis gamozebna iyo saWiro, romel ic saqarTvel osTan mi marTebaSi amomwuravi informaciis srul ad Tavmoyras da maRal doneze gadamuSavebul i saxiT dasavl eTis sazogadoebi sadmi mi wodebis SesaZl ebl obas Seqmni da. am mi znit, saqarTvel oSi aral e garul ad moqmed parti ebsa da organizaciebs, parizSi myofi saqarTvel os mTavrobis warmomadgenl ebTan mudmivi weril obiTi sainformacio kontakti unda qonoda. konkretul ad Tu ra sakiTxebiT SeiZl eboda dasavl eT evropis pol itikuri wreebis daintereseba da maTi mxridan saqarTvel osdmi sarsargebl o mxardamWeri poziciis oficial urad dafiqsireba, amis Sesaxeb dawvril ebiTaa saubari n.ramiSvil is mier saqarTvel oSi gamogzavnil weril Si, romel ic dasaTaurebul ia: `1)pirvel yovl isa represia da terori: vinaa datusaRebul i, sad da ra mi znit. vinaa gasaxl ebul i_ ra mizeziT da sad imyofeba. CekaSi wamebul Ta viTareba, ra saxisaa wameba da ra mizeziT aris gamowweul i. cnoba unda iyos swori da dawvril ebiTi; 2)muSaTa mdgomareoba: ramden saaTs amuSaveben,

ramdenia xel fasi, xel fass aZl even Tu ara dani Snul droSi, ra sanovagis yidva SeuZl ia muSas am xel fasiT, SeadareT exl andel i xel fasi mefis droindel xel fasTan; **3)gl exobis mdgomareoba:** Aa)ra Rirs gl exis nawarmi (matyl i, abreSumi, puri, simindi, bamba, Rvino, Txil i da sxva) exl a ra Rirda omis win. ras SeiZens axl andel i xel fasiT gl exi; b)pirvel i saWi roebis saganTa fasebi: tansacmel i, fexsacmel i da sxva. ra Rirs exl a da ra Rirda omis win; **4)gadasaxadi:** ra saxi saa gadasaxadebi. raodenoba mefis dros da bol Sevikebis rejimis periodSi. rogor xdeba gadasaxadebis akrefa. arTmeven Tu ara gl exs WurWels, Sinaur oTxfexs da sxva; **5)skol a:** ras aswavl ian. codnis done exl a, mefis dros da saqarTvel os damoukidebel respubl ikaSi. rogor ia maswavl ebel Ta kadri da maTi momzadeba. ras warmoadgens- Zl ierdeba Tu ara pionerebi, komsomol ebi da maTi organizaciebi; **6)ekl esi is mdgomareoba:** grZel deba Tu ara ekl esi is msaxurTa devna, mRvdel mTavarTa dpatimreba_ gadasaxl eba (maTi vinaoba). ramdeni ekl esiaa dangreul i. xel s uSl ian Tu ara mRvdel msaxurebas. warmoebs Tu ara morwmuneebze dacinva. devnian Tu ara somexTa da musl imanTa ekl esia- meCeTebis msaxurT. am saganze cnoba rom mi vi RoT saWi roa sakaTal ikoso sabWo- sTan gavabaT kavSiri.

i qonieT saxeSi is garemoeba, rom ingl isSi Cveni el Cis sa- Sual ebiT dakavSirebul i varT pirdapir kenterberis arqi- episkoposTan, xol o romSi papTan gvyavs gansakuTrebul i warmomadgenel i (ingil o) ivanicki... sakaTal ikoso sabWom unda mogvawodos yovel gvari cnobebi rac ekl esias exeba. evropasi amas metad didi mniSvel oba aqvs.⁻¹²

es vrcel i amonaweri srul ad asaxavs emigraciaSi myofi saqarTvel os xel isufl ebis warmomadgenel Ta mier ideol o- giur frontze Cafiqrebul i saqmi anobis ZiriTad mimarTu- l ebas. Znel ia imis Tqma Tu ramdenad axerxebda zemoarNi Snul sakiTxebTan mimarTebaSi srul fasovani informaci is miwode- bas saqarTvel oSi aral egarul ad moqmedi pol itikuri orga- nizaciebi. erTi ram dabej iTebiT SeiZl eba iTqvas, rom Cems mier mikvl eul i masal ebis mixedvit Tuki vimsjel ebT, saqar- Tvel os emigraciul i mTavrobis wevrTa saxel ze gagzavni l weril ebsa da moxsenebebSi garakeul i doziTaa warmodgenil i zemoarNi Snul sakiTxebTan mimarTebaSi mopovebul i informa-

ciul i xasiaTis masal a.marTal ia, am mimarTul ebiT muSaobis
Catareba garkveul finansebTan iyo dakavSirebul i, magram,
umZimesi ekonomikuri siduxWiris miuxedavad, arsebul i siZne-
l eebis daZl eva ZiriTadad enTuziazmis bazaze xdeboda.
aqedan gamomdinare, Cems mier zemoT dasaxel ebul dokume-
ntebSi motanil i faqtebi, qveyanaSi mimdinare umZimesi pro-
cesebis amomwuravad asaxvis pretenzi as ar acxadebda. miuxe-
davad amisa, masze dayrdnobiT, saqarTvel os emigraciul i
mTavroba Rirseul ad umkl avdeboda sabWoTa propagandistul
Semotevebs. es masal ebi dResac umniSvnel ovanes wyaros wa-
rmoadgens 20- 30- iani wl ebis gasabWoebul i saqarTvel os
obieqturi suraTis aRSadgenad.

rac Seexeba Seiararebul i aj anyebisTvis mzadebas, pirvel
etapze, sabWoTa xel isuflebis Sesabamis uwyebas, garkveul i
informacia gaaCnda damkomisa da samxedro centris aral e-
garul saqmianobasTan mimarTebaSi. maTi miznebis da amoca-
nebis srul ad gamosamJRavnebl ad, saqarTvel oSi mTel i datvi-
rTviT amoqmedda jer kidev 1921 wl is 26 Tebervals Seqmnil i
saqarTvel os sagangebo komisiis Semadgenloba. misma muSaobam
gansakuTrebul i warmatebul i saxemas Semdeg miRo, roca
am komisiis Tavmj domaris moadgil ed (1922 wl is miwuruli)
l.beria dainiSna. dokumenturi masal iT dadasturebul ia,
rom am komisiis saqmianobis erT- erT safexurs, aral ega-
rul ad moqmedi politikiuri partiebisa da damkomis Semadge-
nlobaSi uSiSroebis TanamSromlebis Segzavna warmoadgenda.
mizani aramarto informaciis mopovebaSi, aramed provoka-
ciebis mowyobisadmi xel SewyobaSi, ama Tu im organizaciis
srul ad gamosamJRavnebaSi mdgomareobda. sabWoTa specsamsa-
xurebis mxridan mosal odnel i garTul ebebis Sesaxeb, soci-
al - demokratiul i partiis liderTa garkveul i nawil i
saqmis kursSi iyo da partiis xel mZRvanel obas droul ad
afrTxilebda. amis dadasturebas, 1924 wl is 10 seqtembrit
daTariRebul i k.gvarjal azis weril i warmoadgens. CemTvis
saintereso sakiTxTan mimarTebaSi am dokumentSi vkiTxu-
lobT: `roca CvenSi xSiri daWerebi daiwyo, aman Zlier da-
maeWva, rom provokaciis qsel Si ar vyofil iyavIT gabmul ni.
Cems 18 da 30 ivnisis, 17 da 31 ivl isis, 6 da 13 agvistos weri-
lebsi am provokaciis saSiSroebaze mivutiTebdi Cvenebs.
erT am weril Si imasac ki vwerdi, rom Cemi rwmeniT bol Sevi-

kebmā ician mTel i Tqveni asaval - dasaval i da ucđian moxe-
rxebul dros, rom mTel i Cveni organizacia daangri on Tqo.
ami tom ufrTxil diT da erTnairi reorganizacia moaxdi neT
rogorc Cveni partiul i organizaciebis damokidebul ebaSi
samxedro organizaciebTan Tqo, vwerdi maT. Cems Si Ss amis
Sesaxeb orive noes vwerdi.- es gafrTxil eba, garkveul info-
rmacias emyareboda. meore mxriv, aral egarul ad moqmed
partiul organizaciebSi aSkarad Seini Sneboda uSi Sroebis
mier Segzavnil i pirebis aqtiuri moqmedeba, romel Ta ZiriTad
mizans organizaciis wevrTa provoci reba warmoadgenda. am
faqtTan dakavSirebiT imave k.gvarjal aZis weril Si vkiTxu-
l obT: `metad da farTod gaidga provokaciam fexi Cvens
organizaciebSi da maT irgvl iv bol oxanebSi. masiuri Wera
daiwyo. yvel as al baT provokaciis saSi Sroeba moel oda...
sul advil i SesaZl ebel ia provokaciul i mizniTac aqeze-
bdnen Cvens organizaciebSi SeWril i gamyidvel ebis gamosv-
l ebs.-¹³ uSi Sroebis mxridan jaSuSTa qsel is gaaqti urebaze
da provokaciebze roca vsaubrobT, yuradRebis mi Rma ar un-
da davtovoT yvel aze mni Svel ovani faqtori. mxedvel obaSi
maqvs saqarTvel o_ stambol i_ parizis damakavSirebel i gza_
aWaris regionis. saarqivo masal ebiT dasturdeba, rom saqarTvel
odan evropis mimarTul ebiT gagzavnil i weril obiTi info-
rmacia, kuriers aWaris regionis gavlit osmal eTSi unda
gaetana da amis Semdeg xdeboda SesaZl ebel i misi stambol Si
Catana. stambol is pol itikuri komisia pirdapir parizis
ukavSird eboda. Tuki im garemoebasac gaviTval iswinebT, rom
osmal eTi sabWoTa ruseTis megobar saxel mwi fod aRiqmeboda
da mis teritoriaze sabWoTa ruseTis dazverva aqtiurad
moqmedebda, am faqtorebidan gamomdinare, saqarTvel odan an
parizidan nebismi eri informaciis `gaJonvis- didi al baToba
arsebobda. gamoricxul i araa, rom sabWoTa uSi Sroebis wa-
rmomadgenl ebis mxridan aWaris mosaxl eobaze gansaku-
Trebil i zewol a da maTTvis jaSuSobis funqciis Sesru-
l ebis daval ebis micema, am faqtoriT rom yofil iyo ganpi ro-
bebul i. am sakiTxTan dakavSirebiT, stambol idan giorgis
fsevdonimiT parizSi gagzavnil weril Si vkiTxul obT:
`baTumis mosazRvre sofl ebis mcxovrebl ebi baTumSi dai ba-
res da sastik gancxadebaze moawerines xel i. yvel as jaSuSo-
ba daaval es da Tanac daxvretiT daemuqrnen.- im saarqivo

masal ebis mixedviT, romel ic Cems mier iqna mopovebul i da sabWoTa uSi Sroebis mxridan pol itikuri Zal ebis mosyidvis mcdel obas exeba, gansakuTrebul yuradRebas n.rami Svil is mier abesal omisadmi saqarTvel oSi gagzavnil i saprogramo weril i iqcevs. am dokumentis mixedviT, erovnul - demokratiul i partiis mTel i rigi wevrebi sabWoTa uSi SroebasTan dakavSirebul pirovnebebadaa gamocxadebul i. am faqts igi imdenad aniWebs gansakuTrebul mni Svnel obas, ramdenadac saerTaSoriso arenaze sabWoTa ruseTis sawi naaRmdego bl okis Sekvris procesi warmatebul ad mimdinareobda. aRni Snu- l Tan dakavSirebiT, imave weril Si vkiTxul obT: `ruseTi savsebiT gariyul ia. antirusul i bl okis mowyoBa Cqari tempiT mimdinareobs. ingl isi ar moisvenebs sanam ruseTs ar daaqucmacebs. aseT xel sayrel momentSi Cven axal i mteri gagviCnda. es aris faSistTa j gufi, romel sac meTauroben spiridon kedia, al eqsandre asaTiani, l eo keresel iZe, general i kvini taZe,... kote komaxiZe (yofil i social ist- federal isti) da mixako wereTel i, xol o pol oneTSi general i CxeiZe da pol kovniki inJineri kandel aki. maT aiyol ies erovnul - demokratiul i partiis mimdevari axal gazrdoba da mi znaT dai saxes Cveni partiisa da social iste bis dasamareba. mTel i es j gufi dakavSirebul ia ful iT da saqmiT Sal va qarumi ZesTan, romel ic Cekas agentia. axal gazrdaTa Soris uTuod bevria Cekas agentia, Tumca asaTiani da keresel iZe mainc, Tu sxvebi ara bol SevikTa agentebis STabeWdil ebas toveben.

faSistTa j gufi gadabmul ia rus monarqistebTan da mza- daa dakmayofil des avtonomi iT, oRond Tavidan moi Soros social iste bi. isini agreTve yvel gan daTareSoben da cdi- l oben amierkavkasiaSi ital ia Semoiyvanon da misi mandati daaweson. rogorc xedavT, faSistTa j gufi Cvens ers avanturas umzadebs. isini aSkarad amzadeben ital iis daxma- rebiT aj anyebas, rac Cvens ers fizikur ganadgurebas uqadis, xol o meore mxriv, mas axal samoqal aqo oms umzadebs. sa- Wiroa Tqven mTel i xal xi darazmoT faSistTa da maT mo- sal odnel mokavSireTa wi naaRmdeg. pirvel rigSi SeecadeT xal xs zepirad gadasceT srul i sinamdvil e da faSistTa meTaurebs xal xis Tval Si saxel i gavutexoT. am mi zniT au- cil ebel ia: 1)yvel a pol itikur partias da sxva organi-

zaciebs (studentTa kavSiri, mweral Ta kavSiri da sxva) am-
cnoT faSistTa forma da maTi bnel i mi zani; 2) xal xis farTo
wrem unda gaigos, rom faSistebi uTanxmdebian qarTvel i
eris zurgs ukan rus monarqisteb da ital iel faSisteb
da es SeTanxmeba ers Tavze daatexs axal ubedurebas;
3) I egal uri da sxva gziT faSistebma da maTma mimdevrebma
Tavi anT nacnob- megobar- naTesavTagan unda gaigon weril ebi s
saSual ebiT, rom mTel i eri aRSfoTebul ia faSistTa mier
erovnul i frontis garRveviT, maT mier erovnul i mTavrobis
uaryofiT da iseTi moRal aturi saqciel iT, rogoricaa rus
monarqistebTan da ital iel faSistebTan kavSiri. aseTive
weril ebi Tavisi anebisa da nacnob- megobrebi sgan unda mi i Ron
parizSi myofma nacional ist- studentebma. ukeT rom Cavfu-
SoT avantiuristTa gegma, aucil ebel ia SevqmnaT damouki de-
bl obis (an ganmaTavisufl ebel i) komiteti (pariteti) sami
pirisagan: social - demokratebis partia, social ist- federal
istTa partia da mTI iani frontis momxre erovnul - demo-
kratebi (ami rej ib_ gvazavas j gufi). sxva partiebi ar arsebo-
ben, gansakuTrebiT 'sxivel ebi- da isini ar unda gavberoT.
es komiteti SeiZl eba Tu sxvagan ar moxerxdeba Sens axl os
moewyos. Cveni cnobiT, erovnul - demokratiul i partia metad
sustia. mas central uri komiteti ar hyavs. saWiroa misi
centri Sei qmnas da ukanasknel ma zurgi gaumagros ami rej ibsa
da gvazavas. Tu sxvagan ar moxerxdeba, sadac Sen iqnebi,
axl os moawyobine es centri.-¹⁴

Cems mier motanil i es vrcel i amonaweri, erovnul - demo-
kratiul i partiis wevrebis garkveul i j gufis mimarT seri-
ozul bral debas Seicavs. xazgasmiT minda aRvni Sno, rom
n.rami Svil i im pol itikur moRvaweTa ricxvs ar ganekutvnebo-
da, romelic ama Tu im pirovnebis mimarT zedapirul i gancxa-
deba rom gaekeTebina. miTumetes: 1) saqme exeboda sabWoTa
uSiSroebasTan, ital iel faSistebTan da qarTvel Ta saxel
l mwi fos moZul e rus monarqistebTan kavSiris bral debas;
2) aRni Snul Tan mimarTebaSi n.rami Svil s xel CasaWidi masal ebi
rom ar qonoda: a) SeuZl ebel i iqneboda mis mier dasaxel e-
bul i sami ZiriTadi mimarTul ebiT saagitacio- propagandi-
stul i saqmianobis dasawyebad pragmatul i nabij is gadadgma;
b) n.rami Svil is mier erovnul - demokratebis erTi j gufisadmi
wayenebul i bral debebi im kategoriaTa ricxvs ganekutvne-

boda, roml is tyuil ze dafuZneba SeuZl ebel i iyo Tundac im el ementarul i mi zezis gamo, rom dadanaSaul ebul mxares simarTI is droul ad garkva ar gauWirdeboda, natyuar cil i-swamebas farda Camoexsneboda da social - demokratebs bumerangi viT ukan mwareT daubrundeboda; g)tyuil ze dafuZnebul bral debas erovnul - demokratebis zemoaRni Snul i j gufi, social - demokratiul i partiis I iderTa avtoritetis (gansakuTreb iT maTTvis moZul e n.ramiSvil is) pol itikurad dasasamarebl ad warmatebul ad gamoiyenebda da social - demokratebis saagi tacio- propagandistul i saqmi anobi dan qvasqvaze ar datovebda; 3)SemTxvevi TobiT ar iyo ganpi robebul i, erovnul - demokratiul i partiis Samirej ib_ g.gvazavas j gufisdmi n.ramiSvil is mier gansakuTrebul i yuradRebis gamaxvil eba. dokumenturi masal iT dadasturebul ia, rom Samirej ib_ g.gvazavas j gufi zemoT CamoTvl il i adami anebis Sexedul ebeps da praqtikul saqmi anobas gaemij na. saqarTvel os deokupaciis da saxel mwi foebrivi damoukidebl obis aRdgenis sakiTxTan mimarTebaSi, maTdami umkacresi kritiki formebis gamoyenebasac ar erideboda; 4)pol itikur Zal Ta konsolidaciisa da faSisturi daj gufebebis Semotevebis mosageriebl ad, organizaciis gawevis miznit, sami pol itikuri partiis (social - demokratebi, erovnul - demokratebi, social ist-federal istebi) TiTo warmomadgenl iT n.ramiSvil i paritetul i komitetis Seqmni sakiTxs ayenebda.

yovel ive zemoTqmul idan gamomdinare, n.ramiSvil is weril sim etapze ara mar to organizaciul i, aramed pol itikur-ideologiuri xasiaTis datvirTvac gaaCnda. igi saqarTvel loSi aral egarul ad moqmedi social - demokratiul i partiisa da sxva antisabWouri mimdinareobebis saprogramo dokumentis poziciidan unda Sefasdes. mxedvel obaSi maqvs sabWouri provokaciebis acil ebis maqsimal uri mcdel obebi da saqarTvel os mosaxl eobis winaaRmdeg represi ebis axal i tal Ris agorebis xel Semwyobi mizezebis arSeqmna. am mxriv, social - demokratiul i partiis I iderTa umetesoba windaxedul ebas iCenda da erovnul - ganmaTavisufl ebel i moZraobis gaRrma-vebis mizniT, Sesabamisi gadawyvetil ebeps miRebisas gansakuTrebul i si frTxil iT iqceoda. amis erT- erT dadasturebas imave n.ramiSvil is mier social - demokratiul i partiis cekasadmi 1924 wl is 10 ivl iss gagzavnili weril i warmoadgens.

saqarTvel odan miRebul informaciaze dayrdnobiT, igi kategoriul i formiT moiTxovda: vj uRel is saqarTvel oSi yofna adgil obrivi mosaxl eobis represiebis mizezi rom ar gamxdariyo, n.rami Svil i adgil obriv organizacias winadadebas sTavazobda, raTa misi ukan gawvevis sakiTxi droul ad daeyenebina. A`scans, rom val iko imdenad aRar aris iq saWi ro- vkiTxul obT dokumentSi, - SeiZl eba misma iq yofnam represiebi gamoiwvios, amitom an sadme mTebSi wavides damiimal os, anda ukeTesia ukan gadmovid es sazRvarze. - amis aucil ebl oba imiTaciyo ganpirobepul i, rom saqarTvel oSi Camosvl is sawyis etapze, vj uRel isa da b.Cxikvi Svil is praqtikul i saqmianobis dawyeba SeuZl ebel i xdeboda uSi-Sroebis mxridan umkacresi dazverviTi da samZebr o samuSaoebis gatarebis gamo. amis Sesaxeb damkomis mier saqarTvel os mTavrobisadmi 1924 wl is 2 april s gagzavnil weril Si xazgasmi Taa miTitebul i. `maTi aq yofnis Sesaxeb- vkiTxul obT dokumentSi- Cekas mxol od eWvi aqvs da gaSmagebiT daeZeb da am ZebnaSi gZadagza axdenen masiur Wer as.-

represiebisa da sisxl is Rvris sawinaaRmdego poziciis erT- erT damadasturebel dokumentad, 1924 wl is agvistos aj anyebis wl isTavis aRsaniSnavad social - demokratiul i partiis cekas mier gamocemul i mowodeba (1925 wl is agvisto) gamodgeba. masSi vkiTxul obT: `Cvens partias ar SeeZl o okupaciis winaaRmdeg brZol isTvis ar moewodebina mTel i erisTvis da am moZraobas saTaveSi ar moqceoda. magram social - demokratia imTaviTve gaurboda sakiTxis iaraRiT gadaWras da is okupantebis winaaRmdeg brZol as ideuraT da masobriv- organizaciul ad dapi r i spirebis formas aZl evda. qarTvel i eris social uri kl asebi gaerTiandnen anti-sabWoTa frontze, ersa da dampyrobel Ta Soris amouvsebi ufskrul i gaiTxara... ucxo xiStebze dayrdnobil ma moqal aqeebma, ocdaaT vercxl ad Sesyidul ma iuda iskar iotel ebma, mTel i qarTvel i eri undobl obis qveS daayenes da mas sastiki brZol a gamouc xades.-

miuxedavad imisa, rom social - demokratiul i partiis l i derebis umetesobas, momentis Sesabamisobi dan gamomdinare garkveul etapze 'brZol is mSvi dobiani kursi - qonda aRebul i, magram, saWi roebis SemTxvevaSi SeiaraRebul aj anyebazedac ar ambobdnen uars. amis utyuar dadasturebas vj uRel isa

da al .zaqariaZis xel mZRvanel obiT momzadebul i Sei araRe-
bul i aj anyebis samxedro gegma warmoadgens. gamarj vebis
SemTxvevaSi, Tu ra saxis konkretul i RonisZiebebi unda ga-
etarebina aj anyebis xel mZRvanel birTvs, amis Sesaxeb daw-
ril ebiTaa saubari n.ramiSvil is mier abesal omisadmi gagza-
vnil saprogramo weril Si. am dokumentis mixedvit: 1)bol Se-
vizmis dacemisTanave Zal aufl ebas demokratiis mxardamWeri
Zal ebi (social - demokratiul i partia, social ist- federa-
l iste bis partia da erovnul - demokratiul i partiis_ Sami-
rej ib- g.gvazavas mxardamWerebi) unda dapa troneboda; 2)oku-
paciisgan ganTavisufl ebul i saqarTvel os droebiTi mTa-
vroba, zemoaRniSnul i sami pol itikuri partiis warmoma-
dgenl e bis bazaze unda Seqmnil iyo; 3)axl adCamoyal ibebul i
droebiTi mTavrobis pirvel i rigis amocana unda yofil iyo
jaris nawil ebiT saqarTvel os mTel i teritoriis dakaveba;
4)saqarTvel os teritoriis gawmenda bil Sevicebisa da
faSisti el ementebisagan; 5)qal aqebisa da mazrebSi srul i
wesrigis aRdgena da droebiTi gamgeobebis Sedgena; 6)pol icia
safuZvl ianad unda gawmendil iyo mobol Seviko da saeWwo
pirebisagan. amasTan dakavSi rebiT, n.ramiSvil i kategoriul i
formiT moiTxovda: `mi iReT zomebi, rom arcerTi reaqcineri
da faSisti mil iciaSi ar Segveparos da saerTod, arcerT
sapasuxismgebl o postze isini ar gavaWaWanoT;- 7)ucxoeTidan
n.Jordani as kanonieri mTavrobis saqarTvel oSi dabrunebi-
sTanave, axl adarCeul i saqarTvel os droebiTi mTavroba da-
uyovnebl iv unda gadamdgariyo, raTa axal i sapa rlamento
arCevnebis dani Svna kanonieri gziT momxdariyo.

xazgasmi T minda aRvni Sno, rom am SemTxvevaSi, n.ramiSvil ma
is ZiriTadi debul ebebi gaimeora, romelic pol itikur
partiaTa SeTanxmebas daedo safuZvl ad da saqarTvel oSi
moqmedi social - demokratiul i partiis xel mZRvanel i
birTvisgan, mis Sesrul ebas saval debul od mi iCnevda.

marTal ia, aj anyebis momzadebaze da dawyebis sakiTxTan
mi mar TebaSi sakmao raodenobis samecniero statiebi da
monografi ebia daweril i, magram, TiTqm is pasuxgaucemel ia
kiTxva_ riT iyo ganpi robebul i emigraciul i mTavrobisa
da social - demokratiis l iderebis saqm is kursSi Cayenebis
gareSe aj anyebis mou l odnel i dawyeba. yovel SemTxvevaSi,
momxdari faqti social - demokratebis did umravl esobaSi

gakvirvebas iwvevda. amis erT- erT dadasturebas k.gvarj a-
l aZis weril i (1924 wl is 10 seqtemberi) warmoadgens. `CvenTvis
stambol Si myofTaTvis, es moZraoba- vkiTxul obT dokume-
ntSi- moul odnel i iyo... n.Jordania Tavis cnobil weril Si
Zl ier afrTxil ebda Cvenebis da urCevda moZraoba ruseTSi
garTul ebul i momentisaTvis daekavSi rebi naT.- imave k.gvarj a-
l aZis mtki cebiT, sami Tvis ganmavl obaSi n.Jordanas mxridan
mraval gziis gafTxil ebis miuxedavad `SeiaraRebul i gamos-
vl ebi mainc moxda. ra iyo mizezi, raSi iyo saqme, j er amis
Sesaxeb ar aferi viciT. muxamedagwers, rom xal xis aRel vebis
da aj anyebis sababi... cnobil i pirebis daxvreta iyovo. vinaa
es cnobil i pirebi, amas ki ar gvisaxel ebs.- rac Seexeba gi-
orgis fsevdonimiT stambol idan parizSi 1924 wl is agvistoSi
gagzavnil weril s, masSi agvistos SeiaraRebul i gamosvl ebi
xal xis mier moTminebis dakargvis mizeziTaa axsnil i. TiTqmi s
anal ogiuri debul ebaa gameorebul i 1925 wl is agvistoSi
gamoce mul mowodebaSi_ `ukvdavi agvisto.- am dokumentis
teqstis Semdgenl ebi aj anyebis dawyebis ZiriTad mizezad
sabWoTa xel isuflebis mxridan referendumis Catarebaze
uaris Tqmas da xal xis damcrobas asaxel ebs. aseTi argume-
ntebis miuxedavad, nakl ebad damaj erebel ia imis mtkiceba,
rom SeiaraRebul i gamosvl ebi moTminebadakargul i xal xis
mier gadadgmul nabijis warmoadgenda. Tuki aseT faqts
adgil i eqneboda, maSin procesi umarTavi gaxdeboda. samecni-
ero l iteraturiT da dokumenturi masal iT dadasturebul ia,
rom 1924 wl is agvistos gamosvl ebi ara moTminebadakargul i
xal xis, aramed damkomis zogierTi wevrisa da partizanul i
razmebis xel mZRvanel Ta TviTnebur i da individual uri ga-
dawvetil ebebis Sedegad daiwyo. aRniSnul sakiTxTan da-
kavSirebiT saintereso faqtebia motanil i k.gvarj al aZis
mier n.Jordaniasadmi 1924 wl is 18 seqtembers gagzavnil
weril Si. `Cvenebis cnobebis mixedviT_ vkiTxul obT doku-
mentSi_ moZraoba naadrevadaa dawyebul i, radgan xal xma
Tavi ver Sei kavao. aqedan advil i warmosadgenia, Tu ra mZl avri
da xal xuri i qneboda es moZraoba, is rom aseTi stiqiuri
xasiaTis ar yofil iyo da mas meti xel mZRvanel oba qonoda.
rac Tavi daTavia, mTel i Cveni organizaciebi Tavidan bol omde
provokaciis qsel Si yofil an gabmul ni. amis Sesaxeb ar aer-
Txel gami frTxil ebia Cvenebi... or- samj er parizSi dac ki

miwwere es. cxadia moZraoba udrood aris dawyebul i da mas dRevandel pirobebSi damarcxeba moel is Tu is ukve damarcxebul ad ar CaiTvl eba. dRes Cven vdgevarT erTi faqtis winaSe, romel sac udidesi angariSi unda gaewios. auarebel i mebrZol i xal xi mTebSi da tyeebSia gaxiznul i da iqedan partizanul brZol as awarmoeben. maT ukan daxevac rom moindomon, amis SesaZl ebl obac aRar aqvT ukve. bol Sevicebi Seecdebian parl amentarebi miugzavnon da Serigebase dauwyon l aparaki. bol Sevicebis cinikur cuRl utobas aba vin daendoba! cxadia, vinmem romc ki `moinanios codvebi- da Seurigdes, rogorc ki Caigdeben xel Si maSinve daxvreten.-

am amonaweris mixedviT kargad Cans, rom aj anyeba sazRvargareTul centrTan SeuTanxmebl ad, ruseTSi da dasavl eT evropasi saqarTvel osTvis araxel sayrel i pirobebis fonze iqna dawyebul i. meore mxriv, ramdenadac momxdari faqti arsebobda, aj anyebul ebs ukan dasaxevi gza moWril i qonda da bol omde unda ebrZol aT. samecniero l iteraturaSi dadastur ebul ia, romsaokupacio reJimis winaaRmdeg aj anyebis ori gegma arsebobda: 1)v.j uRel isa da al .zaqariaZis mier momzadebul i gegma, romel ic pol itikuri da samxedro Tval sazrisiT safexurebrivad iyo gaTvl il i. igi pirvel rigSi Tbil isis aRebase, bol Sevikuri mTavrobis dauyovnebl iv dapatimrebase da amis Semdeg amerkavkasiis masStabiT sayovel Tao aj anyebis dawyebase iyo orientirebul i; 2)rac Seexeba r.musxel iSvil is gegmas, saqarTvel oSi disl ocirebul i wiTel i armiis jaris nawil ebi xevsureTis viwro xeobaSi Setyuebas, zurgidan mtrisadmi kombinirebul dartymebs da iqve srul ad ganadgurebas iTval iswinebda. amis Semdeg unda momxdariyo Tbil isis aReba da kavkasiis xal xTa ganTavisufi eba.¹⁵ savsebiT sworia prof. g.ciciSvil i roca am gegmas fantastikurs uwodebs. ra donis samxedro dargis ucodinari unda yofil iyo sabWoTa oficroba, rom saqarTvel oSi ganl agebul i wiTel i armiis nawil ebi cxvris farasaviT xevsureTis viwro xeobaSi `Seereka,- qaquca Col oyaSvil isa da sxva partizanul i razmebis Tavdasxmehs dal odeboda. saqarTvel os im periodis sinamdvil is argaTval iswinebiT Sedgenil i da `romantizmiT- damZimebul i am gegmis mixedviT daiwyo SeiaraRebul i gamosvl ebi.

zemoaRniSnul i ori gegmidan Tu romel i maTgani Seicavda

sabWoTa xel isufli ebi saTvis momakvdinebel i dartyms rea-
 l ur safrTxes, amis Sesaxeb, saqarTvel os komunisturi
 partiis central uri komitetis samdivnos daxurul TaTbi-
 rze l .berias mier wakiTxul moxsenebaSi gamokveTil i formi-
 Taa warmodgenil i. am dokumentis stenogramis Canaweris
 asl i fanqriTaa Sesrul ebul i. igi harvardis universite-
 tidan Camotanil saarqivo masal ebSi inaxeba da dedanTan
 misi namdvil oba Sesabamisi beWdiTaa dadasturebul i. Ceems
 mier dasmul sakiTxTan mi marTebsi, berias pozicia Semdegi
 formiTaa Camoyal i bebul i: `aj anyebis pirvel i gegmiT (vj u-
 Rel i- al .zaqariaZe S.v.) gamosvl a- ambobda l .beria- unda
 dawyebul iyo Tbil isidan da Tu es ganxorciel deboda, Cveni
 mdgomareoba Zl ier rTul i iqneboda, radgan menSevikebis
 mTavari Zal ebi swored Tbil isSi iyvnen Tavmoyril ni. na-
 cional - demokratebmac kargad icodnen es da isini cdil o-
 bdnen meore, e.i. maTi (r.musxel iSvil is S.v.) gegmiT dawyebas
 aj anyebis sas. e.i. Col oyaSvil ze dayrdnobiT. asec moxda da
 Cvenc aj anyebis l ikvidaci ac gagviadvil da.¹⁶ Tu ratom moxda
 aj anyebis dawyeba udrood, amis Sesaxeb saintereso mosa-
 zrebas gamoTqvams imave moxsenebaSi l .beria. `Tqveni ciT,
 rom aj anyebis dros nacional - demokratebs surdaT moZra-
 obis meTauroba da hegemonis xel Si aReba, amitom isini ebrZo-
 dnen menSevikebs...~ erovnul - demokratebis pirvel obisaTvis
 swrafvis mcdel obebi kargad gamovl inda interpartiul Ta-
 Tbi rebze da pol itikuri komisebis sxdomebze. es faqtebi
 Sesabamisi sxdomebis stenografiul angariSebSi acaa dada-
 sturebul i.¹⁷ aRniSnulis gaTval iswinebidan gamomdinare,
 l .berias naTqvami sinamdvil ed unda iqnas miCneul i. saqarTve-
 l os social - demokratiul i partiis cekas da Tbil isis
 centris mxridan aj anyebis momzadebl ad ardawyebis da
 cal keul i kuTxeebis gamosvl ebis dauSvebl obis Sesaxeb
 mraval gzis gafrTxil ebis miuxedavad, igi xevsureTSi TviTne-
 burad mainc daiwyo da misi sul isCamdgmel i q.Col oyaSvil i
 iyo. am nabij is gadadgma, `damkomis- da `samxedro centris-
 gaTval iswinebul i gegmis mixedvit ar momxdara. igi erovnul -
 demokratiul i partiis zogierTi wevris TviTneburi gadawyve-
 til ebiT iyo ganpirobepul i. 1924 wl is aj anyebis araorgani-
 zepul ad dawyeba da samxedro dargis araprofesional ebi sa-
 dmi damaxasiaTebel i qaoturi formiT warmarTva, danaSaul is

tol fas qmedebas Seicavda. mxedvel obaSi maqvs aj anyebul ebi-
sadmi xel mZRvanel obis srul fasovnad vergaweve, mebrZol i
Zal ebis erT muStad ver Sekvra da sabWoTa xel isufli ebis
Zal ovani uwyebebis sasargebl od, cal keul regioneSi daqsa-
qsul ad moqmedeba.

aj anyebis xel mZRvanel i birTvis dabneul obis miuxedavad,
rogorc samecniero l literaturaSia dadasturebul i, aj anyebul
ebma pirvel etapze garkveul warmatebebs miarwies. amasTan
dakavSirebiT, 1924 wl is 7 seqtembers parizSi gagzavnil
depeSaSi k.gvarjal aze werda, rom 3 seqtembrisTvis qu-
Taisi da ozurgeTi aj anyebul ebis xel Si iyo, Tbil isis gu-
berniaSi brZol ebi mimdinareobda. qarTul i jaris nawil ebi
aj anyebul ebs miemxro. am faqtis siswores stambol idan
parizSi giorgis fsevdonimiT 1924 wl is 18 seqtembers gagzav-
nil i weril ic adasturebs. masSi xzgasmiTaa miTitebul i,
rom sabWoTa SeiaraRebul i Zal ebis winaarmddeg, ozurgeTis
mazraSi sastiki brZol ebi mimdinareobda. Cems xel T arse-
bul i saarqivo masal ebis mixedviT irkveva, rom aj anyebul i
guriis mosaxl eobis umetesoba, uiaraRo iyo da isini `SiSve-
li- xel ebiT daupirispirda okupantebs. am faqtis siswores
adasturebs aj anyebis wl istavze (1925 wel i) gamocemul i
mowodeba- `ukvdavi agvisto.- `rusul regul arul j arsvkiTxul
obT dokumentSi- daupirispirdnen naxebrad uiaraRo razmebi
da amboxebis bedic gadawyda.-

imave dokumentis mixedviT, saqarTvel o martod- marto
aRmoCnda sabWoTa ruseTis piri spir, rom `mebrZol i 2 mil ion
eri... iaraRiT xel Si SeibrZol a 140 mil ionian... mters da es
iyo erT- erTi mkafio da umZafresi periodi im didi ganmaTavi-
sufli ebel i brZol isa, romel Siac Caeba qarTvel i eri dRidan
saqarTvel os dapyrobi sa.-

aRniSnul i faqtebi dan gamomdinare, naTel i xdeba, rom sa-
okupacio reJimis winaarmddeg aj anyeba Sesabamisi safexuris
momzadebis gareSe daiwyo. samSobl os siyvarul iTa da misi
Tavisufli ebis misaRwevad Tavgadadebul i da gul anTebul i
mebrZol ebi, faqtiurad uiaraRod iyo darCenil i. meore mxriv,
rogorc zemoTac mqonda aRniSnul i, saqarTvel o marto
ebrZoda Crdil oetis moZal ades. arada, vj uRel _ al .zaqari-
aZis samxedro gegmis mixedviT, aj anyebis dawyeba mxol od
maSin CaiTvl eboda mi zanSewonil ad, Tuki mTel i rigi faqto-

rebis_(iaraRi, ful i, sursaTi...) uzrunvel yofiT garantiis mi RebasTan erTad, azerbaijani da Crdil o kavkasiac (daRestani) aj anydeboda dampyrobli is winaaRmdeg. samwuxarod, aj anyebis dawyebis organizatorebma, zemoaRni Snuli gegmiT gaTval iswinebuli moTxovnebis arcerTi muxl is Sesrul ebas ar dael odnen, yovel SemTxvevaSi mis mosamzadebl adac ar izrunes. swored es garemoeba qonda mxedvel obaSi k.gvarj al azes, roca 1924 wl is 10 seqtembers stambol idan parizSi gagzavnil weril Si werda: `Tu mar toa Cveni xal xi am brZolaSi, cxadia brZolas wavagebT. Tu azerbaijani da mTac mi iRebs monawil eobas, maSin saqme arc ise cudaTi qneba. ramsvl el obas mi iRebs movl enebi, amis Tqma aqedan Znel ia. magram rac ar unda moxdes, Cven faqts unda gavuwioT angariSi da Tu davmarcxdiT, nakl eb dazaral ebul ad gamosvl as unda SevecadoT. dRevandel pirobebSi roca evropaSi Cveni saqmis vitarebaze ar ician da saqarTvel o mTI ad mowyvetilia, real urad material ur daxmarebaze vinmesgan zedmetial aparaki.-¹⁸

am amonaweris mixedvit Tuki vimsjel ebT, ramdenadac evropidan finansuri daxmareba gamoricxuli iyo, xolo azerbaijansa da Crdil o kavkasiaSi saqarTvel osadmi mxardamWer aj anyebes adgili ar qonda, Seqmnil i mdgomareobis fonze, erTaderT safiqral s, mosal odnel i katastrofidan nakl ebad dazaral ebul i gamosvla wadmoadgenda. Tu ra formiT unda momxdariyo amis ganxorciel eba, igi cal ke gansjis sagani iyo. am mimarTul ebit pragmatuli saxis nabijis gadadgma aucil ebel i xdeboda im Tval sazrisiTac, rom aj anyebul TamimarT aranairi saxis daxmareba ar xorciel deboda. arada, xal xis sul ieri mxneobis SesanarCunebl ad, evropidan mci-reodeni daxmarebis wamosvl ac ki sakmarisi iyo. amastan dakavSirebit, batumi dan 1924 wl is 18 seqtembers stambol Si gagzavnil weril Si vkiTxul obT: **daxmarebis saxiT `Tundac dantvraul i kreiseri iyos maqedan, xal xi Tavs Seswiravs, Toremise sul iT dacemul ni arian.**- rac Seexeba k.gvarj al azis mier stambol idan parizSi 1924 wl is 29 seqtembers gagzavnil weril s, xazgasmiT iyo aRniSnuli, rom `Tudaxmareba xal xs droul ad ver mi vawodeT, mdgomareoba pirdapir tragikul i iqneba.- gansakuTrebit mZime mdgomareobaSi guria aRmoCnda. dokumentur masal ebSi garkvevi Taa aRniSnuli, rom

uTanasworo brZol aSi, guria sisxl isgan icl eboda da mas droul ad miSvel eba sWirdeboda. samwuxarod, aj anyebis xel mZRvanel i birTvis uniaTo qmedebidan gamomdinare, okupantebis winaaRmdeg mebrZol gurul ebs, SaSxanebi sa da vaznebis miwodebi Tac ver exmarebodnebn.

mtris winaaRmdeg daqsaqsul ad da araorganizebul ad mebrZol i saqarTvel os kuTxeebi garduval i damarcxebisTvis iyo ganwirul i. es sakiTxi pol itikuri partiebis warmomadgenl ebTan erTad mTavrobis gaerTianebul i sxdomis (1924 wl is 22 seqtemberi) msjel obis sagani gaxda. am SemTxvevaSi Cemi yuradReba erovnul - demokratiul i partiis erT- erTil ideris sp.kedias gamosvl am miqcia. evropis social istebis saqarTvel osadmi mxardasaWerad gamoyenebis sakiTxis misi mxridan dasma maqvs mxedvel obaSi. Tuki saqarTvel os pirvel i respublikis periodis pol itikuri istoriis ZiriTad momentebis gavixsenebT, parl amentisa da damfuZnebel i krebis stenografiul angariSebSi ac CavixedavT, aSkarad warmocndeba erovnul - demokratiul i partiis liderTa gamZafrebul i kritika qarTvel i social - demokratebisadmi evropis social istebTan kavSiris gamo. istoriis ganvl il ma procesebma daadastura, rom qarTvel i social - demokratebis pol itikuri kursi am mxriv gamarTl ebul i iyo. mxedvel obaSi maqvs saqarTvel os pirvel i respublikis periodi da misi okupaciis Semdgomi etapi. evropis qveynebis pol itikurad gameZavebul i liderebisgan motyuebul i da zurgSeqceul i saqarTvel os xel isuflebisadmi Tanadgoma, mxol od evropel ma social istebma ikisra. marto is rad Rirs, rom yovel gvare safasuris gadaxdis gareSe, maTi presisa da radios meSveobiT, saqarTvel os kanonieri mTavroba, okupirebul saqarTvel oSi mimdinare procesebis mTel dasavl eT evropas acnobda. Tuki evropis social istebTan TanamSroml obas 1918- 1921 wl ebSi erovnul - demokratebi samarcxvinod da qarTul i saxel mwi fosTvis sazi anod Tvl idnen (sp.kedia, gr.veSapel i, r.gabaSvil i, S.qarumiZe...), Turme saqarTvel os megobrebi yofil an. amasTan dakavSirebiT imave sxdomis saomqmo CanawerebSi vkiTxul obT: `sp.kedia gamoTqvams survils, ramdenadac dRes social istebi sxvadasxva mTavrobebSi didrols TamaSoben da amasTanave isini saqarTvel os megobrebi arian, unda vi moqmedoT maTze, rom

ufro energiul ad dagvexmaron... daadgines: gaZl ierebul i
 iqnas muSaoba deputatTa wreebSi ganurCevl ad partiisa.
 mTavrobis Tavmj domarem inaxul os bl iumi. radikal Ta pa-
 rtiaSi inaxul on biuros wevrebi da kerZo deputatebi
 e.gegeWkorma, sp.kediam da i.gobeCiam. Tu mosaxerxebel ia,
 i.gobeCiam inaxul os demonzi, n.ramiSvil i miswers vl .axme-
 tel s raTa niadagi mosinj os germaniaSi_ SeuZl ia Tu ara
 maT Caerion Cven da ruseTs Sua konfl iqtis mosagva-
 rebl ad.-¹⁹ im masal ebis mixedviT, romelic Cems mier iqna
 mikvl eul i, irkveva rom emigraciaSi myofi saqarTvel os
 xel isufl ebis mesveurTa maqsimal uri mcdel obisda miuxe-
 davad, zemoaRniSnul i sakiTxebis mosagvarebl ad gaTval iswi-
 nebul i RonisZiebebi, dasavl eT evropis qveynebis meTaurTa
 mimxrobisa da mxardaWeris Tval sazrisiT_ dagvianebul i
 iyo. sabWoTa ruseTs, SeiaraRebul i aj anyebisa da maTi oj a-
 xebis mimarT umkacresi represiebi dawyebul i qonda. mdgoma-
 reobas isic arTul ebda, rom sabWoTa ruseTis sainformacio
 saSual ebebi simarTI es mal avda. maT mizans, qarTvel Ta zemo-
 aRniSnul i aj anyebis sisxl Si CaxSoba warmoadgenda da am
 faqtis mi fuCeCebas cdil obda. dasaxul i amocanis ganxorci-
 el ebis erT- erT saSual ebad, dasavl eT evropisken informa-
 ciis dabl okva iqna miCneul i. aRniSnul sakiTxTan dakavSire-
 biT k.gvarjal azis mier saqarTvel os mTavrobisadmi 1924
 wl is 10 seqtembers gagzavnil weril Si principul ad iyo
 dasmul i sakiTxi saqarTvel oSi mimdinare polititur proce-
 sebTan mimarTebaSi, dasavl eT evropis qveynebis saqmis kursSi
 Cayenebis aucil ebl obis Sesaxeb. me miRebul i maqvs zomebi-
 vkiTxul obT weril Si- aqac da sazRvarzeTac. yovel SemTxve-
 vaSi sanam aq var, gadawyvetil i maqvs bol Sevikebs da maT
 cinikur cnobebs sastikaT SevebrZol o da namdvil i ambavi
 Cveni qveyni sa aqaurma evropis sazogadoebrivma azrma icodes.
 amaSi daTmoba dRes yovl aT miuRebel ia. sxva araferi
 SegviZl ia da amazedac aviRoT xel i?!

rogorc vxedavT, sakiTxi ideol ogiur frontze mimdinare
 sainformacio brZol as exeba. xazgasmiT unda iTqvas, rom
 sabWoTa ruseTTan sainformacio dapi rispireba udides si-
 rTul eebTan iyo dakavSirebul i. mxedvel obaSi maqvs fina-
 nsuri SesaZl ebl obebi. am Tval sazrisiT qarTul i mxare
 `gaRatakebul ~ mdgomareobaSi imyofeboda. Tuki igi sima-

rTI is gatanas dasavl eT evropaSi da saerTasorisorenaze
axdenda, es faqti, evropis social isturi partiebis sainfo-
rmacio (presa, radio) saSual ebebebis damsaxureba iyo. rac
Seexeba finansur SesaZI ebl obebs, emigraciaSi myof saqar-
Tvel os mTavrobas, aj anyebul ebisadmi dasaxmarebel i ful ic
ar aRmoacnda. am sakiTxTan dakavSirebiT Cemi yuradReba sa-
qarTvel os mTavrobis da damkomis biuros parizis gaerTi-
anebul i sxdomis (1924 wl is 30 seqtemberi) saqmo Canawerebma
miiqcia. am dokumentis mixedvit, ful is Sovnis mogvareba
aSS vasil dumbazes qonda daval ebul i. imave sxdomis masal e-
bidan irkveva, rom dawyebul i saqmis warmatebul ad gagrZe-
l ebis mizniT, igi saqarTvel os xel isufli ebisgan dipl omati-
uri rwmunebis mandats iTxovda. saqmo Canawerebis mixedvit,
n.rami Svili, sp.kedia, k.kandelaki, dadebiTad axasiaTebden
v.dumbazes da mas namdvil patriotad, niWier da energiul
adamanad miicnevden. aqedan gamomdinare, imave sxdomaze
miRebul dadgenil eb iT, mas dipl omatis rwmunebis mandati
mieca. miuxedavad amisa, misi mraval gzis mcdel oba ful is
SovnasTan mi marTebaSi uSedego aRmoacnda. imave sakiTxTan
dakavSirebiT, akCxenkel is vizit ic warumatebl ad damTavrda
l ondonSi. es faqtebi imis damadasturebel ia, rom emigraciaSi
myofi saqarTvel os mTavrobisadmi finansuri daxmarebis
Sesaxeb evropis qveynebidan gacemul i dapi reba Seusrul ebel i
darCa. aRni Snul da sxva mniSvnel ovan sakiTxebTan mi marTe-
baSi mosal odnel Sedegebs, saqarTvel os damkomisa da samxe-
dro centris xel mZRvanel oba, samwuxarod ar dael oda da
aj anyeba TviTneburad daiwyo. am faqtorma ganapiroba aj anye-
bul ebisadmi iaraRiTada ful iT daxmare-bis SeuZI ebl oba.
Seqmnil i vitarebiT kargad isargebl a sabWoTa ruseTis
xel isufli ebam da Crdil o kavkasiidan, azer-baij anidan da
somxeTidan, aj anyebul Ta winaaRmdeg saqarTve-l oSi jaris
axal i SenaerTebi gadmoisrol a. dokumenturi masal iT
dasturdeba, rom aj anyebis dawyebamde, gasabWoebul i saqar-
Tvel os Sesabamisi uwebebi winaswar iyvnen saqmis kursSi
Cayenebul ni da mosal odnel safrTxes momzadebul ni Sexv-
den. amis Sesaxeb sainteresoinformacias gvawdis k.gvarja-
l azis mier stambolidan 1924 wl is 10 seqtembers parizSi
gagzavnil i werili. am dokumentis mixedvit, aj anyebis dawyeba-
mde 15- 20 dRiT adre, komunistebs yvel a mniSvnel ovani

strategiul i punqti da dawesebul eba gamagrebul i qonda. `am aTi dRis win- vkiTxul obT imave weril Si- aq mi viReT Cven patara weril i baTumi dan 20/VIII Tari Ri T. gwerdnen: `ager aTi dRea baTumSi da mgoni sxva qal aqebSi ac komunistebis dawesebul ebebs yvel as tyvi amfrqvevebi T icaven. dawesebul ebebi dRe da Rame daraj ebi T savsea. mTel i Zal a fexzea damdgari. ra mizezia da ram gamoiwvia aseTi sifrTxil e komunistebis mier aravinicis. xal xi fiqrobs, SeiZl eba gareSe safrTxe moel is rameo. yovel SemTxvevaSi mizezi aqaurebma arician. mdgomareoba baTumSi metad nerviul ia. faqtiurad yvel a quCebi da dawesebul ebebi gakrul ia. daWe-rebia Seuwyvetel i. aseTi nerviul oba- mzadeba iyo bol Sevi-kebis mxriv.- an ki dev: `guriaSi maisSi, 7 ivanobisTvemde samxedro wesebi iyo gamocxadebul i da mTel i adgil obrivi Zal a fexze iyo damdgari. sofl el i komunistebi uZil obis gamo quCaSi vardebodnen. 150 j ariskaci Tbil isidan Camoiyvanes da sxva.-²⁰ aq motanil i faqtebis siswores n.rami Svil is mier saqarTvel os social - demokratiul i partiis cekasadmi 1924 wl is ivnisSi gagzavnil i weril ic adasturebs. igi partiis cekas wevrebs imavdroul ad gamafrTxil ebel i formiT mi marTavda. `gamosvl amde saWi roa garegnul ad moqmedebis gegma. es mi T ufro, rogorc gadmogvces, mters sawinaaRmdego zomebi ukve mi uRia da is SesaferaT darazmul ia. Tu vini co-baa gamosvl a mokl e xni T gadai dos, meTaurebma morigeobi T Tbil isis gareT unda mi imal on da dai svenon.- Cems mier sa-arqivo dokumentebi dan motanil i amonawerebis mi xedvi T Tuki vi msj el ebT, sabWoTa xel isufl ebis l iderebs, mosal odhel i aj anyebis dawyebisa da safexurebrivad mi si moqmedebis si vr-cis Sesaxeb sakmaod srul yofil i informacia qonda. am faqts, maSi ndel i saqarTvel os central uri komitetis mdivani b.l omi naZec adasturebda. mxedvel obaSi maqvs, 1924 wl is movl enebis Semswavl el i komisiisadmi mis mier imave wl is seqtemberSi gagzavnil i weril i. 1924 wl is agvistos movl enebTan mi marTebaSi gamoqveynebul i samecniero l iteraturis umetesobaSi damkvidrebul Sexedul ebebsa da mtkicebul ebebs (g.cici Svil i, l j i qia) Tuki Cems mier arqivsacavebSi mi kvl eul i axal i saarqivo masal ebis monacemebsac davurTavT, aSkarad warmoCndeba: 1) 1924 wl is aj anyeba moumzadebel i iyo da impirvel xarisxovani `masal is- uqonl obas gani cdi da,

romel ic mtris winaaRmdeg sabrZol o operaciebis Casatare-
 bl ad aucil ebl obas (iaraRi, ful i da puri) warmoadgenda.
 am faqtorebma aj anyebis dawyebis pirvel safexurzeve iCi na
 Tavi; 2)ragind odiozuri damokidebul ebac ar unda qondes
 Cems kol egebs n.xomerikisa da vj uRel is mi marT, isini saqm is
 gamkeTeb l ebi da brwyi nval e organizatorebi iyvnen. uSi Sro-
 eba swored amitom iyo maTi daWeriT daiinteresebul i da am
 mi znis mi saRwevad yvel aferze mi dioda. dokumenturi masal iT
 dadasturebul ia, rom n.xomerikisa da vj uRel is daWeriT,
 `damkomsa- da `samxedro centrs- saqm is mkeTebel i organi za-
 torebi Camoacil es. maTi `CaSvebis- saqmeSi l omis wil i
 erovnul - demokratiul i partiis garkveul i j gufis warmoma-
 dgenl ebs mi uZrvis. am danaSaul ebriv qmedebas, uSi Sroebis
 mier m.j avaxi Svil is dakiTxvis saarqivo masal ebi adasturebs.
 mxedvel obaSi maqvs, m.j vaxi Svil is mxridan SeiraraRebul i
 aj anyebis gegm is ganmaxorciel ebl ad n.xomerikis dasaxel eba
 da am mi znis Sesasrul ebl ad, antantis saxel mwifoebTan
 misi kavSiris Sesaxeb_ sukis maRal Cinosnebisadmi informa-
 ciis mi wodebis faqti. Cemi es gancxadeba mi utevebel bral de-
 bad rom ar CameTval os, kontrdazvervis ganyofil ebis ufr-
 osis aSekinisadmi 1923 wl is 29 marts m.j avaxi Svil is mier
 micemul i Cvenebidan Se-sabamis amonawers SevTavazeb mkiTxvel
 sazogadoebas. `xomerikTan xangrZl i vi saubridan me gamova-
 rkvie- vkiTxul obT dokumentSi,- rom mTel i misi gegma (Sei a-
 raRebul i momzadebisa) emyareboda antantis mxridan aqtiur
 daxmarebas. mindoda ra ufro zustad gamego- aris Tu ara
 garkveul i dapirebebi aqtiuri daxmarebis aRmoCenis Sesaxeb,
 romel ime saxel mwifos mxridan, me monaTxrobis Sesabamisi
 SekiTxva davusvi xomeriks. amaze xomerikma Tqva `daxmareba
 iqneba...⁻²¹ prof. g.cici Svil is azriT, es faqti n.xomerikis
 dasmenad ar SeiZl eba CaiTval os, radgan `m.j avaxi Svil i aq
 konkretul ad dasmul kiTxvaze iZl eva Cvenebas, rac ar ni Snavs
 `dasmenas.- man ar icis ra informacias fl obs gamoZieba.
 amitom sxva gza ara aqvs, Tu ara simarTl is Tqmisa.⁻²²

**Tuki m.j avaxi Svil s marTl acda `sxva gza ar hqonda,-
 rogorc amas b.n. g.cici Svil i wers, maSin rogor unda aixsnas,
 zemoaRni Snul i dakiTxvidan 13 dRiT adre, imave m.j avaxi Svi-
 l is mier `Col okaevel obis- l ikvidaciis mi znit, amier kavka-
 siis sagangebo komisiis kol egiiis Tavmj domaris saxel ze**

1923 wl is 16 martiT daTariRebul i weril is_`amierkavkasiis sagangebo komisiis kol egiis Tavmj domares- pirvel i nawil is bol oSi gakeTebul i formul irebebi? kerZod: a)`im SemTxvevaSi Tu xel isufal Ta mxriv Tanxmoba iqneba_ piradad mogaxsenebT Cemgan SemoTavazebul i gegmis yvel a wvri- l mans;- b)`Cemi SemoTavazebul i idea da gegma uaRresad sa- iduml od unda davi cvaT, raTa mowi naaRmdegis banaks dro da saSual eba ar mi vceT mi iRos kontrzomebi da Col okaevsa da sxvebze ukumimarTul ebiT moaxdi nos gavl ena;- g)`vTxov kol egiis Tavmj domares, gamomi Zaxos am sakiTxze, raTa piradad mi vce ganmar teba da SevimuSaoT gegmis wvri l manebi, Tu, ra Tqma unda Cemi idea princi pul ad mi Rebul i iqneba.-²³ m.j vaxiSvil is weril idan motani l am amonawerebSi kargad Cans, rom yovel gvare muqarisa da Zal datanebis gareSe, igi amierkavkasiis sagangebo komisiis kol egiis Tavmj domares iqeT exveweba, damatebiTi informaciis misacemad da wvri- l manebis gaTval iswinebiT `Col okaevel ebis- srul ad sal i- kvidacio gegmis erTobl ivad SemuSavebis mizniT, masTan Sexvedraze da TanamSroml obaze daTanxmebul iyo. gamori- cxul i araa, m.j avaxiSvil is 29 martis dakiTxva, kol egiis Tavmj domarisadmi m.j avaxiSvil is mier gagzavni l i 16 martiT daTariRebul i zemoaRniSnul i weril obiTi Txovnis safu- Zvel ze rom ganxorciel ebul iyo.

xazgasmiT mi nda aRvni Sno, rom m.j avaxiSvil is am weril Si gamoyenebul i `Col okaevel obis- cneba, q.Col oyaSvil is Sei- araRebul razmTan erTad, mis ideur mxardamWerebsac gul i- sxmobda. amis dadasturebas, imave dokumentis is nawil i wa- rrmoadgens, sadac `Col okaevel obis- mavne da saxifaTo movl e- nad gamocxadebis mxardamWerTa Sesaxebaa saubari. `ueWvel ia, am ideas- wers igi- wi naaRmdegobas gauwevs saerTo mosaxl e- obis sxvadasxva fenis ficxi xal xi, da kerZod, saqarTvel oSi moqmed partiata saomrad ganwyobil i nawil ebi.- q.Col oyaSvi- l is razmis, misi mxardamWeri `ficxi xal xisa- da pol itikuri partieb is warmomadgenel Ta l ikvidacia unda momxdariyo im gegmis mixedviT, romel sac m.j avaxiSvil i sTavazobda amierkavkasiis sagangebo komisiis kol egiis Tavmj domares. masTan Sesaxvedrad daweril i zemoaRniSnul i Txovnac, am gegmis warmatebiT ganxorciel ebas isaxavda miznad.

sukis sardafebSi dakiTxul patimarTa Soris daweril i

Cvnebebis Cems mier sagul dadul od Seswavl am daadastura, rom m.j avaxi Svil i erTaderTi pirovnebaa, romel ic piradi iniciativiT weril s ugzavnis uSiSroebis maRal Cinosans, masTan pirispir Sexvedras moiTxovs da zemoaRni Snul i gegmis erTobl ivad Sedgenis rogorc iniciatori, maTgan yuradRebis mi pyrobas cdil obs. dasaxul i mi znis mi saRwevad, imave weril is bol o nawil Si saTauris saxiT gamoaqvs formul ireba: **`gaZl evT damatebiT Cvnebas da ganvmartav...`** da iqve sam punqtad, Zal datanebis gareSe CamoTvl is mi sTvis cnobil faqtebs. **m.j avaxi Svil isagan gansxvavebiT, patimrobaSi myofin.xomerikis pozicia, sukis TanamSromel Ta mier Sedgenil dokumentSi Semdegi formiTaa warmodgenil i: `bral debul i xomeriki iZl eva Cvnebas, rom mas, rogorc ck- is swevrs ar SeeZl o da ar SeuZl ia Seurigdes imas, rom saqarTvel o okupirebul ia, xal xi mCagvrel Ta uRl is qveS aris da amitom Tavis moval eobad CaTval a Camosul iyo saqarTvel oSi da emuSava moZal adeebis winaaRmddeg. igi xomeriki Camovi da piradi survil iT, yovel gvari daval ebis gareSe da verasodes Seurigdeba arsebul wyobil ebas. amJamad mas Tavi tyved miaCnia da amitom uars ambobs upasuxos kiTxvebze, roml ebic partiul i principi ebis CarCoebis scil deba.`**²⁴

sabWoTa uSiSroebis j urRmul ebSi patimarTa dakiTxvis dros, suk- is TanamSroml ebisatvis miuRebel i da siamayiT datvirTul i zemoaRni Snul i gancxadebis gamkeTbel pirovnebas Tu ra doneze awamebdnen_ advil i warmosadgenia. miuxedavad amisa, man j oj oxetur wamebas gauZl o da m.j avaxi Svil isagan gansxvavebiT, mTel i pasuxismgebl oba Tavis Tavze aiRo. im autanel i proceduris dros, n.xomeriks SeeZl o `misi marj vena xel i- m.j avaxi Svil i `CaeSva,- magram, simdabil is es nabij i ar gadadga, sabWoTa uSiSroebis TanamSromel Ta mxridan fizikuri zemoqmedebis yvel a eqsperiments gauZl o, TanamebrZol ebidan arcerTi pirovneba ar daasaxel a da rogorc saqarTvel os erTgul ma pol itikurma figuram_ Rir seba SeinarCuna.

aRni Snul sakiTxebTan mimarTebaSi, dRemde arsebul i samecniero l iteraturisa da gamoqveynebul i dokumenturi masal ebis mixedvit Tuki vimsjel ebT, mxol od erTaderTi daskvnis gakeTeba SeiZl eba: sabWoTa uSiSroebis TanamSroml ebma, n.xomerikis dakiTxvis safuzvel ze, misi TanamebrZo-

I lebis dasmenis dokumenti ver Seqmna, radgan amis safuZvel i TviT n.xomerikma ar mi sca. xazgasmi T aRvni Snav, rom m.j avaxi Svi l i sagan gansxvavebi T, n.xomerikis mxridan vinmes dasmenis da misi xel moweriT dadasturebul i raime saxis saarqivo dokumenti rom arsebul iyo, n.xomerikisadmi odiozurad ganwyobil i Cemi kol egebi, maSi nve gamoaqveynebdnen da farTo afiSi rebasac gaukeTebden.

yovel ive zemoT Tqmul is gaTval iswinebi dan gamomdinare, dauSvebl ad mimaCnia: 1) didi mwerl is motivaci iT, m.j avaxi Svi l is mxridan gadadgmul i cdomil i nabij is Zal datanebi Ti `argumentebi T- gamarTl ebis mcdel oba; 2) saqarTvel os demokratiul i respubl ikis Rirseul i ministris da agraru l i sferos reformatoris, saqarTvel os Tavisufl ebi saTvis TavSewirul i pol itikuri figuris n.xomerikisadmi, daumsaxu-rebel i bral debebis mZivebivi T kiserze Camoki deba. amis ufl ebas, rusul i okupaci is winaaRmdeg muxl Cauxrel ad me-brZol i da TanamebrZol Ta ar dasmeni adami anebis sul Ta yivil i ar gvaZl evs.

xazgasmi T minda aRvni Sno, rom erovnul - demokratebis zogierT warmomadgenel s, v.j uRel is dpatimrebi s xel SewyobaSi ac l omi s wil i mi uZRvi s. amastan dakavSi rebi T, sayura-dRebo informacias Seicavs saqarTvel os komunisturi partiis (b) central uri komitetis samdivnos 1930 wl is 11 agvistos daxurul TaTbirze l .berias mier gakeTebul i gancxadeba, sadac garkvevi Taa mi Ti Tebul i, rom v.j uRel is dpatimreba erovnul - demokratebis gan mi Rebul i cnobebis safuZvel ze moxdao.²⁵ es iyo SeiaraRebul aj anyebamde ramdenime dRiT adre_ 1924 wl is 7 agvistos. rac Seexeba n.xomeriks, igi j er ki dev 1923 wl is 9 noembers aiyvanes patimro-baSi.

xazgasmi T aRvni Snav, rom n.xomeriki Tuki Tavis ampl uaSi darCeboda, partiul i xaziT bol omde mi iyvanda mis mier warmatebi T dawyebul saqmes. rac Seexeba v.j uRel s, igi SeiaraRebul aj anyebas, misi monawil eobi T SemuSavebul i gegmi s mi xedvi T ganaxorciel ebda da am ganzraxvas win ve-ravin aRudgeboda. es real oba erovnul - demokratebis erT nawil s kargad qonda gacnobi erebul i. ami tom, erTic da me-orec maTTvis xel SemSl el pi rovnebebad da moqmedebis Tavisufal i si vrcis SemzRudvel ebad aRiqmeboda. xazgasmi T unda

aRiniSnos, rom maTi dapatimrebis Semdeg daesva wertil i konspiraciul saqmi anobas da SeiaraRebul i aj anyebis samxedro gegmac iqna gacemul i. samwuxarod, dRemde gamoqveynebul samecniero LiteraturaSi (n.kirTaZe, m.xomeriki, g.ciciSvil i, g.sul aZe, l.jiqia...) erovnul - demokratebis erTi j gufis mxridan mxol od`samxedro centris- gacemazea saubari da yuradRebis miRmaa datovebul i umniSvnel ovanesi sakiTxi_ erovnul - demokratebis imave j gufis mier SeiaraRebul i aj anyebis samxedro gegmis (vj uRel i- al .zaqariaZe) gacemis faqti. samecniero Literaturidan cnobil ia, rom im etapze SeiaraRebul i aj anyebis ori gegma arsebobda: 1)v.j uRel i- al .zaqariaZis da 2)r.musxel iSvil is.

dokumenturi masal iT dadasturebul ia, rom SeiaraRebul i aj anyebis pirveli gegma (vj uRel i- al .zaqariaZe) aj anyebis dawyebas mxol od im SemTxvevaSi mi iCnevda dasaSvebad, Tuki igi yovel mxriv iqneboda momzadebul i. meore mxriv, taqtikuri mosazrebebi dan gamomdinare dasabuTebul i formiT iyo warmodgenil i aj anyebis dawyebis xel sayrel drod ara Sua zafxuli, aramed gviani Semodgoma an adre gazafxuli. am umniSvnel ovanes dokumentSi, samxedro Tval sazrisiT safexurebrivad yvel a niuansi iyo gaTvl il i. igi pirveli rigSi Tbil isis aRebas, sabWouri SeiaraRebul i Zal ebis ganiaraRebas, bol Sevikuri mTavrobis dapatimrebas, strategiul i umniSvnel obis obieqtebis dapaTronebas da amis Semdeg, SeiaraRebul i aj anyebis srul iad saqarTvel os da kavkasi is masStabiT gaSl as iTval iswinebda.²⁶

im SemTxvevaSi, Tuki am gegmis mixedvit imoqmedebdnen da igi warmatebul i aRmoCndeboda, saqarTvel os mosaxleobaSi social - demokratiis LiderTa avtoriteti erTiorad gairdeboda da momaval saparl amento arCevnebSi, rogorc qveynis ganmaTavisuflebel politukur Zal as saqarTvel os mosaxleobaSi al ternativa ar eqneboda. rac Seexeba meore gegmas, romelic r.musxel iSvil is gegmis saxel wodebiTaa cnobil i, igi qaquca Col oyaSvil is SeiaraRebul razmze iyo orientirebul i da saqarTvel oSi dislocirebul i rusul i jaris xevsureTis xeobaSi Setyuebas da ganadgurebas iTval iswinebda. amis Semdeg unda moexdinaT aj anyebul ebs Tbil isis aReba. am gegmis saerTo anal izidan gamomdinare, g.ciciSvil ma savsebit kanonzomierad uwoda mas fantastikuri gegma.²⁷ es

iyo arsebul i sinamdvil is gauTval iswinebl ad Sedgenil i gegma, romel ic rusul i sardl obis da mis xel qveiT Tbil isSi myofi samxedro SenaerTebis (4000 xiSti) cxvris farasaviT xevsureTis viwro xeobaSi Setyuebaze iyo gaTvl il i. am SemTxvevaSi saRi azri daCrdil a egoizmma, xel isufli ebisken swrafvis avadmyofurma senma da social - demokratebi sadmi biol ogiurma siZul vil ma. erovnul - demokratebis garkveul ma j gufma, zemoaRni Snul i qmedebiT, samSobl os interesebis partikul i interesebi anacval a.

Cems mier zemoT motanil i faqtebi daedo safuZvl ad Se- iaraRebul i aj anyebis vj uRel - al .zaqariaZis samxedro gegmis gacemas. dokumenturi masal iT dadasturebul ia, rom aRniSnul i gegmis (vj uRel i- al .zaqariaZe) Sesaxeb mxol od ramdenime kacma (n.xomeriki, vj uRel i_ social - demokratebi) da erovnul - demokratebidan gansakuTrebul i pasuxismgebl obiT aRWurvil ma oriode kacma Tu icoda. isic cnobil ia, rom am gegmis xel is manqanaze nabeWdi teqstis erTi ekzempl ari (40 gverdi) aj anyebis centris xel mZRvanel obas qonda Cabarebul i. dRemde gamoqveynebul samecniero l ite- raturaSi, dokumentur masal aze dayrdnobiT, samxedro ce- ntris gamcemTa Sesaxeb safuZvl iani mtkicebul ebaa motanil i. mxedvel obaSi myavs kmisabl iSvil i, m j avaxiSvil i, iv.nari- kel aZe da k.gegeWkori. magram araferia naTqvami aj anyebis samxedro gegmis gamcemTa Sesaxeb. xazgasmiT mi nda aRvni Sno, rom am 40 gverdiani dokumentis zepirad damaxsovreba da Semdeg qaRal dze ucdoml ad gadatana, nebismeri adami ani s mexsierebis SesaZl ebl obebs aRemateba. amiT imis Tqma mi nda, rom xel is manqanaze dabeWdil i es gegma, samxedro centris maRal Cinosanis da erovnul - demokratiul i partiis erT- erTi wevris mier unda iyos gacemul i. miTumetes, bol o pe- riodeSi mikvl eul i saarqivo masl ebis mixedviT, es samxedro gegma saqarTvel os uSiSroebam fostiT erovnul - demokra- tebisagan mi iRo. amis Sesaxeb angariSgasavevi informaci aa dacul i saqarTvel os kompartiis cekas samdivnos daxurul TaTbirze l .berias mier gakeTebul moxsenebaSi. `xSiraT iyo SemTxveva, rom erTi partia, mag. nacional - demokratebi- vkiTxul obT dokumentSi- cnobas gvaZl evda meore partiis zogierTi pirebis Sesaxeb maTi Tavi dan moSorebis mi zniT. Tqven iciT, rom aj anyebis dros nacional - demokratebs

surdaT moZraobis meTaur oba da hegemoni s xel Si aReba, ami tom isini ebrZodnen menSevikebs... j er iyo da movi da cnoba, maTi komi tetis wevris winamZRvariSvil is Sesaxeb, romel ic iyo yvel aze aqtiuri damcvel i menSevikebTan gul wrfel i Tana-mSroml obis. Semdeg undodaT ra menSevikuri samxedro Zal ebis daqsaqsva, Cven miviReT cnoba menSevikebis samxedro xel mZRvanel i nodias Sesaxeb da isic Sevi pyari T. **maTi saSua- l ebi T CavigdeT Cven vj uRel ic xel Si da miviReT agreTve fostiT aj anyebis pirvel i gegma, roml iTac gavstexeT j uRel i da is aval aparakeT.-**

am vr cel amonawerSi motanil i faqtebidan kargad Cans: 1)pirvel obisTvis brZol aze dafuZnebul i egoizmi dan gamo- mdinare, partiul i interesebis qveynis interesebze maRl a dayeneba. es faqti, gakvirvebas ar iwvevs imdenad, ramdenadac 1921 wl is april idan- 1922 wl is maisis CaTvl iT, partiata SeTanxmehis Sesaxeb mimdinare sxdomebis saomqmo CanawerebSi, yvel gan wina pl anzea wamoweul i erovnul - demokratebis mxridan saarCevno sistemis ignori rebis bazaze ministrebis portfel ebis qvotebis winaswari dakanonebis aucil ebl obis moTxovnebi;²⁸ 2)social - demokratebis gzidan Camocil eba da aj anyebis sadaveebis xel Si aReba, aj anyebis gamarj vebis SemTxvevaSi, erovnul - demokratebs saqarTvel oSi Zal au- fl ebis upi robod dapa tronebis SesaZl ebl obas miscemda da rac mTavaria, okupaci is uRel i, ara social - demokratebis gegmis amoqmedebiT, aramed erovnul - demokratebis gegmi T da qaquca Col oyaSvil is meSveobiT iqneboda mocil ebul i. Tuki am Canafiqris real izacia moxdeboda, erovnul - demo- kratebi, rogorc moqmedi pol itikuri Zal a, pirvel adgil s dai kavebda, xol o social - demokratebi ukana pl anze moeqce- oda; 3)social - demokratebis samxedro gegmis gacema, am po- l itikuri partiis sazogadoebaSi pol itikur dasamarebaze iyo gaTvl il i. samwuxar od, dampyrobTa winaaRmddeg brZol aSi, erovnul - demokratebma uargisi samxedro gegma amj obines ukeTess, radgan es ukeTesi, social - demokratebis Semoqme- debis nayofs wadmoadgenda. aRni Snul saki TxTan dakavSire- biT imave l .berias moxsenebaSi vki Txul obT: `aj anyebis pi- rvel i gegmi T (social - demokratebis S.v.) gamosvl a unda da- wyebul iyo Tbil isidan da Tu es ganxorciel deboda Cveni mdgomareoba Zl ier rTul i iqneboda, radgan menSevikebis

mTavari Zal ebi swored Tbil isSi iyvnen Tavmoyril ni. nacional - demokratebmac kargad icodnen es da isini cdil obdnen meore, e.i. maTi (r.musxel iSvil is S.v.) gegmiT dawyebas aj anyebisas. e.i. Col oyaSvil ze dayrdnobiT. asec moxda da Cvenc aj anyebis l ikvidaciad gagviadvil da. Tqven xedavT Tu ra didi samsaxuri gagviwia im wi naaRmdegobebma, romel ic am or mTavar antisabWoTa partiebs Soris iyo. (CvenTvis Semdegi ambebis gamo damtkicebul ad iTvl eba, rom am cnobebs Cven gvigzavni da swored nacional - demokratebi.)-

l .berias moxsenebaSi motanil i faqtebi simarTI ed unda mi viCni oT, radgan: 1)zemoaRni Snul i TaTbiri daxurul formatSi mimdinareobda, saagitaci o- propagandistul datvirTvas ar atarebda da ganvl il i periodis umniSvnel ovanesi faqtebis_ TaTbiris monawil eebisadmi informaciis saxiT miwodebas isaxavda mi znad; 2)es moxseneba, Sei araRebul i aj anyebidan 6 wl is Semdeg gakeTda. igi gamarj vebul i sabWoTaxel isuflebis uSiSroebis uwyebis 1921_ 1930 wl ebis saqmi anobis Sej amebas da samomavl o gegmebis srul yofas iTval - iswi nebda; 3)l .berias aRni Snul i moxseneba, antisabWoTa politikuri partiebis diskreditaciaze rom yofil iyo gaTvl il i, TaTbiris masal ebTan erTad gasaj arovdeboda da farTo sazogadoebisTvisac xel misawvdomi gaxdebda.

rac Seexeba patimrobaSi myof vj uRel s, saarqivo masal ebis mixedviT irkveva: 1)umkacresi wamebisa da fsiqol ogiuri zemoqmedebis miuxedavad, mas si tyva ver daacdevines. ra donis wamebaSi unda yol odaT igi, rom TviTmkvl el obis gadawyvetil eba mieRo. cixis iatakis qvaze al esil i al uminis kovzis tariTa da l ursmniT, marcxena mkl avis vena eqvs adgil ze gadaeWra da Wril obebi JangiT amoevso.²⁹ aseTi ram l aCrebs ar sCveviaT. igi samSobl oze uzomod Seyvarebul i gmirebisTvisaa damaxasiaTebel i. samwuxarod, Cemi kol egebis didi nawil i, roml ebic tyuil ebiT damZimebul i memuarobis zemoqmedebis qveS imyofebian, saqarTvel ospirvel i respubliki s Rirseul i jariskacis da fol adiviT nawrTobi pirovnebis_ vj uRel is mi marT, xSirad daumsaxurebel da ugvano epiTeteb sar i Surveben. xel CasaWid masal admis or weril s: 1)weril i menSevikur cekas- da 2) Ria weril i yvel amxanagebs da yofil saxal xo gvardiel ebs- iyeneben. yuradRebis miRmatoveben im ZiriTad ganmapirobebel mizezebs, ramac vj u-

Rel s aRniSnul i weril ebi daawerina an dauweres. yovel SemTxvevaSi, es weril ebi misi xel moweriTaa dadasturebul i. am dokumentebis safuZvl ianad gacnobis Sedegad, Cemi yura-dReba meore weril ma mi iqcia, sadac kvantal ianTan Sexvedris faqtia aRweril i. `kvantal ianma- wers vj uRel i- maCvena Zal ian seriozul i dokumentebi, ramac Zal ian Camafiqra, vinaidan CemTvis naTel i gaxda, rom `Ceka-- myvel aferi kargad icis.³⁰ sazogadoebaSi da mecniერul wreebSiac wl ebis ganmavl obaSi pasuxgaucemel i rCeboda kiTxva, iseTi ra saxis dokumentebi unda eCvenebinaT vj uRel isaTvis, rom igi aj anyebis saidumli oebis gacemaSi darwmunebul iyo. am umni Svel ovanes saki-TxTan mi marTebaSi, mkvl evarebi nakl eb dai nteresebas iCendnen da ZiriTadi yuradReba vj uRel is zemoaRniSnul i weril ebis mizanSewonil ebis faqtze gadaqondaT. aqedan gamomdinare, mis `avtors- Sesabamisi epiTetebi Tyvel a brunvaSi ixseniebdnen. rac Seexeba kvantal ianis mier vj uRel isadmi naCvenebi dokumentebis saxeobis gaxsnis gasaRebs, amis Sesaxeb saintereso informaciaa dacul i harvardis universitetisa da l evil is saarqivo masal ebSi. xazgasmiT unda iTqvas, rom am dokumentebma udidesi siaxl e Semoitana qarTul wyarOTmcodeobaSi, Tavdayi ra daayena da sabol ood amxil a zogierTi memuaristis mier fantaziiT gamogonil i cil ismwamebl uribral debebi; 2)dokumenturi masal iT dadasturebul ia, rom sagangebo komisiis TanamSromel ma, patimrobaSi myof vj uRel s aj anyebis samxedro gegma daudo win.³¹ aj anyebis es gegma, rogorc zemoTac mqonda aRniSnul i, vj uRel isa da al .zaqariaZis mier daweril dokuments warmoadgenda. swored amis Semdeg irwmuna vj uRel ma aj anyebis gegmis gacemis simarTl e. man srul ad gacnobiera is garduval i katastrofa, romel ic moRal ateTa mier gacemul i samxedro gegmis Semdeg, aj anyebis dawyebis SemTxvevaSi iyo mosal odnel i. qarTvel i eris mi marT bol SevikaTa umkacresi angariSsworeba da sisxl is Rvra rom ar momxdariyo, dakiTxvi sas vj uRel ma TxovniT mi marTa l .berias: `ramdenime dRiT gamanTavisufli eT patimrobidan, damal evineT sawaml avi, sami dRis mere rom imoqmedos da sisxl is Rvra aRar iqneba saWiro... saWiroa movel aparako TanamebrZol ebs... amas moiTxovs qarTvel i xal xis interesebi.³² aseTi nabij is gadadgma mxol od gmi rebs SeuZl ia da ara l aCrebs. mas Tavis TanamebrZol ebidan arcerTi piro-

vneba ar dusaxel ebia. amis sawi naaRmdego dadasturebis dokumenti jer- jero biT aravis gamouqveynebia. rac Seexeba `damkomisadmi- gagzavnil sayovel Taod cnobil gamafrTxil ebel weril ebs, igi mxol od mas Semmdeg Sei qma roca uSiSroebam sawaml avis miRebaze da sawaml avmiRebul is TanamebrZol ebTan gaSvebaze uTxra uari vj uRel s.

saarqivo masal ebidan irkveva, rom aj anyebis samxedro gegmis gacemi sTanave, saqarTvel os xel isufl ebis Sesabamisi uwyebis xel mZrvanel obiT, winaswari TavdacviTi RonisZiebi iqna ganxorciel ebul i. mxedvel obaSi maqvs did qal aqebSi ganTavsebul i saxel mwi fo dawesebul ebebis gamagreba. am faqtTan dakavSirebiT, baTumi dan stambol Si 1924 wl is 20 agvistos gagzavnil weril Si vkiTxul obT; `ager aTi dRea baTumSi da mgoni sxva qal aqebSi ac komunistebis dawesebul ebebs yvel as tyvi am fr qvevebiT icaven. dawesebul ebebi dRe da Rame daraj ebi Taa savse. mTel i Zal a fexzea damdgari, ra mi zezia da ram gamoiwvia aseTi si frTxil e komunistebis gan aravin icis... faqti urad yvel a quCebi da dawesebul ebebi gakrul ia. daWerebia Seuwynarebel i!- igive weril i guri is regionsac exeba: `guriaSi- vkiTxul obT dokumentSi- samxedro wesebi iyo gamocxadebul i da mTel i adgil obrivi Zal a fexze iyo damdgari. sofl el i komunistebi uZil obis gamo quCebSi vard ebodnen. as ormocdaaTi j ariskaci Tbil isi dan Camoiyvanes.-

Cems mier motanil i faqtebi imis naTel i dadasturebaa, rom aj anyebis samxedro gegmis gamcemTa `damsaxurebi dangamomdinare, saqarTvel os gasabWoebul i xel isufl eba saqmis kursSi iyo da mosal odnel i antisabWouri aj anyebis sawi naaRmdego qmedebis gansaxorciel ebl ad safuZvl ianad emzadeboda. meore mxriv, aj anyebis zemoaRni Snul i gegmis xel Si CagdebiT, uSiSroebis TanamSroml ebma, srul iad kavkasi is masStabiT, antibol Sevikuri centrebis urTierT damakavSirebel i xazis daufl ebas miaRwies. am warmatebul ma svl am, aRni Snul organizacias, antsabWourad moqmedi yvel a saeWvo wertil is winaswari amoSanTvis SesaZl ebl oba misca. paral el urad, wiTel qarTul j arSi mosamsaxure qarTvel oficrebze masobrivi Seteva ganaxorciel a. mxedvel obaSi maqvs maTi dpatimreba da samsaxuridan daTxovna. momxdari faqtiT, SeiaraRebul i aj anyebis organizaciu l ad dawyebis saZirkvel i winaswarve iqna dangreul i.

zemoaRni Snul is gaTval iswinebi dan gamomdinare, 1924 wl is agvistoSi qaoturi formiT dawyebul i aj anyeba damarcxebi-sTvis iyo ganwirul i, radgan: 1)aj anyebis pirvel i samxedro gegmiT gaTval iswinebul i moTxovnebis (ruseTis Sidasaxel m-wifoibrivi mdgomareoba, saerTaSoriso pirobebi, aj anyebul ebisaTvis ful is, iaraRis da sursaTis miRebis winaswari garantiabis ararseboba) Seusrul ebl obis miuxedavad daiwyo; 2)rogorc zemoTac mqonda aRni Snul i, uSi Sroebam maTi moqmedebis yovel i nabiji icoda. momxdari faqtiT, sabWoTa xel isufl ebas adre Cafiqrebul i ganazraxis_ urCi intel igenciisa da arakomunisturi sazogadoebriv- pol itikuri azris mimdevarTa srul i ganadgurebis dawyebis SesaZl ebl oba misca. dRemde gamoqveynebul samecniero SromebSi da Cems mier mopovebul i axal i saarqivo masal ebiTac dasturdeba farTomasStabiani sadamsj el o RonisZebis mZime Sedegebi, roml ebmac grigal iviT gadauara saqarTvel os. sabWoTa xel isufl ebis mesveurTa mizans, erovnul i cnobierebisa da qveynis damouki debl obis aRdgenaze meocnebe adami anebis fizikuri da fsiqol ogiuri ganadgureba warmo adgenda. am mimarTul ebiT, qveynis uSi Sroebis Sesabamis uwyebas, Cafiqrebul i miznis srul ad gansaxorciel ebel i meTodebi qonda damuSavebul i. farTomasStabiani represiebis erT- erTi safexuri, antisabWouri pol itikuri partiebis ganadgurebas iTval iswinebda. am mxriv, pirvel i umZimesi dartya iatakveSeTSi moqmedma social - demokratiul ma partiam miRo. paral el urad brZol a sxva pol itikuri partiebisa da upartioebis winaaRmdegac mi mdinareobda. farTod amuSavda `dasmenis instituti,- ramac adami anTa axal i sicocxl e Seiwira. miuxedavad amisa, 1924 wl is aj anyebis avanturad gamocxadeba, xol o misi meTaurebis eqstremistebad da avanturistebad `monaTvl a,- samSobl oze uzomod Seyvarebul i gmi rebis xsovni sadmi upativcemul obas warmo adgens. 1924 wl is aj anyebam im periodis sabWouri da evropul i zonis sferoSi myof intel eqtual urad moazrovne da Tavisufl ebaze mofiqral erebs, gamokveTil i formiT ucvena: 1)sabWouri okupaciisa da monobis mZime uRl is miuxedavad, qarTvel i eri fizikurad ar daCaCanakebul a da gonebrivad ar daCl ungebul a, misi Sinagani cnobiereba, kiserze Tokgamobmul i morCil i saqonl is donemde ar dasul a; 2)1924 wl is aj anyebam, momaval Taobebs sabWour

imperiasTan ukompromiso brZol is pagrZel ebi sa da daumo-
rCil ebl obis xidi augo da anderZis saxiT amimarTul ebi T
svl a, qarTvel Ta modgmis gadarCenis pirvel xarixovan amo-
canad dausaxa; 3)1924 wl is aj anyebis gmirTa saxeebi, yvel a
epoqaSi qarTvel Ta gamofxizl ebis, mtrisadmi xmal SemarTul i
daxvedris da nebsmieri dampyrobels batonobisadmi daumo-
rCil ebl obis simbol os wadmoadgens. maTi aCrdil ebi erT-
xel ki dev Segvaxseneben Tu rogor unda gviyvardes Cveni
samSobl o.

rac Seexeba im udi des msxverpl s, romelic aj anyebas mohyva,
marTlac da ganuzomlad didi iyo. erTiram dabej iTebi T
Seizl eba iTqvas, 1924 wl is aj anyebasTan dakavSirebi T msxve-
rpl ad Sewiruli adami anebi, mtris winaaRmdeg xmal SemarTu-
ul i mebrZol ebis da samSobl osadmi TavSewirul ebis saxel -
iT wavidnen sasufevel Si da gmirebis saxel i dai mkvidres.
isini Tavisi Sinagani cnobierebidan da azrovnebidan gamomd-
inare, 1930- 1940 wl ebis represiebs mainc ver gadaurCebodnen
da usaxel od moxdeboda maTi ganadgureba. ise rogorc `ga-
wol is politiki s- momxreeps gaukeTes. es imas ni Snavs, rom
im monakveTSi qveyanaSi Seqmnil i politiki da ideol ogi-
uri atmosfero_ (sabWota xel isufl ebis mteri, burJuaziul i
qveynebis agenti, kapital izmis restavraciis mxardamWerebi
da a.S.) maTi xel Seuxebl obis aranair garantias ar izl eoda.
Cemi azrit, 1924 wl is aj anyebis Sefasebisas, aRni Snuli faq-
torebic unda iqnas gaTval iswinebuli.

Cems mier motanili dokumenturi masalis analizi, Semdegi
daskvnebis gakeTebis SesaZl ebl obas izl eva: 1)1921- 1922
wl ebis represiebi T Camkvdari aral egarul i antisabWouri
saqmianobis safexurebrivad gamosacocxl ebl ad, umkacresi
disciplinis, informaciis gasaidumloebis da konspiraciul
i muSeeobis formebis SemoReba, n.xomerikis diqtatorad,
eqstremistad da avantiuristad gamocxadebis safuZvel s
ar izl eva. sabWour provokaciaze arwamogebis Sesaxeb, so-
cial - demokratiul i partiis liderebis gan `samxedro cen-
tris- xel mZRvanel Ta mraval gzis gafrTxil eba, qveynis mosax-
leobisadmi axal i represiebis acil ebas iTval iswinebda;
2)saokupacio rejimis winaaRmdeg Seiararebul i aj anyebis
mosamzadebel i Ronisziebebi da moqmedebis taqtika, gamarTl -
ebul ad mxol od im SemTxvevaSi CaiTvl eboda, Tuki `samxedro

centris- mier mi Rebul i gadawyvetil ebebi, aj anyebis samxedro gegmi T gaTval iswinebul moTxovnebs daakmayofil ebda. mxedvel obaSi maqvs: a)aucqarebi oba, SeiaraRebul i gamosvl e- bis safuZvl iani momzadeba da ruseTSi Seqmnil i xel sayre- l i pol itikur- ekonomikuri situaciis maqsimal urad gaTva- l iswineba; b)srul iad kavkasiis masStabiT, qarTvel Ta mxar- damxar brZol is da erTobl ivi Zal ebiT sabWoTa ruseTisa- dmi dapi rispirebis safexuris momzadeba; g)evropis qveynebi- dan i araRiTa da ful iT daxmarebis garantiis Seqmna; 3)n.xo- merikisa da vj uRel is dasapatimrebl ad, erovnul - demokra- tiul i partiis zogierTi warmomadgenel isgan `Ceka-- s TanamSroml ebisadmi xel Sewyoba, aRni Snul i pirovnebebis pol itikuri sarbiel idan Camocil ebas da moqmedebis Tavi- sufal i sivrcis Seqmnas iTval iswinebda. SeiaraRebul i aj a- nyebis samxedro gegmis, amier kavkasiis sagangebo komisiisadmi gadagzavniT, erovnul - demokratiul i partiis zogierTi sul mokle adami anebisgan udi desi danaSaul i iqna Cadenil i. am qmedebiT, SeiaraRebul gamosvl ebs, araorgani zebul i, spontanuri saxemi eca da gar duval i damarcxebis winaswar i safexuri momzadda.

Shota Vadachkoria

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

Summary

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

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

damowmebul i wyaroebi da literatura

1. scsa. f. 2117. saq. 98. firc. 52
2. S.vadaWkoria. ori umniSvnel ovanesi dokumenti sabWoTa ruseTis saokupacio j arebi sagan kavkasi is ganTavi sufl ebis Sesaxeb. 1924 wl is agvistos erovnul i aj anyebis 90- e wl isTavi. parizi- Tbil isi. 2016. gv. 101- 127
3. g.ciciSvil i. simarTI e 1921- 1923 wl ebis erovnul i moZraobisa da mixeil j avaxiSvil is pol itikuri cxovrebis Sesaxeb. Tbil isi. 2003 w. gv. 185, 188
4. n.kirTaZe. 1924 wl is aj anyeba saqarTvel oSi. Tbil is 1996 w. gv. 285
5. I. j iqia. 1924 wl is aj anyeba dasavl eT saqarTvel oSi. Tbil isi. 2011 w. gv. 103- 104
6. n.kirTaZe. 1924 wl is aj anyeba saqarTvel oSi. Tbil is 1996 w. gv. 135- 138
7. g.ciciSvil i. simarTI e 1921- 1923 wl ebis erovnul i moZraobisa da mixeil j avaxiSvil is pol itikuri cxovrebis Sesaxeb. Tbil isi. 2003 w. gv. 234- 235
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16. scssa. f. 2117. saq. 295. furc. 4
17. S.vadaWkoria. pol itikur Zal Ta gaerTiane bis sakiTxi da qarTul i pol itikuri azri (1921 wl is april i- 1922 wl is marti). axal i da uaxl esi istoriis sakiTxebi. 2015 w. # 2. gv. 101- 147
18. scssa. f. 2117. saq. 181. furc. 4-5
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23. n.kirTaZe. 1924 wl is aj anyeba saqarTvel oSi. Tbil is 1996 w. gv. 242
24. m.xomeriki. pasuxad mixeil j avaxiSvil is biografefs. Tbil isi. 1996 w. gv. 18
25. scssa. f. 2117. saq. 295. furc. 4
26. S.vadaWkoria. ori umniSvnel ovanesi dokumenti sabWoTa ruseTis saokupacio j arebi sagan kavkasiis ganTavisufI ebis Sesaxeb. 1924 wl is agvistos erovnul i aj anyebis 90- e wl isTavi. parizi- Tbil isi. 2016. gv. 101- 127
27. g.ciciSvil i. simarTI e 1921- 1923 wl ebis erovnul i moZraobisa da mixeil j avaxiSvil is pol itikuri cxovrebis Sesaxeb. Tbil isi. 2003 w. gv. 190
28. S.vadaWkoria. pol itikur Zal Ta gaerTianebis sakiTxi da qarTul i pol itikuri azri (1921 wl is april i- 1922 wl is marti). axal i da uaxl esi istoriis sakiTxebi. 2015 w. # 2. gv. 101- 147
29. a.sonRul aSvil i. 1924 wl is agvisto saqarTvel oSi. ix. didgori. istoriul - samecniero- pol itikuri krebul i. Tbil isi. 1991 w. gv. 81
30. g.sul aZe. qarTul i antisabWoTa emigracia da specsamsaxurebi. Tbil isi. 2012 w. gv. 85- 86
31. n.kirTaZe. 1924 wl is aj anyeba saqarTvel oSi. Tbil is 1996 w. gv. 166
32. menSevikebi samuSaoze (m.kaxianis moxseneba arsenal is raionSi 8 seqtembers 1924 w.) Tbil isi. 1924 w. gv. 48

sul mokl e adami anebis mier, amier kavkasi is
sagangebo komisi isadmi gadagzavni l i
Sei araRebul i aj anyebis samxedro gegma.
(patimrobaSi myof val iko j uRel s, aq dabeWdii i
dokumentebi daudes win)

dokumentis # 1

samxedro moxseneba
srul iad saidumli o

rac dro gadis, miT ufro nadgurdeba da partaxdeba Cveni qveyana da Tu man ver SesZl o okupaci is mZime uRI is kisridan gadagdeba, saqarTvel o Sida ruseTis da TviT vol gis mxares daemsgavseba. Tu ki dev didxans gastana CvenSi bol Sevi kebis batonobam, qarTvel i xal xi gaRatakdeba ara mar to qonebri vad, aramed rac yvel aze saSiSia sul ieradac. igi dakargavs Tavisufi ebisaTvis brZol is unars da gayveba anarqi is damRupvel gzas. sabednierod j er aseTi sul ieri daknibebis da daSl is procesi saqarTvel oSi ar dawyebul a. piriqiT, Cveni xal xi TandaTan ikrebs Zal Rones, saomraT irazmeba, i brZvis ki devac, magram gansakuTrebiT ukanasknel SetevisaTvis emzadeba. erT wel ze meti grZel deba es brZol a Cveni xal xisa saokupacio rejimis winaarmdeg. am brZol aSi man amowura yvel a mSvidobiani saSual ebani da ukanasknel aT 26 maisis mSvidobian erovnul protests sayovel Tao demonstraciebis da gaficvis saxemisca. amis iqiT mSvidobian protests wasvla aRar SeuZlia, vinaidan mis Semdeg ukve iwyeba Sei araRebul i brZol a. amis ganmeorebac metad saSiSia, vinaidan am saxis erovnul i demonstraciebi did msxverpl s iTxoven da Tanac piri spir uaxl ovdebian Sei araRebul aj anyebas. yovel ive amas metad didi angariSi unda gaewios. es mdgomareoba srul iad obieqturad unda dafasdes da misgan Sesaferi daskvnebi gamovi yvanoT. es miT ufro saWi roa, rom am sul ieri simtkicis da aRmatebis xanas, aucil ebl ad Tan moyveba sawinaarmdego procesi sul ieri dacemisa, daSl isa da ui medobisa. Tuki Cvenma xal xma naTI ad ver dai naxa

Tavisufl ebis gza da Tu am gza ar Sesdga fexi, saqarTvel - os ganTavisufl ebis sakiTxi, rac dro gadis miT ufro mwv-aved, konkretul ad da radikal urad dgeba Cvens winaSe. magram rogoria es gzebi da saSual ebani am ganTavisufl ebisa? es gzebi sxvadasxvaa da TiToeul maTgans Tavisi fasi aqvs.

pirveli gza aris gza evropis daxmarebisa. martal ia, dRes gabatonebul i evropac mTl iani ar aris Tavis pol itikaSi ruseTisa da misi ganapira qveynebis mimarT, magram, Cven aq im evropas vgul isxmobT, romel ic ganuyofel i, Zl ier i da mil itaristul i ruseTis winaaemdegia. am evropas SeuZl ia daexmaros saqarTvel os dipl omatiuraT, pol itikuraT da material uraT. magram Cven windawinve unda vicodeT, rom am material ur daxmarebas ar SeuZl ia miIRI s samxedro Zal ebiT daxmarebis saxe, vinaidan dRes evropis sazogado- ebrivi da pol itikuri azri, samxedro intervenciis wina- aRmdegia. mxol od maSin aris SesaZl ebel i evropis aseTi intervencia, Tu TviT ruseTi omSi Caebmeba da Tu igi romel ime Tavis dasavl eTel mezobel s Tavs daeca. magram aseTi omis dawyeba imdenad amartivebs Cvens sakiTxs da iseT mtkice ni- adagze ayenebs saqarTvel os ganTavisufl ebis saqmes, rom Cven saWiroT ar migvaCnia maszed SeCereba. aq Cven gvainte- resebs ara es srul iad martivi, naTel i da udao SemTxveva Cveni ganTavisufl ebisa, aramed ufro rTul i, Znel i da ekl iani gza samSobl os Tavisufl ebisa, roca ruseTi did omSi Ca- bmul i ar iqneba da roca igi aseT omze droebiT mainc ua- rs ityvis. amnairaT gareSe samxedro intervenciisa, romel ic dRevandel pirobekSi SeuZl ebel ia, saqarTvel os SeuZl ia evropi sagan dipl omatiuri da pol itikuri daxmareba mi iRos. e.i. evropas SeuZl ia ar icnos saokupacio mTavroba da ama- sTanave mostxovos ruseTs saqarTvel odan Tavisi j arebis gayvana. magram, radganac ruseTis sakiTxi evropis saxel mwi- foebi ar arian SeTanxmebul i, radganac ingl isi swored bol Sevikebis saSual ebiT cdil obs baqos navTis xel Si Cagdebas da amasTanave mahmadianur osmal eTis sabol oot dasustebas, cxadia, evropa mTl ianad da kategoriul ad veRar mostxovs moskovs saqarTvel os ganTavisufl ebas. piriqiT mosal odnel ia, rom evropa, romel ic metad did kriziss ganicdis da romel sac surs gza gai kafos ruseTis bazrisken, am krizisis dasaZl evad da rusul i simdi dreebis xel T

Casagdebad, Seecdeba rai me kompromisi gamonaxos bol Sevi-
kebTan da am kompromi sze SeuTanxmdes bol Sevi kebs ruseTi s
eqspl oataciis sakiTxSi, da Tu mxedvel obaSi imasac mi vi RebT,
rom bol Sevi kebs gansakuTrebiT pol itikuri Zal aufl ebis
SenarCuneba ainteresebs da rom am mi znisaTvis isini udi des
ekonomiur avansebs miscemen evropis burJuazias, advil ad
SegviZl ia warmovidginoT, rom Tu mTl aT ara, evropis didi
nawil i mainc mourigdeba bol Sevikur ruseTs. amis maCvene-
bel i simptomebi Cven ukve genuaSi davinaxeT da momaval Si
es simptomebi kidev ufro gaZl ierdeba. mati gaZl iereba
TandaTan gaarTul ebs da gaaZnel ebs Cven brZol as damouki de-
bl obisaTvis. amitom, Cven di pl omatiur muSaobaze gadaWarbe-
bul i imedebi ar unda davamyarOT da mazed araviTari il u-
ziebi ar unda avagoT. Cven unda vi codeT, rom di pl omatiur ad
imazed metis mi Rweva, rasac genuaSi mi vaRwieT, metad Znel ia.
udidesi Cveni gamarj veba genuaSi ara axal i poziciis SeZenaSi
iyo, aramed Zvel i poziciebis SenarCunebaSi da ganmtki cebaSi.
momaval Si brZol aisev Zvel i poziciebis irgvl ivi warmoebs
da maTi dacvac TandaTan gaZnel deba. genuas CvenTvis is di-
di mniSvnel oba qonda, rom man gaarkvia evropis pozicia
Cvenamdi da gvamcno, rom saqarTvel os damouki debl oba Se-
esabameba evropis zogi saxel mwi foTa did interesebs. magram
amastanave genuam isic dagvmtki ca, rom evropis di pl omatia,
moskovs saqarTvel odan j arebs ver gaayvani nebs. es kargad
unda gvaxsovdes.

**II. meore gzaa muSaTa internacional is energiul i Careva
Cven saqmeebSi da misi daxmarebiT saqarTvel os
ganTavisufl eba.** es gza, metad sayuradReboa da Cven viciT,
rom evropis muSaTa kl asi gansakuTrebul i simpatiiT epyroba
Cven sakiTxs. magram, Cven isic viciT, rom moskovi evropis
muSaTa moTxovniT saqarTvel odan j ars ar gaiyvans da maT
saSual eba ar aqvs moskovs es aiZul on. srul iad naTl ad
es dagvmtki ca berl ini s konferenciam da cxraTa komisiis
daSl am.

**III. mesame gza saqarTvel os ganTavisufl ebisa aris TviT
kreml is dacema.** magram es gzac, iseve rogorc bol Sevi kebis
didi omSi Cabma, imdenad naTel i, udao da sanatreli ia, rom
misi ganxil vac zedmetad migvaCnia. cxadia, rom kreml is
dacema maSi nve saqarTvel os aRdgenas gamoiwvevs! amnai raT,

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

IV. meoTxe gza es aris sakuTari erovnul i Zal ebis srul i darazmvisa, mezobl ebTan mtkice kavSi ris gaWedvisa da sayovel Tao SeiaraRebul i aj anyebi sa. es aris metad mZime da Znel i gza xal xis ganTavisufl ebisa, magram amasTanave yvel aze ufro real uri, vinai dan yovel Tvis TviT eri da misi Seurigebel i brZol aa mTavari mWedel i erovnul i Tavisufl ebisa. amasTanave isic aris aRsani Snavia, rom burJua-ziul i da prol etarul i evropis simpaTiac Cvenamdi miT ufro aqtiur xasiaTs miRebs, rac ufro Tavdadebul adibrZol ebs saqarTvel o. magram Cven ukve vsTqviT, rom saqarTvel om savsebiT amowura mSvidobiani brZol is yvel a saSual ebani. mas darCenia mxol od ukiduresi da umZimesi forma ganTavisufl ebisaTvis brZol isa_ sayovel Tao SeiaraRebul i aj anyeba. es aris ukiduresi da ukanasknel i saSual eba. mi sTvis mi marTva SeuZl ia mxol od gaTviTcnobierebul ers, romel sac Segnebul i aqvs Tavisi interesebi, romel ic ganmar toebul i ar aris, romel sac yvel aferi windawinve gaTval iswinebul i aqvs da romel sac swams gamarj veba. vinai dan Tu aj anyeba damarcxda, bol Sevicebi mas sisxl is morevSi CaaRrCoben da ers mokl aven. es Cven yovel Tvis kargad unda gvaxsovdes da aj anyebis sakiTxis ganxil vis dros ar unda davkmayofil deT mar to saqarTvel os viwro fargl ebiT, aramed mxedvel obaSi unda mi viRoT rogorc ruseTis saerTo mdgomareoba, ise evropis Cvendami damokidebul eba. am ukanasknel ebze Cven qveviT SevCerdebiT da aq ki mowi naaRmdege Zal ebis SedarebiTi daxasiaTebiT daviwyebT, vinai dan TviT aj anyebis bedis gadaWraSi udidesi mniSvnel oba mebrZol SeiaraRebul Zal ebs eZl eva.

TviT bol Sevicebis sauwebo moxsenebi dan Cans, rom 1922 wl is pirvel i martisaTvis `okaSi- (kavkasi is sagangebo armia), romel sac kavkasi is oTxive respubl ikis teritoria upyria, _ j avSnian matarebl ebis da sxva wvri l `komandebis- gamokl e- biT da sagangebo nawil ebis darTviT iTvl eboda:

- 1) `komsastavi ~_ 3330 } 39960
- 2) wiTel i armiel ebi_ 36630
- 3) tyviis mfrqvevl ebi_ 534
- 4) zarbaznebi_ 104 (baTumis sacixovno artil eriis gamokl ebiT) aqedan mar to saqarTvel oSi iyo:
- 1) `komsastavi ~_ 2100 } 22439
- 2) wiTel i armiel ebi_ 20339
- 3) tyviis mfrqvevl i_ 274
- 4) zarbaznebi_ 64

Tu mxedvel obaSi miviRebT, rom imave cnobiT `okaSi- mxo- l od 31 aTasi Tofi iTvl eba, rom am ricxvidan 20 %- mde uvargisia da agreTve imas, rom faqtiurad nawil ebis Semadgenl oba yovel Tvis formal ur ricxvze ufro sustia, Cven SegviZl ia Tamamad vsTqvaT, rom aRniSnul i cifrebi maqsimal uria da rom sinamdvil eSi `okas- Semadgenl oba ufro sustia. magram radganac Cven agreTve viciT, rom ukeTesia mterze meti warmodgena gqondes, Cven amitom mtros Zal as aRar SevamcirebT da Cvens angariSebSi am maqsimal uri cifrebiT vixel mZRvanel ebT.

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

TviT saqarTvel oSi rusul i wiTel i j arebi ase arian ganawil ebul i: 1)Tbil isi_ 9000; 2)baTumi_ 4000; 3)quTaisi_ 3000; 4)I ore_ 3000; 5)sxva adgil ebi_ 3000. kavkasiis danarCen sam republ ikaTa Soris `okas- nawil ebi ase arian ganawil ebul i: 1)azerbaij anSi_ 8000, 2)daRestanSi da nawil obriv Tergis ol qSi_ 6000; 3)somxeTSi_ 4000.

ra Zal ebis gamoyvana SeuZl ia kavkasiis oTxive republ ikas `okas- winaaRmdog? Cven aq umTavresad SegviZl ia mebrZol saqarTvel oze vil aparakoT, vinaidan misi Zal ebis Sesaxeb srul iad utyuari da dasabuTebul i cnobebi gvaqvs. magram Tu mxedvel obaSi miviRebT zogierT nawyvet cnobebs da agreTve axl o warsul is istorias, romel ic mraval sayura- dRebo sabuTs iZl eba, Cven SesaZl ebl oba gveZl eba danarCen sam republ ikaTa mebrZol Zal ebzedac cotad Tu bevrad swori Sexedul eba viqoni oT.

antibol Sevikur mebrZol saqarTvel os exl axan TofqveS

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

vimeoreb, es aris real uri, yovl ad saimedo da ukve mowesrigebul i SeiaraRebul i Zal ebi. gansakuTrebul i yuradRebis Rirsia aq aRniSnul i mesame rigis Zal ebi, roml ebic eyrdnobian Zvel i gvardiis organizacias da roml nic am Jamad saqarTvel os yvel a rCeul mebrZol ebs aerTebis. es organizacia faravs mTel saqarTvel os, yvel a kutxeSi mas yavs Tavisi mtkice razmebi, roml ebic ara nakl eboci didi batal ionisa Seadgenen da roml ebsac ramdenime dReSi SeuZl iaT erTi- oraT gamravl eba. danarCen sam respublikaTapi rvel i rigis Zal ebi, roml ebsac aj anyebaSi Tavidanve SeuZl iaT monawil eobis miReba, daaxl oebi TaseTia:

I. azerbaijani: azerbaijani wiTel i I aSqari da sxva adgil obrivi razmebidan_ 5000; 2) sakuTari Zal ebi, roml ebic pirvel daZaxebisTanave gamovlen_ 8000. sul 13000

II. somxeti: 1) somxetis wiTel i I aSqari da sxva razmebidan_ 6000; 2) farul i samxedro organizacia_ 10000. sul _ 16000.

III. mTa: 1) sakuTari pirvel i dakvris Zal ebi_ 4000

maSasadame, oTxive respublikas pirvel i dakvrisTanave SeuZl ia gamoiyvanos 55 aTasamde SeiaraRebul i meamboxe. TumcaRa, es ricxvi srul i ad ar aris gadaWarbebul i da sawiro Jams oTxive respublikamet Zal ebs gamoiyvans, magram Cven mainc umj obesad migvaCnia ar gadavaWarboT sakuTari Cveni Zal ebi da amitom Cveni pirvel i rigis saerto Zal ebis ufrocudi SemTxvevisaTvis 50000 kacs vi angari SebT.

amnairaT, `okas- 40000 mebrZol s pirvel i dakvrisTanave dapiri spirdeba 50000 meamboxe da am dapiri spirebaSi yvel afris gadamwyveti swored es pirvel i dakvra iqneba. Tu igi gamarjvebi TdamTavrda da Tu oka Tavidanve damarcxda, kavkasiis respublikebi, martolim i araRis saSual ebiT, roml ebsac ganTavisuflebul teritoriaze SeiZenen, or kviraSi SesZl eben 100000_ mde gawvrTnil i da mowesrigebul i jaris gamoyvanas. amjarebis saSual ebiT ki Cven SevZl ebT mtkice mogeriebiTi omis warmoebas, sanam ucxoeti dan sakmao i araRs ar mi vi rebT da sanam raime axal i mZl avri faqtori ar Caereva Cveni Tavdacvis saqmeSi.

maSasadame, aq mTavari mni Svel oba eZl eva ara imas, Tu ra mogvi va Cven Tugin dbrwyinval e aj anyebis meore dRes, roca ruseTi Zal - Rones moikrebs da axal Setevas daiwyebis, aramed imas, rom TviT es pirvel i dakvra brwyinval e gamarj vebi T damTavrdes da Cven Tavidanve SevZl oT `okas- gani araReba. ami tom uwinares yovl isa, Cven am SesaZl ebl obas ganvixil avT.

rogorc vTqviT `okas- mTavari Zal ebi saqarTvel oSia moTavsebul i da TviT saqarTvel oSi mobinadre j arebis rCeul i da saimedo nawil i (kursantebi, komunisturi razmebi, `Cekas-pol kebi da sx.) Tbil issi myofeba. Tbil issive arian xel mZRvanel i Stabebi da mTavari central uri organoebi. ami tom, Tamamad gveTqmis, rom saqarTvel os teritoriaze mobinadre `okas- nawil ebis gani araReba iqneba igive `okas- srul i damarcxeba, vinda danarCen respublikebs aRar gauZnel debaT maT teritoriaze mdgomi mtris mcirericxovani j arebis damorcil eba. kidev meti, marto Tbil isis aReba, iq mdgomi rusis j aris gani araReba, sovnarkomebis, Stabebis da `Cekebis-datyveveba, ukve iqneboda aj anyebis amerkavkasiis masStabiT gamarj veba. amas Zal ian kargad grZnobs mteri da swored ami tom igi gansakuTrebul yuradRebas aqcevs Tbil iss da didis si frTxil iT daraj obs mas. CvenC Sesaferi angariSi unda gavuwi oT am faqts da ise unda vawarmooT Cveni samxedro samzadisi, rom mis centrSi yovel Tvis Tbil isi idges, rom aj anyebis dawyebisTanave SevZl oT am mTavari centr is xel Si Cagdeba. magram SesaZl ebel ia Tu ara es? amaze pasuxs ise v mowinaaRmdege Zal ebis Seswavl a mogvcems.

rogorc vTqviT, Tbil issi dabinavebul ia 9000- mde rusul i j ari, roml is ricxvSi Sedian yvel a sagangebo da cal ke razmebi. aRniSnul i ricxvidan srul iad saimedo da sakmaod mowesrigebul i arian kursantebi, (roml is mTavari nawil i dRes guriasia) da `Cekas-pol kebi, daaxl oebiT 6000- mde mebrZol i. TviT es nawil ebi erTadar arian da Tbil isis sxvadasxva kuTxeebSi arian moTavsebul i. mebrZol saqarTvel os ki imave Tbil issi yavs: 1) qarTul i witeli l aSqari_2000; 2) rkinis gzis da qal aqis mil icia_1000, 3) sakuTari samxedro organizacia_1500. sul 4500 kaci.

amas unda daerTos is garemoeba, rom Tbil iss Tan akravs gare kaxeTi, duSetis mazra, borCal o da mangl isis raioni, roml ebsac SeuZl iaT 24 saatSi Tbil iss yovel mxriv Semo-

artyan 5000 meamboxe. Tu aj anyebas mtkice organizacia eqneba, Tu igi savsebiT gaTval iswinebul iqna da Tu TviT aj anyebul Tbilisis Zal ebs droze da mwyobrad davaxmareT aj anyebul Ta gareSe Zal ebi, Tbilisis aReba Zal ian gaadvil deba. dasarul, Tu mxedvel obaSi mi vi RebT TviT aj anyebis fsiqol ogias, rom mis beds swyvets umTavresad ara meamboxeTa ricxvi, aramed maTi organizaciul i da sul ieri simtkice, Tbilisis aReba srul iad saimedo saqmed CaiTvl eba.

marTalia, bol Sevikების ZI iereba imaSia, rom maT mowesrigebul i, erTad Sej gufebul i da SeekavSirebul i samxedronawil ebi yavT, romel Ta xel Sia zogierTi teqniki saSual ebani, magram, Tu TviT aj anyebas aqvs mtkice da medgari organizacia, sul advil ad SeiZl eba bol Sevikების aRni Snul i ZI ierebis maTive sisusteT gadaqceva. amisaTvis sakmarisia xel mZRvanel i organoebis winaswari dapaTimreba, zogierTi saidumlo nawil is pirvel rigSi ganiaraReba da zogi teqniki saSual ebebis Tavidanve xel Si Cagdeba. magram, umTavresis sisuste bol Sevikებისa da ZI iereba aj anyebis imaSi iqneba, rom bol Sevikები Tavidanve mtris qveyanaSi igrZnoben Tavs, rom maT saqarTvel oSi arsad eyol ebaT araviTari dasayrdeni sazogadoebrivi Zala da Cven kargad viciT am cecxl is ZI iereba, Tuki igi xal xis gul Sia anTebul i, Tuki mas mTel i eris mtkice da Seuryevel i gadawyvetil eba asazrdoeb. da swored am mxriv Cven yvel aze ufro damSvid ebul i da srul imediani varT.

Cven Tavidanve unda vicodeT, rom am sayovel Tao ganmaTavisuflebel i aj anyebis mowyoba, iniciativa da xel mZRvanel oba umTavresad saqarTvel om unda ikisros, vinaidan mTel s kavkasiaSi mxol od saqarTvel os aqvs amis fizikuri da moral uri SesaZl ebl oba. dRes kavkasiis yvel a nawil ebSi metad maRl a sdgas saqarTvel os saxeli, mTel i kavkasia umTavresad saqarTvel os misCerebia da amitom, mxol od mas SeuZl ia SeaTanxmos da erTad darazmos kavkasiis is anti bol Sevikuri Zal ebi, roml ebic xSi rad dResac ararian SeTanxmebul ni da roml ebic cal - cal keibrZvian. magram Cven is ic kargad unda vicodeT, rom am kidev SeuTanxmebel i Zal ebis dasarazmavad da Semdeg TviT aj anyebis gamarj vebiT dasamTavreblad, saqarTvel os dasWirdeba udidesi qonebrivi da fizikuri msxverpl is gaReba da Cven srul iad Segnebul ad

unda gavi RoT es mxverpl i, vinda n umi sod kavkasi is fexze dayeneba SeuZl ebel ia. mowesrigebul i da srul iad real uri Zal ebi, j er mxol od saqarTvel os yavs. sxva respubl ikebs, gansakuTrebiT ki mTas da azerbaij ans, am Zal ebi s udi desi potencia aqvT da maTi Zl ieri potencial uri Zal ebi, mxol od maSin mi iReben real ur saxeobas, Tu saqarTvel om aqtiuraT Caeria maT organizaciaSi da maTi darazmva Tavis sakuTar saqmed gai xada.

aseTia kavkasi is respubl ikaTa momaval i aj anyebis, saerTo pirobebi. Cven ufro dawvri l ebiT aRar SevCerdiT yovel ive aj anyebis aucil ebel pirobebze_xal xis masiur sul iskve-Tebaze, vinda n Cven srul iad utyuari cnobe bi gvaqvs imisa, rom mTel i xal xi srul iad winaaRmdegia bol Sevi kebi sa ara mar to saqarTvel oSi, aramed yvel a danarCen respubl ikebiSi ac. iqneb raime iWvi am mxriv somxeTze Segveparos, magram es iWvi mxol od imaze iqneba damyarebul i, rom somxeTis xal xi iqamdis ver auj anydeba bol Sevi kebs, sanam mas mtkice garantia ar eqneba imisa, rom mas xel axl a osmal eTi zurgSi satevars ar Cascem s. magram es aris ara mar to somxeTis sakiTxi, aramed es aris Cveni saerTo safrTxe, vinda n ver avi Tar aj anyebas ver daviwyebT, Tu Cven winaswar osmal eTidan Cveni zurgi ar uzrunvel vyaviT, Tu gind osmal eTis nei tral itetis saxiT. da Tu osmal eTis mxridan dazRveul i viqnebiT, kavkasi is respubl ikebs srul iad SeswevT fizikuri da sul i-eri Zal a imisTvis, rom imaTma SesZl on Tavis kisridan moskovis okupaci is gadagdeba. magram, sworeT aq dgeba is metad didi sakiTxi, romel sac mebrZol i saqarTvel o gviyenebs da romel ic SemdegSi gamoixateba: ras vizamT Tu gind gamarj vebul i aj anyebis meore dRes? vin iqneba Cveni damxmare, roca moskovi ruseTidan axal j arebs mogvasevs? es friad mniSvnel ovani sakiTxi a da, rasakvi rvel ia mas gansakuTrebul i yuradRebi T unda moveqceT.

Cven ukve vsTqvi T, rom aj anyebis samzadi si s da mi si per speqtivebi s gaTval i swinebi s dros, unda vi xel mZRvanel oT ara mar to ami er kavkasi is viwro masStabi T, aramed amasTanave seriozul i angariSi unda gavuwi oT erTi mxriv saerTaSoriso situacias da meoreTi TviT ruseTis Si naur mdgomareobas. Tu saerTaSoriso urTierToba Cvens winaaRmdeg moewyo da amasTanave bol Sevi kebi Tvi T ruseTSi ganmtki cden, cxadia,

amierkavkasiis aj anyeba miutevebel avanturad CaiTvl eba. magram, Cvenda sabedni erod, Cven vxedavT, rom faqtiurad Tanamedrove ruseTis ukiduresi ekonomiuri krizisi TandaTan Rrmavdeba da amisdami xedviT, gansakuTrebiT periferiebi sustdeba bol Sevikების xel isufli eba. amasTanave Cven viciT, rom safrangeTi da mcire antanta pol oneTianad bol Sevikuri da militaristuli ruseTis winaarmdegia. es winaarmdegoba sruliad ar aris SemTxveviTi, radganac igi dida xangrZli v interesebzea damyarebuli. dRes safrangeTia xmel eTis uzli eresi saxel mwi fo. es misi Zli iereba Tavis nawil Si eyrdnoba mcire antantas da pol oneTs, roml ebi cTviT aRmocendnen sami imperiis nangrevezze. ruseT- gegmaniis daaxloeba da maTi gaZli iereba niSnavs mcire antantis da pol oneTis dasustebas. amnairaT, msofi io omis evropam Seqmna sruliad axali da metad Zli ieri interesebi, roml ebi Tac Tanamedrove ruseTis winaarmdegia da romelic damoukidebl obisatvis mebrZol kavkasiis mxarezea. maSasadame Tanamedrove saerTasoris asparezze ukve moipoveba iseTi realuri Zal ebi, roml ebi c obieqturad arian dainteresebuli kavkasiis damoukidebl obis ardgenaSi. Tu amas daumatebt agreTve imas, rom evropis sazogadoebrivi azri da gansakuTrebiT ki muSataklasis mxurval e simpatia, mebrZoli saqarTvelos da kavkasiis mxarezea, TamamaT gveTqmis, rom Cveni momaval i aj anyeba metad xel sayrel pirobebSi moxdeba.

aRsani Snavia, rom saqarTvelosi yofnis dros, Cven ufro ganmar toebuli viyaviT, vidre dRes. exla Cven ufro gvicnoben, met yuradRebas gvaqceven da met interesti Cenen Cvendami. magram, miuxedavad yovelive amisa, Cven im dromde ver avRmarTavT aj anyebis drosas, sanam zogierT sruliad realur dapi rebes ar miviRebT da sanam faqtiurad uzrunveli yofili ar viqnebiT osmal eTidan. es dapi rebebi unda gamoixatebodes mxolod Tavis droze iaraRis mowodebaSi da sexis mocemaSi. Cven ar gvinda ucxoeli damxmarejarebi, Cven arc exlave moviTxovT iaraRs mebrZoli saqarTvelostvis. Cven mxolod gvinda darwmunebuli viyot imaSi, rom bol Sevikების gadagdebisTanave Cven miviRebT sakmao iaraRs, raTa dauyovnebliv SevqmnaT ganTavisuflebul respublikaTa damcveli jarebi da agreTve SeviZinoT is sanovage, roml iTac jarebs SevinaxavT. Tu am mxrit Cven gveqna sruliad realuri

garantiebi, maSin uSiSraT daviwyebT aj anyebas da ki devac gavi marj vebT. sqematuraT TviT aj anyeba Cven ase gvaqvs warmodgenil i:

II

SeZl ebisamebr aj anyeba yvel a respubl ikebsi erTsa da imave dros unda daiwyos. aj anyebis iniciatori, misi mTavari momwyobi, xel mZRvanel i da gadamwyveti faqtori saqarTvel o iqneba. Tu mTI ad ara, nawil obriv mainc aj anyeba yubansac moedeba. aj anyebis centri da misi uaxl oesi mizani Tbil isi iqneba. Tbil isis Semdeg mTavari mniSvnel oba baqos, baTums, quTai ss, ganj as da erevans eZl eva. am centrebis xel Si Cagdeba, ukve iqneba aj anyebis amierkavkasiis masStabiT gamarj veba. xol o gamarj vebul i aj anyeba ki mogvcems sakmaris iaraRs Zl ieri jaris SesaiaraRebl ad Semdegi angariSiT: 1)ukve exl a oTxive respubl ikis xel Si 50000 Tofamdea; 2)`okas-nawil ebis ganiaraRebis da yvel a sawyobebis xel Si Cagdebis Semdeg, Cven SeviZenT ara nakl eb 60000 Tofs.

amnairaT, gamarj vebul i aj anyebis meore dResve Cven gankargul ebaSi iqneba 100000- ze meti Tofi. amas unda daematos 700- mde tyviismfrqvevel i, 100- ze meti zarbazani, ramodenime j avSniani matarebel i da avtomobil i da ara nakl eb 20 milioni vazna. yvel a am iaraRis saSual ebiT Cven advil ad SevZl ebT 2- 3 kviris ganmavl obaSi sakmaod Zl ieri j arebi SevaiaraRoT da yovel nairaT movawyoT. es miT ufro advil i iqneba, rom TiTqmis yvel a respubl ikebs exl ac yavT adgil obrivi wiTel i j arebi, roml ebi c antibol Sevikurad arian ganwyobil ni da romel Ta organizaciebi aj anyebisTanave gada-iqcevi an im samxedro ConCxebaT, roml ebsac adre SeesxmebaT nacional uri j arebis sisxl i da xorci. rasakvirvel ia, am axal i j arebis Seqmna- mowesrigebaSi ac mTavari rol i saqarTvel om unda iTamaSos, radganac mas yvel aze ufro Senaxul i samxedro organizaciebi aqvs, rogorc regul arul i jarisa ise gvardi isa da mas mraval i oficroba yavs. amnairaT, saqarTvel os udidesi mniSvnel oba eqneba aj anyebis mosawyobi winaswari muSaobis dros. radgan: 1)mas mouxdeba Tavis saukeTeso organizatorebis da saWi ro ful is mezobl ebSi gagzavna. 2)aj anyebis dros, mTavari simZimis aReba mas sakuTriv

daWirdeba. mezobl ebis mxneobis gasamtkicebl ad, masve mo-
uxdeba Tavisi oficrebis da rCeul i nawil ebis mezobl ebSi
wargzavna. aseT pirobebSi axl ad da saswrafod Seqmnil
100 aTasiani j aris saSual ebiTac kavkasiis respubl ikebi
SeZl eben mtkice da imediani Tavdacvis mowyobas. es kidev
ufro gaadvil ebda, Tu aj anyeba Savi zRvis ol qs, yubans da
nawil obriv ukrainasac moedo. Tumca am SesaZl ebl obebis
zogierTi real uri simptomebi Cven dResac gvaqvs. Cven mainc
ar gvinda gavarTul oT Cveni angariSi odnav probl ematuri
mosazrebiT da srulis rwmeniT vambobT, rom moxerxebul
dros marto amierkavkasiis SeTanxmehul i da sayovel Tao
aj anyebac srul iad sakmarisia Cveni ganTavisufli ebisatvis.
am SemTxvevisTvis Savi zRvis ol qs, sadac aj anyeba aucil e-
bel ia, Cven amierkavkasi as vakuTvnebt.

aj anyebul i da ganTavisufli ebul i kavkasiis respubl ikaTa
winaaRmdeg moskovs dasWirdeba ramdenime armiis ricxviT
ara nakl eb 200000 kacis dagroveba. es armiebi man an Sida
ruseidan unda gadmoiyanos, anda unda moxsnas dasavl eTis
frontidan, radganac ufro axl os mas arsad yavs sakmao
Tavisufali Zal ebi. magram Tu Cven mxedvel obaSi miviRebT
ruseTis transportis ukidures daqveitebas da agreTve ima-
sac gaviTval iswinebt, rom am vrceli masStabiT 200 aTasi
jariskacis da misi sanovage- mowyobil obis gadasatanaT
saWiro iqneba ara nakl eb 600 matarebl isa, Cven advil ad
davrwmundebiT, rom am jaris dasagrovebl ad da mis mier
gamosaval i mdgomareobis (isxodnoe pol oJenie) dasakavebl aT
saWiro iqneba sul ukanasknel i 6 kviris vada. da swored am
Tvenaxebris ganmavl obaSi oTxive ganTavisufli ebul ma res-
publ ikebma fexze unda daayenon yvel a Tavisi samxedro Za-
l ebi, unda amowuron mTel i Tavisi aqtiuroba da ucxoeti dan
unda miiRon saWiro iaraRi da ful i axal i j arebis gamosa-
wvevaT, mosawyobaT da SesanaxavaT. yvel a am zomebis miRebis
Semdeg oTxive respubl ika SeZl ebs Semdegi Zal ebis gamo-
yanas: **1)saqarTvel** o_ 15 wl is mobil izaciiT da TiTo wel Si
ukanasknel i 8 aTasi_ 120000; **2)somxeTi**_ 15 wl is mobil izaciiT
da TiTo wel Si 4 aTasi_ 60000; **3)azerbaijani**_ 15 wl is mobil i-
zaciiT da TiTo wel Si_ 30000; **4)mTa**_ 15 wl is mobil izaciiT
da TiTo wel Si_ 10000. sul _ 220000.

amnairaT, mxol od 15 wl is mobil izaciiis saSual ebiT oTxive

respubl ikebs SeuZl ia TofqveS daayenon aranakl eb 220000 mebrZol i. es ricxvi gadaWarbebul ad ar unda Caitval os, radganac, Cven mxol od 15 samobil izacio wel i gaviTval i-swineT da TiToeul i wl i sTvisac metad mcire saSual o ricxvi avi ReT. magram Cven 20 %- s mainc gamovakl ebT mi Rebul saerTo ricxvsac, raTa srul ad gaduWarbebel i cifrebi mi-viRoT. am 20 %- is gamokl ebis Semdeg Cven dagvrCeba 180000 meomramde, romel Ta saSual ebi Tac amierkavkasi am unda awar-moos Tavis Tavdacva. am Zal ebiT Tavis dacva miT ufro SesaZl ebel i da advil ia, rom mters mxol od ramdenime Semosatevi mimarTul eba eqneba, rom mas umTavresad sagareo saoperacio xazebiT daWirdeba sargebl oba da Cven ki mometebul ad Sinagani saoperacio mimarTul ebebi gveqneba. Tu mxedvel obaSi mi vi RebT imas, rom mtris mTavari mimarTul ebebi iqneba derbenti, darial i da gagra, Cveni Zal ebis ganawil eba ase mogvi xdeba: 1)derbentis Wi Skris da saerTod daRestnis dasacavaT_ 50000; 2)Savi zRvis napirebis gasamagrebl ad_ 20000; 3)darial is xeobisaTvis_ 10000; 4)mamisonis uRel texil isaTvis_ 50000; 5)Crdil oeTis sxva gadasavl el ebis dasakavebl ad_ 10000; 6)samxreTis sazRvrebis uzrunvel sayofad_ 30000; sul _ 125 000.

amis Semdeg, Cvens gankargul ebaSi darCeba 55000- mde j a-riskaci, romel ic saerTo rezervs Seadgens da roml is daZvra saWir oebisamebr yovel mxriv SegveZl eba. Cven aq Segnebul ad ar gamogviyvia cal ke j ari Sinauri wesrigis dasacavad da sxva da sxva mniSvnel ovani samsaxuris Sesasrul ebl ad, radganac amas Cinebul ad Seasrul ebs moxal iseTa cal ke razmebi da amiT uzrunvel yofs j aris nawil ebis zedmeti dabandebisagan. aseT pi robebSi Cven SevZl ebT xangrZl ivi Tavdacva vawarmovoT da am xnis ganmavl obaSi dainteresebul i evropama Tu im saxiT Caereva Cven brZol aSi da SeaCerebs bol Sevi kebis Semotevas.

aseTia mokl ed da sqematurad Cveni ganTavisufl ebis perspeqtivebi. Cveni azriT, umTavresi faqtori am ganTavisufl ebisa aris kavkasiis respubl ikaTa sayovel Tao Seiar aRebul i aj anyeba. magram aq xel axl a xazgasmi T unda gavimeoro, rom TviT aseTi sayovel Tao aj anyeba mxol od im SemTxvevaSi a SesaZl ebel i Tu osmal eTi aj anyebul respubl ikebs zurgidan ar daeca da amiT TavSive ar moguda aj anyeba. amnairaT, os-

mal eTis neitral izacias kavkasiis ganTavisufI ebisaTvis udidesi mniSvnel oba aqvs, xol o TviT es neitral izacia, ori pirobiT aris SesaZI ebel i: Tu osmal eTma gareSe bol Sevikebisa iSova saWiRo iaraRis wyaro da Tu somxeTma Tavidanve ar wamouyena didi pretenziebi osmal eTis somxeTis teritoriaze. amitom, am sakiTxebis irgvl iv Cven udidesi muSaoba gvmarTebS da osmal eTis neitral obis Tavdebi romel ime ZI ieri evropel i saxel mwifo unda gaxdes. aseT pirobebSi kavkasiis SeTanxmebul i da erTdroul i aj anyeba srul iad real ur saqmed xdeba. amastan erTad Cven udi desi angariSi unda gavuwioT drosa da da vadas aj anyebisas. es imas ar niSnavs, rom Cven exl ave unda davni SnoT saaTi da dRe aj anyebisa. magram Cven savsebiT unda SevignoT, rom Tu ki dev didxans gagrZel da arsebul i mdgomareoba, Cveni poziciebi aramc Tu gamtkicdebi an, aramed Zal ze Sesustdebi an da TviT ganTavisufI ebis saqme Soreul i momavl is burusSi Cai kargeba. amastanave dabedSavebul i Cveni xal xis moTminebis fial ac aivseba, misi gul iswyroma da dagrovebul i protesti yovel ive organizaciul fargl ebs gadal axavs, igi daiwyebS sakuTari gzebis Zebnas da anarqiis saSinel cecxl Si gadavardeba. amis saSisi da damafiqrebel i simptomebi Cven ukve gvaqvs. es simptomebi jer ver ZI ierdebi an da ver imarj veben, radganac qarTvel xal xs didi sazogadoebrivi da saorganizacio skol a aqvs gavl il i. magram, Tu droze ar miveciT imediani gamosaval i xal xis gul iswyromas da mtkice ndobas, xal xi Tavisas izams da anarqiis cecxl Si Caiwveba. bol Sevikuri maxvil i ki daasrul ebs mis ganadgurebas. es iqneboda eris sikvdil i da Cveni sakiTxis didi xniT dasamareba. amitom, Tumca Cven kargad viciT, rom gadamwyveti mniSvnel oba mebrZol Zal Ta obieqtur erTianobas aqvs, magram Cven arc is unda daviviwyoT, rom TavisufI ebisaTvis brZol aSi xal xis subieqtur sul iskveTebasac metad didi rol i ekuTvnis. da Tu Cven yvel afers miudgoml ad awwon- dawwoniT, Tu Tanabrad Seviswavl iT obieqtur da subieqtur pirobebs, unda vsTqvaT, rom dayovnebis dro aRar aris. Cven unda vaRiaroT, rom nawil i Cveni muSaobisa, ukve dasrul da da rom am mxriv Cven dRes ufro ZI ieri da uzrunvel yofil i varT, vidre guSin. 1) iuridiul ad Cveni pozicia ufro ganmtkicda da dipl o- matiuraT amaze metis gakeTebis imedi Cven aRar unda gvqondes;

2) ruseTis krizisi dRes ufro gaRrmavda da exl a bol Sevi-kebi faqtiurad ufro sustni arian, vidre genuis win; 3) Cven damouki debl obas evropis did interesebSi aqvs ni adagi da 4) Cven ukve mi vi ReT seriozul i dapireba i ara Ri T da ful iT daxmar ebi sa.

exl a mTavari muSaoba Tvi T oTxive respubl i kaTa gul Si unda gadavides da swored adgil obriv unda vamzad oT Sei ara Rebul i aj anyeba. mSvi dobiani mani festaciebis da protestebis xana damTavrda. exl a dagvrCa mxol od erTi saSual eba: protesti i ara Ri T, anu sayovel Tao Sei ara Rebul i aj anyeba. Cven aq am aj anyebis verc pl ans da misi drois fiqsacias movaxdenT. es gegma adgil obriv unda SemuSavdes da vadis fiqsaci ac iq moxdeba. aq Cven mxol od saerTo sqemis Sedgena da daaxl oebi Ti vadis Cvene ba Segvi ZI ia. saerTod unda iTqvas, rom aj anyebas ori saukeTeso dro aqvs_ Semodgoma da gazafxul i. Cven ufro xel sayrel ad Semodgoma mi gvaCni a da Cveni mosazreba aseTi a: I). ukve Sua seqtembri dan kavkasi is uRel texil ebs da Tovs da Semosatev gzebs an srul i ad daxuravs, an da gaaZnel ebs; II). Semodgomaze ruseTis rkini gzebs metad didi samuSao eqnebaT sazamTro momaragebi saTvis da eSel onebis masi uri gadazi dva bol Sevi kebi s momaragebis pl ans daabrkol ebs. III). Semodgomi s Sua xani dan xal xi yvel aze ufro Tavisufal ia da metis xal isi t gamova sabrZo- l vel ad; IV) Semodgomaze vol gas gayinavs da ami s gamo eSel onebis gadazi dvis mTel i simZime rkinis gzas daawveba.

ami tom, Cveni Rma rwmeni T, Cven yovel ive zomebi unda vi-xmar oT, raTa am 4- 5 TveSi mTel i samzadisi movaTavoT da Semdeg erTobaSi mZl avrad davartyaT. Tu Semodgomi T es samzadisi ver movaTaveT, aj anyebis ukanasknel i vada unda Cai Tval os momaval i gazafxul i da Tu verc maSin movawyveT es aj anyeba, cxadi iqneba, rom misi SeZl eba aRar gvaqvs, rom Cven sakuTar Zal ebze xel i unda avi RoT da istoriul i inerci is usicocxl o tal Rebs unda mi vend oT. es iqnebi da Cveni sikotris da srul i uZl urebis maCvenebel i.

sabednierod saqme srul i adac ar aris ase unugeSo. Cven SevecadeT gveCvenebina, rom Cvens ganTavisuf l ebas saerTo aj anyebis saSual ebi T srul i ad real uri ni adagi aqvs. saWi-roa mxol od evropaSi dipl omatiuri da gansakuTrebi T adgil obrivi praqtikul i muSaobis gaaskeceba. ami sTvis ki

umTavresad ful ia saWi ro. saqarTvel oSi mebrZol ma amxanagebma muSaobis Sesafer ni adagze dasayenebl ad da mezo-bl ebTan mtkice kavSiris gsabmel ad, TveSi 65 aTasi Turqul i qaRal dis I ira mogvTxoves. Cven kargad viciT,rom am Tanxis Sovna Cven ar SegviZl ia. magram amasTanave Cven isic kargad viciT,rom am muSaobisTvis TveSi aranaki ebi 20 aTasi I irisa aris saWi ro. da Cven arc es ful i gvaqvs. da swored am dros, roca gaZl ierebul i da gadi debul i muSaobaa saWi ro, Cven uful obis gamo izul ebul i vxdebiT kidev ufro SevamciroT da SevboWoT Cveni muSaoba. es ki mTel i dawyebul i saqm is CaSl as udris. ami tom, exl axan CvenTvis yvel aze seriozul i didi da pirvel i sakiTxi_ ful is Sovnis sakiTxia. Cven unda gavxeTqoT miwa da ramodenime milioni franki aucil ebl ad unda viSovoT. ful is Sovna ki SeiZl eba, Tu TviT noe Jordania daiZra da Tu Cven dai nteresebul saxel - mwi foeb s Sesaferi konvenciebi miveciT. Cven is azriT, mTavrobis Tavmj domarem noe Jordani am finansTa ministris Tanxl ebiT am mizniT unda inaxul os safrangeTis, bel giis, Cexosl ovakiis da pol oneTis mTavrobis meTaurebi. damouki-debel i saqarTvel o da kavkasia Sedis am saxel mwi foTa in-teresebSi da ami tom isini Cven mogvcems sesxs.

vimeoreb, ful s CvenTvis exl a gadamwyveti mniSvnel oba aqvs. Tu ful i iqna, Cveni saqme naxe vr ad gakeTebul ad unda CaiTval os. meore naxe vaes aj anyebul i xal xi daasrul l ebs.

1922w. 10 ivni si. q.konstantinopol i. vj uRel i

dokumenti # 2

saqarTvel os aRdgena. kavkasiis ganTavisufl eba (samxedro sqema)

srul iad saiduml o

saqarTvel os da mTel i kavkasiis ganTavisufl ebis mTavari faqtori iqneba sayovel Tao SeiaraRebul i aj anyeba. mTavari momwyobi da xel mZRvanel i am aj anyebisa unda iqnes saqarTvel o. TviT aj anyeba SesaZl ebel i iqneba mxol od maSin, roca erTis mxriT uzrunvel yofil i iqneba osmal eTis neutral iteti da meoreTi ganTavisufl ebis Semdeg evropis dauyovnebl ivi daxmarebis srul i imedi gveqneba iaraRiT da ful iT. aj anyeba agreTve SesaZl ebel i da aucil ebel i iqneba maSinac, Tu ruseTi did omSi Caeba anda Tu TviT Sida ruseTSi gadatrial eba moxda. magram es SemTxvevebi imdenad udavoa, rom me maTze ar SevCerdebi.

aRni Snul i winaswari pirobebis miRebis Semdeg saqarTvel os ganTavisufl eba sayovel Tao aj anyebis saSual ebiT srul iad SesaZl ebel saqmed xdeba, magram amiTvis aucil ebl ad saWiroa, rom aj anyebaSi aqtiurad Caebas azerbaij ani da masTanve amoxeba moedos mTaSi, yubanSi da agreTve somxeTSi. Tu somxeTi aqtiurad ver Caeba aj anyebaSi, man yovel SemTxvevaSi neutral iteti mainc unda daicvas. aseT pirobebSi aj anyebas srul iad mtkice da yovl ad saimedoni adagi eqneba. mokl eT Cveni angariSi aseTia: TumcaRa, sxvadasxva cnobebis mi xedviT mtkicdeba, rom exl axan mTel saqarTvel oSi dgas ara umetes 13 aTasi rusul i wiTel i jari, magram Cven mainc mas 15- 17 aTasi viangariSebT, radganac yovel Tvis umj obesia mtris Zal is gadaWarbeba. es Zal ebi ase ganawil ebul i: 1)Tfil isSi_ 5- 6 aTasi; 2)baTum_ foTi_ soxumi_ 3- 4 aTasi; 3)guria_ 3 aTasi; 4)quTaisi_ 2 aTasi; 5)kaxeTi da lore_ 2 aTasi. sul 15- 17 aTasi.

Seni Svna: Tanaxmad ivnisis (22 wl is) `svodki sa- mTel `okaSi- (daRestani ar Sedis) iricxeboda `ConiT- da special uri nawil ebiana 33 aTasi mWamel i. amaTsi `xiSti- iqneba ara

umetes 22 aTasisa. 1)saqarTvel oSi_12 aTasi; 2)azerbaijanSi_6 aTasi; 3)somxeTSi_4 aTasi. amas daemateba: 1)azerbaijanSi_5 aTasi; somxeTSi_3 aTasi da 3)daRestan_mTaSi_6 aTasi. sul 14-15 aTasi.

amnairad, exl axan mTel s`okaSi~iqneba ara umetes 30 aTasi kacisa. am Zal is winaaRmdeg Cven SegviZl ia pirveli saWi roebisTanave gamoviyvanoT Semdegi Zal ebi: 1)qarTul i wiTel i l aSqari_3 aTasi; 2)qarTul i mil icia_3-4 aTasi; 3)saiduml o samxedro organizacia 18-20 aTasi. sul 24-27 aTasi.

rac Seexeba qarTul j ars, igi srul iad saimedoa da miuxedavad mraval i oficrebis datusaRebisa, am j aris 90 % antibol Sevikuria. dRes qarTul j arSi 5000 mWamel i iTvl eba da aqedan 3000 meamboxis gamoyvana SeiZl eba. Cveni cnobebi T, mTel i mil iciis 60_85 % antibol Sevikuria. mTel saqarTvel l oSi es Seadgens ara nakl eb 3-4 aTas kacss. magram Cven viciT, rom saqarTvel oSi aj anyebaSi mTavar rol s verc mcire ricxovani qarTul i j ari da verc dafantul i mil icia ver iTamaSebs. momaval i aj anyebis umTavresi da gadamwyveti Zal a iqneba Cveni saiduml o samxedro organizacia, romel ic umTavresad Zvel i gvardi is organizaciebs eyrdnoba da romel ic exl axans yvel a saimedo Zal ebs Tavsu yris. es organizaciebi faraven mTel saqarTvel os da ukve dRes yavT maT mowesrigebul i da aRnuxul i 20 aTasamde kaci. aqedan 16 aTasamde ukve SeiaraRebul ia. am organizacias saTaveSi yavs Tavisi mTavari Stabi, romel ic instruqciebs iRebs pol itikuri centridan da romel sac TiToeul mazraSi yavs srul iad morCil i viwro Stabebi. momaval i aj anyebis momwyobi da xel mZrvanel i iqneba es mTavari Stabi, romel Siac Sedian rogorc pol itikuri moRvaweebi, ise samxedro special istebic.

amnairaT, samxedro Tval sazrisiT, mebrZol i saqarTvel o warmoadgens mTl ian central ur organizms, roml is erTdroul i da mtkice amoqmedeba SeuZl ia xel mZrvanel centrs da roml is gankargul ebaSi ukve dRes aris ara nakl eb 20 aTasi SeiaraRebul i mebrZol i. ufro cudaT aris am mxriv saqme mowyobil i azerbaijanSi, mTaSi da somxeTSi. am sam republ ikaTa Soris, rasakvirvel ia samxedro mxrit yvel aze ufro dawinaurebul ia **somxeTi**, radganac masze vrcel deboda

sayovel Tao samxedro begara da radganac somxeTis xel m-ZRvanel pol itikur partias_ daSnakcuTiuns aqvs xangrZl ivi konspiraciul i samxedro tradicia, yovel SemTxvevaSi CvenTvis srul iad udavoa, rom aj anyebis dros somxeTs SeuZl ia 15 aTasamde Seiararebul i meamboxis gamoyvana, roml ebi c erT dReSi gaanTavisufl eben somxeTs bol Sevikuri okupaciisagan. magram, radganac somxeTs Zl ier eSinia osmal eTis, SesaZl ebel ia man aj anyebis pirvel aqtSi ver miiRos monawil eoba da manac neutral iteti daicvas. asTi neutral iteti aj anyebas moakl ebs 15 aTas mebrZol s, magram am gamokl ebas aj anyebis bediRbl isaTvis ar eqneba gadamwyveti mni Svel oba, radganac mTel somxeTSi sdgas ara umetes 3 aTasi rusul i jarisa.

azerbajjans ar qonda sayovel Tao samxedro begara da mas arc samxedro farul i organizaciebis didi tradicia aqvs. magram samagieroT azerbajjans aqvs is, rac akl ia saqarTvel los da somxeTs_ mebrZol i el ementebis adgil obrivi darazmva romel ime gavleniani pirovnebis irgvl iv da farTokavSiri am calke Seiararebul jgufebis Soris. am mxriv azerbajjani metad sayuradRebo samxedro Zal as warmoadgens, romel sac srul i Zl ierebisatvis mxol od central izacia akl ia. Tu ra sagrZnobia es Zal a, amas mowmobs ara mar to somex- TaTarTa winandel ierTmaneTis darbeva, aramed umTavresad is samagal iTo faqti, rom Seiararebul i TaTrebis brboebi, Samxal - ganj is mi damoebSi am ramdenime wl is winaT axerxebdnen ruseTis jarebis mraval da Zl ier eSel onebis ganiaraRebas. Tu mxedvel obaSi mi vi RebT am axl o warsul is magal iTebs, da zogierT dRevandel cnobebs, Cven SegviZl ia srul i rwmeni T vTqvaT, rom azerbajjans aj anyebis pirvel dResve SeuZl ia fexze daayenos ara nakl eb 13- 14 aTasi mebrZol isa. daaxl oebiT amave mdgomareobaSi a mTa, sadac mTavar Zal as daRestani warmoadgens. mar to daRestans SeuZl ia pirvel daZaxebisTanave wamoayenos ara nakl eb 3 aTasi mebrZol isa da mTel mTas ki daaxl oebiT 5 aTasamde. amnairaT, oTxive respublikas SeuZl ia pirvel saWiroebisTanave gamoiyvanos 55 aTasi Seiararebul i meamboxe. Tu somxeTma neutral iteti daicva, maSin danarCeni sami respublika mainc SesZl ebs pirvel i dakvrisTvis 40 aTasamde Seiararebul i mebrZol is gamoyvanas. am 40 aTas meamboxes `oka- daupiri-

spirebs (somxeTis gamokl ebiT) ara umetes 28 aTas rusul wiTel armiel s.

TavisTavad cxadia, rom aj anyebis sasurvel masStabSi mowyoBaT, dauyovnebl iv unda Sei qmnas saerTo xel mZRvanel i centri (nawil obriv igi ukve Seqmnil ic aris) da rac yvel aze aucil ebel ia, aseTi aj anyebis mowyoBaSi saqarTvel om unda iTamaSos metad aqtiuri rol i ara mar to Tavis sakuTar saZRvrebSi, aramed mezobl ebSi ac. somxeTs yavs sakmarisi adgil obrivi Zal ebi, magram azerbaijans da mTas akl ia rogorc pol itikuri xel mZRvanel ebi, ise samxedro saimedo muSakebi. amitom, saqarTvel o val debul ia exl ave wargzavnos am Taviant mezobl ebSi erTic da meorec. es rasakvirvel ia, ar iqneba maT Sinaur saqmeebSi Careva, magram, es iqneba saerTo frontis Seqmna da misi ganmtkiceba. xel mZRvanel oba mTasiC da azerbaij anSi ac adgil obrivi xal xis xel Si iqneba da saqarTvel odan wargzavnil i pirebi maT mxol od rogorc special istebi daexmarebian. yvel aze ufro saWiro iqneba am mezobl ebisTvis saimedo oficrebi. ukanasknel msofil io omis dros, ruseTis jarSi iricxeboda 6 aTasamde qarTvel i oficeri. am ramodenime wl is ganmavl obaSi CvenC SeviZineT 200- 300 axal i qarTvel i oficeri. dRes mTel saqarTvel oSi moi poveba ara nakl eb 3000 saimedo da mxne oficeri, roml ebiC Tavdadebul adibrZol eben saqarTvel os aRdgenisaTvis da kavkasiis ganTavisufl ebisatvis. am ricxvidan Cven SegviZl ia 500 oficramde mezobl ebSi gavgzavnoT.

Cven Tavidanve unda SevignoT, rom aj anyebis mTavari mowyoBi, xel mZRvanel i da mamozravebel i unda iqnes saqarTvel o. igi ar unda dakmayofil des mar to Tavis fargl ebiT da Tavis brZol a da daxmareba mezobl ebSi ac unda gadi tanos. mxol od aseT pirobebSi aj anyeba mi iRebs sasurvel masStabs da uZl evel i gaxdeba. radganac `okas- mTavari Zal ebi saqarTvel oSi binadrops da agreTve Tbil isic saqarTvel oSi mdebareobs, TviT saqarTvel os ganTavisufl ebas da Tbil isis aRebas mTel i kavkasiisTvis eqneba gadamwyveti mniSvnel oba. amitom me aq srul iad cal ke ganvixil av aj anyebis saSual ebiT saqarTvel os ganTavisufl ebis Sesazl ebl obas.

rogorc vTqvi, exl axan saqarTvel os saiduml o samxedro organizacia aerTebS 20 aTasamde mebrZol s, romel Ta Soris

ara nakl eb 16- 17 aTasi SeiaraRebul ia. es Zal ebi ase
ganawil ebul i:

dasavl eT saqarTvel o

aRmosavl eT saqarTvel o

- 1)soxumis ol qi_ 1000
- 2)zugdidis mazra_ 700
- 3)senakis mazra_ 800
- 4)foTi_ 400
- 5)baaTumi_ 400
- 6)guria_ 1800
- 7)samtrediis raioni_ 1000
- 8)quTaisi_ 700
- 9)I eCxumi_ 500
- 10)raWa_ 300
- 11)svaneTi_ 1500
- 12)Sorapni mazra_ 1600

- 1)xaSuris raioni_ 500
- 2)axal cixis mazra_ 400
- 3)axal qal aqis mazra_ 300
- 4)goris mazra_ 1000
- 5)mangl isis raioni_ 300
- 6)borCal os mazra_ 400
- 7)duSeTis raioni_ 800
- 8)jyazbegis raioni_ 400
- 9)TianeTis mazra_ 300
- 10)Tbil isi midamoebiT_ 2000
- 11)gare kaxeTi_ 1000
- 12)Tel avis mazra_ 800
- 13)siRnaRis mazra_ 1000

sul _ 10700

sul _ 9200

rogorc vTqvi, amas unda daematos 2- 3 aTasi qarTul i
l aSqari da 3- 4 aTasi saimedo mil icia. amnairaT, dRes
mebrZol saqarTvel os gankargul ebaSia 22 aTasi SeiaraRe-
bul i meamboxe, romel Ta gamoyvana mas pirvel i daxmarebi sTa-
nave SeuZl ia. es Zal a TiTqmis TanasworaT aris ganawil ebul i
aRmosavl eT da dasavl eT saqarTvel os Soris. aj anyebis
dros udi desi mni Svnel oba eqneba erTdroul obas da si swra-
fes. saqarTvel om erTi dar tymiT unda gadaagdos okupaci is
uRel i, raTa maSinve SeZl os damxmare Zal ebi gaugzavnos
mezobl ebs da Zl ier gaamagros mexadiris da darubandis
Wi Skari. amisTvis ki saWi roa garkveul i da mwyobri winaswari
gegma. TviT gegma samaT unda ganiyofodes: 1)aj anyebis
winaswari samzadisi; 2)TviT aj anyeba da 3)aj anyebis Semdeg.

I. winaswari samzadisi

winaswari samzadisi unda gamoixatebodes Zal ebis Tavis
moyraSi, maT darazmvaSi da urTierT Soris mtkice kavSiris
gabmaSi. aqac saqarTvel om xel mZRvanwl i rol i unda iTa-

maSos. unda arsebobdes viwro da mtkice xel mZRvanel i Stabi, romel sac xel Si eqneba kavkasiis aj anyebis Zafebi. TviT Stabi unda binadrobdes Tbil isSi da rom aj anyebis farTo masStabi uzrunvel yofil i iqnas, am xel mZRvanel Stabs Tavisi saimedo da pasuxismgebel i warmomadgenl ebi da organizatorebi unda yavdes azerbaijanSi, somxeTSi, mTaSi, yubanSi da soWis ol qSi. aj anyeba yvel gan erT da imave dros unda moxdes da TiToeul mxares, ol qs da raions Tavisi garkveul i gegma unda qondes. ise rom, TiToeul i cal ke amocana unda emsaxurebodes da amtkicebdes mTavar saerTo gegmas. gansakutrebul i yuradReba unda mieqces zogierTi strategiul ad mniSvnel ovani punqtebis dacvas. magram, es taqtikuri detal ebi adgil obriv StabebSi unda SemuSavdes. Tu yubanSi da sazogadoT Crdil oeT kavkasiaSi saerTo aj anyeba ar moxerxda, aucil ebel i da masTanve srul iad SesaZl ebel ia im strategiul i gzebis gafuWebi, roml iTac SemdegSi ruseTs amierkavkasiis sawinaarmdegod SeuZl ia sargebl oba.

winaswarve gansakutrebul i yuradReba unda mieqces Tbil - iss, radganac mis aRebas, rogorc samxedro da saxel mwi foebri centri, gadamwyveti mniSvnel oba eqneba mTel i amierkavkasiisaTvis. amitom, TviT es samzadisi ise unda iyos organizebul i, rom Tbil isis aReba pirvel i dakvrisTanave moxdes. Tu Tbil isi gamagrda da man brZol a daiwyo, es ukve iqneba aj anyebis sanaxevrod damarcxeba. Tbil isis erTbaSad aReba srul iad uzrunvel yofil i rom gaxdes, saWiroa winaswarve provinciebidan Tbil isSi 100_ 200 gamocdil i da mtkice mebrZol is gadmoyvana. maT TviT Tbil isSi daemateba 300_ 400 Tavdadebul i meamboxe da es 500 kaci Seadgens im saimedo fol ads, romel ic ganamtkicebs, SeakavSirebs da gaiyol iebs Tbil isSi myof ramdenime aTas meamboxes. Tbil isi srul iad detal urad unda iyos Seswavl il i. unda vicodeT mtris Zal ebis ganawil eba. amboxebis sawinaarmdego misi gegma da samzadisi. Tbil isis samxedro ubnebs windawinve unda daeniSnos mtkice xel mZRvanel ebi, roml ebsac aj anyebis dros garkveul i amocanis Sesarul eba daeval ebaT. agreTve windawinve unda iyos daniSnul i yvel a raionSi samxedro xel mZRvanel ebi, roml ebsac centri mier garkveul i daval eba miecema. revoluciuri daval ebis anu samxedro brZanebis asrul eba aucil ebel ia.

Tbil isis garda didi mni Svel oba aqvs baTums, quTais, soxums da gagra. mezobl ebsi ki baqos, ganj as, erevans, derbend- petrovsk- temirxanSuras, kavkavs, ekaterinodars, armavirs, novorosiisks, tuapses da sxvas. amisda mi xedvi T windawinve unda moxdes SeZl ebisamebr meamboxeTa Zal ebis iseTi darazmva da ganawil eba, rom pirvel i dakvrisTanave aRniSnul i punqtebi aj anyebul ebma xel Tigdon. magal iTad: saqarTvel oSi zogierTi raionebidan SesaZl ebel ia gamocdi- li da saimedo meomrebi gamoyofa da TandaTanobiT maTi gadayvana Tbil issa da baTumSi, quTaisSi, soxumSi da sxvagan. agreTve unda Sesdges cal ke j gufebi, roml ebsac gansakuTre- bul i da metad pasuxismgebel i daval ebebi miecemat. magal iTad: j avSniani avtomobilebi da matarebl is xel Si Ca- gdeba, Stabis, sovnaarkomis, cekasi, kavbiuros da sxva xel mZRvanel organoebis datusaReba, fosta- tel egrafis da tel efonis sadguris dakaveba, cixis ganTavisufli eba, sad- guris gamagreba da sxva. magal iTad, j avSniani matarebl ebis aReba unda miendos erT Sesafir pirovnebas. vTqvaT, mTel saqarTvel oSi dgas 5 matarebel i. es pirovneba aRnuxavs 200- mde saimedo mebrZol s, roml ebsac umsaxuriaT j avSnian matarebl ebze, dayofs maT xuT j gufad. TiToeul j gufs mi- scems saimedo xel mZRvanel s, romel ic Semdeg j avSnosani ufrosad gamodgeba. TiToeul i aseTi j gufi windawinve mo- ewyoba im qal aqSi an im raionSi, sadac es j avSnosani imyofeba, roml is asaRebad daniSnul ia aRniSnul i j gufi. daTqmul dros es j gufi Tavsesxmis matarebel s, xel Tigdebs mas da maSinve awyebinebs moqmedebas. ukidures SemTxvevaSi, Tu am j gufma Tavisi daval eba ver Seasrul a, igi val debul ia aafeTqos matarebel i.

Zl ier advil ia agreTve cixis aReba. SeiZl eba windawinve cixeSi yumbarebisa da revorvel ebis Setana. daniSnul erTdaimave dros moxdeba cixeze garedan Tavdasxma da Si- gni dan amboxeba. cixis daraj ebi maSinve iaraRs dayrian da maTi iaraRiT zogierTi tusaRebi Seiarardebian.

me aq mxol od zogierTi winaswari detal ebi aRvniSne. daw- wril ebiTi gegma da mzadeba ki adgil obriv unda Sesrul des.

II. aj anyeba

aj anyeba erTdroul ad yvel gan unda moxdes da aj anyebul ebma Tavidanve xel T unda igdos strategiul i da politikuri centrebi. bol Sevikebis ZI iereba swored am centrebSia. ukrainis da zogi sxva aj anyebebis sisuste swored imaSi iyo, rom isinma Tavidanve ver moaxerxes aseTi centrebis dakaveba. sul sxvanairaT warimarTa ukrainis aj anyeba. mas pirvel i dakvrisTanave SeeZI o kievis, xarkovis, poltavis da odesis xel Si Cagdeba. amitom, centrebis aRebas udi desi mniSvel oba aqvs da swored amisdamixedviT unda Sei qmnas aj anyebis gegma. magal iTisaTvis yuradRebas aq mxo- l od Tbil isze SevaCereb, vinai dan mas aqvs gadamwyveti mniSvel oba mTel i amerikavkasiisaTvis. Tbil isSi Cvens mters sul yavs 8 aTasamde mWamel i. amas aRmosavl eTis kursantebic rom davumatoT, sul gaxdeba 10000- mde. amaTSi xiSti iqneba ara umetes 6 aTasi sa. Tu gamovakl ebT yaraul ebs, avadmyofebs, Svebul ebaSi wasul T da dezertirebs, Tbil isisaTvis Cven dagvrCeba ara umetes 4 aTasi aqtiuri moqmedi xiStisa. amaT unda daematos j avSniani matarebl ebi da avtomobil ebi. yvel a am Zal ebis winaaRmdeg Cven SegviZi ia Semdegi Cveni Zal ebis wamoyeneba (vangari Sob minimums): 1) farul i samxedro organizacia_ 15000 kaci; 2) qarTul i l aSqari_ 1500 kaci; 3) rkinis gzis da qal aqis mil icia_ 1000 kaci. sul 4000 kaci.

rom ar movtyuvdeT, mar to Tbil isSi pirvel i dakvrisaTvis Cveni Zal ebi 3000 kacia. es sami aTasi kaci aris Tbil isis amboxebis aqtiuri da moqmedi Zal a. mas zurgs ukan yavs 2-3 aTasamde rezervi (Sei araRebul i moqal aqeni, qarTul i j aris neitral uri nawil i, moswavl eebi da sx.), roml is gamoyvana ar SeiZl eba pirvel i farul i dakvris dros, magram, romel ic maSinve SeuerTdeba aj anyebas, rogorc ki aSkara da medgari brZol a gaimarTeba. es rezervi metad mniSvel ovani da gadamwyveti iqneba brZol is meore fazaSi da mis dagvirgvinebaSi, magram, pirvel i dakvris mTel i simZime da gabedul eba aRniSnul ma samma aTasma unda ikisros.

vinc Tbil iss dakvirvebia, is advil ad dai naxavda, rom mdinare mtkvari mas TiTqmis or Tanabar nawil ad hyofs. magram mTel i politikuri da administraciul i centri moTavsebul ia marjvena napiris Tbil isSi da umTavresi yazarmebi ki agebul ni arian marcxena napiris Tbil isSi. daaxl oebi T SegviZi ia vsTqvaT, rom bol Sevikebis mTel i samxedro Zal is

(vgul isxmob rusul j ars) ori mesamedi mtkvtis marcxena napirzea da mxol od erTi mesamedi mis marj vena napirze. amis gamo Tbil isis mTavari, saxel mZRvanel o centris xel Si Cagdeba metad advil deba da am centris Cagdebis Semdeg Tavistavad wydeba meore napiris Tbil isis bedi.

rasakvirvel ia, aq SeuZl ebel ia Tbil isis asaRebad detal uri brZanebis dawera, magram Cven SegviZl ia am brZanebis mTavari momentebis gaTval iswineba. Cven vsTqvi T, rom pirvel i dakvrisaTvis marto Tbil iss SeuZl ia sami aTasi mebrZol is wamoyeneba. aqedan, zogierTi mniSvnel ovani maRI obebis dakavebas dasWirdeba 1000 kacemde. am maRI obebSi yvel aze didi mniSvnel oba aqvs ZmaTa sasafI aos, maxaTas da mis fargl ebs, botanikuri baRis maRI obs, mamadavi Ts da mTawmindas. am miznisTvis 1000 kaci srul ad sakmarisi iqneba, radganac maTi daniSnul eba iqneba umTavresad pasiuri. imaTma, bol - Sevikur garnizons Tbil isidan maRI obze gasvl is neba ar unda misces. imavdroul ad Tavisi moqmedebi T arev- dareva unda Seitanos mtris banakSi. danarCeni 2000 kaci unda ganawil des cal ke razmebad, roml ebsac mtkice xel mZRvanel ebi eyol eba da cal - cal ke amocanebi miecemaT. maTi ganawil eba daaxl oebi T ase maqvs warmodgenil i: 1) `sovna- rkomis-, `Stabis,- `Cekebis,- cekas, kavbiuros da sx. dasatusa- Rebl ad_ 150 kaci; 2) cixis gasanTavisufl ebl ad_ 150 kaci; 3) fosta- tel egrafis, tel efonis da radios dasakavebl ad_ 100 kaci; 3) j avSniani matarebl ebis, avtomobil ebis da tankebisatvis_ 200 kaci. sul_ 600 kaci.

dagvrCa 1400 kacemde. esenic Sesaferisad unda danawil dnen da maTac garkveul i amocana unda mieces. magram amaTi daniSnul eba iqneba ukve bol Sevikuri garnizonis ganadgureba. am miznis misaRwevad Cven pirvel i ieriSebi unda mivitanot bol Sevikur rCeul da saimedonawil ebze. srul iad sakmarisia, rom pirvel i dakvrisTanave Cven SevZl oT `Conis- armosavl eT kursantebis brigadis (Tu isisev Tbil isSi dabrunda) da samoswavl o_ sakadro pol kis ganiaraReba. Tu erTdroul ad moxda j avSnianeblis xel Si Cagdeba da amave saimedonawil ebis ganiaraReba, sxva mraval i nawil ebi Tbil isis garnizonisa ubrZol vel ad dayris iaraRs. Tavistavad igul isxmeba, rom gamarjvebis upirvel esi piroba srul i konspiracia da moul odnel obaa. agreTve is, Tu ramdenad

moxerxebul ad SevZl ebT Tbil isis Zal ebis Sesaferisad darazmvas da aj anyebisTvis saWiro gadaj gufebas. rasa-kvirvel ia, winaswari gegmis srul i da detal uri ganxorciel eba SeuZl ebel ia. Cven unda vicodeT, rom am gegmis ganxorciel ebis dros, srul iad mraval i, moul odnel i dabrkol eba dagvidgeba win. magram TviT gegma ise unda iyos Sedgenil i, rom zogierTi detal is CaSl am ar unda gamoiwvios TviT mTel i gegmis CafuSva. magal iTad, SesaZl ebel ia zogierT SemTxvevaSi imdeni meamboxe ar gamocxaddes, ramdensac Cven vvaraudobT, anda ar moxerxdes im punqtebis swrafad aReba, roml is dakavebas Tavi danve vgul i-sxmobT, magram am SemTxvevema ar unda gamoiwvios Cveni ukan daxeva da aj anyebis damarcxeba. ami tom, saerTo gegmis swrafad mi saRwev yovel ive detal s didi mniSvnel oba aqvs. magram gadamwyveti rol i eqneba zogierT mTavar momentebis da sworeT am momentebis srul i gaTval iswinebaa saWiro. SesaZl ebel ia, rom sam j avSnian matarebel Si (Tu ki am droisatvis Tbil issi 3 matarebel i iqneba) erTbaSad mxol od ori Caigdo xel Si da erTi ki ar dagnebdes. am SemTxvevaSi es erTi iseTnairad unda Caketo, rom man adgil idan ver da iZras. SeiZl eba zogierT punqtebSi ac gamagrdes rusis j ari. mas am punqtebi dan gamosvl is neba ar unda mieces, sanam Tbil isis mTavari punqtebi aj anyebul Ta xel Si ar iqneba da sx. Znel ia agreTve SeumCnevl ad 3000 meamboxes erTdroul ad gamoyvana da qal aqis sxvadasxva kuTxeebSi maTi gadayvana. magram am SemTxvevaSi Cven unda vi sargebl oT imiT, rom TviT meamboxeebi sxvadasxva kuTxeebSi arian dafantul ni da Ti-Toeul i raionis meamboxes SeZl ebisamebr maTive raionis sazRvrebSi unda mi vceT amocana. es miT ufro advil ia, rom Tbil isSi meamboxeebi 10 ubnad arian ganawil ebul i da agreTve qarTul i wiTel i l aSqari Tbil isis sxvadasxva kuTxeebSi binadrops. magal iTad, naZal adevis da erTobis ubnis raionebs, sadac exl axan iqneba 200- 300 gvardiel i meamboxe, SeiZl eba daekisros j avSniani matarebl ebis aReba, vagzl is dakaveba da adgil obrivi wril - wril i bol Sevikuri razmebis ganadgureba. maTve SeiZl eba davaval oT ZmaTa sasafli aos da maxaTas daWera. amave raionebis mil icia 200- 300 kacic adgil obriv darCeba samoqmedoT. sazogadoT mil icias yovel Tvis unda mieces amocanebi TavianTi ubnis sazRvrebSi

da umTavresad mil icia gamoyenebul i unda iyos rogorc mtris sadezorganizacio Zal a.

qarTul pol ks, romel ic yofil 'mingrel ski kazarmebSi- binadrobs, SeiZl eba daeval os cicianovis maRl obis (Camo- xeTqil i kl de_ muxranis xidis pirdapir) daWera, avl abris yazarmebis aReba da metexis ganTavisufl eba. avl abris ra- ionis meamboxe gvardiel ebi- ricxviT 100 kacamde pirvel pol ks SeuerTdeba da ase sxva adgil ebSiac. sxvadasxva nawil ebis ganiaraRebiSTanave SeZenil i iaraRiT dauyovnebl iv SeiaraRdebian Tbil isSi myofi saimedo yofil i jariskacebi da gvardiel ebi. ase rom gaTenebamde Tbil iss sxvadasxva raionebi dan Semoemateba axal i 2- 3 aTasi mebrZol i. amasTanave unda moxdes SeiaraRebul brZol ebSi ukve gawvrTnil i gl exebis mezobel i raionebidan Tbil isisken daZvra. amnairaT, Si naur dakvras Tbil isis asaRebad gareSe al ya da Semoteva unda daerTos. da Tu Cven Tbil isis mdgomareobas mi vi RebT mxedvel obaSi da agreTve gaviTval iswinebT gare- kaxeTis, mcxeTa- avWal is da mangl isis exl andel SeiaraRebul Zal ebs, Tamamad gveTqmis, rom gaTenebamde garedanac Tbil iss 2 aTasamde meamboxe gars Semoertymis. aseT pirobebSi, roca Rame dawyebul i aj anyeba gaTenebamde fexze daayenebs 6- 7 aTasamde mtkice mebrZol s_ Tbil isis aReba Zl ier gaadvi- l deba da erT- or dReSi igi srul iad damorCil ebul i iqn- eba. mxedvel obaSi isic unda mi vi RoT, rom meamboxeT Tavi danve SeuZl iaT sakuTari artil eris momarj vebul adgil idan amoqmedeba.

miT ufro advil i da ueWvel i iqneba sxva adgil ebis_ ma- gal iTad soxumis, quTaisis, samtrediis, foTis da baTumis aReba. Sedarebi T Znel i iqneba baTumis aReba, magram aq mTavari yuradReba unda mieqces j er 100- mde mebrZol is baTumSi wi- ndawinve Cayvanas da Semdeg aWarl ebSi Sesafer muSaobas. amasTanave guriis SeiaraRebul i Zal ebi kursantebis gani- araRebis Semdeg (Tu isini guriaSi darCnen) 2- 3 aTas kacamde baTumistvis unda iyos gankuTvnil i.

Tbil isis aReba Tavs mohkveTs mTel `okas- da igi verc somxeTSi da verc azerbaijanSi brZol as veRar gaagrZel ebs. magram, azerbaijanis da somxeTis aj anyeba mtkice ni adagze rom dadges, saWi roa winaswar metad mWi dro kavSiris daWera am qveynebtan da iq Tavis saiduml o rwmunebul Ta wargzavna.

aseT pi robebSi, SeiZl eba erTdai mave dros dai wyos aj anyeba mTel amierkavkasiaSi da es erTdroul oba ukve naxevari gamarjveba iqneba. magram mar to amierkavkasiis sazRvrebi sakmarisi ar aris. saWiroa amierkavkasiis aj anyeba mWidroT daukavSirdes Crdil o kavkasiis moZraobas da `okas- gani- araRebasTan erTad unda moewyos Tu srul i ganiaraReba vera, yovel SemTxvevaSi daSl a Crdil o- kavkasiis samxedro ol qisa `skvo.- am miznis misaRwevad rac SeiZl eba meti konnaqti unda iqnes yubanTan, mTasTan da gansakuTrebiT da RestanTan. sasurvel ia, rom raome kavSiri ignas gabmul i donTan da ukrainis meamboxeebTan. rasakvirvel ia Cven Tavsver movi tyuebt da ver vi tyviT, rom aj anyeba erTi dakvriT `skvos-- ac (`okas- Stabi rostovSia) xel Si Caigdebs. magram Cven erTgvari minimumi aq uzrunvel yofil i unda gvqondes. magal iTad, aj anyebul ebma unda SesZl on zogierTi mniSvnelovani strategiul i punqtebis (xidebis) dacva da adgil obrivi garni zonebis TavTavianT raionebze mij aWva. amasac metad didi mniSvneloba eqneba amierkavkasiisTvis da es nebas miscems amierkavkasiis ara mar to bol Sevikuri okupaciis gadagdebis, aramed agreTve Tavisi sakuTari Zal ebis darazmva- mowesri gebisTvis, rom SemdegSi amierkavkasia SesZl ebs aqtiuri daxmarebis gawevas Crdil oeTi kavkasiisTvis. me ganzrax vvaraudob Crdil oeT kavkasiis minimal ur monawil eobas kavkasiis saerTo aj anyebaSi, Tumca aqve unda vTqva, rom Crdil oeT kavkasiaSi antibol Sevikuri moZraoba imdenad Zirmomagrebul ia, rom Sesferi muSaobiT da daxmarebiT, advil aT SeiZl eba iqac aj anyebas meti farTo xasiaTi mieces.

amnairaT, kavkasiis ganmatavisufli ebel i moZraobis mizani unda iyos aj anyebis cecxli is danTeba rostovidan lenqoranamde da yizl aridan vidre batumamde. magram mTavari Rerzi da Zal a moZraobisa unda iqnes amierkavkasia saqarTvel os meTaurobiT. yvel aze umj obesi da sasurvel ia, rom erTbaSad moxdes agreTve `skvos- srul i ganiaraReba da damorCil eba. magram Tu es erTi xelis dakvriT ar moxerxda, pirvel xanebSi sakmarisi iqneba, rom Crdil oeT kavkasiis da sxva da sxva kutxeebSi moxdes iseTi cal ke aj anyebebi, roml ebi cadgil obriv mtris Zal ebis iseT dezorgani zacias gamoiwveven, rom maTi daZvra amierkavkasiis winaaRmdeg SeuZl ebel i iqneba da agreTve ise daazi aneben ruseTidan momaval strategiul

gzebs, rom j arebis gadayvanas metad gaaZnel eben. aseT pi-
robebSi amierkavkasia SeiZl eba gaxdes im TavSesafaraT, sadac
Tavs moyris da moRonierdeba antibol Sevikuri mebrZol i
Zal a, romel ic aqtiuraT daexmareba meamboxe Crdil oET
kavkacias da sabol oOT masac ganadevni nebs okupantebs.

III. aj anyebis meore dRe

me mokl eT davasuraTe ganmaTavisufl ebel i aj anyeba da
misi winaswari samzadisi. aqedan Cven davinaxeT rom aj anyebis
mTavari faqtori da xel mZRvanel i saqarTvel o unda iyos.
magram saqarTvel os da kavkasiis ganTavisufl ebis mTavari
siZnel e farTo aj anyebis da mis pirvel gamarjvebaSi ki ar
aris, aramed am aj anyebis gamtkicebaSi, ganTavisufl ebul i
qveynebis mowesrigebaSi, mebrZol i Zal ebis darazmvaSi da
gaZl ierebaSi. erTi si tyviT, mTavari siZnel e Cven dagvi dgeba
aj anyebis meore dRes, roca gamarjvebul aj anyebas Tavdacva
dasWirdeba.

Cven vsTqviT, rom SeZl ebisamebr aj anyeba unda moxdes ka-
vkasiis fargl ebSi erTsa da imave dros. aj anyebul ebi pirvel
yovl isa atyveveben mtris xel mZRvanel organizaciebs da
aniaraReben yvel aze saimedo nawil ebs. imave dros aj anye-
bul Ta xel mZRvanel ebi axdenen axal mobil izaciebs da Se-
Zenil i iaraRiT qmni an axal ganmaTavisufl ebel j ars. amna-
iraT, mtris Zal ebis daSi a- damorCil ebasTan erTad unda
xdebodes sakuTari samxedro Zal ebis swrafi darazmva da
gazrda. am mxriv, TiToeul i qveynisaTvis winaswar unda iyos
gamomuSavebul i sakuTari forma samxedro Zal ebis axal i
organizaciisa, raTa axal i mebrZol i j aris Seqmna moxdes
rac SeiZl eba swrafad da umtkivneul oT. am axal i j aris
daniSnul eba iqneba ganTavisufl ebul i qveynebis saerTo da-
cva da SemdegSi, roca mteri mogeriebul i iqneba da roca
ufro mSvidobiani mdgomareoba damyardeba, SesaZl ebel i
gaxdeba, samxedro organizacias kidev ufro mwyobri, Tana-
medrove da normal uri xasiaTi mieces. aj anyebis cecxli Si
Seqmnil is da brZol aSi ganmtkicebul i l aSqaris dani-
Snul eba iqneba_ rac SeiZl eba savsebiT da rigianad gamo-
iyenos is iaraRi, romel sac igi bol Sevikibisgan xel Tigdebs
da romel sac mebrZol i xal xi mas miawodebs. vimeoreb,

TiToeul qveyanaSi mebrZol i samxedro organizacia sakuTar formas miiRebs da isargebl ebs mTel i warsul is gamocdil ebiT. magal iTad, yubanSi igi ufro sxva saxis iqneba, vidre saqarTvel oSi da azerbaij anSi, ufro sxvagvari vidre daRestanSi an somxeTSi. ami tom, adgil obriv organizaciebs windawinve unda qondes Seswavl il i da gaTval iswinebul i es formebi, saerTo centrs ki mxol od saerTo xel mZRvanel oba eqneba. am formis Seswavl a pirvel yovl isa adgil obrivi xel mZRvanel i organoebis saqmea, ami tom me mxol od saqarTvel oze SevCerdebi, radgan mas ufro vicnob da mis Sesaxeb sakmao cnobebi da gamocdil eba maqvs.

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

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

Tbil isi:		quTaisi:	
mtris Zal a	Cveni Zal a	mtris Zal a	Cveni Zal a
8000	3000	3000	2000
baTumi:		guria:	
mtris Zal a	Cveni Zal a	mtris Zal a	Cveni Zal a
3500	2000	2000	1500

(aq yvel gan mWamel ia naangariSevi. aq Tbil isisTvis me mar to 8 aTas mWamel s vangari Sob, radganac exl axan aRmosavl eTis kursantebis brigada ozurgetSi dgas. 8 aTasi mWamel i Tbil isisatvis agvistoSi maqsimal uria)

22 aTasi SeiaraRebul i mebrZol i saqarTvel osaTvis gadaWarbebul i ar aris. Tanaxmad pirvel i ivnisis (22 w.) cnobebi T, sul qarTul j arSi (^Conian-, uezdvoenkomi ana) iyo 11537

mWamel i. aqedan 8000- mde mWamel i mar to samxedro nawil ebSi iyo. TviT bol Sevi kebis cnobiT (sagangebo moxseneba TviT qarTul i brigadis Sesaxeb), brigadaSi komunistebis mobil iza ciis Semdegac komunistebi Seadgendnen mxol od 15 %- s. oficrebSi ki TiTqmis sul ar arian komunistebi. amnairad, 5- 6 aTas kacemde qarTul j arSi saimedoa. me ki mxol od 3 aTass vangari Sob. aj anyebis pirvel Ramesve da meore dRes, Tbil isis meamboxeT TviT Tbil isSi da axl o sofl ebidan miemateba 2- 3 aTasi mebrZol i, xol o foTsi, samegrel oSi, samtredia- SorapanSi, qarTI - kaxeTsi da sx. aj anyebul ebi yvel gan mterze ufro ZI ieri arian da iq yvel gan isini erT RameSi daimorCiil eben da ganaiaraReben mters. amisda mixedviT, pirvel Ramesve ki devac rom ar moxerxdes Tbil isis, baTumis an quTaisis aReba, saqarTvel os sxva yvel a qal aqebi aRebul i iqneba da am gziT amboxebas 10- 15 aTasamde Tofi eqneba SeZenil i. es Tofebi axal mebrZol Ta Soris ganawil deba. ase, rom ukve aj anyebis meore dRes mebrZol saqarTvel os, TofqveS eyol eba ara nakl eb 30- 35 aTasi mebrZol i da mis wi naaRmdeg darCeba ara umetes 12- 14 aTasi mtris j ari. rasakvirvel ia es daSi il i, gancal kevebul i da yvel gan al yaSemortymul i j ari did wi naaRmdegobas ver gagviwevs da 2- 3 dReSi yvel gan Cagvbardeba. amdenaT, 4- 5 dReSi aj anyeba saqarTvel os teritoriaze srul i gamarj vebiT damTavrdeba da aj anyebul Ta xel Si iqneba mtris mTel i iaraRi da sawyobebi. ganTavisufli ebul i saqarTvel os xel Si gadava daaxl o ebiT 50- 60 aTas Tofamde, 90- 100 zarbaznamde, 400- 500 tyvi- ismfrqvevl amde, 10- 12 j avSni an avtomobil amde da 4- 5 j avSni an matarebl amde. es iqneba is iaraRi, roml is saSual ebiTac unda SeiaraRdes ganTavisufli ebul i saqarTvel o da roml iTac man unda SeZI os 2- 3 Tvis ganmavl obaSi Tavdacvis warmoeba, vinai dan am xnis ganmavl obaSi Cven ar unda gvqondes didi imedi ucxoeTi dan iaraRis sakmao Semozi dvi sa.

maSasadame, dgeba sakiTxi: SeiZI eba Tu ara am iaraRiT iseTi j aris SeiaraReba da Seqmna, romel ic xangrZi iv mogeriebiT oms awarmoebs? da Tu SeiZI eba ramden xanSi? me darwmunebul i var, rom es advil aT SesaZI ebel ia. SesaZI ebl oba aris teqnikiuri, organizaciul i da ekonomiuri. ganvixil oT TiToeul i cal - cal ke.

teqnikuraT, aRniSnul i iaraRi srul iad sakmarisia erTi didi, Zvel eburi korpusis SesaiaraRebl ad, romel Siac 40 aTas xiStamde iqneba. maSasadame, gamarj vebis Semdeg faqti-urad Cven teqnikurad ufro mdidari viqnebiT, vidre bol Sevikebis Semosvl amde. rac Seexeba **organizaciul Sesazl ebl obebs**, am mxriv Cven ufro uzrunvel yofil ni varT, ramdenadac saqarTvel oSi dResac arseboben is samxedro ConCxebi, roml ebic dauyovnebl iv Seisxamen srul samxedro sisxl sa da xorcsa. me vgul isxmob gvardiis farul organizacias da qarTul wiTel I aSqars. marTal ia, Cven exl a momxre varT mTI iani da erTferovani samxedro sistemi sa, magram aj anyebisTvis da pirvel i TavdacvisTvis yovel i samxedro organizacia unda gamovi yenoT. Tumca momaval Si Cven SevqmniT erT mTI ian j ars. pirvel xanebSi Cven erTnairad daveyrdnobiT rogorc j ars, ise gvardias, Tumca mis xel mZRvanel obas da sardl obas Tavidanve gavaerTianebl. amisdami-xedviT, Cven ganTavisuflebisTanave ori kviris ganmavl obaSi SegveZl eba erTi damTavrebul i korpusi SevqmnaT Semdegi varaudiT: saxal xo gvardias dResac ukve yavs 18- 20 batal ionamde; qarTul wiTel I aSqarSi iTvl eba 9 batalioni da kidev sxvadasxva nawil ebi. amnairaT, saqarTvel oSi dRes ukve aris 30 batalionamde. amastanave, qarTul i winandel i I aSqari ise iyo Sedgenili, rom mas srul i mobil izaciis dros SeeZl o gamoeyvana 36 didi batalioni. saami so oficebi, zemdegebi da nacvl ebi saqarTvel oSi moiZebneba. amitom qarTul i wiTel i I aSqris gaorkeceba metad advil i saqmea. ase rom sul mokle droSi saqarTvel os SeuZl ia wamoayenos sabrZol vel adaranakle 40 batalionisa. TiToeul i aranakle 750 xiStisa. e.i. sul 30- 35 aTas xiStamde. oficebi da samxedro special istebi ki srul iad sakmarisia. agreTve sakmarisia artileristebi, kavaleristebi da j avSnianebis mosamsaxureni. magal iTad, Cven srul iad advil ad SegviZl ia 25 batareis, 15 j avSniani avtomobilis da 8 j avSniani matarebl is Stati SevavsoT. (me exl a xel T ar maqvs srul i cnobebi, magram daaxl oebiT mdgomareoba aseTia: Zvel rusul j arSi msaxurobda 6 aTasamde oficeri. aqedan ukanasknel i 3 aTasi artileristia, 2500 kavaleristia, 3000 pul emiotCikia da 500 kacamde j avSnian matarebl ebze da avtomobil ebze momuSave (namuSevari). mxol od tankebis amuSavebas ver Se-

vZl ebT, radganac amis special istebi srul iad ar gvyavs). amrigad,ori kviris ganmavl obaSi axal i qarTul i l aSqari fexze dadgeba da mas mtkice organizacia, kargi SeiaraReba da didi Tavdadebac eqneba. sworeT am l aSqarma unda daexmaros mTel i Tavisi energiit Taviant mezobl ebs bol Sevikebis srul l ikvidaciaSi da erovnul i Tavisufl e- bis ganmtkicebaSi. es miT ufro saCqaro da aucil ebel ia, rom saqarTvel os Tavisufl ebas iqamdis ar moumagrdeba Ziri, sanamdis bol Sevikur okupasias bol o ar moeReba aze- rbaij anSi, somxeTSi da Crdil oeT kavkasiaSi. Taviant mezo- bl ebs saqarTvel o srul gamarj vebamdis unda daexmaros instruqtorebis, organi zatorebis da mcire razmebis wargza- vnis saxiT. magram, srul i da farTe daxmareba daiwyeba mxo- l od maSin, roca saqarTvel o Tavis teritoriaze srul iad daamarcxebis bol Sevikebs da cotaTi mainc moawesrigebs Tavis samxedro Zal ebs. iqamde ki yvel a misma mezobl ebma unda ecadon rac SeiZl eba gaaZl ieron Tavisi aj anyeba da brZol aSi sakuTar Zal ebs daeyrdnon. xol o aj anyebis meore an mesame kviri dan saqarTvel o SeZl ebs mezobl ebi sTvis Zmuri xel is gawodebas. am mizni saTvis zemoaRniSnul i 35 aTasi xiSti ase unda ganawil des: sam gzas Semoyavs amierkavkasiaSi ruseTi da amierkavkasiidanac sami gza midis ruseTSi: a)Savi zRvis piri; b)derbentis WiSkari da g)darial i. amasTanave kavkasiis samxreT sazRvrebsac daraj oba dasWirdeba. ami tom saqarTvel om mTel i Tavisi Zal ebi Crdil oeTisken unda mi- marTos da samxreTiT mxol od Zl ieri fari unda datovos. Sinauri wesierebis dasacavd ki j ari sul ar iqneba saWi ro. pirvel adimi tom rom TviT xal xi daicavs wesrigs da meore imi tom, rom erT kviraSi yvel gan Sedgeba mil icia, roml is SeiaraReba `berdankebiT- moxdeba. samxreTis SemosazRvri- sTvis sakmarisi iqneba 8000 xiSti. aqedan 3000- is SeiZl eba somxeTSi wargzavna xal xis gasamxnevebl ad. Tavis mxriv somxeTi advil ad gadaagdebs bol Sevikebs (Tuki somxeTma gadawyvita da gabeda aj anyeba, xel is SemSl el i pirobebi mraval ia da Cven somxeTs maT daZl evaSi unda davexmaroT) da or kviraSi Tofis qveS daayenebs da moawesrigebs 20 aTasamde mebrZol s. meore Zl ieri razmi 10 aTiaTasi xiStamde unda gai gzavnos tuapseze da Semdeg man unda Sei Wras yubani s ol qSi da iqaur aj anyebas unda daexmaros. am razms Se-

uerTdeba soWis ol qSi 2000- mde mebrZol i da yubanic 2- 3 kviraSi 30 aTasamde mebrZol s wamoayenebs. mesame razmi 7 aTas xiStamde darial iT unda SeiWras kavkavSi da Suaze gahkveTos Crdil o kavkasiis bol Sevikuri armia. am razms Tergis ol qSi SeuerTdeba 15- 20 aTasi mebrZol i mTiel ebi da kazakebi. dasasrul mcire razmi, ricxviT 6 aTas xiStamde dauyovnebl iv gadava azerbauj anSi da iqedan daRestanSi. azerbaijani da daRestani am j ars Sematebs 25000 mebrZol amde. Tbil isSi darCeba rezervSi 4000 xiStamde, roml is gamoyeneba saWiroebisamebr moxdeba. Tavis Tavad igul isxmeba, rom Semomatebul i mebrZol ni iqnebian samxedro wesze mowyobil i da darazmul i.

amnairaT, 35000 mebrZol qarTvel s yvel a mezobl ebi 2- 3 kviris ganmavl obaSi Semateben 90000- mde mebrZol s. maSasadame, aj anyebul i kavkasia, erTi Tvis ganmavl obaSi TofqveS dayenebs aranakl eb 100000 mebrZol s. am l aSqrisTvis saWiro SeiaraReba TiTqmis savsebiT adgil obriv iSoveba. Tavis Tavad igul isxmeba, rom am pirvel i rigis j ars Tan moyveba axal i jarebi, roml ebi c TiToeul qveyanaSi damatebiTi mobil izaciebis saSual ebiT Seiqmneba. mTel kavkasiaSi 10 wl is mobil izacia sul ukanasknel i 300000 Zvel , gamocdil da saimedo mebrZol s mogvcems. amnairaT, pirvel i rigis 100000 mebrZol s zurgsi eyol eba 200000 axal i mebrZol i, romel sac dasWirdeba SeiaraReba, Semosva da gamokveba. da pirvel i gamarj vebis Semdeg sworeT es iqneba Cveni udidesi sazrunavi. vinaidan pirvel i 100000- Tvis Cven iaraRs, tansacmel s da sursaTsac advil ad viSoviT. axl ad gawveul i 200000- an l aSqars Cven ucxoeTis dauxmarebl ad ver mouvl iT, xol o ucxoeTi mxol oT maSvin dagvexmareba, Tu pirvel ma 100000- ma SeZl o bol Sevikebis ganaxl ebul i ierisebis 2- 3 Tvis ganmavl obaSi mogerieba. da es ki srul iad SesaZl ebel ia Semdegi mosazrebiT:

kavkasiis aj anyebas mxol od maSin aqvs azri, Tu igi SeZl ebs `skvos- da gansakuTrebiT `okas- ganiaraRebas. maSasadame, aj anyebis Casaqrobad bol Sevikebs Si da ruseTidan an dasavleT frontidan dasWirdeba j aris gamoyvana. aseTi farTo aj anyebis Casaqrobad moskovs dasWirdeba aranakl eb 200 aTasiani l aSqris dagroveba kavkasiis Crdil oeT sazRvrebze. Tu mxedvel obaSi mi vi RebT Tanamedrove ruseTis saerTo

ekonomi ur, sasursaTo da satransporto mdgomareobas da agreTve imas, rom srul i simSvide arc Si da ruseTSi da gansakuTrebiT ukrainaSia, srul i dabej iTebiT gveTqm is, rom 200000 l aSqris mTel i Tavisi mowyobil obiT da sursaTiT bol Sevikuri ruseTi kavkasiis winaaRmdeg 2 Tveze adre ver daamzadebs. es aris srul iad real uri da Seuryevel i angariSi. amas sxvaTa Soris, Turqestanis aj anyeba amtkicebs. miuxedavad imisa, rom iq aj anyeba maisis pirvel ricxvebSi da iwyo, igi dResac, seqtembris dasawyisSi ar aris Caqrobil i. maSasadame, TiTqm is ori Tve iqneba aj anyebul i kavkasiis srul gankargul ebaSi da am xnis ganmavl obaSi man unda SeZl os axal i Zal ebis darazmva, maTi mowesrigeba, SeiaraReba da gamokveba. yovel ive es, moxdeba ucxoeTis saSual ebiT. da igive ucxoeTi romel ic dRes aseTi sifrTxil iT da uxal isod gvel aparakeba, vinaidan mas ar sj era Cveni Zal a da momaval i. mxurval eT da erTgul aT dagvexmareba, Tuki sakuTari Cveni teritoriebi gavanTavisufl eT da maTi uamravi simdidris baton- patroni gavxdiT. es Cven mtkiced unda Sevignot da mavne il uziebs droze unda davaRwi oT Tavi. Cven unda gavigoT, rom avansad arc iaraRs da arc ful s aravin mogvcems. amistvis saWiroa faqtiuri batonoba sakuTar teritoriaze. da roca kavkasiis didi nawil i Cvens gankargul ebaSi iqneba, roca baqos, groznos, Wiaturis, tyvarCel is da maikopis saxel iT il aparakebs ara krasini, aramed ganTavisufl ebul i kavkasia, Cven advil ad viSovit ful s da ful is saSual ebiT saWiro iaraRs da yovel ive mowyobil obas.

amasTanave kavkasiis aj anyeba da misi ganTavisufl eba udi- des STabeWdil ebas moaxdens, rogorc mTel ruseTSi, ise ucxoeTSi ac. es aj anyeba kidev ufro gamoacocxl ebs da ga- aTamamebs ruseTis yvel a antibol Sevikur Zal ebs, roml ebi c dRes ase daqsaqsul i da daSl il ia. ukraina, doni da sxva adgil ebi uTuod gamoexmaureba mas da TviT ruseTSi mSvi do- bi anobis dasacavad bol Sevikebs dasWirdebaT didi j arebis dabandeba. ucxoeTic Zal ze gamoexmaureba am ganmaTavisufl e- bel aj anyebas. Cven viciT Tu ra gaafTrebiT amtkiceben bol Sevikebi evropasi imas, rom saqarTvel o maT Zal iT ar daupyriaT, rom TviT saqarTvel o SeuerTda maT. da ra didi energiis daxarj va dagWir da Cven am l legendis gasafantavad, Tumca savsebiT igi arc dRes aris mokl ul i. aseTi zRapar i

Tavisi Zal adobis gasamar TI ebl ad bol Sevicebs dasWir daT imitom, rom dRes evropaSi imperial isturi omi araviSi ar iwvevs aRfrTovamnebas da simpaTias. magram raRas ityvian bol Sevicebi maSvin, roca TviT kavkasia dadgeba fexze, er-Tsul ovnad auj anydeba Tavisi mtarval ebs da Tavsi gainTavisufli ebs. maT myviral a frazebs yurs aravin daugdebs da arc aravin motyuvdeba. ara mar to social isturi, aramed burJuaziuli evropis simpatiac aj anyebul kavkasiisken iqneba da bol Sevicebis axal Semotevas yovel ive zneobrivi niadagi gamoecl eba. amastanave gaadvil deba Cveni muSaoba evropaSi da gaZl ierdeba evropis politikuri gavl ena kavkasiis dasacavad. yovel ive es Cveni udi des daxmarebas gagviwevs da brZol as gagviadvil ebs, magram Cveni erTi wuTi Tac ar unda daviviwyoT, rom Cveni bedis faqtiuri gadamwyveti swored adgil obrivi brZol a da gmiruli Tavdacva iqneba.

me vTqvi, rom aj anyebul i kavkasiis sawinaaRmdego j aris dasagrovebl ad bol Sevicebs ukanasknel i ori Tve dasWirdeba. es im SemTxvevaSi, Tu moskovs TviT ruseTSi ar gaurTul da saqme. am ori Tvis ganmavl obaSi kavkasiis sruli ad eyofa Tavdasacavad 100 aTasiani j aris. xolo ori Tvis Semdeg, maSin roca moskovs 200 aTasiani j aris eyol eba damzadebul i Cveni sawinaarmdegod, Cveni gveyol eba darazmul i da mowesri-igebul i 200 aTasiani l aSqari. ase rom moskovs dasWirdeba kidev damatebiTi j arebis mozidva da amaze dro wava, roml iTac Cveni xel axl a visargebl ebT Cveni Zal ebis gasaZl ierebl ad. amnairaT, moskovs aj anyebul i da ganTavisufli ebul i kavkasiis xel axl a dasapyrobad dasWirdeba 300-350 aTasiani l aSqris dagroveba da darazmva. e.i. moskovs dasWirdeba didi omisaTvis momzadeba da misi dawyeba da damatebiTi axal i mobil izaciebis moxdena. yovel ive es ki metad saxifaTo da saZnel o iqneba moskovi saTvis, radganac igi gaamwvebs bol Sevicebis Sinaur mdgomareobas da aamoqmedebs ruseTis antibol Sevicebs Zal ebs. sul advil i SesaZl ebel ia, rom moskovis mier Tavisi ZarRvebis axal ma daWimvam, moskovi srul katastrofamde miyvanos da iqneba aman aiZul os moskovi, rom nacvl ad xmal isa, man si tyva da mol aparakeba arCios. praqtika mol aparakebi sa TandaTan Cveul ebrivi xdeba moskovi saTvis. svaneTi, Turqestani, petrovi! mitupro izul ebul i iqneba igi mol aparakeba gamar Tos aj anyebul kavkasiisTan,

roml is saTaveSi iqneba saqarTvel o, vinai dan am aj anyebis avtoriteti, Zl iereba da aRfrTovaneba metad maRal i iqneba. am mol aparakebaSi Cven dagvexmareba social isturi da burJuaziul i evropa. muSuri evropa Cven SegviZl ia arbitrad avirCiOT da mas vandoT Cveni bedi gadasawyvetad da Tu bol Sevikema uaryves es miudgomel i arbitri, evropis muSaTaki asi metis energiit dagvexmareba Cven da mas SeuZl ia proletarul i bl okada gamoucxados moskovs. da es swored daasamarebs moskovis diqtaturas...

ityvian, rom moskovi verasgzit ver dasTmobs kavkasi as da kerZOT baqoso. nebiT rasakvirvel ia ar dasTmobs, magram Zal iT man dasTmoreveli, riga, besarabia da vladivostoki. Cven am Zal as unda daveyrdnot da Tu Zal a gveqna, bol Sevikedi dadasTmobaze wamovlen. rac Seexeba baqos, Cven SegviZl ia mas Ria karebi miwceT da internacional ur saeqspl uatacio simdidreT vaqciOT.

* * *

vakeTeb mokle reziumes:

saqarTvel os ganTavisufleba moxdeba, rogorc Sedegi kavkasiis aj anyebisa. SesaZl ebel ia aj anyeba kavkasiis sxvadasxva kuTxeebSi sxvadasxvagvari siZl ieris iqnes, magram gamarjvebis aucil ebel pirobat unda CaiTval os, rom kavkasiis ori mesamedi aqtiurad unda Caebas aj anyebaSi. am mxriv Cven uzrunvel yofil i varT, radganac saqarTvel o, azerbaijani, Savi zRvis mxare, daRestani da yubani aucil ebl ad aj anydebian. pirveli dakvrisaTvis aj anyebul kavkasi as 65 atasiani rusis j aris wi naaRmdeg (33000- mde `okaSi - danarCeni `skvoSi-) SeuZl ia amdenive Seiararebul i meamboxis gamoyvana. aj anyebis ukve meore da mesame kviraSi ganTavisuflebul kavkasi as Tofqves eyol eba 100 atasiani kargi I asqari da ori Tvis Semdeg ki 200 atasze meti. am j aris saSual ebit, romel ic ki dev TandaTan gazl ierdeba, saqarTvel os da kavkasi as SeuZl iaT iqamdis daicvan Tavisufleba da ebrZolon moskovs, sanam es ukanasknel i ar icnobs kavkasi is srul damoukide-

bl obas da ar Seurigdeba mas. es aris real uri da faqtiuri gza Cveni ganTavisufli ebisa. sxva gzebi qimeriul ia. verc naciaTa l iga,verc romel ime burJuaziul i konferencia da verc muSaTa internacional i ver aiZul ebs moskovs kavkasiis da kerZoT saqarTvel os dacl as. rasakvirvel ia, aq yvel gan muSaobaa saWiro, magram droa davrwundeT, rom marto dipl omatiuri muSaobiT Cveni qveynebi ver ganTavisufli debian. dipl omatias SeuZl ia mxol od didi samsaxuri gauwios Cvens saqmes. ganTavisufli ebis mTavar faqtorat ki Seiara-Rebul i aj anyeba unda vaRiaroT. amisdami xedvit mTel i simZime muSaobisa adgil obriv, kavkasiaSi unda gadavides. rac SeiZl eba adre unda moxdes ucxoeeTis `razgruska- zedmeti momuSaveebi dan da isini TandaTanobiT Tav- Taviant qveynebsi unda gadavidnen. yovel cal ke qveyanaSi (azerbaijani, somxeti, daRestani, yubani da sx.) unda moewyos xel mZRvanel i saidumlo centrebi, roml ebsac yvel a kuTxebsi eyol eba Tavisi xel qveiti organizaciebi da roml ebi c kavkasiis saerto centriT iqnebian gaertianebul i. es centri unda iqnes metad saidumlo, mtkice da avtoritetiani. am centrs unda qondes samxedro gegma SemuSavebul i da aj anyebis Zafebi mis xel Si unda iyrides Tavs. saWiro Jams mas unda SeeZl os mTel i kavkasiis da gansakuTrebit amerkavkasiis (daRestniana) fexze dayeneba. dReidan es unda iyos Cveni mizani da aqet unda mivmarToT yvel a Cveni Zal ebi. Tu ara, Cveni saqme an wagebul ia, an didi xnit dasamarebul ad unda CaiTval os. Tu am naxevar wel iwadSi Cven ver SevZel iT CvenSi bol Sevizmis l ikvidacia, SemdegSi es saqme TandaTan gaZnel deba. bol Sevizmi TandaTan marj vni v daiwevs da didi daTmobis wyal obit Sesarigebel kompromiss gamonaxavs burJuaziul evropasTan. da ruseTTan morigebul evropas TandaTan miaviwydeba kavkasiac da saqarTvel oc. amitom drois dayovneba Cven ar gvargebs...

7 seqtemberi 22 w. konstantinopoli.

damateba:

gvetyvian, rom aj anyebaSi didi `riskia.- Tu igi damarcxda, ganadgurdeba mTel i xal xi da wel Si gawydeba eri! `riski-

rasakvirvel ia aris, magram `uriskoT- araviTari didi saqme ar gakeTdeba da Cveni val ia vecadoT rac SeiZl eba SevamciroT es `riski.- magram gana TviT bol Sevikebis batonoba saqarTvel oSi ar aris ukve ganxorciel ebul i `riski- da gana bol Sevik- rusul i okupacia faqtiurad ar kl avsa da ar anadgurebs ers? misi saukeTeso Zal ebi idevnebian, ena i Cagreba, qarTvel i muSakebi adgil ebs kargaven da saqarTvel oSi batondebian ucxo el ementebi. bol Sevikuri batonoba sul s uxuTavs ers, Si is mis mamozravebel ZarRvebs da aqarwyl ebs eris saxel mwi foebri v arsebobs. ki dev ramdenime wel i rom gagrZel des es okupacia, Cveni xal xi wel Si gawydeba, imeds dakargavs, ruseTTan Serigebis da daTmobis gzebis Ziebas daiwyebis da am xnis ganmavl obaSi evropasac mi vaviwydebiT. Cvenc SigniT da gareT samuSao ful ic Semogvaki deba da Cveni graciaSi ac daiwyeba gaxrwna, axal i miznebis Zieba. amitom arsebul i mdgomareoba erisaTvis met `risks-, met safrTxes warmoadgens, vidre sayovel Tao aj anyeba. magram, warmoudgenel ic rom warmovidginoT, da davuSvaT aj anyebis daZl eva da damarcxeba, nuTu es marTI ac mTel i eris mospobasa da ganadgurebas daedareba? srul i adac ara. istoriam ic is mra val i magal iTebi, roca damarcxebul i aj anyeba, ki dev ufro amtkicebda eris mebrZol sul iskveTebas da ufro mWidrod razmavda mis Zal ebs. ityvian, rom bol Sevikebs ar uyvarT xumroba da isini sisxl Si CaaxSoben xal xs. magram, es `sisxl is xanac- ganvl o bol Sevizmma. arc Sinauri da arc sagareo pirobebi mas amas veRar abedvineben da TviT ufro ver gabedaven amas isini saqarTvel oSi... amnairaT, arc damarcxeba mokl avsa saqarTvel os. magram Cven unda vemzadoT gamarj vebisaTvis da unda vi povoT igi. zeviT me vcdil obdi damemtkicebina, rom Cvens aj anyebas real uri safuZvel i aqvs. me ganzrax vamcirebdi Cven Zal ebs, raTa zedmeti imedebi ar damebada.

gani bal i (al .zaqariaZe)

8 seqtemberi 22 w. konstantinopoli.

dokumenti # 3

kavkasiaSi disl ocirebul i rusul i jaris
raodenobis ganaxl ebul i monacemebis Sesaxeb,
1923 wl is Teberval Si v.j uRel is mier parizSi
gakeTebul i damatebiTi sainformacio moxseneba

samxedro moxseneba

(egorovis moxsenebis, ianvris disl okaciis da `okas-
sainformacio cnobebis mixedviT)

metad Znel ia sruli da detal uri warmodgenis Seqmna
kavkasiaSi da kerZoT `okasi- moTavsebul wiTel jarze,
radganac, samwuxarot, Tbil isidan Cven ar mogvdis sakamod
damuSavebul i samxedro masala da xSiraT TviT es masala
erTmaneTis sawinaaRmdago cnobebs Seicavs. magram, miuxedavad
amisa, miRebul i masalis ukve aq gadamuSaveba da damatebiTi
wyaroebiT sargebl oba Cven saSual ebas gvaZl evs sworaT
viangariSoT kvkasiaSi mobinadre bol Sevikuri rusuli da
adgil obrivi Seiararebul i Zal ebi.

Crdil o da amierkavkasiaSi mobinadre wiTel ma j arebma,
mas Semdeg rac gauqmda merve, mecxre da meTerTmete (VIII, IX,
XI) armiebi, Seadgines ori didi armia. erTs saxel ad daerqva
Crdil oetkavkasiis samxedro ol qi (CKBO) da roml is teri-
toriaSi Sedis donis ol qi, stavropol is gubernia, yubanis,
Tergis da daRestnis ol qebi; xolo meore armias saxel wo-
debaT mieca `oka- (OKA- kavkasiis sagangebo armia S.v.) anu
kavkasiis cal ke armia da misma teritoriam Seadgina mTel i
amierkavkasia.

radganac Cven aq gansakuTrebiT `oka- da amierkavkasia gva-
interesebs, amitom Cven mxol od mokl eT SevCerdebiT
Crdil oet kavkasiis armias daxasiaTebaze. Tanaxmad `okas-
sainformacio centrebisa, pirveli ianvrisaTvis (1923 w.) Cr-
dil o kavkasiis jarSi rostovidan_ xacmazamde iTvl eboda
`Coniana- da adgil obriv j arebiana 57 atasi mWamel i. info-
rmatori wiTel armias 31 atass yazaxs da rus wiTel armi-
el s angariSobs. Tu saukeTeso SemTxvevisatvis Cven viangari-

SebT, rom wiTel j arSi xiStebis ricxvi Seadgens 80%- s, mTel i Crdil okavkasiis armiisaTvis Cven mi vi RebT 45 aTas mebrZol s. aqedan, sul ukanasknel i 10 aTasi mebrZol i iqneba adgil obrivi j arebidan. ase rom, marto rusul i wiTel i armiel ebi mTel `skvoSi- Seadgenen uTuod araumetes 35 aTasi xiStisa. amave angariSs amowmebs ori sxva cnoba, roml ebic sxvadasxva wyaroebidan aris miRebul i da roml ebic srul iad SeTanxmebul i amaTgan. am cnobebis mixedviT `skvos- mdgomareoba gasul i wl is dekembriSaTvis aseTi iyo: 1)Crdil o kavkasiis j aris ufrosi_ voroSil ovi; 2)miSi Stabis ufrosi_ I evandovski; 3)armiis Stabi_ rosto- vSi.

armiis Semadgenl oba:

mecxre, mecamete, meocdaore, meocdamerve da meocdameCvi dmete (IX, XIII, XXII, XXVIII da XXXVII) qarTvel Ta msrol el i divi- ziebi, daRestnis qveITTa divizia, oTxi cxenosani divizia budionis armiisa (me II, IV, VI da XIV) da cxenosani cal ke brigada. Tu mxedvel obaSi mi vi RebT rom qarTvel Ta diviziaSi iricxeba araumetes 4000 mebrZol isa (xiStisa) da cxenosanSi ki araumetes 1200 xml isa, Cveni qveITTa j arisTvis mi vi RebT 24 aTass mebrZol s da cxenosaniSTvis araumetes 54000 xml isa. am ricxvs unda miematos Crdil oeT kavkasiaSi moTavsebul i mraval i kursantebis Svil ebi da agreTve special uri sagan- gebo nawil ebi. yvel a am damatebebiT Cven Crdil oeT kavkasiis armiisTvis sabol oot mi vi RebT igive 35 aTass mebrZol s. es aris rusul i Zal ebis maqsimal uri ricxvi.

rac Seexeba `okas,- romel ic Cven gansakuTrebiT unda gva- interesebdes, miSi Semadgenl oba pirvel i ianvrisaTvis 1923 wl isa, e.i. maSin, roca ufrosi wel i Svebul ebaSi (uvadoT) gauSves da `okam- ukrainidan miRo Tavis SesavsebaT 20 aTasamde axal gazrda j ariskacebi. aseTi iyo:

`okas- ufrosi_ egorovi; Stabis ufrosi_ pugaCovi.

Stabi Tbil isSi:

I. pirvel i msrol el i divizia_ Stabi quTaisSi

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

6)msubuji saartil erio diviziis sammarTvel o_ quTaisSi

- 7) I- I i da me- II- re msubuji batar. da samTo `viuCni- (saswavl ebel i)_ 346 kaci;
- 8)gaubicis batarea_ baTumSi_ 115 kaci;
- 9)sakavSi ro gundi- quTaisSi_ 228 kaci;
- 10)cal ke eskadroni- iqve_ 115 kaci;

sul pirvel diviziaSi _ 7484 kaci

pirveli divizia sdgas saqarTvel oSi. ori danarCeni srul iad amave tipis da Semadgenl obis diviziebi sdganan_ erTi azerbaijanSi (meore) da erTic somxeTSi (mesame). amitom `okas- samive qveITTa diviziaSi iTvl eba daaxl oebiT 22 aTasi kaci da es diviziebi ki Seadgenen `okas- mTavar Zal as. `okaSive- Sedis kursantebis sxvadasxva skol ebi, sadac yvel a kursantebis ricxvi ar aRemateba 2500 kacs, saswavl o- sakadro brigada_ sami aTasi (3000) kacamde, cxenosani brigada_ 1600 kaci da `gpu- (saxel mwifo politikuri sammarTvel o) anu CveneburaT `Cekas- sxvadasxva razmebi. yvel a eseni Seadgenen araumetes 116 aTass kacs. amas unda daematos 5 j avSniani matarebel i, j avSniani avtomobil ebi, tankebi, aeropl anebi, sacixovno artil eria da kidev zogierti ufro umni Svel o special uri nawil ebi. amaTi saerTo ricxvi ar aRemateba 6 aTass kacs. amnairaT, mTel `okaSi- iTvl eba sul 44 aTas kacamde, e.i. sworeT imdeni, ramdensac aRni Snavs Cveni Tbil iseli informatori, romelic 17 ianvars gamogzavnil `svodkaSi- ambobs; `okaSi- ukanasknel i cnobebiT iTvl eba 45- 47 aTasi kaci. aqedan xistis qveS 80% sdgas-^{XX} o. 1922

XX)Cemi azriT, Cveni Tbil iseli informatori sruli sisworIT ver axdens xistebis gamoangari Sebas. saqme imaSia, rom bol Sevi kebma Secval es samxedro Zal ebis daxasiaTebis wesi da amitom, maT angarisSi gamotovebul ia mebrZol Ta aRricxva `xistebis- saSual ebiT. nacvl ad xistisa- isini xmaroben an `boecs- an `komandno armeecs- da es orive cneba ki ufro farToa vidre `xisti-! amitom, Tu namdvili `xistebis- gamoangari Sebas daviwyebT, cxadia, rom Cven unda miviRoT ara 80%, aramed saukeTeso SemTxvevaSi 60 da sul didi 65%! amnairaT, mTel `okaSi- Cven ar unda viangari SoT 3000 xistze meti, magram yovel ive `optimizmis- Tavidan asacil ebl ad me yvel gan maqsimal urad vangari Sob mtris Zal ebs.

wl is 13 dekembris cnobac amas amtkicebs. `saiduml o raskl a-
divi T `okaSi- qarTul , somxur da azerbaijanul j arebTan
erTad, sanapiro razmebi ana pirvel i dekembri saTvis kmayofaze
iTvl eboda 61 aTasi kaci. aqedan 15 aTasi modi oda erovnul
nawil ebze da 46 aTasi rusebze-- o.

yvel a am cnobebis mixedviT, Cven srul iaT gadaWriT
SegviZl ia vsTqvaT, rom exl axan mTel i `okaSi- rusul i j are-
bis ricxvi 45 aTassar aRemateba. Tugin d Cemi Sexedul ebiT
mebrZol TaTvis metad gadaWarbebul i 80% mivi RoT, mTel
`okaSi- Cven dagvrCeba araumetes 36 aTasi xiSti. piradaT
Cemi azriT es ricxvi uTuod gadametebul ia, magram yovel i
SemTxvevi saTvis umj obesia mtris Zal a ar Sevamci roT. aRni-
Snul i `okas- Zal ebi umTavresad binadroben saqarTvel oSi,
Semdeg azerbaijanSi da yvel aze nakl ebaT somxeTSi. Sesa-
Zl ebel ia, rom osmal eTTan mosal odnel i garTul ebebis gamo
am ukanasknel droSi somxeTSiac gaaZl ieres j arebi. Cemi
angariSiT daaxl oebiT zemoaRniSnul i 36 aTasi xiStidan
saqarTvel oSi sdgas 16 aTasi, azerbaijanSi 11 aTasi da som-
xeTSi 9 aTasi. TviT saqarTvel oSi aRniSnul i 16 aTasidan
marto Tbil isSi dabanakebul ia 6 aTasamde! da es ara mar to
satransporto da sabinao mosazrebebiT, rogorc amas `okas-
ufrosi ambobs,^{xxx} aramed umTavresad pol itikuri mosazre-
bebis gamo, vinaidan cxadia, rom dRes Tbil isis dakargva
bol Sevi kebi saTvis amierkavkasi is dakargvas udris.

rogoria `okas- saerTo mdgomareoba da ra samxedro Rire-
bul eba aqvs mas? es sakiTxi advil i gamosarkvevia TviT
bol Sevi kebis masal ebis saSual ebiT. am masal ebis Seswavl a
naTI ad amtkicebs, rom `oka- dResac ar warmoadgens Taname-
drove regul arul j ars, romel ic organizaciul aT, teqni-
kuraT da material uraT Tanamedrove samxedro moTxovnil e-

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

baTa simaRI eze sargas. `okas- (ise rogorc sazogadoT mTel wiTel armias) aramcTu SeuTvi sebia da Seusi xli xorce-bia Tanamedrove samxedro xel ovneba, aramed, man yovel mxr-iv ukan daixia Zvel rusul j arTanac SedarebiT. rom es si-tyvebi ufro damaj erebel i gaxdes, me val aparakeb Tvi T bol Sevi kebis samxedro xel mZRvanel obas. pirvel yovl isa val aparakeb Tvi T egorovs: : «Если мы возьмем вопрос материального снабжения войсковых частей, - то скажем, что в вопросах продовольствия мы в той или иной степени обойдёмся...» Вопрос вещественного снабжения несколько хуже. Мы сталкиваемся с необходимостью иметь такие материалы, какие наша промышленность не может поставлять и в качественном, и в количественном отношении. Это мы видим на протяжении довольно долгого времени и последние сциития говорят, что несмотря на приказ Реввоенсовета Республики, - остается все такая же картина. Сейчас наши войсковые части обеспечены в обмундировании на 50%, не больше, есть недочет в конском составе и обзое. Вопрос этот чрезвычайно сложный, ибо конский состав весьма растрёпан, численность его сократилось во всей федерации и после голода большинство конского состава погибло...» «Самый большой вопрос, который мы переживаем, это вопрос квартирный.» Semdeg egorovi eheba Tvi T yazar mis mowyobil obas da ambobs: ... «У нас нет армейских средств» da rogorc damaxasiaTebel i magal iTi dasZens: ... «Мы закрыли свой журнал, накануне смерти наш единственный армейский орган – Красный Воин...» «Обращу внимание Партконференции на то, что без материальной помощи шефов мы не можем вести хозяйства армии.» aseTive suraTs imave konferenci aze xataven anski da kraCovi.

amnairaT, srul iad cxadia, rom is armia romel sac mxol od sursaTi aqvs ase Tu ise samyofi da romel sac akl ia tansacmel i, cxenebi, bina da mowyobil oba, romel sac ar aqvs araviTari saSual eba Tanamedrove samxedro teqniki s progress gayves, ver Cai Tvl eba Tanamedrove armiaT! da aqve unda iTqvas, rom SedarebiT Si da ruseTis armiasTan (garda moskovisa), `oka- iTvl eba saukeTeso mowesrigebul ad, mowyobil aT da mokazmul aT!... egorovis mier aRniSnul i nakl i Si da ruseTSierTi oraT iCenen TavS...

me aq ar Sevudgebi `Conis- daxasiaTebas, vinaidan Tvi T bol Sevi kebma savsebiT ki dev ver gaarkvies misi sabol oo saxe da organizaciul aT ver Camoayal ibes. amas igive egorovi

amowmebs. Tavis i dei iT ki `Coni- unda Seadgendes yvel aze ufro saimedo, sando nawil ebs. es ase vTqvaT unda gamxdariyo komunistebis gvardiaT. magram, gansakuTrebiT amierkavkasiaSi dRemdi Zal ian cota ram aris am mxriv gakeTebul i da ami tom CvenSi `Coni- araviTar samxedro Zal as ar war moadgens, mi T ufro, rom rogorc igive egorovi ambobs: «Организацтонная сторона Чона весма ненормально в смысле ведения военной работы.» erTi ki aSkara unda iyos: radganac wiTel i armiis Senaxva metad uZnel deba gakotrebul ruseTs, bol Sevikebi amcireben regul arul j ars da cdil oben `Conis- gazrdas. rogorc saiduml o brZanebidan irkveva, gvauwebs Tbil isel i informatori_ ruis j ars Zal ze amcireben. samagierod aZl iereben `Conso-. saqarTvel ostvis `Cons- 16 aTasamde angari-Soben. cxadia, rom es ricxvi gadaWarbebul ia.

garda `Conisa- bol Sevikur Seiararebul Zal ebs unda miematos komsomol ebis nawil ebi, magram isini samxedro Tval sazrisiT srul iad umniSvnel oni arian. aRsaniSnavia, rom ukanasknel aT miRebul i 20 aTas axal gazrdaj ariskacebs iaraRi `okam- adgil obriv e.i. amierkavkasiaSi dauriga. es imis damadasturebel ia, rom amierkavkasiais samxedro sawyobebSi iaraRi inaxeba.

nacional uri jarebi saqarTvel oSi, azerbaijanSi da somxeTSi_ unugeSo mdgomareobaSi arian. TiToeul respublika yavs TiTo divizia, magram es ufro nominal uri diviziebia, roml ebi c `okaSi- Sedian da roml ebSi ac mebrZol Taricxvi 2-3 aTass kacs ar aRemateba. marTal ia, sul ukanasknel dros movi da cnoba, rom ganzraxul ia qarTul i j aris gazliereba, magram es cnoba ki dev Semowmebas moiTxovs.

v.j .

15 Teberval i 23 w. parizi.

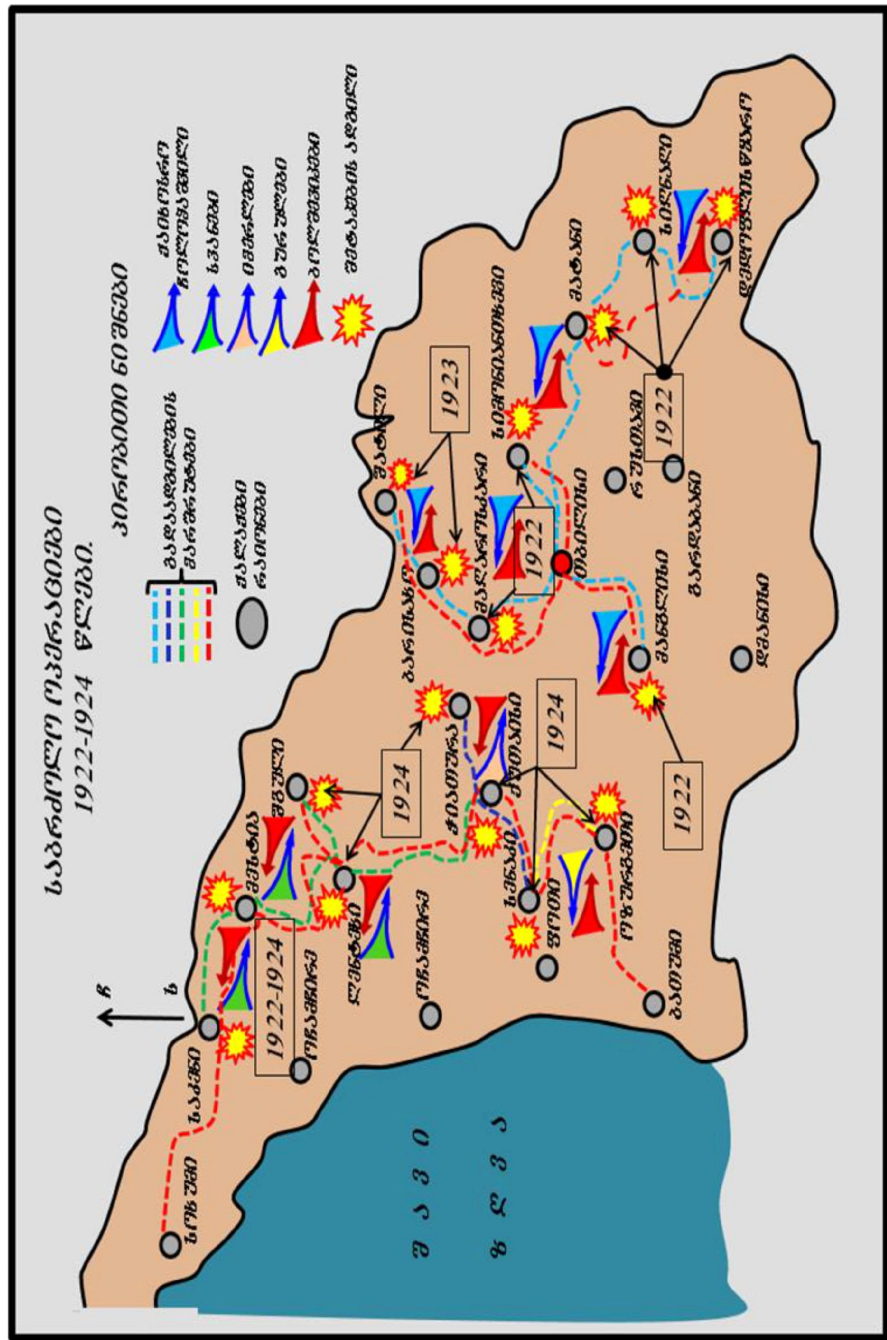


рука № 1

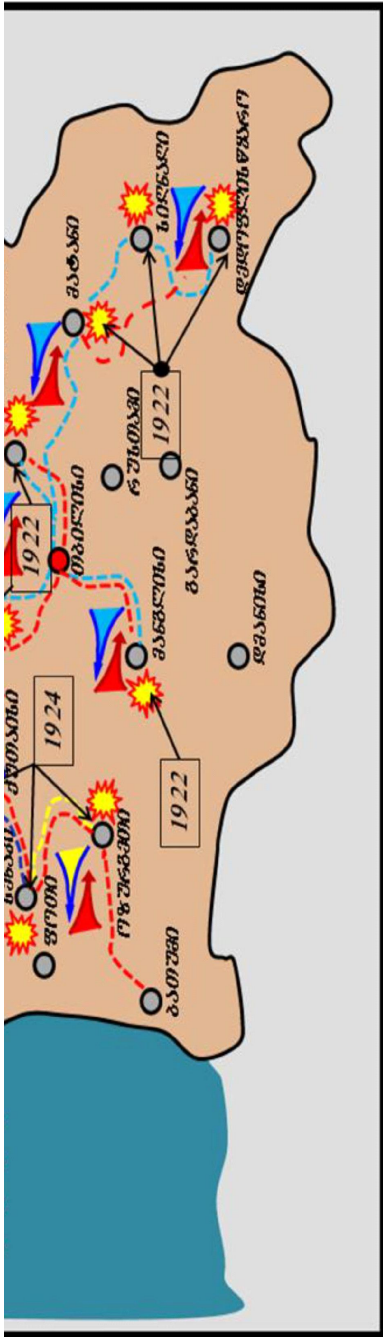
1922 wli is seqtembers Sedgenil i gegmis mixedvi T
 kavkasiis ganTavisufli ebis mizniT, ruseTis
 j arebis winaaRmddeg moqmedebis savar audio sivrce:
 Tbil is_i_ rostovi_ yizl ari_ baqo_ l enqorani_
 erevani_ baTumi_ soCa.

-СКВО- - Crdil o kavkasiis samxedro ol qi (Stabi)

-ОКА- - kavkasiis sagangebo armia (Stabi)



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SoTaa ilias Ze vadaWkoria
SeiaraRebul i aj anyebis samxedro gegmis
gacemis dazustebi saTvis

parizi- Tbilisi
2016

saaRricxvo- sagamonceml o Tabaxi 7,5
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